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CAN FATHERS CHALLENGE EXTREMISM?

Studying the Violence Prevention Potential of East African Fathers



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SAFEGUARDING CHILDREN FROM RADICALISATION

A STUDY ON FATHERS' PREVENTION POTENTIAL



ABSTRACT

Parental roles and responsibilities in preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE) have received insufficient attention from scholars and practitioners alike. Where attempts to identify the possible or proven potential of families has been observed in this respect, however rare, the emphasis has tended to rest on the agency of women, and on women as mothers in particular. In stark contrast to their female counterparts, fathers and their safeguarding potential has remained uncharted territory in the field of P/CVE. A number of factors, including the assumption of fathers as barriers to prevention efforts, have had the undesired effect of further isolating them as subjects of enquiry.

As the first evidence-based analysis of the prevention potential of fathers, this study sets out to determine whether men with adolescent and young adult children are a missing link in the prevention sphere, asking: If fathers do indeed present an obstacle, what can be derived from a deeper understanding of their parenting styles and experiences with, perceptions of, attitudes towards, and difficulties in addressing extremism? Might a heightened understanding of their conceptions of parenting and safeguarding potential lead to a more complete security architecture? Could fathers thus become a part of the solution; the missing link in family-based prevention strategies in the East African context, and perhaps beyond? We thus probe fathers' perceptions of their safeguarding responsibility, experiences with radicalisation, and perceived barriers to realising their prevention potential.

Applying a multiple step and mixed methods research approach, this study pursues the above questions by engaging fathers across Zanzibar and Uganda. The research team conducted semi-structured interviews and processed the resulting discussion transcripts using a qualitative data analysis (QDA) method. The findings subsequently were applied to develop contextualised survey questionnaires for each country. These surveys were disseminated to over six hundred fathers in both countries. Our results are presented in the following report, which draws on all qualitative and quantitative data collected in the course of the research project. This research study's evaluation of East African fathers offers a more complete understanding of fathers' overlooked prevention potential than hitherto has been attempted.

The survey fathers consider violent extremism to be an everyday reality shrouded in secrecy, contend that their children conceivably could be impacted as victims or perpetrators, and perceive youth involvement in extreme political groups to be the most common criminal activity. Despite identifying a lack of parental guidance as the greatest risk factor, fathers exhibit split self-confidence and decidedly are ambivalent towards and insecure about a number of parenting and security issues; they are evenly divided on key topics like their innate parenting talent and ability to recognise early warning signs of radicalisation. Yet the fathers' conviction that both parents are viewed as the chief discussion partners for their children when problems arise points to their access and authority as effective intervention and prevention actors. Not only are fathers most highly in favour of receiving training in parenting skills and support from social organisations when contemplating their children's safety; they also issue a clear mandate: at present and above all others, fathers are the ones who need to increase their engagement to safeguard the youth.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

PEACE STARTS AT HOME | PARENTS AS THE CHIEF CUSTODIANS OF THE PREVENTION SPHERE

Survey participants place their wives and themselves at the top of the security pyramid. Above all, they ardently agree on parenting responsibilities in this regard: mothers are in charge of security; their husbands follow suit but are most decidedly the keepers of advice. Being less concerned with structural and quasi abstract ‘causes’ or ‘solutions’ than with topics of a practical nature, the survey fathers focus on issues that demand their direct involvement. Not only are various forms of responsibility taken seriously by Ugandan and Zanzibari fathers alike; they also desire greater involvement on the part of both fathers and mothers.

FATHERS ON THE FENCE | BETWEEN REJECTING THE ARCHAIC AND RESISTING THE MODERN

When viewed as a collective, the survey fathers are more of one mind than not but appear to be decidedly ambivalent towards a number of parenting and security issues. Though not overly fatalistic or overtly archaic, they are evenly split on key topics like their innate parenting talent and ability to recognise early warning signs of radicalisation. A trace of generational disconnectedness appears also to be simmering below the surface.

DIVERGENT PARENTING CONTEXTS | CONCERNED CITY DWELLERS VERSUS RELAXED ISLANDERS?

Issues of extremism, the youth’s susceptibility to recruitment, and fatherhood shortcomings look to be more pronounced in the Ugandan context; Zanzibari fathers seem to be less concerned about these issues, perceive threats to be fewer or lower, and are more measured in their responses. A heightened sense of urgency on the part of the fathers across Uganda may help to explain their greater tendency to be fatalistic and account for expressions of lower confidence in the role of fathers, their comparatively limited faith in the resilience of the youth, and low trust in relatives and the community.

GENERATIONAL DISCONTINUITY | THE POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN PARENTS'
DECLINE IN TAKING RESPONSIBILITY AND DWINDLING COMMUNITY COHESION

Opting for a generational and traditional worldview in parenting matters, East African fathers are caught up in a logic defined by a causal relationship between greater divisions in communities and a decline in adults taking responsibility for the youth's wellbeing.

THE STATE OF EXTREMISM | A COMMUNITY ISSUE
CLOAKED IN SILENCE AND UNCERTAINTY

While most consider violent extremism to be an everyday reality that is perceived to be more present in urban than rural communities, the participants are nevertheless divided on whether or not radicalisation is on the rise. Since extremism is a taboo topic that tends not to be discussed outside of the family, fathers require support and empowerment to address the issue more openly.

A CULTURE OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE | DEGREES OF COMMUNITY
AFFECTEDNESS, PATHWAYS INTO TERROR, AND CHILDREN'S POTENTIAL ALLIES

The survey men appear to be highly aware of, concerned about, and affected by community violence. They see that most children who embarked on 'extreme and deviant activities' were involved in 'extreme political groups', ahead of engaging in 'armed conflict', 'taking drugs', and 'demonstrations'. Since men are impacted more gravely, with fathers generally leading in this respect, their sons are at considerable risk of eventually getting caught up in a life of crime, either as a victim or perpetrator. Yet the participants' conviction that both parents are viewed as viable discussion partners for their children when problems arise could suggest that fathers have the access and authority to act as potentially effective intervention and prevention actors.

THE YOUTH IN DANGER | REAL AND IMAGINED RISK FACTORS,
COMMUNITY GRIEVANCES, ROLE MODELS, AND ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

That a 'lack of parental guidance' tops the list of perceived youth risk factors reinforces how central parenting becomes to fathers when contemplating security concerns. Socioeconomic grievances also figure prominently, and psychological factors are deemed equally perilous. Further accentuating risk exposure, chief community problems include poverty, a loss of traditional values, and unemployment. Despite this gloomy outlook, children apparently prefer role models who operate within the law. Fathers rank third and can be understood as their 'natural' role models. Adding to this optimism, a range of extra-curricular youth activities look to be readily available.

THE UNDECIDED FATHER | TORN BETWEEN OPEN
COMMUNICATION AND AUTHORITARIAN FORMS OF DISCIPLINE

Largely in favour of ‘soft’ disciplining, at first glance fathers appear to have a functioning culture of communication with their children. Upon closer inspection, they look to fall short and do not consider themselves to be the frontrunners in the parenting world: the survey men see that their wives are more likely and generally preferable conversation partners. To varying degrees, a number of factors may account for their perception of this comparatively weaker bond: fatherhood identity issues, counterproductive disciplining methods like yelling, and the use of physical force. That ‘caning or beating’ and ‘explaining to them why they should behave differently’ are the most popular methods points to an acute insecurity.

THE MISSING GUARDIANS OF PREVENTION | TOWARDS A MORE
COMPLETE AND TRUSTWORTHY COMMUNITY SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

Fathers view themselves as the principal missing puzzle piece in a whole-of-community prevention framework. A clear mandate on the part of the survey men surfaces: above all other actors, fathers are the ones who need to increase their engagement. Evidently aware that the complex undertaking of successfully raising and protecting the youth nevertheless cannot rest in the hands of family members, religious leaders, and teachers alone; they also desire greater involvement of state-run institutions and civil society organisations, albeit to a lesser degree. Yet fathers least trust these public entities (along with friends), which alerts us to a correlation between degrees of desired engagement and perceived levels of trustworthiness.

FATHERHOOD TWO-POINT-O? | OPEN, RECEPTIVE, AND
EAGER TO UPGRADING THEIR PARENTING AND SAFEGUARDING SKILLS

The participants’ instincts tell them that fathers should increase engagement with vulnerable children through positive action rather than threats, and it appears to be second nature to accept parenting advice predominantly from private sources (fathers, religion, and mothers). Fathers seem to lack yet desire training in parenting skills and support from social organisations above all else when contemplating their children’s security; they are less eager on skills that benefit them as opposed to their sons or daughters. Most fathers acknowledge that their children are not immune to extremism and are unequivocally open and receptive to receiving support and training.

ABBREVIATIONS

CT	Counterterrorism
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
IDHI	in-depth, hour-long interviews
IDI	in-depth interviews
IDSSHI	in-depth, semi-structured, one-hour long interviews
MPVE	Mothers Preventing Violent Extremism
P/CVE	Preventing and Countering Violent Extremism
PVE	Preventing Violent Extremism
QDA	Qualitative Data Analysis
QR	Qualitative Research
SSI	semi-structured interviews
SSIG	semi-structured interview guides
UMYDF	Uganda Muslim Youth Development Forum
USIP	United States Institute of Peace
WwB	Women without Borders
ZAYEDES	Zanzibar Youth Education Environment Development Support Association

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INTRODUCTION



• THE COMING OF THE MODERN FATHER •

Society's reluctance towards recognising the educational potential of families stretches well into the modern era. The task of making adults of children had long been the preserve of militaries, guilds, and religious institutions. Philippe Ariès, writing at the cusp of the post-modern period, contends that the Middle Ages stayed the course. Throughout this period, the generic concept of parenting, as it has come to be understood, indeed lay dormant and remained largely undiscovered. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries brought about a gradual awakening, and in the course of the subsequent century the idea gained traction and eventually 'reached its full expression' (Ariès 1962, 353). Although having since consolidated its position as the first form of socialisation, parenting's vulnerability to misappropriation has thrown it into a continuous state of crisis. In removing ideology from the equation and taking stock of psychology's lessons over the last one hundred years, the family unit emerges as the environment most conducive to developing and advancing the Self, provided that parents tap into their potential along the lines of the 'doing family' concept (Schier and Jurczyk 2007).

This study pursues the established wisdom that families as effective informal education and socialisation institutions have endured. This case can be sustained in spite of common deficiencies like fathers' frequent failings in finding and exercising their role within this entity. We hold one central factor accountable for hampering parenting from reaching a fuller degree of its promised potential: an incomplete understanding of the developmental complexities of their children coupled with insufficient conceptual awareness of interfamilial interactions. For it is not enough that parents possess instinct and rely on experience. One of our other studies dealing with the topic of security in the parenting context (Schlaffer and Kropiunigg 2015) alerted us to the fact that even while mothers are astutely aware of parenting problems and deficiencies, they are unclear on how to address these issues. Not only do they exhibit exceptionally low self-esteem; they also have little to no knowledge of recognised rules of effective communication engagement, with listening skills being a prominent example. This shortcoming has a paralysing effect and stifles their readiness to take initiative. Needless to say, passive parenting styles do not guarantee failure, and many consider psychological counselling, albeit more as an ultima ratio.

Apart from foundational knowledge deficiencies in the state of parenting, there are two major topics that demand attention: the relationship of fathers to their families in general, and to their sons in particular. This is an ongoing debate in the field of education that is limited neither to individual countries nor continents. Rather, the aforementioned fatherhood pitfalls are deemed to be cross-cultural phenomena. Yet the outlook is far more dire. In an edited volume entitled 'Fathers in Cultural Context', which boasts a series of notable contributions on the subject matter, the editors take note that 'the most representative answer to the question, "What characterizes fathers cross-culturally?" is "Change"' (Shwalb, Shwalb, and Lamb 2013, 385). Considerable and widespread advances notwithstanding, parenting techniques and behaviour continue to lag behind. Beyond fathers' mere inclusion, therefore, questions contemplating their positive contribution potential should address their attitudes towards and active engagement in shaping the lives of their children. Shwalb, Schwalb, and their colleagues (2013, 386) also find the topic of fathers assuming and taking over certain responsibilities to be an important theme.

Irrespective of various external influences, the space dedicated to raising a child definitively belongs within the family sphere or comparable constructs that are dedicated to and feel responsible for children's development. Within this framework, girls and boys are afforded the time and space to progressively formulate their identity, and to thus gradually move towards independence. The attitudes that are conveyed to them or that they absorb and internalise along the way define the rest of their lives in no small measure. For adolescence is a turbulent yet pivotal period of identity and self-perception negotiation; independence marks a point at which an individual presents themselves—the product of these 'negotiations'—to society at large. Here, parenting styles play a critical part. Impacted by recent waves of research, effectiveness rankings of parenting practices and household environments have shifted away from emphasising the importance of 'authority' and moved towards 'behavioural' considerations (de Swaan, cited in Scheffer 2016, 457). Naturally, not all parentings have adapted to this change in perspectives.

Parenting rarely is understood as an instrument that promotes individual identity formation. Yet traits like self-confidence, social skills, and trust are invaluable elements that build up resilience towards both anticipated and unforeseen dangers, ranging from hopelessness to the lure of extremism. To capture the possibilities that parenting has to offer demands a deep understating of family dynamics, in all their complexities and gradations. Familial relationships and interactions encompass at least four levels: mother-son, mother-daughter, father-son, and father-daughter. The characteristics of the children, parents, and environment ought also to be considered (Russell and Saebel 1997). After all, the nature of the bond and relationship is a reflection of parental behaviour. In this vein, pursuing gender perspectives can offer insight, since fathers, for instance, have the tendency to apply a gendered lens, and to thus view the ‘son as a mirror’ (Seiffge-Krenke 2001).

The term ‘father’ or ‘fatherhood role’ in its contemporary denotation is linked to decidedly more egalitarian connotations than a decade ago. Symptomatic of this positive turn, the notion of the ‘new father’—an updated version or type, so to speak—has become increasingly popular. Fatherhood 2.0, as it might be characterised, takes on and accepts a share of childcare, parenting, and household duties that go beyond quasi ‘hunter-gatherer’ conventions of providing physical security and income. The American Academy of Paediatrics, summarising the lay ‘father’ in the following way, would likely agree with some of our interpretations: ‘defined broadly as the male or males identified as most involved in caregiving and committed to the well-being of the child, regardless of living situation, marital status, or biological relation’ (Yogman and Garfield 2016, e2).

In recent years, the participation and involvement of fathers is no longer merely a call to action; the ‘new father’ increasingly is becoming visible in our everyday environments. Indeed, the proverbial Swedish father seen pushing a stroller through the streets of Stockholm on a work day can now be found in many more unlikely corners of the world. Twelve years after the American Academy of Paediatrics furnished its first report on the role of fathers, scholars had come to observe of a number of advances in the field, namely that ‘there has been a surge of attention and research on fathers and their role in the care and development of their children. Three areas (academic study, policy initiatives, and socioeconomic forces) have fuelled this increase’ (Yogman and Garfield 2016, e1).

Countless studies since have demonstrated how bringing fathers into the parenting fold during all stages of early childhood and adolescence has a beneficial physical and psychological bearing on the development of children, and not just in the case of a daughter or son with ‘special health care needs’ (Yogman and Garfield 2016, e5). Although fatherhood recommendations seldomly include psychological instructions, fathers nevertheless are left with a broad range of actionable steps that can help to guide them towards heightened engagement. In starker contrast to their wives, often fathers exude greater parenting insecurities and are relatively unaware of how they could be of use.

At times, fathers appear oblivious to the instrument that is parenting, and thus to the opportunities that allow them to foster an emotional bond with their children. With a propensity

for binary fatherhood thinking, men thus view children as ‘small’ for as long as they are young and ‘big’ when they have grown up. Their behaviour betrays this pattern of thinking: fathers who fit this mould act accordingly and tend to oscillate between rewarding and punishing their children, and their behaviour makes it difficult to tell whether they are acting like an enemy or friend (Dreikurs and Blumenthal 1987; Dreikurs 1958). For the most part of our civilisation, fathers have had no conceptual and skills-oriented parenting framework, the lingering legacies of which can still be felt today. A prime example might be that many fathers around the world feel absolved of their parenting responsibilities prior to the onset of their children’s teenage years; up until this age, mothers are given or traditionally assume the lead (Kropiunigg 1989).

• PARENTING FOR PEACE | THE CASE FOR BUILDING A UNITED FRONT •

Our decision to explore fathers’ prevention potential is rooted in close to a decade of translational research into parenting in a security context. In approaching this study, our research team at Women without Borders (WwB) was able to draw on experiences and discoveries from the practical application of our findings through community-based programming across the globe. Our more decided point of departure in this journey takes us back to Tajikistan in 2011. What had started as a factfinding mission and Teamshaping seminar in Tajikistan’s Sughd region ultimately gave rise to our ‘parenting for peace’ philosophy and work that inform this study in no small measure.

The evident link between the nature of parenting and the susceptibility of the youth to extremist groups dominated workshop discussions in Khujand. The local participants highlighted that a lack of guidance due to the absence of fathers and mothers had increased their children’s susceptibility to recruitment by extremists. At the same time, they identified successful communication with their children as the most effective possible remedy. At the conclusion of workshop, the women proposed the creation of schools for mothers to provide women in their communities with the skills that they need to effectively support their children and prevent the spread of violent extremism (‘What mothers need is to go back to school’).

With a clear mandate in mind, our team thus set out to pursue the first in-depth research project on mothers’ prospective role in the PVE sphere. In 2015, we published our study findings under the familiar title, ‘Can Mothers Challenge Extremism?’ (Schlaffer and Kropiunigg 2015). We observed 1023 mothers’ attitudes towards, perceptions of, and experiences with radicalisation and violent extremism in their families and communities in Pakistan, Palestine, Israel, Nigeria, and Northern Ireland. The research revealed that although mothers are best suited and situated to recognise and react to early warning signs of radicalisation due to their place at the heart of the family, often they lack the appropriate space, structures, and training to develop the necessary competence and confidence to assume their prevention role. On the basis of the study findings, WwB advanced its ‘MotherSchools: Parenting for Peace’ Model that had already been running as a pilot programme in various countries since 2013.

To return to the fathers, we have found in both our research and work on the ground that fathers often are an obstacle to mothers' efforts. A high number of participants cite their husbands' relationship to them and their children as a chief contributing factor to tension and unrest in the home. Many fathers, we have come to learn, present a challenge to family cohesion due to, *inter alia*, poor communication skills, physical and mental absence, a propensity for authoritarian fatherhood stances, and even domestic violence. Having recognised these issues, the MotherSchools curriculum itself already includes a module entitled 'Involving Fathers'. While this amounts to a necessary addition, we have come to view it as a helpful measure but not as the solution.

One of our previous father studies, entitled 'Fathering in a Cultural Context' (Kropiunigg, Schlaffer, and Kasbauer 2016), also aided us in the development of the conceptual framework for our research in Zanzibar und Uganda. Between 2012 and 2013, we focused on fathers with migrant and Muslim backgrounds living in Vienna and Linz. The study explored their perspectives on fatherhood and the degree to which they exercised the 'fair share' principle at home; a just distribution of domestic duties between husbands and wives. By and large, the project participants reinforced their commitment to being active fathers but expressed a degree of ambivalence that most put down to growing up in patriarchal societies in which men do not commit to everyday household and parenting duties. In having to navigate roles that most thought had yet to be more clearly defined, a number of fathers expressed feeling torn when asked how much family involvement and support they deemed to be appropriate. While the fathers had in common a desire to spend more time with their families, perceived societal expectations, as the study revealed, led many to prioritise their jobs. All fathers felt that it was their duty to be positive role models to their children. The vast majority nevertheless struggled to reconcile Austrian parenthood models with those that represent the norm in their countries of origin.

In studying the violence prevention potential of East African fathers and asking 'can fathers challenge extremism?', we hope ultimately to develop a programme that brings fathers into the fold and leads to a more complete 'parenting for peace' approach. FatherSchools, as the programme may come to be known, promises to be more than just a mitigating measure. To our mind, fathers could become unlikely male role models in vulnerable communities where notions of masculinity often are linked to violence and parenting tends to remain the preserve of women. In this vein, fathers could be viewed as a missing puzzle piece in a family-based and whole-of-community security architecture. We would venture to suggest that parents, as a united front, have the strongest intervention potential in protecting adolescent and young adult children from being attracted to radical messages and recruiters. Ultimately, sensitising fathers to their 'parenting for peace' responsibility and engaging them through FatherSchools could be a significant step in supplementing and building on the impact of MotherSchools around the world.

The prevention sphere demands mothers and fathers who are more aware of and competent in parenting practices that positively impact on their children's lives. Rather than investing in the education of potentially radical individuals, we ought to focus more on the skills, knowledge,

and confidence of the primary actors in the lives of the youth: parents. They are largely responsible for promoting and guiding the personal development of their children from the cradle to young adulthood, which developmental psychology deems as the period during which identity is formulated and consolidated. Parental failings in this respect can prompt children to turn to ‘substitute families’ to fill the void. Seth Schwartz argues that ‘terrorist groups tend to recruit adolescents and emerging adults, for whom identity issues are most salient’ (Schwartz 2005, 304). Recruiters can emerge as perceived saviours in the minds of vulnerable youth, which brings us to the chief significance of psychological factors: ‘To encourage prevention of terrorist recruitment, it is important to identify the identity-related characteristics that terrorist groups look for when recruiting’ (Schwartz 2005, 305).

We are thus also alerted to an interesting phenomenon: it appears that families are in direct competition with recruiters, the latter of whom purport to offer the youth a more meaningful existence, including a new or an improved identity. Yet we cannot rest at merely calling the problem by its name and uncovering the complex dynamics at play. Instead of exclusively offering training to teachers, law enforcement, and other prominent groups working in the prevention sphere, it is high time to shift our focus to parenting, who are unequivocally in the closest proximity of vulnerable and at-risk children. With mothers having taken the lead where their potential has been recognised, supported, and harnessed, we ought now to provide fathers with the space and opportunity to follow suit and explore their prevention potential in communities that most demand our attention. Only so will we be able to definitely answer one of the last lingering questions in the family-based prevention sphere: can fathers challenge extremism?

• THE STUDY •

For all of the universally applicable ‘truths’ about parenting and contemporary fathers, studying fatherhood inevitably demands a degree of contextualisation, as divergent cultural practices across cities, countries, regions, and continents would otherwise be inexplicable. This research study delves into the East African context and takes on the case study examples of Zanzibar and Uganda. Following background research and 114 qualitative interviews in the field, we devised a 173-item quantitative survey questionnaire. Armed with a survey that eventually was completed by 612 fathers in rural and urban areas across both countries, we set out to probe the fathers’ parenting potential in safeguarding the youth from extremism in their communities.

In presenting the survey fathers with the questionnaire, we were motivated by a number of central questions. Considering that fathers could present a missing link in the field of preventing violent extremism (PVE), what can be derived from a deeper understanding of their parenting styles and experiences with, perceptions of, attitudes towards, and difficulties in addressing radicalisation? What do they demand and require in order to reach their parenting and prevention potential? Might a heightened understanding of their conceptions of fatherhood

and safeguarding abilities lead to a more complete security architecture? Could fathers thus become a part of the solution; the missing puzzle piece in family-based prevention strategies in the East African context, and perhaps beyond?

Research undertakings dealing explicitly with radicalisation and violent extremism present a number of serious challenges. Since study participants may promptly feel pressured or under attack, the approach and nature of the questions demand careful consideration. Researches are thus inevitably face a catch-22 situation: while more abstract approaches to data sourcing lead to a lower degree of resistance on the part of participants, this also tends to yield less meaningful or enlightening results. In order to avoid the potential perils of an unbalanced application, we opted for a mixed methods approach that in recent years increasingly been commended by scholars in related fields (Creswell and Creswell 2017; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Presumably due to its extensive nature, few scholars ultimately pursue this path. Most continue to take on pure empirical-quantitative or solely analytical-qualitative studies.

We chose to proceed with a multiple and mixed methods approach, starting on a qualitative basis and tackling the qualitative part thereafter. In effect, the first data analysis phase—based chiefly on qualitative interviews—informed the planning and implementation of our second, quantitative research stage. This study draws on the results that emerged out of the latter phase. Scholarly experience with the sequential qualitative-quantitative method in social empirical studies—particularly in probing questions in the field of medical psychology—has shown that its application when working with clients (in our case fathers) leads to a high degree of coherence (Kropiunigg 1999; Kropiunigg et al. 1999; Schlaffer and Kropiunigg 2015). The framework's strength is owed in part to a relatively deep engagement with the topic before the actual examination has even begun. We opted for the widest possible sample range across both rural and urban areas of Zanzibar and Uganda. This had the purpose of decreasing the degree of cultural bias and preserving the relevance of the questions, statements, and items that we presented to the survey fathers.

Our study also takes note of the 'Applied Policy Research' approach (Srivastava and Thomson 2009). This demands that we view the results through the lens of possible real-world application in the field of preventing and countering violent extremism (P/CVE), an effort that commonly is defined as 'transitional research' (Heinz 2009). Our past research, which also took these aspects into consideration, gave rise for instance to our MotherSchools curriculum, which was devised on the basis of some two hundred in-depth qualitative interview and the responses of over one thousand mothers' survey questionnaire responses (Schlaffer and Kropiunigg 2015). With a view to ultimately developing a training manual for concerned and less aware fathers alike (e.g. FatherSchools curriculum), our approach promises to lead to results that will find wider application and advance our understanding of parenting in a security context.

While our methodological considerations for the father and mother studies are closely aligned, the findings point to markedly different experiences, perceptions, attitudes, levels of awareness,

degrees of confidence, and demands for improving on parenting. Our ‘Can Fathers Challenge Extremism?’ study results are presented in this report. Focusing on two East African case study examples, we have attempted here to offer the most complete evaluation to date of fathers’ overlooked prevention potential.

This study concludes that survey fathers consider violent extremism to be an everyday reality that is shrouded in secrecy, contend that their children conceivably could be impacted as victims or perpetrators, and perceive youth involvement in extreme political groups to be the most common criminal activity. Despite identifying a lack of parental guidance as the greatest risk factor, fathers exhibit split self-confidence and decidedly are ambivalent towards and insecure about a number of parenting and security issues; they are evenly divided on key topics like their innate parenting talent and ability to recognise early warning signs of radicalisation. Yet the fathers’ conviction that both parents are viewed as the chief discussion partners for their children when problems arise points to their access and authority as effective intervention and prevention actors. Not only are fathers most highly in favour of receiving training in parenting skills and support from social organisations when contemplating their children’s safety; they also issue a clear mandate: at present and above all others, fathers are the ones who need to increase their engagement to safeguard the youth.

RESEARCH METHODS



PHASE I | BACKGROUND RESEARCH AND QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS

The goal of the project's first phase centred on 'familiarity', and thus on gaining an in-depth, context-specific understanding of parenting and extremism in Uganda and Zanzibar. We set out by conducting background research into both countries' historical, social, and economic contexts. Beyond pursuing desk research and reviewing the relevant scholarship, we discussed local dynamics with and drew on the knowledge of our project partners at *Uganda Muslim Youth Development Forum* (UMYDF) and *Zanzibar Youth, Education, Environment Development Support Association* (ZAYEDES).

• QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS AS THE QUANTITATIVE SURVEY FOUNDATION •

Building on our experience with mixed-method studies (Schlauffer and Kropiunigg 2015; Kropiunigg et al. 1999) and based on our country and P/CVE background research, we formulated a series of questions for our first round of semi-structured, qualitative interviews. On the basis of these discussions, we developed an informed and contextualised quantitative survey for Zanzibar and Uganda (Witzel 1985; Weiss 1995; Flick 2018). The themes of the qualitative interview guide ranged from the nature of living conditions and spousal relationships to parenting practices. Two central parts of the interview guide dealt with a) radicalisation threats to young people, including extremism-related incidents, and b) the perceived prevention potential of fathers in this context. We also probed for psychological and sociological ‘theories’ that could help to explain deviant behaviours and detrimental choices on the part of adolescents and young adults on the one hand, and for patterns of successes and failures in parenting. Basic demographic-related questions made possible an analysis of the interview data along a number of factors, including age, educational level, work status, and family structure.

The qualitative interviews were conducted in the summer of 2017; between 15 and 25 May 2017 in Zanzibar, and between 17 and 22 June in Uganda. Ahead of the visit, our local partners had identified potential interview partners and venues. During our respective stays, we worked closely with UMYDF and ZAYEDESa to coordinate logistics. Members of the interview team included our executive, research, and strategy directors, all of whom have extensive experience with interviewing research subjects within the context of radicalisation and across a diverse range of geographic and cultural environments. On site, our team provided instructions to all of the research assistants tasked with translation work during discussions; they were instructed in groups on the purpose and structure of the interviews, on how to mitigate possible pitfalls during the interviews, and on how to conduct themselves in order to reduce the risk of upsetting or alienating respondents. Assistants were thus able to not just translate each question in verbatim; they gained a heightened appreciation for sensitivities and appeared subsequently to be aware of the need to respond to misinterpretations and confusions by paraphrasing questions. Fathers made up the majority of our discussion partners. True to methodological considerations that govern qualitative interviews, we broadened the scope to include, *inter alia*, teachers, social workers, and mothers. All interviewees were mobilised by our local partners.

Over the course of both ‘Phase 1’ trips, we conducted a total of 114 in-depth, hour-long interviews with the following subjects.

- 33 fathers of children between the ages of 12 and 25 who were concerned about the threat of extremism (18 in Uganda; 15 in Zanzibar)
- 25 female relatives (15 in Uganda; 10 in Zanzibar)
- 24 key informants (14 in Uganda; 10 in Zanzibar)

- 32 youths on their perceptions of family and radicalisation dynamics, and the potential preventive role of fathers (13 in Uganda; 19 in Zanzibar)

Broadly speaking, the interviews sought to capture the following.

- Levels of understanding of fatherhood and extremism (discussion partners' varying perceptions, degrees of conceptual awareness, experience, attitudes towards both)
- Relevant factors that appear to contribute or lead to adolescents and young adult children's potential and actual descent into extremism
- Perceived and real barriers that fathers face in reaching their safeguarding potential when their children are at risk

All interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees and transcribed in English by translators fluent in English, and in Swahili, Lusoga, and/or Luganda.

The transcripts were processed through the *Qualitative Data Analysis* (QDA) method that allows researchers to identify, conceive, and categorise prevalent themes and responses. Using the software program 'f4 Analyse', we processed over 1500 pages of interview transcript data. The resulting analysis enabled us to develop our second research tool: a paper-pencil survey questionnaire.

PHASE II | QUANTITATIVE SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE APPROACH



Drawing on the QDA method, we developed a survey that in its final iteration comprised 173 items. All of the questions are based on our extensive qualitative interviews and analysis. This section outlines how the quantitative survey that would eventually be disseminated to 612 fathers across Uganda and Zanzibar was conceived. The following looks at the questionnaire design, thematic foci, and outlines the locations where surveys were disseminated. We also consider aspects including participant characteristics, challenges encountered, and the statistical procedures that we observed.

• SURVEY DESIGN, STRUCTURE, AND THEMATIC FOCUS •

Our questionnaire was written in English and later translated into Lusoga and Luganda for Uganda, and into Kiswahili for Zanzibar. To guarantee a high degree of accuracy in translations, we observed a four-step procedure:

- The English language version was sent to our local partners for translation into the relevant local language
- Local partners identified independent translators to re-translate the initial translations into English
- In a joint effort with our local partners, we proceeded to compare the English version to the re-translated one in order to account for discrepancies and inconsistencies
- Questionnaire corrections and amendments were incorporated into the English, Lusoga, Luganda, and Kiswahili language versions

The resulting, final version of the 173-item questionnaire is divided into five parts that collectively cover two main topics: demographic characteristics on the one hand, and fathers' attitudes—including perceptions and degrees of awareness—on the other hand. The survey structure is as follows.

Table 1. Structure of questionnaire for quantitative survey

Number of question/item	Question/item style and topic	Type of scale/answer format
1-15	Demographics	Various scales
16-48	Attitudes	4-point Likert scales
49-158	Attitudes and items concerning parenting and experiences with violence and extremism.	4-point Likert scales
159-168	Attitude lists	Multiple choice, single answer
169-173	Attitude lists	Multiple answer questions

Items 16 through 173 are the central thematic focus of this study. These items on fathers' attitudes comprise the following six themes and related questions

1. Worldviews on family life across generations
 - a. Was parenting better practiced in earlier times?
 - b. Is the context of parenting better in today's communities?
 - c. Is actual parenting concerned with responsibility?
2. Threats and security
 - a. How do fathers think about a possible rise in extremism?
 - b. What are the areas of recruitment for extremism?
 - c. Do fathers openly discuss extremism with other people?
3. Passive and active involvement with extremism and pathways into terror
 - a. Passive contact with extremism: Who became a victim?
 - b. Active contact with extremism: Who's children became active?
 - c. Pathways into terror: How does recruitment happen in the eyes of fathers?
 - d. With whom do children like to talk about their problems?
4. Youth in danger
 - a. What are risk factors for radicalization?
 - b. What are problems in the community?
 - c. Which role models do the young adore in the eyes of their fathers?
 - d. Which alternative activities to crime do communities offer?
5. Parenting styles and youth in focus
 - a. Do fathers invest time and talk to their children?
 - b. To whom do daughters and sons prefer to talk?
 - c. Is yelling still common among fathers?
 - d. What are effective ways of disciplining?
6. Improvement in parenting and prevention
 - a. Which people and institutions should do more in terms of prevention?
 - b. What should fathers do more to protect their children from radicalization?
 - c. In what respect are fathers and mothers responsible in parenting?
 - d. From where do fathers get advice for fatherhood?

• SAMPLING LOCATIONS •

The survey was conducted in ten locations across two districts of Uganda in January 2018, and across seven districts of Zanzibar in March 2018 (see Table 16 and Table 17 in ‘Appendix’ section). Our subjects were identified through quota sampling by adhering to the following criteria:

- residents of Uganda or Zanzibar
- fathers of children between the ages of 12 and 25
- living either in rural or urban areas

In all instances, the intended participation number was confirmed prior to the survey team’s arrival in the field and supplemented through snowball-sampling. We thus were able to collect a total of 612 questionnaires across both countries. For Uganda, a total of 299 were fairly evenly distributed in ten locations across the districts of Mayuge and Kampala. For Zanzibar, 313 were distributed across the districts of Dunga, Gamba, Kiembe Samaki, Kwerekwe, Mahonda, Makunduchi, and Mwera.

• PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS AND NOTABLE DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES •

The quantitative questionnaire surveys that were completed by 612 fathers from rural and urban areas of Zanzibar and Uganda enabled us to compile the following demographic overview.

Table 2. Sample characteristics

Variable	Categories / measures	Uganda	Zanzibar	Overall
Sample size		299	313	612
Age	20-29	5.7%	1.0%	3.3%
	30-39	35.1%	10.9%	22.7%
	40-49	34.8%	21.7%	28.1%
	50-59	16.2%	29.1%	22.8%
	60-69	5.7%	26.5%	16.4%
	70+	2.4%	10.9%	6.7%
	mean	43.4	54.4	49.0
	SD	11.0	11.9	12.7
Highest Education	No formal schooling	12.9%	5.8%	9.2%
	Primary (elementary) school	36.7%	39.3%	38.1%
	Secondary (middle) school	32.0%	45.7%	39.0%
	High school	13.3%	3.8%	8.4%
	College / university	3.7%	5.1%	4.4%
	Graduate school	0.7%	3.2%	2.0%
Current no. of wives	0	3.5%	4.5%	4.0%
	1	60.4%	70.0%	65.4%
	2	28.1%	20.1%	23.9%
	3+	8.1%	5.4%	6.7%
Current no. of wives	mean	1.45	1.30	1.37
	SD	0.84	0.79	0.81
I live together with my family	Yes	70.2%	82.1%	76.3%
	Sometimes / occasionally	13.9%	9.9%	11.9%
	No	15.9%	7.4%	11.5%
Religion	Christian	48.2%	5.1%	26.1%
	Muslim	41.1%	92.7%	67.5%
	Other	10.7%	2.2%	6.4%
I practise my religion	Regularly	61%	90%	76%
	Occasionally	30%	6%	18%
	Rarely	9%	4%	6%
	I do not wish to answer	7%	1%	4%
No. of children	mean	7.05	6.46	6.74
	SD	4.91	4.02	4.47

On the basis of our original qualitative interviews, which served the purpose of gaining a heightened sense of familiarity and developing the quantitative questionnaire, we chose to include a number of ‘sensitive items’ in the survey. Our decision to do so was rooted in the realisation that typically sensitive topics were being discussed with greater ease and far more openly than we had anticipated.

Questions surrounding religious affiliation and the extent to which religious practices are observed were not met with any apparent resistance on the part of participants in Uganda and Zanzibar; only four per cent of all fathers wished not to disclose this information (see Figure 1). While religion is practised by the majority of survey participants in both countries, the study’s Zanzibari fathers indicated practicing religion more frequently, with a 90% versus 61% engagement rate. Yet when one factors out their perceived *frequency* of engagement and takes into account that some 30% of Ugandan fathers ‘occasionally’ practise religion, the practicing versus non-practicing gap between both countries becomes marginal.

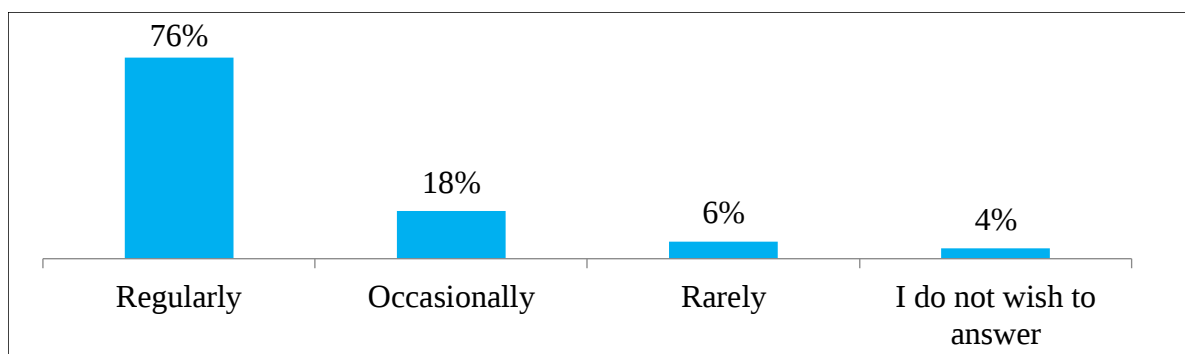


Figure 1. ‘I practise my religion’.

In the light of widespread polygamy in both countries, we ultimately also asked participants to disclose their number of wives (see Figure 2). As in the case of nearby countries such as Kenya, South Sudan, and Zambia, polygamy is legal in Uganda and Zanzibar (i.e. Tanzania). To place the practice in its broader African context: while it is illegal but accepted and not criminalised in Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Malawi, and Mozambique, its prohibition is enforced in Angola, Côte d’Ivoire, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Guinea, and São Tomé and Príncipe, and Tunisia. From among our survey sample of 612 fathers, close to 30% indicated having two or more wives. A consideration of all participants, however, points to an average of 1.37 wives per father (SD 0.81), and thus to a median value closer to 1. The number of wives per husband proved slightly higher in Uganda than in Zanzibar, at 1.45 (SD 0.84) versus 1.30 (SD 0.79), respectively.

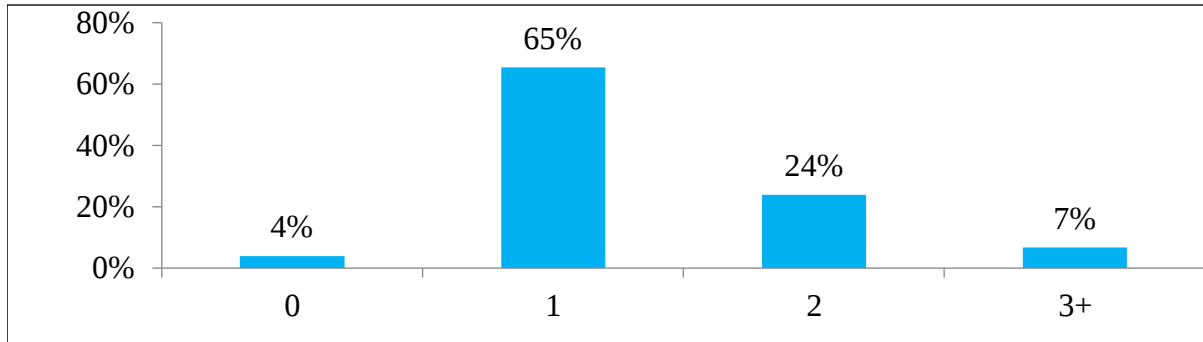


Figure 2. Current number of wives

Another notable particularity that emerged from the sample characteristics relates to the presence or absence of fathers in everyday family life (see Figure 3). Beyond the fact that polygamous men tend to divide up their time across multiple households, a father's level of engagement comes down to personal choice. A consideration of our sample pool highlights the fairly high absence and tendency towards absence of fathers from their respective households. Around one quarter of all fathers either do not or only rarely live at home with their wife/wives and child/children.

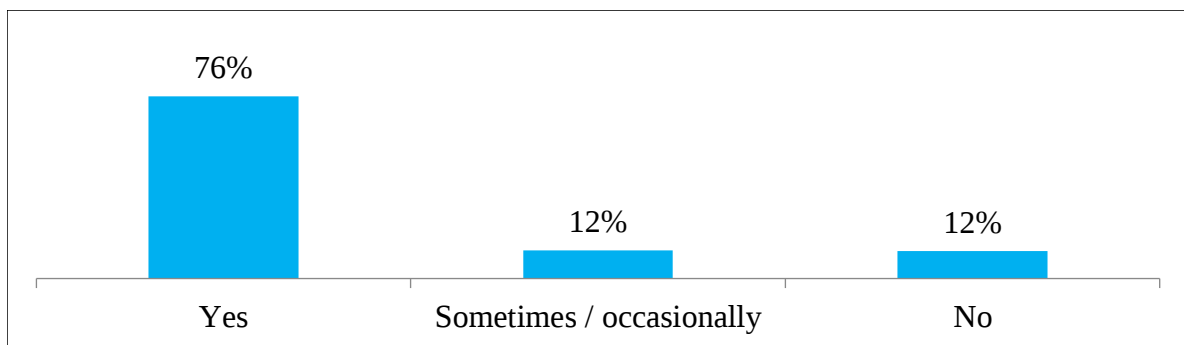


Figure 3. 'I live in the same household together with my family'

The survey revealed a number-of-children-per-father range of 0 to ≥ 25 , with a maximum of 32 children (see Figure 4 and Table 2). We opted not to exclude the roughly one per cent of fathers with no children, since we could not dispel the possibility that some fathers had lost a child and/or had been at the time expecting the birth of a child. In spite of loss or anticipation, in both cases a participant has a sense of identity as a father. In line with expectations, the survey participants' number of sons-to-daughters ratio proved fairly even at a modal value of between 3 and 4 daughters per father (true of 34% of fathers) and the same range regarding sons (true of 30% of fathers).

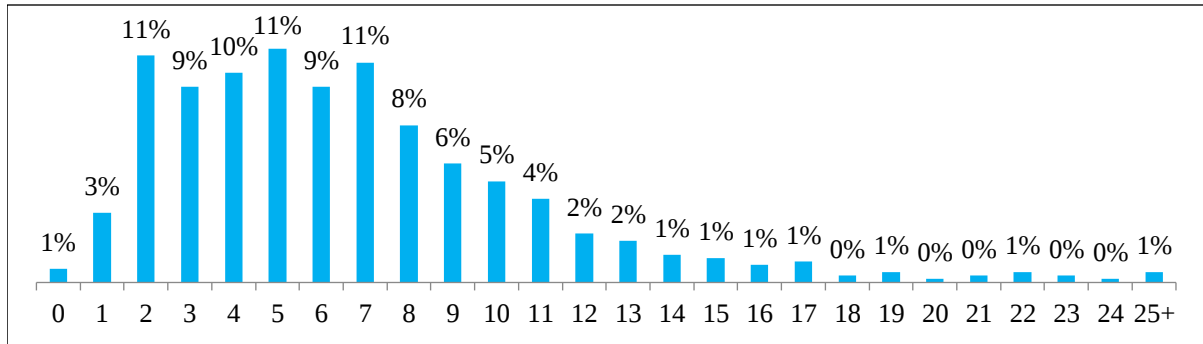


Figure 4. Number of children

Mean: 6.7 (SD: 4.5), Median: 6.

The modal value of the survey fathers' youngest child was ≤ 3 years in both Uganda and Zanzibar at a proportion of 54% and 31%, respectively. While the modal value of the eldest child in Uganda was between 10 and 14 at a proportion of 28%, in Zanzibar it was far higher with 45% of fathers having children in their 30s.

In spite of prescribed age ranges, the difficulty of navigating a complex field study of this nature meant that some particularities with respect to the ages of fathers and their children are reflected in our sample of 612 fathers. Per the below graph (Figure 5): whereas the Ugandan survey sample proved to be comparatively younger than its Zanzibari counterpart across all age ranges, a holistic view reveals a bell-curved age distribution in both cases.

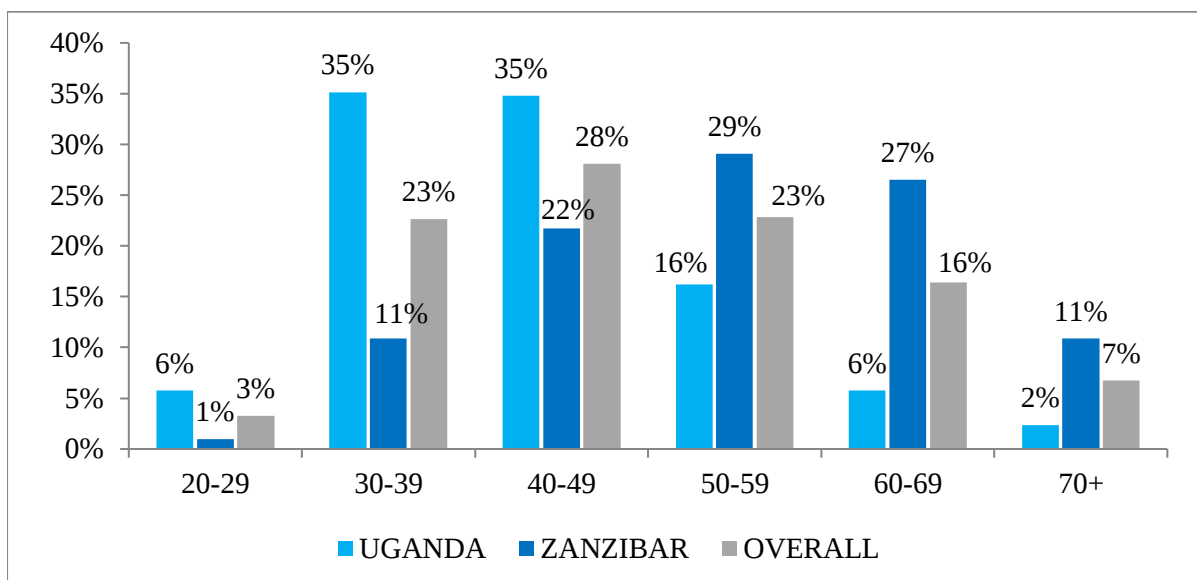


Figure 5. Bell-curved age patterns for Zanzibar and Uganda, and overall

• CHALLENGES WITH SAMPLING AND PARTICIPANTS •

The questionnaire survey dissemination and completion process for each group lasted four and a half hours on average, and thus generally far longer than anticipated. The chief factor impacting on time spent was the need for our partners to read out each question in order to allow for sufficient time (as opposed to simply disseminating the survey). Due to the anticipated high risk of chaos and confusion that comes with assembling large groups, a structured approach appeared to be the most efficient course of action. Our streamlined process ensured that most survey participants were moving at the same pace, and that everyone had the opportunity to ask questions, which our partners could address directly without duplicating efforts.

Uganda and Tanzania (including semi-autonomous Zanzibar) have literacy rates of 74% and 81%, respectively (United Nations Development Program 2016, Table 9). That a small number of survey participants in each district were illiterate drew away resources, albeit to a manageable degree; since our approach freed up some of our local partners, those who were not otherwise engaged (i.e. busy reading out the questions and addressing confusions as they arose) were able to guide participants who could not read or write through the process on an individual basis or in groups of two.

In Uganda, the number of survey participants who volunteered to partake far exceeded our target sample size. A high number of the volunteers whom our partners had identified and secured went on to invite other fathers. The resulting, inadvertent case of snowball sampling had the undesired effect of frustrating those who were not—or, rather, could not be—included in the study. A number of excluded volunteers were former gang members, of whom some threatened to escalate the situation by shouting.

In Zanzibar, by contrast, the mobilisation of suitable survey participants proved especially toilsome. A high portion of volunteers had to be excluded from the study. Symptomatic of this issue, a lady in Gambe insisted on joining the survey exercise. It was therefore necessary to pursue another round of mobilization to identify further survey participants, and also to schedule additional days for survey dissemination to reach the target number.

Populated questionnaires were collected and checked for completeness at the survey location as carefully as possible under the given circumstances. All questionnaires were then scanned and converted into PDF format. A data mask was set up in order to capture all survey results in Excel format. Where necessary, non-numerical entries (text) were translated into English with the support of our local implementing partners. Upon completion, all survey results were inputted into a single Excel data sheet for further statistical processing and analysis through the software SPSS; all statistical analyses were performed using SPSS version 25.

• STATISTICAL PROCEDURES •

The descriptive analysis approach that we pursued included calculating means, medians, and standard deviations through our demographic data. Items with four response categories—namely: strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree—were analysed by calculating means and agreement levels as percentages. Agreement levels, as percentages, enabled us to calculate differences and ratios between groups. Differences in percentages are measured in percentage points (denoted as Pp diff) and ratios are presented as a percentage by subtracting 1 and multiplying by 100 (denoted as % diff).

Factor analysis was applied to items Q16 through Q48 in order to identify underlying attitudinal dimensions. For the purpose of factor analysis, missing values were replaced by hot-deck imputation. The number of missing values for items Q16 through Q48 ranged from 0.7% to 4.2%. A solution with 5 factors was extracted by principal component analysis. Orthogonal varimax rotation was applied to the initial solution in order to assign items to single factors and therefore improve interpretability. The resulting 5 factors are defined as: F1/open-minded, F2/conservative, F3/alarmist, F4/doctrinaire, and F5/closed-minded. For each respondent and factor, a factor score is derived. Factor scores are standardised with a mean value of 0 and standard deviation value of 1, and they are approximately distributed.

The difference between mean factor scores (d) are analysed for various two-level break variables (e.g. low education vs high education). Since factor scores are standardised with a standard deviation of 1, differences can be interpreted as standardised effect sizes (Cohen's d). Two-sided, two-sample t -tests are applied to uncover mean differences for statistical significance. P -values are categorised as < 0.05 , < 0.01 , and < 0.001 , and are indicated through one, two, and three stars, respectively.

Relationships between factor scores and items measured on a 4-point scale are analysed by Spearman's correlation coefficient (r_s) while point-biserial correlations coefficients (r_p) are applied to relationships of factor scores and dichotomous items. All correlation coefficients range from -1 (maximum negative correlation) and 1 (maximum positive correlation). Two-sided statistical tests for correlation coefficients are applied and p -values are categorised as < 0.05 , < 0.01 , and < 0.001 , and are indicated through one, two, and three stars, respectively.

There were four groups of items that covered the topics of threats, needs, demands, and trust. For each group, factor analysis was applied to derive low-dimensional scales. Again, hot-deck imputation was applied to replace missing values. Percentages of missing values are in the range of 1.6 and 4.6 per item, with the exception of one item that is missing 7.5%. The individual item groups of 'need', 'demand', and 'trust' can each be viewed as a single dimension. In the case the item group 'fear', our factor analysis proposed two fear-related dimensions: fears of 'near' (immediate/proximate) versus fears of 'far' (distant) threats. Nearby threats include, inter alia, a fear of student organisations, relatives, community centres, friends, schools, and universities; 'distant/far' threats include, inter alia, a fear of political organisations, radical leaders, TV, radio, and the internet.

The five resulting scales are standardised with a mean value of 0 and a standard deviation value of 1. They are again analysed through Spearman's correlation coefficient when related to attitudinal factors or items with 4-point scales. Differences in mean scale values for two-level break variables are analysed by two-sample t-tests.

STUDY FINDINGS OVERVIEW



STRUCTURE OF STUDY FINDINGS PRESENTATION

The study findings are presented in four parts. First, we consider the survey sample to identify similarities and differences in agreement and disagreement rates with respect to our range of items. Second, we go on to explore seven thematic areas related to the role of the fathers and their relationship to the dangers of radicalisation. Third, we consider the social environment impacting on parenting practices and focus on issues of fear, trust, needs, and demands from the perspective of the fathers in the context of their potential prevention role. Finally, we subject the data to a more in-depth interpretation by drawing on correlation calculations and a factor analysis. This part promises to be central to our planned application of the results in practice: on the basis of the study findings, we seek to develop and implement a programme for fathers in at-risk communities around the world, tentatively entitled ‘FatherSchools: Parenting for Peace’. The reader ought therefore to keep in mind that this study does not centre on analysing parenting and security phenomena in two East African countries; rather, it seeks to identify new patterns and capture insights that can be translated into so-called ‘grounded modules’ for the purpose of future P/CVE instruction with fathers.

Part I | Degrees of approval

We begin by providing insight into items and themes with the highest and lowest degrees of approval on the part of fathers. While keeping in mind that this study does not endeavour to pursue a comparative country approach, we identify the themes and items on which Zanzibari and Ugandan fathers differ the strongest and the least, i.e. issues where they are most divided or closest to being of one mind.

Part II | Thematic foci

This part discusses our general findings through the following eight themes.

1. We start by exploring the fathers' **parenting perceptions** (worldviews) regarding their childhood and that of the next generation, with an emphasis on their own parents as well as their daughters and sons. We ask, 'How has parental responsibility towards children changed over time?'
2. The next theme looks at the current **security situation** for the youth and their parents. To their mind, is the threat on the rise, and are urban or rural areas more at risk? Thereafter, we tackle the question of whether these issues are being openly addressed.
3. The third of our themes studies the notion of **proximity to violence and terrorism**, asking 'Did someone in their families become a victim of political violence, and were their own children involved in certain forms of violence?'
4. Even while violent extremist engagement on the individual level typically is preceded by a phase that can be observed and identified, parents tend to struggle with recognising and responding to the early warning signs exhibited by their children. We therefore probed fathers' perceptions of **risk factors leading to youth radicalisation** and asked them about their idea of good and bad role models (idols).
5. In probing the survey fathers' perceptions, we also sought to gain insight into their views surrounding **alternatives to violence**. We pursued the question, 'Do communities have attractive leisure activities for young people on offer in order to mitigate everyday risks and negative influences to which adolescents may be exposed and vulnerable?'
6. Beyond being concerned with attitudes surrounding risk factors, this study explores fathers' engagement with their children in more general terms in order to shed light on the nature of their particular **parenting styles**. We thus

investigated the fathers' behavioural practices in and attitudes towards parenting. In this effort, the following three avenues of enquiry were most central: Do the fathers invest enough time in their children and are they engaging them in discussions? Do certain gender stereotypes endure, such as preconceived notions of sons being closer to their fathers while daughters are closer to their mothers? Can fathers broach and discuss sensitive issues like violence and extremism?

7. Related to the preceding theme, we go on to address **authoritarian parenting practices** head on. Survey participants were asked about authoritarian educational practices (including yelling) and forms of disciplining children in the face of perceived imminent danger. We conclude this thematic part of our general findings section with a question on the basics of educational conceptions: Where do they source their knowledge and advice in matters pertaining to parenting?
8. The eighth and final of our themes uncovers whom fathers consider to be the **guardians of the prevention sphere**. This section aims ultimately to pinpoint where improvements in parenting and prevention can be made. In this pursuit, we take on a number of questions. Which institutions and individuals can do more to safeguard today's youth? What can fathers in particular do to protect their children from radicalisation? How wide-ranging is the spectrum of responsibilities to which fathers and mothers are bound? Where do survey participants source their fatherhood advice?

Part III. The third part of our findings chapter delves into the issue of social environment by addressing the triad of fears, trust, and needs: 'fears' concerns individuals and institutions that are perceived to constitute a threat by contributing to radicalisation; 'trust' relates to people and institutions that fathers would trust or seek support from in the fight against violent extremism, and 'needs' represents the means (e.g. tools, support, and skill-set) that fathers desire and believe to be lacking in order to effectively address violent extremism.

Part IV. We conclude the presentation of our study findings with a series of factor analytical and multivariate considerations. Factor-analytically and based on response patterns of study participants, five cluster categories of fathers emerged: factor 1 = open-minded; factor 2 = conservative; factor 3 = alarmist; factor 4 = doctrinaire; and factor 5 = closed-minded.

FINDINGS PART I | DEGREES OF AGREEMENT



STRONGEST AND WEAKEST DEGREES OF APPROVAL

A consideration of the survey begs the question: what items are visible at both extremes of the approval spectrum? This section therefore studies survey items that yielded the highest and lowest percentage levels of agreement among fathers in Uganda and Zanzibar. As will become clear from a consideration of our factor analysis results in due time (see ‘Findings Part IV’), the image of fathers inevitably is more complex than any of the data tables could suggest. Yet a baseline understanding of general levels of agreement is necessary before one can even begin to consider devising contextualised and relevant teaching materials.

• FATHERS PRIMARILY GIVE WEIGHT TO ISSUES OF PARENTING •

Even a quick glance at our data representations reveals which items have produced the highest agreement rates. We deliberately ranked the highest values as ‘strongly agree’ (see Figure 6), since this answer typically demands a higher degree of certainty than the comparatively weaker denotation of ‘agree’ that allows for the possibly of greater ambivalence.

Fathers tended to opt for ‘strongly agree’ most frequently for statements concerning parenting and the distribution of tasks between fathers and mothers. Issues of control over their children figure as the chief concern among fathers. With few exceptions, control-related questions dominate: a) knowing what their children are doing, b) giving them advice, and c) attending to their safety. Fathers position themselves at the top of these demands: some 92% view ‘giving advice’ as the preserve of fathers, with 72% cementing this perception through ‘strongly agree’. While mothers come a close second in this respect, they are perceived by their husbands to be more responsible for the three subsequent topics with the highest agreement rates. Worries about their children appear to be widespread, since the list of their eight leading ‘strongly agree’ items concludes with the following three responsibilities of fathers: a) preventing children from deviant pathways, b) ensuring a safe environment, and c) checking what children do.

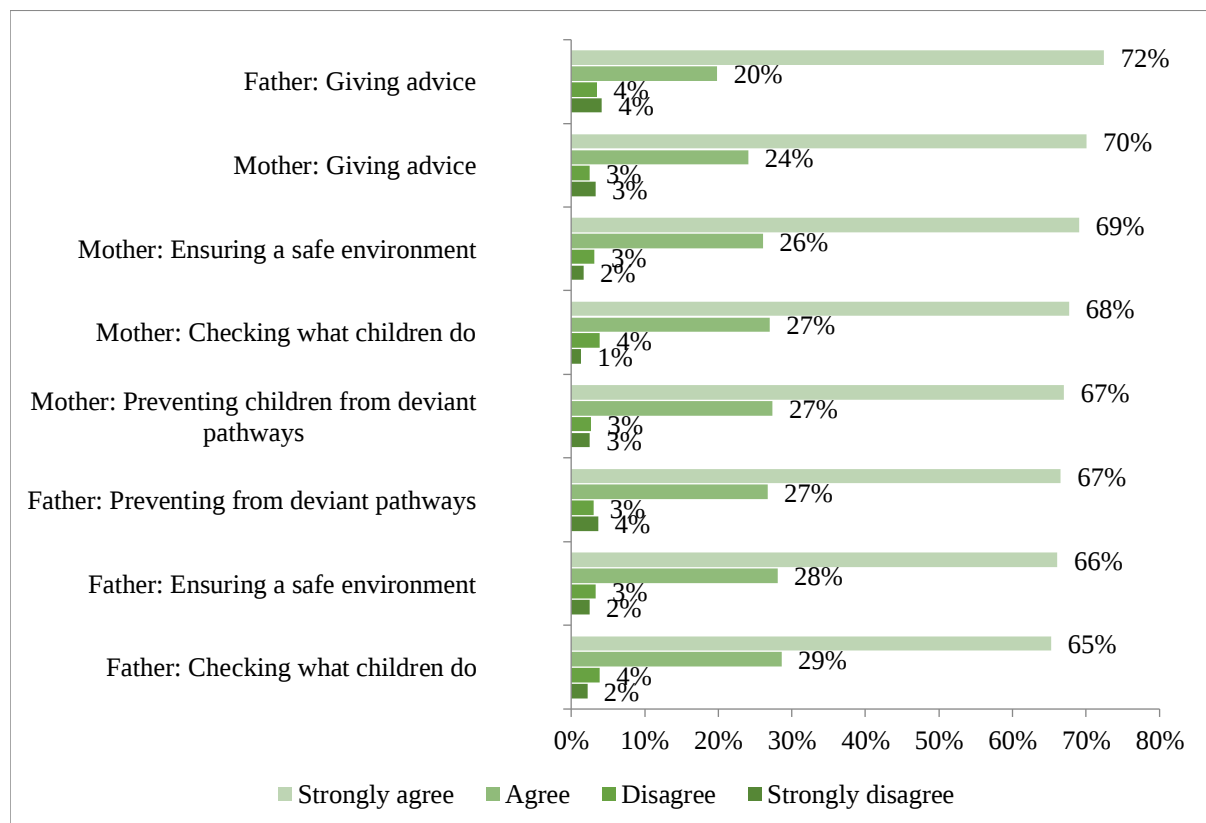


Figure 6. Statements with which most fathers strongly agree.

Note: Statements represent highest percentages of agreement to category ‘strongly agree’ and may therefore deviate from results combining ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’.

Whereas the sorting criterion inevitably dictates the ranking order of items, no apparent shifts can be observed when our ‘agree’ and ‘strongly agree’ data are combined. The general consensus among survey participants therefore emerges that mothers and fathers above all others are the ones who provide guidance to their children. In line with stereotypes, matters of maternal care come to the fore. From the perspective of their husbands, wives as mothers primarily are responsible for security matters in the home, and for the ‘dos and don’ts’ of their children. Thus they are expected to keep their offspring from going down the wrong path. Fathers prescribe exactly the same responsibilities to themselves, albeit with marginally less certitude and in a different order. Though still lingering in the top segment, agreement rates take a slight downward dip when it comes to applying to themselves what they ‘demand’ or expect of mothers. Parenting responsibilities regarding safety and guidance ultimately come out on top; no other themes in our diverse pool of items receive as much attention.

But one item that received a high approval rate—namely, ‘I expect my child to support me when I am old’—appears at first glance to represent a slight anomaly. Seemingly at odds with the aforementioned pattern, some 91% fathers expect support from their children in old age (see Figure 7). With some three quarters of survey fathers ‘strongly agreeing’, this also fits squarely into the domain of key responsibilities, albeit directed at the children themselves. Against the background of reliable social security services, this would appear to be a logical concern.

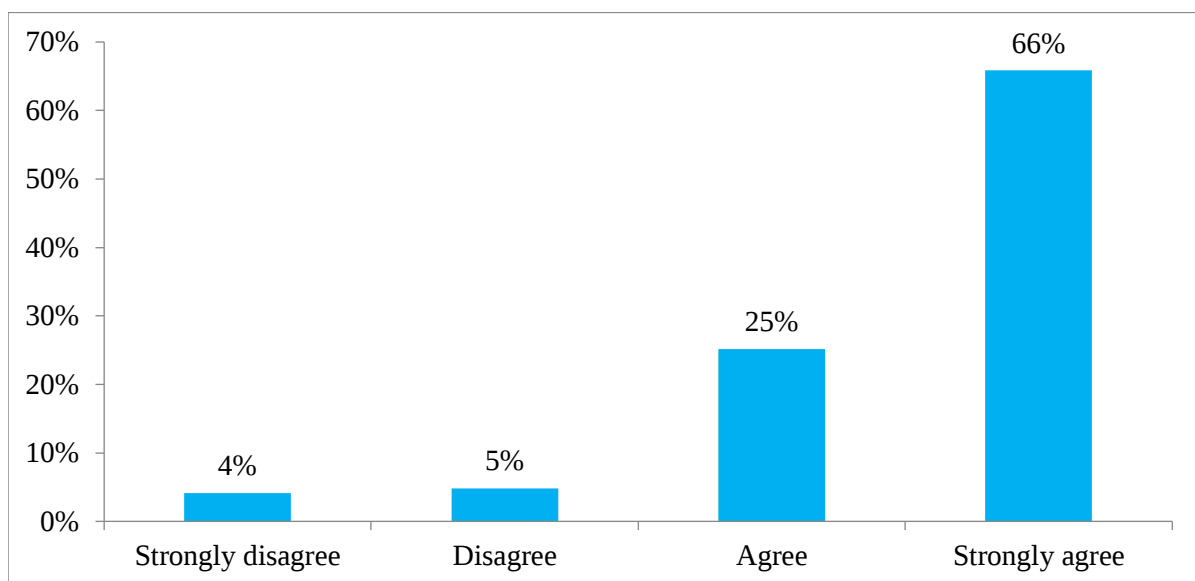


Figure 7. ‘I expect my children to support me when I am old’
Fathers claim their old-age provision. (Overall combined percentages for Uganda and Zanzibar).

Aside from an unequivocal commitment to their responsibilities as parents in particular, the subsequent items also highlight a strong preference to bring centre stage other questions surrounding parenthood and parenting. As such, fathers are less concerned with structural and quasi abstract ‘causes’ (e.g. poverty is a problem in my community) than with topics of a practical nature; they focus on issues that are less out of their control and that allow for more direct action on their part.

That parents could become risk factors through a ‘lack of parental guidance’ figures among the fathers’ highest concerns. In an effort to safeguard their children, their impulse does not lead them to demand more of institutions. Rather, survey participants see that the solution must be found in parenting. They desire that mothers and fathers bring themselves more into the fold. Not surprisingly, therefore, fathers hold the notion of role models in high regard: the item ‘to act as a positive role model’ is met with an approval rating of 92%, with which 60% strongly agree (see Table 3). These attitudes appear to be rooted in certain, comparably widespread principles (e.g. to raise one’s child in the same way as one was raised). In no small measure, they are based on the conviction that knowledge (advice) regarding parenting or fatherhood is best taken from one’s own father and religion. Psychology, on the other hand, is rarely mentioned.

When applying a 50% cut-off point to the category ‘strongly agree’, the list of items in Table 3 incorporates 53 Statements. In combining ‘strongly agree’ and ‘agree’, however, the approval rate remains in the range of 80%. In this regard, a cluster emerges that revolves around three structural issues: (a) poverty and unemployment, (b) drug use, and (c) a lack of education. Not coincidentally, it is at this point that ‘support from international organisations’ and ‘support from social organisations’ are deemed important by fathers. Overall, the fathers appear to have been overcome by a degree of insecurity and helplessness. Not only do the vast majority perceive that ‘violent extremism is an existing threat in my community’; they equally fear ‘cultural influences from outside’ and a growing ‘alienation’. Most believe that ‘cultural influences from outside are getting stronger in my community than before’.

With over three-quarters of participants maintaining that ‘violent extremism’ has become manifest in their community (strongly agree 53%; agree 25%), it becomes apparent why they are equally eager to receive instruction and teaching (as defined through the statement, ‘To learn to react to warning signs’). The issue also looks to be close to their hearts: around 79% believe that ‘extremism could have an effect on my own children’.

Table 3. List of 53 items with approval rates of circa 50% or above in ‘strongly agree’ category (first eight statements $\geq$ two-thirds).

Ranked by ‘strongly agree’	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree
Father’s responsibilities: Giving advice	4%	4%	20%	72%
Mother’s responsibilities: Giving advice	3%	3%	24%	70%
Mother’s responsibilities: Ensuring a safe environment (neighbourhood / community) for children to grow up in	2%	3%	26%	69%
Mother’s responsibilities: Checking up on what children are doing	1%	4%	27%	68%
Mother’s responsibilities: Preventing your children from deviant pathways	3%	3%	27%	67%

Father's responsibilities: Preventing your children from deviant pathways	4%	3%	27%	67%
Father's responsibilities: Ensuring a safe environment (neighbourhood / community) for children to grow up in	2%	3%	28%	66%
I expect my child to support me when I am old.	4%	5%	25%	66%
Father's responsibilities: Checking up on what children are doing	2%	4%	29%	65%
Problems in my community: Poverty	6%	5%	23%	65%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Lack of parental guidance	6%	4%	25%	65%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Fathers	2%	4%	31%	64%
I want my children to be raised the way I was raised.	7%	9%	21%	63%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Mothers	2%	5%	31%	62%
I have a strong relationship with my child(ren).	4%	7%	28%	62%
People and institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Fathers	3%	4%	32%	61%
People and institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Mothers	3%	3%	33%	61%
Fathers can do ... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Be aware of who their friends are	3%	3%	33%	61%
Fathers can do ... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Act as a positive role model	2%	5%	32%	60%
Advice for fatherhood come from: Religion	5%	4%	31%	60%
Advice for fatherhood come from: Father	3%	4%	33%	60%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Religious leaders	3%	3%	34%	60%
Fathers can do ... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Actively provide alternative viewpoints to aggrieved children	4%	5%	32%	59%
People and institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Religious leaders	2%	4%	36%	58%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Teachers	3%	4%	35%	58%
Problems in my community: Unemployment	5%	9%	29%	58%

Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Training in parenting skills	4%	5%	33%	57%
Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Religious studies	6%	10%	27%	57%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: More formal school education	4%	6%	33%	57%
Fathers can do ... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Support their children through an identity crisis	2%	5%	36%	57%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Government	4%	5%	34%	57%
People and institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Government	3%	7%	32%	57%
An educated woman can be a help to her husband.	5%	7%	32%	56%
Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Take their children's grievances seriously	3%	6%	36%	56%
People and institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Teachers	2%	5%	38%	55%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Peer pressure	5%	5%	35%	55%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge on religion	5%	7%	34%	55%
Cultural influences from outside have become dangerous for young people in my community.	7%	7%	31%	54%
Advice for fatherhood come from: Mother	4%	6%	36%	54%
I would be happy for my child(ren) to go study or work abroad.	6%	9%	31%	54%
Violent extremism is an existing threat in my community.	14%	9%	25%	53%
Cultural influences from outside are getting stronger in my community than before.	7%	10%	31%	53%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Poverty / unemployment	7%	8%	33%	52%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Lack of education	7%	10%	32%	51%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: Relatives	3%	6%	40%	51%
Problems in my community: Drug use	12%	9%	29%	51%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Support from social organisations	3%	7%	40%	50%

Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Promises of money / material things	6%	9%	35%	50%
I am concerned that extremism could have an effect on my own child(ren).	12%	8%	29%	50%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Learn to react to warning signs	6%	5%	39%	50%
People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children safety: International organisations	4%	8%	37%	50%
Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Sports	6%	6%	38%	50%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Training in self-confidence	5%	7%	38%	49%

• FATHERS GENERALLY—BUT NOT ALWAYS—ARE OF ONE MIND •

A number of the questions that we posed can be classified as intentionally provocative and problematic. To some degree, we planned to test the survey participants' limits regarding, *inter alia*, accepted forms of violence, intolerance, and gender inequality. Indeed, the bulk of these questions landed at the bottom of the approval pile. Observing the item ranking order of our 'strongly disagree' category exposes two clusters: four society- and gender-related statements on the one hand, and six items dealing with children and prevention opportunities on the other hand. Rejection percentages of 'strongly disagree' landed in the range of between 57 and 24, not inclusive of mere 'disagree' rates.

Disagreement rates among fathers proved lower than anticipated (see Table 4); 'strongly disagree' percentages were weaker than their 'strongly agree' counterparts. Survey participants appear therefore to be more of one mind than not when contemplating issues of parenting and security. A notable pattern in our disapproval-related results relates to items that commonly are classified as 'prejudice'. We had opted to include in the survey items that we considered to be potential context-specific as well as fairly widespread, universal prejudices.

The fathers' reaction to two items in particular undermines the popular misconception that men agree with a significant portion of cultural practices that defy principles of, *inter alia*, gender equality, human rights, and the rule of law. For example, three quarters disapprove of the notion that 'societies allowing early marriage are better off', with 57% unequivocally rejecting the statement ('strongly disagree') and another 15% opting to simply 'disagree' (see Figure 8). That the topic nevertheless continues to polarise is evident in the fact that one quarter of the survey husbands agreed with the statement, while some twelve per cent, in strongly approving, appeared to be ardent defenders of the tradition of early marriages.

The topic of terrorism has the ancient quality of stimulating prejudice across time and space, which, of late, is especially true when discussed in conjunction with religion. In presenting to the fathers the oft-considered assertion 'I believe that my religion justifies the use of violence to achieve important goals', two thirds rejected the statement, with over half of all participants choosing to 'strongly disagree'. Yet here, as in the case of early marriages, a sizeable segment—one third in total—populated either the agree or strongly agree box.

That fathers are generally 'absent' from the lives their children, yet another perception frequently put forward, also does not seem to resonate with the majority of fathers in Uganda and Zanzibar. Many feel sufficiently connected to their children. While the statement 'I feel disconnected from my children' is confirmed by one third (sixteen per cent both agree and strongly agree), the other two thirds of fathers (68%) disapprove of, or perhaps do not concede to, this notion (see Figure 8).

Fathers vehemently oppose two central notions that relate to their function in the family unit. The prejudiced statements that they 'were not made for the role of a husband and father' or that 'an educated woman can pose a threat to her husband' do not resonate with most of the survey

participants. With respect to attitudes and perceptions, the survey fathers have also revealed their open-mindedness towards extra-family matters in the public realm. Overall, their attitudes have proved not to be fatalistic. To draw on an example relevant to the focus of this research study: the view that ‘one can do nothing about extremism other than pray’ is not theirs.

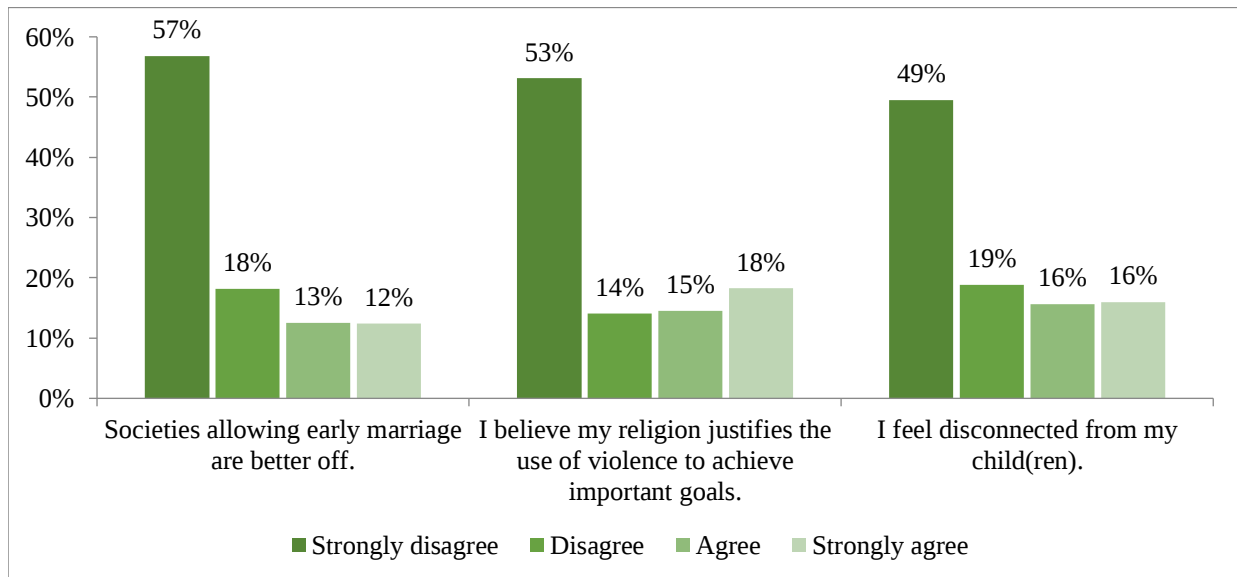


Figure 8. Three prejudices that were most widely rejected in category ‘strongly disagree’ (overall percentages for Uganda and Zanzibar)

Yet one central issue finds the survey participants neatly divided: exactly half of them are of the opinion that fathers have no innate parenting talent; the other half believe that the opposite is true. If fathers are basing their answers on self-perceptions of their role or on a judgment of other fathers cannot be deduced on the basis of percentage calculations (see Figure 9).

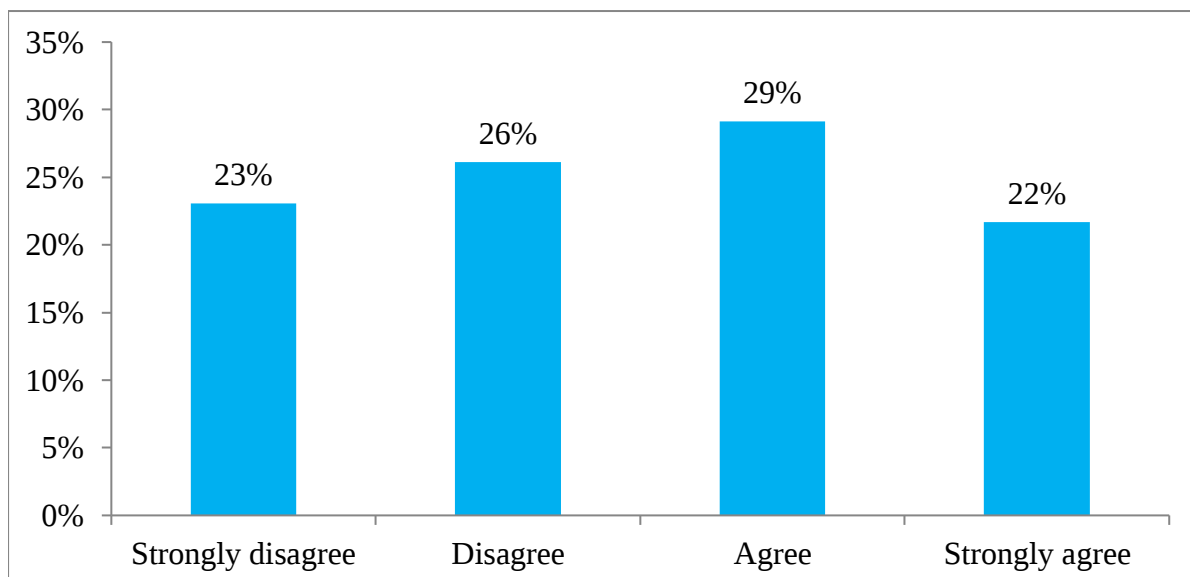


Figure 9. Fathers’ opinion of the statement ‘Fathers have no natural talent for parenting’ (overall percentages for Uganda and Zanzibar combined).

To get a picture of those statements with lower and the lowest approval rates in the context of the survey, refer to Table 4. For the purpose of symmetry, which lends itself well to direct comparisons, we included the same number of ‘disapproval’ and approval-related items in each respective table (compare to Table 3). For the complete data representation, see Table 18 in the ‘Appendix’ section.

The bulk of the statements that were more decidedly rejected fell in line with the responses that we had expected from the participants. We deliberately included items that, as survey questions go, are not only considered to be on the extremer side; these questions also touch upon tangible concerns and issues that are rarely addressed or asked. Against this background, it is interesting to observe greater disagreement rates regarding certain items that by most accounts could be viewed as ‘neutral’. Their perceived sense of connectedness is a prime example of this, even while the fathers do not feel outright ‘disconnected’ (49% strongly disagree and 19% disagree).

Fathers are divided on—or indeed ambivalent towards—another notable topic. The statement ‘I want my children to be modern’ once again neatly divides the survey participants, with 49% opposed to and 51% in favour of having ‘modern children’. Homing in on the younger generation immediately upsets this balance. Fathers are less forgiving in this respect: a mere 38% believe that the youth possesses ‘the same ethical values (hard work and family)’; some 61% reject the notion altogether.

Table 4. List of statements with highest disapproval percentages
(first ten statements are in the ‘strongly disagree’ range of 25% and above)

Ranked in descending order of ‘strongly disagree’ percentage levels; ‘other’ data inputs are not represented here	strongly disagree	disagree	agree	strongly agree
Societies allowing early marriage are better off.	57%	18%	13%	12%
I believe my religion justifies the use of violence to achieve important goals.	53%	14%	15%	18%
I feel disconnected from my child(ren).	49%	19%	16%	16%
Marriage and having children are not concepts that work for men.	39%	22%	19%	19%
To prevent children from joining terrorist groups, there is nothing I can do but pray to God.	36%	20%	20%	24%
I want my child(ren) to be modern.	28%	21%	28%	23%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Gang leaders	27%	13%	32%	28%
The younger generation has the same ethical values (hard work and family) as the older generation.	26%	35%	21%	17%
An educated woman can be a threat to her husband.	24%	24%	30%	21%
In general, a father will not realize that his child has become a violent extremist until it is too late.	24%	24%	31%	20%
Fathers have no natural talent for parenting.	23%	26%	29%	22%

Young people look up to the following as role models: Successful criminals	22%	14%	33%	31%
I believe that boys and girls should be raised differently.	21%	17%	31%	32%
I feel scared or uncomfortable discussing the topic of extremism with people outside my family.	20%	23%	30%	28%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Violent extremists	20%	17%	36%	27%
As a father, I would know if my child was involved in violent extremism.	19%	15%	33%	32%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Relatives	18%	19%	37%	26%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Schools	18%	17%	35%	30%
Newspapers, radio, and television channels do not tell the truth about extremism.	17%	20%	34%	29%
I personally have a lack of clear information or understanding of the work of extremist perpetrators and the causes of extremist violence.	17%	17%	35%	32%
F44 Most people know who is really responsible for extremist violence in my community, even if they don't talk about it.	16%	22%	37%	24%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Religious groups	15%	12%	39%	35%
As long as he has enough money, a man can have good relationships with several wives at the same time.	14%	16%	28%	42%
I believe that men and women should have equal rights in marriage.	14%	14%	30%	42%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Community centres	14%	18%	40%	28%
Violent extremism is an existing threat in my community.	14%	9%	25%	53%
Problems in my community: Inequality between men and women	13%	19%	37%	31%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Movie / tv / pop stars	13%	13%	35%	39%
I believe that men and women should have the same status in society.	13%	17%	29%	42%
Many fathers in our country neglect their responsibilities to their families.	13%	14%	44%	30%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Universities	13%	11%	39%	38%
I am concerned that extremism could have an effect on my own child(ren).	12%	8%	29%	50%

People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Student organisations	12%	17%	39%	31%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Radio	12%	15%	42%	31%
Problems in my community: Drug use	12%	9%	29%	51%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Political organizations	11%	7%	36%	46%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Desire for revenge	11%	9%	36%	44%
People and institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Television	11%	12%	43%	34%
Mothers can do their job better when left alone, without men interfering.	11%	16%	38%	36%
As a father, I would know how to react if one of my children became a violent extremist.	11%	11%	35%	44%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Aunts	10%	18%	45%	27%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Uncles	10%	18%	41%	30%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Police officers	10%	17%	41%	31%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Local government figures	10%	18%	38%	34%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Trauma (e.g., loss of a relative, violence, war, imprisonment, injury, etc.)	10%	14%	38%	38%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Mothers	9%	11%	37%	42%
Young people look up to the following as role models: Female community leaders	9%	16%	44%	31%
I am satisfied with my life overall.	9%	16%	38%	37%
Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Promises of honour / respect / comradeship	9%	13%	41%	38%
Extremism comes mainly from cultural influences outside my country, like globalization or foreign visitors.	8%	13%	38%	42%
Advice for fatherhood come from: Friends	8%	14%	40%	42%
Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: To contribute money to household	8%	10%	43%	37%
Problems in my community: Globalisation	8%	15%	33%	38%

COMPARING FATHERS FROM UGANDA AND ZANZIBAR



The following section considers the context-specific nature of the answers provided by the survey fathers in Uganda and Zanzibar. On the one hand, this study is not intended to present a comparative country analysis in its own right, as this would shift our research focus and aims considerably. On the other hand, gaining a perspective on where fathers are of one mind and where they are not has merit in two central respects: beyond aiding us in checking the validity of our data, we are also alerted to particular phenomena that would otherwise be glossed over or not discernible in the first place. For the purpose of future work with fathers, we ought to bear in mind that while training materials ideally have a universally-applicable framework, they demand contextualisation to fit local circumstance.

• ON WHAT DO FATHERS FROM ZANZIBAR AND UGANDA DISAGREE? •

In the parenting sphere, two basic differences between the two countries become immediately apparent (for a comparative overview, see Figure 10). Ugandan participants decidedly are more convinced that fathers in their own country are not fulfilling their duties: 84% see that ‘many fathers in our country neglect their responsibilities to their families’; in Zanzibar merely 64% support this statement. One cannot say for certain whether higher approval rates of this kind on the part of Ugandan fathers point to a greater readiness to admit to certain shortcomings, and if they are more generous in the assessment of their children. They are at any rate more open to permitting their child to lead a ‘modern’ lifestyle (‘I want my children to be modern’). Surprisingly, this does not result in a contradiction to their tradition. Fathers in Uganda concurrently believe that young people follow the same ethical principles as their fathers’ generation. One may venture to suggest that the tasks of parenting entail similar goals, but that circumstances in everyday life lead to the adoption of divergent approaches and attitudes.

To be sure, there are a number of noticeable differences in cultural realities between Uganda and Zanzibar. A consideration of the fathers’ perceptions of role models suggests that Ugandan youth are more susceptible to being influenced and impressed by questionable individuals: gang leaders (76% vs 45%) and ‘successful criminals’ (81% vs 48%). Children appear to look to role models outside of their immediate family. Here, we come across the fathers’ ‘competitors’. In Uganda, aunts are considered to be role models. A possible reason for this apparent anomaly may lie in the fathers’ observation on the extent to which their children seek or receive support from extended family members. Part of the fatherly duties are absorbed by relatives, and in this instance aunts. A portion of paternal authority could thus have been ceded to other family members. Whether this is intentional or a consequence of circumstance remains unclear. For the dangers of extremism, as Ugandan fathers propose, are not only present in community centres; to their mind, relatives pose a real threat to their children in this regard.

Even while at this stage we are contemplating differences between the two countries, we ought nevertheless always to be mindful of any given item’s degree of approval when considering of individual results (see Figure 10).

A distinct difference that undoubtedly has a serious bearing on parenting is the higher tendency towards fatalism in connection with parenting in Uganda. Only 28% in Zanzibar but 62% in Uganda could relate to the solution of ‘praying to God’ in the event that the radicalisation of their children threatened to become a distinct possibility. Religion emerges in our results as a clear framework for action. This generally has proven to be truer of Uganda. Taking into account responses to the statement ‘I believe my religion justifies the use of violence to achieve important goals’, we find an approval rate of 51% in Ugandan versus just 16% in Zanzibar.

Overall, the threat of extremism prompts a heightened sense of urgency on the part of fathers in Uganda. They also perceive and fear there to be greater radicalisation potential through their children’s exposure to ‘community centres’ (81% vs 56%) and ‘relatives’ (79% vs 48%).

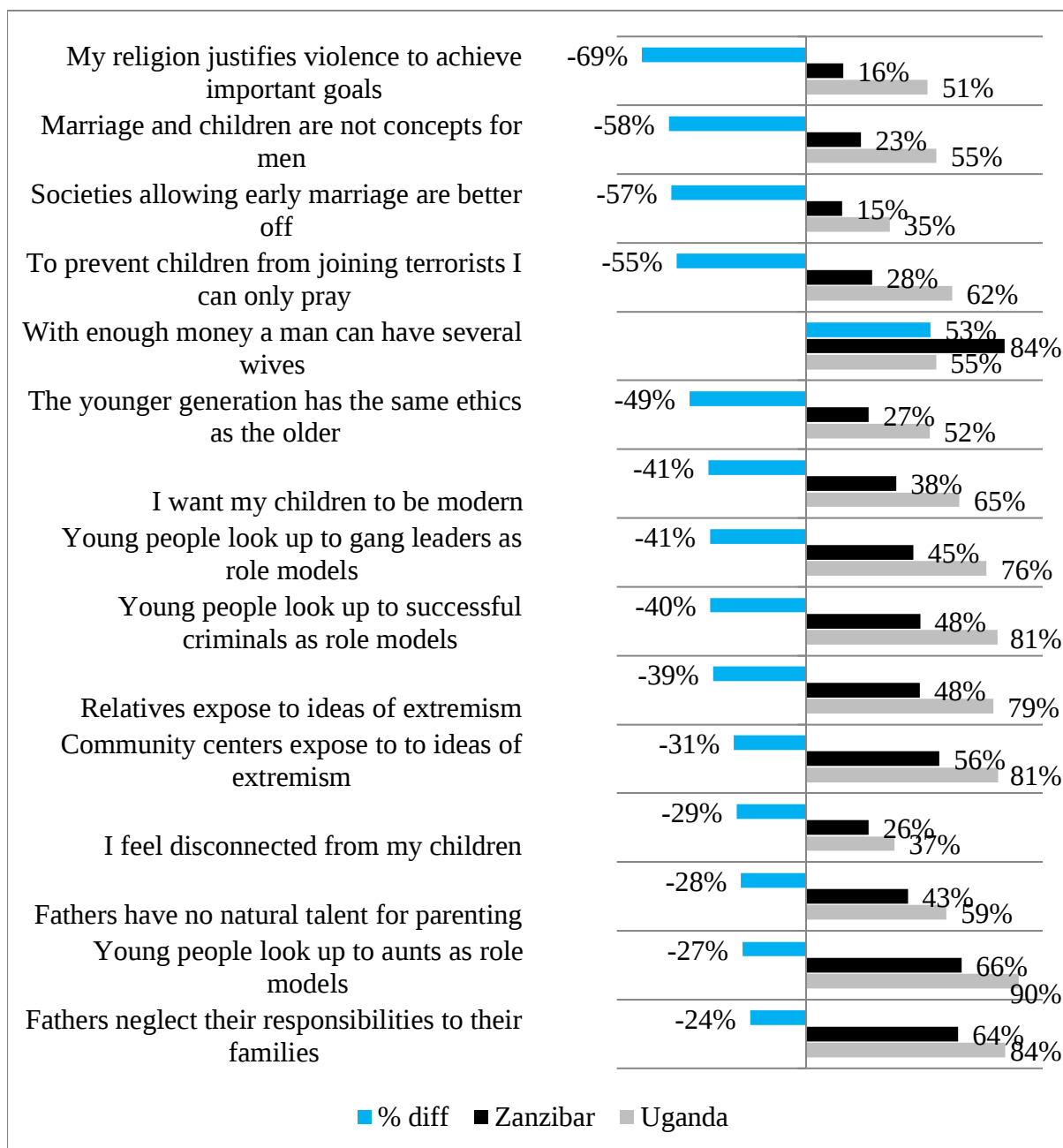


Figure 10. Fifteen statements with greatest differences between Ugandan and Zanzibari fathers (country bars represent combined 'agree' and 'strongly agree' percentages)

The two country groups differ most on sensitive questions. Save for one exception, Ugandan fathers agree on more statements than their Zanzibari counterparts (see Figure 10). In Uganda, participants seem to be more convinced that 'societies allowing early marriage are better off', and that 'marriage and having children are not concepts that work for men'. Percentage gaps of 57 and 58 make 'differences of opinion' clear. The topic of polygamy yields similar results: a gap of 53%. The statement 'as long as he has enough money, a man can have good relationships with several wives at the same time' is supported by 84% of Zanzibari fathers and 'merely' 55% in Uganda.

• ON WHAT FATHERS FROM ZANZIBAR AND UGANDA AGREE •

In applying the data to identify the lowest deviations between Ugandan and Zanzibari participant responses across all statements and opting for a $\pm 3\%$ inclusion rate, a list of 37 statements emerges, of which 33 are in the approval range of $\geq 78\%$. Only four are in the range of 52% and 74%. Both country groups are therefore fairly ‘of one mind’ regarding a number of topics.

As we have already highlighted, parenting is a job. Each family develops their own ideas, and, in so doing, draws on various attitudes and convictions, such as adopting principles that one learned from one’s own parents or that one came to observe in other households. Regarding questions on sources of fatherhood advice, responses in Uganda and Zanzibar are strikingly similar. In both countries, apparently a father’s own father is the first point of contact for seeking advice, followed by one’s religion, mother, and then school.

Trust is an important currency in and necessary component of P/CVE activities, especially in respect to prevention work. The following individuals and institutions are generally trusted by fathers in both countries: local councils, international organisations, and mothers. By no means does this constitute a high number of possible sources to approach for support. Likely for this reason, they wish for other organisations and individuals to step up to the plate through a heightened engagement. Fathers are also self-critical in this respect, but they are especially united in seeing that organisations and governmental institutions ‘need to do more for me and my children’s safety’; here, fathers single out and demand more of international organisations, army, government, local councils, and police.

In further homing in on the fathers, a considerable consensus on the following topics concerning their responsibility comes into view: (a) ensuring a safe environment, (b) giving advice, and (c) checking up on what children are doing. Yet fathers more frequently associate (shared) responsibilities or duties with mothers. Mothers should, in their view, be engaged in the following: (a) ensuring a safe environment, (b) preventing children from deviant pathways, (c) giving advice, and (d) checking up on what children are doing.

Similarities on what fathers themselves can do are also visible. The most obvious statements to this effect include: (a) support children through an identity crisis, (b) take children’s grievances seriously, (c) be aware of who their friends are, and (d) learn which religious and political leaders inspire them.

Finally, the fathers of both countries are mostly in agreement on the need to adequately respond to dangerous developments (‘learn to react to warning signs’), and more generally to acquire new parenting skills (i.e. to receive ‘training in parenting skills’). This could be realised if appropriate measures and actors are implemented (e.g. ‘support from social organisations’). Three quarters also agree that there is ‘a lack of clear information’ on the topic.

• FATHERS' PERCEPTIONS SURROUNDING VIOLENT EXTREMISM •

The survey fathers do not perceive security issues to be trivial: 78% see that 'violent extremism is an existing threat in my community'. Two possible causes, to their mind, are external cultural influences and religious groups. Not least, they share the suspicion that 'psychological problems and identity crises' can fuel the youth's radicalisation potential.

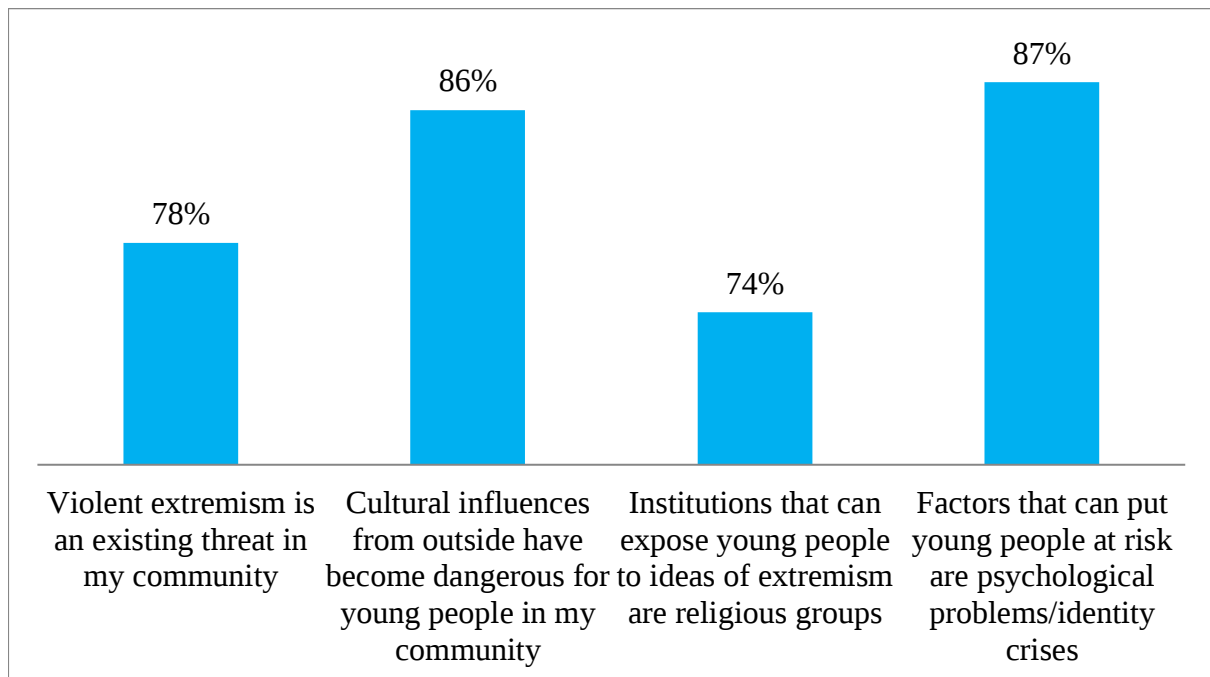


Figure 11. Agreement among Zanzibari and Ugandan fathers on possible origins of extremism (collective data; differences between 0% and -2%).

While fathers tend not to want to speak openly about the topic of extremism, they agree by and large on a possible workaround: engaging in 'arts and cultural activities' to counterbalance precarious situations of poverty and unemployment that large parts of the youth populations in both countries face.

One last thing that predominantly they agree on and do not agree on in fairly equal measures concerns the statement that an educated woman can be a threat to her husband. The fathers in both countries look to be similarly ambivalent or equally and entirely divided, with 51% and 52% in Uganda and Zanzibar, respectively, agreeing with the statement.

FINDINGS PART II | THEMATIC FOCI



The second part of our overall findings constitutes ‘the storyline’ and takes on the broader notion of parenting in a volatile environment. This chapter delves into the main themes of our study, ranging from ‘parenting perceptions’ and ‘security situation’ to ‘parenting styles’ and ‘authoritarian parenting practices’. In the course of the chapter, the following topics crop up in sequential order: generational worldviews on family life, threat and security, passive and active involvement with violence and terror, youth in danger of extremism, parenting styles, improvements in parenting and prevention, social environment and the triad of fear-trust-need and demands, and various impacts of attitude characteristics.

THEME I | FATHERS' PARENTING PERCEPTIONS



The practice of raising a child rarely is addressed and performed in a systematic manner, leading parents' thinking to be slanted in favour of reactionary approaches. As fathers' actions are informed by their own childhood experiences, the generational dimension demands attention. Most fathers appear either to emulate their own parents' style or to raise their children differently. At times, fathers even do so in direct opposition to how they themselves had been raised. A propensity to reimagine family life in past times along romantic lines further cements this generational approach. In this view, contemporary youth are demonised and often perceived as decadent, lethargic, and disobedient, while the role of parents is idealised and generally not scrutinised. To broaden the scope for a moment is to remind ourselves that we speak here of a millennia-old phenomenon. Each successive generation reproduces this very dynamic; merely the content changes over time and space. Let us consider for a moment the example of the ancient Greek tragedian Aeschylus, dubbed the father of tragedy. Aeschylus placed centre stage a protagonist complaining about the 'excessive demands' of his son; the topic of conversation itself revolved around the purchase of a horse. To bring the past back into the present, how and about what might a contemporary father complain?

• WERE PARENTING PRACTICES SUPERIOR IN THE YESTERYEAR? •

In the absence of a heightened degree of conceptual awareness and an applicable skill-set when confronted with a particular challenge, one tends instinctively to rely on everyday, lived experience. This then informs decisions and prompts individuals to draw on the past; emulation and evasion tactics thus emerge as two natural reactions. Our results suggest that while this pattern applies to fathers in Zanzibar and Uganda, they air on the side of mirroring rather than rejecting their own parents' respective styles. Beyond a perceived generational continuity, however, the survey participants also espouse a degree of defeatism in this regard: they generally perceive that their own parent generation felt far more responsible than its contemporary counterpart (this is truer of the Ugandan survey fathers; see Figure 12).

The reasons for this are hard to pinpoint. One could consider a hint of self-criticism, maybe even the truism that 'everything was better in the past; what we do today we do less well'. Perhaps this is an ancient and socially-engrained thought pattern adopted and applied by every new generation. Be it as it may, for the purpose of advancing parenting practices, this 'generational dimension' could present a serious challenge and mental barrier beyond Uganda and Zanzibar, as it puts every successive parent generation on track to not consciously reflect on the process of raising their children.

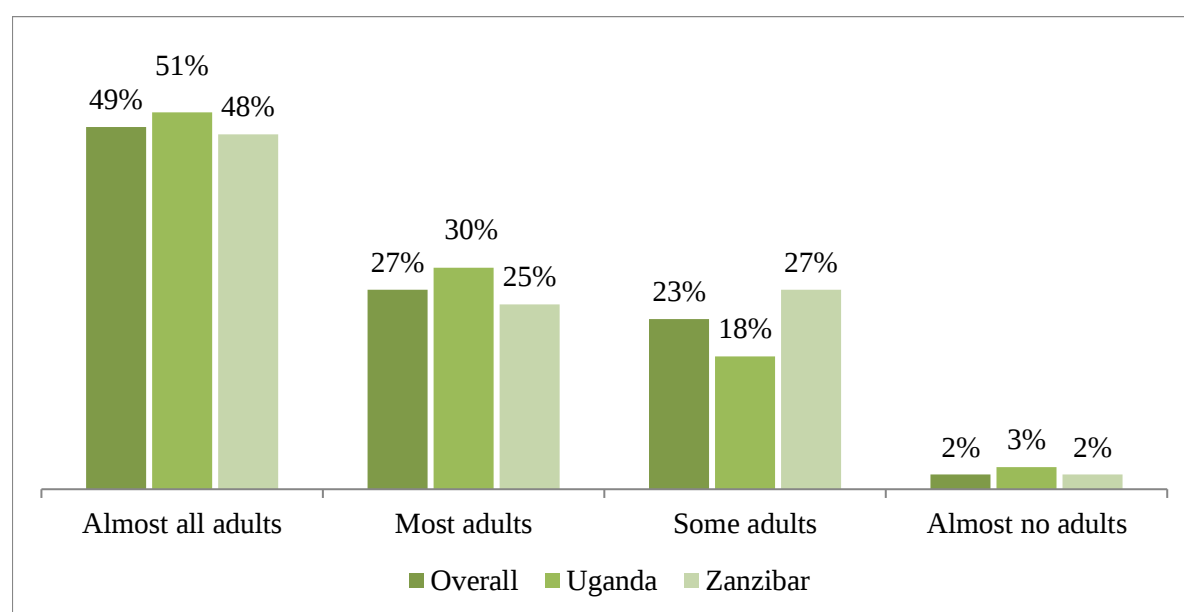


Figure 12. 'When I was growing up, all adults took responsibility for the youth's wellbeing'
Parents between duty and responsibility in their communities in earlier times

• HAS THE PARENTING CONTEXT IMPROVED IN COMMUNITIES? •

The fathers' general perception that parents had been more responsibility in earlier times may be a product of increasingly heightened social tensions. After all, the perils of their contemporary contexts include wide-ranging shortages that fuel and deepen social, political, and economic divides. Related pressures weighing down on large segments of East African youth, such as forced and economic migration, also negatively impact on their respective families and communities.

Factors of this nature help to shed light on why three quarters of survey fathers perceive family life to have been better in previous times, and how they are coming to observe a degree of social deterioration. Symptomatic of this general sense of societal decline, some two-thirds of survey fathers also feel that community cohesion has decreased considerably since their childhood (see figures Figure 12 and Figure 13).

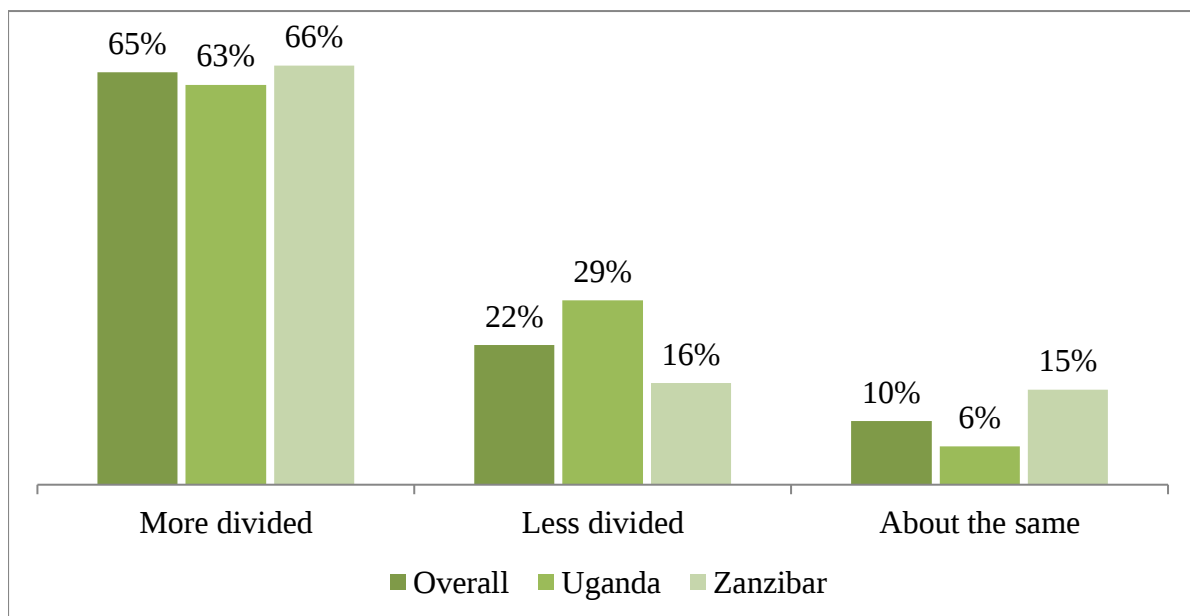


Figure 13. ‘Are communities more divided nowadays?’

• IS PARENTING CONCERNED WITH RESPONSIBILITY? •

Our findings on how concerned and responsible parents feel towards their children also paint a less than optimistic picture. As Figure 14 illustrates, a mere 46% believe that today's parents pay sufficient attention to the wellbeing of the youth for the most part (when amalgamating the answer categories 'almost all adults' and 'most adults').

Additionally including 'some adults' improves the outlook considerably and bring the perceived level of responsibility across all survey participants into the 90% range. Zanzibari fathers are remarkably pessimistic; merely 38% believe that a majority of parents feel responsible and an astounding 61% believe that this rings true for 'some adults'.

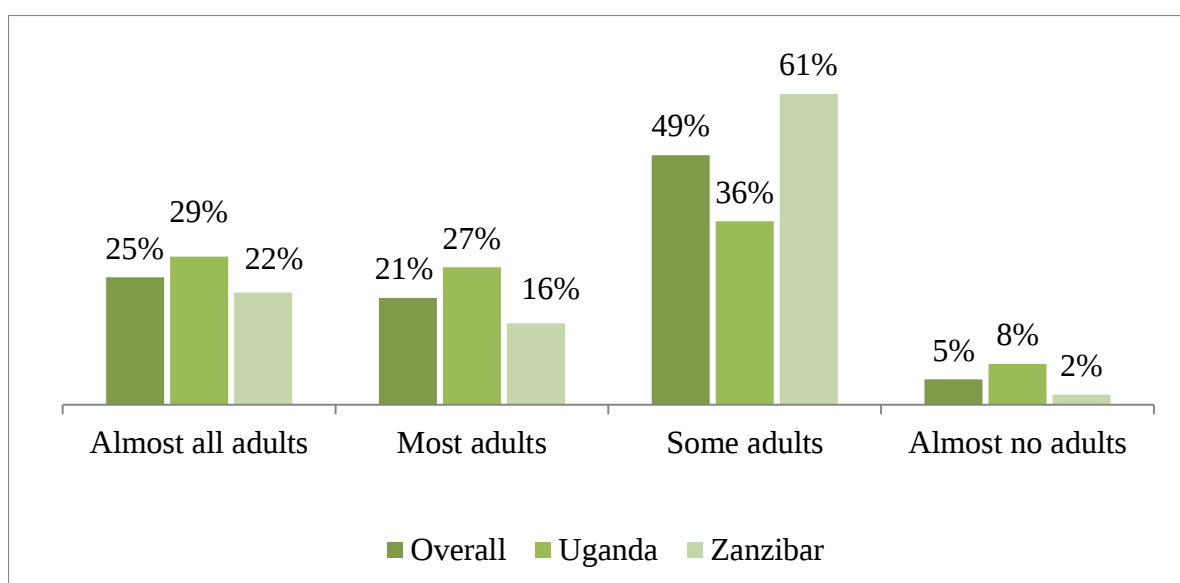


Figure 14. 'Do adults today feel responsible for the wellbeing of the young?'

THEME II | THE SECURITY SITUATION



Deciding on what information should be probed with which questions figures among the more challenging aspects of a survey. Finding a balanced approach to sensitive topics that does not exceed what could be deemed appropriate is essential. Questions addressing the issues of terrorism and violent extremism in particular demand a degree of context-specific and cultural awareness. We had already approached this issue in the course of a former study in Northern Ireland, where we deemed it necessary to replace the loaded term ‘terrorism’ with ‘trouble’. Similar considerations for Zanzibar and Uganda prompted us to use terms like ‘political violence’ or ‘extremist threat’. A topic as sensitive as extremism can swiftly lead to misunderstandings. We thus have to be wary of the fact that questions pertaining to this topic are answered with far less ease than most, as the theme and perceptions surrounding it are influenced by populist and media portrayals. As a result, we are employing related ‘empirical responses’ as a basis for reflection rather than taking them at face value. Ultimately, the aim is to identify a point of departure (baseline) for parents to inform themselves before taking action.

• IS EXTREMISM ON THE RISE? •

Fathers are undecided as to whether threat levels of extremism are on the rise or in decline (see Figure 15). Some 49% perceive a decrease; some 33% an increase. Another 15% have witnessed no shift towards either direction. Yet in the light of the fact that acts of terrorism occur far less frequently than most other forms of crime, the survey fathers' responses are far from comforting. After all, one third detects an increase, whereas slightly less than half contend that extremism is in retreat.

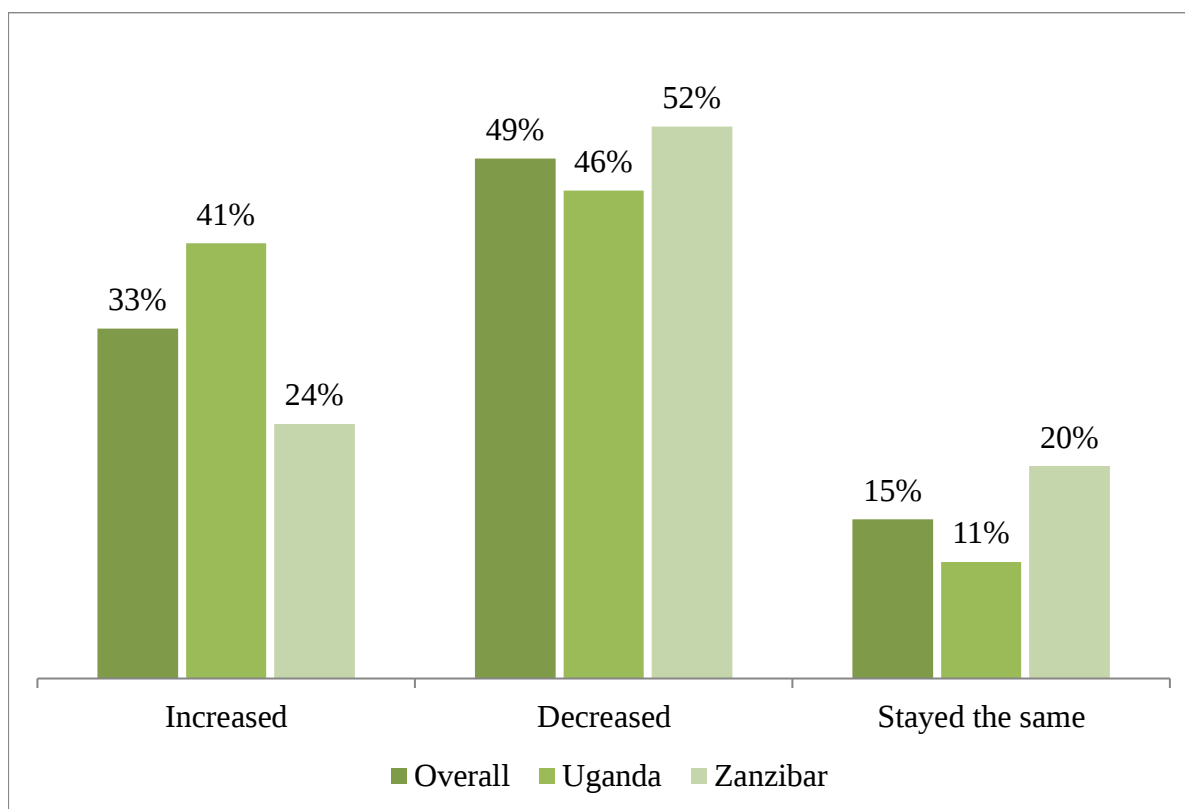


Figure 15. 'Is extremism growing?'

The fathers' estimation on the how the threat of extremism is developing in their communities.

• RECRUITMENT HOTSPOTS •

Fears regarding extremism are linked to and depend on factors like proximity and exposure. They are at once imagined, abstract, and real, and thus worries develop irrespective of whether one is exposed merely to a ‘media event’ or facing the threat ‘next door’. When asked where survey participants expect recruitment takes place, urban areas make the top of the list (see Figure 16). Some 42% believe that the threat arises and spreads in towns, another 34% do not discriminate; they see that recruitment crops up in both rural and urban settings. Zanzibar positions itself as an outlier, with 19% indicating that neither areas play host to this activity. They deviate significantly from their Ugandan counterparts, around 90% of whom recognise the presence of recruiters in their country.

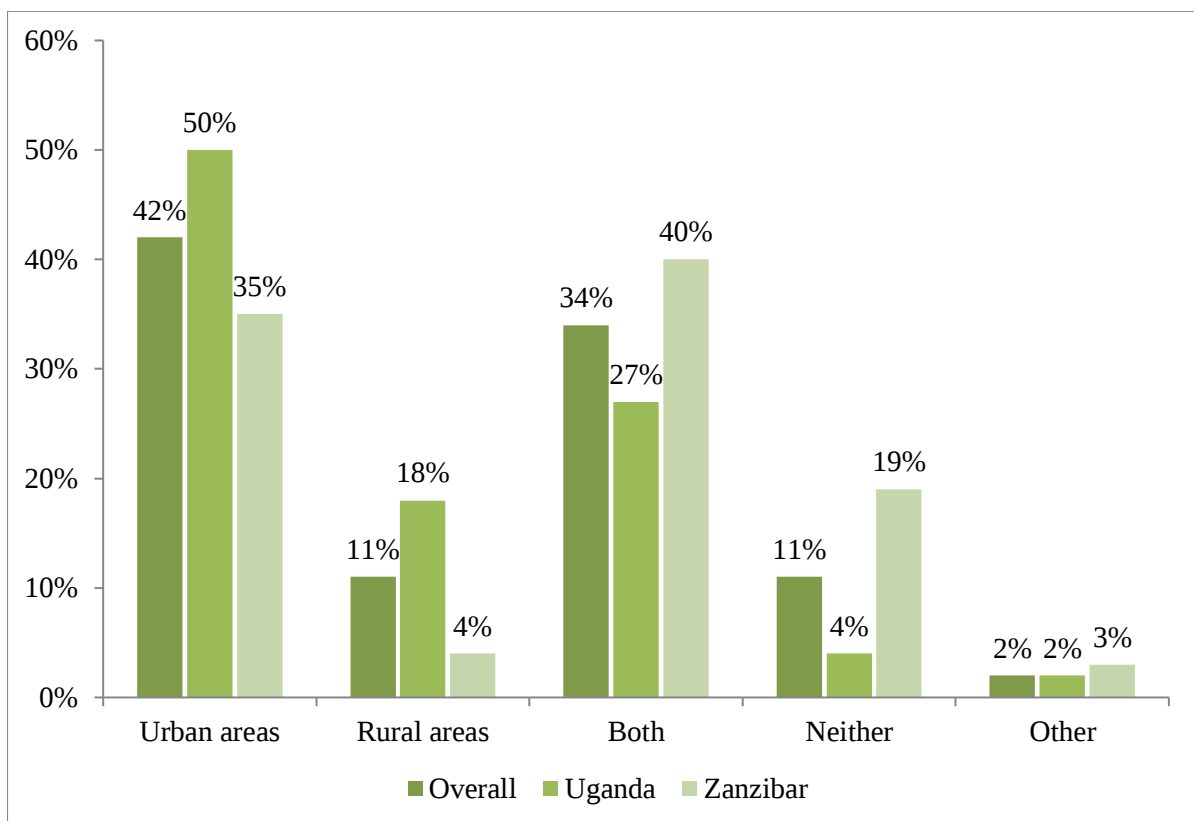


Figure 16. Suspected areas of extremist recruitment.

• DIFFICULT TOPICS I | DO FATHERS DISCUSS EXTREMISM? •

In approaching the question of whom fathers trust and to whom they turn when the desire to discuss difficult topics arises, Ugandans choose their wives and Zanzibaris opt for a discussion partner from within the community. While the exact motivation for these choices cannot be confirmed, there are possible reasons for both. Ugandan fathers, who generally express a greater fear of the threat and deem it be real and present, may wish not to run the risk of making their concerns public. If the topic can be addressed in a ‘theoretical’ manner (e.g. in hypotheticals or by means of externalisation), as is the case with Zanzibar, they nevertheless are open to speaking with people outside of their family unit. Yet this readiness has its limits.

Only around 20% of survey fathers would seek counsel from anyone who is outside of the family and connected to government in some form. At a low 17% in Uganda and a barely visible 5% in Zanzibar, international organisations are rarely considered as options. However, the ‘foreign character’ of such organisations may not be the deciding factor here. For ‘religious leaders’ also are not among their preferred discussion partners in sensitive issues pertaining to extremism.

The results could also be viewed with the idea of access in mind. Wives, for instance, are likely most accessible to their husbands. Exceptions notwithstanding, discussions between husband and wife can be informal and quickly arranged, whereas gaining access to or setting up a conversation with any other entity or individual demands more effort.

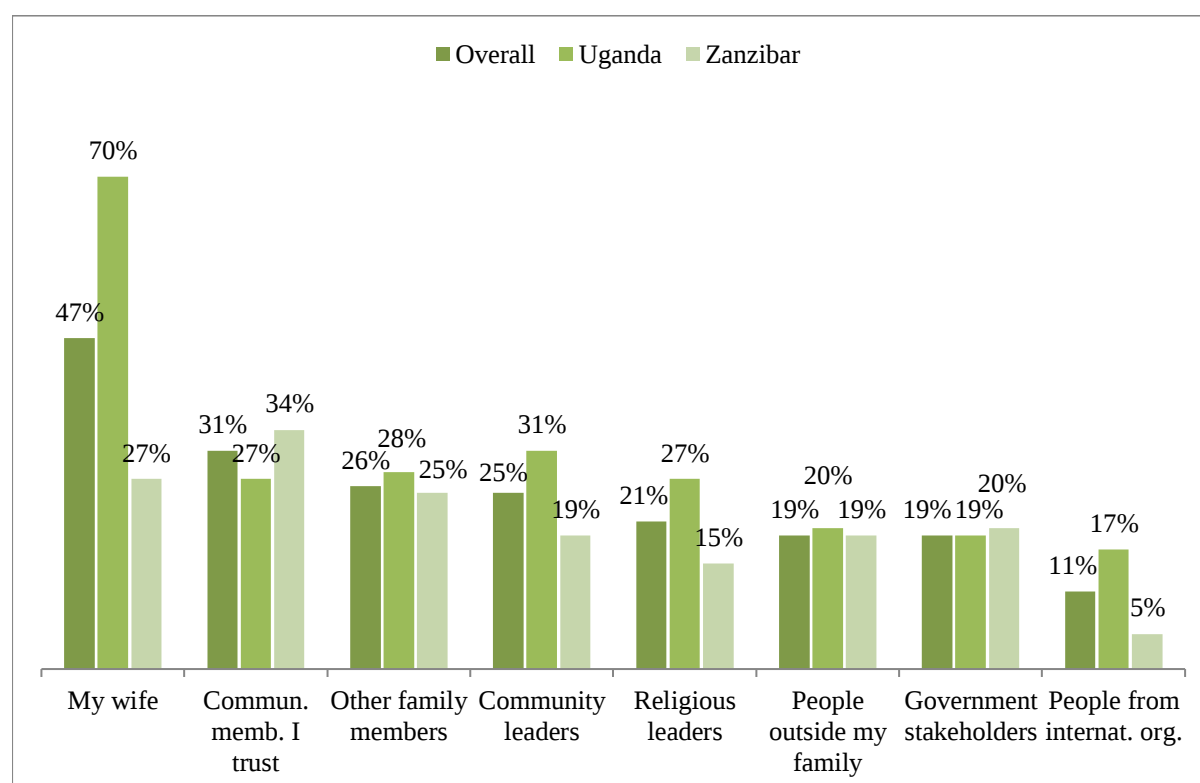


Figure 17. Fathers’ preferred partners to openly discuss the topic of extremism.

THEME III | PROXIMITY TO VIOLENCE AND TERRORISM



Violent extremism has affected the lives of almost everyone directly or indirectly: however distant the concern, most will have ‘experienced’ it through media reporting. Even if we pursue a logic of universal concern and affectedness, distinctions in how violent extremism has actually impacted on someone’s life are crucial: was the individual merely a witness by way of watching the news, did the event happen in another country, or was someone in the family personally affected? This section investigates the extent to which survey fathers and individuals to whom they are connected have been passively or actively involved in various forms of violence, including but not limited to extremism and terrorism.

• PASSIVE CONTACT WITH VIOLENCE: WHO BECAME AFFECTED? •

To arrive at a deeper understanding of fathers' potential role in safeguarding the youth, the interconnected nature of crime in its various forms and gradations cannot be ignored. We thus have opted to include a wide spectrum of violence to which survey fathers and those closest to them likely will have been exposed as victims, perpetrators, and witnesses. Based on our research, we found that forms of political and religious violence present an ideal point of departure in our East African context in particular. Yet the picture that fathers in our survey present is far from straightforward. There are stark differences between the two countries.

A respective 27% and 64% of Ugandans and Zanzibaris had not experienced political violence (Figure 18). Fathers who had been personally affected in one way or another amounted to 32% in Uganda and 9% in Zanzibar. Given the severity of the issue, these are high numbers. When the categories 'neighbour', 'relative', and 'someone I know' are bunched together, political violence is in the percentage range of 11 and 20. When immediate family (wives, parents, children) is factored into the equation, involvement levels in political violence shoot up to 61% for Uganda and a less drastic 21% in the case of Zanzibar. In terms of personal affectedness, there is a percentage difference of 23; a relative difference of 73%.

That a considerable gap of this kind is visible in six other items likely points to fundamental security situation differences between Uganda and Zanzibar; the former's threat level appears to be substantially higher. Furthermore, the results uncover a gender bias. Political violence appears to be the preserve of men: survey participants perceive fathers and sons to be more affected than their female counterparts.

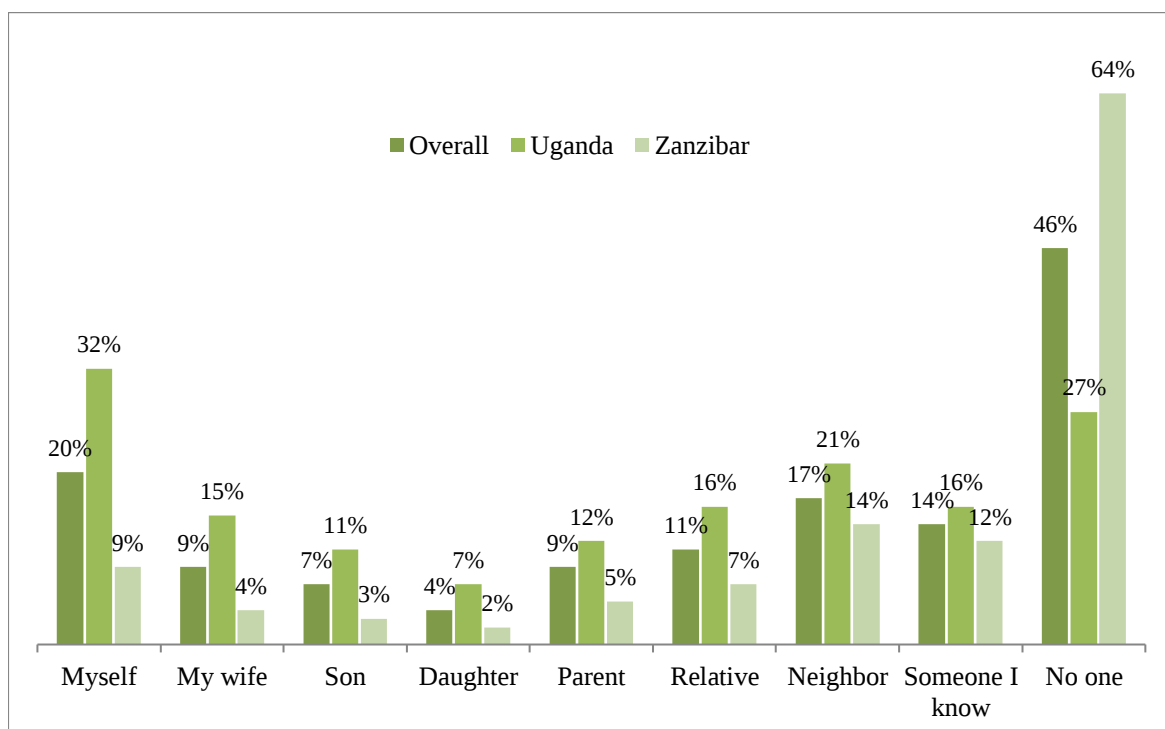


Figure 18. Passive involvement in political violence or being a victim.

• ACTIVE CONTACT WITH VIOLENCE: WHO'S CHILDREN PARTICIPATED? •

Before we dive back into the data results, we should remember that research on crime and violence in Tanzania (including Zanzibar) and Uganda consistently reveals a high presence of perpetrators and victims in both countries. With respect to children, one might assume the figures to be fairly marginal.

Yet our data spectrum on ‘children’s involvement in extreme and deviant activities’ puts those who ‘join extreme political groups’ solidly in the lead, at 14% percent for Uganda and a less pronounced 8% for Zanzibar. Both results nevertheless suggest relatively unsettling rates of affiliation with extreme political groupings (see Table 5).

To the survey’s fathers’ mind, an involvement in ‘armed conflict’ on the part of children comes in at a close second place: 13% in Uganda versus 5% in Zanzibar. In broadening the lens, we come across a wide spectrum of participation in violent activities and groups that covers an involvement level range of between two and eight per cent (Table 5).

Table 5. Spectrum of children’s involvement in extreme and deviant activities.

	Overall	Uganda	Zanzibar	Pp diff	% diff
Join extreme political groups	11%	14%	8%	-6%	-43%
Armed conflict	9%	13%	5%	-8%	-61%
Take drugs	7%	8%	6%	-2%	-21%
Damaging property of ‘enemy’	6%	9%	4%	-5%	-57%
Demonstrations	6%	9%	4%	-4%	-49%
Riots	6%	8%	4%	-4%	-48%
Stone throwing	6%	9%	3%	-6%	-67%
Gangs	5%	8%	4%	-4%	-54%
Join extreme religious groups	4%	5%	4%	-1%	-20%
Join the Salafis / Jihadis	4%	7%	2%	-5%	-77%
Violent confrontation with ‘enemy’	4%	3%	5%	2%	70%
Suicide bombing	3%	4%	2%	-2%	-47%
Join terrorists groups	2%	4%	1%	-3%	-68%
Shootings	2%	2%	1%	-1%	-60%
Terrorist attacks	2%	2%	2%	0%	-20%

Pp diff = difference between percentage points; % diff = ratio in percent between countries

In defining deviant behaviour in a relatively all-encompassing manner, we were able to capture perceived levels of drug use, property damage for political reasons, riots, and involvement in gang activities that all indicate the presence of a number of potentially explosive issues, some of which may be simmering below the surface and out of plain sight. To make patterns in some of our aforementioned key findings easier to identify, we compiled the below visual representation of noteworthy levels and categories of children's involvement in organised and individual extreme and deviant activities (Figure 19).

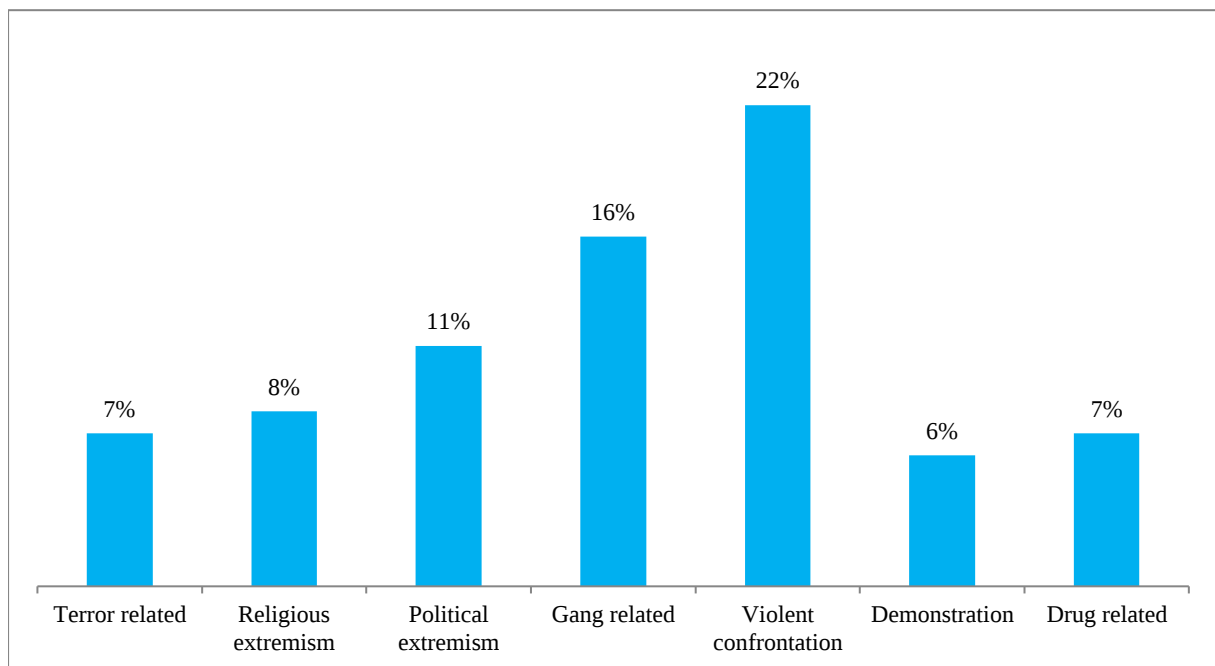


Figure 19. Range of youth involvement in organised/individual extreme or deviant activities

‘Ordinary’ fathers by no means can be classified as experts on the highly complex issues of extremism and recruitment. Those who seek profound intellectual insight on the subject matter need to look elsewhere, as many a father’s responses (see Figure 20) inevitably are rooted in, inter alia, individual perception, personal attitude, hearsay, and, in some cases, first-hand or indirect experience.

Yet the insight that fathers provide is unique and promises to have more applications than one. It tells us something about their level of concern and degree of awareness, among other aspects. This provides, for instance, a baseline that prospective teaching materials ought to consider. Adding to this and considering that 15% ‘do not know’ how recruitment works and another 10% do not perceive there to be any recruitment, we are thus alerted to the fact that around one quarter of participants either lack information on the topic or do perceive to face this issue in their respective communities.

Overall, the survey fathers perceive the internet and face-to-face conversations to be the most common forms of recruitment at 42% and 41%, respectively. At 39%, a fairly common concern also includes offers to study or work abroad. That children are lured away from their homes and communities in this way is something that we frequently heard while we were on the ground in both countries.

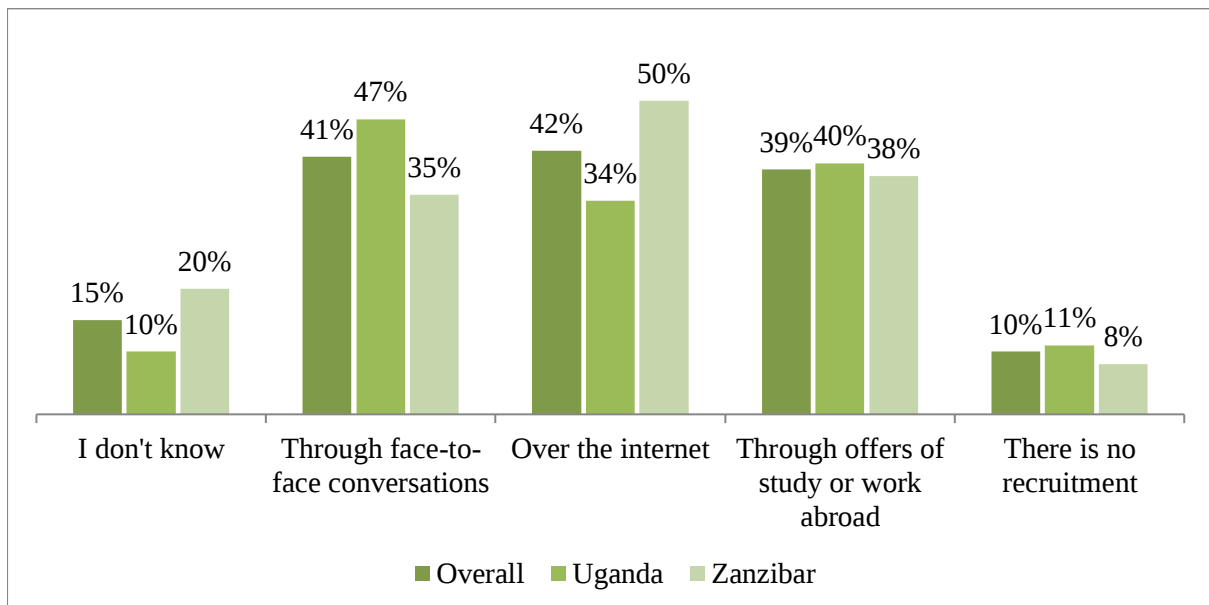


Figure 20. Pathways into extremism: methods of recruitment.

• DIFFICULT TOPICS II | TO WHOM DO CHILDREN PREFER TO TURN? •

Two central questions emerge when one considers problems in the social environment that could also affect the family sphere and especially in the context of families with teenagers. First, with whom fathers themselves openly discuss ‘external dangers’ like extremism (see ‘Do fathers discuss extremism?’ section on page 62. Second, with whom do children prefer to discuss their concerns?

In the case of both survey samples—and therefore in Uganda as well as Zanzibar—exactly 20% of fathers purport that their children would prefer to turn to them about concerns and issues (see Figure 21). Yet the Ugandan participants believe that mothers are the most trusted point of contact for their children at 48%. In the case of Zanzibar, fathers and mothers appear to be on fairly equal footing, with percentage scores of 20 and 21, respectively. Somewhat in line with this divide, some 59% of Zanzibari survey fathers are of the opinion that that their children prefer to discuss concerns and issues with them both in equal measures.

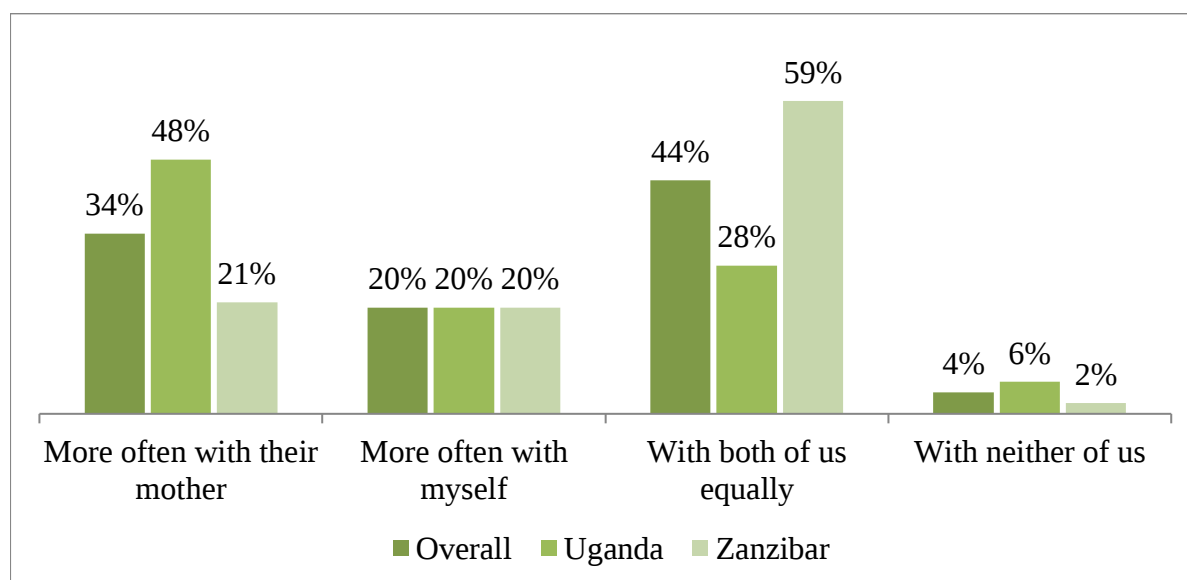


Figure 21. With whom children prefer to discuss their concerns and problems.

THEME IV | FACTORS LEADING TO YOUTH RADICALISATION



External factors manifestly have a strong bearing on both a father's behaviour and the emotional relationship of parents to their children. Irrespective of how grave the situation may be in actuality, parents are also prone to allowing imagined threats guide their parenting approach. This section explores the fathers' degree of awareness and perceptions of a wide array of real and imagined, distant and immediate, risk factors that put children in harm's way and potentially on track for radicalisation.

• RISK FACTORS OF RADICALISATION •

Concerns surrounding survey participants' children's exposure to threats appear to be a chief priority: when viewed together, Zanzibari and Ugandan fathers' 'agree' and 'strongly agree' approval percentages generally exceed the three-quarter mark (see Table 6).

Classic push-and-pull factors like 'revenge', 'peer pressure', and 'promises of honour' figure prominently. Yet psychological factors like 'trauma', 'isolation', and 'identity crisis' appear to be equally prevalent concerns. Levels in this respect are exceptionally high and barely differ across both countries. Fathers from Uganda (90%) and Zanzibar (88%) also differ little in their assessment of parental leadership (Table 6).

That a lack of parental guidance makes the top of the list of fathers' perceived risk factors reminds us how front and centre issues of parenting in conjunction with security have proved to be to the survey fathers. To varying degrees, this response likely amounts to a mixture of an admission of guilt, some reflection on personal shortcomings, and an outright criticism of other fathers in the community.

Table 6. Factors that put young people at risk of becoming violent extremists

	Overall	Uganda	Zanzibar	Pp diff	% diff
Lack of parental guidance	90%	91%	88%	-3%	-4%
Peer pressure	90%	92%	88%	-4%	-5%
Psychological problems and identity crisis	87%	88%	87%	-2%	-2%
Social isolation	86%	91%	81%	-10%	-11%
Poverty and unemployment	85%	93%	77%	-15%	-16%
Promises of money and material things	85%	87%	83%	-4%	-5%
Sense of injustice	84%	92%	76%	-15%	-17%
Lack of education	83%	85%	81%	-4%	-5%
Desire for revenge	80%	85%	75%	-10%	-12%
Promises of honour, respect, and comradeship	78%	86%	71%	-15%	-18%
Trauma, e.g. loss of a relative, violence, war, imprisonment, injury, etc.	76%	78%	73%	-5%	-6%

Pp diff = difference between percentage points; % diff = ratio in percent between countries

• PROBLEMS IN THE COMMUNITY •

As we just learned, poverty and unemployment are perceived to be fundamental risk factors by most fathers in both countries. When posing the question of how common these issues are in their respective communities, we arrive at similar percentages: poverty stands at an overall 87% and unemployment at 89%. Compared to our Ugandan participants, the Zanzibaris provide lower poverty and unemployment figures by 7 and 13 per cent, respectively. While these rates are high in both cases, that Zanzibari fathers on the whole perceive these issues to be slightly less pronounced may point to their youth's exposure to less tense community environments.

As Figure 22 demonstrates, our overall rankings are intriguing. Survey fathers are most anxious about poverty, the loss of traditional values, and unemployment; in all three cases Ugandan fathers appear to be slightly more concerned. Yet drug abuse (truer of Uganda) and 'globalisation' (truer of Zanzibar) do not trail far behind. The factor 'gender inequality' at 76% for Uganda and 60% in Zanzibar does not figure quite as notably; concerns surrounding societal imbalances between men and women generally rank lower than most other issues.

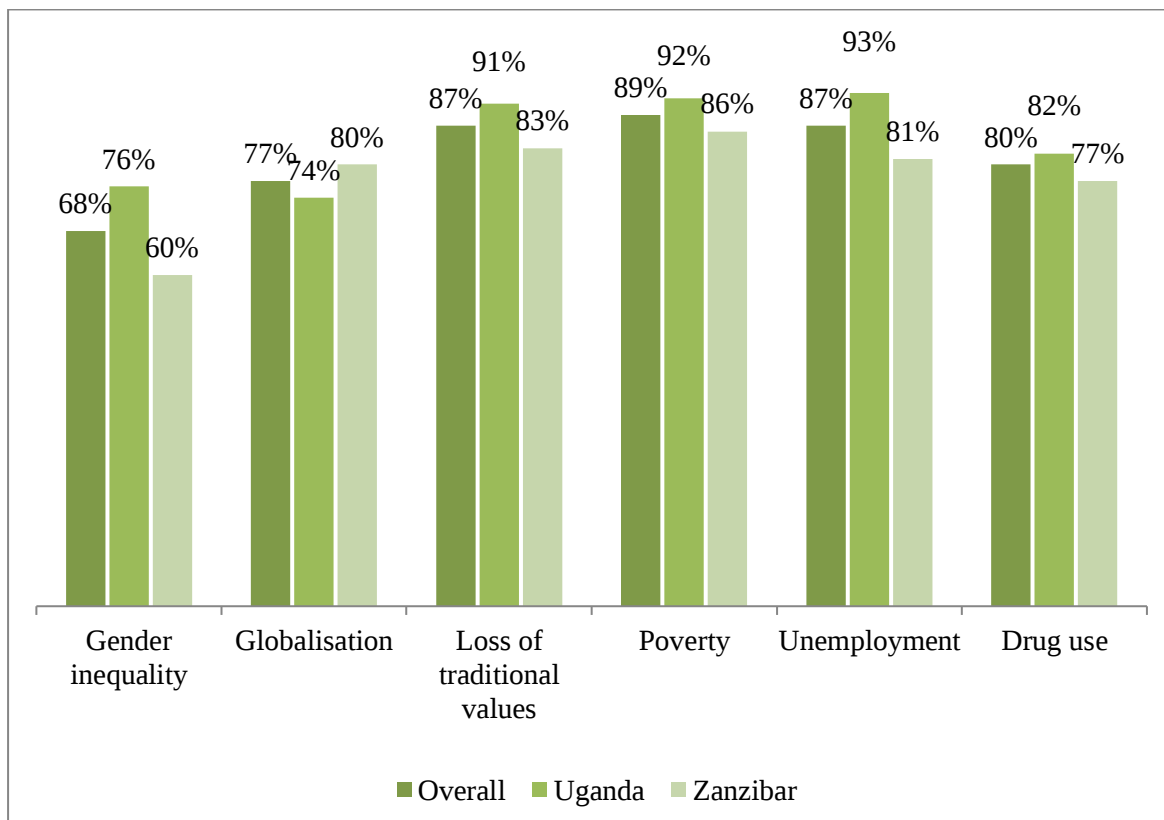


Figure 22. Survey fathers' ranking of problems in their communities.

• FATHERS' PERCEPTION OF YOUTH ROLE MODELS •

Despite having an obvious head start in socialising their children, parents eventually come into direct competition with individuals outside of their family who threaten to replace them as role models. This becomes especially problematic when teenagers choose individuals with questionable motives over their own parents. Although we do not have any direct statements from youths to this effect, fathers' assumptions regarding role model choices sheds light on tensions between family and extra-family role models.

To whom children look up is of course context-specific and subject to change over time. Our survey father samples, when viewed collectively, indicate a strong preference for leaders, educators, and entrepreneurs who commonly are expected to operate within the confines of the law (see Table 7). At 79%, mothers rank lower than we had expected. Teachers and political leaders outrank them by a small margin. Fathers give themselves a slightly higher overall score of 82%, thus placing themselves above the aforementioned groups but below 'successful businessmen' at 83% and 'religious leaders', who lead the role model pack with 84%. Another surprising revelation is that movie, television, and popstar celebrities are lower down the role model pecking order, coming in at tenth place in our list of sixteen options; only 65% of the Zanzibari fathers perceive them to be youth idols.

To the fathers' collective mind, three types of criminals constitute the least viable role models: gang leaders (60%), violent extremists (63%), and successful criminals (64%). Yet the differences between both countries are stark. In line with other security-related data patterns, Ugandan fathers present a fairly high range of between 72 and 81 per cent, while Zanzibari fathers perceive the sway of such criminals with a propensity for violence to be in the 45 to 55 per cent range. Overall, fathers across both countries appear to be more of one mind regarding role models who embody 'positive' characteristics, with approval rates above 80% for Zanzibar and generally higher still in the case of Uganda.

Table 7. Individuals whom young people look up to as role models (fathers' perceptions).

	Overall	Uganda	Zanzibar	Pp diff	% diff
Gang leaders	60%	76%	45%	-31%	-41%
Violent extremists	63%	72%	55%	-17%	-23%
Successful criminals	64%	81%	48%	-33%	-40%
Uncles	71%	78%	65%	-14%	-17%
Local government figures	72%	80%	64%	-16%	-20%
Police officers	73%	81%	65%	-15%	-19%
Movie / TV / pop stars	74%	83%	65%	-18%	-21%
Female community leaders	75%	81%	69%	-11%	-14%
Aunts	77%	90%	66%	-24%	-27%
Male community leaders	79%	81%	77%	-3%	-4%

Mothers	79%	89%	70%	-19%	-21%
Political leaders	80%	82%	79%	-3%	-4%
School teachers	81%	87%	75%	-12%	-13%
Fathers	82%	90%	75%	-15%	-17%
Successful businessmen	83%	89%	78%	-12%	-13%
Religious leaders	84%	88%	79%	-9%	-10%

Pp diff = difference between percentage points; % diff = ratio in percent between countries

In further broadening the scope, we find that fathers' role model approval levels generally correlate with risk factor-related agreement rates. An analysis of the data suggests that the more fathers agree with risk factors the more they approve of the importance of role models; Spearman's correlation coefficients r_s range from 0.24 to 0.3. The most noteworthy association occurs between negative role models (gang leaders, violent extremists, and successful criminals) and the risk factor 'desire for revenge': $r_s = 0.3$ for successful criminals and 0.24 for violent extremists as well as for gang leaders. Fathers appear to link criminal activities to revanchist desires that stem from harm and injury.

While idols can represent a type of positive catalyst for children's active engagement in activities, they also can become a substitute for active engagement (i.e a passive behavioural option and replacement for one's own activities). Although this possibility cannot be verified on the basis of our data, what remains clear is that fathers consider their children to have a high affinity to role models in the religious and business spheres, and, to a slightly lesser degree, towards their own fathers whom children encounter as a 'natural' role model in everyday family life.

THEME V | ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE



On a personal and practical level, adolescents and young adults will in most cases find it difficult to identify directly with role models like fathers, teachers, and successful businessmen. Yet one need not always to look outward to find guidance in forming one's own identity. Activities that one pursues rather than admires or observes from afar possess a higher quality. And that most youth-related prevention programmes now include organised leisure activities is by no means an accident.

• ALTERNATIVE ACTIVITIES AND PATHWAYS •

In probing the extent of age-appropriate offers for the youth, we find that fathers by and large perceive there to be plenty of such extra-curricular choices in their community (see Figure 23). This is especially the case for sports in Uganda (90%) and religious studies in Zanzibar (86%). Our rather bold statement—‘The following alternatives to crime or violence are available to unemployed young people in my community’—also yields high rates of ‘availability’ with respect to ‘community work’ and ‘local youth centre activities’. Though competing for last place with community work, ‘arts and culture’ supposedly is also readily available, with an positive response rate of 84% in both Uganda and Zanzibar.

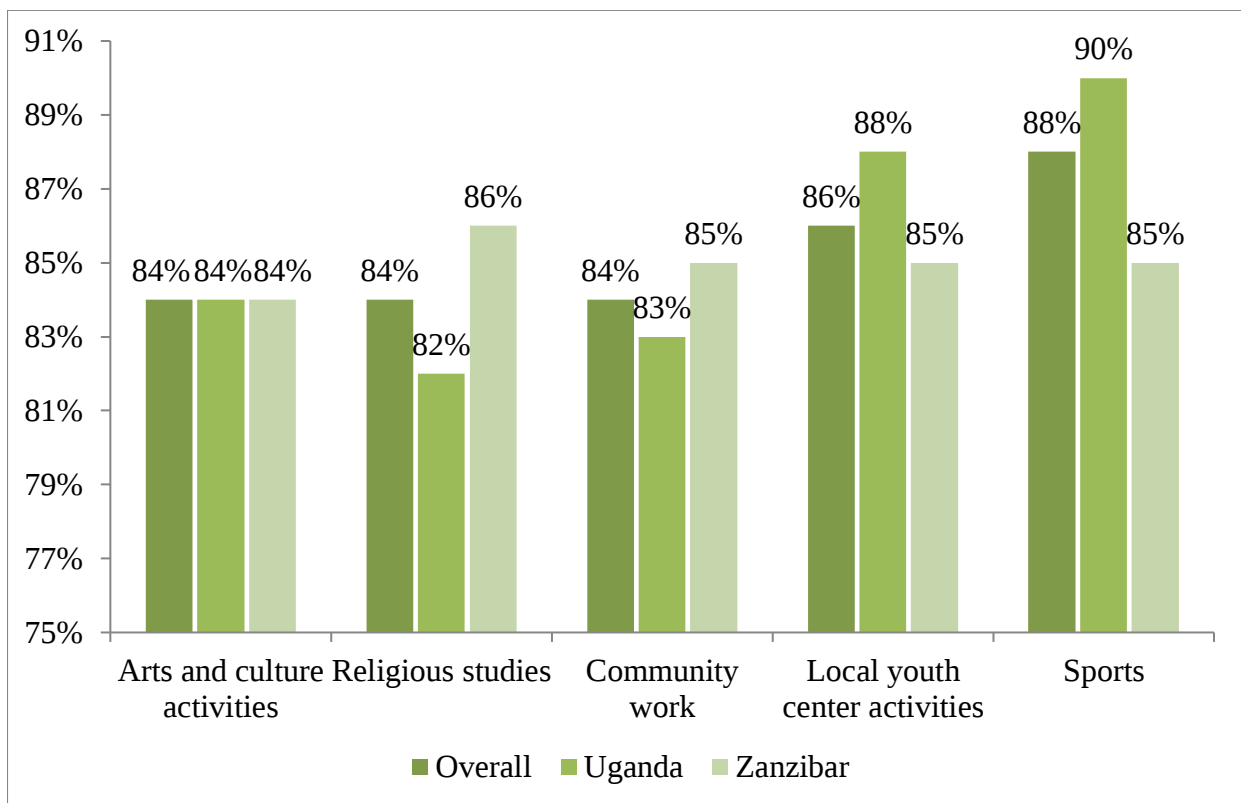


Figure 23. Readily available alternatives to crime or violence for young people in communities

THEME VI | PARENTING STYLES



Parenting is more often than not taken for granted. The emphasis rests on ‘learn as you go along’ rather than ‘educate yourself on a conceptual level and beyond’. As we previously discussed, the generational dimension in Uganda and Zanzibar appears to guide the approaches and attitudes of fathers to a considerable degree, with many idealising and emulating their own fathers while some fashion their style in direct opposition. Yet if we accept the established notion that ‘good practice’ parenting involves a number of universal truths; we must also probe how aware and compliant fathers are in this respect. This pursuit helps to shed light on one of the central questions of this study: are the survey fathers sufficiently equipped, willing, and positioned to shield their children from extremism?

• SPLIT OPINIONS ON CHILDREN AND MODERNITY •

A number of our survey themes could be characterised as ‘big questions’ or an effective ‘litmus test’. The statement ‘I want my children to be modern’ could point to some of the fathers’ less immediately obvious principles and worldviews. Here, our two survey samples are worlds apart. That the statement produces an average value of 51% points to a certain degree of ambivalence. At 38%, Zanzibar lags behind by 27 percentage points. While the idea of raising a ‘modern child’ is far more popular among Ugandan fathers, the approval rate nevertheless is not exceptionally high.

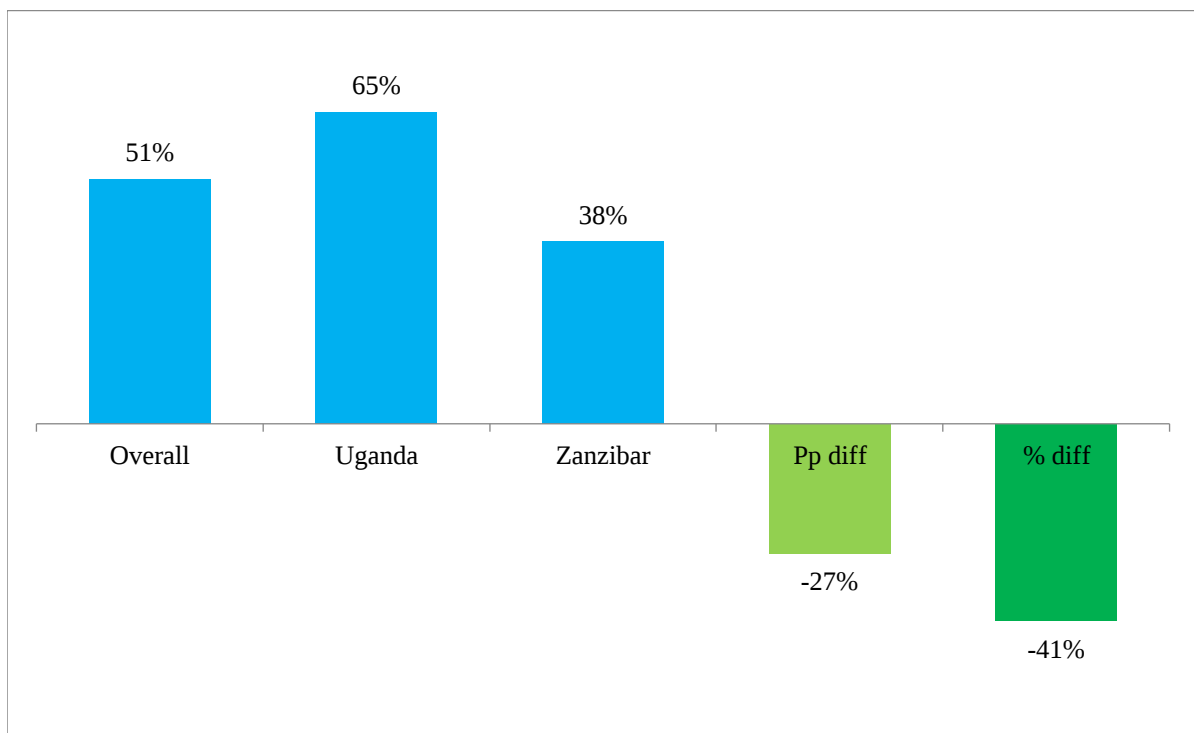


Figure 24. ‘I want my children to be modern’.

Pp diff: difference between the percentage values for Zanzibar and Uganda. The unit for the difference is percentage points (Pp) % diff: ratio in per cent between the value for Zanzibar divided by the value for Uganda minus 1.

• INVESTING TIME AND TALKING TO ONE'S CHILD •

In considering factors that are central to parenting in a security context, we have decided to concentrate on the following four.

- devoting attention (i.e. investing time and having conversations)
- building relationships (who talks to whom?)
- constructive interaction
- effective disciplining

While we are unable to provide insight into the quality of intrafamilial communication, the quantitative data suggests that the majority of fathers cultivate a discussion culture with their children. Some 79% of fathers in Uganda and 73% in Zanzibar claim to take the time to speak with their children 'very often' or 'regularly' (see Figure 25). Around 20% (Uganda) and 25% percent (Zanzibar) admit that they 'occasionally' spend time talking with their children, whereas only three to four per cent 'very rarely' do so.

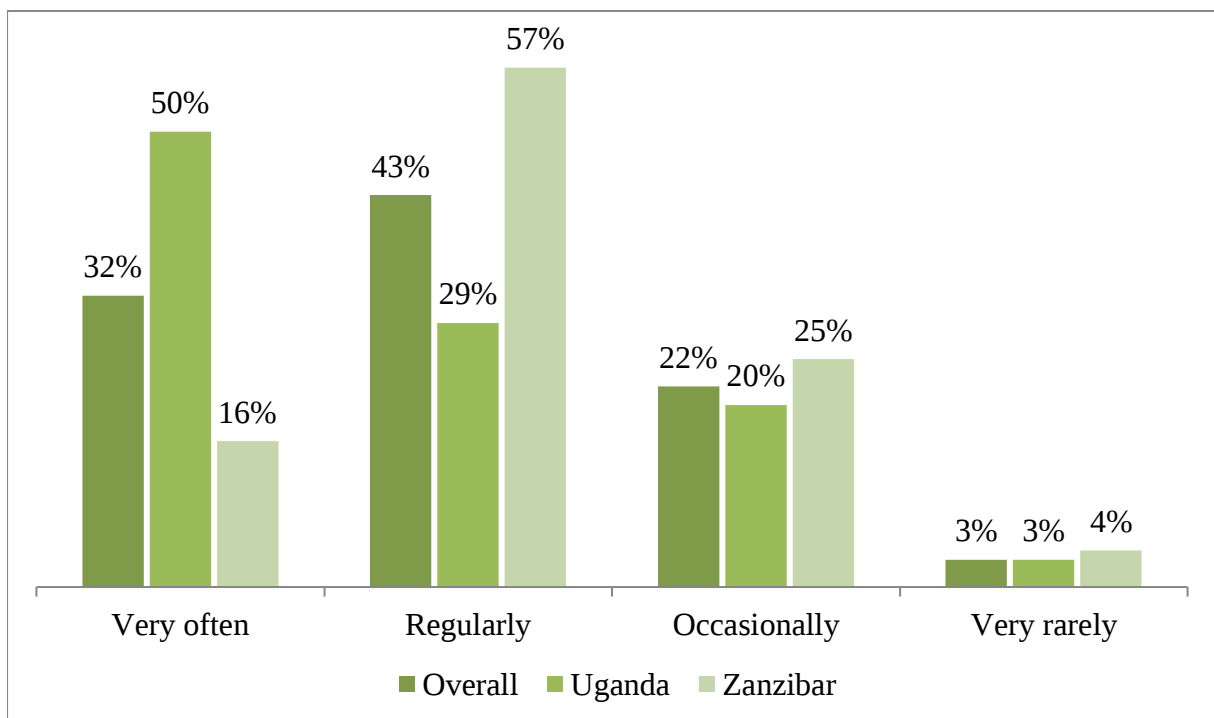


Figure 25. 'I spend time talking with my children'.

Fathers' degree of attention to their offspring in terms of devoting time and having discussions.

• WHICH PARENT DAUGHTERS AND SONS PREFER •

Gender stereotypes are universal. In order to investigate them in the context of Uganda and Zanzibar, we homed in on questions addressing ‘preferred relationships’ among family members (see Figure 26). The results confirm traditional communication patterns. At a little above 70%, most fathers of both countries perceive that daughters prefer their mothers. Preference rate categories take a serious dive thereafter. In holistic terms, sons are only slightly more in favour of building a relationship with their father. Ugandan survey participants nevertheless put mothers in the lead at 45 versus 40 per cent. Collectively speaking, therefore, fathers do not consider themselves to be the frontrunners in the parenting world.

A greater absence of many fathers from family life due to factors like work and additional marriages may at least in part help to explain this trend. To be sure, we can but point out numerical relationships; identifying and addressing potentially relevant topics is a next step that fathers need to take when confronted with their perceived gap. Yet skewed gender-based attitudes and perceptions also offer a valuable point of entry for further investigation into how such positions come into being and what measures can be developed to address patterns of justification that seek to explain away phenomena of the kind.

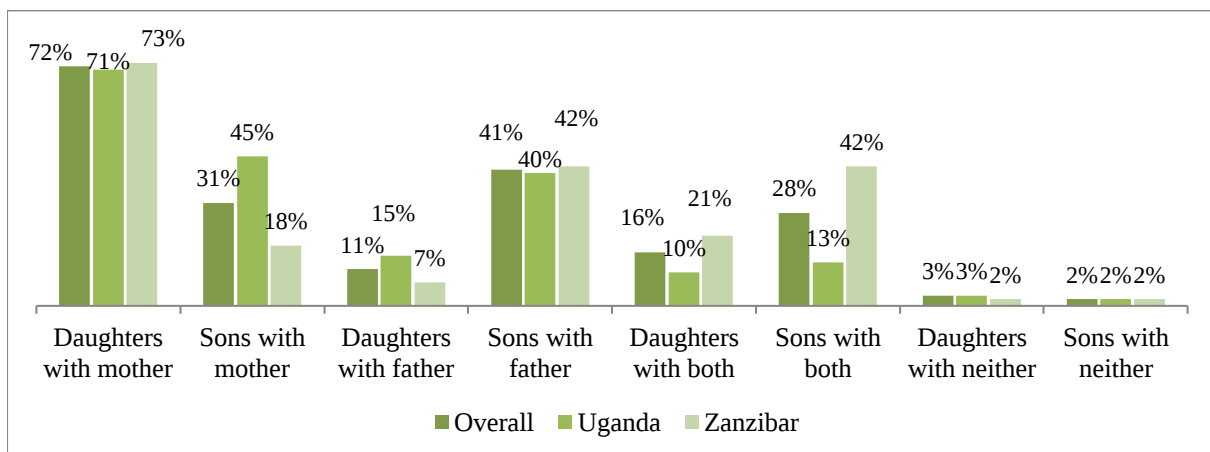


Figure 26. With which parent daughters and sons have a better relationship.

Beyond supposedly being favoured by their daughters and by their sons (albeit to a lesser degree in the case of the latter), mothers as wives generally are the survey participants’ preferred discussion partners with delicate issues like extremism at an overall 47%. Yet at 27% for Zanzibar, this is far from accurate; the Ugandan husband approval rate of 70% raises our average significantly. This distinct difference would remain a mystery if it were not viewed through the lens of violence. Since Ugandan fathers note higher rates of criminal activities and a greater presence of violent groups, it follows that they are more prone to shrouding related issues in secrecy.

THEME VII | AUTHORITARIAN PARENTING PRACTICES



Despite universal ‘truths’ of effective parenting styles, approaches differ across families and contexts with good reason. Let us take the example of divergent family structures. Parents who oversee families that lack structure often need to adjust their parenting style by introducing effective forms of disciplining, and by tightening a grip on the rule book. Conversely, stricter family milieus often call for a relaxation of disciplinary measures by means of giving their children more freedoms. While structures tend of course to be more fluid than this, both extremes can put adolescents in harm’s way of recruiters by prompting children to either seek structures elsewhere or to react by rebelling and breaking free. In neither case, however, can excessive authoritarian styles in parenting be viewed as effective safeguarding methods.

• YELLING AS A PARENTING TECHNIQUE •

Yelling with one's children is common in both countries. Overall, 39% of the fathers in our two country sample pools think that 'nearly all' or 'many fathers' yell at their children (see Figure 27). Around half believe that at least 'some fathers' yell or speak harshly with them. On the other hand, most fathers apparently view good arguments as a constructive forms of 'discipline' to, for instance, ensure that their children 'avoid deviant pathways' (see Figure 28). Yet corporal punishment in the forms of caning and beating are still readily applied by a total of 40%, and thus by a significant portion of fathers in both countries.

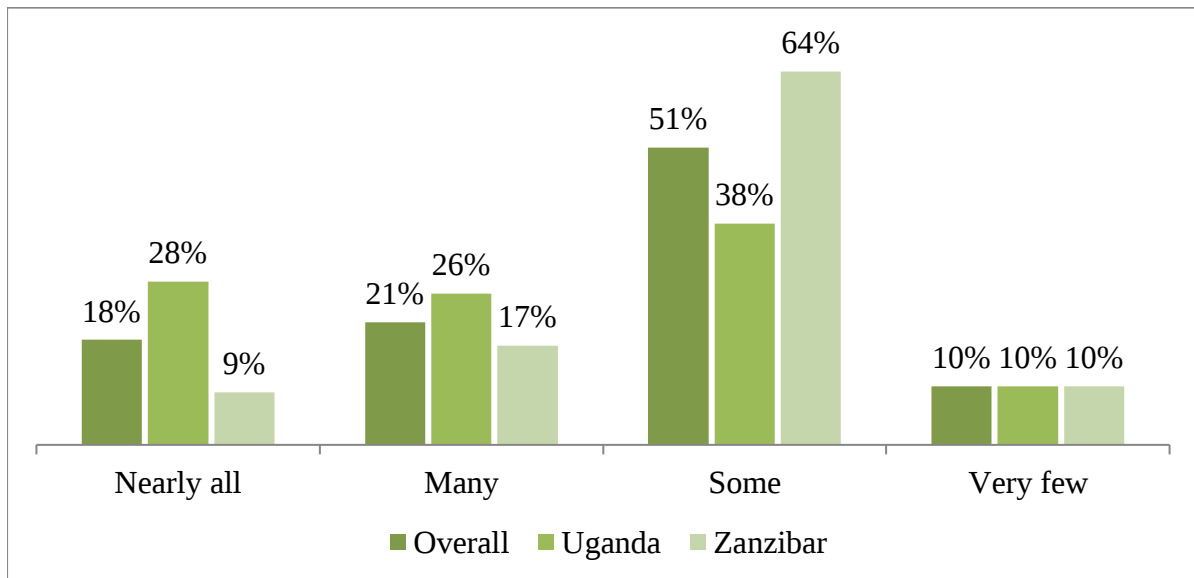


Figure 27. 'Many fathers yell at or speak harshly with their children in my community'.

• FATHERS' PREFERRED MEANS OF DISCIPLINING THEIR CHILDREN •

From among our range of disciplining methods, two are most noticeable: the application of force on the one hand, and the use of words to explain to their son or daughter how and where they might have gone wrong, on the other hand. While opting to correct their wrongs by conversational means ('explaining to them why they should behave differently') is supported by some 73% in both countries—with percentages of 66 and 80 for Uganda and Zanzibar, respectively—hands-on methods like 'caning or beating' are applied by 40% on average (see Figure 28).

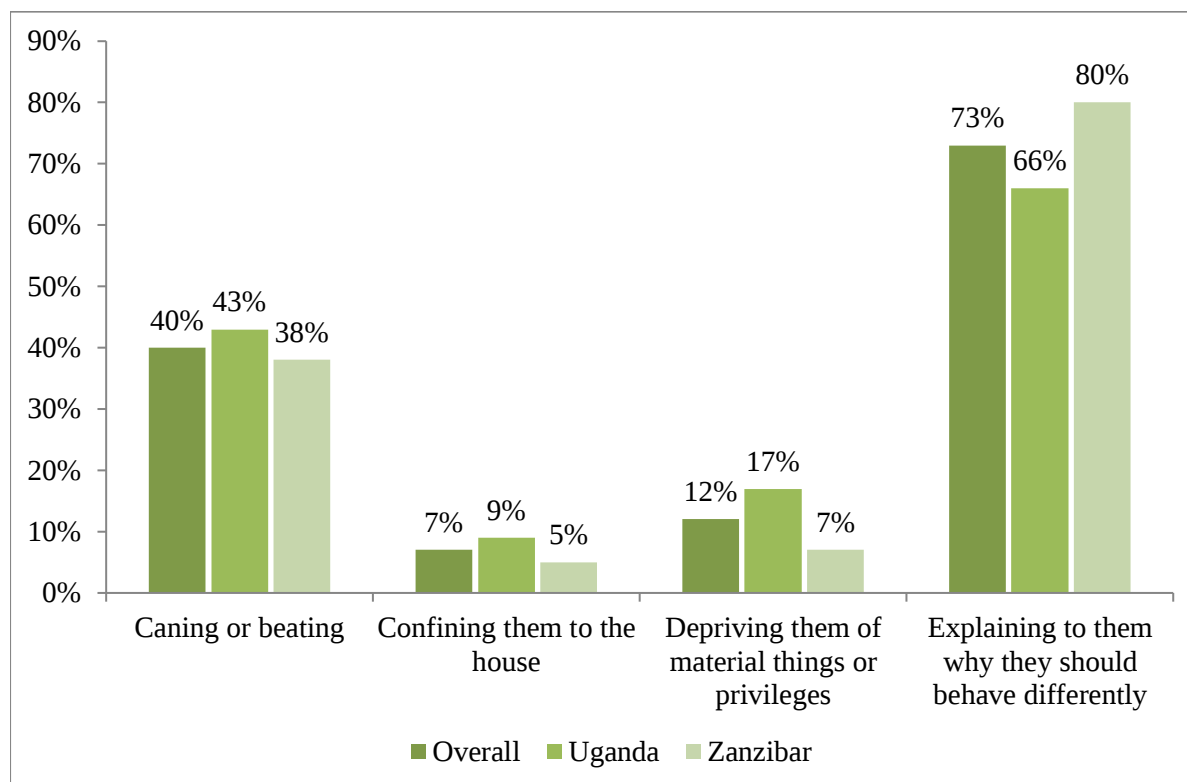


Figure 28. 'The following are effective ways for me to discipline children for misbehaviour'.
Four 'strategies' of disciplining sons and daughters.

THEME VIII | THE GUARDIANS OF THE PREVENTION SPHERE



In our effort to arrive at a series of applicable conclusions, this section pinpoints where improvements in parenting and prevention can be made. In this pursuit, we take on a number of questions. Whom would fathers enlist as prevention agents? Which institutions and individuals could do more to safeguard today's youth? What can fathers in particular do to protect their children from radicalisation? How wide-ranging is the spectrum of responsibilities to which fathers and mothers are bound? Where do survey participants source their fatherhood advice?

• WHO SHOULD DO MORE? INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS IN HIGH DEMAND •

The complex undertaking of successfully raising children cannot rest in the hands of parents alone. A joint effort at the individual and societal levels is required, with the family representing a point of intersection. For the individual sets out from the family, and through it all threads are woven together. As such, it makes sense to view society, family, and the individual as an inextricably linked unit. We thus presented to the survey fathers a number of individuals and institutions to choose from when considering who ought to ‘do more for me and my children’s safety’ (Figure 29). A clear hierarchy becomes immediately apparent.

Given that fathers came out on top at 94%, most participants appear to see that fathers above all others need to be more engaged in safeguarding their children, with many likely having checked this box during a moment of self-reflection. Figure 29 also reveals a clear division along public and private lines. Fathers have higher expectations of immediate family members and relatives, and of individuals who tend to be in closer proximity to them or their children: religious leaders, fathers, mothers, teachers, and relatives.

Only thereafter do fathers’ expectation levels lead us to a less obvious but fairly comprehensive group of chiefly state-run institutions: government, community organisations, local councils, international organisations, police, and army. With a range of between 82 and 91 per cent, however, these entities are still expected to increase their engagement levels to a considerable degree.

Ultimately, the data reveals that a vast majority of the survey fathers request heightened engagement from all actors. We thus also can conclude that fathers desire more prevention measures all around. In the light of our relatively marginal percentage differences across the board, perhaps survey participants are more interested in the notion that something is being done in the prevention sphere, rather than on which particular entity actually ends up taking action. Compared to the Ugandan fathers and by a margin of 11% in both cases, Zanzibari fathers desire slightly more involvement on the part of relatives at 95% and community organisations at 94%.

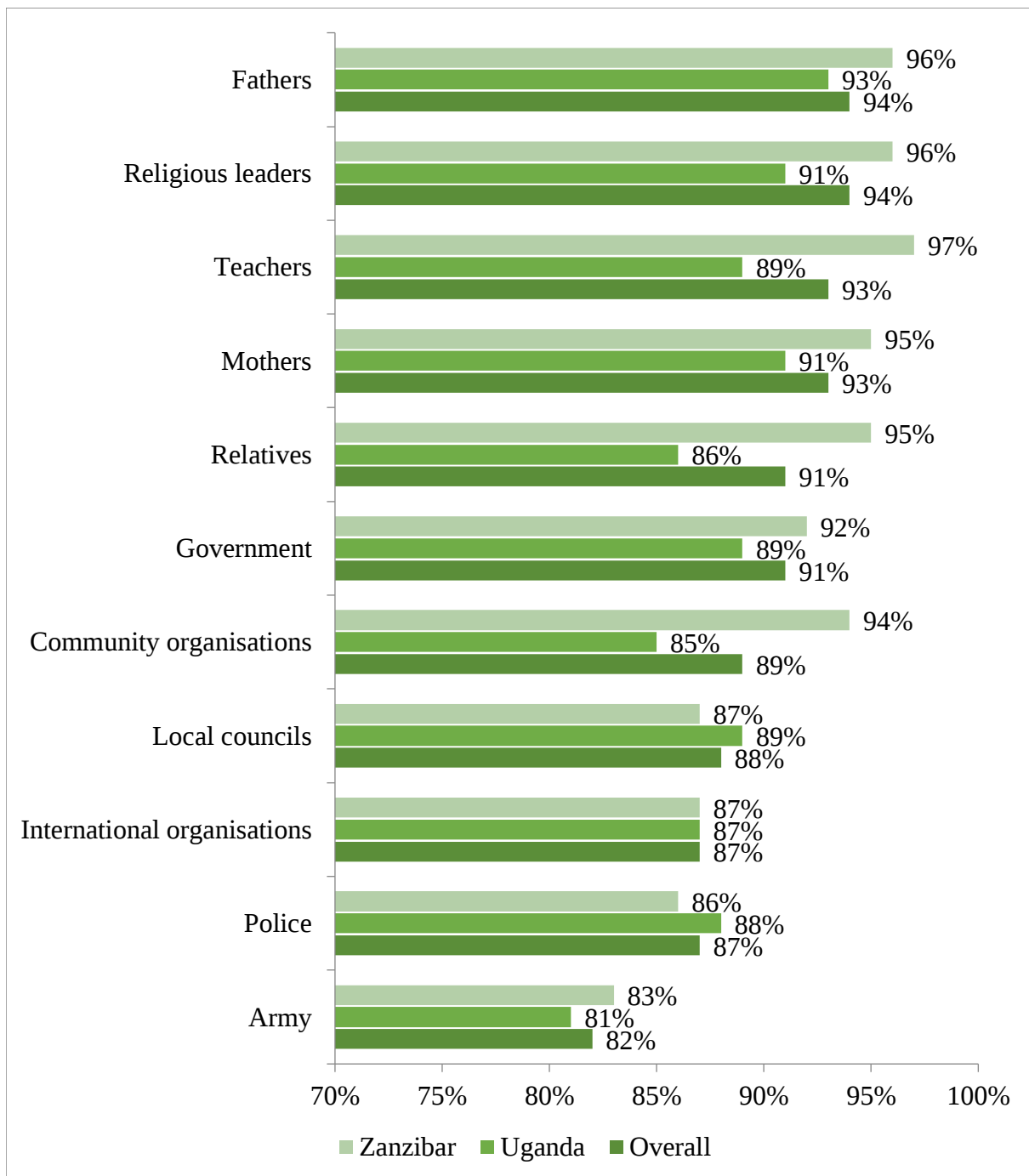


Figure 29. ‘People and institutions that need to do more for me and my children’s safety’.

• HOW FATHERS CAN PROTECT THEIR CHILDREN FROM EXTREMISM •

Circling back to fathers for a moment, we will now consider what survey participants perceive that they themselves can do when confronted with their children's visibly imminent descent into radicalism. This extreme case scenario yields the following responses (see Table 8).

Our list of eight items produces high approval rates across the board. The statement 'Threaten them with serious punishment', which represents an anomaly among our items, lags behind by a greater margin than the others. Statements like 'engage with local authorities', 'take children's grievances seriously', 'act as a positive role model', and 'support children through an identity crisis' were accepted by almost all of the fathers. At 77%, our Zanzibari fathers appear to be less convinced than their Ugandan peers that threatening children with serious punishment amounts to an effective measure; with a difference of 11 percentage points, this also is the only value that drops lower than 88%. 'Being aware of who their friends are', on the other hand, makes the top of the list. Here, Ugandan and Zanzibari fathers could barely agree more, with approval rates of 95% and 94%, respectively.

Table 8. What fathers can do to protect their children from radicalisation and recruiters.

	Overall	Uganda	Zanzibar	Pp diff	% diff
Threaten them with serious punishment***	82%	88%	77%	-10%	-12%
Engage with local authorities**	90%	88%	93%	5%	5%
Actively provide alternative viewpoints to aggrieved children*	91%	89%	93%	4%	4%
Learn which religious and political leaders inspire them	91%	91%	92%	1%	1%
Take their children's grievances seriously**	92%	90%	93%	2%	3%
Act as a positive role model*	93%	90%	95%	5%	5%
Support their children through an identity crisis*	93%	92%	94%	2%	2%
Be aware of who their friends are	94%	95%	94%	-1%	-1%

*Note: Values are percentages of fathers who 'agree' or 'strongly agree' with statements. Pp diff: difference between the percentage values for Zanzibar and Uganda. The unit for the difference is percentage points (Pp). % diff: ratio in percent between the value for Zanzibar divided by the value for Uganda minus 1. Stars indicate statistical significance for difference of means: *: p-value <0,05, **: p-value <0,01, ***: p-value <0,001.*

• PARENTS' RESPECTIVE RESPONSIBILITIES •

In considering the spectrum of responsibilities that fathers and mothers should observe when raising their children, we come across a fairly uniform constellation of survey participant responses (Table 9). At 96%, almost all of the fathers agree that a mother's responsibility is 'to prevent children from deviant pathways'. Some 95% agree or strongly agree that mothers need 'to check what children are doing' on a regular basis, and to 'ensure a safe environment within the wider neighbourhood and community context'. At an almost indistinguishable 94%, the notion of mothers 'giving advice' ranks sixth. In terms of perceived responsibility, fathers are never more than a couple of percentage points behind their wives. There are little to no response divergences between countries; a difference of three percentage points regarding 'giving advice' was the highest the we observed, with Zanzibari fathers taking the lead over their Ugandan counterparts. In sum total, responsibility in its various forms is taken seriously by Ugandan and Zanzibari fathers alike.

Table 9. Fathers' and mothers' responsibilities in parenting life.

	Overall	Uganda	Zanzibar	Pp diff	% diff
Fathers' responsibilities					
Checking what children do	94%	93%	94%	1%	1%
Ensuring a safe environment	94%	95%	93%	-1%	-2%
Preventing from deviant pathways	93%	94%	93%	-1%	-1%
Giving advice	92%	91%	93%	2%	3%
Mothers' responsibilities					
Preventing from deviant pathways	96%	95%	97%	2%	2%
Checking what children do	95%	95%	95%	0%	0%
Ensuring a safe environment	95%	95%	96%	1%	1%
Giving advice	94%	93%	95%	2%	2%

Pp diff = difference between percentage points; % diff = ratio in percent between countries

From among a list of 'trustworthy institutions and people', we also found that survey participants most trust mothers (94%), with 'teachers' and 'religious leaders' trailing close behind. Ugandan fathers, however, are less trusting here: teachers and religious leaders receive lower scores by 9 and 5 per cent, respectively. Fathers in both countries may be conscious of certain discrepancies, which could help to explain why they vehemently agree with the notion that fathers and religious leaders should do more 'to prevent their children from getting involved in extremism' (94%), 'act as positive role models' (93%), and 'support their children during adolescence' (e.g. identity crisis; 93%). Overall, our survey fathers, being mostly of one mind, do not perceive to be duty shirkers: they present a united front with a strong inclination to assume parenting responsibilities.

• SOURCES FOR FATHERHOOD ADVICE •

To be sure, the survey participants feel very responsible for giving advice to their children. Yet how and from whom do fathers themselves get advice? How have their respective fatherhood styles developed and on the basis of what are their particular actions or approaches rationalised? Since parenting is not a prominent topic that one commonly comes across in popular fields like the sciences or the arts and humanities, uncertainties and a lack of conceptual awareness reign supreme.

To get a first glimpse of where fathers are sourcing their parenting advice, we presented them with a list of seven items. The responses reveal that fathers seem to accept advice from all those whom we included, but that a certain hierarchy is apparent (see Figure 30). At percentage values of 90 and above, the clear frontrunners are fathers, religion, and mothers. School and psychology follow suit at 88% and 85%, respectively. Psychology is deemed slightly less useful by Zanzibaris at 83%, which is the same overall percentage score that community leaders receive. At 78%, friends are considered to be the least useful sources for fatherhood advice.

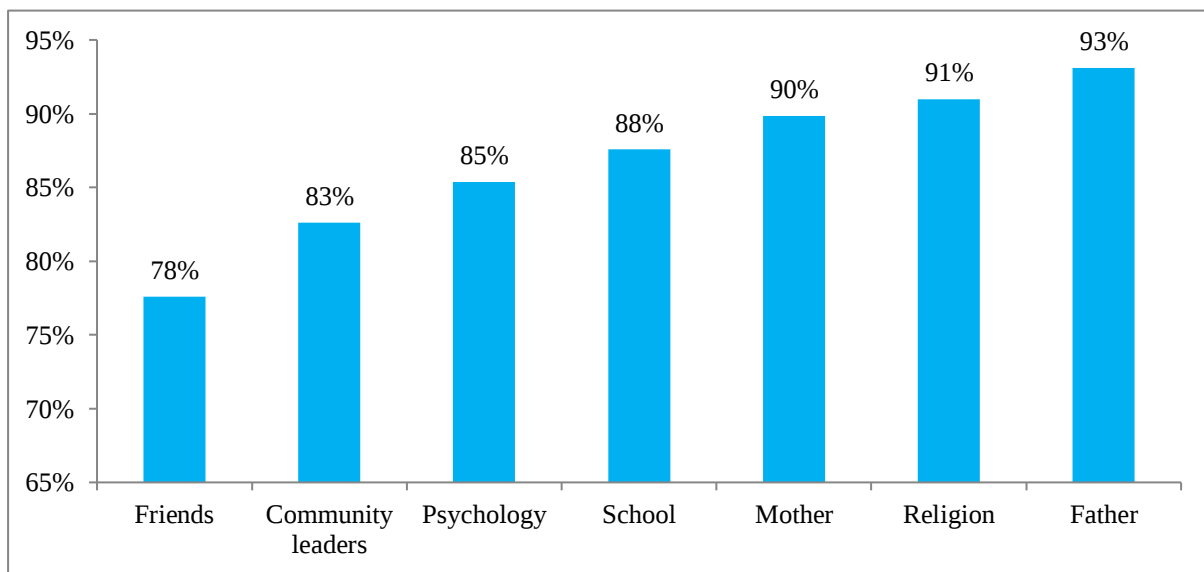


Figure 30. Useful sources for fatherhood advice.

Note: Due to the marginal percentage differences across both countries for each item, only overall values have been included.

FINDINGS PART III | SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT



FEARS, TRUST, AND NECESSITIES IN THE PARENTING CONTEXT

That human behaviour is conditioned by an interplay between internal and external factors rings true of parenting in equal measures. From among the many aspects that profoundly impact on related practices, we have singled out the following three: fear, trust, and necessity. We have observed a link between the fathers' perceptions of real and imagined threats like recruitment and radicalisation on the one hand, and their experiences with formal and informal entities like schools and governmental institutions in relation to the upbringing of their children and radical leaders and police with respect to the prevention sphere. The degree to which fathers are able to address difficult issues only further complicates matters. All of these issues have a bearing on the nature of the wishes that fathers develop when they embark on their search for better solutions to dealing with threats. Who is supporting them along the journey, and what can they themselves do to grow their fatherhood skill-set and self-confidence?

• FEARS AND THREATS •

Children's final steps towards independence are taken in the family context during adolescence. Though still mostly under the protection and watchful eye of father and mother, this period marks the onset of their increasingly heightened interaction with the outside world. With teenagers first having to learn how to navigate the 'new world' that they are edging towards, they inevitably make mistakes that most will likely categorise as necessary experience further down the line. Parents observe this process and naturally contemplate a myriad of dangers to which their children are exposed. Regardless of whether or not they are warranted, these concerns are everyday realities that can put an enormous amount of pressure on fathers and mothers. Figure 31 points to a clear hierarchy of perceived dangers.

Once again, we find fathers to espouse a degree of ambivalence: the highest approval rate only just about surpasses the 80% mark in Uganda. Values for Zanzibari survey men are lower across the board. Contrary to expectation, the internet is preceded by radical leaders, political organisations, and friends. Television, universities, and religious groups are next in line. Looking down at the bottom of the list, the least anxiety-inducing entities in Zanzibar appear to be relatives at 48% and schools at 57%, which is also true of Uganda despite much higher percentages of 79 and 74, respectively.

When viewed from a global perspective, differences between the two countries are certainly not stark. As an island state, however, Zanzibar has distinctive economic and societal organisational structures, whereas Uganda with its vast capital city of Kampala produces a strong urban magnet. Population density-related factors can partly help to explain percentage value gaps of between 23 and 39 for relatives, schools, and community centres, all of which are considered to be less dangerous in Zanzibar.

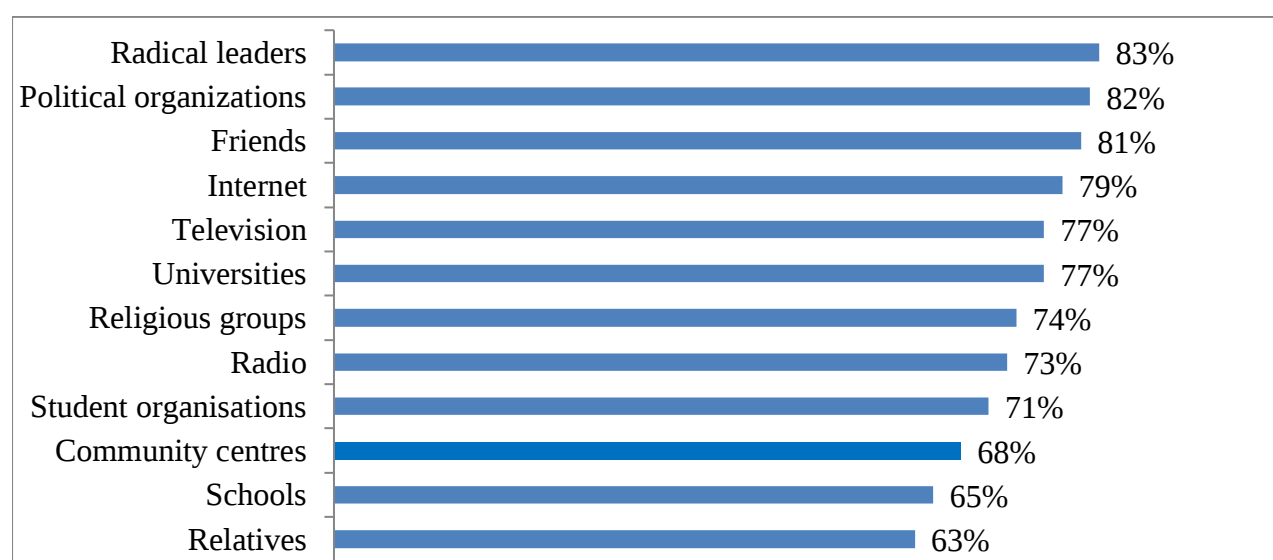


Figure 31. Origin of the threat.

Note: Overall data; strong differences discussed above.

• WHOM TO TRUST •

In uncertain times like the period of adolescence of children, parents for the most part will require more outside help than usual. Yet there are a number of entities familiar to parents who can provide support. The list of twelve items that we presented to the survey fathers is divided into ‘proximate’ and ‘distant’ entities of trust (see Figure 32). Family, school, and religious institutions are deemed closer, and the army, police, and organisations more distant.

The results reveal that fathers generally trust entities that are concerned with the care of children: immediate family members and relatives as well as teachers. Per usual, friends do poorly, and slightly worse yet than law enforcement. Compared to the Zanzibari fathers, Ugandans are less trusting of police and army by 10 and 7 percentage points. Conversely, with nine points above their Zanzibari counterparts, Ugandan results are just shy of a 100% trust rate for teachers.

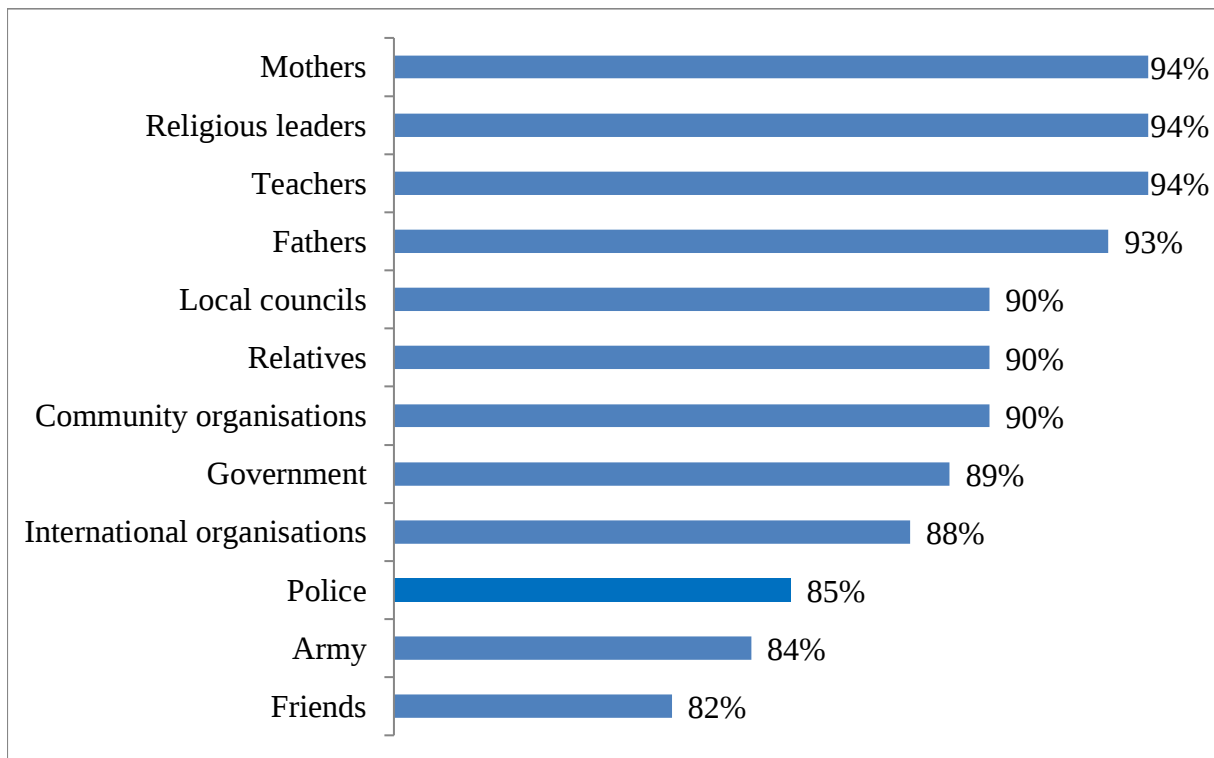


Figure 32. Trustworthy people and institutions that look out for the safety of children.

Note: Overall data; strong differences are discussed in text.

• FATHERS' PERCEIVED NEEDS FOR PARENTING IMPROVEMENT •

Finding the right path and parenting approach is a central tenant of family life. With their children in mind, parents naturally assume responsibilities but do not always feel up to the task. As family life goes on, fathers and mothers alike accumulate a list of shortcomings and issues that the more mindful ones among them hope to eventually address and resolve. While many will fall short of addressing issues in due time (though not for a lack of trying), there is an abundance of measures that can be adopted to advance their skills, constructively tackle seemingly insurmountable challenges, and bring parenting to a higher level. That likely few will disagree becomes evident when one reflects on how perceived needs and necessities are commonly expressed when fathers are confronted with some of the most threatening and painful of issues.

We thus arrive at a central point of the debate the field of preventing violent extremism (PVE). Questionable prevention strategies that are applied by police and indeed different armies often are rooted in the assumption that parents' influence over their children is too limited to consider enlisting them as potential prevention and intervention actors. This assumption likely will be sustained so long as parents do not receive adequate support and relevant training and appeals for improved parenting education likely will continue unabated for as long as they are being overlooked or ignored. Counterproductive narratives demand our attention and a concerted effort on the part of those who recognise the merits of building up a conceptual and practical parenting skill-set.

To lay the groundwork for testing obstructive conceptions regarding the potential agency of fathers in particular, we presented to the survey participants eleven items that each signify a form of potential inclusion of fathers (Figure 33). These 'perceived needs' were not only chosen on the basis of our background research and qualitative interviews; they also have proved valuable in our past work with mothers.

Our findings demonstrate that the lay father is more astute than to bet all his earnings on 'the winning horse', so to speak. While most see that formal schooling is central to improving parenting performance for the purpose of safeguarding their children, training in parenting skills nevertheless tops the list while receiving support from social organisations is on equal footing; in this respect, survey fathers across Uganda and Zanzibar are of one mind. Internet and computer proficiency are comparatively less of a priority, which is more the case of Zanzibari fathers than their Ugandan peers at a percentage value difference of fifteen. Ugandan survey men, on the other hand, express greater interest (+7%) in convening and linking up with fellow fathers.

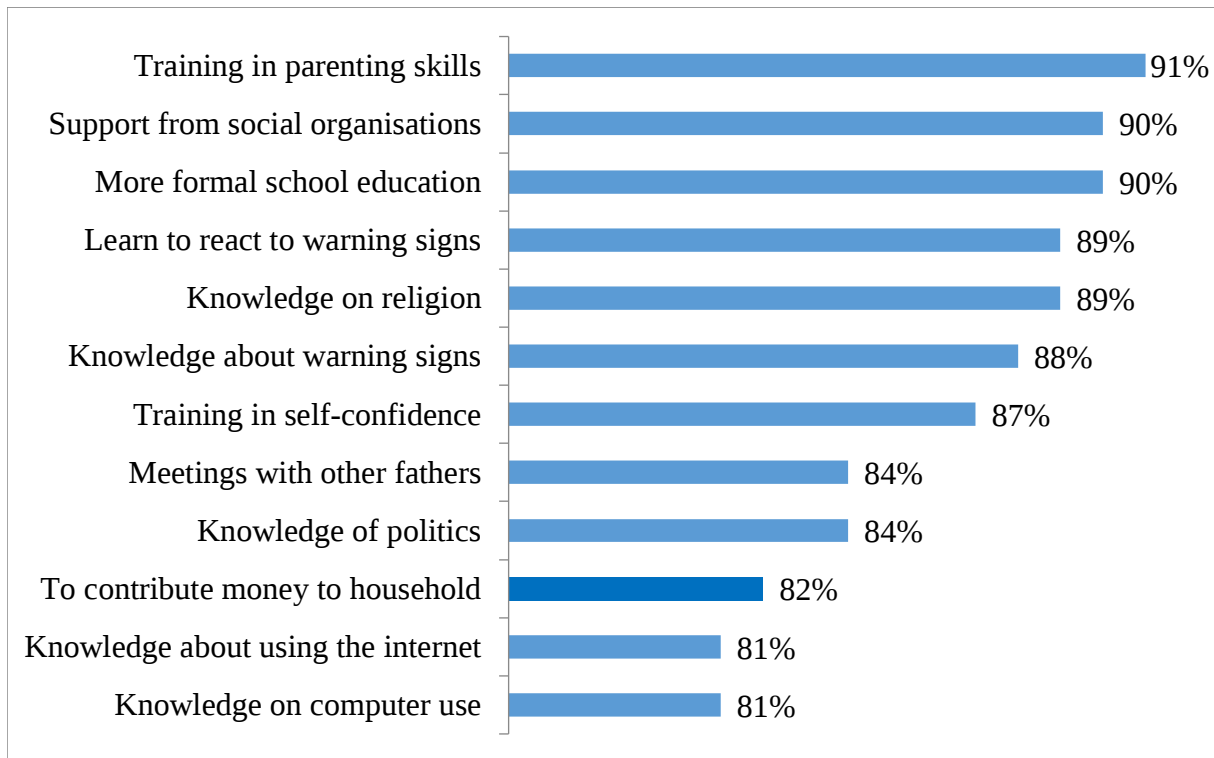


Figure 33. The fathers' perceived needs for parenting and safeguarding improvement.

In delving deeper into (statistically) relevant differences between both countries through a mean value comparison on a scale of 1–4, we learn that Zanzibari fathers are less keen on 'parenting skills' (mean 3.38 vs 3.50, $p < 0.05$). A significantly higher portion of the Ugandan fathers also prescribe greater importance to the knowledge sphere: 'knowledge about warning signs' (3.36 vs 3.24, $p < 0.05$); 'knowledge of politics' (3.21 vs 3.07, $p < 0.05$), and 'knowledge on computer use' (3.27 vs 2.99, $p < 0.001$). The same is true of 'meetings with other fathers' (3.22 vs 3.08, $p < 0.05$), and of the desire 'contribute money to the household' (3.20 vs 3.04, $p < 0.05$).

REVISITING FATHERS' APPEAL FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY



The nature of the fathers' desired skill-set and means of knowledge acquisition to improve their fatherhood practices inevitably will be linked to their respective experiences with and treatment of their children. Taking for granted a degree of self-reflection, most fathers undoubtedly sense or identify perceived personal shortcomings. Akin to this dynamic, experiences and contact with various institutions in the course of their lifetime will colour the way fathers see the safeguarding potential of certain entities. In the context of this study, the following question follows: What are fathers' experiences when they approach state-run institutions in matters pertaining to their children and parenting more generally? Accordingly, these entities increasingly gain or lose a father's trust over time.

• FROM WHOM FATHERS EXPECT GREATER PREVENTION ENGAGEMENT •

To conclude this chapter, let us return for a moment to our ‘Theme VIII’ discussion on ‘the guardians of the prevention sphere’ of the previous chapter, albeit on a more holistic level. As previously discussed, the range of item responses related to the statement ‘people and institutions that need to do more for me and my children’s safety’ point to a clear divide: fathers demand more of those closest to them—their inner circle—than of state-led or civil society institutions. Overall, they are of the opinion that parents, religious leaders, and teachers need to put in more work (Figure 34).

Our findings raise a central question. In relative terms, have law enforcement agencies, international and local civil society organisations, and governments at different levels been doing more for the security of the youth, or are fathers more suspicious of them?

Regardless of the reasons, our findings point to a clear mandate on the part of the survey men: at this moment in time, fathers need to engage more than anyone else in order to protect their children.

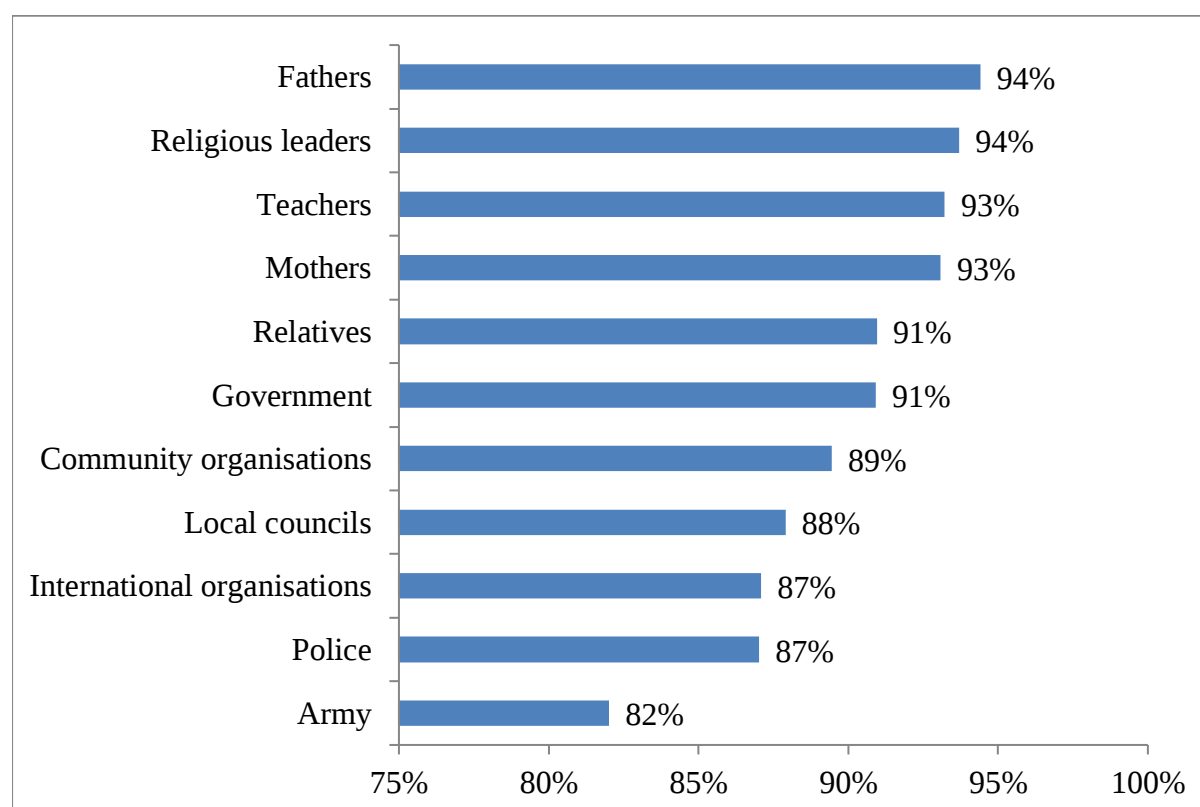


Figure 34. ‘People and institutions that need to do more for the safety our children’.

FINDINGS PART IV | FACTOR ANALYSIS



FACTOR ANALYSIS OVERVIEW

The preceding analysis of our data regarding the topics of fear, needs, trust, and demands enables us in this chapter to pursue a concept that takes into account various prevention-related elements concurrently. We thus consider how our triad (plus demands) can also be influenced by five attitude characteristics. While father by no means are a single and unified entity, the term ‘father’ automatically conjures up a series of ideas, associations, and concepts. Yet for the most part, they construct their own role in accordance with distinctive personal attitudes that are difficult to detect from the outside. Factor analysis presents an effective technique to uncover below-the-surface structures, dynamics, and patterns by ‘clustering’ correlating items. Aided by the survey questionnaire data, we have applied this method to isolate and identify a series of factors that group together corresponding patterns of thought and behaviour.

• CLUSTERING THE FATHERS | OUR FIVE CENTRAL CATEGORIES •

A consideration of the survey fathers' responses in Uganda and Zanzibar enabled us to isolate and define five factors; in other words, an examination of the participants' divergent attitudes uncovered five categories of fathers. As detailed in

Table 10, these range from 'Factor 1: Openminded' to 'Factor 5: Closedminded). The other three categories, lying between both extremes, divide up and group together fathers along 'alarmist', 'conservative', or 'doctrinaire' lines. In approaching some of our findings through the lens of these five, 'hidden' characteristics, we move beyond a consideration of averages or mean values and thus gain deeper insight into the behavioural patterns of fathers.

The appropriate and accurate designations of individual factors (or categories)—derived on the basis of statistical calculations—need always to be thoroughly tested through the qualitative data analysis method. Before settling on our definitions and applying these as the basis for further consideration, we first completed an iterative process. We thus see that the five factors have been appropriately defined for the anticipated purpose of translating the results into practice in the near future.

Specifically, our factor analysis draws on the survey men's responses to attitude-related items 16 through 48. The following distinct categories emerged: 1) openminded, 2) conservative, 3) alarmist, 4) doctrinaire, and 5) closedminded. For an overview of corresponding items, see

Table 10 below.

Table 10. Hidden attitudes: Five factor analysis categories and loadings (L) of related items

Factor 1: OPENMINDED	L
I want my children to be raised the way I was raised.	0,62
I believe that men and women should have the same status in society.	0,58
I believe that men and women should have equal rights in marriage.	0,56
I have a strong relationship with my children.	0,56
An educated woman can be a help to her husband.	0,5
As long as he has enough money, a man can have good relationships with several wives at the same time.	0,46
Mothers can do their job better when left alone, without men interfering.	0,46
I am satisfied with my life overall.	0,45
I would be happy for my child(ren) to go study or work abroad.	0,44
I expect my child to support me when I am old.	0,31
Factor 2: CONSERVATIVE	
Societies allowing early marriage are better off.	0,64
I feel disconnected from my children.	0,6
Marriage and having children are not concepts that work for men.	0,54

Fathers have no natural talent for parenting.	0,53
I believe that boys and girls should be raised differently.	0,49
An educated woman can be a threat to her husband.	0,38
Factor 3: ALARMIST	
Cultural influences from outside have become dangerous for young people in my community.	0.68
I am concerned that extremism could have an effect on my own children.	0.66
Cultural influences from outside are getting stronger in my community than before.	0.65
Violent extremism is an existing threat in my community.	0.56
Extremism comes mainly from cultural influences outside my country, like globalization or foreign visitors.	0.45
Factor 4: DOCTRINAIRE	
I want my children to be modern.	0.66
The younger generation has the same ethical values (hard work and family) as the older generation.	0.59
I believe my religion justifies the use of violence to achieve important goals.	0.56
To prevent children from joining terrorist groups, there is nothing I can do but pray to God.	0.5
Many fathers in our country neglect their responsibilities to their families.	0.4
Factor 5: CLOSEDMINDED	
I feel scared or uncomfortable discussing the topic of extremism with people outside my family.	0.56
In general, a father will not realize that his child has become a violent extremist until it is too late.	0.51
I personally have a lack of clear information or understanding of the work of extremist perpetrators and the causes of extremist violence.	0.5
Newspapers, radio, and television channels do not tell the truth about extremism.	0,9
As a father, I would know if my child was involved in violent extremism.	0.45
As a father, I would know how to react if one of my children became a violent extremist.	0.35
Most people know who is really responsible for extremist violence in my community, even if they don't talk about it.	0.33

ARE SOCIAL AND ATTITUDE CHARACTERISTICS RELATED?



The five attitude-related categories that we derived through factor analysis—openminded, conservative, alarmist, doctrinaire, and closedminded—were first applied to check against differences between (a) Zanzibar and Uganda, (b) high and low educational level, and (c) Muslim and Christian denomination. In a second round we looked at two break variables: first, having been harmed and a victim of political violence, and second, having children who were involved in different forms of violence. Finally, we tested possible associations between the fathers' personal characteristics and the degree of their attachment to their children. These comprised the following.

Three types of sociodemographic data

- Country of origin
Zanzibar vs. Uganda
- High vs low education levels
secondary school, college, graduate school vs no formal schooling, primary school
- Religious affiliation
Muslim vs Christian

Two levels of experience linked to violence

- Passive involvement: Victim of political violence within family
at least one 'yes' vs none out of 4 options
- Active involvement: Own children were involved in violent activity
at least one 'yes' vs none out of 15 options

One behavioural feature

- Attachment: defined as 'I have a strong relationship with my child/children'
strongly agree vs all others (agree, disagree, strongly disagree)

Comparison between Uganda and Zanzibar

Does living in one or the other country reveal unexpected differences in attitudes? Pursuing a more worldly and openminded lifestyle appears to be linked more to being a Zanzibari resident (effect size $d = 0.72$), with conservative and doctrinaire opinions being more prevalent in Uganda ($d = -0.46$ resp. -0.99 ; see Table 11). In short, a far higher number of Zanzibari survey men proved to be openminded fathers; far fewer could be found in our conservative and doctrinaire attitudes categories.

The impact of educational levels

Save for one exception, it appears that higher levels of education (i.e. beyond secondary school) do not directly line up with our five factors. The anomaly, which ought nevertheless to be viewed with caution, suggests that higher levels of education and conservative predispositions are mutually exclusive: the more educated the father, the less likely a conservative categorisation. Education produces an average effect size of $d = -0.41$ (see Table 11), albeit only in this instance. When considering the individual items pertaining to the ‘conservative’ factor as a control measure (see

Table 10), we observe the disappearance of the following four attitudes: ‘societies allowing early marriage better off’; ‘I feel disconnected from my children’; ‘I believe that boys and girls should be raised differently’, and ‘an educated woman can be a threat to her husband’.

The impact of religion

According to our data, affiliation to Islam is linked to openmindedness, and not to doctrinaire attitudes (see Table 11). This is a valuable finding, considering widespread prejudices against Muslims that likely are a product of perceiving a comparatively strong attachment to religion. On the other hand, Islam is the dominant religion in both countries and thus also the norm that determines what is mainstream, as is the case of other religions around the world.

• THE IMPACT OF PASSIVE VS ACTIVE EXPERIENCE WITH VIOLENCE •

We are concerned with approaching the data to shed light on relationships rather than causalities. This demands careful consideration and sound judgement. By no means are we seeking to lay claim to and establish absolute certainties; we are far more concerned with uncovering the complex nature of the topic.

Approaching the themes of terrorism and violent extremism in a measured yet not overly cryptic or coded manner presented a major challenge. In order to get a better sense of what could be defined as ‘proximity to terror’, we asked about the extent of violent incidents that father themselves or individuals to whom they are fairly close had encountered. We broached the sensitive and indeed difficult topic of their children’s possible, active participation in acts of political violence by embedding this within a lengthy list of items that otherwise probed less ‘dangerous’ activities (see Table 11).

Survey fathers who had passive experiences with political violence (i.e. fathers or family members having been harmed or exposed to violence as victims) could not be located in the categories ‘openminded’ ($d = -0.36$) and ‘alarmists’ ($d = -0.2$). Those deemed to espouse ‘doctrinaire’ attitudes cropped up most in this respect, followed by their conservative and closedminded peers.

The same only partially is true regarding active experiences with violence, which we have defined in relation to their own children having been involved with political violence. Once again, openminded fathers appear barely to be affected ($d = -0.29$), with alarmist ones even less so ($d = -0.14$). Conversely, this does apply to families whose fathers fit our conservative and doctrinaire moulds.

While degrees of impact do not vary significantly, it is clear enough that fathers who can relate to violence in the aforementioned manners are not more alarmistic than those who cannot. Though barely worth mentioning, the opposite is more the case.

• DETACHED VS ATTACHED FATHERS •

Relationships depend for the most part on a degree of successful attachment, and thus, more concisely, on the depth of the parent-child bond. To introduce the survey fathers to our ‘attachment’ theme, we opted to include the item ‘I have a strong relationship with my children’, with which 62% strongly agreed. In also including ‘agree’, the value rises to 85% for Uganda and 94% for Zanzibar.

Taking individual factors into account shows that openminded followed by alarmist fathers appear to most able to sustain a bond with their children, in start contrast to closedminded and doctrinaire survey men. In other words, those fathers who feel more attached to their children, tend to exhibit more openminded or indeed alarmist characteristics.

Fathers who are more attachment also differentiate between the various threats facing their children. They less concerned about ‘proximate’ threats (i.e. relatives, community centres, friends, student organisations) than ‘distant’ ones (i.e. political organizations, radical leaders, television, and the internet (see Table 12).

Finally, the more attached fathers feel, the more involved and concerned they claim to be when it comes to their children’s safety and up. In this regard, they express a greater need for parental improvement, display higher trust in people and organisations, and expect or demand more engagement of all members of society (see Table 13).

Table 11. The relationship between social factors and attitude scores.

	Open-minded	Conservative	Alarmist	Doctrinaire	Closed-minded
Country: Zanzibar – Uganda	0.72	-0.46	-0.06	-0.99	-0.15
Education: high – low	-0.11	-0.41	0.02	-0.05	-0.08
Religion: Muslim – Christian	0.51	-0.12	-0.07	-0.6	-0.21
Victim of political violence within family: yes – no	-0.36	0.39	-0.2	0.7	0.26
Own children were involved in violent activity: yes – no	-0.29	0.28	-0.14	0.26	0.07
Attached: Having a strong relationship with children	1.01	-0.06	0.31	-0.3	-0.33

ARE ENVIRONMENT AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS RELATED?



Is there a relationship, or perhaps an interplay, between open-mindedness and closed-mindedness on the one hand, and degrees of fear, trust, needs, and demands on the other hand? Might there also be a link between the frequency of active as well as passive experiences with extremist violence and personal characteristics? The ensuing analysis of statistical relationships promises to move us closer to answering at least some aspects of these particularly complex questions.

• DEFINING FIVE TYPES OF FATHERS THROUGH SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT •

While analysing the parenting role of fathers can be approached through various frameworks, ours centres on the survey men and their children in a security context by including: elements of danger (threats), trust (and support), necessities (skills and knowledge), and demands and calls to action (directed at individuals and institutions). This constellation allows us to uncover (see Table 12) a series of interesting insights regarding our cast list of five types of fathers:

- Openminded fathers are most responsive to needs (i.e. perceived necessities) in the form of knowledge and training in order to bolster their fatherhood practices and safeguard their children. While they demand significantly more engagement from individuals and institutions, they nevertheless tend to be far more trusting of people.
- Conservative fathers, on the other hand, are locked into a world of perceived threats that they perceive to be originating from nearby sources like family members, the community, and relatives. This leaves scarce room for them to devote their attention to or recognise the potential significance of other conditions in their environment.
- While alarmist fathers are almost as trusting as their openminded peers, in many other respects they appear to be of an entirely different disposition. The ‘alarmists’ perceive threats to emanate from distant and more abstract sources like the media or internet. When we consider their high propensity for needs and demands, they again seem to liken the openminded survey participants. This expression of extended trust makes them look more similar than might be the case in reality.
- The two remaining types of fathers from among our list of ‘characters’ are the ‘doctrinaires’ who are fearful of nearby threats and the ‘closedminded’ who generally express more needs. Like the conservative fathers, they both do not exhibit more than one strong attitude characteristic.

Table 12. Relationship between social environment and attitude characteristics

	Open-minded	Conservative	Alarmist	Doctrinaire	Closed-minded
Near Threats	-0.016	0.249	0.036	0.216	0.084
Far Threats	0.049	0.028	0.219	-0.027	0.052
Trust	0.295	-0.03	0.198	-0.003	0.025
Needs	0.147	0.027	0.25	0.086	0.115
Demands	0.285	-0.02	0.227	-0.006	0.061

*Note: Spearman correlation coefficients [rs]; Stars indicate statistical significance: *: p-value <0.05, **: p-value <0.01, ***: p-value <0.001*

The truism that interdependencies do not have a ‘natural end’ can also be applied to the notion that there is no definitive beginning to them. Both are therefore dependent on conventions that define our respective contexts. Let us now consider through which constellations our two form of threats, trust, needs, and demands can be otherwise measured.

DO EXPERIENCE AND DEMOGRAPHICS IMPACT PERCEPTION?



• HOW EXPERIENCE AND BACKGROUND SHAPE PERCEPTION •

The spectrum comprising threats, trust, necessities, and demands cannot claim to represent an absolute framework of perceptions. Equally, demographic characteristics that to varying degrees define a person—such as nationality, education, and religion—can be perceived in different ways. For deeper insight into subsurface structures, we therefore included a number of variables that have a bearing on fathers' parenting behaviour.

We probed the possible relationship between social data (like home country, level of education, religious affiliation, and negative experiences with violence-related incidents) and social perceptions regarding fears, trust, needs, and demands.

These variables, which we also had included in a previous study, are in keeping with a particular logic: while addressing threats demands trust in oneself and institutions, at the same time this also alerts us to a possible list of shortcomings. What outside help can a father enlist and what can he himself do in order to fulfil his role as a parent?

Differences in scores for threats, needs, demands, and trust were analysed through the following six break variables: 1) victim of political violence within family; 2) involvement of own children in violent activities; 3) home country; 4) educational level; 5) religious affiliation; and 6) attachment to children.

Table 13. Experience and perception in context.

Some possible mutual interconnections of important facets in managing the father's role.

	Near threats	Far threats	Trust	Needs	Demands
Victim of political violence within family: yes – no	0.31	0.14	-0.22	0.03	-0.21
Own children were involved in violent activity: yes – no	0.26	0.04	-0.01	0.13	-0.1
Country: Zanzibar - Uganda	-0.52	-0.09	0.27	-0.13	0,24
Education: high – low	-0.29	-0.07	-0.04	-0.1	-0.13
Religion: Muslim – Christian	-0.29	-0.08	0.22	-0.14	0.16
Attached: strong relationship with children	-0.19	0.2	0.45	0.26	0.49

*Note: Factor analysis was applied to derive each scale; Cronbach alpha values for each scale range between 0.85 and 0.88; differences in mean values for dimensions; stars indicate statistical significance: *: p-value <0.05, **: p-value <0.01, ***: p-value <0.001.*

Fathers who themselves or whose family members (wife or child) had fallen victim to political violence more frequently indicated that threats were of a proximate nature, and thus most common in their immediate environment. Concurrently, we see a dip in trust and their desire to improve something for themselves, or to demand this of society. This could point to a degree of resignation or be symptomatic of trauma. The perception of nearby threats also rises in cases where a child previously had been actively involved in some form of violence.

The picture on the familial relationship level differs completely: those who purport to have a strong relationship with their children are less concerned about immediate threats. Fears appear nevertheless to be projected onto 'distant' threats. Fathers of this kind are more convinced that radical leaders, political organisations, television, radio, and the internet could pose a threat to their children.

Fathers who believe to have a close bond with their children place higher trust in individuals and institutions. They also do not shy away from voicing demands that are directed at society and themselves.

In all three instances, being Zanzibari and educated or Muslim has a dampening effect on perceived extents of nearby threats. Furthermore, the factors of being Muslim and Zanzibari are associated with having more potential to trust. Last but not least, to be a Zanzibari survey father is to demand more of oneself, one's family, and society as a whole.

ARE PERCEIVED RISK FACTORS AND RESPONSIBILITIES RELATED?



In this section we return to our five categories of survey fathers (

Table 10) and view them in relation to perceived ‘risk factors’ and the ‘allocation of responsibilities’. Irrespective of our data, one might anticipate that both enjoy a positive correlation: the higher the perceived risk, the greater the tendency towards responsibility. Psychological explanations must also be considered, since apparent paradoxes—like that responsibility is least visible where it is most needed—would otherwise remain incomprehensible. One behavioural pattern might suggest a cut-off point: responsibility is shirked when it is perceived to be out of reach and impossible to meet. Though difficult to prove on the basis of a quantitative analysis, it is a thesis worth keeping in the back of our minds as we unearth what our five types of fathers consider to be risk factors for their children.

• PERCEIVED RISK FACTORS •

Identifying risk factors leading to radicalisation is a complex process. Perceptions will not be shaped by reality and fact alone; personal attitudes also hold substantial sway. As we saw earlier, fathers are conscious of a wide array of risk factors. Our task now is to ascertain whether attitude characteristics can shift perceptions in one or the other direction (see Table 14). Let us start with the risk factor ‘lack of parental guidance’. In contrast to conservative and doctrinaire fathers, their openminded, alarmist, and closedminded peers view this shortcoming as particularly detrimental to keeping a child from harm’s way and extremism.

Table 14. What fathers with different attitudes consider to be risk factors for their children.

	Open- minded	Conservative	Alarmist	Doctrinaire	Closed- minded
Lack of parental guidance	0.138***	-0.08	0.179***	-0.012	0.082*
Social isolation	0.04	-0.055	0.169***	0.036	0.081*
Psychological issues or identity crisis	0.153***	-0.028	0.156***	-0.005	0.074
Lack of education	0.116**	0.011	0.054	0.003	0.075
Trauma (e.g., loss of relative, violence, war, prison, injury, etc.)	0.114**	0.016	0.14***	0.106	0.107
Sense of injustice	0.01	0.039	0.235***	0.048	0.079
Poverty and unemployment	0.025	0.058	0.211***	0.173***	0.067
Peer pressure	0.121**	0.098*	0.211***	0.01	0.052
Promises: money & material things	0.146***	-0.011	0.142***	0.07	0.17***
Promises: honour, respect, and comradeship	0.072	0.036	0.143***	0.135**	0.129**
Desire for revenge	0.004	0.053	0.167***	0.089*	0.089*

*Note: Spearman correlation coefficients [r_s]; stars indicate statistical significance: *: p -value <0.05 , **: p -value <0.01 , ***: p -value <0.001 .*

With the exception of a ‘lack of education’, alarmists sense danger in almost all of our risk factors. Closedminded fathers likewise are particularly wary of many risk factors. Their list includes: a lack of parental guidance; social isolation; trauma; promises of money and material gain; promises of honour, respect, and comradeship; and, finally, the desire for revenge. Conversely, alarmists tend not to be as worried about peer pressure, poverty, a sense of injustice, lack of education, and psychological problems.

Our cohort of openminded fathers have a fairly different set of risk factors on their mind: lack of parental guidance; psychological problems; a lack of education; trauma; peer pressure; and promise of money and material gain. What becomes immediately apparent is that fathers with a doctrinaire disposition and conservative one in particular put forward a limited number of risk factors. Conservatives merely see peer pressure as worrisome; doctrinaires list trauma or poverty and unemployment.

• ALLOCATION OF RESPONSIBILITIES •

The readiness to take responsibility is a key ingredient of parenting. We have previously already mentioned that this depends on how and whether responsibility can be met. Often this willingness can reach a point at which it develops into a sense of helplessness. We nevertheless probed the survey participants' perception of the chief elements of parenting responsibility on the part of fathers and mothers. This section also considers the impact of additional personal characteristics ranging from openmindedness to closedmindedness.

Only openminded and alarmist fathers strongly agree to most of the eight responsibility statements. Conservative fathers reject a wide range of responsibilities of fathers and mothers, and while some concede to the notion that fathers should be held accountable for checking up on what children are doing, but this item is still negatively connotated ($r_s = -0,11$). In short, openminded and alarmist fathers recognise responsibilities of fathers and mothers alike; conservative fathers do not appear to hold parents responsible for anything on our list.

A consideration of *doctrinaire* and *closedminded* fathers generally does not produce statistically significant results. At a push, the doctrinaire survey men's rejection of mothers' responsibility regarding 'preventing your children from deviant pathways' and 'ensuring a safe environment' may present an exception.

Table 15. Survey participants' perception of fathers' and mothers' responsibilities.

	Open- minded	Conservative	Alarmist	Doctrinaire	Closed- minded
Fathers' responsibilities					
Giving advice	0.32***	-0.47***	0.4***	-0.12	0.08
Checking up on what children are doing	0.24**	-0.11	0.36***	-0.07	-0.01
Preventing your children from deviant pathways	0.35***	-0.43***	0.39***	-0.11	0.1
Ensuring a safe environment for children to grow up in	0.45***	-0.25**	0.52***	-0.11	0.05
Mothers' responsibilities					
Giving advice	0.28**	-0.39***	0.3***	-0.12	0.03
Checking up on what children are doing	0.29**	-0.28**	0.46***	-0.06	0.09
Preventing your children from deviant pathways	0.41***	-0.18*	0.4***	-0.18*	0.09
Ensuring safe environment for children to grow up in	0.4***	-0.37***	0.43***	-0.17*	0.13

Note: Differences in mean attitude scores between fathers who indicated 'strongly agree' vs all other fathers.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS



Our closing chapter highlights the research study's main statistical analysis findings on the basis of a series of headings and brief statements that each are accompanied and backed up by more detailed synopses. When viewed together, the conclusions not only offer insight into divergent East African security, parenting, and fatherhood contexts; what also emerges is a fuller picture of fathers' PVE potential than hitherto has been attempted. The research study was conceived with real-world application in mind. Our results seek thus to aid or indeed act as a foundation for future community programmes attempting to reach vulnerable youth by harnessing the safeguarding potential of fathers in at-risk communities.



PEACE STARTS AT HOME | PARENTS AS THE
CHIEF CUSTODIANS OF THE PREVENTION SPHERE

Survey participants place their wives and themselves at the top of the security pyramid. Above all, they ardently agree on parenting responsibilities in this regard: mothers are in charge of security; their husbands follow suit but are most decidedly the keepers of advice. Being less concerned with structural and quasi abstract ‘causes’ or ‘solutions’ than with topics of a practical nature, the survey fathers focus on issues that demand their direct involvement. Not only are various forms of responsibility taken seriously by Ugandan and Zanzibari fathers alike; they also desire greater involvement on the part of both fathers and mothers.

A consideration of our overall data reveals that survey participants are most in agreement on matters pertaining to parenting responsibilities of mothers and fathers alike. First and foremost, fathers see that they above all others are the main source of advice for their children, with mothers following closely on their heels. This touches upon the theme of authority in the family sphere, which appears to be in keeping with traditional notions of the role of the father as the head of the household. Many of their attitudes are rooted in traditional principles (e.g. to raise one’s child in the same way as one was raised) and often based on convictions like that parenting or fatherhood knowledge (advice) is best taken from one’s own father and religion.

To take into view subsequent items with the highest approval rates that fall into the ‘strongly agree’ category is to learn that mothers are held accountable—more than any other individual or entity—for ensuring a safe environment, keeping a close eye on the children, and preventing their sons and daughters from doing down the wrong path in life. On the above cluster of issues dealing with safeguarding concerns, the survey men rank themselves second only to mothers.

Aside from an unequivocal commitment to their responsibilities as parents in particular, subsequent items also highlight a strong preference to bring centre stage other questions surrounding parenthood and parenting. That parents could become risk factors through a ‘lack of parental guidance’ figures among the fathers’ highest concerns. In an effort to safeguard their children, their impulse does not lead them to demand more of institutions. Rather, survey participants see that the solution must be found in parenting. Fathers thus also hold the notion of role models in high regard: the item ‘to act as a positive role model’ is a popular.

In terms of perceived responsibility, fathers are never more than a couple of percentage points behind their wives. There are little to no response divergences between countries; an overall difference of three percentage points regarding ‘giving advice’ was the highest that we observed, with Zanzibari fathers taking the lead over their Ugandan counterparts. In sum total, Overall, our survey fathers, being mostly of one mind, do not perceive to be duty shirkers: they present a united front with a strong inclination to assume parenting responsibilities.



FATHERS ON THE FENCE | BETWEEN REJECTING
THE ARCHAIC AND RESISTING THE MODERN

When viewed as a collective, the survey fathers are more of one mind than not but appear to be decidedly ambivalent towards a number of parenting and security issues. Though not overly fatalistic or overtly archaic, they are evenly split on key topics like their innate parenting talent and ability to recognise early warning signs of radicalisation. A trace of generational disconnectedness appears also to be simmering below the surface.

Espousing some progressiveness, the fathers proved least supportive of socio-political statements concerning early marriages and justifications of violence through religion. They largely hold that early marriages are not beneficial to society, and that religion does not justify violence, even against the background of conceivably important goals. Yet in both cases, a sizeable segment—one quarter and one third, respectively—populated either the agree or strongly agree box. Other statements that are widely rejected include the notion that educated women can pose a threat to their husbands and the idea that marriage and children are not concepts that work for men. Again, as above, a closer look at the data can point to disturbing degrees of undecidedness or polarisation. In this vein, just over half agree or strongly agree that educated wives are a threat.

Ambivalence or dividedness on the part of fathers becomes all the more apparent when coming face-to-face with the statement, ‘Fathers have no natural talent for parenting’. Here, our data suggests that the survey men are anything but sure of their role: exactly half of them are of the opinion that fathers have no innate parenting talent; the other half believe that the opposite is true. Only further accentuating this trend, the question of whether they would want their child to be ‘modern’ also splits them in half (coming in at sixth place, rejection levels are nevertheless comparatively high).

A further hint of generational disconnectedness emerges when one considers that 61% do not see the youth possessing the same ethical values of ‘hard work and family’. The data now alerts us to an important contradiction. Although the statement ‘I feel disconnected from my children’ indeed is supported by one third, the other two thirds disapprove of, or perhaps do not concede to, this notion. This level of confidence is not an isolated case.

Fathers also exhibit split self-confidence with respect to recognising the warning signs of radicalisation, with just below half of them disapproving of the statement ‘that a father will not realise that his child has become a violent extremist until it is too late’. Contradictions notwithstanding, it is promising for the prospect of future work with fathers that they appear to be ambivalent but by no means fatalistic: higher up on their list of rejections are statements like, ‘To prevent children from joining terrorist groups, there is nothing I can do but pray to God’, and that young people ‘look up to gang leaders’.



DIVERGENT PARENTING CONTEXTS | CONCERNED CITY DWELLERS VERSUS RELAXED ISLANDERS?

Issues of extremism, the youth's susceptibility to recruitment, and fatherhood shortcomings look to be more pronounced in the Ugandan context; Zanzibari fathers seem to be less concerned about these issues, perceive threats to be fewer or lower, and are more measured in their responses. A heightened sense of urgency on the part of the fathers across Uganda may help to explain their greater tendency to be fatalistic and account for expressions of lower confidence in the role of fathers, their comparatively limited faith in the resilience of the youth, and low trust in relatives and the community.

How do fathers in Uganda and Zanzibar differ? Noticeable distinctions in cultural realities and related attitudes lead to our understanding of Zanzibari fathers as comparatively mild and measured in their responses. Divergences are particularly obvious in controversial topics and thus in reactions to provocative questions and statements that were rejected most decidedly. Apart from a few exceptions, the Zanzibaris consistently show greater restraint. Disagreement percentage differences regarding a number of items range from 49 to 69. Our survey men from Zanzibar are far less convinced that 'religion justifies the use of violence' or that in order 'to prevent children from joining terrorist groups, there is nothing I can do but pray to God'.

That threats of extremism and similar issues appear to be more acute and present in Uganda may shed light on the greater sense of urgency on the part of fathers in Uganda. Compared to their Zanzibari counterparts, they perceive and fear there to be greater radicalisation potential, for instance through their children's exposure to 'community centres' (81% vs 56%) and 'relatives' (79% vs 48%). A consideration of the fathers' role model perceptions suggests that Ugandans also fear that the youth are more susceptible to being influenced and impressed by questionable individuals: gang leaders (76% vs 45%) and 'successful criminals' (81% vs 48%).

Role models outside of their immediate families can be viewed as the fathers' 'competitors'. That Ugandan participants perceive relatives to a greater risk factor to their children may therefore be linked to their sterner criticism of fathers as parents. Seeing that aunts, for example, are viewed as children's role models and that relatives are generally viewed with suspicion may be related. With a portion of paternal authority likely ceded to other family members (perhaps filling the void due to a father's absence), this could prompt insecurities in fatherhood roles, make men reflect on personal shortcomings, and lead them to project blame onto others.

To be sure, Ugandan participants decidedly are more convinced that fathers in their own country are not fulfilling their duties: some 84% see that 'many fathers in our country neglect their responsibilities to their families'; in Zanzibar merely 64% support this statement. One cannot say for certain whether higher approval rates of this kind on the part of Ugandan fathers point to a greater readiness to admit to certain shortcomings. They are at any rate more open to permitting their child to lead a 'modern' lifestyle'.



GENERATIONAL DISCONTINUITY | THE POSSIBLE LINK BETWEEN PARENTS' DECLINE IN TAKING RESPONSIBILITY AND DWINDLING COMMUNITY COHESION

Opting for a generational and traditional worldview in parenting matters, East African fathers are caught up in a logic defined by a causal relationship between greater divisions in communities and a decline in adults taking responsibility for the youth's wellbeing.

The parenting philosophies of the East African survey participants are unambiguously traditional. A propensity to reimagine family life in past times along romantic lines comes to the fore and cements their generational approach. In this view, contemporary youth are demonised and often perceived as decadent, lethargic, and disobedient, while the role of parents is idealised and generally not scrutinised. Our results suggest that while this pattern applies to fathers in Zanzibar and Uganda: they air on the side of mirroring rather than rejecting their own parents' respective styles.

Sufficiently conservative to change and seemingly prone to measuring the successes of parenting on the basis of generational continuity, the survey participants inevitably arrive at a series of defeatist and daunting conclusions. They are once critical of contemporary fathers and of the youth of today. The fathers generally perceive that their own parent generation felt far more responsible than its present-day counterpart; a mere 46% believe that today's parents pay sufficient attention to the wellbeing of the youth. Zanzibari fathers put a downward drag on these figures and are remarkably pessimistic; merely 38% believe that a majority of parents feel responsible.

Viewing our results through a generational lens makes apparent that the survey men's pessimism towards the state of parenting affairs likely is linked to a perceived deterioration of the traditional family unit and a sense of erosion in community cohesion: three quarters of survey fathers perceive family life to have been better in previous times; three quarters are observing a degree of social deterioration in that 'communities are more divided'. Most not only fear 'cultural influences from outside' and a growing 'alienation'; they also believe that 'cultural influences from outside are getting stronger in my community than before'.

For the purpose of advancing parenting practices, this 'generational dimension' may present a serious challenge and mental barrier beyond Uganda and Zanzibar, as it puts every successive parent generation on track to not consciously reflect on the process of raising their children.



THE STATE OF EXTREMISM | A COMMUNITY ISSUE
CLOAKED IN SILENCE AND UNCERTAINTY

While most consider violent extremism to be an everyday reality that is perceived to be more present in urban than rural communities, the participants are nevertheless divided on whether or not radicalisation is on the rise. Since extremism is a taboo topic that tends not to be discussed outside of the family, fathers require support and empowerment to address the issue more openly.

The majority of fathers contend that violent extremism is an issue but struggle to agree on threat level trends. Some 49% perceive a decrease; around 33% an increase; and another 15% have witnessed no shift in either direction. Issues of trust and context-related factors may in part help to explain why survey fathers are not entirely of one mind. When asked where survey participants expect recruitment takes place, urban areas make the top of the list. Some 42% believe that the threat arises and spreads in towns, another 34% do not discriminate; they see that recruitment crops up in both rural and urban settings. Zanzibar positions itself as an outlier, with 19% indicating that neither areas play host to this activity. They deviate significantly from their Ugandan counterparts, around 90% of whom recognise the presence of recruiters in their country.

In approaching the question of whom fathers trust and to whom they turn when the desire to discuss difficult topics arises, Ugandans choose their wives and Zanzibaris opt for a discussion partner from within the community. Ugandan fathers, who generally express a greater fear of the threat and deem it be real and present, may wish not to run the risk of making their concerns public. If the topic can be addressed in a ‘theoretical’ manner (e.g. in hypotheticals or by means of externalisation), as is the case with Zanzibar, they nevertheless are open to speaking with people outside of their family unit. Yet this readiness has its limits. Since Ugandan fathers note higher rates of criminal activity and a greater presence of violent groups, it follows that they are more prone to shrouding related issues in secrecy.

Only around 20% of survey fathers would seek counsel from anyone who is outside of the family and connected to government in some form. At a low 17% in Uganda and a barely visible 5% in Zanzibar, international organisations are rarely considered as options. However, the ‘foreign character’ of such organisations may not be the deciding factor here. For ‘religious leaders’ also are not among their preferred discussion partners in sensitive issues pertaining to extremism. The results could also be viewed with the idea of access in mind. Wives, for instance, are likely most accessible to their husbands. Exceptions notwithstanding, discussions between husband and wife can be informal and quickly arranged, whereas gaining access to or setting up a conversation with any other entity or individual demands more effort.



A CULTURE OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE | DEGREES OF COMMUNITY
AFFECTEDNESS, PATHWAYS INTO TERROR, AND CHILDREN'S POTENTIAL ALLIES

The survey men appear to be highly aware of, concerned about, and affected by community violence. They see that most children who embarked on ‘extreme and deviant activities’ were involved in ‘extreme political groups’, ahead of engaging in ‘armed conflict’, ‘taking drugs’, and ‘demonstrations’. Since men are impacted more gravely, with fathers generally leading in this respect, their sons are at considerable risk of eventually getting caught up in a life of crime, either as a victim or perpetrator. Yet the participants’ conviction that both parents are viewed as viable discussion partners for their children when problems arise could suggest that fathers have the access and authority to act as potentially effective intervention and prevention actors.

Active and passive involvement in various forms of violence is widespread within communities, though slightly less pronounced in Zanzibar. Fathers who had been personally affected in one way or another amount to 32% in Uganda and 9% in Zanzibar. Given the severity of the issue, these are high numbers that point to a prevalent culture of violence. In combining the categories ‘neighbour’, ‘relative’, and ‘someone I know’, political violence is in the percentage range of 11 and 20. When immediate family (wives, parents, children) is factored into the equation, involvement levels in political violence shoot up to 61% for Uganda and a less drastic 21% in the case of Zanzibar.

Our data spectrum on ‘children’s involvement in extreme and deviant activities’ puts those who ‘join extreme political groups’ solidly in the lead, at 14% percent for Uganda and a less manifest 8% for Zanzibar. Both results nevertheless suggest relatively unsettling rates of affiliation with extreme political groupings. To the survey’s fathers’ mind, an involvement in ‘armed conflict’ on the part of children comes in at a close second place: 13% in Uganda versus 5% in Zanzibar. In broadening the lens, we come across a wide spectrum of participation in violent activities and groups that covers an involvement level range of between two and eight per cent.

With whom do children prefer to discuss their concerns? Parents emerge here as natural allies. Overall, fathers exhibit a higher degree of confidence than expected. In the case of both survey samples—and therefore in Uganda as well as Zanzibar—exactly 20% of fathers purport that their children would prefer to turn to them about concerns and issues. Yet the Ugandan participants believe that mothers are the most trusted point of contact for their children at 48%. In the case of Zanzibar, fathers and mothers appear to be on fairly equal footing, with percentage scores of 20 and 21, respectively. Somewhat in line with this divide, some 59% of Zanzibari survey fathers are of the opinion that that their children prefer to discuss concerns and issues with them both in equal measures.



THE YOUTH IN DANGER | REAL AND IMAGINED RISK FACTORS,
COMMUNITY GRIEVANCES, ROLE MODELS, AND ALTERNATIVES TO VIOLENCE

That a ‘lack of parental guidance’ tops the list of perceived youth risk factors reinforces how central parenting becomes to fathers when contemplating security concerns. Socioeconomic grievances also figure prominently, and psychological factors are deemed equally perilous. Further accentuating risk exposure, chief community problems include poverty, a loss of traditional values, and unemployment. Despite this gloomy outlook, children apparently prefer role models who operate within the law. Fathers rank third and can be understood as their ‘natural’ role models. Adding to this optimism, a range of extra-curricular youth activities look to be readily available.

Our data repeatedly alerts us to an important finding: rather than externalising and shifting the blame, fathers strongly associate concerns about extremism and their children with parenting matters—either as a solution or problem. With respect to risk factors, the survey men see that a ‘lack of parental guidance’ is the gravest concern. Fathers from Uganda (90%) and Zanzibar (88%) differ little in their assessment of parental leadership. To varying degrees, this response likely amounts to a mixture of an admission of guilt, some reflection on personal shortcomings, and an outright criticism of other fathers in the community.

In probing ‘the origin of the threat’, we learn that the survey participants’ main sources of anxiety include radical leaders, political organisations, friends, and the internet. Gaging factors impacting on the youth, it is clear that they differentiate between societally and individually determined risk factors. Classic push-and-pull factors like ‘revenge’, ‘peer pressure’, and ‘promises of honour’ figure prominently. Yet psychological factors like ‘trauma’, ‘isolation’, and ‘identity crisis’ appear to be equally dominant concerns. Levels in this respect are exceptionally high and barely differ across both countries.

Turning to widespread problems in the community, survey fathers are most anxious about poverty, the loss of traditional values, and unemployment; in all three cases Ugandan fathers appear to be slightly more concerned. That Zanzibari fathers on the whole perceive these issues to be slightly less pronounced may point to their youth’s exposure to less stressed and at-risk community environments. Risk factors and community issues notwithstanding, positive role model choices and alternatives to crime and violence are by no means absent.

The survey men indicate that children have a strong preference for leaders, educators, and entrepreneurs. While mothers rank lower than anticipated, fathers position themselves in third place, just below ‘successful businessmen’ and ‘religious leaders’. Their assumptions may be worth exploring further, as could reveal possible tensions between family and extra-family role models. To the fathers’ collective mind, three types of criminals constitute the least viable role models: gang leaders (60%), violent extremists (63%), and successful criminals (64%). In probing the extent of age-appropriate offers for the youth, we find that fathers by and large perceive there to be plenty of such extra-curricular choices in their community.



THE UNDECIDED FATHER | TORN BETWEEN OPEN
COMMUNICATION AND AUTHORITARIAN FORMS OF DISCIPLINE

Largely in favour of ‘soft’ disciplining, at first glance fathers appear to have a functioning culture of communication with their children. Upon closer inspection, they look to fall short and do not consider themselves to be the frontrunners in the parenting world: the survey men see that their wives are more likely and generally preferable conversation partners. To varying degrees, a number of factors may account for their perception of this comparatively weaker bond: fatherhood identity issues, counterproductive disciplining methods like yelling, and the use of physical force. That ‘caning or beating’ and ‘explaining to them why they should behave differently’ are the most popular methods points to an acute insecurity.

The majority of the survey fathers claim to cultivate a culture of discussion with their children. Three quarters take the time to speak with their children ‘very often’ or ‘regularly’, while around one quarter concede to doing so only ‘occasionally’, with three to four per cent opting to speak with their offspring only ‘very rarely’. Although our statistical data cannot measure the quality or nature of discussions, most fathers appear to have a bond with their children that can potentially be harnessed and used as a basis to deepen their relationship.

Delving deeper into the subject matter of father-child relations reveals shortcomings that demand attention. In probing with which parent daughters and sons have a better relationship, traditional communication patterns come to the fore. At a little above 70%, most fathers of both countries perceive that daughters prefer their mothers. Preference rates take a serious dive thereafter. In holistic terms, supposedly sons are only slightly more in favour of building a bond with their father, although Ugandan survey participants still put mothers in the lead at 45 versus 40 per cent. Collectively speaking, therefore, one may venture to suggest that fathers are giving mothers the lead and betraying a degree of insecurity in their parenting role.

The use of disciplining methods that have proved to negatively impact parent-child relations could help to clarify why fathers are less confident in the father-child bond than in other aspects pertaining to their status or role. For one, 39% of the fathers in our two country sample pools think that ‘nearly all’ or ‘many fathers’ yell at their children. Around half believe that at least ‘some fathers’ yell or speak harshly with them. Adding to this, forms of corporal punishment like caning and beating apparently are still readily applied by a total of 40%, and thus by a significant portion of fathers in both countries. These numbers may be lower than in truth, since the possibility that not all individuals will admit to applying force cannot be entirely dismissed.

With noticeably few opting for the choices ‘confining them to the house’ or ‘depriving them of material things or privileges’, the fathers look to be oscillating between the most extreme options: the application of force on the one hand, and the use of words to explain to their son or daughter how and where they might have gone wrong on the other hand.



THE MISSING GUARDIANS OF PREVENTION | TOWARDS A MORE
COMPLETE AND TRUSTWORTHY COMMUNITY SECURITY ARCHITECTURE

Fathers view themselves as the principal missing puzzle piece in a whole-of-community prevention framework. A clear mandate on the part of the survey men surfaces: above all other actors, fathers are the ones who need to increase their engagement. Evidently aware that the complex undertaking of successfully raising and protecting the youth nevertheless cannot rest in the hands of family members, religious leaders, and teachers alone; they also desire greater involvement of state-run institutions and civil society organisations, albeit to a lesser degree. Yet fathers least trust these public entities (along with friends), which alerts us to a correlation between degrees of desired engagement and perceived levels of trustworthiness.

In contemplating who ought to do more to safeguard the youth from violent extremism, the highest number of participants see that fathers above all others need to heighten their engagement. They nevertheless seem to support the notion that the complex undertaking of successfully raising children and keeping them out of harm's way cannot rest in the hands of parents alone. Aside from pointing the finger at fellow fathers, the survey men indeed have high expectations of their respective families and community members.

The range of item responses related to the statement 'people and institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety' point to a clear divide: fathers demand more of those closest to them or their children—their inner circle—than of state-led or civil society institutions. Overall, they are of the opinion that religious leaders, teachers, mothers, and need to put in more work. Yet in the light of relatively marginal percentage value differences across the board, public entities clearly are still expected to increase their engagement levels considerably.

The fathers generally trust entities that are concerned with the care of children: immediate family members and relatives as well as teachers. Per usual, friends do poorly, and slightly worse yet than law enforcement. Compared to the Zanzibari fathers, Ugandans are less trusting of police and army by a sizeable margin of 10 and 7 percentage points, respectively. Conversely, with nine points above their Zanzibari counterparts, Ugandan results are just shy of a 100% trust rate for teachers.

In descending order of trustworthiness, to the fathers' collective mind the following four potential actors have earned their place at the top of any new security architecture: mothers, religious leaders, teachers, and fathers. Let us briefly return to a question that we posed earlier on in the report: In relative terms, have law enforcement agencies, international and local civil society organisations, and governments at different levels been doing more for the security of the youth, or are fathers more suspicious of them? Given the direct link between degrees of desired engagement and perceived levels of trustworthiness, suspicion appears to be the deciding factor.



FATHERHOOD TWO-POINT-O? | OPEN, RECEPTIVE, AND EAGER TO UPGRADING THEIR PARENTING AND SAFEGUARDING SKILLS

The participants' instincts tell them that fathers should increase engagement with vulnerable children through positive action rather than threats, and it appears to be second nature to accept parenting advice predominantly from private sources (fathers, religion, and mothers). Fathers seem to lack yet desire training in parenting skills and support from social organisations above all else when contemplating their children's security; they are less eager on skills that benefit them as opposed to their sons or daughters. Most fathers acknowledge that their children are not immune to extremism and are unequivocally open and receptive to receiving support and training.

Without additional support or training in mind, they believe that when faced with the prospect of their child's descent into violent extremism, the following forms of engagement would be most effective: 'be aware of who their friends are', 'support children through an identity crisis', and 'act as a positive role model'. Largely in favour of direct action on their part, they are least keen on 'threatening them with serious punishment', although Ugandan fathers, per usual, view this option more favourably.

To get a first glimpse of where fathers are sourcing their parenting advice, we presented them with a list of seven items. The responses reveal that fathers seem to accept advice from all those whom we included, but that a certain hierarchy is apparent. At percentage values of 90 and above, the clear frontrunners are fathers, religion, and mothers. School and psychology follow suit at 88% and 85%, respectively. Psychology is deemed slightly less useful by Zanzibaris at 83%, which is the same overall percentage score that community leaders receive. At 78%, friends are considered to be the least useful sources for fatherhood advice.

Our findings demonstrate that the fathers are most adamant on receiving parenting education. While most see that formal schooling is central to improving parenting performance for the purpose of safeguarding their children, training in parenting skills nevertheless tops the list while receiving support from social organisations is on equal footing; in this respect, survey fathers across Uganda and Zanzibar are of one mind. Internet and computer proficiency are comparatively less of a priority, which is more the case of Zanzibari fathers. Ugandan survey men, by contrast, express greater interest in convening with fellow fathers. With a greater perceived sense of urgency in mind, it appears logical that Ugandan fathers are slightly more set on 'parenting skills' and prescribe greater importance to knowledge about warning signs.

Ultimately, with over three quarters of participants maintaining that 'violent extremism' has become manifest in their community, correspondingly high numbers request instruction and teaching (as defined through the statement, 'to learn to react to warning signs'). The issue also looks to be close to their hearts: around 79% believe that 'extremism could have an effect on my own children'. Fathers are thus open and receptive to receiving support and instruction in order to protect their children from extremist influences in their respective communities.

APPENDIX

RESEARCH LOCATIONS | RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

Table 16. Uganda: 2 districts (regions)

<i>District</i>	<i>#Participants</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Rural/Urban</i>	<i>Comment</i>
District Mayuge (District in Eastern Uganda bordering the Republic of Tanzania)	150	Buwaya Isikiro Nabiitu Namiisu Bugweri Wamulongo	Rural Rural Rural Rural Rural Rural	Despite the shifting VE landscape in Eastern Uganda, Mayuge District generally was a recruitment hotspot for the Allied Democratic Forces. Presumed to be operating underground now and on a smaller scale, the group is still suspected of carrying out recruitment in the area.
District Kampala	150	Kisenyi Katwe Bwaise Kawempe	Urban: Slum Urban: Slum Urban: Slum Urban:	Considered to be largest slum in Kampala Part of Katwe falls in Kampala Central, one of the Administrative divisions that make up Kampala and the other falls in Makindye Division another of the 5 administrative divisions that make up Kampala city. Bwaise is a neighborhood within Kampala (it is considered a slum and one of the poorest areas in the city of Kampala) Urban with mixture of extensive slum settlements and some high-end neighbourhoods. Located northwards, Kawempe is one of the 5 Administrative divisions of Kampala.
Total	300			

Note: The research was conducted in Kampala and Mayuge districts. In Kampala, three slum areas were targeted: Bwaise, Kisenyi and Katwe. In Mayuge, the survey was conducted in Buwaya, Isikiro, Nabiitu, Namiisu, Bugweri, Wamulongo among others.

Table 17. Zanzibar: 7 Districts

<i>Location</i>	<i># Participants</i>	<i>Rural/Urban</i>
Dunga (Central)	31	Rural
Mwera (Urban West A)	30	Rural
Gamba (North A)	33	Rural
Mahonda (North B)	45	Rural
Makunduchi (South)	46	Rural
Kwerekwe (Urban West B)	77	Urban
Kiembe Samaki (Urban)	49	Urban
Total # Participants	313	

COMPLETE TABLES A | ANSWER PERCENTAGES IN FOUR CATEGORIES

Table 18. Raw results for items 16 through 158

(sample sizes are Uganda: 299, Zanzibar: 313; values are rounded percentages for (Sd) = strongly disagree, (D) = disagree, (A) = agree, (sA) = strongly agree.

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q16 I am satisfied with my life overall.	9%	16%	38%	37%
Q17 I have a strong relationship with my child(ren).	4%	7%	28%	62%
Q18 I want my children to be raised the way I was raised.	7%	9%	21%	63%
Q19 Mothers can do their job better when left alone, without men interfering.	11%	16%	38%	36%
Q20 Marriage and having children are not concepts that work for men.	39%	22%	19%	19%
Q21 I believe that boys and girls should be raised differently.	21%	17%	31%	32%
Q22 I believe that men and women should have equal rights in marriage.	14%	14%	30%	42%
Q23 I believe that men and women should have the same status in society.	13%	17%	29%	42%
Q24 An educated woman can be a help to her husband.	5%	7%	32%	56%
Q25 I feel disconnected from my child(ren).	49%	19%	16%	16%
Q26 An educated woman can be a threat to her husband.	24%	24%	30%	21%
Q27 Societies allowing early marriage are better off.	57%	18%	13%	12%
Q28 Violent extremism is an existing threat in my community.	14%	9%	25%	53%
Q29 I am concerned that extremism could have an effect on my own child(ren).	12%	8%	29%	50%
Q30 Cultural influences from outside are getting stronger in my community than before.	7%	10%	31%	53%
Q31 Cultural influences from outside have become dangerous for young people in my community.	7%	7%	31%	54%
Q32 Extremism comes mainly from cultural influences outside my country, like globalization or foreign visitors.	8%	13%	38%	41%
Q33 Many fathers in our country neglect their responsibilities to their families.	13%	14%	44%	30%
Q34 Fathers have no natural talent for parenting.	23%	26%	29%	22%
Q35 I expect my child to support me when I am old.	4%	5%	25%	66%
Q36 As long as he has enough money, a man can have good relationships with several wives at the same time.	14%	16%	28%	42%
Q37 I would be happy for my child(ren) to go study or work abroad.	6%	9%	31%	54%
Q38 I want my child(ren) to be modern.	28%	21%	28%	23%
Q39 The younger generation has the same ethical values (hard work and family) as the older generation.	26%	35%	21%	17%
Q40 As a father, I would know if my child was involved in violent extremism.	19%	15%	33%	32%
Q41 I feel scared or uncomfortable discussing the topic of extremism with people outside my family.	20%	23%	30%	28%
Q42 I believe my religion justifies the use of violence to achieve important goals.	53%	14%	15%	18%
Q43 In general, a father will not realize that his child has become a violent extremist until it is too late.	24%	24%	31%	20%

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q44 Most people know who is really responsible for extremist violence in my community, even if they don't talk about it.	16%	22%	37%	24%
Q45 I personally have a lack of clear information or understanding of the work of extremist perpetrators and the causes of extremist violence.	17%	17%	35%	32%
Q46 Newspapers, radio, and television channels do not tell the truth about extremism.	17%	20%	34%	29%
Q47 As a father, I would know how to react if one of my children became a violent extremist.	11%	11%	35%	44%
Q48 To prevent children from joining terrorist groups, there is nothing I can do but pray to God.	36%	20%	20%	24%
Q49 Fathers responsibilities: Giving advice	4%	4%	20%	72%
Q50 Fathers responsibilities: Checking up on what children are doing	2%	4%	29%	65%
Q51 Fathers responsibilities: Preventing your children from deviant pathways	4%	3%	27%	67%
Q52 Fathers responsibilities: Ensuring a safe environment (neighbourhood / community) for children to grow up in	2%	3%	28%	66%
Q53 Mother's responsibilities: Giving advice	3%	3%	24%	70%
Q54 Mother's responsibilities: Checking up on what children are doing	1%	4%	27%	68%
Q55 Mother's responsibilities: Preventing your children from deviant pathways	3%	3%	27%	67%
Q56 Mother's responsibilities: Ensuring a safe environment (neighbourhood / community) for children to grow up in	2%	3%	26%	69%
Q57 Advice for fatherhood come from: Religion	5%	4%	31%	60%
Q58 Advice for fatherhood come from: Psychology	6%	9%	46%	40%
Q59 Advice for fatherhood come from: Friends	8%	14%	40%	37%
Q60 Advice for fatherhood come from: Community leaders	5%	12%	44%	39%
Q61 Advice for fatherhood come from: Mother	4%	6%	36%	54%
Q62 Advice for fatherhood come from: Father	3%	4%	33%	60%
Q63 Advice for fatherhood come from: School	4%	8%	41%	47%
Q64 Advice for fatherhood come from: Other:	12%	16%	38%	34%
Q65 Problems in my community: Poverty	6%	5%	23%	65%
Q66 Problems in my community: Unemployment	5%	9%	29%	58%
Q67 Problems in my community: Drug use	12%	9%	29%	51%
Q68 Problems in my community: Loss of traditional values	7%	6%	42%	45%
Q69 Problems in my community: Globalisation	8%	15%	33%	45%
Q70 Problems in my community: Inequality between men and women	13%	19%	37%	31%
Q71 Problems in my community: Other:	13%	16%	37%	35%
Q72 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Lack of parental guidance	6%	4%	25%	65%
Q73 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Social isolation	4%	10%	39%	47%
Q74 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Psychological problems / identity crisis	6%	7%	42%	45%

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q75 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Lack of education	7%	10%	32%	51%
Q76 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Trauma (e.g., loss of a relative, violence, war, imprisonment, injury, etc.)	10%	14%	38%	38%
Q77 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Sense of injustice	7%	9%	42%	42%
Q78 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Poverty / unemployment	7%	8%	33%	52%
Q79 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Peer pressure	5%	5%	35%	55%
Q80 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Promises of money / material things	6%	9%	35%	50%
Q81 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Promises of honour / respect / comradeship	9%	13%	41%	38%
Q82 Factors that can put young people at risk of becoming violent extremist: Desire for revenge	11%	9%	36%	44%
Q83 Young people look up to the following as role models: Successful criminals	22%	14%	33%	31%
Q84 Young people look up to the following as role models: Violent extremists	20%	17%	36%	27%
Q85 Young people look up to the following as role models: Local government figures	10%	18%	38%	34%
Q86 Young people look up to the following as role models: Police officers	10%	17%	41%	31%
Q87 Young people look up to the following as role models: School teachers	7%	12%	40%	41%
Q88 Young people look up to the following as role models: Religious leaders	7%	10%	37%	46%
Q89 Young people look up to the following as role models: Political leaders	7%	13%	46%	34%
Q90 Young people look up to the following as role models: Successful businessmen	8%	9%	40%	43%
Q91 Young people look up to the following as role models: Mothers	9%	11%	37%	42%
Q92 Young people look up to the following as role models: Fathers	6%	11%	37%	45%
Q93 Young people look up to the following as role models: Uncles	10%	18%	41%	30%
Q94 Young people look up to the following as role models: Aunts	10%	18%	45%	27%
Q95 Young people look up to the following as role models: Male community leaders	8%	13%	44%	34%
Q96 Young people look up to the following as role models: Female community leaders	9%	16%	44%	31%
Q97 Young people look up to the following as role models: Gang leaders	27%	13%	32%	28%
Q98 Young people look up to the following as role models: Movie / tv / pop stars	13%	13%	35%	39%
Q99 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Political organizations	11%	7%	36%	46%
Q100 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Religious groups	15%	12%	39%	35%
Q101 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Student organisations	12%	17%	39%	31%

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q102 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Relatives	18%	19%	37%	26%
Q103 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Community centres	14%	18%	40%	28%
Q104 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Friends	8%	11%	46%	35%
Q105 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Radical leaders	8%	9%	35%	48%
Q106 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Television	11%	12%	43%	34%
Q107 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Radio	12%	15%	42%	31%
Q108 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Internet	8%	12%	34%	46%
Q109 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Schools	18%	17%	35%	30%
Q110 People, institutions that can expose young people to ideas of extremism: Universities	13%	11%	39%	38%
Q111 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: More formal school education	4%	6%	33%	57%
Q112 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: To contribute money to household	8%	10%	43%	38%
Q113 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge about warning signs	5%	7%	41%	46%
Q114 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge on computer use	7%	12%	42%	38%
Q115 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge about using the internet	7%	12%	41%	39%
Q116 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge on religion	5%	7%	34%	55%
Q116.1 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Knowledge of politics	6%	10%	48%	36%
Q117 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Meetings with other fathers	6%	9%	47%	37%
Q118 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Training in self-confidence	5%	7%	38%	49%
Q119 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Learn to react to warning signs	6%	5%	39%	50%
Q120 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Training in parenting skills	4%	5%	33%	57%
Q121 Fathers need more ... to keep their children safe from extremism: Support from social organisations	3%	7%	40%	50%
Q122 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Actively provide alternative viewpoints to aggrieved children	4%	5%	32%	59%
Q123 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Act as a positive role model	2%	5%	32%	60%

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q124 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Learn which religious and political leaders inspire them	2%	6%	44%	48%
Q125 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Engage with local authorities	3%	7%	43%	47%
Q126 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Take their children's grievances seriously	3%	6%	36%	56%
Q127 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Support their children through an identity crisis	2%	5%	36%	57%
Q128 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Be aware of who their friends are	3%	3%	33%	61%
Q129 Fathers can do... to protect their children from radicalisation / recruiters: Threaten them with serious punishment	7%	10%	36%	46%
Q130 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Arts and culture activities	7%	10%	39%	45%
Q131 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Sports	6%	6%	38%	50%
Q132 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Local youth centre activities	6%	8%	40%	46%
Q133 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Community work	6%	9%	41%	43%
Q134 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Religious studies	6%	10%	27%	57%
Q135 Available alternatives to crime for unemployed young people in my community: Other:	9%	9%	41%	42%
Q136 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Mothers	2%	5%	31%	62%
Q137 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Fathers	2%	4%	31%	64%
Q138 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Relatives	3%	6%	40%	51%
Q139 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Police	4%	9%	38%	49%
Q140 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Army	7%	11%	36%	46%
Q141 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Government	4%	5%	34%	57%
Q142 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Local councils	4%	8%	42%	46%
Q143 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Teachers	3%	4%	35%	58%
Q144 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Religious leaders	3%	3%	34%	60%
Q145 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: Community organisations	3%	8%	43%	46%
Q146 People, institutions that need to do more for me and my children's safety: International organisations	4%	8%	37%	50%

	Sd	D	A	Sa
Q147 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Mothers	3%	3%	33%	61%
Q148 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Fathers	3%	4%	32%	61%
Q149 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Relatives	3%	7%	43%	46%
Q150 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Police	4%	11%	39%	46%
Q151 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Army	5%	11%	35%	49%
Q152 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Government	3%	7%	32%	57%
Q153 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Local councils	2%	8%	46%	44%
Q154 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Teachers	2%	5%	38%	55%
Q155 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Religious leaders	2%	4%	36%	58%
Q156 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Community organisations	3%	7%	45%	45%
Q157 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: International organisations	3%	10%	40%	48%
Q158 people, institutions I trust to look out for me and my children's safety: Friends	6%	12%	46%	36%

COMPLETE TABLES B | APPROVAL PERCENTAGES

Table 19. Raw results for items 159 through 173

(sample sizes are Overall: 612, Uganda: 299, Zanzibar: 313; values are rounded raw percentages for O = overall, U = Uganda and Z = Zanzibar)

	O	U	Z
Q159a I spend time talking with my child(ren). Very often	32%	50%	16%
Q159b I spend time talking with my child(ren). Regularly	43%	29%	57%
Q159c I spend time talking with my child(ren). Occasionally	22%	20%	25%
Q159d I spend time talking with my child(ren). Very rarely	3%	3%	4%
Q160a My child(ren) share their concerns and problems: More often with their mother	34%	48%	21%
Q160b My child(ren) share their concerns and problems: More often with myself	20%	20%	20%
Q160c My child(ren) share their concerns and problems: With both of us equally	44%	28%	59%
Q160d My child(ren) share their concerns and problems: With neither of us, usually	4%	6%	2%
Q161a This many fathers yell at or speak harshly with their children in my community: Nearly all	18%	28%	9%
Q161b This many fathers yell at or speak harshly with their children in my community: Many	21%	26%	17%
Q161c This many fathers yell at or speak harshly with their children in my community: Some	51%	38%	64%
Q161d This many fathers yell at or speak harshly with their children in my community: Very few	10%	10%	10%
Q162a When I was growing up, all adults within the community took responsibility for the well-being of young people. Almost all adults	49%	51%	48%
Q162b When I was growing up, all adults within the community took responsibility for the well-being of young people. Most adults	27%	30%	25%
Q162c When I was growing up, all adults within the community took responsibility for the well-being of young people. Some adults	23%	18%	27%
Q162d When I was growing up, all adults within the community took responsibility for the well-being of young people. Almost no adults	2%	3%	2%
Q163a All adults within the community take responsibility for the well-being of young people nowadays. Almost all adults	25%	29%	22%
Q163b All adults within the community take responsibility for the well-being of young people nowadays. Most adults	21%	27%	16%
Q163c All adults within the community take responsibility for the well-being of young people nowadays. Some adults	49%	36%	61%

	O	U	Z
Q163d All adults within the community take responsibility for the well-being of young people nowadays. Almost no adults	5%	8%	2%
Q164a Most daughters have better relationships with: Their mothers	72%	71%	73%
Q164b Most daughters have better relationships with: Their fathers	11%	15%	7%
Q164c Most daughters have better relationships with: Both	16%	10%	21%
Q164d Most daughters have better relationships with: Neither	3%	3%	2%
Q165a Most sons have better relationships with: Their mothers	31%	45%	18%
Q165b Most sons have better relationships with: Their fathers	41%	40%	42%
Q165c Most sons have better relationships with: Both	28%	13%	42%
Q165d Most sons have better relationships with: Neither	2%	2%	2%
Q166a In recent times, the level of extremist threat in my community has: Increased	33%	41%	24%
Q166b In recent times, the level of extremist threat in my community has: Decreased	49%	46%	52%
Q166c In recent times, the level of extremist threat in my community has: Stayed the same	15%	11%	20%
Q167a In my country, extremist recruitment is mainly a problem in the following type of areas: Urban areas	42%	50%	35%
Q167b In my country, extremist recruitment is mainly a problem in the following type of areas: Rural areas	11%	18%	4%
Q167c In my country, extremist recruitment is mainly a problem in the following type of areas: Both	34%	27%	40%
Q167d In my country, extremist recruitment is mainly a problem in the following type of areas: Neither	11%	4%	19%
Q167e In my country, extremist recruitment is mainly a problem in the following type of areas: Other:	2%	2%	3%
Q168a Compared to when I was growing up, my community today is: More divided	65%	63%	66%
Q168b Compared to when I was growing up, my community today is: Less divided	22%	29%	16%
Q168c Compared to when I was growing up, my community today is: About the same	10%	6%	15%
Q169a The following are effective ways for me to discipline children for misbehaviour: Caning or beating	40%	43%	38%
Q169b The following are effective ways for me to discipline children for misbehaviour: Confining them to the house	7%	9%	5%
Q169c The following are effective ways for me to discipline children for misbehaviour: Depriving them of material things or privileges	12%	17%	7%

	O	U	Z
Q169d The following are effective ways for me to discipline children for misbehaviour: Explaining to them why they should behave differently	73%	66%	80%
Q170a The main way(s) young people get recruited for extremist groups is/are: Through face-to-face conversations	41%	47%	35%
Q170b The main way(s) young people get recruited for extremist groups is/are: Over the internet	42%	34%	50%
Q170c The main way(s) young people get recruited for extremist groups is/are: Through offers of study or work abroad	39%	40%	38%
Q170d The main way(s) young people get recruited for extremist groups is/are: There is no recruitment	10%	11%	8%
Q170e The main way(s) young people get recruited for extremist groups is/are: I don't know	15%	10%	20%
Q171a Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: Myself	20%	32%	9%
Q171b Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: My wife	9%	15%	4%
Q171c Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: My son	7%	11%	3%
Q171d Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: My daughter	4%	7%	2%
Q171e Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: My parent	9%	12%	5%
Q171f Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: Another of my relatives	11%	16%	7%
Q171g Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: One of my neighbours	17%	21%	14%
Q171h Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: Someone else I know	14%	16%	12%
Q171i Either I myself or someone close to me has been seriously harmed / injured by an act of political violence: No one	46%	27%	64%
Q172a I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: My wife	47%	70%	27%
Q172b I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: Other family members	26%	28%	25%
Q172c I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: Community members I trust	31%	27%	34%
Q172d I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: outside my family	19%	20%	19%
Q172e I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: Community leaders	25%	31%	19%

	O	U	Z
Q172f I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: Religious leaders	21%	27%	15%
Q172g I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: People from international organizations	11%	17%	5%
Q172h I discuss the topic of extremism with the following people: Government stakeholders	19%	19%	20%
Q173a My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Armed conflict	9%	13%	5%
Q173b My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Damaging property of 'enemy'	6%	9%	4%
Q173c My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Demonstrations	6%	9%	4%
Q173d My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Gangs	5%	8%	4%
Q173e My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Join extreme political groups	11%	14%	8%
Q173f My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Join extreme religious groups	4%	5%	4%
Q173g My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Join terrorists groups	2%	4%	1%
Q173h My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Join the Salafists / Jihadis	4%	7%	2%
Q173i My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Riots	6%	8%	4%
Q173j My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Shootings	2%	2%	1%
Q173k My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Stone throwing	6%	9%	3%
Q173l My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Suicide bombing	3%	4%	2%
Q173m My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Take drugs	7%	8%	6%
Q173n My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Terrorist attacks	2%	2%	2%
Q173o My child/children have been involved in the following activities: Violent confrontation with 'enemy'	4%	3%	5%

COMPLETE TABLES C | RAW DATA FOR ITEMS 16 THROUGH 158

Table 20. Raw results for items 16 through 158, overall and per country

(sample sizes are Overall: 612, Uganda: 299, Zanzibar: 313; NA...not available (=missing values); values are raw percentages for overall, Uganda and Zanzibar; (1) = strongly disagree, (2) = disagree, (3) = agree, (4) = strongly agree. For wordings see Tables above.

	Overall					Uganda					Zanzibar				
Item	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA
Q16	8.8	15.5	38.1	36.9	0.7	9.4	19.1	31.4	39.1	1.0	8.3	12.1	44.4	34.8	0.3
Q17	3.6	6.7	27.8	60.9	1.0	5.4	9.7	36.5	47.5	1.0	1.9	3.8	19.5	73.8	1.0
Q18	7.0	8.7	20.1	61.9	2.3	12.0	11.0	24.7	48.2	4.0	2.2	6.4	15.7	75.1	0.6
Q19	10.3	15.7	36.6	34.5	2.9	10.4	18.4	35.5	31.1	4.7	10.2	13.1	37.7	37.7	1.3
Q20	38.1	21.7	18.5	18.8	2.9	15.7	26.8	27.1	25.1	5.4	59.4	16.9	10.2	12.8	0.6
Q21	20.3	16.2	29.6	30.9	3.1	17.1	17.1	31.4	30.1	4.3	23.3	15.3	27.8	31.6	1.9
Q22	13.9	13.9	28.9	40.5	2.8	18.7	15.4	31.1	29.8	5.0	9.3	12.5	26.8	50.8	0.6
Q23	12.4	16.5	28.4	40.8	1.8	16.7	18.1	28.1	34.4	2.7	8.3	15.0	28.8	47.0	1.0
Q24	5.4	6.9	31.0	55.1	1.6	6.7	9.4	32.8	48.5	2.7	4.2	4.5	29.4	61.3	0.6
Q25	47.5	18.1	15.0	15.4	3.9	33.8	25.1	16.1	19.1	6.0	60.7	11.5	14.1	11.8	1.9
Q26	23.4	23.4	29.4	20.8	3.1	19.1	26.8	28.1	21.7	4.3	27.5	20.1	30.7	19.8	1.9
Q27	55.6	17.8	12.3	12.1	2.3	42.5	20.1	18.4	15.7	3.3	68.1	15.7	6.4	8.6	1.3
Q28	13.2	8.3	24.7	51.6	2.1	7.7	13.7	31.1	44.1	3.3	18.5	3.2	18.5	58.8	1.0
Q29	12.3	8.0	29.1	49.7	1.0	9.0	7.7	33.8	48.2	1.3	15.3	8.3	24.6	51.1	0.6
Q30	7.0	9.3	30.1	51.5	2.1	6.7	7.7	32.1	50.8	2.7	7.3	10.9	28.1	52.1	1.6
Q31	7.2	6.9	30.9	53.8	1.3	6.0	7.7	37.8	46.5	2.0	8.3	6.1	24.3	60.7	0.6
Q32	8.3	12.7	37.4	40.2	1.3	8.0	14.4	44.1	31.8	1.7	8.6	11.2	31.0	48.2	1.0
Q33	12.3	13.4	42.8	29.6	2.0	5.4	10.0	41.5	40.1	3.0	18.8	16.6	44.1	19.5	1.0
Q34	22.2	25.2	28.1	20.9	3.6	12.4	26.1	30.8	25.4	5.4	31.6	24.3	25.6	16.6	1.9
Q35	4.1	4.7	24.7	64.5	2.0	5.0	8.0	27.4	56.5	3.0	3.2	1.6	22.0	72.2	1.0
Q36	14.2	15.5	27.8	41.0	1.5	25.1	19.1	27.4	26.4	2.0	3.8	12.1	28.1	55.0	1.0
Q37	5.6	9.0	31.2	53.6	0.7	6.0	11.0	34.4	47.2	1.3	5.1	7.0	28.1	59.7	0.0
Q38	26.8	20.3	26.8	21.9	4.2	15.1	17.7	31.4	29.1	6.7	38.0	22.7	22.4	15.0	1.9
Q39	25.7	34.8	21.2	17.3	1.0	16.4	30.4	28.1	23.1	2.0	34.5	39.0	14.7	11.8	0.0
Q40	18.8	14.7	32.4	31.4	2.8	14.4	14.7	32.8	33.4	4.7	23.0	14.7	31.9	29.4	1.0
Q41	19.3	22.4	29.1	27.3	2.0	15.1	26.4	30.8	25.4	2.3	23.3	18.5	27.5	29.1	1.6
Q42	51.8	13.7	14.2	17.8	2.5	29.8	16.7	23.1	26.1	4.3	72.8	10.9	5.8	9.9	0.6
Q43	23.9	24.2	30.7	20.3	1.0	21.4	24.4	29.4	23.1	1.7	26.2	24.0	31.9	17.6	0.3
Q44	16.0	21.9	36.8	23.7	1.6	13.0	17.7	37.5	30.1	1.7	18.8	25.9	36.1	17.6	1.6
Q45	16.2	16.7	33.7	31.0	2.5	12.4	19.7	37.1	28.4	2.3	19.8	13.7	30.4	33.5	2.6
Q46	16.8	19.8	33.5	28.6	1.3	14.0	17.4	34.8	32.1	1.7	19.5	22.0	32.3	25.2	1.0
Q47	10.5	10.8	34.3	43.5	1.0	6.0	8.4	38.5	45.5	1.7	14.7	13.1	30.4	41.5	0.3
Q48	35.3	19.8	20.3	23.7	1.0	19.7	18.1	28.1	32.8	1.3	50.2	21.4	12.8	15.0	0.6
Q49	4.1	3.4	19.4	70.9	2.1	4.3	4.3	26.1	63.2	2.0	3.8	2.6	13.1	78.3	2.2
Q50	2.1	3.8	27.5	62.6	4.1	2.3	4.0	31.8	55.5	6.4	1.9	3.5	23.3	69.3	1.9
Q51	3.6	2.9	26.0	64.7	2.8	3.0	3.0	35.1	56.5	2.3	4.2	2.9	17.3	72.5	3.2
Q52	2.5	3.3	27.6	65.0	1.6	1.7	3.3	37.8	55.9	1.3	3.2	3.2	17.9	73.8	1.9

	Overall					Uganda					Zanzibar				
Item	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA
Q53	3.3	2.5	23.5	68.5	2.3	3.3	3.3	28.4	61.2	3.7	3.2	1.6	18.8	75.4	1.0
Q54	1.3	3.8	26.0	65.0	3.9	0.3	4.7	28.1	61.5	5.4	2.2	2.9	24.0	68.4	2.6
Q55	2.5	2.6	26.3	64.4	4.2	1.3	3.3	34.8	56.5	4.0	3.5	1.9	18.2	71.9	4.5
Q56	1.6	3.1	25.3	67.2	2.8	0.3	5.0	33.4	59.2	2.0	2.9	1.3	17.6	74.8	3.5
Q57	4.6	4.2	29.9	59.2	2.1	3.3	6.0	34.1	54.2	2.3	5.8	2.6	25.9	63.9	1.9
Q58	5.4	8.7	43.8	38.2	3.9	3.3	8.0	43.8	39.8	5.0	7.3	9.3	43.8	36.7	2.9
Q59	8.0	13.4	38.6	35.6	4.4	6.4	13.0	42.1	33.4	5.0	9.6	13.7	35.1	37.7	3.8
Q60	4.9	11.8	42.2	36.9	4.2	4.3	10.4	45.2	36.1	4.0	5.4	13.1	39.3	37.7	4.5
Q61	3.8	6.0	34.3	52.5	3.4	2.7	5.7	33.4	55.2	3.0	4.8	6.4	35.1	49.8	3.8
Q62	2.6	4.1	31.9	58.5	2.9	2.0	3.3	35.5	56.9	2.3	3.2	4.8	28.4	60.1	3.5
Q63	4.2	7.7	39.1	45.1	3.9	3.7	8.0	39.5	44.5	4.3	4.8	7.3	38.7	45.7	3.5
Q64	10.6	14.4	33.7	30.1	11.3	7.7	13.0	32.4	30.1	16.7	13.4	15.7	34.8	30.0	6.1
Q65	6.2	4.9	23.0	64.1	1.8	4.0	3.7	21.1	68.2	3.0	8.3	6.1	24.9	60.1	0.6
Q66	4.4	8.7	28.1	56.0	2.8	2.0	5.0	26.1	63.2	3.7	6.7	12.1	30.0	49.2	1.9
Q67	11.1	8.3	27.1	48.4	5.1	7.7	9.0	31.8	44.8	6.7	14.4	7.7	22.7	51.8	3.5
Q68	6.4	6.2	40.7	43.1	3.6	3.0	5.4	47.2	40.8	3.7	9.6	7.0	34.5	45.4	3.5
Q69	7.7	14.2	31.4	43.0	3.8	7.4	17.4	33.1	37.8	4.3	8.0	11.2	29.7	47.9	3.2
Q70	12.3	18.5	35.6	29.2	4.4	9.0	13.4	37.5	35.5	4.7	15.3	23.3	33.9	23.3	4.2
Q71	11.4	13.6	31.7	30.1	13.2	9.0	14.7	28.1	26.8	21.4	13.7	12.5	35.1	33.2	5.4
Q72	5.7	4.4	24.7	63.6	1.6	3.0	5.4	27.1	61.9	2.7	8.3	3.5	22.4	65.2	0.6
Q73	4.2	9.6	37.7	46.2	2.1	2.3	6.4	38.5	49.8	3.0	6.1	12.8	37.1	42.8	1.3
Q74	5.9	6.4	41.0	43.8	2.9	4.3	7.0	44.8	39.8	4.0	7.3	5.8	37.4	47.6	1.9
Q75	7.0	9.5	30.7	50.0	2.8	6.4	7.7	33.4	48.2	4.3	7.7	11.2	28.1	51.8	1.3
Q76	9.8	13.9	37.1	36.6	2.6	8.0	13.0	40.8	34.4	3.7	11.5	14.7	33.5	38.7	1.6
Q77	6.9	8.7	40.8	40.4	3.3	3.7	4.0	45.2	42.8	4.3	9.9	13.1	36.7	38.0	2.2
Q78	6.9	7.8	31.5	50.2	3.6	3.3	3.7	28.8	59.5	4.7	10.2	11.8	34.2	41.2	2.6
Q79	4.9	4.7	33.5	52.9	3.9	2.3	5.0	31.4	55.9	5.4	7.3	4.5	35.5	50.2	2.6
Q80	5.7	8.5	33.7	48.2	3.9	4.3	7.7	32.8	49.8	5.4	7.0	9.3	34.5	46.6	2.6
Q81	8.3	12.6	39.1	36.1	3.9	5.7	7.4	43.1	38.1	5.7	10.9	17.6	35.1	34.2	2.2
Q82	10.8	8.5	34.8	41.7	4.2	6.4	7.7	34.8	45.5	5.7	15.0	9.3	34.8	38.0	2.9
Q83	21.7	13.4	32.4	30.2	2.3	9.7	8.7	39.8	38.5	3.3	33.2	17.9	25.2	22.4	1.3
Q84	18.8	16.3	34.6	25.8	4.4	10.4	15.7	38.8	28.4	6.7	26.8	16.9	30.7	23.3	2.2
Q85	9.8	17.6	36.9	32.5	3.1	6.0	13.0	40.8	35.5	4.7	13.4	22.0	33.2	29.7	1.6
Q86	9.8	16.7	39.9	30.4	3.3	5.4	13.0	43.8	32.8	5.0	14.1	20.1	36.1	28.1	1.6
Q87	7.2	11.3	38.9	39.2	3.4	5.4	7.0	42.1	40.5	5.0	8.9	15.3	35.8	38.0	1.9
Q88	6.4	9.5	36.3	45.1	2.8	5.4	5.7	40.8	43.8	4.3	7.3	13.1	31.9	46.3	1.3
Q89	7.0	12.1	44.3	33.2	3.4	5.4	11.7	42.1	35.5	5.4	8.6	12.5	46.3	31.0	1.6
Q90	7.4	8.8	38.4	41.7	3.8	5.4	4.7	41.5	42.5	6.0	9.3	12.8	35.5	40.9	1.6
Q91	9.2	10.9	35.8	40.7	3.4	5.0	5.4	37.8	46.2	5.7	13.1	16.3	33.9	35.5	1.3
Q92	6.2	11.1	35.6	44.1	2.9	2.7	7.0	35.1	51.5	3.7	9.6	15.0	36.1	37.1	2.2
Q93	10.0	17.8	39.7	29.4	3.1	8.4	12.4	42.5	32.4	4.3	11.5	23.0	37.1	26.5	1.9
Q94	10.1	17.0	43.1	26.1	3.6	7.4	13.0	44.8	29.8	5.0	12.8	20.8	41.5	22.7	2.2

	Overall					Uganda					Zanzibar				
Item	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA
Q95	7.5	12.9	43.0	33.3	3.3	5.7	12.7	44.1	32.4	5.0	9.3	13.1	41.9	34.2	1.6
Q96	9.0	15.2	42.5	30.1	3.3	6.0	12.4	45.2	32.8	3.7	11.8	17.9	39.9	27.5	2.9
Q97	25.8	12.7	31.0	27.1	3.3	12.0	10.4	40.1	32.1	5.4	39.0	15.0	22.4	22.4	1.3
Q98	12.4	13.1	34.0	38.4	2.1	6.7	9.7	34.1	46.2	3.3	17.9	16.3	33.9	31.0	1.0
Q99	10.5	6.2	33.3	42.5	7.5	6.7	4.3	32.4	41.5	15.1	14.1	8.0	34.2	43.5	0.3
Q100	14.2	11.3	38.2	34.0	2.3	14.4	10.4	41.1	30.4	3.7	14.1	12.1	35.5	37.4	1.0
Q101	11.9	16.5	38.1	30.6	2.9	8.7	12.7	41.1	33.1	4.3	15.0	20.1	35.1	28.1	1.6
Q102	17.3	18.1	35.5	25.0	4.1	9.4	10.4	44.8	30.1	5.4	24.9	25.6	26.5	20.1	2.9
Q103	13.2	17.5	39.1	27.1	3.1	7.0	11.0	42.8	34.8	4.3	19.2	23.6	35.5	19.8	1.9
Q104	7.7	10.6	44.1	33.8	3.8	3.7	7.0	44.1	40.8	4.3	11.5	14.1	44.1	27.2	3.2
Q105	7.7	8.7	33.5	46.9	3.3	6.4	6.4	35.8	47.5	4.0	8.9	10.9	31.3	46.3	2.6
Q106	10.8	11.6	41.7	32.8	3.1	7.0	9.7	41.5	38.1	3.7	14.4	13.4	41.9	27.8	2.6
Q107	11.8	14.4	40.7	30.2	2.9	6.7	11.0	45.2	33.1	4.0	16.6	17.6	36.4	27.5	1.9
Q108	8.2	11.9	32.8	44.3	2.8	6.4	10.7	35.1	44.5	3.3	9.9	13.1	30.7	44.1	2.2
Q109	17.0	16.3	33.7	28.9	4.1	11.4	13.7	39.5	31.8	3.7	22.4	18.8	28.1	26.2	4.5
Q110	11.9	10.3	36.9	36.3	4.6	8.0	8.0	37.5	42.1	4.3	15.7	12.5	36.4	30.7	4.8
Q111	4.1	6.0	32.0	56.2	1.6	2.7	9.0	33.8	51.5	3.0	5.4	3.2	30.4	60.7	0.3
Q112	8.0	9.8	42.0	36.9	3.3	4.7	9.0	44.1	37.5	4.7	11.2	10.5	39.9	36.4	1.9
Q113	4.7	7.0	40.4	45.3	2.6	5.0	5.0	36.8	49.2	4.0	4.5	8.9	43.8	41.5	1.3
Q114	6.7	11.8	41.2	37.3	3.1	5.4	6.4	40.8	42.8	4.7	8.0	16.9	41.5	31.9	1.6
Q115	6.5	12.1	40.0	38.2	3.1	5.7	10.4	39.8	39.5	4.7	7.3	13.7	40.3	37.1	1.6
Q116	4.4	6.4	33.2	53.6	2.5	3.7	5.4	34.4	53.5	3.0	5.1	7.3	31.9	53.7	1.9
Q116.	6.0	9.6	46.4	35.5	2.5	4.7	7.7	46.8	37.5	3.3	7.3	11.5	46.0	33.5	1.6
Q117	6.2	9.2	45.4	36.1	3.1	4.7	7.7	45.8	38.5	3.3	7.7	10.5	45.0	33.9	2.9
Q118	5.2	6.9	36.4	47.5	3.9	2.7	7.4	36.8	47.2	6.0	7.7	6.4	36.1	47.9	1.9
Q119	5.9	4.7	38.1	48.5	2.8	4.3	4.7	44.5	42.1	4.3	7.3	4.8	31.9	54.6	1.3
Q120	4.1	4.7	32.4	55.6	3.3	3.0	6.0	37.8	48.2	5.0	5.1	3.5	27.2	62.6	1.6
Q121	2.8	6.5	39.1	48.9	2.8	3.0	6.0	40.1	47.2	3.7	2.6	7.0	38.0	50.5	1.9
Q122	3.8	4.9	32.0	58.0	1.3	4.3	6.0	34.1	53.2	2.3	3.2	3.8	30.0	62.6	0.3
Q123	2.3	4.9	31.4	59.0	2.5	3.0	6.4	31.1	55.5	4.0	1.6	3.5	31.6	62.3	1.0
Q124	2.3	6.0	42.8	46.4	2.5	2.3	6.4	42.8	45.8	2.7	2.2	5.8	42.8	47.0	2.2
Q125	3.1	6.4	42.0	46.2	2.3	2.7	9.0	45.2	39.5	3.7	3.5	3.8	39.0	52.7	1.0
Q126	2.6	5.6	34.6	54.2	2.9	1.7	7.7	40.5	46.8	3.3	3.5	3.5	29.1	61.3	2.6
Q127	2.1	4.7	35.3	55.9	2.0	1.3	6.4	39.8	49.5	3.0	2.9	3.2	31.0	62.0	1.0
Q128	2.5	3.3	32.2	58.8	3.3	2.0	3.0	34.4	55.5	5.0	2.9	3.5	30.0	62.0	1.6
Q129	7.2	10.1	35.0	45.3	2.5	5.0	7.0	34.8	49.5	3.7	9.3	13.1	35.1	41.2	1.3
Q130	6.4	9.5	37.7	44.3	2.1	5.0	10.7	41.1	39.8	3.3	7.7	8.3	34.5	48.6	1.0
Q131	6.0	6.0	36.9	48.2	2.8	4.7	5.0	35.8	50.2	4.3	7.3	7.0	38.0	46.3	1.3
Q132	5.7	7.5	38.9	45.3	2.6	4.3	7.0	40.8	44.1	3.7	7.0	8.0	37.1	46.3	1.6
Q133	6.2	9.0	39.5	41.3	3.9	5.0	11.0	39.1	39.1	5.7	7.3	7.0	39.9	43.5	2.2
Q134	6.0	9.3	26.1	55.4	3.1	4.3	12.4	27.4	50.8	5.0	7.7	6.4	24.9	59.7	1.3
Q135	7.7	7.7	36.6	36.9	11.1	7.4	4.7	31.4	37.8	18.7	8.0	10.5	41.5	36.1	3.8

	Overall					Uganda					Zanzibar				
Item	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	NA
Q136	2.1	4.6	30.4	59.8	3.1	1.7	7.0	27.8	57.5	6.0	2.6	2.2	32.9	62.0	0.3
Q137	1.8	3.6	29.6	61.6	3.4	2.0	4.3	29.8	57.2	6.7	1.6	2.9	29.4	65.8	0.3
Q138	3.3	5.4	37.9	49.2	4.2	4.3	8.7	40.8	39.1	7.0	2.2	2.2	35.1	58.8	1.6
Q139	3.8	8.7	36.4	46.9	4.2	3.7	7.0	36.8	45.2	7.4	3.8	10.2	36.1	48.6	1.3
Q140	6.9	10.3	34.8	43.5	4.6	7.0	10.4	30.1	45.2	7.4	6.7	10.2	39.3	41.9	1.9
Q141	3.9	4.7	32.5	54.2	4.6	4.0	5.7	32.4	49.8	8.0	3.8	3.8	32.6	58.5	1.3
Q142	3.8	7.8	40.5	43.8	4.1	2.3	7.7	42.1	41.1	6.7	5.1	8.0	39.0	46.3	1.6
Q143	2.6	3.9	33.7	56.2	3.6	4.3	5.7	38.8	45.5	5.7	1.0	2.2	28.8	66.5	1.6
Q144	2.8	3.3	32.2	57.7	4.1	4.0	4.3	35.5	49.8	6.4	1.6	2.2	29.1	65.2	1.9
Q145	2.8	7.4	41.5	44.4	3.9	3.3	11.0	41.5	38.8	5.4	2.2	3.8	41.5	49.8	2.6
Q146	4.2	8.2	35.9	47.9	3.8	4.7	7.7	39.1	42.1	6.4	3.8	8.6	32.9	53.4	1.3
Q147	3.3	2.6	32.4	60.1	1.6	3.7	3.0	33.1	57.2	3.0	2.9	2.2	31.6	62.9	0.3
Q148	2.6	3.9	31.0	60.0	2.5	4.0	4.7	32.4	55.2	3.7	1.3	3.2	29.7	64.5	1.3
Q149	3.1	6.7	42.5	45.4	2.3	4.7	8.4	45.2	38.5	3.3	1.6	5.1	39.9	52.1	1.3
Q150	4.4	10.5	37.9	45.4	1.8	5.7	13.0	36.5	42.8	2.0	3.2	8.0	39.3	47.9	1.6
Q151	5.1	10.8	34.2	48.0	2.0	5.0	13.7	33.1	45.5	2.7	5.1	8.0	35.1	50.5	1.3
Q152	3.3	7.2	31.4	55.1	3.1	4.0	10.0	34.4	46.2	5.4	2.6	4.5	28.4	63.6	1.0
Q153	2.1	7.5	44.6	43.0	2.8	1.7	6.4	44.1	43.1	4.7	2.6	8.6	45.0	42.8	1.0
Q154	1.6	4.4	37.1	53.6	3.3	3.3	6.7	42.1	43.1	4.7	0.0	2.2	32.3	63.6	1.9
Q155	1.8	4.1	34.6	56.9	2.6	3.3	4.7	39.5	48.2	4.3	0.3	3.5	30.0	65.2	1.0
Q156	2.8	7.0	43.8	43.1	3.3	4.3	8.7	43.1	39.8	4.0	1.3	5.4	44.4	46.3	2.6
Q157	2.6	9.5	38.6	46.2	3.1	1.3	9.7	41.5	43.1	4.3	3.8	9.3	35.8	49.2	1.9
Q158	5.9	11.4	44.1	34.6	3.9	4.3	10.4	44.8	34.8	5.7	7.3	12.5	43.5	34.5	2.2

COMPLETE TABLES D | RAW DATA FOR ITEMS 159 THROUGH 173

Table 21. Raw results for items 159 through 173, overall and per country

(sample sizes are Overall: 612, Uganda: 299, Zanzibar: 313; NA...not available (=missing values); values are raw percentages for overall, Uganda and Zanzibar. For wordings see Tables above.

	Overall			Uganda			Zanzibar		
	no	yes	NA	no	yes	NA	no	yes	NA
Q159a	67.5	32.4	0.2	49.8	49.8	0.3	84.3	15.7	0.0
Q159b	56.7	43.1	0.2	71.2	28.4	0.3	42.8	57.2	0.0
Q159c	77.5	22.4	0.2	79.9	19.7	0.3	75.1	24.9	0.0
Q159d	96.6	3.3	0.2	97.0	2.7	0.3	96.2	3.8	0.0
Q160a	65.2	34.0	0.8	51.2	47.2	1.7	78.6	21.4	0.0
Q160b	79.2	19.9	0.8	78.6	19.7	1.7	79.9	20.1	0.0
Q160c	55.9	43.3	0.8	71.2	27.1	1.7	41.2	58.8	0.0
Q160d	95.4	3.8	0.8	92.6	5.7	1.7	98.1	1.9	0.0
Q161a	81.5	17.6	0.8	71.2	27.1	1.7	91.4	8.6	0.0
Q161b	78.4	20.8	0.8	73.2	25.1	1.7	83.4	16.6	0.0
Q161c	48.2	51.0	0.8	60.9	37.5	1.7	36.1	63.9	0.0
Q161d	89.2	10.0	0.8	88.6	9.7	1.7	89.8	10.2	0.0
Q162a	50.5	48.5	1.0	48.2	50.2	1.7	52.7	47.0	0.3
Q162b	72.1	27.1	0.8	69.2	29.1	1.7	74.8	25.2	0.0
Q162c	76.8	22.4	0.8	80.3	18.1	1.7	73.5	26.5	0.0
Q162d	96.7	2.5	0.8	95.7	2.7	1.7	97.8	2.2	0.0
Q163a	74.5	25.0	0.5	70.6	28.4	1.0	78.3	21.7	0.0
Q163b	78.4	21.1	0.5	72.6	26.4	1.0	84.0	16.0	0.0
Q163c	50.5	49.0	0.5	62.9	36.1	1.0	38.7	61.3	0.0
Q163d	94.4	5.1	0.5	90.6	8.4	1.0	98.1	1.9	0.0
Q164a	27.6	71.7	0.7	28.8	69.9	1.3	26.5	73.5	0.0
Q164b	88.6	10.8	0.7	83.9	14.7	1.3	93.0	7.0	0.0
Q164c	83.7	15.7	0.7	88.6	10.0	1.3	78.9	21.1	0.0
Q164d	96.7	2.6	0.7	95.3	3.3	1.3	98.1	1.9	0.0
Q165a	68.5	31.2	0.3	54.5	44.8	0.7	81.8	18.2	0.0
Q165b	58.5	41.2	0.3	59.5	39.8	0.7	57.5	42.5	0.0
Q165c	71.4	28.3	0.3	86.0	13.4	0.7	57.5	42.5	0.0
Q165d	97.7	1.8	0.5	97.0	2.0	1.0	98.4	1.6	0.0
Q166a	66.8	32.2	1.0	57.5	40.5	2.0	75.7	24.3	0.0
Q166b	50.5	48.7	0.8	53.2	45.2	1.7	47.9	52.1	0.0
Q166c	83.8	15.4	0.8	88.0	10.4	1.7	79.9	20.1	0.0
Q167a	57.5	42.3	0.2	49.5	50.2	0.3	65.2	34.8	0.0
Q167b	88.6	11.3	0.2	81.3	18.4	0.3	95.5	4.5	0.0
Q167c	66.0	33.8	0.2	72.6	27.1	0.3	59.7	40.3	0.0
Q167d	88.4	11.4	0.2	96.0	3.7	0.3	81.2	18.8	0.0
Q167e	97.5	2.1	0.3	98.0	1.7	0.3	97.1	2.6	0.3
Q168a	35.1	64.5	0.3	36.8	62.5	0.7	33.5	66.5	0.0
Q168b	77.6	22.2	0.2	70.6	29.1	0.3	84.3	15.7	0.0
Q168c	89.4	10.5	0.2	93.6	6.0	0.3	85.3	14.7	0.0
Q169a	59.2	40.2	0.7	56.5	42.1	1.3	61.7	38.3	0.0

	Overall			Uganda			Zanzibar		
	no	yes	NA	no	yes	NA	no	yes	NA
Q169b	92.0	7.4	0.7	89.3	9.4	1.3	94.6	5.4	0.0
Q169c	87.3	12.1	0.7	81.6	17.1	1.3	92.7	7.3	0.0
Q169d	26.6	72.5	0.8	33.8	64.9	1.3	19.8	79.9	0.3
Q170a	59.0	40.4	0.7	52.5	46.2	1.3	65.2	34.8	0.0
Q170b	57.4	42.0	0.7	65.6	33.1	1.3	49.5	50.5	0.0
Q170c	60.5	38.9	0.7	59.2	39.5	1.3	61.7	38.3	0.0
Q170d	89.9	9.5	0.7	87.6	11.0	1.3	92.0	8.0	0.0
Q170e	84.2	15.2	0.7	88.6	10.0	1.3	79.9	20.1	0.0
Q171a	79.7	19.8	0.5	67.6	31.4	1.0	91.4	8.6	0.0
Q171b	90.2	9.3	0.5	83.9	15.1	1.0	96.2	3.8	0.0
Q171c	92.8	6.7	0.5	88.3	10.7	1.0	97.1	2.9	0.0
Q171d	95.1	4.4	0.5	91.6	7.4	1.0	98.4	1.6	0.0
Q171e	91.0	8.5	0.5	87.0	12.0	1.0	94.9	5.1	0.0
Q171f	88.4	11.1	0.5	83.3	15.7	1.0	93.3	6.7	0.0
Q171g	82.4	17.2	0.5	78.3	20.7	1.0	86.3	13.7	0.0
Q171h	85.5	14.1	0.5	83.3	15.7	1.0	87.5	12.5	0.0
Q171i	53.8	45.8	0.5	72.2	26.8	1.0	36.1	63.9	0.0
Q172a	52.0	46.7	1.3	29.8	67.9	2.3	73.2	26.5	0.3
Q172b	73.2	25.8	1.0	70.9	27.1	2.0	75.4	24.6	0.0
Q172c	68.8	30.2	1.0	71.6	26.4	2.0	66.1	33.9	0.0
Q172d	79.7	19.3	1.0	78.3	19.7	2.0	81.2	18.8	0.0
Q172e	74.3	24.7	1.0	67.2	30.8	2.0	81.2	18.8	0.0
Q172f	78.4	20.6	1.0	71.9	26.1	2.0	84.7	15.3	0.0
Q172g	88.4	10.6	1.0	81.6	16.4	2.0	94.9	5.1	0.0
Q172h	79.9	19.1	1.0	79.6	18.4	2.0	80.2	19.8	0.0
Q173a	84.2	8.0	7.8	72.9	11.0	16.1	94.9	5.1	0.0
Q173b	86.3	5.6	8.2	75.9	7.4	16.7	96.2	3.8	0.0
Q173c	85.9	5.9	8.2	75.9	7.4	16.7	95.5	4.5	0.0
Q173d	86.8	4.9	8.3	76.6	6.4	17.1	96.5	3.5	0.0
Q173e	82.0	9.8	8.2	71.6	11.7	16.7	92.0	8.0	0.0
Q173f	87.9	3.9	8.2	79.3	4.0	16.7	96.2	3.8	0.0
Q173g	89.5	2.3	8.2	79.9	3.3	16.7	98.7	1.3	0.0
Q173h	88.1	3.6	8.3	77.3	5.7	17.1	98.4	1.6	0.0
Q173i	86.4	5.4	8.2	76.6	6.7	16.7	95.8	4.2	0.0
Q173j	90.2	1.5	8.3	80.9	2.0	17.1	99.0	1.0	0.0
Q173k	86.8	5.1	8.2	75.9	7.4	16.7	97.1	2.9	0.0
Q173l	89.4	2.5	8.2	80.3	3.0	16.7	98.1	1.9	0.0
Q173m	85.1	6.5	8.3	76.3	6.7	17.1	93.6	6.4	0.0
Q173n	90.2	1.6	8.2	81.6	1.7	16.7	98.4	1.6	0.0
Q173o	88.1	3.6	8.3	80.6	2.3	17.1	95.2	4.8	0.0
Q173p	68.1	23.4	8.5	66.2	16.7	17.1	70.0	29.7	0.3

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ABOUT WWB AND PARTNERS

Women without Borders

Women without Borders (WwB), a Quasi International Organisation headquartered in Vienna, has since its inception in 2001 focused on the glaring absence of women from the cast list of agents in communities affected by or vulnerable to various forms of violence. For over a decade, WwB has been sensitising this neglected group to their roles and responsibilities in building community resilience from the ground up. While addressing extremism is a priority among the range of distinct but interrelated WwB capacity building projects, this approach reflects WwB's broader, longstanding governing philosophy: translating research into action and empowering women to move from victimhood towards agency.

Uganda Muslim Youth Development Forum

Uganda Muslim Youth Development Forum (UMYDF) is a non-profit, non-partisan organisation founded by two Muslim youth following the 2010 world cup bombings in Kampala. The organisation works to develop the capacity of young people across East Africa and the Horn of Africa in order to promote their active, responsible, and non-violent participation in local, national, and global development processes. UMYDF focuses on PVE and positive alternatives to recruitment through education-led initiatives, including establishing and sustaining peace clubs in twenty schools in Uganda. The organisation also runs a skills centre in Katwe-Kampala where young people receive vocational training.

Zanzibar Youth Education Environment Development Support Association

The Zanzibar Youth Education Environment Development Support Association (ZAYEDESAs) is a nonprofit organisation founded in 1998 with the vision of tackling socioeconomic problems facing the youth, such as unemployment, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS, and environmental mismanagement. ZAYADESA's founder and chairperson Madame Shadya Karume and her team have been developing and implementing projects that mainly focus on the youth. Since 2008, Women without Borders and ZAYEDESAs have been working together as partners on a range of capacity building, female empowerment, and research-based projects.

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