Small Warriors? Children and Youth in Colonial Insurgencies and Counterinsurgency, c. 1945-60.

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Child soldiers are often viewed as a contemporary, 'new war' phenomenon but international concern about their use first emerged in response to anti-colonial liberation struggles. Youth were important actors in anti-colonial insurgencies, but their involvement has been neglected in existing historiographies of decolonization and counterinsurgency due to the absence and marginalization of youth voices in colonial archives. This article analyses the causes of youth insurgency and colonial counterinsurgency responses to their involvement in conflict between c.1945 and 1960, particularly comparing Kenya and Cyprus, but also drawing on evidence from Malaya, Indochina/Vietnam, and Algeria. It takes a generational lens, exploring the experiences of 'youth insurgents' primarily between the ages of twelve and twenty. Youth insurgents were most common where the legitimate grievances of youth were mobilized by anti-colonial groups who could recruit children through colonial organizations as well as family and social networks. Whilst some teenagers fought from coercion or necessity, others were politically motivated and willing to risk their lives for independence. Youth soldiers served in multiple capacities in insurgencies, from protestors to couriers to armed fighters, in roles which were shaped by multiple logics: the need for troop fortification and sustained manpower; the tactical exploitation of youth liminality, and the symbolic mobilization of childhood and discourses of childhood innocence. Counterinsurgency responses to youthful insurgents commonly combined violence and development, highlighting tensions within late colonial governance: juveniles were beaten, detained, and flogged, but also constructed as 'delinquents' rather than 'terrorists' to facilitate their subsequent 'rehabilitation'.

Keywords: youth, childhood, generation, child soldier, insurgency, counterinsurgency, colonial, decolonization, Kenya, Cyprus.

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> *"these children, who were not born criminals or agitators, were victims of impulse, inducement and intimidation, but nevertheless had become terrorists fully capable of murder and devoid of any sense of moral responsibility".*[1]
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> - *Government report, "Corruption of Youth in Cyprus".*

Children and youth were among the main casualties of insurgency and colonial counterinsurgency, both directly and indirectly. They were forcibly displaced during resettlement and villagization, detained, and separated from their families during urban clearances. They were killed or maimed during battles and beaten by security forces – or they watched such violence happening to friends and family. But not all children were victims or passive witnesses to liberation struggles: many became active participants. When the Cyprus Emergency erupted in 1955, "[t]he British were baffled to find that the enemy throwing bombs was a sixteen year old schoolboy, or that those distributing revolutionary leaflets were ten year olds from the primary school", with children and youth involved in every activity from painting slogans to sabotage and assassinations.[2] So why were children and youth so prominent in Cyprus, and were they as prominent or common in other liberation struggles? Were they politically-aware patriots, or duped and coerced children "corrupted" by various insurgent groups? And how did different colonial states respond: to what extent did children and youth become targets of counterinsurgency strategy, both enemy-centric and population-centric?

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[1] Government of Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth in Support of Terrorism' (Nicosia, Government Printer: 1957), p. 18.

[2] George Grivas-Dighenis and Charles Foley (ed.), *The Memoirs of General Grivas* (London: Longman, 1964), p. 36; Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 11.

Recent comparative studies of colonial warfare have re-evaluated the extent and targeting of violence within counterinsurgency strategies, downplaying the significance of "hearts and minds" and stressing the centrality of coercion, but they have yet to fully analyze how strategies of both violence and development impacted upon different sections of "pacified" populations.[3] Insurgencies have been studied as ethnic, sectarian, split by class and political ideology. More recently, feminist scholars in particular have applied a gendered lens to the study of counterinsurgency, arguing that the nature of conflict and people's reasons for participating need to be read through gender norms and tensions, as well as race, class and religion.[4] One vector of (counter-)insurgency has been neglected in these revisionist analyses however: age. The relative neglect of children and youth in studies of colonial insurgency and counterinsurgency is somewhat anomalous considering the firm linkages drawn between youth and nationalism in the decolonization era, and between youth and violent revolution in the twentieth century.[5] This article will adopt a generational lens, deploying age as an organizing principle of its comparative analysis and focusing on the experiences of children and youth. The recruitment and utilization of children should be viewed not as a binary contrast to the recruitment of adults, but rather within the context of the wider mobilization of youth and the generational hierarchies that shaped independence struggles. As David Kilcullen has written, among the core principles of contemporary counterinsurgency is the need to "engage the women, beware the children".[6] But when did concern about the need to 'beware' children

[3] See e.g. David French, *The British Way in Counterinsurgency, 1945-67* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Brian Drohan, *Brutality in an Age of Human Rights: Activism and Counterinsurgency at the End of the British Empire* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2017).
[4] Laleh Khalili, 'Gendered Practices of Counterinsurgency', *Review of International Studies*, 37.4 (2010), 1-21; Laura Sjoberg, *Gender, War and Conflict* (London: Polity, 2014).
[5] See e.g. Richard Waller, 'Rebellious Youth in Colonial Africa', *Journal of African History*, 47.1 (2006), 77-92; Paul Sager, 'Youth and Nationalism in Vichy Indochina', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 3.3 (2008), 291-301; Jon Abbink and Ineke van Kessel (eds.), *Vandals or Vanguards: Youth, Politics and Conflict in Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2005).
[6] David Kilcullen, *Counterinsurgency* (London: Hurst, 2010), p. 40.

appear? This article will compare child and youth involvement in decolonization-era insurgencies and counterinsurgency responses across British and French empires, taking Kenya and Cyprus as key case studies due to visibility of youth in these conflicts and the resultant greater depth of archival evidence on their surveillance, detention and rehabilitation available, particularly following the release of the Migrated Archives.[7] Comparing the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya (1952-60) and the Cyprus Emergency (1955-59) allows analysis of different cultural, racial, rural and urban, and juvenile reform vectors that shaped the emergence and treatment of youth insurgency. This article argues that children and youth played a significant role in anti-colonial liberation struggles. It represents the first step in a larger research project on late-twentieth century global histories of child soldiering and serves to outline the broad patterns of child and youth insurgency and colonial responses. No single analytical framework explains the recruitment and use of child and youth soldiers in liberation struggle across multiple conflicts as their experiences and motivations varied widely, but key trends can be identified. Children and youth were mobilized through a combination of deliberate recruitment strategies, established social structures and networks, and their own variable levels and notions of agency. They seem to have been most numerous – or most visible – in totalizing insurgencies where whole communities were mobilized, in urban spaces, and where educational and social networks were sufficiently dense to facilitate targeted youth recruitment.

Archival research reveals that there was little expectation from colonial authorities of children and youth being prominent in insurgencies in early security responses to colonial emergencies, but that awareness of their involvement rose after urban riots, curfews and mass detention brought children and youth into emergency courts and militarized spaces. Security forces, administrators and judges from Indochina to Ireland all became alert to the increasing

[7] Evidence suggests that children and youth also contributed to anti-colonial insurgencies in Portuguese and Dutch empires but further research is required to substantiate the extent of their involvement.

numbers of teenagers who emerged shouting slogans, throwing bombs, and shooting guns, forcing a recognition of youth political and (para-)military capacities and the development of specific counterinsurgency spaces and sanctions to combat them. This article argues that there was no coordinated (trans-)imperial response to these youthful insurgents and little comparative discussion of policies towards youth within British or French colonies. Shaped by wider counterinsurgency strategy, colonial responses to insurgent youth combined violence and reform. As insurgencies progressed, children and youth became prime targets of development and social engineering within broader "hearts and minds" campaigns in addition to being targets of security force violence. Attempts to "rehabilitate" detained youth fighters were based on existing juvenile reform technologies that had been shaped by imperial and transnational penal and social welfare networks, creating common responses. Juvenile "terrorism" was read predominantly through existing analytical frameworks of "delinquency" rather than securitized lenses, with young insurgents being placed under the remits of social welfare and community development departments rather than military or prison officials.

Childhood and youth are not universal categories but are rather historical and cultural constructs, sites of contestation between, and within, different colonial states and local communities.[8] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, middle-class Westernized models of childhood were exported across the colonized world – models which themselves had been co-constructed partly in response to racialized ideas of childhood imported back from the colonies.[9] Whilst there were differences between British and French ideals of childhood, these models generally read children as innocent, nonsexual beings requiring protection from labor,

[8] See Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood*, trans. Adam Phillips (London: Pimlico, [1960]1996); Allison James, Chris Jenks and Alan Prout, *Theorizing Childhood* (Cambridge: Polity Press, [1998]2015); David M. Pomfret, *Youth and Empire: Trans-Colonial Childhoods in British and French Asia* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2015).
[9] Paula S. Fass, 'Childhood and Globalization', *Journal of Social History*, 36.4 (2003), 963-77; Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*.

sex and too rapid a transition into adulthood: a status that bore little resemblance to the lived realities of many colonized children, particularly those from poorer families.[10] Constructions of childhood varied across ethnic cultures, social strata, and positions within families, and were also recast through processes of modernization, with biomedicine, urbanization and Christianity, and particularly Western education, changing expectations of children and childhood. But beyond these differences, there are sufficient commonalities to suggest that whereas metropolitan societies saw children as protected consumers, children in many African and Asian communities were viewed as producers, expected to provide labor to household economies and to contribute to the support and even defense of local communities in times of need. Military service itself could mark the transition from child or youth to adult. The line between childhood and youth was often blurry, with youth – or *jeunesse* – being a "shifter category" that is as much political as biological, but which usually denotes someone between the ages of fourteen and thirty-five, and of subaltern or marginalized social status.[11] In late colonial contexts, youth also carried connotations of progression and modernity, and the challenging of generational authorities, as in the Malayan term *pemuda* that became synonymous with "revolutionary" during the Emergency there.[12] It should be noted, however, that youth was implicitly and explicitly coded as male. Beyond puberty, girls tended to be categorized by their gender as "female" rather than by their age.[13]

[10] Afua Twum-Danso, 'The Political Child', in Angela McIntyre (ed.), *Invisible Stakeholders: Children and War in Africa* (Cape Town: Institute for Security Studies, 2005), pp. 7-14; Alcinda Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), pp. 40-45.
[11] See Deborah Durham, 'Youth and the Social Imagination in Africa: Introduction to Parts 1 and 2', *Anthropological Quarterly,* 73.3 (2000), 113-20; Abbink and van Kessel (eds.), *Vandals or Vanguards*.
[12] Syed Muhd Aljunied, *Radicals: Resistance and Protest in Colonial Malaya* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois Press, 2015), p. 61.
[13] See Jennifer Helgren & Colleen Vasconcellos (eds.), *Girlhood: A Global History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012).

Comparative analysis of youthful involvement in anti-colonial insurgencies is hindered by the absence of child and youth voices in official archives, and by the mutable and inconsistent usage of chronologically-bound colonial categories. The term "boy" in colonial parlance commonly invoked subordinate status rather than biological immaturity and was applied widely to adult males. In territories without standard birth registration, captured insurgents often provided only vague ages. Sometimes age was roughly determined by applying imprecise biological aging techniques, such as judging teeth, musculature, or bone growth.[14] Child and juvenile status varied between colonies and departments. In British colonies, the upper age limit for "child" status varied between twelve and eighteen years across labor, education and legal categories. "Juvenile" was a legal category denoting someone under fifteen or sixteen years of age, but it could be used bureaucratically for those under the age of eighteen or sometimes nineteen, while as a moral category it became synonymous with "delinquent".[15] Moreover, in Malayan records, the age categories for "students" were variously given as twelve to twenty-five years, fifteen to twenty-five years or sixteen to thirty years.[16]

Due to the slippery nature of these categories and imprecision in colonial records, this article will therefore analyze the involvement in anti-colonial insurgencies of individuals described as "child", "juvenile" and "youth" in colonial archives, but focusing particularly on what Pignot terms "ado-combattants": teenage or adolescent fighters, who appear across those colonial categories.[17] Under current international humanitarian norms, "any person under 18 years of age who is part of any kind of regular or irregular armed force or armed group in any

[14] Geoffrey W. Griffin, *The Autobiography of Geoffrey W. Griffin, Kenya's Champion Beggar, as narrated to Yusuf M. King'ala* (Nairobi: Falcon Crest, 1952), p. 45.
[15] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth', 85.
[16] The National Archives, Kew (TNA), FCO 141/14597, Traffic of Chinese Students between Malaya and Communist China.
[17] Manon Pignot (ed.), *L'Enfant Soldat: XIXe-XXIe Siècle* (Paris: Armand Collin, 2012), p. 10.

capacity" is categorized as a child soldier. [18] However, as many youthful insurgents did not identify as "children" and were not regarded as such by either colonial authorities or their own communities, this article will instead adopt the terms "youth soldier" and "youth insurgent" to refer to individuals who were active in anti-colonial insurgencies between the approximate ages of twelve and twenty, the upper age limit being extended as many youth joined insurgent groups as under-eighteens but aged beyond that category during the conflict. Reflecting the fluid and clandestine nature of many insurgencies, analysis will not dwell solely on armed fighters and formal or oathed members of insurgent groups but will include activist and militarized children who engaged in illegal activities in support of insurgencies. Youth soldier will refer to those directly involved in armed violence and auxiliary roles with an affiliation to an armed group, youth insurgent to those involved more informally or in support roles or where the evidence regarding their level of involvement is unclear. The article will also, where appropriate, analyze the smaller cohort of children under the age of twelve who acted in support of insurgencies, although their involvement suggests different agential qualities and they were a lesser concern for colonial security forces. Category slippage and a lack of firm data on the ages or membership of most insurgent groups makes it difficult to quantify exact figures for youth soldiers/insurgents to show where they were most numerous, but inferences about the relative extent of youth soldiering in various insurgencies will be drawn from detention and court data.

Child and youth voices rarely appear directly in these archives, which instead reveal bureaucratic discourses of counterinsurgency and colonial imaginings of youthful insurgency. The focus of this article is therefore both on adult representations of childhood and youth as legal categories and social concepts and on youths' own experiences of liberation struggles, which will be drawn where possible from the memoirs and interviews of former youth

[18] United Nations, 'Paris Principles on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict', 2007.

insurgents. The article does not claim that child and youth participation in anti-colonial insurgencies was as intensive as that which marked the "child soldier crisis" of the 1990-2000s, when developing human, and child, rights-based arguments and transnational politics of age recast the involvement of children in war as a rights abuse.[19] However, their participation was more significant, in terms of numbers and impact, than has been acknowledged in public memory or the existing historiography, and contemporary child soldiering has deeper historical roots than is often recognized.

The Emergence of the Youth Soldier as a Category of Concern: Youth Politicization, Mobilization and the Problem of Agency

When child soldiering became a major humanitarian issue in the 1990s, it was depicted as a symptom of the "synchronous failure of ecological, political and economic systems of modern postcolonial states", and of brutal and criminalized "new wars" and insurgencies.[20] It was not, however, a new problem. Children and youth have fought in wars throughout history, but it was in the 1970s that this involvement became the object of international condemnation, with concern driven by developing human, and child, rights discourses.[21] It was then conceptualized as a result of the forms of civilianized warfare deployed in anti-colonial struggles across Asia and Africa. The use of children in war was first formally prohibited within international humanitarian law in the 1977 Additional Protocols to the Geneva Convention, in articles proposed by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), whose expansion into Africa and Asia brought youth insurgents to its delegates' attention.[22] Diplomatic negotiations

[19] David M. Rosen, *Child Soldiers in Western Imagination: From Patriots to Victims* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015).
[20] P. W. Singer, *Children at War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 38-40.
[21] Pignot, *L'Enfant Soldat*.
[22] See International Committee of the Red Cross Archives, Geneva (CICR), B AG 051-097, Protection de la femme et de l'enfant dans le droit international humanitaire 1971.

over the Additional Protocols therefore explicitly linked the increasing use of children in war to "national liberation struggles with a legitimate defense or guerrilla warfare".[23] The opinions of national delegations were clearly molded by their political ideologies and experiences of anti-colonial insurgencies. The North Vietnamese delegate, Mr Van Luu, insisted that the use of children in conflict was "a result of colonial and neo-colonial wars", and that they were "capable of acts which were inspired by noble feelings of patriotism or non-submission to a foreign occupying army". Mrs Mantzoulinous of Greece was likely referencing Cyprus when arguing that "children under fifteen could hardly be expected to remain passive when confronted by aggression and the invasion of their country", and that governments should be allowed to accept children serving in "auxiliary roles". Whilst ICRC and many developing world countries supported defining "children" as anyone under eighteen years of age, Britain joined Greece and Vietnam in arguing that fifteen to eighteen-year olds "have the mental and physical capacity to fight and will wish to serve their country in time of need", reflecting domestic military recruitment policy and colonial experiences.[24] After extensive debate, the Additional Protocols outlawed the recruitment and use of children under the age of fifteen in conflict in line with existing international legal and rights-based definitions of childhood.[25]

To understand why teenagers became discursively and materially significant to decolonization conflicts, the political, military and moral economies of insurgency which contributed to the recruitment of youth soldiers in these liberation struggles need to be assessed, as well as the intersections between shifting ideas of childhood and developing trends in

[23] CICR, B AG 059 297-09, Protection des enfants en periode de conflit armé- consultation de l'UNICEF, 2 Nov 1971.
[24] ICRC, Official Records of the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts, Geneva, Volume XV, CDDH/III/SR.45, pp. 64-75.
[25] See Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 and relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, 8 June 1977, I, art. 77 (2) and II, art. 4(3)(c).

insurgent warfare that drove new logics of youth mobilization. Studies of child soldiering have frequently suggested that societies where children are economically productive contributors to society are more likely to see children drawn into armed groups, but we still lack quantitative evidence to support such claims.[26] Similarly, "youth bulge" demographic structures frequently viewed contributing to contemporary civil war and youth violence, but whilst colonies were youthful populations, the significance of youth to insurgency was less a function of demography than a result of youth politicization.[27] A more significant vector of youth soldiering in liberation struggles was the politicization of childhood and youth common across late-colonial governance and the consequent mobilization of younger generations by anti-colonial forces.

As Richard Waller has argued regarding Kenya, colonialism relied on co-opting youth for its future, but it also enabled youth access to globalized cultures, educational resources and social spaces which allowed them to challenge both colonial authority and the gendered hierarchies that underpinned colonized societies.[28] Late colonial states sought to harness the potentialities of childhood and youth, constituencies "identified as integral to nation building and the very project of becoming modern".[29] Colonial institutions like schools, youth clubs, sporting organizations and Scout troops were designed to socially engineer children and youth into disciplined colonial subjects but created new forms of generational identity and horizontal infrastructures that provided easy vectors for the spread of nationalist sentiment and subsequent

[26] Astri Halsan Høiskar, 'Underage and Underfire: An Enquiry into the Use of Child Soldiers 1994-8', *Childhood*, 6.3 (2001), 340-60.
[27] See Henrik Urdal, 'A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence', *International Studies Quarterly*, 50.3 (2006), 607-29.
[28] Waller, 'Rebellious Youth', 79.
[29] Pomfret, *Youth and Empire*, p. 7.

mobilization.[30] The figure of youth then was "inherently doubled as both peril and promise".[31] The 1920-40s saw a global trend towards youth mobilization, with Fascist and Communist youth movements highlighting the political potential of mobilizing younger generations to overturn existing structures of power, inspiring anti-colonial parties to co-opt youth's rebellious energies to their causes.[32] From the 1920s youth radicalism established a pattern for the political mobilization of (particularly urban) colonial students and youth, from the *pemuda* of Malaya to the Algerian *jeunesse*, and by the 1940s youth were increasingly contesting the more moderate politics of older anti-colonial activists.[33]

For insurgencies which erupted during the early stages of decolonization, particularly those in Palestine, Indochina, Malaya and Indonesia, the Second World War left significant legacies of youth mobilization and militarization which shaped children and youth's involvement in insurgency. Children and youth were widely involved as soldiers and partisans in the Second World War, including many who fought for colonial armies.[34] Giorgios Grivas, leader of EOKA (the National Organization of Cypriot Struggle), explained his deliberate recruitment of teenagers by stating "I had some experience of working with the young during the occupation, and later during the civil war in Greece, when time and time again, boys of

[30] Sara Pursley, 'The Stage of Adolescence: Anticolonial Time, Youth Insurgency and the Marriage Crisis in Hashimite Iraq', *History of the Present*, 3.2 (2012), 160-97; Antigone Heraclidou, *Imperial Control in Cyprus: Education and Political Manipulation in the British Empire* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017); Jakob Krais, 'The Sportive Origin of Revolution: Youth Movements and Generational Conflicts in Late Colonial Algeria', *Middle East – Topics & Argument*, 9 (2017), 132-41.
[31] Omnia El Shakry, 'Youth as Peril and Promise: The Emergence of Adolescent Psychology in Postwar Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 43 (2011), 592-3.
[32] See Alessio Ponzio, *Shaping the New Man: Youth Training Regimes in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2017).
[33] See Zohra Drif, *Memoires d'une combattante de l'ALN: Zone Autonome d'Alger* (Algiers: Chihab, 2011); Aljunied, *Radicals*.
[34] See David M. Rosen, *Child Soldiers in Western Imagination: From Patriots to Victims* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2015), pp. 76-101; John Mandambwe, with Mario Kolk (ed.), *Can You Tell Me Why I Went to war? A Story of a Young King's African Rifle Reverend Father John E. A. Mandambwe* (Zomba: Kachere Books, 2007).

sixteen and seventeen proved themselves equal or superior to mature men".[35] Total warfare established patterns of utilizing children as force multipliers during periods of increased manpower demands. Moreover, it established the significance of youth mobilization to sustaining colonial regimes, creating horizontal networks of association that could be hijacked or subverted by anti-colonial forces. French colonies in particular invested in youth organizations as part of social engineering efforts. In Cochinchina, Vichy youth and sport networks were transformed into a "region-wide paramilitary Vanguard Youth", which in August 1945 was assimilated into the Viet Minh.[36] Japanese occupying forces in Indochina, Malaya and Indonesia similarly sought to harness the energies and loyalties of youth, establishing youth and paramilitary organizations like the Giyu Gun and Patriotic Youth, providing pathways for later youth mobilization by anti-colonial insurgents.[37] For children who grew up under Japanese occupation, war and violence became normalized.[38] Colonial authorities in Malaya attributed youthful insurgency there to "many hundreds of young detained persons spen[ding] their formative years without normal education during the Japanese occupation of 1942-5" or suffering the loss of their parents, leading to a "problem of delinquency".[39]

The breakdown of generational authority and resultant juvenile delinquency became key explanatory frameworks for colonial officials seeking to understand, and counter, youth insurgency, particularly in British colonies. The post-war years established the figure of the

[35] Grivas-Dighenis and Foley (ed.), *Memoirs*, p. 28.
[36] Anne Raffin, *Youth Mobilization in Vichy Indochina and its Legacies, 1940 to 1970* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2008), p. 195.
[37] Ibid., p. 196; Aljunied, *Radicals*.
[38] Michael Wessells, *Child Soldiers: From Violence to Protection* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 43.
[39] Tim Harper, *The End of Empire and the Making of Malaya* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 187; TNA, CO 1022/132, Detention Orders, 'Detention and Deportation during the Emergency in the Federation of Malaya', p. 10.

delinquent as a major object of global welfarist concern and a metonymy for the fears of colonial officials, local elites and community elders about the deleterious impact of urbanization, detribalization and modernity on colonized youth.[40] Parallels were drawn discursively between the newly-emerged category of adolescence as a stage of psychological and of national life, the "liminal category that marked the threshold between childhood and adulthood [being] a perfect metaphor for the political and social transformation from colony to independent nation", although administrations generally retained the terminology of juvenile and youth rather than adolescent or teenager.[41] In Kenya, officials such as Thomas Askwith and Louis Leakey argued that Mau Mau was driven by a break down in tribal discipline and traditional socialization caused by too-rapid a modernization of Gikuyu society: "A whole generation has disintegrated".[42] Historically, as today, Western constructions of childhood served as a global disciplinary tool and moralizing practice, blaming "violent" or "vulnerable" children on the failings of indigenous social structures and cultures.[43] Juvenile delinquents, "young toughs", "thugs" and "hooligans" were thereby identified as "strong recruiting grounds" for anti-colonial groups in Kenya, Malaya and Cyprus; discursively, colonial language shifted from "child" to "juvenile" or "youth" when it sought to deny young insurgents access to the political category of childhood and its connotations of innocence and justify security measures against them.[44] Rather than recognizing the legitimate grievances of youth,

[40] Stacey Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys and Prostitutes: The Construction of Juvenile Delinquency in the Gold Coast, c.1929-57', *Journal of West African History*, 4.2 (2018), 48-74.
[41] Pursley, 'The Stage of Adolescence', 160; El Shakry, 'Youth as Peril and Promise', 592-3.
[42] Kenyan National Archives (KNA), BZ/16/1, Mau Mau Youth Offenders, *East African Standard*, 'Rehabilitation of Mau Mau Detainees', 3 June 1954; L. S. B. Leakey, *Mau Mau and the Kikuyu* (London: Routledge, 1952), pp. 78-80.
[43] Sharon Stephens, 'Children and the Politics of Culture in Late Capitalism', in Sharon Stephens (ed.), *Children and the Politics of Culture* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 3-48.
[44] TNA, CO 859/660, Save the Children – Kenya, Brigadier Boyce, 'Children of Kenya', *Corona*, 5 May 1955.

officials preferred to explain child and youth militancy through a breakdown of generational authority and failed parenting.[45] The Cyprus government openly blamed a lack of "parental control" for children's participation in anti-colonial actions.[46] Youthful militancy there was not seen as stemming from inherent criminality or "anti-social behavior", but from a "complete lack of discipline at...a difficult age".[47] But juvenile delinquency was both a cause and a consequence of colonial counterinsurgency: newspapers in 1954 described Nairobi in the wake of Operation Anvil as being "invaded by child gangsters…Thousands of African children, their lives disrupted by the terrorist struggle, are flooding into Nairobi to live as criminals".[48] As Burman argues, for children in conflict situations "[i]f the price of innocence is passivity, then the cost of resourcefully dealing with conditions of distress and deprivation is to be pathologized".[49]

Youth politicization and radicalism was driven by growing socio-economic grievances, as well as political repression.[50] Colonialism generated unprecedented levels of tension between the young and gerontocratic power structures; tensions that were driven by the contradictory ramifications of globalized modernity and the colonial project, and which inevitably shaped anti-colonial movements. Particularly after 1945, many young people found themselves struggling with access to education, unemployment or underemployment, and were consequently unable to marry and establish their own households. In Kenya, Ocobock argues that coming of age stalled in the 1950s, with many youth trapped between childhood and

[45] TNA, FCO 141/3195, PEON, Draft memo from Acting Governor, 3 July 1953.
[46] Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 25.
[47] TNA, FCO 141/4661, Juveniles – Emergency Offences, Sgt W. T. Barker to Chief Constable Nicosia, 13 November 1957.
[48] TNA, CO 859/575, Juvenile Welfare – Kenya, *News Chronicle*, undated. There was often overlap between 'criminal' and 'political' acts in insurgencies, and the relationship between juvenile criminality, delinquency and nationalist agitation deserves further research.
[49] Erica Burman, 'Innocents Abroad: Western Fantasies of Childhood and the Iconography of Emergencies', *Disasters*, 18.3 (1994), 244.
[50] Jean and John Comaroff, 'Réflexions sur la jeunesse: du passé à la postcolonie', *Politique Africaine*, 80 (2000), 90-110.

adulthood.[51] This period of what Summers has termed "waithood" created a moral economy of civil war that hinged on generational as well as ethnic and anti-colonial tensions.[52] Generational tensions are historically recurrent; from pre-colonial to contemporary eras, communities in Kenya, as elsewhere, have seen a reluctance of elders to accord youth agency and fears youth were attempting to usurp elders' power and responsibilities, subverting generational hierarchies. As Lonsdale argues, Mau Mau rebellion was regarded by many Kikuyu elders and the colonial state as the epitome of "youth gone bad".[53] From the perspective of the forest fighters themselves, joining Mau Mau marked the beginning of a new, alternative form of manhood as existing pathways were blocked by colonial or elder authorities.[54]

Whilst colonial authorities and adults feared youth agency and desires for personal advancement and independence, some insurgent leaders sought to capitalize on youth psychology, viewing them as naturally rebellious and mentally pliable.[55] The most deliberate and strategic recruitment of youth was undertaken in Cyprus, where, with staunch support for the Orthodox church and some ninety percent of children receiving elementary education, schools, churches and youth organizations became prime vectors of recruitment.[56] As French notes, "the outstanding feature of EOKA's rank and file was their youth", with the most active members being between sixteen and twenty-five.[57] This was due to Grivas' decision to "turn the youth into the seedbed of EOKA"; "above all, I concentrated on the young". For Grivas,

[51] Paul Ocobock, *An Uncertain Age: The Politics of Manhood in Kenya* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2017), p. 7.
[52] Marc Summers, *Stuck: Rwandan Youth and the Struggle for Adulthood* (Athens, GA; University of Georgia Press, 2011).
[53] John Lonsdale, 'Authority, Gender and Violence' in E. S. Atieno-Odhiambo and John Lonsdale (Eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood* (Oxford: James Currey, 2003), pp. 46-75.
[54] John Lonsdale, 'The Moral Economy of Mau Mau: Wealth, Poverty and Civic Virtue in Kikuyu Political Thought', in Bruce Berman and John Lonsdale, *Unhappy Valley: The State, Mau Mau and the Path to Violence*, (London: James Currey, 1992), p. 326.
[55] See Wessells, *Child Soldiers*, p. 36.
[56] Heraclidou, *Imperial Control in Cyprus*, loc. 3777; Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 11.
[57] French, *Fighting EOKA*, p. 66.

the active and rebellious nature of youth predisposed them to insurgent action: "It is among the young people that one finds audacity, the love of taking risks, and the first great and difficult achievements", and he claimed responsibility for their involvement.[58] Colonial narratives frequently depict youth as objects of adult indoctrination, exploitation and intimidation, rather than as active recruits and volunteers, denying their agency. Colonial authorities in Kenya and Cyprus typically described juveniles as being either "kidnapped or coerced" into joining armed groups or indoctrinated into supporting anti-colonial causes.[59] Certainly in Kenya, urban youth gangs, family networks and oathing ceremonies by Mau Mau gangs were key pathways for youth to join the rebellion, pathways that could shade from voluntary to coercive depending upon individual and circumstance.[60] A 1957 report on the "corruption of youth" in Cyprus lambasted the "grooming" and "seducing" of Cypriot youth by EOKA, decrying that teenagers had been "perverted from a natural abhorrence of crime…only to be abandoned when they have served their purpose – with every prospect that their lawless generation will become an easy prey to communism".[61] Youth became a key politico-ideological battleground in the Cold War and colonial states repeatedly expressed concerns about Communist infiltration of youth groups, a phenomenon that was present in the Malayan emergency but wildly exaggerated in colonies like Cyprus.[62]

Agency is a problematic concept to apply to children and youth, particularly from the traces that exist in colonial archives of colonized youths struggling to build their own identities

[58] Grivas, *Grivas on Guerrilla Warfare*, p. 14.
[59] CICR, B AG 225 108-003, Mau Mau Detainees and Convicts, p. 6.
[60] David M. Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged: Britain's Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2004), pp. 42-5; KNA, AB/1/09, Work Camps, Manyani 1954-6, R. F. F. Owles, 'Report on Juvenile Mau Mau Detainees (u16) at Manyani Special Camp'
[61] Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', pp. 3, 11, 18.
[62] Joël Kotek, 'Youth Organizations as a Battlefield in the Cold War', *Intelligence and National Security*, 18.2 (2003), 168-91.

and futures amidst the fight for their communities' own independence.[63] Reading against the grain of the racialized generational hierarchies of power that suffuse archival texts and accessing former youth soldiers' accounts, however, suggests that many youths, particularly older teens, displayed political resistance and determination to join liberation struggles. Many of their narratives are expressly politicized, stressing that their political consciousness was central to their voluntary enlistment.[64] With no children, households or careers of their own, youth faced fewer obstacles to entry into armed groups. Some even acted as radicalizing agents for militant groups, pushing "adults into higher levels of activism, rebellion and terrorism".[65] What might appear to be a clear example of agency and a rational decision to enlist, however, was likely influenced by post-conflict memory and experience, and undergirded by multiple motivations "that exceed rational action and articulated intention to include collective fantasies, psychical desires and the struggle just to get by", including desires for revenge for their families' mistreatment, peer pressure and a desire to belong, personal advancement or influence by (ethno-)nationalist or communist ideologies.[66] Other youth soldiers demonstrate what has been described as tactical or circumscribed agency: being unable to escape involvement in conflict but volunteering for certain roles whilst resisting other duties, and younger children notably had a more restricted capacity for independent action, socially and psychologically.[67]

[63] Mona Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth and Education', *History of Education*, 45.4 (2016), 446-59.
[64] See Saïd Ferdi, *Un Enfant dans la guerre*, (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1981); Agnes Khoo, *Life as the River Flows: Women in the Malayan Anti-Colonial Struggle*, ed. Richard Crisp (SIRD: Selangor, 2004), pp. 67, 186-8.
[65] David M. Rosen, *Armies of the Young: Child Soldiers in War and Terrorism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2005), pp. 92-8.
[66] Lynn M. Thomas, 'Historicizing Agency', *Gender & History*, 28.2 (2016), 324-39; Rachel Brett and Irma Specht, *Young Soldiers: Why They Choose to Fight* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2004).
[67] Honwana, *Child Soldiers in Africa*, pp. 50-1; Mark Drumbl, *Reimagining Child Soldiers in International Law and Policy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 98-101.

Logics of Youth Soldiering: Troop Fortification, Teenage Liminality and Symbolic Childhoods

Youth soldiers served in multiple capacities throughout anti-colonial insurgencies, from frontline to intelligence collection and auxiliary roles depending on the nature of that insurgency, often graduating from the latter to the former: as one Special Branch officer in Cyprus noted, "schoolchildren are enlisted in their teens into leaflet groups and receive progressive promotion to bomb, sabotage and killer groups".[68] Multiple, sometimes overlapping, logics underpinned this diversity of roles, shaped by the variable tactics and strength of insurgent groups. On one level, children and youth served simply as troop fortifiers increasing or sustaining the manpower of armed groups and movements. Youth soldiering here was a function of asymmetrical warfare, with an instrumental use of children and youth as a significant population resource in ways that were not determined or classified by their age. This was particularly the case in insurgencies characterized by peasant political economies and mass mobilization, like Malaya and Indochina, where teenage boys and girls were recruited as physically-capable violence workers. Children and youth often functioned as force multipliers, serving in auxiliary capacities before being mobilized as combatants on the frontline during more protracted conflicts. Teenagers and students, both male and female, played a significant role in the Algerian revolution, where tensions between Islamic and French notions of modern generational and gender norms shaped ideological battlegrounds.[69] Girls and young women were rarely accepted in frontline roles as National Liberation Front (FLN) armed combatants,

[68] TNA, FCO 141/4602, Death Sentences, L. W. Whymark to Director of Operations, 21 February 1957.
[69] Neil McMaster, *Burning the Veil: The Algerian War and the Emancipation of Algerian Women* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012).

due more to their gender than age, but these *mujahidat* performed important logistical support capacities for rural *maquis*, as couriers, cooks, washerwomen or nurses. [70]

In prolonged conflicts, the use of youth soldiers increased as the war dragged on and new recruits were needed to sustain manpower. David Anderson has shown that as insurgency intensified in Kenya, those conscripted into Mau Mau ranks were appreciably younger than those who had joined at the start of the Emergency.[71] By late 1956 Special Branch officers in Cyprus recorded "youths being up-graded to killers at a much earlier age", from fifteen years old.[72] By the time of the Second Indochina War, separate units had been established for teenagers, such as the Youth Guerrillas, Ho Chi Minh's Child Pioneers, and the Youth Shock Brigades who "went in first and returned last", opening roads and burying the dead. Guillemot estimates that the Youth Shock Brigade had a total membership of 220-350,000 during the first and second Indochina wars, most of whom were fifteen to twenty years old with around half Brigade members being female. Some 8000 children are thought to have been involved in the battle of Dien Bien Phu.[73] In South Vietnam, Vichy-era colonial youth projects were transformed from 1960-63 into an armed forced by the Diem regime in South Vietnam. Republic Youth programs, with their female auxiliaries, and the Combat Youth mobilized rural youth to become community self-defense groups, "acting as guerrilla forces to place the Viet Cong on the defensive", guarding strategic hamlets and receiving military training.[74]

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[70] Danièle Djamila Amrane-Minne, *Des Femmes dans la Guerre la Guerre d'Algérie: Entretiens* (Paris: Karthala, 1994).
[71] David M. Anderson, 'The Battle of Dandora Swamp: Reconstructing the Mau Mau Land and Freedom Army, October 1954', in E. S. Atieno Odhiambo and John Lonsdale (eds.), *Mau Mau and Nationhood: Arms, Authority and Narration* (Athens, Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2003), p. 172.
[72] TNA, FCO 141/4602, L. W. Whymark to Director of Operations, 21 February 1957.
[73] Francois Guillemot, 'Death and Suffering at First Hand: Youth Shock Brigades during the Vietnam War', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, 4.3 (2009), 17-60.
[74] Raffin, *Youth Mobilization*, p. 213. See also Olga Dror, *Making Two Vietnams: War and Youth Identities, 1965-75* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

On a second level, children and youth were utilized in a manner that exploited their youthful liminality: physically able to undertake roles normatively fulfilled by adults, but culturally and discursively categorized as 'civilian/child' rather than 'combatant/adult' and therefore less likely to draw the attention of security forces or be exposed to the full force of colonial law. Tactical flexibility was key to the success of insurgent forces, and youth liminality was a significant force fueling this flexibility. Youth soldiers offered significant tactical advantages in intelligence activities such as scouting, spying and couriering, during which they replicated normative childhood duties or behaviors to avoid drawing enemy attention, such as playing, housework, or running errands. Memoirs from Pham Thang and Phung Quan highlight how the Viet Minh exploited the small stature and presumed innocence of children to deploy boys between the ages of twelve and fifteen as messengers and scouts.[75] In Algeria, children were similarly used by revolutionary forces as messengers or spies, with girls and young women operating as part of urban networks, exploiting assumptions of female innocence and the inviolability of female bodies in public to smuggle goods, bombs and intelligence, as in the battle of Algiers.[76] For boys, the *Scouts Musulmanes Algeriens* [SMA] was a nationalist youth movement that became a key recruiting ground for the FLN, with thousands of *routiers* (Rover Scouts, usually aged seventeen to twenty-five years of age) using their training to join the *maquis*, prompting French military intelligence to assert the SMA was in effect a "clandestine

[75] Pham Thang, *The Youth Intelligence Squad* and Phung Quan, *A Fierce Childhood*, cited in Kim Huynh, Bina D'Costa and Katrina Lee-Koo, *Children and Global Conflict* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 155.
[76] See Amrane-Minne, *Des Femmes dans la Guerre la Guerre d'Algérie*.

army".[77] Scouting proved to be "both an instrument of colonial authority and a subversive challenge to the legitimacy of empire" in both French and British colonies.[78]

The dissonance between constructions of youthful innocence and the realities of youth capacity for action was starkest around incidences of armed violence. Youthful liminality was exploited to the full in situations such as the arrest of a sixteen-year old boy in Paphos for carrying a loaded submachine gun in his violin case, or when the Pancyprian Academy for Girls was closed after demonstrating schoolgirls decoyed security forces into a bomb ambush in which one soldier and one policeman were killed.[79] Insurgent groups sought to exploit the gap between violent youth action and legal accountability by deploying teenagers for lethal assaults. In both Kenya and Cyprus authorities asserted that insurgents were deliberately using adolescents to conduct assassinations "knowing full well that they would not be hanged by reason of their age", with colonial legislation forbidding the execution of anyone under the age of eighteen.[80] The Cyprus government repeatedly argued that "teenage bomb throwers and assassins were preferred" by EOKA.[81]

The use of children and youth as troop fortifiers and the mobilization of youth liminality both held historical precedence in conflict, most recently with the "boy soldiers" and partisan groups of the Second World War.[82] Anti-colonial insurgencies however inculcated a new logic of youth soldiering: that of the symbolic mobilization of childhood as a psychological tactic of

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[77] Nicolas Bancel, Daniel Denis et Youssef Fates (eds.), *De l'Indochine a l'Algeria: La Jeunesse en Movements de Deux Cotes du Miroir Colonial, 1940-62* (Paris: Editions la Decouverte, 2003), p. 75.
[78] Timothy Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement in British Colonial Africa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2004), p. 6.
[79] TNA, FCO 141/3795, Material for Council of Europe Human Rights Commission, Director of Education to Governor, 13 September 1956; Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 17.
[80] TNA, FCO 141/6331, Detainees and Detention Camps – Juvenile Detainees, Minutes from the Council of Ministers, 3 October 1955.
[81] Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 3.
[82] Rosen, *Armies of the Young*, pp. 19-56.

warfare. In 1950-60s anti-colonial insurgencies became increasingly internationalized and colonial counterinsurgency evermore subject to human rights critiques. Humanitarian and human rights groups increased their engagement with Africa and Asia, and although humanitarian groups remained primarily focused on infants and young children as the objects of aid rather than teenagers, the mistreatment of youth insurgents by security forces and in detention did attract attention from ICRC delegates and others. The political mobilization of children in support of insurgent campaigns through involving school children in protests and riots became an effective guerrilla tactic, leveraging colonial constructions of childhood against colonial regimes. It occurred mainly in urban guerrilla conflicts, enacted by insurgent groups like EOKA and the FLN with international support and propaganda strategies, and was consequently notably absent in Mau Mau.[83] Colonial interventions into childhood had historically been justified as part of the "civilizing mission", raising children from the "primitiveness" and "barbarity" of indigenous cultures.[84] But in the 1950-70s, insurgent groups harnessed modern media technologies and exploited Western notions of the innocence and passivity of children to highlight the barbarity of colonial state violence targeted against school children; the purported beneficiaries of colonial modernity who were now driven to protest against its inequities. With insurgencies increasingly being fought via public relations and media as well as on the ground, children became important sources of propaganda.[85] School children made ideal demonstrators as they were assumed in popular and international media discourses to be innocent and naturally apolitical, with any action against them "rais[ing] the cry of brutality".[86] EOKA deliberately deployed schoolchildren as part of their urban clashes

[83] See Drohan, *Brutality in an Age of Human Rights,* p. 101.
[84] See Pomfret, Youth in Empire; Karen Vallgårda, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
[85] TNA, FCO 141/3714, Counter-Propaganda in America, 21 December 1955.
[86] Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 3.

with British forces, knowing that images of government troops "beating schoolboy rioters" would generate significant international outcry; especially because the schoolboys were white.[87] Many demonstrations in Cyprus involved up to 1500 school pupils, with politically-active older pupils and siblings encouraging younger ones to participate, and others drawn in by group mentalities and the chance for excitement.[88] The participation of secondary and elementary schoolchildren served both symbolic and strategic purposes simultaneously, showing the world "that the whole of Cyprus, from the smallest schoolgirl to the Archbishop himself, was in the battle" for freedom, whilst at the same time alleviating pressure on EOKA mountain gangs by focusing security force attention on the towns.[89]

Child and youth soldiers also assumed particular cultural and symbolic significance during the first Indochina War. As Goscha argues, this was one of the most "socially totalizing wars" in modern history.[90] As the war raged on, children in Communist Vietnam became considered "citizen-soldiers capable of making great sacrifices and deserving of honour and praise".[91] Child and youth soldiers became particularly important as "new heroes" and martyrs for patriotic emulation campaigns designed to promote revolutionary warfare and mass mobilization. One such was fifteen-year-old Ly Tu Trong, executed for killing a French secret agent, who proclaimed at his trial that "there is only one true path to adulthood, and that is the revolutionary one!"[92]

Colonial Counterinsurgency Responses: Military, Legal and Developmental Action

[87] Grivas-Dighenis and Foley (ed.), *Memoirs*, p. 43.
[88] TNA, FCO 141/4225, Grivas' Diaries, Pamphlet 'Terrorism in Cyprus'.
[89] Grivas-Dighenis and Foley (ed.), *Memoirs*, p. 89.
[90] Christopher Goscha, 'A Total War of Decolonization? Social Mobilization and State Building in Communist Vietnam, 1949-54', *War & Society*, 31.2 (2012), 136-62.
[91] Huynh, D'Costa and Lee-Koo, *Children and Global Conflict*, pp. 142-53.
[92] Ibid, p. 153.

Children and youth were not regarded as security threats at the outbreak of hostilities, as security forces and political elites were culturally conditioned to equate 'combatant' with 'adult', so initial security orders identified them as civilians who were not legitimate targets of direct violence.[93] However, as conflicts deepened and the lines between civilian and enemy combatant became increasingly blurred, state targeting of children and youth by security forces emerged. In Kenya, by mid-1954 juveniles had been identified as a "social menace" and "serious security risk".[94] Security personnel reported juveniles in Nairobi being used as Mau Mau couriers, scouts and "active agents"', leading Special Branch to "interrogate them at length" in screening centers: a process that usually involved physical and/or psychological violence.[95] Branche posits that in the early stages of the Algerian war French military forces did not consider women or children to be military targets, but by 1957 increasing numbers of teenagers were being detained, most commonly in Constantine province and Petite Kabylie, where separate *Centre de Triage et Transit* camps were built for young detainees. As in Mau Mau, many Algerian youths were detained for minor infractions and officials often typecast young children not as "the enemy"' but rather as victims led astray by their parents. Captured youth insurgents were sent to Youth Education camps. As the conflict wore on however, military forces drew fewer distinctions between child/adult and civilian/military, with juveniles being held in the same conditions as adults and those older than fourteen could be arrested and tortured like an adult.[96] Colonial archives contain little direct evidence of children and youth

[93] Many were in/directly targeted and wounded during security operations however, revealing the clash between policy and practice.
[94] KNA, AH/14/25, Minute Secretariat meeting, 15 July 1954; Secretary War Council to Minister for Defence, Nairobi, 19 June 1954.
[95] KNA, AH/14/25, Control of Juveniles: Memorandum by the Emergency Joint Staff, December 1954; BZ 16/1/11, Juvenile Mau Mau cases, Colin Owen to PC Rift Valley, 21 April 1953.
[96] Raphaëlle Branche, *La Torture et L'Armée pendant la guerre d'Algérie 1954-62* (Paris, Gallimard 2001).

serving in colonial security forces as informers, agents or soldiers.[97] Traces do emerge in media, humanitarian accounts and memoirs however, in patterns replicating children's auxiliary use in insurgent forces. Ujana Park juvenile detention camp in Kenya was reported to hold 'some orphans who have worked for the security forces in minor roles'.[98] Loyalist paramilitary or Home Guard units are likely to have included local youth as armed fighters, with recruitment undertaken along clientelist and patrimonial lines.[99] Some juvenile insurgents were flipped by security forces to work for them, providing local intelligence and necessary skills, such as Saïd Ferdi whose memoirs recount his experiences as a *chouf* (sentry) for the FLN, before being arrested by a French patrol aged thirteen, detained and tortured, and subsequently agreeing to work as a translator for French forces.[100]

What really drew colonial authorities' attention to the emergence of youth as a significant presence in anti-colonial insurgency was the appearance of children in courts which, particularly in Cyprus and Kenya generated sufficient concern to be separately recorded in legal and administrative archives. In Cyprus, children and youth were among the first people arrested on Emergency offences.[101] French notes that thirty-two percent of individuals brought to trial were high school students.[102] Judges and police certainly complained that juvenile offending was "daily demonstrated" in Special Courts.[103] Annual reports establish that between 1955 and 1959 1073 juveniles under the age of sixteen were charged with Emergency offences and 894 of those were convicted, primarily for breaking curfew, illegal strikes, unlawful

[97] Colonial security and military forces themselves included eighteen-year old national servicemen in British forces and among white Kenyan recruits.
[98] KNA, AB/17/66, Ujana Park 1955-58, *Sunday Post*, 'Langata Boys Town for Kikuyu Children', November 1955.
[99] Branch, *Defeating Mau Mau*.
[100] Ferdi, *Un Enfant dans la guerre*.
[101] TNA, FCO 141/3195, PEON.
[102] French, *Fighting EOKA*, p. 66.
[103] TNA, CO 141/4661, Special Justice Limassol to Chief Justice Nicosia, 27 February 1957.

assemblies and riots or other offences "against social order", and against firearms legislation.[104] Meanwhile, in 1955 alone there were 2571 convictions for juveniles under Mau Mau Emergency regulations.[105] The sanctioning of these juvenile insurgents was shaped by tensions between punishment, deterrence and reform which were characteristic of late colonial penalty, where notions of judicial leniency and welfarist reform that dominated the rhetoric of colonial governance clashed with the reality of continued penal violence and the brutality of Emergency detention.

Colonial courts struggled to determine what the most effective and appropriate sanctions were for deterring and punishing youth insurgents. Generally, colonial legal officials were reluctant to sentence juveniles to imprisonment, fearing that they would be radicalized and corrupted (or sexually exploited) by adult insurgents. Other normative peace-time sanctions - fining and being bound - over referred responsibility onto families but as Governor Hardy bemoaned in Cyprus, "[i]t is clear that neither their parents nor the school authorities are able to control them".[106] To provide a more forceful response, a "unanimous" decision was taken to allow corporal punishment of boys up to the age of eighteen charged with Emergency offences on the grounds that "whipping" was an "appropriate" and "humane" punishment for disciplining boys.[107] Corporal punishment had long been regarded as an effective and culturally-appropriate sanction for disciplining colonized bodies within the British Empire, and for male youth in particular.[108] The Migrated Archives in Kew record ninety-six whipping sentences between December 1955 and September 1956, with between eight and twelve lashes

[104] Government of Cyprus, *Annual Reports, 1955-59* (Nicosia: Government Printer, 1956-60).
[105] TNA, CO 859/573, Juvenile Offenders – East Africa.
[106] TNA, FO 371/117670/1081/1460, Punishment by Whipping, Field Marshal Harding to Secretary of State for the Colonies, 18 December 1955.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Paul Ocobock, 'Spare the Rod, Spoil the Colony: Corporal Punishment, Colonial Violence and Generational Authority in Kenya, 1897-1952', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45.1 (2012), 29-56.

inflicted.[109] In total, some 154 boys were sentenced to be caned by the end of 1956, sixty of whom were under the age of sixteen.[110] But with Greece bringing a case to the European Court of Human Rights over the Cyprus Emergency, Britain became wary of potentially scandalous forms of counterinsurgency violence, and carefully monitored its use against juveniles. In this context, caning boys proved counter-productive and was greeted with revulsion by Greek and Greek-Cypriot communities for whom it was not a culturally-normative sanction.[111] It also caused concern in American media and diplomatic circles, leading the Foreign Office to request Cypriot authorities rebrand the practice as "caning" to render it more palatable to international opinion.[112] Such controversy led to the power of Special Courts to impose corporal punishment being revoked in December 1956.[113] Outrage over the physical punishment of youthful insurgents was distinctly contingent and racialized however: no concern was raised over the simultaneous and more widespread use of corporal punishment against juvenile offenders in Kenya, where 3197 young persons were caned for Mau Mau-related offences in 1955 alone.[114]

Whilst youth soldiers were frequently physically sanctioned through corporal punishment, they were at least largely spared the threat of capital punishment as laws forbade the execution of anyone under eighteen years old; something insurgent forces exploited. In Kenya, where the use of capital punishment was most extensive, with 1499 Emergency-related capital sentences handed down and 1090 executions, 151 male juveniles and between two and seventeen females were sentenced to death for Mau Mau offences but had their sentences

[109] TNA, FCO 141/3795, Collation of Material, 1956.
[110] Cyprus, Annual Report for the Year ending 1956, Justice.
[111] TNA, FCO 141/3666, Corporal Punishment of Boys 1955, L. Durrell to L. Glass, 11 January 1956.
[112] Ibid., PEAKE to POMEF, 14 December 1955.
[113] Cyprus, Annual Report for the Year ending 1956, Justice.
[114] TNA, CO 822/1239, Detention of Juvenile Delinquents in Kenya, 1957-9, Parliamentary Questions, 10 May 1957.

commuted due to their age.[115] In Cyprus, between April 1955 and February 1957 136 under eighteens were prosecuted for what had become capital offences, with a further 474 suspected of such offences.[116] Concern about "an increase in terrorist activity by youths between sixteen and eighteen, whom EOKA are now employing to shoot people" led senior police and legal officers to oppose metropolitan proposals to raise the minimum age for the death penalty from sixteen to eighteen years, with the Chief Justice stating anyone between those ages convicted of murder "should hang".[117] Although London forced the minimum age to be set at eighteen to avoid international condemnation, it is significant that the nine Cypriots who were executed for terrorist offences were all aged nineteen to twenty-three, their hangings being intended to serve as a deterrent against youth violence.[118] The youthfulness of these hanged men drew international diplomatic condemnation, with the Greek ambassador to the United Nations describing Evagoras Pallikarides' hanging as "an unprecedented political murder, with a teenager as its victim".[119]

For many youth insurgents, their seizure by colonial security forces ended in detention or imprisonment. To contain them, colonial administrations consequently developed a mix of detention camps, approved schools, youth camps, and juvenile reformatories, which were run by a combination of probation officers, former military personnel, prison officers, welfare workers, humanitarians and missionaries, leading juvenile detention and reform to be shaped by competing logics of violence and welfare. Numerous studies have revealed the violence and

[115] Ibid; Anderson, *Histories of the Hanged.* There was dispute over convicted girls' ages.
[116] TNA, FCO 141/46, Death Sentences, Assistant Chief Constable CID Nicosia, 20 February 1957.
[117] TNA, FCO 141/3159, Capital Punishment, Governor to Secretary of State, 2 March 1957; Minute by Deputy Governor, 21 February 1957.
[118] Cyprus, 'Corruption of Youth', p. 23.
[119] TNA, FO 371/130131/1071/202, Execution of Mr Pallikarides, Communiqué, 22 March 1957; CICR, B AG 224 049-004, Intervention du CIRC pour le cas de trois détenus chypriotes condamnés à mort, April 1957.

brutality inherent in colonial detention, and youth were not exempt from such treatment.[120] In Cyprus, of the 1118 men in detention in June 1957, twenty percent were nineteen or younger.[121] ICRC files note concerns about the "extreme youth of a large number of detainees", many of whom could "physically, be considered as children", and their poor treatment in detention. Delegates conducting prison visits wrote confidential reports to Geneva that detention had the "same psychological effect on these youths as joining the army in times of war" and "after this experience they are not morally prepared to return to school".[122] Accounts were submitted of young detainees being kicked and beaten with batons, to the point of requiring hospitalization.[123] In corroboration, colonial records detail "young terrorists" participating in riots and hunger strikes over poor conditions.[124]

In Kenya, by mid-1955 some 67,000 persons were detained or imprisoned for Mau Mau offences.[125] Among these were over 2000 boys under the age of eighteen and nearly 1000 girls.[126] Juvenile detainees were originally held alongside adults, where "they spent their entire day sitting with their feet in a drain, their bodies shrouded in blankets or sacks, and their minds and hearts revolving in wicked circles".[127] Medical, moral and ideological concerns soon drove the segregation of juvenile detainees, following overcrowding, fear of radicalization by

[120] See Caroline Elkins, *Britain's Gulag: The Brutal End of Empire in Kenya* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), French, *British Way in Counterinsurgency*.
[121] TNA, CO 926/672 CIC(57) 21 Final CIC Intelligence Review, 24 June 1957, cited in French, *Fighting EOKA*, p. 66.
[122] CICR, B AG 225 049-005, Situation de l'enfance à Chypre, letter D. de Traz to Genève, 28 August 1957.
[123] CICR, B AG 202 049-001, Generalities: Rapports du délégué du CICR de Traz, Dr Moutzithropoulos to de Traz, 11 November 1958.
[124] TNA, FCO 141/3788, Prisons and Detention Camps, Superintendent Central Prison to Chief of Staff, 18 July 1956; Superintendent Central Prison to Administrative Secretary, 26 February 1957.
[125] See KNA, AH/6/4-9 files for daily averages. Anderson, *Histories of the* Hanged, pp. 5, 356.
[126] TNA, CO 859/573, Juvenile Offenders – East Africa.
[127] KNA, AB/1/09, Work Camps, Manyani 1954-6, R. F. F. Owles, 'Report on Juvenile Mau Mau Detainees (u16) at Manyani Special Camp'.

hardcore adult detainees, and reports of "improper sexual relations [with] young uncircumcised boys having been procured".[128] Quaker social worker Eileen Fletcher and her supporters raised alarm in parliament and the media about the abuse and neglect of children – particularly girls – in detention.[129] Whilst the British government attempted to discredit Fletcher and manipulate the age of girls to deny they were "juveniles" and thereby deserving of protections, evidence from Kenyan archives supports her claims of maltreatment. Young girls detained in Kamiti petitioned the government concerning their treatment, questioning whether "a child of you aged 12 years carry a stone weights 2 ½ by 10" taking little food like that. Besides that we are beaten by order of a chief warder [sic]".[130]

Welfare and Development Interventions – Reforming Young "Hearts and Minds"

As it became clear that coercion and punishment were insufficient to deter youth insurgents, and that insurgencies could not be ended through violence alone, children and youth became significant targets of development and social engineering in "hearts and minds" campaigns across both British and French empires, although it should be noted that developmental interventions were consistently under-funded and under-resourced, and consequently failed to capture either the hearts or the minds of child and youth populations.[131] Villagization, the forcible resettlement and concentration of civilian population to combat rural insurgency which formed a key pillar of counterinsurgency strategy in Malaya, Kenya and Algeria, had a strong youth focus as children were the largest demographic of the resettled population and the most

[128] TNA, FCO 141/3661, Juvenile Detainees, Dr Killen, Report on Manyani, 7 April 1955.
[129] TNA, CO 822/1236, Report by Eileen Fletcher on the Detention and Imprisonment of Children in Kenya; TNA, CO 822/1240, Conditions of Detention and Imprisonment of Juveniles in Kenya during the Emergency.
[130] KNA, AB/9/37, Complaints, Petition from Kamiti Juveniles to Legislative Council, 21 November 1955.
[131] French, *The British Way in Counterinsurgency*, p. 175.

vulnerable, with high mortality and morbidity rates reported in Kenya and Algeria.[132] In Kenya, non-governmental organizations including the British Red Cross and Save the Children were heavily involved in supplying humanitarian aid and developmental support for villagized communities, with a particular focus on infant and child healthcare.[133] After 1955, colonial officials increasingly viewed the Mau Mau Emergency as a social welfare problem, with probation and community development staff sent to the Kikuyu reserves to oversee the "rehabilitation" of the Kikuyu family, instituting communal confessions to "purge" families of Mau Mau adherence and ready them for home craft, child care and agricultural classes.[134]

Education was a key focus of population-centric counterinsurgency, but one which reflected the ambivalences of the colonial project. Schools that were supposed to train children to be productive and obedient colonized subjects became spaces of youth politicization, resistance and recruitment into insurgency; if not by armed groups directly, then by peers seeking to politicize their classmates.[135] With high levels of school enrollment, Greek Gymnasia schools in Cyprus became a major recruiting ground for EOKA, with Governor Harding viewing them as "a dangerous agency for the organized intimidation and the disruption of society". [136] This led authorities to 'de-Hellenise' education in an attempt to counteract the cultural nationalism of the Greek schools, prompting a backlash of student agitation. During the "Battle of the Flags" over student attempts to remove British flags from school grounds, the Cyprus government responded to student militancy by enforcing school closures to the

[132] Moritz Feichtinger, 'Villagization: A People's History of Strategic Resettlement and Violent Transformation in Kenya and Algeria, 1955-62' (University of Bern PhD dissertation, 2015), p. 245.
[133] Emily Baughan, 'Rehabilitating an Empire: Humanitarian Collusion with the Colonial State during the Kenyan Emergency, ca. 1954-60', *Journal of British Studies,* 59.1 (2020), 57-79.
[134] Elkins, *Britain's Gulag*, p. 110. Kenya's rehabilitation program drew inspiration from Malaya's emergency welfare measures.
[135] Heraclidou, *Imperial Control in Cyprus*; Harper, *The End of Empire*, p. 193.
[136] TNA, CO 926/190, Harding to Lennox-Boyd, 31 December 1955.

extent that Cyprus' education system almost collapsed.[137] Up to 419 of 722 elementary schools and eighteen of fifty-seven secondary schools were closed at any point during 1955-6. It was noted however that school closures merely gave youth more time and opportunity to support EOKA's activities, rather than dissuading them.[138] Education was also a site of intense conflict during Mau Mau, with Kikuyu Independent Schooling Association schools being forcibly closed following alleged Mau Mau infiltration whilst Mau Mau fighters targeted Christian mission schools that failed to support the movement, burning down approximately fifty schools in 1953.[139] School fees were sometimes lifted for Home Guards' children whereas teenagers suspected of taking an oath were not allowed to leave villages for schooling.[140] In Algeria, education became a major focus of "hearts and minds" programming following the Constantine Plan, with schools run by the *Service de formation de la jeunesse algérienne* inside resettlement villages providing a key element of psychological warfare.[141] Some 40,000 children were enrolled in New Village schools in Malaya by 1952 which were intended "to stand for progress and enlightenment and the development of Malayan national consciousness" to create modernized colonial youth subjects and counter Communist influence, but these were admitted to be poorly run and ineffectual.[142] British authorities also restricted the transnational movement of students from China to Malaya, and from Greece or Turkey to Cyprus to prevent externally-trained activists fueling insurgencies.[143]

[137] Heraclidou, *Imperial Control in Cyprus*, loc. 5054.
[138] TNA, FCO 141/3795, School Closures, 26 October 1956.
[139] Parsons, *Race, Resistance and the Boy Scout Movement*, p. 164; CICR, B AG 108-003, 'Mau Mau in Kenya', p. 41; L. S. B. Leakey, *Defeating Mau Mau* (London: Methuen & Co., 1954), p. 16, 31.
[140] Feichtinger, 'Villagization: A People's History', 245.
[141] Ibid.
[142] TNA, CO 1022/32, Education in New Villages.
[143] TNA, FCO 141/7482, Chinese Students; TNA, FO 371/123901/1081/1374, Student Reinforcement for EOKA.

Whilst general social welfare and community development interventions sought to prevent the capture of young minds by anti-colonial forces, youth insurgents and youth soldiers who had been apprehended by security services required more targeted reform. Rehabilitation programs for those categorized as juvenile detainees blended colonial understandings of local age relations and global technologies of juvenile reform with the aim of constructing productive colonial subjects. Late colonial penal reform had already seized upon juvenile delinquents as a "manageable, malleable" category of offenders whose "rehabilitation" offered a way of reclaiming the future, so these techniques were transferred – with varying degrees of success – to the treatment of young insurgents, who were placed under the control of welfare and probation staff rather than the police or military officials who ran general detention.[144] In Malaya, male insurgents under the age of eighteen were sent to the Advanced Approved School in Telok Mas, Malacca, for "training, education and reform", which was said to produce good results, whilst approximately half of the female detainees under a similar regime at the Majeedi rehabilitation center were between fifteen and seventeen years old.[145] Officials in Malaya "believed that if the Government could compensate for the lack of proper leadership, education, vocational training and family influence, such detained persons would be less susceptible to communist influence".[146] Unlike most African and Asian colonies, Cyprus lacked existing juvenile reformatories or borstals so establishing youth detention facilities was deemed an "urgent priority", but one that apparently went unfulfilled due to limited resources.[147] British Prison Commission officials brought to Cyprus to inspect the emergency detention regime advised on the rehabilitation program for the youth detainees being held at Kokkinotrimithia detention camp, arguing that any regime "must attach first importance to work", supported by

[144] Hynd, 'Pickpockets, Pilot Boys', 60.
[145] TNA, CO 1022/132, 'Detention and Deportation during the Emergency', p. 10.
[146] Ibid.
[147] TNA, FCO 141/4661, Director of Welfare Services to Attorney-General, 26 October 1957.

games, hobbies, and education "designed to help individuals after their release". Even so, their reports reveal a limited belief in the potential for "rehabilitation" under Emergency conditions, noting that no attempt should be made to force a "change of heart" in the boys as this could provoke a backlash and "a real effort will have to be made to prevent deterioration and further embitterment".[148]

It was in Kenya that the most developed, and seemingly effective, efforts at juvenile rehabilitation occurred, due to a combination of existing infrastructure and innovative leadership. Community development officials working at the main Manyani detention camp for boys dedicated themselves to reforming their charges and securing the necessary support and resources to enable a full rehabilitation program. Roger Owles wrote of his interactions with the boys: "Many could not control their tears. Some [tales] were stunning in their terribleness. I could hardly believe boys so young could be involved".[149] Owles was sympathetic to the boys but was clear that "let no man suggest they are anything other than a collection of Devils!".[150] Unlike Special Branch who warned that the boys were inveterate killers, Owles and his colleague Geoffrey Griffin believed that Mau Mau juvenile detainees were "reclaimable through school and discipline".[151] Colonial ideas of youth intersect with racialized presumptions here: Gikuyu boys were held to be more malleable and susceptible to paternalistic discipline and instruction that Greek Cypriots. To enact this juvenile rehabilitation, Wamumu Approved School was established in June 1956 to hold 1200 boys between sixteen and eighteen years of age. With its ethos of "truth and loyalty", and its "indefinable atmosphere of a good boarding school", Wamumu was the pinnacle of British colonial efforts to combat youth insurgency and became a showcase for rehabilitation,

[148] TNA, FCO 141/3788, Fox and Fairn report, 22 March 1956.
[149] KNA, AB/1/09, Work Camps, Manyani 1954-6, Owles, 'Report on Juvenile Mau Mau Detainees'.
[150] Ibid., R. F. F. Owles, 'Manyani Special Camp', 10 May 1955.
[151] Ibid; Griffin, *Autobiography*, p. 47.

deliberately crafted to counter the "gulag" image of the wider detention Pipeline.[152] It was credited as the only successful rehabilitation program of the Mau Mau Emergency, with Governor Baring granting a full pardon to any boy who graduated from the camp.[153] That success was due to its combination of juvenile reform techniques and its engagement with Gikuyu concepts of generational authority and initiation. Youth soldiers and "juvenile terrorists" were re-constructed as delinquent, disobedient, but reclaimable children: "we treat them entirely as ordinary schoolboys, never as wrongdoers, and we get a perfect response".[154] As Ocobock argues, "emasculating and infantilizing the detainees in such as way solved the practical problem of trying to rehabilitate boys of varying ages, backgrounds and degrees of Mau Mau affiliation".[155] Whereas adult Mau Mau insurgents had been pathologized by the state for their violence, rehabilitation reframed youth insurgents as corrupted innocents who could be restored to a pristine childhood: but in doing so it rendered them passive and denied their political agency.[156]

Wamumu offered an "alternative, state-sponsored rite of passage – a strange marriage of Gikuyu cultural life, colonial policy and carceral contingency".[157] Its rehabilitation program combined the focus on education found in other colonies with an emphasis on discipline and religion that were seen as necessary in the context of Mau Mau. Confession was used to "cleanse" the boys of their Mau Mau oaths and adherence, and an adapted Gikuyu initiation ceremony was used to mark a "reformed" boy's transition into manhood, but with the state rather than community elders acting as gatekeepers of masculine authority.[158] Owles stressed

[152] KNA, AB/1/118, Youth Camps Approved School 1956-7, Annual Report for 1956; CICR, B AG 225 108-001 Detention des members du movement Mau Mau, visite à Wamoumou.
[153] Griffin, *Autobiography*, p. 47.
[154] KNA, AB/1/118, Youth Camps Approved School, 1956-7, 'Wamumu, Be Prepared!'.
[155] Ocobock, *An Uncertain Age*, p. 198.
[156] Burman, 'Innocents Abroad', 244.
[157] Ocobock, *An Uncertain Age*, p. 194.
[158] Griffin, *Autobiography*, p. 50.

that "[h]ard discipline meted out with sound and flawless justice is the best medicine for these boys", but peer pressure was found to be most effective at combating unwanted behaviors, as "reformed boys" sought to make best advantage of the opportunities offered to them, an agentic expression to comply with adult, colonial norms that for them was a development of, and as valid as, their previous resistance.[159] Vocational training and basic education were combined with physical training to reform juveniles in mind and body in an attempt to produce economically-productive colonial youth subjects. Perhaps most influentially however, Wamumu graduates were provided with secure jobs in various trades, farm labor, or the civil service – even Police Special Branch – providing them with wages and respect, thereby removing the central grievance that had driven many into Mau Mau.[160] Ultimately, the success of Wamumu came not from its adherence to "hearts and minds" per se but from its provision of an accessible pathway to successful Gikuyu manhood, supported by committed mentoring and peer socialization. The boys responded to Wamumu's reformative program not because it turned them into good colonial citizens, but into respectable and successful proto-adults.

Conclusions

This article has argued that age and generation should be deployed as compelling analytical frameworks for understanding both insurgency and counterinsurgency; the failure to properly understand local experiences and norms of childhood and youth, and to tackle their motivations for insurgency, weakened colonial counterinsurgency programming, and continues to inhibit contemporary responses.[161] Youth soldiers were a significant vector of anti-colonial insurgency across the globe, one which emerged in part from colonial states' own constructions of

[159] KNA, AB/1/09, 'Report on Juvenile Mau Mau Detainees'.
[160] KNA, VQ/21/3, Approved Schools, 1956-9, 'The Rehabilitation of Youth'.
[161] Siobhan O'Neil and Kato van Broeckhoven (eds.), 'Cradled by Conflict: Child Involvement with Armed Groups in Contemporary Conflict', United Nations University, 2018.

childhood and attempts to control youth. Their involvement suggests that anti-colonial insurgencies, which were fought over control of colonies' futures, were supported by many of the generation who would come to inherit those futures. The legitimate grievances of youth were mobilized by anti-colonial groups, who recruited children through colonial youth organizations and as well as family, religious and social networks. Whilst some teenagers fought through coercion or necessity, others were genuinely politically motivated and willing to risk their lives and freedoms in the struggle for independence. Children and youth served in multiple capacities in anti-colonial insurgencies, in roles which were shaped by multiple, sometimes overlapping, logics: the need for troop fortification and sustained manpower; the tactical exploitation of youth liminality, and the symbolic mobilization of children and discourses of childhood innocence. Differences in the level or form of youth soldiering and insurgency were shaped by the availability of networks through which to mobilize youth, the nature of the conflict and armed groups, and by colonial responses. In Cyprus, children became prominent insurgents due to the ease with which they could be mobilized through schools, churches and youth organizations, and Grivas' deliberate tactic of youth recruitment; in Kenya, urban youth gangs, family networks and oathing systems pulled many children into Mau Mau more informally. Child and youth participation in anti-colonial insurgencies established crucial examples of the political, military and symbolic significance of youth that were later developed across the globe in the armed liberation struggles and civil wars of 1970-2000s, shaping the phenomenon of contemporary child soldiering: whilst anti-colonial youth soldiering lacks the dehumanization and deliberate inversion of generational hierarchies that characterized the use of child soldiers in some contemporary conflicts like Mozambique or Northern Uganda, it demonstrates similar patterns of both coercive and voluntary recruitment, and of children and youth fulfilling both frontline and auxiliary roles in armed groups.[162] In some instances, anti-

[162] See Wessells, *Child Soldiers*; Singer, *Children at War*.

colonial insurgencies established the tactics and logics of youth recruitment, the military and youth network structures, and the social contexts of youth militarization that helped to drive the systematic and extensive recruitment of children and youth in subsequent civil wars, from Cyprus to Palestine, Angola to Cambodia.[163]

As conflict progressed, children and youth increasingly became regarded as legitimate, or at least necessary, targets of colonial violence and key objects of developmental interventions. Colonial counterinsurgency responses to youthful insurgents across British and French territories were broadly similar in that they combined violence and development, highlighting the tensions within late colonial governance: juveniles were beaten, detained, flogged, but also (re-)educated and trained to be economically-productive and politically-acquiescent colonial subjects, (re-)constructed as "delinquents" rather than "terrorists" to facilitate their subsequent "rehabilitation". But the exact extent and format of these counterinsurgency responses varied according to local socio-political contexts, counterinsurgency infrastructures, and cultures of youth: whereas Wamumu harnessed and 'modernized' notions of Gikuyu youth masculinity in juvenile reform, education in Cyprus sought to 'de-Hellenize' and thereby depoliticize Greek Cypriot youth, and French traditions of colonial social engineering were deployed to combat the spread both of Communist youth identities in Indochina and against notions of Islamic modernity in Algeria.

There is however a methodological tension between the empirical significance of youth soldiers and their relative absence in official and popular histories of liberation struggles. Youth soldiering is most prominent in colonial archives where it was most immediately visible in liberation struggles, due to urban conflict, media coverage and propaganda, and the large numbers of children who were brought into contact with colonial legal and welfare systems, as

[163] See Alain Louyot, *Les Enfants Soldats* (Paris: Editions Perrin, 1989).

in Kenya and Cyprus, but also where the problem was identified discursively as "juvenile" involvement, thereby harnessing pre-existing concerns about delinquency and youth revolt that threatened future colonial stability. Children and youth were also involved in other anti-colonial conflicts, with further investigation required to demonstrate the extent of their significance in Palestine, Indonesia, Ireland and across Southern Africa. This article is a first step towards elucidating comparative patterns of youth soldiering and insurgency in decolonization struggles, and it is hoped intensive future research, particularly in district archives, combined with oral history approaches, will elucidate local variations in youth soldiering and colonial responses, and better recover the voices and experiences of children and youth who risked life and limb to fight for their, and their nations', independence.

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