THE RELIGIOUS RADICALISATION OF THE YOUTH IN EASTLEIGH AND ITS IMPLICATION FOR CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM RELATIONS IN KENYA FROM 1992-2015

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is a product of my own work and is not the result of anything done in collaboration. It has not been previously presented to any other institution. I agree that this dissertation may be available for reference and photocopying, at the discretion of the University.

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1/we confirm that the work reported in this dissertation has been done by the student under my/our supervision.

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ABSTRACT

The research study contains five chapters. It begins by providing the background of the study, defining the research problem, which states that radicalisation has caused inter-religious tension between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. The purpose of the study research is to investigate and describe religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and its implications for Christian – Muslim Relations in Kenya from 1992-2015. Objectives and research questions are well spelled out. Justification of the study is that since there is tension between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh because of the radicalisation of youths the issue needs an urgent address. Then literature review was looked into which was based on the research questions, theoretical and conceptual frameworks were tackled also a conclusion was drawn showing the summary of the literature review, which included the strengths and limitations and how the knowledge of this study would fill those gaps. The other area the researcher focused in this study is the research methodology in which he used historical and qualitative research method of approach and survey research design. Non-probability sampling was used. Snowball sampling was applied as the main method of sampling in the study. The tools the researcher used in data collection were questionnaire and interviews. The researcher demonstrated the data presentation and analysis. The main findings are based on the objectives of the study and these are: the background of religious radicalisation of youths whereby, majority of the Muslims and some Christians they do not understand whether there is a process of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. However, majority of the Christians and some Muslim respondents claimed that they knew the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh of which they said took place in some mosques and *madrassas* and Muslims said it was conducted in the streets of Eastleigh. In the issue of the effects of radicalisation of youths on Christians – Muslim Relations, it was established that majority of Christians and Muslims agreed that radicalisation had great effects in their peaceful co-existence. There is great suspicion between the two communities in Eastleigh. In conclusions it was noted that majority of the respondents agreed that religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh was caused by lack of employment and lack of proper religious teachings among youths. It was also established that a large number of those who joined the religious radicalisation were new converts to Islam. The recommendations are Christians and Muslims should teach their members the right doctrines and those dangerous teachings should be made clear. Create awareness to the youths about the effects of radicalisation through civic education in public and private schools. Involve opinion leaders like politicians from both Christians and Muslims to fight religious radicalisation.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIAI	Al- Ittihad Al- Islam ("Unity of Islam")
CIPK	Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya
ICU	Islamic Courts Union
IPK	Islamic Party of Kenya
KDF	Kenya Defence Forces
MP	Member of Parliament
MUHURI	Muslims for Human Rights
MYC	Muslim Youth Center
NCCK	National Council of Churches of Kenya
NGOs	Non- Governmental Organizations
OCPD	Officer Commander Police Division
SMT	Social Movement Theory
SUPKEM	Supreme council of Kenya Muslims
AK- 47	Avtomat Kalashnikova

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GLOSSARY (FOR NON-ENGLISH WORDS)

Al- Shabaab	(in Arabic means the youth
Bui- Bui	A shawl often worn by Muslim women
Boko Haram	An Islamic Militant group which started in Northern Nigeria.
Da'wah	Missionary activity in Islam
Hadith	The Islamic traditions
Jihad	Holy War
Kafir	Infidel
Kunyanganya	take by force
Madrassa	Islamic school
Sharia	Islamic law
Sura	Chapter of the Holy Quran of Islam
Tariqas plural *Turuq*	Path used by Sufis to mean Sufi orders
Ustadh…	(In Arabic it means teacher

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

All over the World, there is a realization that religious radicalization is a major challenge to social, political, economic and religious circles in our current situation. There are radical groups, who are emerging, for example, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS), Al-Qaeda, Muslim Brotherhoods in Egypt, *Taliban*, *Boko Haram* in Northern Nigeria, and *Al-Shabaab* of Somalia. All these groups are advocating for the creation of the Islamic State whereby *Sharia* is to be observed as the supreme authority for governance. The fundamentalism movement which has the same beliefs and teachings like the radicalisation movements traces its roots back to Muhammad Ibn Abdel Wahhab (1703 - 1787 AD) in Saudi Arabia is said to have insisted the strict following of *Sharia.* It is said to be the first militant Islamic movement in the eighteenth century. Its main goal was for internal reform within the Islamic world that is according to Brady and Ofuho (2001:14). Abdel Wahhab campaigned for a return to the Islamic principles of the first generation and anything that was added later was null and void. He was against especially mysticism, *turuq*, (Sufi orders), saint worship, and against the Orthodox schools of Islam and he supported for the creation of a State with *Sharia* as its law that is according to Brady and Ofuho (2001: 15). The al-Qaeda, Muslim Brotherhood, *Talibans, Boko Haram* ISIS, and *al- Shabaab* are associated with the teachings and beliefs of Abdel Wahhab of which they claim to be following. These groups have spread to many parts of the world.

In East Africa where Kenya is part of, there is the group of *Al- Shabaab* which is affiliated to Al-Qaeda. The founders of *al-Shabaab* was AI-*Ittihad*- Al-Islam (AIAI or "Unity of Islam"), a militant *Salafi* group (See Plate I) that came into power after the fall of Said Barre military rule (1969-1991) and the outbreak of the civil war.(Masters and Sergie :2015). AIAI sought to establish an Islamist emirate in Somalia in 1990s. In 2003 the young members of AIAI sought to establish a new "Greater Somalia" (see Appendix ix) under fundamental Islamic rule and joined forces with alliance of *Sharia* Courts which came to be known as Islamic Courts Union (ICU), serving as its youth militia. *Al-Shabaab* means "the youth" in Arabic was formed in 2006 by young men in Somalia who were armed militia for the Islamic Courts Union who were one time Somalia's rulers. This group had been fighting the country's Western backed government and its allies to impose

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a strict interpretation of Islamic law (Masters and Sergie: 2015). This group is radicalising youths using religion to fight for their rights and causing inter religious tension between Christians and Muslims.

This Somalia community of whom *al Shabaab* is said to have originated from is living in Northern part of Kenya and a good population is living in Eastleigh Nairobi. Cases of radicalisation of youths are reported to be taking place in Eastleigh, for instance, in the *Daily Nation;* an article by Odhiambo called "I was tricked to join *al- Shabaab* against my will", One person who fall a victim to religious radicalisation by the name Yusuf, he narrated how he was deceived to join *al-Shabaab* against his will. Yusuf said that he worked at a private primary school as a teacher in Nyanza.

However, he experienced financial constraints due to low salary and his friend told him that there were some good job opportunities in Qatar, the Middle East. He was connected to Mr. Omar Ladiff, a businessman in Eastleigh, to make necessary arrangements for his travels. Yusuf said he was the father of four and he lived in Eastleigh. All the plans were ready and they set for the journey from Eastleigh to Qatar being promised good money and they were about fifty youths (Odhiambo: 2015). Youth radicalization as Yusuf reported is the obvious phenomenon in Eastleigh and these causes religious tension between Christian and Muslim communities.

Youths are tricked like that to join *al-Shabaab* and they are used to attack churches in Eastleigh using grenades and these causes inter religious tension between the Christians and Muslims. Christians accuses the Muslim youths of carrying out the attacks.

1.2 Problem Statement

Radicalisation of the youth in Eastleigh has caused inter religious tensions between Christians and Muslims. These youths who are radicalised they end up carrying terror attacks usually target one religious community in their places of worship. For example on September 30, 2012, the terrorists in Eastleigh threw a grenade into a church Sunday school service at one church called St. Polycarp's Anglican Church killing one child they were said to be radicalised youths. This escalated tension between the Christians and the Muslims in Eastleigh. This makes the Christians in Eastleigh to have fear towards the Muslims. Since the large population in Eastleigh is Somalia Muslims and the number of

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refugees from is high, they believe from their side that they are treated as second class citizens in Kenya. This normally happens when the government is looking for those who do not have official documents like Kenyan Identity Cards or passports. Somali Muslims in Eastleigh think Christians are favoured because of their faith and Muslims are discriminated due to their religion. Tension is always high. Eastleigh being known as "Little Mogadishu" *Al- Shabaab* recruitment is said to be taking place at a high rate and radicalised youths employ their tactics of attacking the Christians. Other areas in Nairobi like Majengo also experience the same problem. So the problem of the statement is religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh has caused inter religious tension between Christians and Muslims.

1.3 Purpose of the Study

The aim of this study is to investigate and describe the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and its implications for Christian Muslim Relations in Kenya from 1992-2015

1.4 Research objectives

The objectives of this study are as follows:

1. To investigate the historical background of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh .
2. To demonstrate the process of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh .
3. To ascertain the effects of the radicalisation of youths for Christian – Muslim Relations.

1.5 Research Questions

The research intends to use the following research questions:

1. What is the historical background of radicalisation of the youth in Eastleigh?
2. What is the process of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh?
3. What are the effects of the radicalisation of youths for Christian- Muslim Relations?

1.6 Research Hypothesis

This study will intend to investigate the following hypothesis:

The religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh has the source, the process and it influences Christian perceptions of Islam and Muslims by thinking that Islamic teachings are about radicalism.

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1.7 Justification of the Study

The study needs an urgent attention since there is an existence of suspicion between the two religious communities, which are the Christians and Muslims. Muslims think that their members are victimized by the security agencies while cracking down these radical youths at Eastleigh. On the other hand, Christians think that Muslims are the criminals who are carrying out these "terror attacks" using these religious radicalised youths with the intention of propagating Islamic religion. The religious radicalisation of youths is believed by many to be conducted in Mosques and *madrassas* for example there is an assumption that some specific mosques do practice radicalisation of youths which we are yet to prove. Another example one secondary school teacher from Eastleigh High School by the name Ayub Mohammed is educating young people in the mosques in Eastleigh against extremism and distorted teachings (See Plate VI). So there is fear and hatred between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh due to religious radicalisation of youths.

The study needs to know the root cause of this religious radicalisation of youths, the methods that are employed in radicalising the youths and its effects for Christian –Muslim Relations in Eastleigh. Christians have that perception that their freedom of worship is not regarded of any significant in comparison to that of the Muslims. The religious radicalisation of youths it seems to be a threat of relationship between the Christians and the Muslims who are living in Eastleigh.

The issue of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh needs to be addressed urgently to avoid the inter-religious tension between the Christians and the Muslims.

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1.8 Scope of the Study and Delimitation

The scope of the study and the delimitation covered from (1992- 2015). The reason why the scope covers this period is that this time Kenya started to experience terror attacks like the 1998, American embassy in Nairobi was attacked, 2002 a Hotel in Mombasa was attacked and a series of terror attacks from 2011 to 2015. It is believed that the attacks were conducted with the cooperation of local jihadists who are connected to these terror networks. It is also from 1992 t0 2015 that mainstream Muslim leaders have been warning of the emergence of extremism and religious tensions. For instance extremists preachers like Aboud Rogo were recorded encouraging local Muslim youths to engage in Jihad in 2012 (Abdi: 2013). The streets which were in the spotlight in Eastleigh are the Sixth and Eight which are found in Section 1 of Eastleigh.

Radical Islam arrived in Kenya in two ways: the Northern part of Kenya with a sizeable Somali population bordering Somali and the Coastal city of Mombasa. Since the 1990s Muslims in Kenya have been exposed to religious radicalism from the al-Qaeda through its affiliates al- Ittihad al Islam (AIAI) which was fighting to establish a *sharia* state in Somalia, Northern part of Kenya and the Ogaden in Eastern Ethiopia. It was during this time Kenya experienced sporadic attacks like the attack on the US embassy in Nairobi in 1998, the attack on the Israel owned hotel in Mombasa in 2002 and the Islamist terrorists attempts to bring down an EI AI plane with surface to air missiles in Mombasa in the same year.(Clarke :2011). Many Somalia communities had migrated to Nairobi Eastleigh area where they settled and these acts of *al Shabaab* recruitment are said to be taking place there. Eastleigh is said to be the core of *al Shabaab* recruiting centre in Kenya. In Eastleigh section one is where our main focus will be because this is the place where the sixth and eighth streets mosques are located which are believed to be conducting religious radicalisation.

In the side of radicals, it has different forms: We have political, economical, social and religious radicals. In this case our main argument will be religious radicals in the time frame since this is the time we started to experience religious extremism turning into violent ending up causing religious tension in Kenya. It was carried out by youths.

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1.9 Limitations of the study

Among the limitations of this study is the time, which was not be enough to gather the required information. For instance the population which was targeted is one hundred respondents but only sixty two who were reached. Another challenging thing is the sensitivity of this issue of radicalisation of youths since it is outlawed by the government so anybody caught practicing it is treated as a criminal offender. So to get the information was tricky. Friendship was employed with opinion leaders in Eastleigh in order get the information from the population.

1.10 Definition of terms

The following are the terminologies which may occur now and again in this study. I have provided the ordinary meaning.

1. Radicalisation: - is employed to show how the youths are perceived to have been trained on how to carry out violent acts. .
2. Fundamentalism: - the term is used in this context to show drastic changes taken in matters of religious belief by rejecting other teachings and beliefs saying they do not have any roots from the holy books
3. Terrorism: - the term is used to show the actions of hooliganism and senseless killings in the name of fulfilling religious rights.
4. Extremism: - the term in this context is used to show going beyond the normal parameters of religious teachings and beliefs which causes misunderstandings.
5. Militant Islamic Movement:- it is used to mean fighting for the sake of the religion of Islam and protecting its right teachings.

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CHAPTER TWO:LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review has been organized in a way that the research questions of this study have been reduced to sub-topics. We will see the theoretical and conceptual framework on which this study is build on and finally there is a conclusion drawn. The focus of this study is youth radicalization (the process) from the religious perspective. The research would particularly pay attention on the recent debate about the role of Islam and Muslims in the radicalization of youths in Eastleigh and it is repercussions for the Christian-Muslim Relations.

2.2 Historical background of Religious Radicalisation

The researcher analyzed the background or the historical roots of religious radicalism or fundamentalism on how various scholars have viewed it.

Brady and Ofuho, states that the first fundamentalist movement or reformed movement is traced its roots to Muhammed Ibn abdel Wahhab (1703-1787 AD) in the Arabia Peninsula. It is said to be the first militant Islamic movement in the eighteenth century. It was a movement for internal reform and it send shockwaves throughout the world of Islam (Brady and Ofuho 2001:14). Abdel Wahhab stated that it was the first time in the history of Islam that there was something rotten in the state of Islam. Abdel Wahhab advocated for a return to the Islamic principles of the first generation and he was against everything that had been added since then. He was against particularly mysticism, *tariqas*, (Sufi orders), saint worship, and against the Orthodox Schools of Islam and cult of Muhammed as the perfect man. He advocated for the creation of a state with *sharia* as its law. Wahhab's concept of reformation spread all over the Muslim world as Islamic reformation or fundamentalist movement in the modern times this is according to Brady and Ofuho (2001:15).

Brady and Ofuho argued further that,

> "From the perspective of Muslim fundamentalists, the European colonial domination was and has remained a cause for the great shame. Militarily, economically and eventually politically, the Muslim world succumbed to the powers of what was Western Christendom. The great historical glory of Islam was lost. The question was what had gone wrong as to cause this international state of affairs?" (Brady and Ofuho 2001:16)

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However, European colonial powers have helped the Muslim and Islamic countries to know how to govern themselves and manage their resources. Autonomy has created competition in the Islamic countries which has shown a lot of improvement.

Still on the historical background of Muslim fundamentalism, Davidson argues that Muslims were not prepared for the European challenge. The openness to new ideas and influences from the West lessened as the class of Muslim religion or *ulama* responded to the threats of invasion by increasingly emphasizing Islamic ritual and orthodox interpretation of law and doctrine (Davidson 2003:9). Davidson further argues that "the secular forces within the Muslim world are not the only ones to look upon the rise of Islamic fundamentalists, but also Western Powers (including Russia) and the United States- also have reacted to political Islam with fear and suspicion.

But on the other side, some of the Western powers believe that, if the various Islamic fundamentalist movements come to power, they might well work against Western Culture and their interests" (Davidson 2003:15). The Al-Qaeda are associated as part of Islamic fundamentalist movements that stands against both the United States and the royal Saudi Arabia government. What Davidson has portrayed to us is that Islamic fundamentalists are terrorists of whom I agree partly because some of those who follow the footsteps of fundamentalists sometimes they go beyond and become extremists whereby they carry out terror activities (Abu Rabi 1996:70). While I disagree some of the fundamentalists do not grow beyond the religious boundaries however they inspire others (Esposito 2003:56). Since we had people like Sayyid Qutb they were Islamic fundamentalist but they were not terrorists. Now, the question that comes to my mind is; is Islamic fundamentalism the root cause of terrorism?

Still on the on the history of Islamic fundamentalism Sookhdeo examines the roots and nature of Islamic *Jihad*. He explains to the reader what lies behind the resurgence of militant Islamic fundamentalism and how the West should respond (Sookhdeo 2009: ii). According to Sookhdeo, Islamic terrorists have a highly developed and clear sense of history. He further argues that Islamic terrorists began when Muslims experienced humiliations of the Crusades, the loss of Islamic Spain to Ferdinand and Isabella in the Reconquista, Western colonialism and the end of the last Caliphate with the collapse of

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the Ottomans following the First World War which is all still keenly felt by Islamic militants. For many fundamentalists these events which happened decades and even hundreds of years ago carry a sense of immediacy and urgency as if they took place yesterday (Sookhdeo 2009:117). Sookhdeo continues to argue that all radical Islamist movements share a common hostility to Western influences and their perceived corruption of Islamic societies; such influences are viewed as a continuation of colonialism and imperialism by other means (Sookhdeo 2009: 120).

Though the two authors viewed Islamic fundamentalism from different dimensions they had a common agreement about their origin due to their reactions to the Western powers and felt that Islamic doctrines have been diluted and they needed to be restored back that is according to my opinion.

According to Choueiri who is another scholar had almost the same opinion with the others who have said that the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism was due to the struggle for independence from the colonial rule and this leads to religious radicalisation(Choueiri 1997:44). Choueiri argues further that Islamic fundamentalism is purely the current reaction to the emergence of ground-breaking nationalism and secular norms of government (Choueiri 1997:64). This is what is claimed by those who are practising religious radicalization of youths in Eastleigh.

On the same issue of Islamic fundamentalist, Davidson states that Saudi Arabia is an Islamic fundamentalist state that actively promotes the causes of political and cultural Islamization throughout the world. So its association with the West has been peaceful and stable. That is why rebel Islamic extremist such as Osama bin Laden view the royal Saudi government with suspicion and hostility (Davidson 2003:16). The question that arises is, does the West approve the Islamic fundamentalism? What Davidson argues is that the leaders of these movements, including their supporters, believe that politicized Islam flows from Muslim history, is divinely sanctioned, and holds out great promise for the restoration of Muslim pride, prosperity, and power. Davidson is raising a question whether these movements, can attain this expectation is something he is not sure!

If we have to believe what Davidson is saying about the Islamic fundamentalism's primary goal was to struggle against the colonial rule then majority of the followers of the

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current Islamic fundamentalism are misinterpreting the ideology by turning it to be violent against the other religions.

The knowledge that we can get from the above reviewed literature is that Islamic fundamentalist still remember their Islamic glory which was there before but was lost and they want to recapture it back using all means like politics, religion, economic and social ways. However, what the authors do not show is that Islam does not differentiate between politics and religion. The gap can be filled by showing that Islamic fundamentalist believes that anything outside the Holy Quran and Muhammad's life is to be opposed at all costs. Let us now look into the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh.

2.2.1 Radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

No much scholarly work has been done on the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. However, there are some studies which have been done on Eastleigh in general. For instance Barasa and Meena (2014:4) they reported that eighteen schools were under security inspection because they were believed by the authorities that they were used to radicalise the students. However, the names of the schools were not given by the Nairobi County deputy regional coordinator Amos Mariba. Mariba claimed that the wanted to prevent terrorists from radicalising others. Mariba claimed further that police security personnel in Nairobi had established database of hardcore who lived in Eastleigh, Korogocho, Migingo and Baba Dogo.

However, it is not easy to see how this radicalisation is done to the students but the security agencies normally suspect till it is proven right or wrong.

In the same *Daily Nation* on 8th April (2014:12) on the opinion the Newspaper reported that some 3,000 people were arrested in Eastleigh following the security operation crackdown on suspected terrorists and this sparked mixed reactions. Some leaders were crying foul claiming that their communities were being unfairly targeted in the operation. However, the swoops and arrests in Eastleigh were seen as aimed at the Somali community, including Kenyans. In whichever way people give different opinions it is the duty of the government to ensure that the lives and properties of people are safe and security of operation should be above board and it should not be seen as targeting any particular community as it was said in Eastleigh during the operation Linda Nchi.

In another incident when the police were carrying the crackdown of *Usalama* Operation Watch in Eastleigh, the National Assembly Majority leader Mr. Aden Duale was reported

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by Rashid Abdi in the *Daily Nation newspaper* saying "We Somalis of Kenya, We have invested our money in Eastleigh. This is where our economy is based". He said further those detonating explosives in Eastleigh should do it elsewhere. Duale criticized the security operation by saying, "we were elected by the Muslim community and we shall defend their interests and we shall not and will never allow our people to be discriminated against" (Abdi: 2014) Politicians from Somalia community defend the fellows while there was this police crackdown in Eastleigh.

Politicians make reckless utterances but changes the tune. Politicians are never to be trusted.

However, other Members of Parliament from both political divide did not take Duale's remarks lightly. Led by Kigumo legislator Jamleck Kamau they said, "Insecurity is affecting both Muslims and Christians and Mr Duale should not therefore divide Kenyans among ethnic or religious lines" (*Daily Nation Newspaper* 8th April, 2014). This shows how leaders took their positions in matters of the police crackdown in Eastleigh.

The knowledge that we get from the above literature review is that Eastleigh is seen as one of the hotspot for religious radicalisation of youths whereby some running institutions are involved in radicalising the students. The gap that is shown is that the institutions which are radicalising students should have been made public even if it is a security issue for the public to be aware of them.

2.2.2 Politics and the religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

As we saw from the scope of the study and the arguments on this part would focus on the occurrences of issues in relationships to politics and religious radicalisation of youths from 1992 to 2015. In connection to that O' Brien noted that;

> "the legalization of multi-party politics in Kenya, for the 1992 and 1997 national elections, created an apparently propitious environment for symbolic confrontation, an opportunity quickly recognized by the Muslim intellectuals who announced the creation of Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) in February 1992" (O' Brien 2003:92)".

The creation of IPK was to champion for the rights of the Muslims. Sheikh Balala who was the leader of IPK encouraged the youths to use violence and this was experienced in

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Mombasa in 1993. The youths used petrol bombs to counter the security forces who were confronting these youths who were demonstrating against the government of that day. The youths who were more radicalised in a similar incident which happened in 1997 in Kenya's general election, whereby Muslims youths employed cause violent to fight the non- Muslims in Mombasa in the name of searching for their rights.

According to Oded, he is reported to have said that Muslims complained that the government leaders, under President Moi, stressed the Christian foundations of their political ideology. They gave an example where the head of state is quoted in a statement in his book "philosophy of *Nyayo*" which was said to be based on African tradition and the Christian faith (Oded 2000:103). On the other hand O' Brien argues that in July 1992, President Moi warned the emerging of Islamic "fundamentalists" against harming the unity of the country and urged reasonable Muslims to control the extremists (O' Brien 2003: 214,215). In most of the incidents like the one mentioned in this passage the youths were the ones used in the attacks through being radicalised.

A similar idea is shared by Brady and Ufuho who argues that in the 1990s in Kenya the Islamic fundamentalism was experienced through politics whereby Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) was into life by the popular call for democratization (Brady and Ufuho.2001:32). The (IPK) was associated with opposition leaders by then when it was formed to launch their claim that Muslims were discriminated by the Moi regime, so to be heard they had to form a formidable force of high criticism. Serious violence erupted in Mombasa between the supporters of IPK and other Muslim in 1993 amid allegations that attacks on the IPK was government sponsored. The most charismatic and outspoken of the IPK's street preacher was Sheikh Khalid Balala who was at the center of these struggles. He was joined by young and disatisfied coastal *Shia* Muslims according to Brady and Ufuho (2001: 32). However, causing violence in the name of religion for the sake of fighting for the personal rights is not the right thing.

O' Brien states further that "the opportunity offered by multi- party politics in other respects would appear to have led those militant Muslims into a trap, an opportunity to compound their own marginality within the Kenyan state" (O'Brien 2003: 92). In 1995, the government took advantage of a visit by Balala to Germany to withdraw his passport

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and forced him into exile. If we are to believe that politics and religion go hand in hand then the Muslim militants may be right but I think the two have to be separated.

In another related occurrence Brady and Ufuho reported that in March 1995, some leaders attending an international Islamic Conference in Sudan agreed to pursue the policy of *Jihad* (holy war) in Africa individually and collectively, mainly in Chad, the Central Africa Republic, the DRC, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somali and Uganda (a combined population of about 200 million). It was decided that Sudan would serve as a base for training recruits for military missions on the continent and abroad. Since 1995/96, it was reported that training was going on in the outskirts of Khartoum, of soldiers even associated to the renowned Saudi Arabia dissident, Osama bin Laden (Brady and Ufuho 2001: 33). This makes us to believe that al Qaeda has its roots from Sudan. However, this *Jihad* is perceived in a wrong way by the non Muslims they think that it is through conquering other people to spread Islam.

Brady and Ufuho argue that in Kenya, it is widely assumed that the IPK has Sudanese backers. They further claimed that Osama bin Laden, financed the preachers to be heard on the streets of Dar es Salaam and Mombasa and is intimate with teaching members of Sudan's National Islamic Front. It is such links that prompted the US Government to raid designated bin Laden's bases in Afghanistan and Sudan following the August 1998 tragic concurrent bombing of the US Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam (Brady and Ufuho 2001: 33).

The underlying cause of the emerging threat of the spread of the militant Islamic fundamentalism especially on the East Africa coast has several factors that may be highlighted. One common cause is the high level of unemployment and poverty amongst the Muslim youths. This can be realized since from historical fact, Muslims have tended to lag behind in acquiring formal education. The ongoing global trend of Islamic fundamentalism has found a receptive group amongst these disenfranchised youths. Islamization is especially evident in recent years amongst the urban poor areas like Eastleigh estate in Nairobi. The sense of brotherhood promised by Islam as well as its financial incentives proves to be an attractive affair for these disadvantaged social groups. Most governments in the region appear to be aware of the potential threat caused by

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Islamic fundamentalism and that is why Kenya refused to register the IPK this is according to Brady and Ufuho (2001: 35).

Muslim leaders felt that they were not fairly represented in the government positions and this kind of ideas they propagated it to the Muslim followers who developed up ways of fighting for their rights for instance on 17 February 1993, Hussein Maalim Mohamed the only Muslim minister in Moi government, attacked harshly the government he was serving for continuing the tendency of discriminating against Muslims which goes back to the colonial period. He said the "time had come for the Muslims to unite and demand their rights" (Oded 2000:139). When one is leader you have to be non partisan of not championing for your religion this can easily cause inter-religious tensions. Youths can be influenced to these movements.

On the issue of the Somalia, Oded is reported to have quoted an article from the *society*, 13 September 1993, that it was claimed that the government did not consider the Somalis to be Kenyan citizens which make it impossible for them be given official documents including getting the Kenyan passport (Oded 2000:139). This is a similar situation which applies to the Eastleigh residents who are the Somali majority of which you can't distinguish between Kenyan Somali and a Somali from the Republic of Somalia living in Eastleigh and this makes youths to resolve to be radicalised. To discriminate people is not the right way

In another incident quoted from *Daily Nation*, 17 July 1993 by Oded, Abdul Kader Hassan, a Somali MP, raised a complaint that the security forces had destroyed a mosque and desecrated holy book, however, he was reminded by the government that North Eastern Province was considered a "security zone" and that it was necessary for the security forces to take all precautions to enforce law and order in that region (Oded 2000:139). These similar cases are reported in Eastleigh Estate where the Somalis are living in those circumstances they feel being discriminated and harassed while the security forces are conducting their duty of call on the crackdown of the youth radicalisation in that area.

The experiences which are normally observed here in Kenya wherever the security forces are carrying their operations to restore law and order then politics is employed to distort

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the truth which ends up not attaining the expected target on the issue being examined. That is my observation.

It is the similar case when the government was carrying crackdown for the radical youths in Eastleigh early last year 2015, Muslim politicians and Muslim leaders condemned the steps the government had taken and many MPs from the North Eastern region of Kenya claimed that their people are targeted. They claimed that the government was deporting genuine Kenyan Somalis. There are some Christian organizations which remain anonymous who created a parallel camp in the name of rescuing some Somalis claiming that they were their followers who they were discipling of which they know by themselves. Some they went as far as requesting for the donor communities to support them. What are the motives behind these sympathizers of terrorists and radicalized youth groups? They come from across the religious divide.

In April 1998, as it was reported in one of the newspaper known as *Weekly Review* (10 April 1998: 12) by Oded who said, one of the Cabinet Minister by the name Hussein Maalim Mohamed from the Somali community 'issued a strong protest against the security forces' for their brutality towards the Somali citizens. In his press conference, he threatened to resign from the government which he was serving if the government did not take stern measures against the security officers of whom he accused of looting, beating, torturing, and raping innocent Somali citizens (Oded 2000: 140). This is the same claim given by the politicians of what the Somali residents of Eastleigh are undergoing during the operation carried out by the security forces. My opinion is if indeed these are the experiences the Somali of Eastleigh undergo while the security forces are executing their duties then that is quite inhuman. It is fair to carry the crackdown in the human nature without any mistreatment of any kind whatsoever.

In the case of the rise of the youth radicalism in Eastleigh, according to Chemwone in an article in the *Daily Nation* on (Chemwone: 2015:9) he stated that in a meeting which took place in Eastleigh between Buruburu OCPD Richard Kerich, and Kamukunji MP Yusuf Hassan and other government officials, the Muslims leaders said the government should instead win the hearts and minds of youths who have joined extremist groups. This came when the Muslim leaders realized that the government is using a lot of force to combat this kind of criminal act of youth radicalisation.

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Their main argument is that Muslims are discriminated by the authority in power for example when President Moi quoted in his book "philosophy of *Nyayo*" where he emphasized the Christian foundations with the political ideology based on African tradition and the Christian faith here Muslims felt left out. The head of state cautioned the emerging of Islamic fundamentalists against causing disunity in the country and urged reasonable Muslims to control the extremists. In terms of strength, the Muslims including the extremists like Sheikh Khalid Balala of IPK capitalized the space of democracy which was introduced through multi-party in Kenya to raise their voices in the name of defending the rights of Islam and Muslims.

However, the utterances of the Muslim extremists can be the source of inter religious tension in places like Eastleigh where the two religious communities are living. The other challenge is that Muslims do not distinguish between religion and politics of which the radicalisations of youths use as the opportunity of causing tension between Christians and Muslims.

The knowledge of the above literature review is that it discusses the contentious issues of politics and Muslims in Kenya, but the gap is that the authors never took into consideration of radicalisation of youths. Religious radicalisation being one of the centre stages of discussion it should have been included in the emergence of Islamic militants group.

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After going through what political class view about the radicalisation of youths we shall now focus on it's the process of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh.

2.3 The process of youth Radicalisation in Eastleigh

The researcher focused the process undertaken by the youth radicalisation in Eastleigh. For one to be fully involved in the radicalisation there is a process. One has to join a group through influences for example chewing of the *khat* (*Miraa*) since most of these youths lack employment opportunities. One gets a manifestation of openness to new worldviews The person comes a close to somebody who promises him/her good job somewhere , so they easily join the group like the case of Yusuf whom we saw from the background of the study joining *al Shabaab* (*Daily Nation* 10th June 2015:1 and 4).

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However, not only openness to worldviews through which radicalisation process takes place but also things like family negligence in which a youth get in that situation can led him/her to radicalisation activities.

The other step is that one starts to look for the philosophy and the story of the group. So he/she is introduced to the teachings and beliefs of the radicalising group some are taken to mosques and *madrassas* which are offering these teachings. For instance an incident is reported by the (*Standard Newspaper* on 14th October 2015:8) where one cleric was arrested by the police because of radicalising the minors. The minors were between the ages of six to thirteen. The fierce Muslim cleric urged the young children to avoid and kill non – Muslim through provocative sermons. The children said they used to pray in the mosque and the *ustadh* (teacher) he taught them about the Quran. He told them that the other religions are the *kafir* (infidel) and they should be slaughtered. Hence this shows how the infants are involved in the radicalisation process which not is obvious in Eastleigh area.

But some cannot be influenced by the teachings and beliefs of the radicalised groups. It can be through being forced or tricked to join the radicalised group.

The other process of being recruited into radicalisation is through the social media. This is where youths get in touch with the others to chat till one is radicalised. For example the Standard Newspaper reported that some university students who were arrested by the police office in a town called El Wak in Mandera were heading to Somalia to join *al Shabaab*. They were ladies who can to be recruited to this militia group through the internet chat room. In a similar incident the Chief of the General Staff Samson Mwathethe said "the youths are radicalised to join *al-Shabaab* using popular social media sites to entice them". He further added that "our children are exposed to messages loaded with extremist ideologies meant to radicalise their minds" (*Daily Nation* 15th October 2015:5). This is common is Eastleigh.

If we have to believe that social media is one of the process of religious radicalising of the youths then we can say that media houses too contributes for religious radicalisation process which includes, newspapers and televisions, radios and cell phones. This one is through reading and watching the news and they get influences to what is happening globally.

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Indoctrination is another process. This is way the youths are taught of strict teaching related to this *al Shabaab* belief. For instance the Chief Kadhi of Kenya Sheikh Ahmed Muhdhar cautioned the government of Kenya to investigate *madrassa* teachers who radicalised youths and children in all parts of Kenya Eastleigh being part of it.

However, these teachings cannot be only in *madrassas* but it can also take place in residential houses so that the no one can suspect them.

The above literature review is relevant in the sense that it gives the knowledge on the process which takes place in radicalisation of youths. The gap is it does not tell us the length of time which is taken during the process. The gap can be filled if the duration of the process is well laid out and how can one recognize that a person is qualified as a radicalised youth

We can now focus to the effects of radicalisation of youths for Christian – Muslim Relations.

2.4 The effects of the radicalisation of youths on Christian- Muslim Relations

The section analyzed what the Muslims scholars have reflected upon Islamic radicalism. Capan interviewed one of the Muslim scholar by the name Fethullah Gulen who is a respected scholar from Turkey is quoted saying that "there is no such a thing as a Muslim terrorist; a terrorist cannot be a Muslim; a Muslim cannot be a terrorist and speaks from the Islamic view criteria nobody can justify or permit suicide attacks" Capan (2006: iv). Fethullah Gulen stated that "In true Islam terror does not exist. In Islam, killing is considered as an act that is equal in gravity to unbelief" (Capan 2006:1). He states further that even in the event of war during which it is difficult to maintain balances- this is not permitted in Islam. Islam states; "Do not touch children or people who worship in churches" (Capan 2006:2). This is Islamic scholar who gives his opinion in regards to suicide bomb attacks.

From the capan's views it indicates that the Quran is read and interpreted in different contexts. Perhaps the doctrine of abrogation is applied here.

However, another Muslim scholar by the name Ayatollah Ehsan Bakhsh from Iran gave a different opinion by saying Islamic terrorism has played a constant key role in revivalist

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movements in the Muslim world. Despite vehement protests from Westernized Muslim intellectuals, the idea of 'murdering, maiming and menacing' the enemy for the purpose of speeding up the final triumph of Islam has always held a very strong appeal among the Muslim masses (Taheri 1987: 9).

If we go according to Taheri's views in understanding terrorism in Islam then it means this activity is justified by the Islamic movements which contradict the fundamental Quranic teachings.

On a different opinion, Capan argues that Islam regards each human being as possessing the worth of the entire species, killing one person is deemed as being the same as slaughtering the whole humanity, and conversely, saving the life of humanity as a whole (*Sura* 5:32) (Capan 2006:101). Islam categorically forbids suicide. The Holy Quran prohibits suicide (*Sura* 4:29), and in many *hadiths*, the Prophet said that suicide is unlawful in Islam.

However, war in Islam is limited to the purpose of defense; within the framework of the principle which is mentioned in the Quran such as: *uproar and oppression are worse than slaughter* (*Sura* 2:191); war is justified only to prevent chaos which leads to wars, anarchy, tyranny, and defeatism (Capan 2006:103). From my observation, Muslim scholars from the West and those from the Muslim and the Islamic States have different opinions on the issues of extremism which leads to terrorism and this causes religious tension between Christians and Muslims.

The question that comes to my mind is: why do Muslims of different backgrounds have different perceptions towards the issue of religious extremism? There are some views given by Muslims organizations about youth radicalism that raises their voices on behalf of the Muslims here in Kenya for instance Seesemann mentioned the representatives of SUPKEM (Supreme council of Kenyan Muslims) and Council of Imams and Preachers of Kenya (CIPK) usually lamented the kind of discrimination shown against the Muslim youths by the government security forces while they congregate for religious matters in comparison to the Christian youths (Seesemann 2006:162).

On a different occurrence on 7 August 1998, whereby American Embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam were bombed concurrently Osama bin Laden's group Al-Qaeda claimed to be responsible, although many Kenyan and Tanzanian Muslims reacted that the

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true perpetrators who attacked the embassies cannot be Muslims, since Islam prohibits such violence according to Seesemann (2006:159). On the *Daily Nation*, the first commemoration anniversary of the upsetting strike, the SUPKEM, an umbrella organization run by Muslim religious scholars that claims to speak on behalf of the Muslim community and defend their interests made their statements that was read in all mosques countrywide it read: "what would be the reason for planting bombs in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam if not disrupt the spread of Islam in East Africa, which has enhanced by the existing peaceful atmosphere?" (*Daily Nation*, August,7th 1999:1).

In Nairobi Jamia mosque, Kenya's largest mosque, SUPKEM chairman Abdulghafur Busaidy provided a speech summarizing the painful experiences the Muslim of Kenya undergo since the attack clearing suspicious of Muslims as terrorists, public defamation of Islam by the media, politicians, and church representatives, and the banning of six Islamic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) which allegedly threatened domestic security, as well as confiscation of files and computer drives from the offices of Islamic organizations. Muslims felt that they are treated as terrorists who are affecting the relationship between Christians and the Muslims. For the Muslims they believed that the government is full of the Christian ideologies.

However, not all the Muslims who had the same view like the SUPKEM leaders for example on September 11 2001 when the World trade Centre was attacked by terrorists according to Seesemann (2006:158), one of the Islamic preacher from Mombasa by the name Ali Shee who was interviewed by the BBC shortly after the attack, when asked what Kenyan Muslims thought of Osama bin Laden, he responded, "He is a hero". Ali Shee is described as "one of the most vocal critics of the Kenyan regime and an outspoken advocate of the radical interpretation of Islam" (Bakari 1995:30).

Many young Muslims in within Kenya and especially Eastleigh considered the pictures of Osama bin Laden on T-shirts, posters, and bumper stickers as popular leader after the September 11, 2001, and they viewed him as the leader of global Islamic fighter for the liberation of Muslims, a man the people devotedly wanted to follow in terms of Islamic faith and his political ideologies (Seesemann 2006:159). This affected the relationship between Christians and Muslims living in Eastleigh because Muslims were extremely

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happy with Osama's attacks and suspicion continued to grow among the religious communities while focusing to Muslim feelings.

We have to condemn anything that touches the life of a human being. Remarks made by religious leaders on the terror attacks can escalate tension between the Christians and Muslims. Bakari quotes Ali Shee calling Osama as a hero it is good to have the human heart. This caused tension between Muslims and Christians.

However, Seesemann argues that the experiences which the Muslims in Kenya have is that they are fully aware of the pessimistic impact the radicalization of youths in the religion of Islam since it is carried out in the name of Islam (Seesemann 2006:159). Muslims especially those who live in Eastleigh perceives that the public statements made against Islam through the media may be a reality once the radicalized youths are discovered portrays the picture that the Muslims people are the ones who are targeted by the security forces

If we are made to believe what Seesemann is appealing from some Muslim perception why do terror attackers use the name of Islam to kill the others which affects the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims? There should be a clear distinction between what Islam is and what it's advocating for to avoid religious tension between Christians and Muslims in matters of religious radicalisation of youths.

On the hand measures taken to control the said tension between the Christians and Muslims due to religious radicalisation normally it faces opposition from various quotas for instance when the Kenyan government introduced the anti Terrorist bill to the Kenyan Parliament it faced a lot of opposition from human rights and civil society and several church representatives (*East African Standard Newspaper* 8th July 2003:3). Muslims for Human Rights Commission Rights (MUHURI) argued that the said bill targeted the Muslims.

If at all both the Christians and Muslims can cooperate and talk in one voice then they will arrest this issue of religious radicalisation among the youths which cause tension between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh like they did in the said proposed anti Terror bill.

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Though, some of the Muslim religious leaders view religious extremism and radicalisation in Eastleigh as not part of their religion beliefs and teachings. For example as it is reported in, *Daily Nation* 8 June 2015:16) two religious leaders from Islamic faith in Eastleigh led by Ahlusuna Wa Jama chairman and Fukhrundin Sheikh Abdiaziz, pointed out that the government should conduct investigations in *madrassas* and mosques by saying: "we admit that radicalisations are indoctrinated in schools, *madrassas*, and mosques and it can only be fought and defeated by teaching children the right religions and ideologies". Abdiaziz said, "It is high time that the government checks into the syllabus of *madrassas* and mosques adding that extremist groups are trying to divide Kenyans along religious lines". They argue further that this has affected the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims in areas particularly in Eastleigh. They said that Christians and Muslims have to join hands to fight this issue of religious radicalisation which is affecting their peaceful co-existence.

But if the above mention religious leaders take a step of teaching in mosques and *madrassas* against religious radicalisation among the youths, then it can reduce that hatred between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh.

However, Lewis distinguished between Muslim and Christian fundamentalists by saying "unlike the Protestant groups, whose name was transferred to them, do not differ from the mainstream on questions of theology and the interpretation of scripture as the Muslims radicals do" (Lewis 2003:20). My opinion is that those misinterpretations of the Quran verses should be made authentic by Muslim scholars who are not biased and tell the public the right interpretation of the verses to avoid all these confusions. Maybe the question which can be asked whether the Christians who were involved in the early Christian crusades; were they fundamental or they were Christians in general?

However, according to Lewis in Christianity there also those fanatics who advocate for revenge when an attack occurs in Eastleigh. Some clerics have been asking to be given guns to protect themselves.

The Christians' reactions to Muslim extremists were expressed in 1992 after the formation of the IPK which led to the outbreaks of violence on the coast (Oded 2000:106). Christians feared Muslim extremists through the statements and articles which were issued

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through Christian press. For example, in July 1993 the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCK) through their activist by the name Jeff Mbure wrote an article entitled "Focus on Christian- Muslim Relations in Kenya: Rising Tension as Fundamentalism Sets In". He expressed fears that Kenya was turning to be a ground for Christian- Muslim conflict and that of Islamic fundamentalism threatened the country's future (Oded 2000:106).

In a similar issue, Mburu upheld that one of the reasons why there was the rise Muslim extremism in Kenya was the influence of provocative decisions made by Muslim congresses calling for *jihad* (JPR *News Analyses and Reports*, 30 June 1993:1-2) by Oded (2000:106).

According to Oded giving the incitement remarks like that one made by Jeff Mburu the NCCK activist can affect the Christian- Muslim Relations even in Eastleigh.

Roman Catholic Church also raised its voice about the nature of extremism, for example, there was an article called "There Is Arab Neocolonialism," which appeared in the 7 December 1995 issue of the Catholic journal *Avenire*, which was published in Rome in Italian. The writer gave warnings about the Islamic activities of Iran and other Muslim countries, for instance, the construction of mosques and *madrassas* as it is the case of Eastleigh in Nairobi. The 1992-1994 commotions in Mombasa, which broke out in the background of Muslim requests to set up IPK and compelled Christians to issue some cautions about the threats created by Islamic fundamentalism (Oded 2000:107). A Catholic circular handed out mentioned about the Nairobi Deanery, Priests and Laity "circular" 1993 concerning the civil war in southern Sudan, which broke out because of the Sudanese government's ambition to Islamize the south, and maintains that Muslims extremists in Kenya are displaying the same extremist trends (Oded 2000:107).
This affected the Christian-Muslim Relations for Christians thinks that the Muslims have a hidden agenda. Muslims feel that they are fulfilling their mission work in constructing mosques and *madrassas*.

On 12-16 January 1993 in Nairobi (SECAM, Secretary of the Episcopal Conference of African and Madagascar) Cardinal Maurice Otunga's words revealed Christians' worry about Muslims. He called upon representatives to fight the spread of Islam in Africa. He

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further said that Muslims have vowed to destroy Christianity and make Africa an Islamic continent. Christianity will die a natural death, Otunga said. However, Muslim religious and secular leaders never took the statement of Cardinal Otunga lightly they accused him of igniting a religious war in Kenya.(Oded 2000:108). In my opinion, Cardinal Otunga used the term 'fight' which might have caused religious conflict in the country since as a leader he may have marked his words before he made that utterance. It is true that the Islamic fundamentalists are making every effort to fight the growth of Christianity but as a spiritual leader, his remarks matters a lot to the entire society.

However, according to Oded fighting from the Christians understanding may mean to encounter the spread of Islam in a positive spiritual way of fighting but for the Muslims it may mean something physical and it creates a different perception. Using some of the terms has to be checked careful between Christians and Muslims to avoid conflicts.

On a different approach another church leader claimed that radicalisation has caused tension between Christians and Muslims by making the following comment, there is a need for building churches and increase the number of missionary activity in Northeastern Province as mosques are built all over the country this statement came from the Anglican bishop of Eldoret, Stephen Kewasis. The Muslims issued a warning by saying such expressions constituted incitement and would easily cause conflict between Christians and Muslims (Oded 2000:109). This came after the doubt of extremist Islam who intensified their mission after the violent confrontations which were sparked by the formation of the IPK.

On looking what Oded is arguing on religious competition it is not good for spiritual growth. Same thing when we have this religious radicalisation if Christians allows their youths to be radicalised then it may turn to be chaos in many places including Eastleigh.

In a related occurrence when the pope visited Kenya as one of his 1995 tour to Africa, "he devoted part of his address to the need for Muslim – Christian dialogue, especially at a time when religious radicalism was on the rise" (*Daily Nation* 15 September 1995). As per my opinion the 1998 terror attack on the American embassy in Nairobi the Christians never learned any mischievous motives from the extremists/radicals since even the Muslims who were around the vicinity fall victims of circumstances which show that sometimes the perpetrators of terror attacks do not spare anybody despite your religion on

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some occasions. However, their primary intention they wanted to attack the Americans not people of specific religion.

The radicalisation exercise increased once the Kenya troops entered Somali to destroy this terrorist group called *Al- Shabaab* in October 2011. In *Standard Newspaper* it is reported by (Nzwili :2012) in which he stated that fears were being reported because of religious violence which was in the rise in Eastleigh due to the bus bombing which took place in Eastleigh Estate the area dominated by the Somali community. An eyewitness who did not want to be named said, a male attacker masked in a *Bui- Bui* a shawl often worn by Muslim women, threw an improvised explosive device into the mini bus, tearing it apart and flattering its tiles. The Somalis were isolated by then when they entered to any public transport all the passengers alight fearing that they may be attacked at any time. This affected the Christian –Muslim Relations in Eastleigh since Christians thought that they are being targeted by the Muslims through this religious radicalisation method.

However, on Nzwili's article though he never gave much details on this incident, this issue was accumulative of many events which made one religious group to feel that they are being targeted by grenade attacks.

After this incident, Rev. Wellington Mutiso, the General Secretary of the Evangelical Alliance of Kenya gave a statement:"this is very bad. To isolate the Somalis and target them of the blast is very deadly. If we don't arrest it, it may backfire into religious war". Rev. Mutiso claimed that *Al-Shabaab* is known to have recruited many Kenyans from all tribes and believed that the recruits have returned and are carrying these radicalism activities which ends up to a terror attack. So Rev. Mutiso was urging people not to target members of the Somali community with retaliatory violence. This affected the Christian-Muslim Relations in Eastleigh.

According to *Standard Newspaper*, (Oginde: 2015) reported that Christians had said, "We have often turned the other cheek, but now the cheeks have run out". It was the anger expressed by the Christians after the Garissa University attack. However, these Christians felt that the radicalised youths target the Christians. At the forum that gathered together leaders from all major denominations and church umbrella bodies,(See Plate: V) the clergy counted all the evils done against Kenyans in general and Christians in particular

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for the last 40 years and they concluded that their rights have been violated and the attacks were well planned by these radicalised youths. This also affected the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims.

On the Oginde article, it may seem that Christians are now giving up and look for an alternative way of protecting themselves. I think the Christians values must be maintained despite all the persecutions they are facing.

John Cardinal Njue the Archbishop of Nairobi diocese in the Roman Catholic Church according to (Vidija:, 2015),(See Plate: IV) raised his voice by saying there is possible religious war due to the increase of the *al- Shabaab* attacks. He urged the government to get to the bottom of the radicalisation of youths without politicizing it. This was after the Garissa University attack (See Plate: II). He said it is sad that many Kenyan youths are being radicalised to terrorize their fellow citizens. He said ones there is an attack fear erupts between Christians and Muslims because Christians believes that Muslims are behind the attack. This is the same situation in Eastleigh.

As per Vidija's article what is to be done is to fight this religious radicalisation in a collective way. It should not left to a particular religious community and a certain section of people.

From the reviewed literature we have seen the knowledge we can get is that religious radicalisation is something that causes inter-religious tension between the Christians and the Muslims. The gap that exists is that they do not give the solution on how to encounter this religious radicalisation without affecting the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims. Some are giving remarks which can cause disunity between the two religious communities in Eastleigh. The two religious communities should fight this issue of religious radicalisation in a collective way.

Let us now look the theoretical framework.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The theory to be used in this study of radicalization process and violent extremism is Social Movement Theory (SMT) by Borum. The social movement is defined by Zald and

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McCarthy as quoted by Borum as:"A set of opinions and beliefs in a population, which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society" (Borum 2011:17). The SMT theory started in the 1940s with the thought that the movements arose from illogical developments of combined conduct happening beneath tense environmental circumstances which the (sociologists termed as "Strain Theory"), creating a mass response of dissatisfaction (Borum 2011:17). People joined this movement due to the social pressure forces which they got from the surroundings. The SMT investigators in the 1980s and 1990s separated that the chief mission of any organization or movement is to sustain its own survival (Borum 2011: 17). Development is important to spread out of the movement's manipulation and competence. Klandermans and Oegema suggest that:

> "to survive and sustain itself, any Social Movement must attend to the following tasks: These includes, forming mobilization potential, motivation recruitment networks, arousing motivation to participate and removing barriers to participate" (Klandermans and Oegema 1987: 519-531).

SMT theorists have also discovered when members of the movement look to recruit others, they function as normal prospectors. They usually want to be efficient and effective, so they ask to know those who are likely to agree to act (Borum 2011: 17).

In connections with the above theory, this research is built on it since radicalisation of youths' main purpose is to register their discontented claims to the entire society in the name of religion. As it is from the research objectives the historical background of the radicalisation of youths emerged due to reforms that they wanted to launch for they felt that Islam was not the same as it was originally. The religious fundamentalism claimed that something had gone wrong. Some they started to mobilize the rest of the Muslims to reject teachings outside the Quran and the *hadith* but only accept Islamic stated governed by *Sharia* that is why we have groups like the Al Qaeda, ISIS, *Taliban* and *Al – Shabaab*. The militia groups are opposed to the Western Christendom, secularism/modernization, Colonial powers and Western politics. They claimed that the coming of the colonial powers it led to fall of Islam. This has led to religious radicalisation and its effects are seen in terms of religious tension, terrorism, political tension and even some Muslims are opposing them. The movements have grown to be a threat to the entire world. They have

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networks in many parts of the world like the *al- Shabaab* which is based in Somalia has its links to Eastleigh in Nairobi Kenya. So the theory fits it well.

As we can see from SMT in the process of radicalisation based on the Western democracy, Borum quotes Wiktorowicz who had carried a deeper study on how a person decides to be a member of a militant Islamist. He came up with four component progressive form of radicalisation and they are as follows: First for those who are interested to be radicalised they get a manifestation to new worldviews. The second step one observes religion as means of finding solution (religious seeker). The third step one discovers the group's story and philosophy to "make sense" and finally through the process of socialization the person becomes fully indoctrinated in the movement (Borum 2011:18, 19). It is the same example that we saw from the background of the study how one person by the name Yusuf was testifying how he was radicalised in Eastleigh(*Daily Nation* 10th June 2015:1 and 4). These processes are employed by the *al- Shabaab* group in recruiting the youths in Eastleigh.

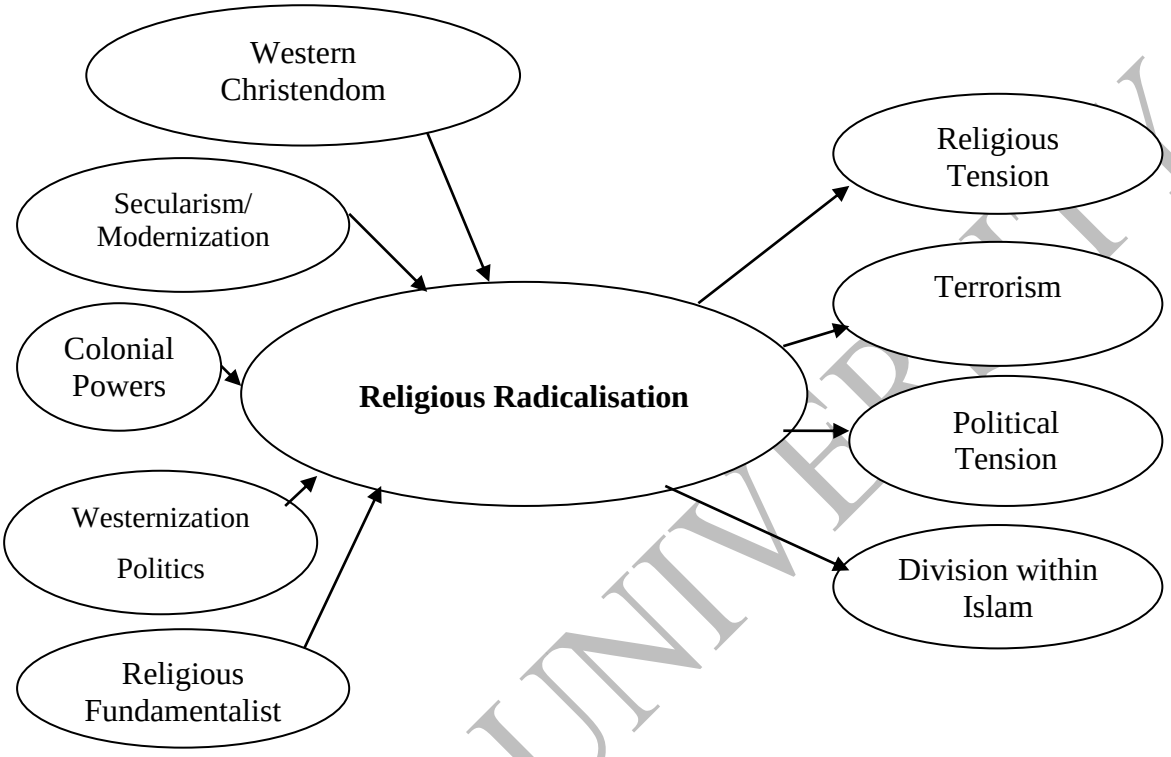
One the objective of the effects of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh on the Christian –Muslim Relations, the SMT is relevant among the radicalised groups like in Kenyan politics these radicalised youths meet a lot of opposition from different directions. Extremists Muslims feels they are discriminated and they want to raise their voice using politicians who come from the Muslim community. For instance when the police were carrying the crackdown in Eastleigh the leader of Majority in Kenyan Parliament went for their defense. He mobilized the youths in the name of fighting for their right. And escalated tension between politicians from a different religious background who said issues of insecurity should not be based in community. Muslims think police are protecting Christian values for they associate Christianity to the West and arresting Muslims for nothing. So, it raised tension between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. The Muslims in Eastleigh claim that Christianity promotes secularism/modernization which destroys moral ethics in Islam. Mode of dress code is opposed by the radical youths in Islam in Eastleigh.

In the same time if the SMT is well applied it can be significant for Christian- Muslim relations by creating that bridge of peaceful co-existence other than the social networks for hatred and conflicts in the society like Eastleigh.

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After we have discussed the theoretical framework, we can now focus on the conceptual framework.

2.6 Conceptual framework



The conceptual framework gives an explanation the factors that influence religious radicalisation and its outcomes. There are various factors which influence the rise of religious radicalization. The Western Christendom is one of the factors. This is due to the early Christian crusades whereby the Christians were fighting the Muslims to recapture back the holy lands which the later had taken during their conquest. Christians organized the eight main crusades and they were able to get back the lands which were in the hands of Muslims. Muslims felt that it was a great shame for them so they decided to reorganize themselves which led to religious radicalisation. The other factor secularism/modernism cultures which are associated with the West are highly opposed by the Muslims. The Muslims think that their culture is the best since Islamic does not separate religion from culture. So the culture of dressing, walking and other ethical issues are very important in Muslim world. Muslims opposes any force which is against their culture all sorts of modernism and secularism and this result to religious radicalisation.

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Another factor is the coming of European colonial powers. They advocated to nationalism which led to the breaking away of the Muslim unity under the Ottoman Empire where the Caliphate was the supreme authority of Islam. After losing all that glory Muslims remember it as if it is an event which took place yesterday. They have been fighting to go back to that kind of unity which has led to Islamic resurgence groups like the Muslim brotherhood of Egypt, ISIS, Al-Qaeda, *Al- Shabaab* and *Boko Haram*. They normally fight with the existing government and make a movement of toppling the leaders who do not support their ideologies. They think that the Western authorities are colonizing them directly or indirectly. People like Osama bin laden who is the founder of Al- Qaeda is said to have the same ideology. This ends up to religious radicalisation.

Also once there is a change is Western politics like the collapse of Russia in 1991 whereby Osama bin Laden was a key factor being used as an instrument by the Americans to fight for the downfall of Russia and other Islamic states is one of the factors which contributed to the emergence of religious radicalisation. The other issue which influences the religious radicalisation is the religious fundamentalists. For example here in Kenya we had Sheikh Khalid Balala who had ideologies of extremism teachings which motivated the young people to join his group and participated in violent and demonstration against the government. This made the young Muslims in Mombasa think that they were oppressed by Moi regime and the only option is to demonstrate and join Islam extremis which led to religious radicalization that is in 1992 formation of IPK.

These factors which influenced religious radicalisation have some of the outcomes. The outcomes are religious tension is experienced that is commotion between the Christians and Muslims. The two communities are suspicious to one another. Terrorism is seen for instance the one which happened in Kenya on 7 August 1998, the Westgate Mall attack in Nairobi and the Garissa University College attack on 2nd April 2015. Christian felt that their people are targeted by the Muslim radicalised groups. Muslim on the other side felt that their people are victimized. The political temperatures emerge due to the killings of people of being suspected to come from the other faith. Like the Garissa attack the politicians from North Eastern claimed that they will name the culprits within seven days which they did not and late it caused tension among the political class here in Kenya. The other outcome is the Muslims become divided as some claim that those who are calling out these terror attacks are not Muslims but normally they do it in the name of religion.

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In summary, the theory and the conceptual frameworks explain what the radicalizations are. They are a social movement which practices networks to carry out these inhuman practices. The conceptual framework also explains the factors that influence religious radicalization and the outcomes of religious radicalization. These are the same issue being experienced in the radicalization of youths in Eastleigh and the outcomes are the same.

2.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, we have reviewed the literature starting from the works done in historical background of religious radicalisation, the radicalisation in Eastleigh, politics and radicalisation of youths, process of religious radicalisation of youths and finally the effects of radicalisation of youths on Christian Muslim Relations.

On the side of the historical background of religious radicalisation, their roots are traced to Muhammed Ibn Abdel Wahhab. They emphasized the belief based on the observation of *sharia* as their basic way of life. The limitation is the fundamentalists are misinterpreting some Quranic texts which the orthodox Muslims claim that they are abrogated (*Sura* 2: 191). However, they do not read the Quran in its right context, whether it s Meccan or Medinan context. The research knowledge felt the gap by searching the right interpretation of the said texts in the Quran.

The radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh is not encountered in a positive way. But it is wrong for political leaders like Honourable Aden Duale to regard that a certain community is targeted while the police are trying to eliminate this activity of radicalisation in Eastleigh instead of supporting it in the other side. There is lack of collective condemnation and fighting this criminal activity of radicalisation from both religious and political leaders. Both opinion leaders should join hands in dealing with this militia activity.

In the side of politics and radicalisation of youths, majority of the Muslims came to the defense of Islam as a religion when the government is cracking down some elements which might cause insecurity in the country by saying their youth are oppressed due to their religion. Muslim leaders lack the view of seeing radicalisation as a threat to the entire society but treat it as a community being targeted by the security agencies. The limitation being that Islam does not distinguish the two institutions those are the state and religion so

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politics is mixed religion. The research proposes that if possible separating the state from religion is the best option for peaceful co-existence in the country.

Looking for the process of radicalisation of youths it is believed that there is a process however, those are not the only static methods one has to follow in order to be radicalised. There are other ways like one being neglected by the family members and financial constrains which leads one to see the only alternative is to join the radicalised group to achieve his /her dream.

Concerning the effects of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh on Christian- Muslim Relations, religious leaders hold different opinions on looking to this issue. However, what it lacks is that the radicalisation of youths comes from both religions and not a specific religion. It affects the relationship even within the Muslim themselves for instance two Muslim religious leaders were distancing themselves from this issue of radicalisation. There is literature review in this part lack the inter faith conference to address this issue of radicalisation of youths which affects the relationship of the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh.

The weakness is the remarks made by religious leaders carry a lot of weight to the society and it can easily cause religion tension like Cardinal Otunga's which made Christians worry about Muslims. The research contributes to the knowledge of being wise on how to reply to another community for the sake of peaceful co-existence society.

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CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with research methodology which covers the site of the study, the rationale for the choice of Eastleigh, the population of the area of study, the research design, the sample and sampling techniques, data analysis techniques, data collection tools that is the questionnaire and interviews, reliability and validity, ethical issues and finally conclusions.

The qualitative method of approach was used in the research study. This is because the researcher attempted to fix and control the circumstances of the interviews. Semi structured questions were used during the interviews. The research method is historical.

3.2 Site of the study

The study was conducted at Eastleigh in Nairobi County with a population of approximately 200, 000 inhabitants with Muslims followers of about 170,000 and 20,000 Christians and 10,000 from other religions (*Daily Nation*, September 26th 2010). Eastleigh is divided into three sections with twelve streets for the purpose of administrations (Wario 2013:22). Eastleigh has twenty two mosques and twenty five churches. Most mosques holds one over one thousand members and most Churches holds twenty five to forty members. (See map II).

The reason of choosing Eastleigh as the area of study is that it is one of the places which is linked with the recruitment of the Somalia based militia group *al Shabaab*. This is the place where Eastleigh high school teacher Ayub Mohammed has offered to teach young people against distorted teaching and extremism.

3.3 Research Design

Survey was used as a research design of the study of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh. The reason why this design was used is that the researcher had the ability of getting the accurate communication of ideas between him and the respondents (Berg 2009:109). The design of survey was easy for the for administration cases. There was also that ability to tap the unseen as the survey design was employed. Since the researcher wanted to know how the Christians think about Islam and Muslims in Eastleigh this kind of design provided him with an opportunity to involve many people in terms of the decision-making process on radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. In this kind of design snowball, sampling

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was used to provide more information about the population. Also, the design was very significant due to the subgroup differences living in Eastleigh like many refugees from different countries like the Oromo from Ethiopia, Somalis, and Eritreans and others from Sudan and even Rwanda and Burundi and due to the sensitivity of the topic. Through surveying the behaviors, opinions, attributes, beliefs and attitudes of the people were easily recorded he while they were interviewed concerning the topic which was the subject of discussion. The subjects were allowed to give much of their inputs about security in Eastleigh.

3.4 Population

The population targeted was the youths in Eastleigh section I because this was the area thought to have a big population of religious radicalised youths. The population of the inhabitants in this place is 20,000 people. These youths came from different religious communities who stayed there and even from the surrounding streets. Because of time sixty two numbers of young people were reached of which thirty two were Muslim youths who mainly came from two mosques in Eastleigh section one which are suspected to be carrying out radicalisation activity and the surrounding streets and thirty were Christian youths who came from different churches in Eastleigh and the total number was out of two hundred youths who were projected for this study. Among them were two Muslim and two Christian religious leaders and two officials who were ladies working with two different NGOs who were interviewed. One was a Muslim and the other was a Christian. Due to the principle of confidentiality their names remained synonymous. The names of the NGOs which were samples for the study are Urban Refugee intervention Centre and Heshima Kenya. The reason of sampling these two NGOs is that they have been more involved in addressing this issue of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh.

3.5 Sample and Sampling techniques

Non- Probability Sampling was applied for the thirty-two Muslim youths. This is due to the sensitivity of the topic in Eastleigh. The researcher was the one who determined who from among the representatives of the said group was to give the information. This helped the researcher to determine the sample size in advance. It was easy to manage to avoid conflict information. Snowball sampling was employed for thirty Christian youths which was a nonrandom technique where the information was gathered through a referral from one of few who were available right from the beginning. Since there were some

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occurrences which have taken place in Eastleigh the researcher hoped to be referred to those who have fallen as victims due to this youth radicalisation in Eastleigh. The study wanted to know what the victims thought about Islam and Muslims concerning religious radicalization of youths in Eastleigh.

3.6 Data Collection tools

This is how the data was collected from the research study. The data collection focused on two levels which were: primary and secondary data. Primary data was the information that was provided in the field while gathering the information from the subjects in the sample. What was provided in the field was recorded down. If there was any who wanted to give the information in video it would be taken. However, there was none who did it. Others wished not to be seen due to the sensitivity of the topic and were allowed to give information in secret place. Eastleigh is a bit sensitive in comparison to other areas because of the *Al- Shabaab* factor which is said to have it is presence there. The other level is the secondary data collection. This is the data which the researcher obtained from research articles, books and casual interviews which may be qualitative too.

3.6.1 Questionnaire

It was the same tool that was used for all the groups of respondents, that is Christian and Muslim youths and the NGOs this was to be convenient for analyzing the data.

Semi-structured questions were formulated which were used in collecting the data. There were also unstructured questions which were used to gather data. The instrument was important since it helped the subjects to express themselves freely. Questionnaire was given to some Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh whom the researcher met them within the sample of which he had prepared (See Appendix: 1 A).

3.6.2 Interviews

One interview questions was used across the board for easy analysis of the data.

Interviews were conducted in Eastleigh area which included people from Christian and Muslim faiths of different age groups (15-35), (36-50), (51-65). All of these were interviewed in various categories. The researcher used open interviews while taking notes from the respondents wherever it was necessary. Later the notes were written down and interpreted the data for further analysis (See Appendix 1: B).

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3.7 Reliability and Validity

This part was to maximize the reliability and validity of the data. The instrument tools used were the questionnaire and interviews. It was made sure that appropriate data collection procedures and sampling techniques that were not only to target the right population but also yield accurate data. Reliability and validity were of data measurable characteristics. Any measurement had two components: the true value or score and an error component. The reliability was concerned with the internal properties of a measure, whereas validity referred to the relationship between the data and the variable being measured. It was made sure that the right procedures were followed to gives the right analysis to whatever data was collected. Many people gave the information but it had to be checked whether that information is reliable and valid. This was to search for the accuracy of the data collected and made the research more standard.

3.8 Ethical issues

It was made sure that high standard of ethical issues was maintained. The rights of the participants were protected in this study in Eastleigh. It was made sure that the researcher demonstrated his competence in ethical issues in the research. The researcher provided introduction Letter from the University (See Appendix II) during the research in order to avoid not getting the proper information which was needed from the participants. The opinions of the participants were respected. The participants were assured that confidentiality would be one of the key principles in this process. Honest was maintained in order to avoid skepticism from the subjects who were participating in this research. Eastleigh being a sensitive place for many issues, for example, insecurity, language barrier from the participants due to their nature because many of them were refugees.

The researcher was keen while selecting participants for this sampling process and assured them their safety. There was cautiousness to any step that would take place concerning this topic and also the issue of sensitive to anyone who came like participant without being invited. The research findings were reported accurately which were expressed in an unbiased manner and the methods employed in the data collection and analysis were well explained. Also, researcher never published the findings on data that was not collected. Any falsifying data was abstained. The researcher had identified himself to avoid false impressions especially in this area of Eastleigh. The rights of privacy of the respondent

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had a right of refusing to answer the question was respected. The participants were informed the type of questions, degree of questions, sensitivity or possible consequence on the respondent. Due to the sensitivity of the topic in Eastleigh the principle of maintaining the right of anonymity not identifying the names of the participants unless it is voluntarily and explicitly surrendered was observed.

3.9 Data Analysis techniques

It included various processes as it is mentioned below. Data collection and regulations was done by the research personnel. This made sure that all the relevant information was well handled without favouritism. The classification of the samples, questionnaires and interviews was carefully done. All the related information was put in the same clusters ready for processing. Various methods were used in storing of raw data and the already processed information. It included electronic and paper storage which were helpful in recording some information.

3.10 Conclusion

The research methodology covered the research design which was chosen to be used and qualitative research approach method was used due to the researcher attempted to fix and control the circumstances of the interviews and the place of the research study. Non–probability sampling and the sampling size was snowball sampling were applied. It was ensured that the data collections were well arranged and the tools for the data collections were questionnaire and interviews. The reliability and validity of the data collection were taken into considerations. The ethical issues were kept into standard by both the researcher and the respondents. The opinions of the participants at all levels in his research study were respected. Religious leaders from both Christians and Muslims were respondents of this research study. Primary and secondary data were examined and analyzed well.

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CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses about what radicalisation of youths and how it is relevant in Easleigh. It also provides the demographic profile, gender, age and education level of the respondents. It discusses the main findings which were gathered through the tools of data collection that is interviewees and questionnaire based on the research questions on the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and its implications for Christian- Muslim Relations. The hypothesis is also tested in conclusion. (Due to the principle of confidentiality the names given to the two ladies who were interviewed as Halima and Aisha are synonyms and not their real names).

Radicalisation can be defined as a process which starts when an individual develops trust on the interpretations of an ideological rigid set of religious authorities. It has some steps which one accepts like legalistic interpretation of some Quranic texts, perception of Islam and the West, firm interpretation of Islam and the combination of politics as well as religious beliefs. However, we will see them more in process of radicalisation of youth in Eastleigh.

4.2 Demographic Profile

The profile of the respondents was looked at based on age, which was above twelve years, gender, was taken into consideration that is male and female and the education level was another issue which taken into account.

4.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

From the survey it was noted that 33(53%) of the people who responded were male and the 29 (47%) of the people were female. This shows that majority of the respondents were male who are the dominant followers of the Islamic religion in Eastleigh. In Islam community men are the dominant factor in terms of leadership for example one being appointed as an Imam has to be a male. Somalis of Eastleigh follow the same suit. . The table below shows the gender of the respondents.

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	Frequency	Percentage
Gender of Respondents		
Male	33	53%
Female	29	47%
Total	62	100%

Table 1: Gender of Respondents

Figure 1 below also shows the number of the male and female who were the respondents.

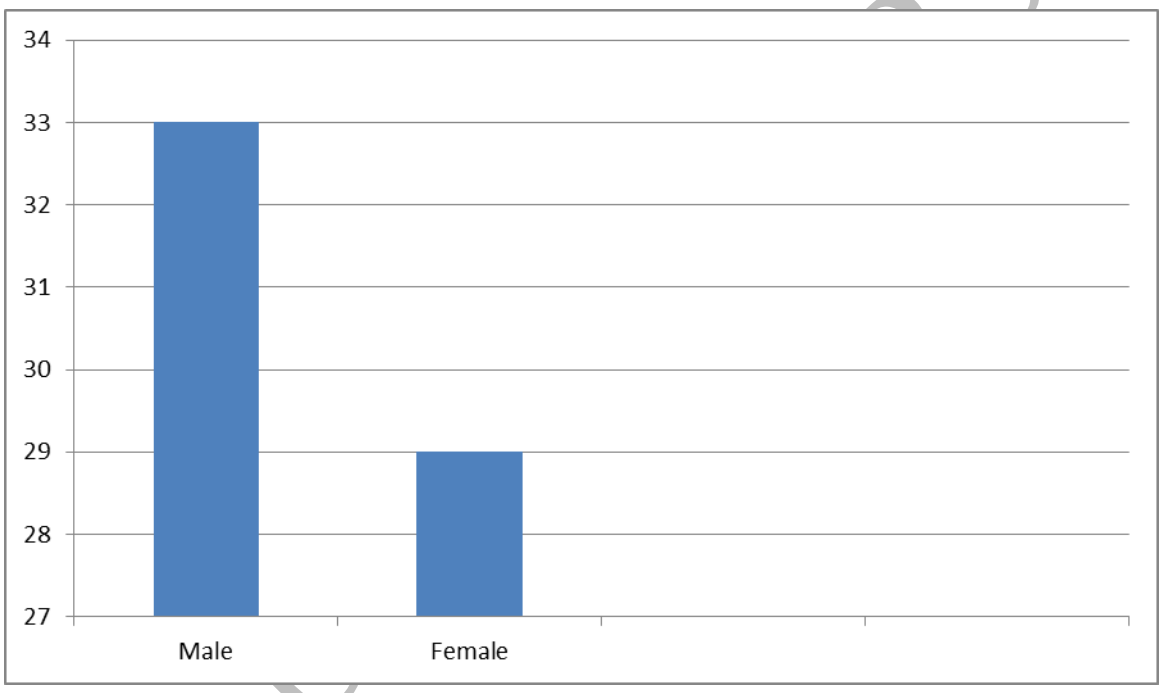


Figure 1: Gender of Respondents

4.2.2 Age of Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Age of respondents		
Below 18 years	4	6%
Above 18 years	58	94%
Total	62	100%

Table 2: Demographic profile of the respondents

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The study showed that from all the respondents, 4 (6%) were below 18 years while the large number of 58 (94%) were above 18 years. The reason of knowing the age was to be sure that the respondent was mature enough and his or her information can be relied on to anyone who was above 18 years but those below 18 years an adult person was required to verify whether the information given can be relied upon. Since the study targeted majority of the youths who were the respondents in large number showed that they had a lot of concern. The issue of religious radicalization affects most of the youths. A good number of these youths, who responded, claimed that they lacked employment opportunities and this led them get involved in this activity of religious radicalization.

4.2.3 Level of Education of the Respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Level of Education		
Primary	26	42%
Secondary	21	34%
Graduate	5	8%
None of the above	10	16%
Total	62	100%

Table 3: Level of Education

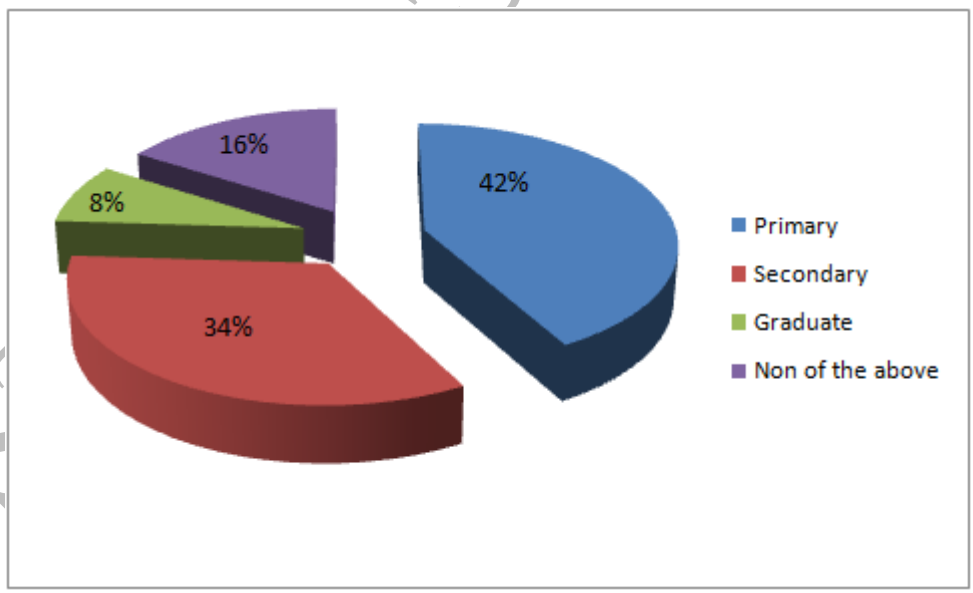


Figure 2: Education Levels of Respondents

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The study sought to know the level of education of the respondents. It was discovered that majority of 26 (42%) of the respondents are primary school leavers. 21 (34%) had secondary level of education while 5 (8%) were graduate and only 10 (16%) were not educated. Due this assessment it is a clear indication that the religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh has good number of educated youths and only a certain few percentage of youths who never went to school in this area of Eastleigh. Those who had earned degrees had migrated from Eastleigh which is thought to be unsafe to safer places in terms of security.

4.3 Background of the religious Radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

On the question of the background of the religious radicalisation among the youths in Eastleigh the following were the findings as captured in the tables below.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage of knowing the beginning of youth radicalisation Eastleigh
Christians		
Male	14	47% agrees to know the beginning
Female	16	53% agrees to know the beginning
Total	30	100%

Table 4: Christians view on background of Religious Radicalisation of Youths in Eastleigh

When asked whether they know about the beginning of religious Radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh 14 (47%) and 16 (53%) of the Christian male and female respondents agreed to know the beginning of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh as shown in the above table 4. The following table below shows the Muslims' view on the background of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh.

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Religion	Frequency	Percentage of knowing the beginning of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh
Muslims		
Males	15	47 % disagreed to know the beginning
Females	10	31% disagreed to know the beginning
Both male and female	7	22% agrees to know the beginning
Total	32	100%

Table 5: Muslims' view on the background of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

When asked whether they know the beginning of religious radicalisation of youths of 25 (78%) of the Muslim respondents said they do not know however, they claimed some people said that after the coming the *Wahhab* movement The same respondents reported that *Wahhabism* is the true teaching which was started by a great Islamic scholar by the name Sheikh Abdulwahab. He is a respected scholar by many Muslims all over the World and Muslim in Eastleigh fall in that bracket, the respondents said. However, 7 (22%) of the Muslim respondents agreed that they know the beginning of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh said, that it started when the Kenyan government sent her troops to Somalia in the year 2011.

Christian respondents said that Muslims started to claim that their religion had been distorted by the Sufis who were the majority Muslims in Eastleigh. The revival Muslims demanded to go back to their orthodox teachings. Muslims in some mosques like Sixth and Eighth Street started to be more aggressive in the issues of their religion than the Christians. The Christian respondents 20 (67%) reported that it has been discovered that many Muslim youths in Eastleigh had strongly embraced Islamic teachings are estranged and become detached from the rest and they face rejection especially by non- Muslims and this leads them to be more extremists. While the Muslim respondents 26 (81%) claimed that some of the root cause of this religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh is that the youths are being sidelined as second class citizen, they face arbitrary arrest from the police, lack of identification cards, lack of proper funding from the government's kitty

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Youth Fund, and lack of proper education both secular and formal leads them to join this militia group of *al Shabaab* to get their daily bread. However, there was a claim that youths from the Sixth Street mosque were involved in these aggressive teachings due to the religious debates which they hold in attacking other religions and even those Muslims who do follow Islamic orthodox teachings.

According to the interview that was carried out by the on 16/1/2016 one of the female by the name Halima who stays in Eastleigh section one, when asked, "When did religious radicalisation of youths start in Eastleigh? And are there specific places where they are trained?" She responded by saying, that, "there are over five mosques and several *madrassas* which are conducting religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh from the year 2011". She claimed further that the background of the religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh begun when many of the youths who are of Somalia origin living in Diaspora were brought by their parents to reform their behavior due to lack of discipline in the Western countries. While undergoing this process of reforming their behavior they turned to be radicals.

The second female by the name Aisha interviewed on 06/02/2016 argued that she had lived in Eastleigh for over 21 years. She was asked "How did religious radicalisation of youths begun in Eastleigh and when?" She said, "Religious radicalisation of youths begun in 2010 when the police started to harass the youths by beating them and in turn the youths ganged together and started '*kunyanganya*' (*Swahili* word meaning taking by force) police their guns and the youths started to use these firearms in carrying out criminal activities". However, both Halima and Aisha claimed that the introduction of the social media like, face book, tweeter, and internet are part of the sources of religious radicalisation of youths since they use these means to communicate with other influential groups like the *al-Shabaab* from Somalia and they recruit them in the militia group.

The two Muslim religious leaders who were interviewed on 06/02/2016 and 29/03/2016, when asked "In your opinion when did religious radicalisation of youths start in Eastleigh?.They replied by saying that religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh started when the government of Kenya sent her troops to Somalia to fight the *al- Shabaab* militias that is in 2011". However, one of the religious leader who is a Christian while responding to the same question when he was interviewed on 29/03/2016 he claimed that

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religious radicalisation of youths started in 2010. He has stayed in Eastleigh for over 12 years. He said, "The situation started to change drastically when Kenyan troops went to Somalia in 2011".

Going by the Christian and Muslim response on the beginning of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastligh we can conclude that it started as from when the KDF troops were sent to Somalia.

Though, the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh cannot be something that came out spontaneously, but there may be some strict teachings and may be political, socio-economical and religious factors that led to the emergence of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh as we can see from the conceptual framework. From the secondary sources concerning the background of religious radicalisation of youths (Jansen 2013:13) who did the work of Mapping Eastleigh for Christian –Muslim Relations he demonstrated that Eastleigh is suspected to be one of the most important connections with Somali-based militants and the world outside. There is also an article by Nzes called "Kenyan Somali Islamist Radicalisation" is reported to have said, *Al- Shabaab*'s primary foundation of support in Kenya emerges to rotate around Pumwani Riyadha Mosque, which is found near Eastleigh in Nairobi. Nzes is said to have reported that individuals from this mosque gave out jihadist pamphlets and articles written by Anwar al- Awlaqi, the Yemeni-American member of al- Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula who was killed by a U.S. drone in September 2011 (Nzes:2012).

It is the weakness of the people in authority of not scrutinizing this mosque which is suspected to be providing radicalisation teachings without fear or favour.

From the interview that was carried out on 29/3/2016, one of the respondents who is a Christian religious leader in Eastleigh, when asked "Is there a specific place where radicalisation of youths is conducted in Eastleigh?" He said, that "many of the youths from Eastleigh mosques for instance sixth and eighth street mosques normally went to Pumwani Riyadha mosque to get religious radicalisation trainings". However, in my view this cannot be concluded that this is the only place religious radicalization of youths is taking place in Eastleigh it can be in residential houses and even religious centres in Eastleigh.

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Pumwani Riyadha mosque is one of the religious centres where youths were radicalised. The centre is a neighbourhood to Eastleigh estate. In a clear evidence to support what one respondent who is a religious Christian leader claimed, Nzes in his article he mentioned the issue of domestic radicalisation; in this case he said that the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque has a Muslim Youth Center (MYC) which was established in 2008 by Shaykh Ahmad Iman Ali. It is purpose was to express the grievances of poor Muslim youth. However, in practice, the MYC has recruited many of the youths in Kenya to fight with *al- Shabaab* in Somalia this is according to Nzes. Nzes reports that the MYC has pledged to keep on the attacks for the "*al- Shabaab* brothers" up to when Kenya withdraws her military from Somalia. (Nzes: 2012).

However, it is difficult for one to believe about the existence of such recruitment centre because through intelligence the place would have been discovered and the criminals should have been arrested.

In a further argument Nzes in his article claimed, that according personal interview, anonymous subject matter expert who visited the Pumwani Riyadha mosque in October, 2012 reported that, "Clerics at the mosque are said to have delivered sermons with religiously inflammatory content". In support of his claim Nzes quoted Lordrick Mayabi, whose article is "Grenade Man Pleads Guilty, Admits Role in Attacks," in Capital FM News, October 26, 2011; who said that Jihadist speeches and literature and the activities of the MYC at the Pumwani Riyadha Mosque have contributed to the formation of a radicalized, mysterious group of Kenya jihadists in Nairobi, Mombasa, Garissa, Mandera and other towns.

The MYC which is seen as a Kenya – based group views *al- Shabaab* as origin of emulation, by giving its jihad support in sending finance and recruits to Somalia same time carrying attacks of civilians in Kenya as their main target. The matter was echoed by then, Kenyan Police Commissioner Mathew Iteere, who said hundreds of Kenyan youth were trained with *al- Shabaab* in Somalia who had come back to Kenya(Nzes: 2012)

Based on Nzes' article one can conclude that radical clerics in Pumwani Riyadha Mosque have recruited youths in Kenya for militancy which has affected areas like Eastleigh in

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Nairobi, Garissa, Mombasa, Mandera and other town in the country. Youths get recruitment in this mosque. Since Eastleigh is linked with the *Al –Shabaab* who are said to be living there and the estate is dominated by the Somalia community who are the resident there is high possibility that religious radicalization of youths' rate is high.

According to secondary source the beginning of youth radicalisation in Eastleigh goes back to 2008. It supports the data analyses that aggressive teachings contributes to religious radicalisation in Eastleigh. It is suspected to have some connection to a specific training centre. However, Nzes's article has to be scrutinized to see its authenticity for the claims it makes are sensitive to Christian- Muslim Relations in Eastleigh.

4.4 The Process of Radicalisation of Youths in Eastleigh

The following table summarises the main findings of process of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh.

Religion group	Frequency	Percentage of the respondents of the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh
Christians		
Male	12	40% Agrees to know the process
Female	11	37% Agrees to know the process
Both male and female of Christians who disagrees	7	23% Disagrees with the other that they do not know
Total	30	100%

Table 6: the Christian views the Process of Radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

The Christians 23 (77%) agreed that there is a process of training the youths for this radicalisation in Eastleigh. The respondents said that they are trained in *madrassas* (Islamic school). However, 7(23%) of Christian respondents disagreed that they do not know the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. The respondents were 2 males and 5 females. They said there is no radicalisation as such. But one of the respondents who sought anonymity said "The Imam of one of the mosques in Eastleigh is the opinion leader of all radical mosques in Eastleigh and he even broadcasts through a radio station in

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vernacular language every Sunday at 10:00am". The respondent said the imam's intention is to reach out Christians.

But there is no clear indication whether radicalisation process of youths is done in public or it is a private matter. When asked whether there is a process which one underwent in the radicalisation process Christian respondents said yes, and added that once these youths and especially those who go to *madrassas* are captivated in Islamic teachings and they tend to behave differently while they think of others as ungodly. Same time Christian respondents claimed that most of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh which is experienced among the young people starts when these youths from their childhood are indoctrinated in *madrassas* and mosques. However, this may be speculations unless one can investigate the matter if he happens to go and hear what they are teaching to prove it right or wrong. The following table captures the Muslim respondents on the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage of the respondents on the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh
Muslims		
Male	12	38% Do not know the process
Female	10	31% Do not know the process
Both male and Female	10	31% Knows the process
Total	32	100%

Table 7: Muslim views on the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh

Muslim male respondents who were twelve (38%) and female respondents eleven (31%) claimed to have no knowledge about any process for radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. One of the Muslim respondent youth reported that "due to the vastness of Eastleigh it

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cannot be easy for one to have sufficient information of the process of youth radicalisation".

On the other hand some of those Muslim respondents who said no they claimed that to a certain extend there is that radicalisation process of youths but they never wanted to come out clearly on how it is done, however, to some degree they said they hear about it. But ten (31%) of which 5 were male and 5 were female respondents agreed that they knew the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh. One of the participants who was a male aged 40 said, that the process starts with somebody who avoids to interact with others but associates more to the religion. Normally they do not want to be open to other people.

However, not all the people who like to be alone following religious teachings can be associated to radicalisation.

On the other hand Muslim respondents ten (31%) who agreed that there is a process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh claimed, that the youths took some oaths in some specific radical *madrassas* which they never wanted to mention due to security reasons by being radicalised through being taught some verses from the Quran, and this led the youths to form group like "superpower" famous in Eastleigh to fight for their rights. In general the Christian respondents twenty three (77%) who agreed with some Muslim respondents ten (31%) concurred that the process of radicalisation of youths is conducted in some specific mosques and some *madrassas* in Eastleigh. While the Christian respondents seven (23%) who claimed that they do not know the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and the Muslim respondents twenty two (69%) had the same idea like the Christians who had no idea of the process of radicalisation of youths.

If what the respondents gave was to be believed, then most Christians and some Muslims do understand the process of radicalisation. In the side of interview on the process of religious radicalisation of youth in Eastleigh, Halima, Aisha and the two religious Christian leaders agreed that *madrassas* are used for religious radicalisation of youths. One of the respondents who was a religious Christian leader when asked, "Is there a process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and is there any Quran verses used during the radicalisation process?" He replied, "New converts to Islam in Eastleigh are taught radical teachings from the Quran and are taken to some mosques in Mombasa and one in

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Mwingi (*Ukambani*)". He claimed further that while radicalising the youths they use *Sura* 9:5 of the Quran, which talks about the *kafirs* (infidels). He said "It talks about killing the *Kafirs* especially in the month of *Ramadhan*". The respondent claimed that, "some *hadiths* says that Allah says kill those who are against Islam and die in the cause of Allah for He has promised one to get the seven virgins in paradise" however, the respondents of religious leaders from the Muslim faith gave a different opinion that the process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh is done randomly in the street but not in mosques.

There is a clear indication that radicalisation of youths has a process from the Christian and Muslim respondents however no one has a definite answer how it is done for Christians claim it is done in mosques and *madrassas* but they cannot verify their claims neither Muslims who claimed it is done in the streets then it would have been seen by many people. But both groups agree that there is a process of radicalisation.

We can now draw our attention to the secondary source of the process of radicalisation of youths.

On the secondary sources of the process of radicalisation of youths there is an article 'The Radicalisation Process' (Jenkins: 2009) Jenkins who is one of the senior terrorism scholars, defines radicalisation as "the process of adopting for oneself or inculcating in others a commitment not only to a system of [radical] beliefs, but to their imposition on the rest of society" (Jenkins: 2009). In the same time in this article Ross Daveed and Grossman Laura are quoted identifying some apparent manifestations of the radicalisation process.(Ross and Laura: 2009). The elements may be helpful to discover the length of time one takes in the radicalisation process. From the start, an individual develops trust on the interpretations of an ideologically rigid set of religious authorities. One follows what a certain scholar interprets what their faith demands of them which serve as a guide and it has a significant impact in their live (Ross and Laura: 2009). For example in Eastleigh it was discovered that the teachings of the slain controversial Muslim clerics Sheikh Aboud Rogo and Sheikh Abubakar Shariff Makaburi based in Mombasa is quite significant among the youths.(four of the Muslim respondents supported the idea).

However, my personal view religious radicalisation cannot mean that a certain text must be applied but one can join groups who have radicalised ideologies.

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Many of the youths who were the respondents claimed that their current spiritual leaders believe slain preachers Aboud Rogo and Abubakar Shariff Makaburi died as martyrs and they are following their footsteps. The two slain radical preachers were accused of spreading hatred against non- Muslims in the name of religion and helping in recruitment of youths to terror groups.

The second step to be followed is one adopts a legalistic interpretation of the Muslim faith. There are norms that must be abode, not only for practice of the faith, but also for practical applied in one's daily life. For instance issues like playing music, taking photographs, or women laughing within the streets are forbidden and it is considered sinful. (Ross and Laura: 2009) The norms include the duty for all believers to carry out violence against infidels in order to propagate the faith. Muslims in Eastleigh have *madrassas* where these strict teachings are conducted within the young people. However, in my understanding this is not necessary the only norm in which one is radicalized. We have other interpretation like political, cultural, religious and economic interpretations of the Muslim faith.

The third stage as they radicalise, Muslim youths come to perceive a fundamental argument between Islam and the West. The idea of faithfulness turns into critical: they have commitments to Islam alone and cannot have any obligations to a non- Muslim state. In issues of involvement in the democratic process in one's country violates basic religious principles that the laws are made by Allah, not by man (Ross and Laura: 2009). In Eastleigh Muslim youths think that they are discriminated by the government because of their religion that is why they are arrested now again. They are more loyal religious affairs since they believe that they are committed to teachings of Allah's rules. But to my own perspective the idea of separating religion from politics has to be taken serious. Fundamentalism should not mean to be religiously radicalised in order to commit a crime but to have a proper and a right understanding in matters of a given doctrine.

The fourth stage is the firm interpretation of Islam which leads to a low tolerance for any substitute interpretations or practices. When individual beliefs and practices are changed one feels forced to impose the newly found beliefs on other family members and close friends. (Ross and Laura: 2009) Any other member who deviates from this rigid interpretation is viewed as a personal upset. He or she is regarded as a bad Muslim, which

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in some cases lead to hostility. This ends up causing enmity between individual Muslims who at one time had been very important in one's life. This issue is experienced in the radicalised youths in Eastleigh for they claim that the other Muslims have deviated from the truth while the other Muslims claimed that the radicalised youths are not Muslims. However, in my view does it mean faith has to be forced to an individual? Is it that if one is radicalised he or she wants the whole family, friends and relatives to be radicalised too? Religious differences have to be something of understanding one another and avoidance of religious conflicts.

The fifth stage is religious radicalisation process normally combined political as well as religious beliefs. The radicalised believe that the Western powers have schemed against Islam to conquer it politically and corrupt it morally. They want to reinstate the caliphate that once united the Muslim world and ruled according to Allah's orders. This is what was experienced in Eastleigh, whereby the National Assembly Majority Leader Aden Duale addressed the Somali community as we saw from the literature review background of Eastleigh(Abdi 2014: 4). However, this should not be the case let us look issues in a positive way not on religious backgrounds. If not well handled can polarized the peace of the country.

Another example is also from (*Daily Nation* 16, April 2014: 5) whereby the Muslims accused police of terror. The Muslim leaders led by National Muslim Leaders Forum chairman Abdullahi Abdi in a press conference protested against what they termed police brutality on the crackdown of Operation *Usalama* Watch on illegal immigrants. Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims Secretary- General Aden Wachu warned that if the government continued with the operation unchanged, it would harden the youths targeted. Otherwise they were against the operation since they said "terrorism has to be eliminated using brain and not physical force" (See Plate: III).

In concluding this radicalisation from the literature review has a process and it supports what the some respondents said concerning aggressive teachings in mosques and *madrassas*.

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4.5 The Effects of the Radicalisation of Youths on Christian – Muslim Relations

The table below provides the summary of the findings of the effects of the radicalisation of youths for Christian –Muslim Relations.

Religion	Frequency	Percentage of the respondents on the effects of the radicalisation of youths on Christian-Muslim Relations
Christians		
Male	10	33% Agreed that radicalisation has great effect on Christian – Muslim Relations
Female	15	50% Agreed that agreed that radicalisation has great effect on Christian- Muslim Relation
Both male and female Christians	5	17% Disagreed that radicalisation has great effect on Christian – Muslim Relations
Total	30	100%

Table 8: The Christian views on Effects of Radicalisation of youths on Christian- Muslim Relations

The respondents ten (33%) of male Christians and fifteen (50%) of the female Christians agreed that radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh as great effect between the Christians and the Muslims. The respondents said, radicalisation of youths cause hatred and fear among Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. Majority of these respondents from the Christian background claimed that the radicalised youths emerged from the Muslim background because those who are radicalised followed the *Wahhabis* movement who are offshoot of Sunnis who urges the Muslims to follow the strict teaching of Islam. Due to this it affects the relationship between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. On the other hand five (17%) of which 4 were male and 1 was female Christian respondents disagreed with the rest that there is no bad relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh despite of the radicalisation of the youths. However, they almost agreed with the other respondents by saying that the radicalised youths are Muslims who are hard headed.

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If youth radicalisation affects the relationship between Christians and Muslims as majority of the Christian respondents claim, then, those radical preachers from Christian side should be careful with their attacking languages to Muslims. This also causes tension within Christians and Muslims. The following table captures the findings of the Muslims view on the effects of the radicalisation of youths on Christian- Muslim Relations:

Religion	Frequency	Percentage of the respondents on the effects of radicalisation of youths on Christian- Muslim Relations
Muslims		
Male	14	44% Disagreed that radicalisation has effect on Christian –Muslim Relations
Female	12	38% Disagreed that radicalisation has effect on Christian Muslim Relations
Both male and Female	6	18% Agreed that radicalisation has effects on Christian Muslim Relations
Total	32	100%

Table 9: Muslim views on the effects of radicalisation of youths on Christian- Muslim Relations

From the Muslim respondents fourteen (44%) male and twelve (38%) female they disagreed that radicalisation of youths has effects for Christian- Muslim relations. They claimed that the relationship is good. The respondent said the Muslim youths and non-Muslim youths have explored the way of accommodating each other, politically, economically, socially and religiously in this complexity society of Eastleigh. They said that some few individuals who are minimal to create hatred among religious groups in Eastleigh are the enemies of peace. They claimed that the religious background of these radicalised youths emerged from both Christians and Muslims this is due the names of the Christians who are mentioned in as victims through the media. They said that since monetary issues is involved there is high possibility that all the youths across the religious divide are involved

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However the fact remains that majority of these Muslims have agreed that there is few individuals who cause tension between Christians and Muslims through radicalisation means.

It can be concluded that it is true radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh affects the relationship between the Christian and the Muslims due to suspicion which exists between Christians and Muslims. In support of the idea the Christian respondents five (17%) had the view that the radicalised youths in Eastleigh were hard headed, though they never openly mentioned that radicalisation of youths affected the relationship between the Christians and the Muslims but they indirectly agreed.

On the other hand six (18%) of the Muslim respondents agreed that the radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh affected the relationship between Christians and Muslims. The respondents argued that radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh affected the relationship between Christians and Muslims because some use these radicalised youths to gain political mileage while others use them for religious supremacy and this ends up into religious animosity. The respondents claimed further that the relationship deteriorates with time when these youths are more radicalised. When churches are attacked Muslim youths are victimized by police as terrorists.

The enmity between Christians and Muslims became apparent. The respondents said that radicalisation caused the state of fear and make both the Christians and the Muslims lose trust in each other. The Muslim respondents argued that the religious background of these radicalised youths in Eastleigh were Christians, they supported their argument by saying that these Christian youths once they are converted to Islam and are taught wrong teaching in Islam and they become more aggressive than the devoted Muslims. If the respondents' answers are believed majority of the Christians and also Muslims agrees that radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh is a challenge that needs to be addressed urgently due to the tension that has been created between Muslims and Christians.

Muslim respondents claimed that the newly converted youths to Islam joined this *al-Shabaab* in Eastleigh to be trained on radicalisation ideologies due to poverty syndrome because they are well paid by militia group. That is why youths from different parts of the country join this *al- Shabaab* to get well payment. Majority of the Christians claimed that religious radicalisation is conducted in mosques and *madrassas* whereby youths who

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joined the *al- Shabaab* group and had received wrong teachings in Islam turns to be used to cause all these mayhems. The blame game has been there for a couple of years.
However, the newly converted youths who are radicalised are not only made Muslims but they are also recruited to *al- Shabaab* whereby they end up becoming terrorists.

According to the interview on the effects of religious radicalization on Christian- Muslim Relations, Halima and Aisha responded that Somalia youths are perceived to be radicalised and police were blamed by ladies to be bias while carrying the crackdown of radicalised youths. The Muslim respondent religious leaders claimed that "our youths are treated like second class citizens in Kenya by the police". The youths are harassed in Eastleigh on daily basis by the police in a discriminative manner. They claimed that "radicalisations of youths come from all communities living in Eastleigh irrespective of their religion but police arrests youths from Somalia community as suspects of *al- Shabaab* this leads to religious tension" They claimed that Somalia community felt that their youths are reported by the Christians to the police as *al- Shabaab* followers and this creates the gap of enmity between Christians and Muslims.

The issue which makes Somalia youths to be harassed is that even from the literature review when the bus that was attacked in Eastleigh in 2012, according to (Nzwili: 2012) the person who threw the bomb had worn a *bui bui* something associated with Muslim dress code. The other religious respondents who were Christian leaders argued that "there is suspicion between Christians and Muslims for example one of them had a visitor who wanted to know the relationship between one mosque and a church in Eastleigh". He went to that mosque and he met the chairman of the mosque who evaded him and his visitor, the imam of the mosque did the same but the assistant imam assisted them. This implied that the mosque leaders were not comfortable with the church leaders may be they thought they had come to investigate the mosque activities. The Christians are also skeptical to Muslims when they visit church compounds in Eastleigh. This indicates that due to the tension that has been created by this radicalization of youths in Eastleigh skepticism is experienced unless trust and love is not exercised, religious animosity will continue in Eastleigh.

On the secondary data for instance there was an article by (Nzwili: 2012), which said; 'Religious violence feared after bus bombing in Eastleigh'. Fear of religious violence was

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experienced in Eastleigh after a bus was bombed area predominated by Somalia community. We saw it more in the literature review on effects of radicalization of youth in Eastleigh on Christian- Muslim Relations. However, when the bus was bombed even the Muslims were passengers and may be they had some injuries. In my opinion we have to avoid general judgment that these are Muslims targeting Christians may be the culprit was a former Christian who was converted to Islam and he is now radicalised.

On the other hand, Wandera (2013:29) in his article "The World of street Preachers" he demonstrated that the sermons in Eastleigh are a type of polemical Da'wah in the style of Ahmed Deedat which leads to the confrontation between Christians and Muslims. he further said that religious debate is very common in the streets of Eastleigh. He argued that "Public Preaching has on several occasions led to tension between Christians and Muslims". In a similar incident (Issack 2013: 35) he narrated how a group of Muslims and Christians in the 8th Street in Eastleigh had some debates which led to pastors being converted to Islam. So as they were attacking their former religion it caused some tensions between the two religions in Eastleigh.

Bunni (2013:41) claimed that Eastleigh and Pumwani has been dominated by the Sufi orders of Islam but some few elements have emerged with strange teachings within Muslims of Eastleigh and it has caused tension between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. Also Peter (2013:54) he said that Eastleigh is dominated by the Somalia community who are suspected to be linked with the al- Shabaab group which is based in Somalia. It is the group thought to recruiting youths in Eastleigh. Also Samora (2010:27 states that there are some supports that are given to *al-Shabaab* group through unnoticeable ways through business people, foreign donors and other sources.

However, religious competition is a common phenomenon in Eastleigh religious radicalisation among the youths should be seen a big threat between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh.

In concluding this secondary data it supports the primary data that radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh has the effects between the Muslims and the Christians.

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4.6 Conclusion

In conclusion based on hypothesis of the study which states that religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh has the source, process and it influences Christian perception of Islam and Muslims by thinking that Islamic teaching is about radicalisation. Christian respondents claimed that religious radicalisation started in Eastleigh when aggressive teachings started to emerge from the Muslims side in some few years ago. However, some Muslim respondents who agreed with the Christian respondents by claiming that they know the source of religious radicalisation by saying it started when the Kenyan governments send their troops to Somalia. Majority of the Muslim respondents said they do not know the source but Muslims are following the true teachings.

In the side of the process it was discovered that majority of the Christian respondents Claimed that there is the process of radicalisation which takes place in some mosques and madrassas of which they cannot verify. Majority of the Muslims respondents claimed that that there is nothing like religious radicalisations however, few of the Muslims respondents claimed the process in conducted in the streets of Eastleigh. But from the secondary that it is said that there are those steps which are followed in radicalisation process. There is a process of radicalisation of youths though it is not clearly specified from the primary data since Christian and Muslim respondents had different opinions.

Based on the effects of radicalisation Christians on side claimed those Muslim youths are targeting them because of their religion. For majority of the Christian respondents had the perception that Muslims are taught in the mosques and *madrassas* on how to hate and attack the Christians. So Christians have developed a negative attitude towards Muslims and Islam as a religion. However, some Muslim respondents claimed that it is only these few individuals who are radicalised cause this inter-religious tension between the Christians and Muslims.

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CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This section provides summary, conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the study that has been discussed and presented in chapter four about the issues of religious radicalisation of youths, in Easleigh based on its historical background, the process undertaken during this radicalisation and the effects of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh on Christian – Muslim Relations.

5.2 Summary

The summary is based on the on the statement of the problem in connection with the research questions. The problem of the statement is radicalisation of the youths in Eastleigh has caused inter –religious tension between Christians and Muslims. From the literature review the historical background of the radicalisation of youths is linked to Muhammad Ibn abdel Wahhab (1703- 1787). He was the founder of the first fundamental Islamic movement in the eighteenth century. The main intention of this movement was to bring internal reforms in the religion of Islam.

The Islamic militia groups like the ISIS, al Qaeda, *al Shabaab, Boko Haram* and the Muslim Brotherhood all have a common goal of establishing an Islamic State which is governed by *Sharia*. The theoretical framework is provided which discusses the variables which lead to religious radicalisation and these includes Western Christendom. Secularism, Colonial Powers, Western politics and religious fundamentalism and its effects are religious tension, terrorism, political tension and division within Islam. They are illustrated in the conceptual framework.

In the research methodology it is historical and the qualitative method of approach is used. The research design is survey and the sampling and sample size is non probability and snowball respectively. The area of study is Eastleigh section 1. There was also a target population in this area of study. Both Christians and Muslims were sampled. Questionnaire and interviews were used as tools for data collections.

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Madrassas and mosques are taken to be havens where the process of radicalisation of children takes place. This is a prove from the chief Kadhi of Kenya Sheikh Ahmed Mudhdar who told the government to investigate *madrassa* teachers whereby Eastleigh is not exceptional (*Daily Nation* 15th October, 2015: 4). So when Christians get such information then it causes conflict between the Christians and Muslims in the estate of Eastleigh.

From the primary sources the issue of *madrassas* was mentioned by the Christians who gave the report some of the mosques are used to radicalise the youths in Eastleigh. Some specific mosques are being mentioned as examples of conducting religious radicalisation like the sixth and eighth mosques. Also Pumwani Riyadha mosque where Muslim Youth Centre is located is said to be radicalizing the youths there. Muslims leaders claimed that radicalisation of youths take place in the streets of Eastleigh. This ends causing tension between the Christians and Muslims.

On the issue of the effects of religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and its implications on Christian Muslim Relations, after the terror attacks in 1998, in the anniversary remembrance of the victims in 1999, the chairman of Jamia mosque in Nairobi Abdulghafur Busaidy gave a speech summarising the painful experiences the Muslim of Kenya undergo since the attack clearing suspicious of Muslims as terrorists, public defamation of Islam by the media, politicians and church representatives (Seesemann 2006:159). This shows how tension between the Christians and Muslims was growing now and then.

In another incident after the terror attack in September 11th 2001 in the USA business centre, Muslims in Eastleigh were wearing T-shirts which had Osama bin Laden's image showing him as a hero. This implied that Christians learnt some malicious messages from the Muslims side. Christians felt that they are targeted by the Muslims who are radicals and who turn to conduct the terrorist activities.

Also the issue of discrimination and tension between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh was experienced in 2012 when a public transport vehicle was bombed. Christians alighted from the buses whenever a Somalia person boarded the bus in Eastleigh. Tension between Christians and Muslim grew up to a certain extended of causing religious war. From the

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primary sources Christians claimed that they are targeted by the Muslims because they are called *kafirs* by the Muslims. Muslims on the other side believe that they are targeted because of their faith. This creates a lot of religious animosity between the Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh.

5.3 Conclusions

Based on the research objectives of this study, the following are the conclusions: First, from the findings, it was noted that majority of the Christian respondents said that religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh started when Muslims in Easleigh adopted aggressive teachings. Some claimed that due to the arrival of the *Wahhab* movement in Eastleigh hostile teachings was experienced which changed the attitudes of the Muslim youths towards the Christians. However, religious leaders and some Muslims who responded claimed that the situation of religious radicalisation of youths started from 2011 when the KDF entered Somalia. Majority of the Muslim respondents they said they did not know when it started.

Second, from the findings it was established that majority of the Christian respondents claimed that the process of religious radicalisation of youths takes place in mosques and *madrassas*. Also the respondents of the religious leaders both Christians and Muslims agreed that there is a process. For the Muslims' view it takes place in the streets. From the secondary data (Jenkins: 2015) gave his own views concerning the process of religious radicalisation, which has five steps however, those can be challenged since they are not the only permanent ways.

Third, the study established that religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh influenced the Christians to have a perception of Muslims and Islam thinking that Islamic teachings is about radicalisation. Because majority of the Christian and some Muslim respondents agreed that radicalisation of youths cause tension between Christians and Muslims. Christians are suspicious to Muslims that they are the ones who are attacking them while Muslims are suspicious to Christians that they are the ones who report them to police as terrorists.

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5.4 Recommendations

Based on the analysis of the study, the researcher wishes to make the following recommendations:

1. The Christians and Muslims should teach their members the right doctrines about other religions and those dangerous teachings which cause inter-religious tension should be made clear
2. Schools both public and private should teach civic education to youths about religious radicalisation and its effects on Christian- Muslim Relations
3. Politicians both Christians and Muslims should get involved in campaigning against religious radicalisation to reduce tension between Christians and Muslims
4. The Government should be adviced not to harass Muslim youth in the crackdown of de-radicalising in Eastleigh but to treat them in affair way as they do to the Christian youths.

5.5 Suggestions for further study

The researcher suggests the following areas for further research.

The impact of Usalama Linda Nchi Operation in Eastleigh for Christian – Muslim Relations. The Relationship between Eastleigh Mennonite Fellowship Centre and the Sixth street mosque for Christian-Muslim Relations on youth radicalisation and the Relationship between the Oromo mosque and the P.C.E.A Church in Eastleigh on the perception of youth radicalism and its Implications for Christian-Muslim Relations.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I(A): Questionnaire

St. Paul's University,
P.O. Box Private Bag 00217
Limuru, Kenya.
16th January, 2016

Dear Sir/ Madam,

My name is Zedekiah Nyokwoyo, a postgraduate student at St. Paul's University Limuru, Kenya, undertaking M.A. degree in Islam and Christian- Muslim Relations. I am writing my Thesis on the topic entitled, "**The Religious Radicalisation of Youths in Eastleigh and its implications for Christian –Muslim Relations in Kenya**". I promise that any information provided by the respondent will be treated with high confidentiality.

I kindly therefore request you to answer the following questions to assist me in the above mentioned research study.

PERSONAL DATA

(i) Name---------- Marital status----------

(ii) Church/Mosque/ organization----------Position----------

(iii)Educational Level----------

(iv)Age----------Sex---------- Date----------

1. When did the religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh begin?----------
   ---

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2. What were the reasons behind religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh? -------
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3. While conducting religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh , are there religious references used?----------
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4. In your opinion is there a process which one undergoes while he/she is religiously radicalised? And if (yes) how does it start?----------
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---

5. Which processes does one go through before, during and after radicalisation at Eastleigh?----------
---

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6. How do the processes affect the attitude of the radicalised youths in Eastleigh in relationship to other religions?----------
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7. What are the effects of the religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh on Christian- Muslim Relations?----------

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8. In your opinion which religious background do the radicalised youths come from? Christians or Muslims? State some reasons supporting your answer----------

---

---

a.) In your opinion what measures should be taken to control religious radicalisation of youths in order to improve religious relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh?----------

---

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b.) Is it possible to involve both politicians and religious leaders in campaigning against religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh to reduce religious tension between Christians and Muslims? If yes how and if no why?----------

---

Thank you for your cooperation and contribution to this important work.

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Appendix 1 (B)

Interview Schedule

Greetings and introduction

A brief explanation of the research topic rationale and purpose of the study, Ethical consideration to be kept in mind,

1. In your opinion when did religious radicalisation of youths start in Eastleigh?

   ……

2. How did religious radicalisation of youths begun in Eastleigh and when?
3. Is there a specific place where radicalisation of youths is conducted in Eastleigh?

   ……

4. Is there a process of radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh and is there any Quran verse used during the radicalisation process?

   ……

5. Does religious radicalisations of youths in Eastleigh have the effects on Christian- Muslim Relations?

   ……..

6. In your opinion what are some measures that can be taken to encounter religious radicalisation of youths in Eastleigh?

   ……

Thank you and God bless you

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Appendix II: Introductory Letter

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Private Bag 00217 LIMURU, KENYA
Email: bps@spu.ac.ke
Website: www.spu.ac.ke

Tel Office: +254(0) 20-2020505/10
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(0) 728- 062420
(0) 736- 424440

BOARD OF POSTGRADUATE STUDIES

6th April 2016

National Commission for Science and Technology,
P.O. BOX 30623-00100,
Nairobi.

Dear Sir/Madam,

Re: Recommendation for Zedekiah N. Nyokwoyo to conduct a Masters of Arts in Islam Christian-Muslim Relations (ICMR) research.

This letter confirms the above named person is a second (final) year student of the ICMR Programme at St. Paul's University.

The final year consists of a major research work leading to a dissertation comprising 20,000 words. The student's selected topic is '*The religious radicalization of youth in Eastleigh and its implications for Christian-Muslim relations*'

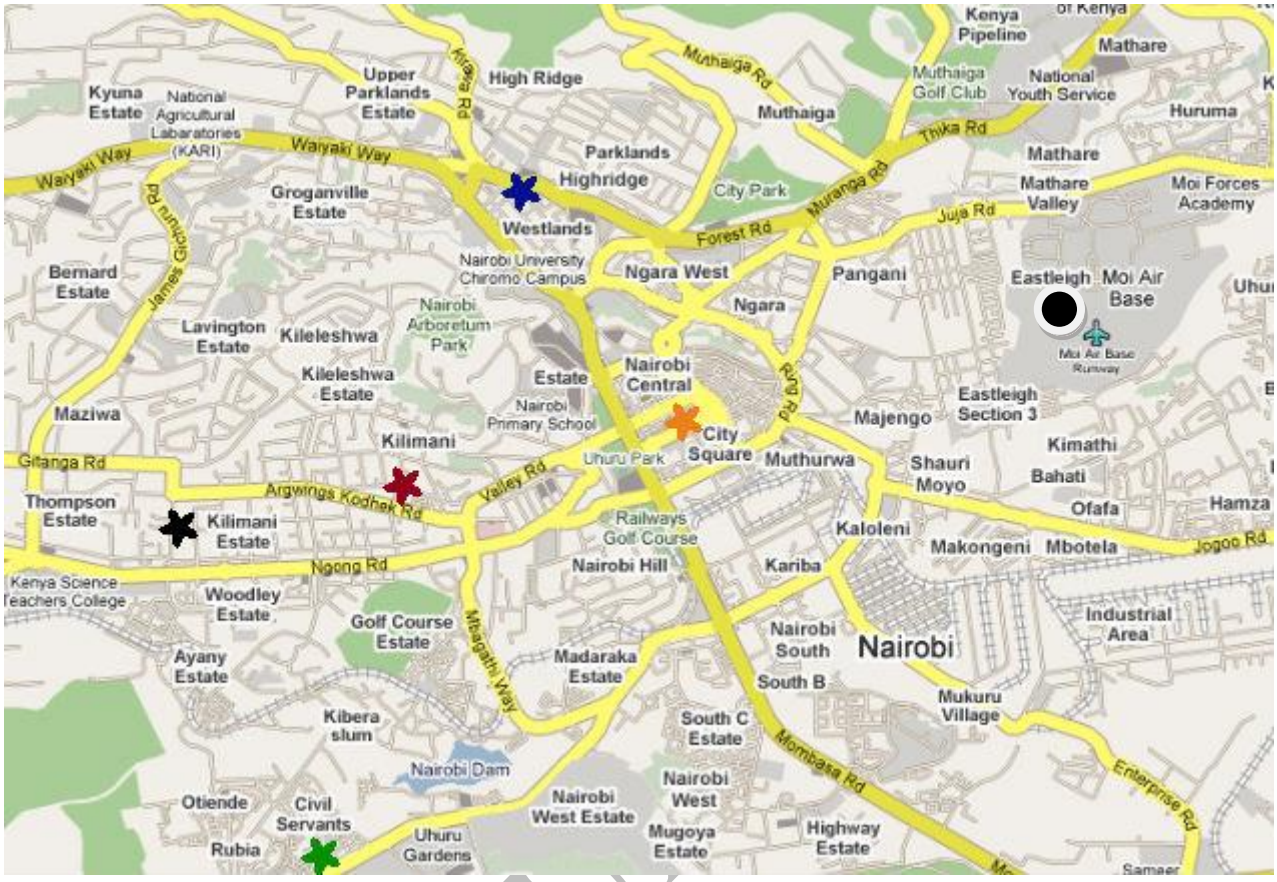
The research will take place in Nairobi County from April 2016 to May 2016.

Kindly grant this student the required permit.

Yours Faithfully,

Dr. D.C. Chemorion
Director, Postgraduate Studies

Map 1 Location of Eastleigh

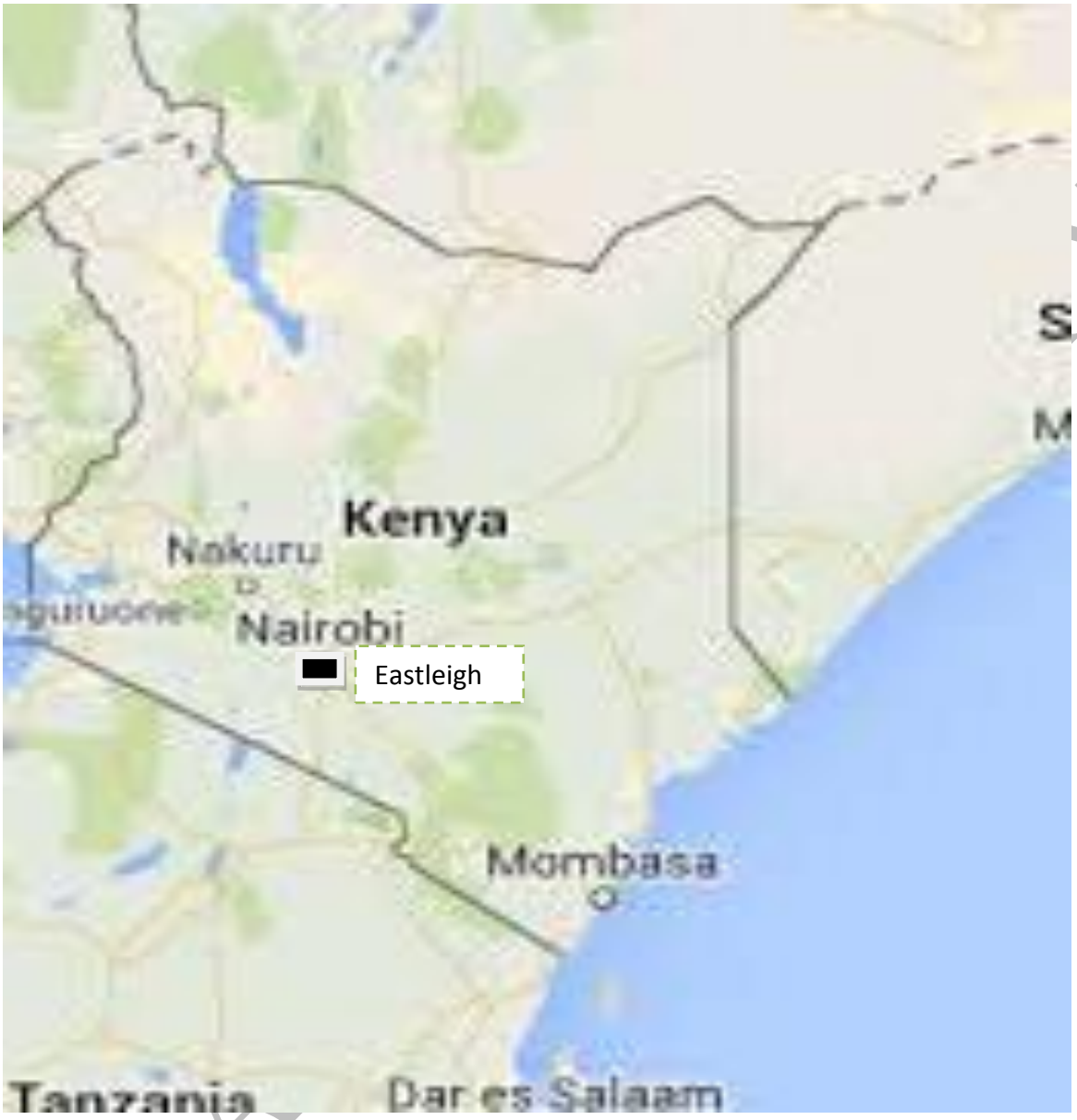


● Shows the location of Eastleigh in Nairobi

The Map is from (https://www.google.com)

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Map II: Map of Kenya showing the location of Eastleigh



Source: (*http://www.google.com*)

Eastleigh is located in the East part of the city of Nairobi.

It is suspected to be one of the places where recruitment of Al-shabaab takes place.

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Plate 1: al-Shabaab training



The *al- shabaab* are training in Somalia

The photo is from the *Daily Nation* reported by Fredrick Nzwili, Correspondent May 6, 2014.

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Plate II: Garissa attack



An army officer on patrol at Garissa University College after the terror attack, photo taken on April 3,215 by Jeff Angote/ Nation Media Group, this shows that what causes terrorism it is not poverty and it is not KDF in Somalia. But it is something that has to do with our history not with a particular religion. It is something to do with words. However to my view after something happens that is the time we see the government and big organizations come into action, like now the Red Cross Kenya Branch as seen above.

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PlateIII: Muslim leaders campaign against radicalization



Supreme Council of Kenyan Muslims (Supkem) Secretary general Alhaji Adan Wachu (left), deputy secretary general Hassan Ole Nado (centre) and national organizing secretary Hussein Shariff at press conference Nairobi. Vows to fight radicalisation.

Photo by Nation Media Group on April 15, 2015

It is significant is that, these religious leaders take a stand. They promise to use mosques, *madrassas* to teach youth the sanctity of life.

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Plate IV: Cardinal John Njue possible religious war



Archbishop John Cardinal Njue consoles bereaved families after Garissa terror attack and warns of possible religious war. The photo is by Patrick Vidija in Daily Nation April 9, 2015. Cardinal Njue said that it was miserable that many Kenyan youth were being radicalised to terrorise their fellow Kenyans. He urged the morners to join hands to embrace the spirit of nationalism and patriotism. He cautioned that fear erupted between Christians and Muslims about whether the Muslims were behind the attacks.

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Plate V: Christian religious leaders warning against radicalization after Garissa attack



Church leaders angry after the Garissa attack. From left Bishop Mark Kariuki of Deliverance church centre is Mombasa Archbishop Martin Kivuva and from right is former ACK Archbishop Eliud Wabukhala the photo is by Tabitha Otwori / STANDARD.

Church leaders claimed that terrorism is dividing Kenyans. They urged the government to address the insecurity in the country. They spoke this while they had interdenominational prayers at Ufungamano for the Garissa terror attack victims and survivors on 11/05/2015. Archbishop Kivuva said some people said God has left us, "some asked, has God abandoned Kenya? This kind of question can escalate to religious fight if not well handled.

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Plate VI: One teacher from Eastleigh campaign against radicalization of youths



Ayub Mohammed a teacher from Eastleigh educating young people against extremism and distorted teachings. This photo was from the World Bulletin/ News Desk (http://www.ummid.com/news/2016/march04.03.2016). This is after he was listed among 10 finalists nominated to this year's U.S Global Teachers Prize. He comes from Eastleigh Nairobi's suburb which is the main recruiting ground of youth into *al shabaab* militia group as it is reported by Kenyan authorities.

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