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MUSLIM MOTHERS' ROLE IN CURBING RADICALIZATION FOR CHRISTIAN-MUSLIM CO-EXISTENCE IN EASTLEIGH, NAIROBI COUNTY, KENYA

BY

MettoWinnyJerono

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This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of the Requirements for the award of Master of Arts in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations (ICMR) from St. Paul's University, Limuru, Kenya

Supervisor

Dr. Joseph Mutei

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DECLARATION

This dissertation is a product of my own work and is not a result of any collaboration. It has not been presented to any other institution, nor produced in any other form. I totally agree that this dissertation may be available for reference.

Name of student: MettoWinnyJerono

Student Number: ICMR/LMR/2661/17

Signature of the student----------Date----------

I confirm that the work reported in this proposal has been done by the student under my supervision.

Name of the supervisor: Rev Dr. Joseph Mutei

Signature of the supervisor: ----------Date---------

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved children Wayne and Melody who have greatly missed their mum's total concentration while she was busy writing this work. I dedicate it to my parents Mr StephenMetto and Mrs Agnes Metto who taught me the way of knowledge by encouraging me to read, read and read. Lastly, I dedicate this work to RCEA Kawangware parish for all the support they gave to me both spiritually and financially. God bless you so much.

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ABSTRACT

The growing threat of global terrorism is an outcome of radicalization to violent extremism.It has prompted most governments and stakeholders across the world to adopt various strategies to mitigate the vice. This study explored mothers' role in curbing radicalisation for Christian-Muslim co-existence in Eastleigh, Nairobi County, Kenya. The objectives of this study were to investigate the effects of poverty, discrimination, historical injustices and combat on radicalization to violent extremism.To achieve these objectives, the study used both primary and secondary data.Primary data was obtained using questionnaires and interview guides while secondary data was obtained from written texts and electronic media. Both were subjected to critical textual analysis and interpretation to establish their accuracy and suitability for the study. Both primary and secondary data were analyzed thematically according to the objectives. The study found out that radicalization to violent extremism led to acts of terrorism.It revealed that Muslim mothers are not only highly regarded in Islam, but are also more respected in the society and could be engaged to curb radicalization for peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh.The study therefore recommends that mothers should be put at the frontline in terms of resources and education on radicalization and counter-radicalization for they are in a better position to curb it in their capacity as mothers.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Radicalization-It is a process by which an individual or a group adopts an ideology or ideologies that become a way of life.

Violent radicalization- It is a process by which an individual or a group adopts an ideology or ideologies that are extreme and harmful to the society.

Terrorism- It is a product of violent radicalization that involve use of force and violence against people for political, religious, economic or social reasons.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

al-Qaeda- A terrorist group founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988

al-Shabaab- A terrorist group in East Africa believed to be based in Somalia

Madrassa- Islamic basic religious schools for children

Jaahid- a good fighter

Jannah - paradise

Jihad - A fight against the enemies of Islam

Shifta-

Boko Haram-

KDF- Kenya Defense Forces

LPI- Life and Peace Institute

CCMRE- Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations in Eastleigh

GCTF- Global counter-Terrorism Forum

GTD-Global Terrorism Database

NACOSTI- National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

KNBS- Kenya National Bureau of Standards

CBO- Community based organizations

OAU- Organization of African Union

AU- African Union

GSU- General Service Unit

US- United States

USA- United States of America

IGAD- Intergovernmental Authority on Development

AMISOM- African Union Mission to Somalia

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background study

Radicalization to violent extremism, which often leads to acts of terrorism, is a global phenomenon. Livesand properties have been destroyedglobally due to effects of radicalization to violent extremism, terrorism. According to 2017 Global Terrorism Database (GTD) of the University of Maryland, terrorist violence has more advanced effects compared to historical trends in the world. The table below shows the number of terrorist attacks and the number of deaths as a result from different parts of the world, as presented in the GTD of the University of Maryland in 2017.

Region	**Total Attacks**	**Total deaths**
Middle East and North Africa	3,780	10,819
South Asia	3,430	7,664
Sub-Saharan Africa	1,970	6,712
South-East Asia	1,020	811
Western Europe	291	83
South America	172	101
Eastern Europe	110	101
North America	97	124
Australasia & Oceania	12	4
Central Asia	7	6
East Asia	7	16
Central America &Carribean	4	4
Worldwide Total	10,900	26,445

Number of Terrorist attacks and the number of deaths in 2017
Source: Global Terrorism Database (2017)

In 2017, 369 terrorist groups and organizations carried out terrorist attacks. However, these were not the only attacks, as some attacks were carried out by individuals who were not necessarily affiliated to any terrorist group or organization as recorded in the

2017 Global Terrorism Database. The table below shows the top ten terrorist groups and organizations across the world, based on the number of attacks in 2017.

Terrorist Group	**Total Attacks**	**Total Deaths**
Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant (ISIL or ISIS)	1321	7120
Taliban	907	4925
Al-Shabaab	573	1894
New People's Army (NPA)	363	200
Boko Haram	337	1577
Communist Party of India	317	223
Khorasan Province of the Islamic State	197	1302
Kurdistan Workers Party	159	190
Houthi Extremists	158	443
Sinai Province of the Islamic State	117	636

Top ten terrorist attacks and number of attacks in 2017
Source: Global Terrorism Database (2017)

As evident in the tables above, Africa is part of the continents that are facing security threats due to terrorism because of radicalization to violent extremism. North Africa is on the top of the list of the highest number of terrorist attacks in the country and Sub-Saharan Africa is third as at 2017. *Al-Shabaab*, a terrorist group that operates in Somalia and Kenya, as we shall see later is third on the list globally in the number of attacks. *Boko Haram*, which operates in Nigeria, is fifth. Other countries in Africa are also facing terrorism of its kind, and every region has its unique factors that lead to terrorism. However, according to the 2017 Global Terrorism Database of Maryland University, most terrorist groups and networks in Africa are religious affiliated that aim at attacking the masses and producing the maximum possible impact in terms of destruction and casualties.

As mentioned earlier, *al-Shabaab* is a terrorist group that originated in Somalia but extends its operations and threats to East Africa and more so, in Kenya. It was listed third in the list of terrorist attacks globally in 2017. Its history is inter-connected with the history of Somalia and Kenya especially around the independence of both countries. According to Khalif& Oba (2013), Kenya faced a secessionist challenge at around 1963 when it gained its independence from the British posed by the Somali ethnic group that lived in the Northern part of Kenya then known as the Northern Frontier District. According toOdhiambo, Onkware&Leshan (2015), this was a result of a referendum that was conducted by the British Government to establish the interest of the Somali community on whether they wanted to join other Somali speakers in Somalia that had gained her independence in 1960 or remain in Kenya which was now gaining her independence. The outcome of the referendum was that 87% of the voters wanted to be part of Somalia and not Kenya. Despite this, the Northern Frontier District was made part of Kenya against the wish of many Somali speakers (Odhiambo, Onkware&Leshan (2015).

At independence in 1960, Somalia had expressed her interest of unifying Somali speakers in the Horn of Africa. Khalif& Oba (2013) observes that Somalia constitutionalized this agenda and came up with a national flag showing a five pointed white star against a sky blue background. The five-pointed white star according to Khalif& Oba (2013) represented the five regions in the horn of Africa that had been split by the colonial boundaries. These regions included Ethiopian Ogaden, British Somaliland, Italian Somaliland, Djibouti and the Northern Frontier District of Kenya (Khalif& Oba, 2013).

Not uniting Somalis in one region or country rather led to the Shifta war. This came as a result of Kenyan Somalis boycotting the elections in 1963, an indication that they

were not interested in being Kenyans. Kenyan Somalis violently attacked polling stations and government administrative centers to express their dissatisfaction and their desire to be part of Somalia. The government's response was through deployment of military personnel in the region to manage the situation. Some Somalis escaped into Somalia to run away from the soldiers through the porous Somalia-Kenya border. They then sneaked back, attacked civilians and retreated to Somalia. This continued for some time until in 1964 when the government declared a state of emergency. The soldiers were allowed to shoot and kill the '*Shifta*'- bandits. A dawn to dusk curfew was imposed and remained in place until 1991 when it was lifted (Odhiambo, Onkware&Leshan, 2015).

The government's other strategy to silence the Somalis was to place them into fortified villages where their movements were restricted. This had two impacts on their lives: one, their pastoralist way of life was interfered with and secondly, their prestigious traditional cattle keeping was reduced because many livestock died due to lack of pasture and water. This made some Kenya Somalis to believe that the government hated them and so they responded even more harshly (Ringquist2011).

The Organization of African Union (OAU) now referred to as African Union (AU) intervened in the negotiation process to end the *shifta*war. Their strategy, according to Ringquist (2011) focused on mobilizing the community leaders to denounce the bandit group's activities. Due to lack of support and motivation, the group's activities were paralyzed. However, the government did not focus on disarming the region, and they failed to address the grievances of the locals. Therefore, although the shifta war ended through the intervention of OAU, the ideology behind the war continued to radicalize more locals. They continued to carry out criminal activities that actually led to the Wagalla Massacre (Ringquist, 2011).

According to Anderson (2016), the Wagalla massacre happened because of a disagreement that led to war between the Degodia and the Afura clans due to a series of raids against one another. The government's intervention was through an ultimatum for the conflicting clans to surrender their weapons. By the end of the ten-day ultimatum, only six guns had been surrendered. According to Sheikh (2007), the Degodia clan continued to attack the Ajura clan forcing the government to deploy its General Service Unit (GSU) officers to intervene. The GSU transported all the male Degodians to Wagalla airstrip where they were interrogated through a process of torture and humiliation. It is alleged that some detainees tried to escape from the hands of the soldiers leading to a mass shooting where very many people were killed, hence the name Wagalla massacre (Sheikh, 2007).

The two incidences, that is, the *shifta* war and the Wagalla massacre has been a source of radicalization to many individuals in North Eastern. Citizens in this region have lived with dissatisfaction, which has not been resolved by the government. On the other hand, it can also be very hard for any government to discuss and negotiate secession with its citizens. As evident in the two incidences, the citizens have always seen the government to be ill-treating them through their various interventions.

When Siad Barre was overthrown in Somalia in 1991, Somalia became politically unstable. The Kenya-Somalia boundary in North Eastern part of Kenya became so porous allowing the *al-Shabaab* militants who had played a role in overthrowing the government to move freely hence selling their radical ideologies to the locals. These ideologies met the already radicalized individuals who were not happy with their government. As Erickson (2013) observes, the Kenyan government sensed danger posed by the *al-Shabaab* and so they intervened by joining Somalia in the fight

against *al-Shabaab* by deploying the Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) into Somalia in 2011 (Erickson, 2011).

Many Somalia citizens, due to constant war between the *al-Shabaab* and KDF, have been forced to seek refuge from more peaceful countries like Kenya. Many Somalis have come to Kenya as refugees most of whom are found in refugee camps and other parts of the country. However, a great percentage of them are found in Eastleigh, Nairobi County.Eastleigh, which is commonly referred locally to as "Little Mogadishu" is adensely populated area in the Northeastern part of Nairobi Central Business District. Eastleigh has been brandedas a "seed bed'' (radicalization Centre) for terrorism, because it is believed to be releasing to terrorist groups a number of youth who have been radicalized in the region. Terrorists, for instance al-Shabaab, have used Eastleigh to plan and execute attacks within Nairobi and in East Africa. The influx of both legal and illegal immigrants has made Eastleigh a perfect ground for radicalization in the country.

Several governments have launched various programs of countering radical and extreme ideologies within the people. The various programs launched to counter radicalisation have been either reactive or pro-active. Reactive approaches involve the use of force (top-down approach) to counter radical ideologies while pro-active approaches are friendly and people driven (bottom-up approach).

After the 9/11 terror attack in the United States of America (USA), the United States(US) security department in an effort to counter more attacks employed both hard and soft strategies combined which incorporated military action and non-military action like economic sanctions in the fight against terrorism. The then US president, Barack Obama, also endorsed use of drones to neutralize terrorist activities although it had a negative impact on the civilians for many were injured and some died thereby

becoming terrorists themselves (Nacos, 2016).

In September 8 2006, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. They opted to focus more on addressing the conditions conducive to the spread of terrorism, that is, radicalisation rather than focusing on terrorism itself. The Global Counter-terrorism Forum (GCTF) also in September 27 2015 adopted a life cycle initiative that focuses on addressing the life cycle of radicalisation to violent extremism, which lead to acts of terrorism.

As a strategy to counter the effects of radicalization in Africa, most of the affected countries have come together on platforms of regional organizations and programs such as Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) and African Union Mission to Somalia (AMISOM) to fight against terrorism. However, in the wake of terrorism in the world, many strategies have addressed the effects of radicalization, which is terrorism, rather than addressing the root causes of radicalization that mitigates the processes before it worsens.

According to the Global Counter-terrorism Forum (GCTF) (2015), the family as the smallest unit of society, is very vital in preventing and countering violent extremism. The family shapes an individual's attitude towards non-violence, curbing any possibility of radicalization and intervening in the radicalization processes.

The family is the first socialization space for children. However, mothers play a key role in families especially as caregivers. Right from conception, delivery and all through the development stages up to adulthood, mothers are significantly present in the lives of their children. A mother is a child’s first teacher. She is the child’s “window” to the world. Therefore, the impact of mothers on their children is stronger than that of any other member of the family.

Shortly after birth, a child starts recognizing the mother's scent and face. Even when the child is blind, he/she is able to recognize his/her mother's voice and scent few days after birth. This ability naturally enables the child to feel secure in his/her mother's presence, voice and touch. When the child feels secure in the presence of his/her mother, a sense of trust is developed. Even before the age when speech develops, children communicate with their mothers through actions and other ways that are not easily comprehended. A mother is able to tell when the child is uncomfortable and disturbed even when the child has not talked. Similarly, a child knows how to behave in the presence of his/her mother and when he/she is not with the mother. A child can express feeling of relief in the presence of the mother, something that any other member of the family cannot recognize. The strong connection between mothers and their children enables them to "read" something in their children. Even as the children grow up to maturity, mothers continually understand them and can recognize any problem in the child early enough before it turns into a situation. Any sign of a problem may make the mother to intervene or to involve relevant people who will effectively address the problem (Schlaffer, 2015).

Schlaffer (2015) identifies that radicalisation mostly starts in the family. This therefore means that all pro-active strategies to curb radicalization should target the family and involve mothers to a greater extend.

1.2 Statement of the problem

The residents of Eastleigh, Nairobi County, Kenya both Christians and Muslimsare expected to peacefully co-exist as they go about their daily activities. However, due to past sporadic terrorist attacks in this area, there is simmering mistrust between the two religious groups and if the status-quo is left unchecked, it could lead to more radicalization, more hate and more terrorist attacks in future. Hence, the need to

investigate and address the root causes of radicalization.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The research objectives were to:

1. Establish if poverty affects radicalization
2. Investigate if discrimination has any effect on radicalization
3. Find out how historical injustices affect radicalization
4. Establish whether combat impacts radicalization

1.4 Research questions

1. What effect does discrimination have on radicalization?

2. How does poverty affect radicalization?

3. How do historical injustices affect radicalization?

4. What is the effect of combat on radicalization?

1.5 Hypothesis

H1: Poverty is a catalyst rather than a cause for radicalization.

H2: Most social upheavals are triggered and fanned by both perceived and real discrimination.

H3: Historical injustices over time have resisted reactive approaches to address them.

H4: Successful combats reward the victors and humiliate the vanquished who in turn resort to radicalization in preparation for revenge.

1.6 Significance of this study

By empowering and engaging Muslim mothers in Eastleigh to actively participate in the process of counter-radicalization, peaceful co-existence between families will lead to peaceful co-existence of Eastleigh community (society).

Policy makers will include appropriate and suitable strategies and approaches in the fight against terrorism chief of which involvement of Muslim mothers (pro-active approach).

The findings in this study give cause for decision-making and actualization. They also provide background information necessary for further study.

1.7 Justification of the study

Christian and Muslim communities living in Eastleigh treat each other with a lot of mistrustas a result of previous sporadic terrorist attacks. The status quo remains unchanged in spite of frequent reactive approaches. Mothers, being the most influential members at family level and society ought to be involved in information sharing and fight against terrorism (pro-active approach).

Eastleigh is home for both legal and illegal immigrants of Muslim origin living among Christian communities and has had frequent terror attacks, which bits Christians against Muslims and provide conducive ground for radicalization and propagation of terrorist attacks.

1.8 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

The study focused on Mothers' role in curbing radicalization for Christian-Muslim coexistence in Eastleigh, Nairobi County, Kenya. Terrorism is a global phenomenon. In Kenya, Eastleigh was chosen as an area of study because it has a large population of Muslims who live and do business there. Therefore, it was the best place to find more Muslim mothers for the study.

1.9 Limitations of the Study

This study focused on Muslim mothers but did not include mothers of other religious affiliations. Fathers and youth were also not involved in the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on reviewing the existing literature on radicalization to violent extremism and the strategies employed by government agencies to counter both radicalization and terrorism across the globe and for this study, in East Africa, Kenya and in Eastleigh in Nairobi County. It looks at the possible causes (poverty, combat, discrimination, and historical injustices) of radicalization and the stakeholders engaged to counter radicalization. The role of Muslim mothers in the family and society and their involvement in counter radicalization and lastly the possibility of mothers being agents of fostering peaceful co-existence between Muslims and

Christians in Eastleigh. The last part of this chapter is the theoretical framework.

2.2Poverty

In the immediate aftermath of 9/11, world leaders turned to explain the attack on New York City, identifying economic deprivation as critical cause of terrorism. George W. Bush claimed that the world should strive to eradicate "poverty because hope is an answer to terror". James Wolfensohn former president of World Bankalso declared, "We won't win the war against terror without addressing the problem of poverty". Ittherefore seem indeed that the causal relationship between terrorism and poverty has been, for many years, taken for granted within the international community. Yet as investigations of recent terrorist attacks revealed that perpetrators often come from relatively affluent backgrounds, discourse about the "terrorism-poverty nexus" shifted among policy-makers and scholars (Cantin, 2018).

From these arguments, it is clear that while individual poverty seldom represents the paramount cause of one's radicalization, poverty on a societal level can often create "enabling and conducive environments" in which the receptivity to terrorist narratives and the popular support for radical organizations can considerably increase. The conclusion here therefore is that imputing radicalization to an individual's poverty is indeed not consistent with available evidences, but on a societal level, precarious socioeconomic conditions can greatly provide for the spread of radicalization to violent terrorism.

2.3 Discrimination

Racial/tribal discrimination refers to unequal treatment of persons or groups based on their race or ethnicity. Differential treatment occurs when individuals are treated unequally because of their race, sexuality, skin, religion, or culture. (Reskin, 1998:32,

National Research Council 2004, pp. 39– 40). According to Levtzion&Pouwels (2000), the problem of radicalization in East Africa stems from the colonial period. They argue that the social order in the colonial period was majorly structured by Christian Missions which dominated the then education system. The dominance of Christians in the education system, they argue, discriminated Muslims from acquiring formal education that was only offered by Christian Missionaries. Therefore, they conclude that discriminative education system that has been simmering with time provided conducive and enabling reason for radicalization to violent extremism. This characterized by all the privileges that come with education being taken by Christians rendering Muslims out (Levtzion&Pouwels, 2000:349-353).

Ali (2016) observes that the colonial government enhanced alienation of Muslims by lack of equal chances in matters of economy, social and political life of the people. Discrimination forced the unsatisfied Muslims to lay attacks on Christians creating and intensifying animosity between Muslims and Christians. Levtzion&Pouwels (2000) and Ali (2016) observe that limited or no access to formal education by Muslims in East Africa later opened academic avenues for them to study in Saudi Arabia through scholarships. According to Levtzion&Pouwels (2000), young Muslims who had an opportunity to study in Islamic Universities like Madina, have combined Islamic and secular education where they have been exposed to the political Islamist writings of SayyidQutb, Muhammad Qutb and others. Theexposure therefore enabled them to relate their sermons to the problems of the day, thus raising Muslim political consciousness (Levtzion&Pouwels, 2000: 349-353). Ali (2016) argues that studying in Saudi Arabia has opened up the minds of young Muslims because of Salafism. He observes the rise of Salafi Mosques due to its fame in East Africa (Ali, 2016).

Salafism has gained fame in East Africa because of many Muslims being subjected to *Madrassas* and Islamic schools as their only source of education according to Ali (2016). He argues that this kind of education attracts a lot of funding from Arabs in Saudi Arabia. This support thus makes the recipients to subject to cultural and religious identity of their sponsors. The few who have an opportunity to study in Saudi Arabia become even more deeply rooted in fundamentalist version of Islam, which according to Ali (2016) is found in Saudi Arabia. Most of the Muslims in East Africa subscribe to Sunni Islam. However, Shi'ia and Ahmadiyya interpretations of Islam are also present. Sufism is common in the region yet it has not caused any differences among Muslims and non-Muslims. The two groups have peacefully co-existed over the years; the religious and theological practices have been overlooked (Ali, 2016). Therefore, there is an agreement among these scholars that radicalization cropped up in East Africa as a result of limited and Christian biased opportunities to formal education, jobs and other privileges brought by Christian Missionaries.

According to Levtzion&Pouwels (2000) Sheikh Al-Amin Mazrui was the chief Kadhi of Kenya in the colonial period until his death in 1947. He became a very active leader of reformation against educational and religious innovations in East Africa. He gave lectures in Mosques and wrote extensively in his newspapers, al-Islahi and al-Sahifa. His main goals were to promote a stricter form of Islam and to suggest ways in which Kenyan Muslims in the Coast could respond to challenges brought about by colonialism. His student, Sheikh Abdallah Saleh al-Farsy who became the chief Kadhiof Kenya in 1968 continued Mazrui's reform agenda. He used the radio, gave lectures in Mosques, in public meetings, wrote and published extensively just to echo his voice of reformation. He wrote the first complete translation of the Quran in Kiswahili. Reform in this context was used to mean a return to a stricter form of Islam

in line with scripture and prophetic model. Salafi comes from the Arabic word Salaf, which refers to ancestors. Therefore, the salafi's main agenda was to call for a return to the religion of the ancestors who followed the original principles of faith (Levtzion&Pouwels, 2000: 349-353).

However, non-educated Muslims had to miss the important positions of the government, in the colonial period, resulting to limited or no representation of Muslims in the government. The first president of The Republic of Kenya, MzeeJomo Kenyatta's regime propagated ethnicity. The second president of The Republic of Kenya, Daniel Arap Moi's reign, brought the discrimination of Muslims clearly, as he not only favored certain ethnic groups, but also favored Christianity over Islam and more so, the African Inland Church (African Inland Church). This continued for some time until in 1990's during the formation of multi-party state where the Muslims had a chance of forming the Islamic Party of Kenya. The voice of Muslims was raised during this time through voices of some Muslim leaders like Sheikh Balala (Levtzion&Pouwels, 2000: 349-353). According to O'Brien (2003), the Islamic party of Kenya was formed as a result of multi-party politics in Kenya that became a hope for Muslims especially after living in the "shadow" of Christians for a long time (O'Brien, 2003:94-104).

Levtzion&Pouwels (2000) observes that the first Muslim to be included in the Kenyan politics is the General Mahmoud Muhammad's brother, who was appointed a cabinet minister after Moi surviving a coup because of loyalist forces led by General Mahmoud Muhammad in 1982. This however, did not solve the grievances of Muslims. Their concerns over low representation in the government and public institutions, few schools in the Coast region largely inhabited by Muslims and no University in the Coastal region, lack of development projects in the region and more

so the unsolved thorny issue of ancestral land, will be explained in details under historical injustices. Many Muslims were arrested during this period. The struggle between the government and Muslims heighted as the leaders were using all means to air out their grievances. The problem was intensified following the bombing of the United States Embassy in Nairobi on 7th August 1998 (Levtzion&Pouwels, 2000: 349-353).

It is clear to this point that radicalization is believed to have been caused by religious discriminative activities and favoritism. In Kenya, government resources are distributed based on ethnic, cultural or religious identities. This increases instability based on haves and nots. This in turn generates a feeling of discrimination that leads to radicalization (Goerzig& Al-Hashimi, 2014).

The above analysis shows that radicalization in Kenya has a rich history. Most of the factors that influence people to be radicalized revolve around discrimination. This means low or no access to public resources, education, employment and other facilities that are accessed by others. Apart from this, Islamic fundamentalism also appears to be playing a role, especially in the view of Salafism that seeks to revert Muslims to practicing pure Islam, the way the ancestors' deed. All these have greatly affected the way people are being radicalized in Kenya. The conclusion here is that radicalization to violent extremism Kenya was partly instigated by discriminative missionaries and government activities. Contrary to the misconception, that radicalization was imported into the region, indeed it was also based on the facts explained above though it was also religiously and ideologically motivated.

2.4Historical Injustices

Historical injustices according to Cambridge Dictionary refers, to past moral wrong committed by previously living people that has a lasting impact on the well-being of currently living people. According to Nzes (2012), the Shifta war and the Wagalla Massacre in 1984 were violently suppressed by the Kenyan government causing resentment among the Kenyan Somalis against security agencies. Nzes (2012) also argues that the declaration of emergency in North Eastern part of Kenya for almost 30 years turned this region into a recruitment zone. According to him, this provided an enabling and conducive ground for radicalization among the Somali people in the North Eastern region of Kenya (Nzes 2012).

Odhiambo, Onkware&Leshan (2015) argues that Muslims in Kenya were exposed to religious radicalism from al-Qaeda in 1990's as well as *Al- Itihad*and *Al-Islami* with the aim of establishing an Islamic government in Somalia and the then Ogaden region of Ethiopia. There was an attempt to recruit youth from the Coast, North Eastern part of Kenya and Eastleigh Nairobi, to unleash these plans (Odhiambo, Onkware&Leshan, 2015: 4). While I agree with these two scholars' argument, I assert that the recruitment by these terrorist groups is well planned, targeted and meticulously executed. The recruitment process targets frustrated people with simmering and the desire to revenge.

Odhiambo, Onkware&Leshan, (2015) also observesrepeated conflicts not only in North Eastern Kenya but also in some parts of the Coast province and that these regions suffer from high level of poverty, high youth unemployment, rapid population growth and general insecurity. There is high resentment against the government, whichis dominated by Christians. Extremists, according to Nzes, (2012), can exploit

the people through all these challenges. This is why extremists in their recruitment and radicalization campaigns target the coast region and Eastleigh, because the two places provide conducive ground for radicalization.

2.5 Combat

According to Oxford Advanced English Dictionary, to combat is to stop something unpleasant or harmful from happening. The wave of terror attacks in Kenya can be traced back to August 1998 when the United States of America's embassy in Nairobi Kenya was bombed and another similar bombing at almost the same time in Dar-es-salaam in Tanzania. After that, more terror attacks have continued to happen, especially after Kenya deploying her soldiers to support in fighting *al-Shabaab* in Somalia(Nzes, 2012). This argument triggers two lines of thoughts: that according to the author, continued terrorists' attacks in Kenya is because Kenya Defense Forces (KDF) are combating terrorism in Somalia and by extension at war with *al-Shabaab* thereby justifying its terrorist attacks in Kenyans. On the contrary, one would argue that KDF in Somalia is fighting an American war not combatting our enemies. The truth is that the United States of America's Embassy bomb attack did not only kill American citizens, but also killed more than 1200 Kenyan citizen and several others were maimed. Kenya is a sovereign state with the primary and mandatory duty of defending its citizens against foreign aggression and that is the reason that informed the deployment of KDF in Somalia to destroy terror at source. That is why it was called "Operation Linda Kenya".

In December 2015, a bus enroute from Nairobi to Mandera North-eastern Kenyawas attacked. In this case, the incident made news headlines because it failed as Kenyan Muslims on board proved their patriotism by protecting their Christian fellow

passengers. This clearly indicates that radicalization cannot be identified with a certain religion, as has been the stereotype in the public that Islam propagates violent extremism. After the attack, the then Inspector General of Police, Boinnet, attributed it to *al-Shabaab* militants who had defected to *ISIS*. This was the first manifest of *ISIS* associated terrorists to attack Kenya. The link to *ISIS* introduces a new and more dangerous concept. That indeed KDF may be fighting an enemy it does not fully understand and without knowing, fighting a war funded by America for American and not Kenyan interests.

The Life and Peace Institute in partnership with the Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations in Eastleigh (LPI/CCMRE) conducted a research in Eastleigh in 2016. They found out that, lack of formal education, poverty, illiteracy and high levels of unemployment push majority of the youth in Eastleigh into being radicalized. They traced places of radicalization to schools, *madrasas*, Mosques, video dens and social media platforms. They acknowledged that reactive and violent police responses to either radicalization or terror related activities ended up generating resentment against law enforcement agencies. Particularly where suspects are innocent and without links to any terror group. LPI/CCMRE. On the other hand, the security agencies find themselves between a rock and a hard place when it comes to isolating the real criminals because the screening process is not only complex, but also lacks the appropriate technological skills and tools.

According to the Journal of Africa History (2012), a State of Emergency was declared in Kenya's North Eastern Region (NER) on 28 December 1963.It came just two weeks after Kenya gained independence, and the issue was the status of the area known during British administration as the Northern Frontier District (NFD). This problem metamorphosed into the Waggala massacre that left thousands of Somalis

dead. The violent response to the secession issue exacerbated the *shifta* menace. The *shifta*war was born of the feeling of exclusion and frustration. The desire to revenge ensued henceforth from 1963 to 1967 (Journal of African History, 2012: 391-408). Responsibility for past injustices and the rights of those wronged herald opportunities for peaceful co-existence among individuals, communities and between Muslims and Christians.

The emergence of *al-Shabaab* in 2006 enhanced radicalization in Kenya according to Nzes(2012). He traces the operations of the a*l-Shabaab* and links it to a terrorist group that existed in Somalia in 1990's. This terrorist group was known as *"al-Itihad al-Islami"* (AIAI). The main goal of this group as Nzes (2012) argues was to establish an Islamic government in Somalia and the Ogaden region of Ethiopia. Somali youth from Mandera, Garissa and Nairobi Counties, specifically Eastleigh, were vulnerable to recruitment. The Ethiopia's series of cross-border attacks against the *al-Itihadal-Islami* finished it in 1996. However, some of the leaders of this group later became the leaders of *al-Shabaab* and some of its support networks are supporting *al-Shabaab* up to date (Nzes, 2012).

Since the year 2012, Nzes (2012) argues that the *al-Shabaab's* main support has been through the Pumwani Riyadha mosque in Eastleigh. In this mosque, during specific occasions, clerics were reported to deliver sermons with religiously inflammatory content. This led to intensified police raids in the mosque and the region. (Nzes, 2012). Domestic radicalization in Eastleigh intensified in the year 2008 upon the formation of the Muslim Youth Centre at Pumwani Riyadha Mosque.

In conclusion, indiscriminate combating of terrorism and radicalization activities in Kenya and more so in Eastleigh, may be regarded as terrorism by innocent victims of raids carried out by government law enforcement agencies in Eastleigh and Coastal

Kenya. The security agencies on the other hand will continue to grapple with challenges encountered in this fight against terrorism. The best approach though, is for those in leadership owning up to the wronged and gradually addressing, the socioeconomic injustices of the past.

2.6 The position of Mothers in Islam

Mothers in Islam are regarded a high position. The Qur'an commands kindness, respect and obedience to parents but more emphasis is placed on a mother. A Muslim mother has more rights than the father. This is so because of the hardships that a mother has to go through in the period of pregnancy, and the severe pains of delivery. The Noble Qur'an 46:15 says;

> And we have enjoined upon man, good treatment. His mother carried him with hardship and gave birth to him with hardship, and his gestation and weaning (period) is thirty months. (He grows) until when he reaches maturity and reaches (the age of)forty years, he says "My Lord, enable me to be grateful for your favor which you have bestowed upon me and upon my parents and to work righteousness of which you will approve and make righteous for me my offspring. Indeed, I have repented to you, and indeed, I am of the Muslims".

The above utterance is a sign of honor granted to mothers in Islam. The command and prohibition by a mother, as will be discussed later is something obligatory to follow mostly. The mother is enjoined because of the hardship she has to go through not only at pregnancy stage and during delivery but also in raising up the child up to the age of forty. When a mother prohibits the child from doing that which God recommends, the child is to listen to the mother. However, if the child disobeys the voice of her mother, he/she commits sin. A mother's order is prior to God's command.

Islam denies people to talk or engage in a conversation with one another during prayer time. Below are some of the texts that forbid one to talk during prayers:

> Abdullah b. Masu'd reported: We used to greet the Messenger of *Allah* (May peace be upon him) while he was engaged in prayer and he would respond to our greeting. But when we returned from the *Negus* we greeted him and he did not respond to us; so we said: Messenger of *Allah*. We used to greet you when you were engaged in prayer and you would respond to us. He replied: Prayer demands whole attention. ***(****Sahih Muslim****,*** *Book 4, Hadith 1096).*

> Zaid b. Arqam reported: We used to talk while engaged in prayer and a person talked with a companion on his side in prayer till (this verse) was revealed: "And stand before Allah in devout obedience" (ii, 238) and we were commanded to observe silence (in prayer) and were forbidden to speak (Sahih Muslim,*Book 4, Number 1098).*

> Jabir reported: We were in the company of the Messenger of Allah (may peace be upon him), and he sent me on an errand, and when I came back (I saw him) saying prayer on his ride and his face was not turned towards *Qibla*. I greeted him but he did not respond to me. As he completed the prayer, he said: Nothing prevented me from responding to your greeting but the fact that I was praying ***(***Sahih Muslim, *Book 4, Number 1102).*

The texts above show that no one was allowed to talk during prayers. Muhammad himself was not talking to people while in prayer. The Quran also supports the idea of not talking during prayers. Surah 2:238 says, “And stand before Allah with obedience (and do not speak to others during the *Salat*- Prayers)”.

However, it is surprising to find out that believers are allowed to break prayers in Islam when their Mothers are seeking for their attention. Muhammad, prophet of Islam described the eminence of a mother’s position by stating that “if you are praying and your father calls you do not break your prayer but if your mother calls you, break the prayer”. This shows how the mother is regarded highly in Islam.

Children therefore have a duty to obey their mothers in Islam and that disobedience to one’s mother is sin against God. The duties of children to their mother in Islam are not limited to those who are Muslims only. If the mother is not a Muslim, she is still

entitled to be respected by the child, who is a Muslim. This is evident in a statement by one of Muhammad's wives Asmabint Abu-Bakr. She said;

> My mother who was still a pagan came to visit. I went to the messenger of Allah seeking his verdict. I said, She has come to visit and she is interested in Islam, should I maintain my relationship with her? The messenger of Allah said, 'yes, indeed stay connected to your mother' (Sahih Bukhari 2477 &Sahih Muslim 1003).

This paper therefore proposes the inclusion of mothers in the fight against radicalization as a pro-active strategy towards mitigating acts of terrorism. Mothers hold a valuable data about their children that even the fathers do not have. They know the character of their children, therefore easily knowing when the child is moving towards a harmful direction. Mothers are therefore better placed in recognizing and addressing signs of distress such as anger, anxiety and withdrawal. The ability of mothers to pre-empt and respond to radical influences makes mothers to be very important in an effective security paradigm (Ahmadu, Beloved, berczyk et al, 2015:22). Therefore, all efforts and resources to curb radicalization should focus on empowering mothers through capacity building to be able to understand the dynamics of radicalization.

Mothers can also enhance the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. Issues of mistrust and suspicion have ignited continued disagreements between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh. Mothers can intervene by training their children on the need to peacefully co-exist in a plural space for the common good of both Christians and Muslims.

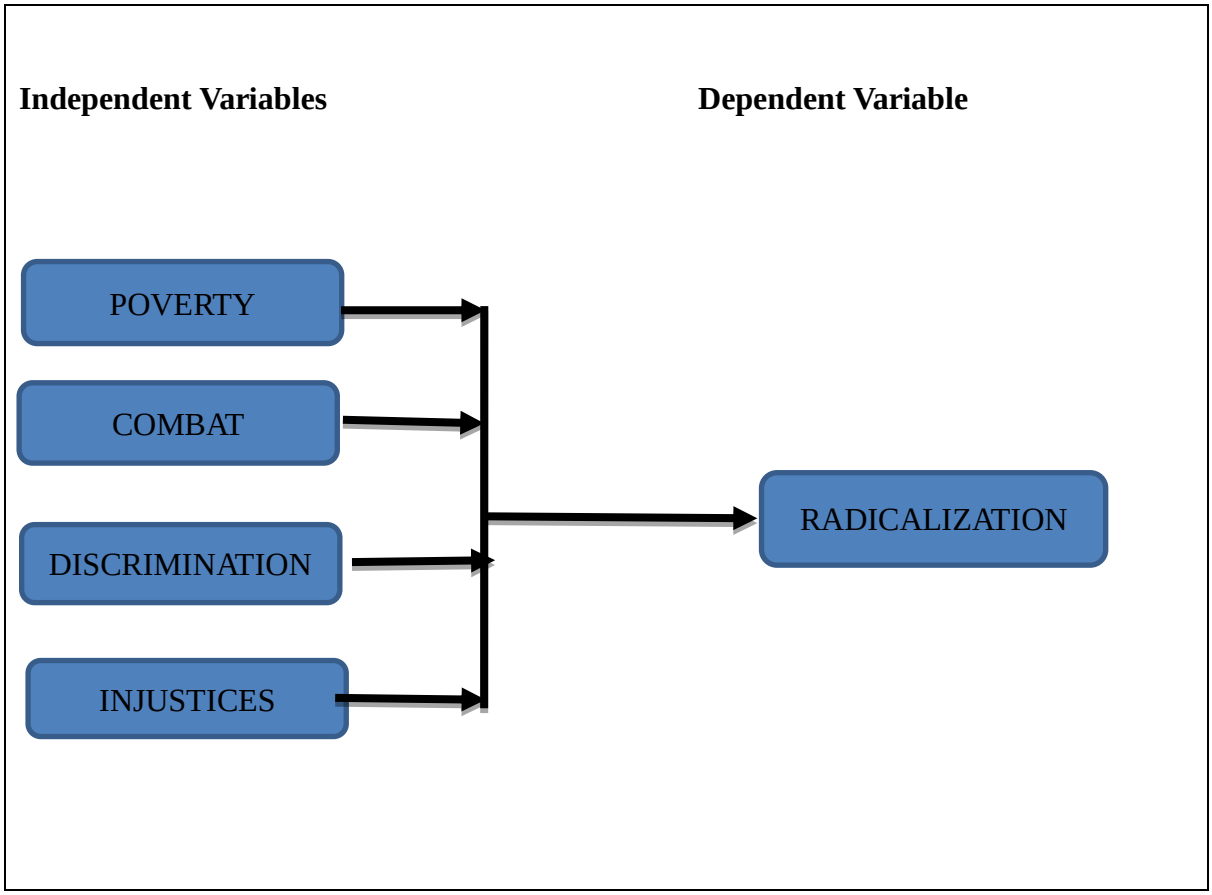
2.7 Theoretical framework

This study is informed by the feminist peace and conflict theory by Annete Weber (2006) which reflects on the need of the visibility of women in conflict resolution. The main argument in this theory is that war is an exclusion from decision making

which affects women in particular. Weber (2016) argues that if women are not involved in decision making for peace, peace will not be maintained. This is because women play a vital role in maintaining peace.

In connection to this study, mothers are vital in the process of ensuring peace both as caregivers and as the makers of the society. Through their influence on children in upbringing, mothers can greatly decide on peace or war depending on the kind of the message they send to their children. Therefore, mothers are capable of curbing radicalization and enhancing positive relations between Muslims and Christians if they are involved in the process.

2.8 Conceptual framework



NARATION

2.8.1 Poverty

Poverty is a catalyst rather than a cause for radicalization because a background check of most of the terrorists established that they had come from a rich backgroud. For example, Osama Bin Laden was heir to a multi-million dollar fortune and vast business empire before being radicalized to violent extremism. In the west, a group of twelve Brish Sudanese medical students left their school in their final year to join ISIS (According to Reuters). Any connection between poverty, education and terrorism is indirect, complicated and probably quite weak. The master mind of the Garissa University attack was a student who had scored grade A in KCSE exams. Social exclusion, not poverty or lack of educcation causes radicalization. Radicalization therefore, follows a sense of isolation from society.

2.8.2 Combat

Brutal counter terrorism methods meted on innocent individuals by the law enforcement and security agencies without conducting due process to isolate real culprits is another cause for radicalization. Some of the suspects may be innocent and possibly breadwinners. Their arrest causes disfranchisement and lack of hope within the family making it vulnerable to radicalization.

2.8.3 Disccrimination

Disriminative access to resources, education and demeaning social and religous treatment contributes to ideological, spiritual and religious causes for radicalization to violent extremism. Political conditions and long standing feelings of indignity and frustrations (perceived or real) that have little to do with economics triggers a feeling of discrimination and provides conducive ground for radicalization to violent extremism.

2.8.4 Injustice

Poverty, discrimination, iliteracy, and brutal counter terrorism, political, economical, ideological, spiritual and religious and undue incaesarations of the innocent.

2.9 Conclusion

Persisting radicalization to violent extremism which manifests itself in acts of terrorism translates to a need for more strategies to curb it. Relying on reactive approaches that involves use of military and security forces, freezing bank accounts owned by various terrorist groups and altering social media platforms that insinuate radicalisation and violence has not yielded better results. The reason for persistence of radicalisation is because the key actor has been left out; the mother. If the mother will play a role in curbing radicalisation, radicalisation will end. This chapter has identified the history of radicalisation in Kenya, the role of mothers in child upbringing in Islam, the role of mothers in curbing radicalisation and the possibilities of mothers being agents for peaceful co-existence between Muslims and Christians.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research methodology that was applied in carrying out this study under different sub-headings. It gives a clear description of the research design, sampling methods, target population, data collection techniques and methods of data analysis. It also explains the ethical considerations of the study.

3.2 Research Design

The study employed a descriptive research design. A descriptive survey describes a situation the way it exists. The design enabled the researcher to describe how poverty, discrimination, historical injustices and use combat affect radicalization. The study used a qualitative approach. A qualitative approach describes the attitudes of people based on their views, perceptions and opinions. Therefore, questionnaires and interview guides were used to collect the respondents' views, opinions and perceptions on the effects of poverty, discrimination, historical injustices and combat on radicalization.

3.3 Research Location

This study was conducted in Eastleigh, which is located in the North Eastern part of the Nairobi's central business district (CBD) in Kenya. Administratively, Eastleigh is located in Kamukunji sub-county. It is divided into two sections: Eastleigh North Ward and Eastleigh South Ward. The study covered the two sections. Locally, Eastleigh is referred to as "Little Mogadishu" because of the high number of the inhabitants in the region of Somali origin. Economically, Eastleigh is known for businesses ranging from shoe, clothing and jewelryselling imported from Dubai and Mogadishu.

3.4Study population

This study targeted Muslim mothers living in Eastleigh. The study population was chosen because mothers are directly involved in primary caregiving, hence can be in a better position to know what is going on in the lives of their children.

3.5 Sample size and techniques

Purposive sampling technique was used in the study to identify the mothers who participated as respondents in the research. The researcher purposely targeted a mother believed to have relevant information about the subject matter. Within the purposive sampling, the researcher specifically used Snowball, also known as chain sampling. In this technique, the researcher identified one mother, who in turn introduced another respondent, also to be having relevant information. The researcher began with one mother and then gradually increased the sample size as new contacts were mentioned by the mothers that the researcher started with (Kombo & Tromp, 2006:82-83).

3.6 Data collection

Primary data was obtained through use of questionnaires and interview schedules. A Structured questionnaire with both open-ended and closed-endedquestions was used. The questionnaires were administered to the identified mothers in Eastleigh. The researcher also interviewed mothers face to face using the interview schedule.

3.7 Pilot Survey

A pilot study was conducted with a number of 50 mothers. These mothers were identified randomly. The mothers were not necessarily to be part of the respondents in the actual study. The aim of the pilot survey was to assess the reliability of the research instruments. After the pilot study, the researcher changed the format of some questions, which were not clear. The researcher also translated all the questionnaires and interview schedule into Kiswahili.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher obtained an official letter from St. Paul's University to facilitate the process of research. The researcher used the letter to obtain a research permit to carry out the study from the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI). This facilitated the researcher’s access to Eastleigh, also through the permission of the area Chief.

The following ethical considerations were made; all the participants of the study were assured of the confidentiality of the study that the main aim of the study was to gather information that could facilitate the student to acquire a Master’s degree. The collected data was not in any way shared with anyone else in Eastleigh, the researcher used the data for the purposes of research only. All participants identified for the study were given an opportunity to choose for themselves the convenient time and place for the responses, especially for face-to-face interviews.

3.9 Data Analysis

The data obtained from both the questionnaires and interview schedules were analysed thematically according to the objections. All the interpretations were guided by the objectives. The researcher first went through the collected data to get familiar with it, which also included transcribing the data. The researcher then went through the objectives to identify the questions that the data could address. Broad ideas, views and concepts were then identified and then coded (to label data). The data was then interpretedthematically based on the objectives.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a presentation and analysis of the data that was collectedon mothers' role in curbing radicalization for Christian-Muslim co-existence in Eastleigh, Nairobi County, Kenya. The analysis is presented according to the set objectives of the study: to establish if poverty affects radicalization, to investigate if discrimination has any effect on radicalization, to find out how historical injustices affect radicalization and finally to establish whether combat has an impact on radicalization.

4.2 Demographic Information

The researcher interviewed a hundred and twenty mothers from Eastleigh identified through quota sampling technique. A hundred mothers were given questionnaires to fill while twenty mothers were interviewed face-to-face. The researcher collected data from mothers ranging between the age of eighteen years and above. The table below presents the different age brackets of the interviewed mothers (by use of both the questionnaires and face-to-face interviews). The age of the respondents was factored in because it helped the researcher to establish the different levels of experiences they have based on their age.

4.2.1 Age of the respondents

Age group	**Total**	**%**
18- 30	62	52
31-50	47	39
51-70	9	7
70 above	2	1.7

Total	120	100
TOTAL	120	

Figure 4.1: Ages of the women interviewed

Source: Field survey conducted on 23rd March, 2019 to 15th April, 2019

The ability to get all the targeted 120 mothers as respondents for the study enhanced by use of purposive sampling technique, where the focus was to get one mother, who will be the first respondent, then apply snowball where she will introduce the researcher to the next mother. This technique appeared to be very reliable and effective, as it made the study to take the shortest time possible.

4.2.2 Level of education

Most of the interviewed mothers (either through questionnaires or through face-to-face interviews) had primary school as their highest level of academic qualification. Out of the 120 mothers interviewed, 23 had a secondary school qualification, twelve had gone to college, five were university graduates and one had a PhD. The level of education of the respondents was also helpful in informing the researcher on the dynamics of female education in Eastleigh.

Level of education	**Total**	**%**
Primary	36	30
Secondary	23	19
College	12	10
Degree	5	4
M.A and PhD	1	1

None of the above	42	35
	120	100

Figure 4.2: Ages of the women interviewed

Source: Field survey conducted on 23rd March, 2019 to 15th April, 2019

4.3 Effects of poverty on radicalization

The study revealed that poverty is highly linked to radicalization. Poverty was said to be the key driver to radicalization, where the people who have lost hope in life decide to do 'anything' to make their ends meet. Hope is restored back by eradicating poverty among the people. Poverty is eradicated through employment, affordable education, free or affordable health services and ensuring security for all citizens. The respondents agreed on the idea that for radicalization to violent extremism to stop, poverty has to be dealt with.

Eighty percent of the respondents claimed that they are poor because of their gender. Some said that they were married off when they were very young and therefore they are unable to fulfil their potential. This is because of lack of education hence lack of employment. They also labelled inadequate or no family planning services that have made them to give birth to many children who have also ended up in following the same path of poverty. These children end up in *madrassa,* an Islamic school for basic Islamic education for Muslim children. Many don't enroll to government formal schools because although the government is offering free primary and secondary education, there are other requirements in school including uniform, books and other payments that the parents can't afford especially if they have many children.

Many families are extremely poor as was noted during the study. The respondents claimed that children from these poor families are always branded by the society as

thieves and terrorists because they are always idle. No one is willing to give them any job because they do not have any academic qualification. In case of any crime in the neighborhood, these children are arrested for they are always the first suspects. Many children have ended up disappearing never to come back again due to such arrests. Sometimes, real criminals shift the blame on them and because of lack of self-defense skills, which actually come with education; they end up in jail for several months or years. Some have died in jail, yet the real criminals are still walking freely in the streets of Eastleigh. The respondents identified the causes of poverty in Eastleigh to include lack of job opportunities. When people have no ways of making money, they end up in poverty.

Another cause was lack of education. The respondents claimed that most of the poor people in Eastleigh have no education. This was because many families could not afford to take their children to school. Due to lack of education, many people have not had an opportunity to master any skill that could present them to the world in the job market and in entrepreneurship.

The other cause of poverty in Eastleigh identified by the respondents was inequality. This means unequal or no access to the resources needed to keep people out of poverty. When the voices of a particular community, religious group of gender is not heard in important public forums, it means that they will not be included in crucial decisions that are made in the community. The respondents identified several instances when some people have not been heard in Eastleigh because they are either Muslims, Somali, or immigrants. This, they say, have heightened hatred between Muslims and Christians in Eastleigh.

4.4 Effects of discrimination on radicalization

Respondents, in explaining what discrimination means, explained that a sense of discrimination comes in when members of one group are restricted from opportunities and privileges that are available to another group or groups. This makes the latter group to feel some sense of exclusion and isolation. Respondents identified discriminatory policies in Eastleigh that have automatically excluded them from accessing some government resources and services. They mentioned the issue of identity cards to have been the evidence of discrimination for some time in Eastleigh. They claimed that there are people in Eastleigh who have been born there but have never been given the National identity cards. This is because they have been categorized as refugees only because their parents cannot be identified, because either they came to Kenya as refugees or they are also victims of the same issue.

Respondents claimed that in many instances, Muslims have been treated worse than Christians in Eastleigh. This is because the Christians and the government have profiled Muslims, and mostly the Somali Muslims, as '*al-Shabaab*'. Somali Muslims have been identified with terrorism because of their history as refugees. However, some Somali Muslims in the past have also been identified with some terrorist networks making it so obvious for the government to always point fingers at them. The issue of identity cards also comes in because when the government is looking for suspicious individuals who can easily be used to carry out terrorist activities, they start with those who do not have the proper documents to be allowed in the country. Therefore, some Christians have used this against the Muslims, by even announcing publicly that some neighbors are terrorists, referring to the Muslims.

When the security agents are patrolling homes in Eastleigh for security reasons, the respondents identified that they mostly target Muslim homes and they torture them before arresting a few who appear like criminals. They claimed that rarely do they

hear that Christians have been tortured and arrested. This, according to them has been a source of mistrust between them and Christians. They see Christians as betrayers who hate their neighbors only because they are Muslims. Some also claimed that some Christians give false information about their neighbors (Muslims) and because the police always trust them, they go arresting the Muslims without proper investigation. They mentioned instances when some Christians have tried to come up with ways to build bridges for peace, but according to them, peace will only come when discrimination will end.

Discrimination was identified to be the driver to radicalisation to extremism in response to grievances. However, the respondents claimed that the government has used this to continue discriminating people.

4.5 Effects of historical injustices on discrimination

For several reasons well known to the perpetrators, people have been tortured and forced into circumstances that they never dreamt of in the past for political, economic and religious reasons. The respondents claimed that some of the abuses toward them in the past have left them with memories that have always triggered the way they respond to current issues. Most of the respondents were unable to pin-point those historical injustices.

However, one respondent, in an interview mentioned how the government has mistreated Muslims since independence. She said the first president was so tribal in favor of his own tribe, while the second was in favor of Christians. She further said that the third and the fourth presidents have tried their best in creating an all-inclusive society only that some Muslims are still living the consequences of the past injustices toward them. She gave an example of lack of education for Muslims in the past,

because many formal schools were only found in Christian zones through Christian missionaries who focused so much on converting people into Christianity before allowing them to sit in any class. This way, she continued, many Muslims lacked the 'key' that have actually opened the future to many Christians. Therefore, she concluded that historical injustices have always triggered feelings of hatred and violence towards the person perceived to facilitate that injustice. For that reason, any attempts to unite Christians and Muslims based on common humanity should first address the opportunities that the Muslims lost when the Christians were enjoying them.

4.6 Effects of Combat on radicalization

The respondents indicated that there is very high number of police officers in Eastleigh compared to other parts of Nairobi. These police are identified through security operations that happen regularly in Eastleigh. They claimed that part of the things that the police are involved in in this region is to identify individuals who are "illegally'' in Eastleigh so that they can be taken back to where they belong for they are the key suspects of any crime in Eastleigh. However, whereas the government has succeeded in arresting many illegal refugees in the region, many legal citizens have ended up being arrested and punished for sins they have never committed.

The respondents also identified the brutality that comes with such operations. They shared their personal experiences on how they have been beaten as mothers several times and asked to reveal where their sons are hiding. They said that the police come at night to look for young men and they arrest them if they find them at home. This

have therefore forced many young men to run away from their homes because they have seen the police as their enemies.

Some mothers claimed that they do not trust the police at all, and even when they are supposed to seek for services from the police, they do not because they are not friendly. They therefore end up suffering in silence and this increases the bitterness in them.

4.7 The teachings of Islam on mothering

What came out very clearly during in the research was that mothers are powerful people in the lives of their children; that Islam teaches that mothers should bring up children in a way that is acceptable to the religion. Being the child's first teacher, a mother is supposed to ensure that a child is well conversant with Islam even before the child is introduced to Islam through *Madrassa.* A part from this, mothers were also seen as the role models to the children. They are supposed to practice the correct Islam in order for the children to copy the same. However, it was noted that the role of modeling cuts across, since fathers are also supposed to be role models to the children as they are the heads of most Muslim homes.

All the respondents admitted to the idea that a mother has a unique role to play in the life of a child, especially in bringing them up. A Muslim mother stays with the child all day, watching him/her grow. Feeds and even teaches the child the language. Before joining madras, children learn the mother’s character, religion and culture first, thereafter, the Quran and entire Religion. Comparatively, fathers are mostly absent. The word mother in Islam means root and source. From this, it is clear that a mother is the source of life because a child stays in her womb for nine months, and extracts everything that they need for survival from the mother during this time, including

spiritual values and moral principles. This is because a baby stays in the loins of the father for a very short time, but a child stays in the womb of a mother for nine months.

Therefore, a mother affects the life of a child more than a father does, and this is what Islam emphasizes. The life of the child reflects the efforts of the mother. AMuslim mother becomes a mother, not by being able to give birth but by being able to raise a morally and spiritually upright child; she should be able to raise generally good children, therefore not all mothers are mothers. Muhammad the prophet of Islam once said,"If a woman is similar to vegetation grown on garbage, then you cannot expect her to produce humane, divine, and sweet products".

About 60% of the respondents mentioned teaching, role modeling, instilling religious virtues as a way to curb radicalization. They said motives and positive ethos help curb peer pressure, which attracts the youth to belong to radical peer groups. Therefore, a mother should always have the right actions, attitude and thoughts in order to impart something good to the children.

Children bring mothers together in hospitals, maternity, at the market place, etc. It was noted that women are traditionally not aggressive people even though terror gangs have begun to use women as fighters because they can pass the enemy undetected. They are also seen as weak vessels hence not meant to cause harm. It is against this background that mothers due to nurturing, caring roles that are instrumental for peace building regardless of religion.

4.8 Conclusion

The chapter presented the major findings of the study. The findings have been presented according to the objectives of the study. These findings are a prerequisite in discussing the summary and drawing relevant conclusions and recommendations of

this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECCOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary, recommendations and the conclusions of the study. The chapter also presents suggestions for further studies. This section follows the four objectives in this study.

5.2 Summary

The following are the main findings of the study; this research sought to establish if poverty affects radicalization, investigate if discrimination has any effect on radicalization, find out how historical injustices affect radicalization and establish whether combat impacts radicalization.

Poverty creates an enabling and conducive environment for radicalization in which receptivity of terrorist narratives and the popular support for radical organizations can considerably increase. Poverty is a catalyst, rather than a cause for radicalization.

Perceived or real discrimination have been a cause of radicalization and continued instability among the people in Eastleigh. This is because of the idea that some people have what others do not have as a result of favoritism.

Unresolved historical injustices have always reminded people of their past hence being open and vulnerable to radicalization. Due to these historical injustices, some people easily burst into violence because of the fresh experiences in their minds on how issues affecting them have never been solved.

Indiscriminate combating of terrorism and radicalization activities have ended up radicalizing the individuals because the strategy appears to be like terrorism in itself. Use of violence to mitigate violencehave always ended up in more violence.

5.3 Conclusions

Poverty is a major cause for radicalization in Eastleigh. Many people who are seeking to make their ends meet as a result of lack of education and unemployment have ended up joining terrorist groups out of frustrations. Others have been radicalized to be-

lieve that they are poor because someone is mistreating them, therefore joining terrorist groups for revenge.

Discrimination can be real or perceived. Whether real or perceived, it has been the cause for radicalization in Eastleigh, and has heightened the animosity between Christians and Muslims especially when one group feels that the other group is discriminating them. As a result, many have ended up being radicalized into violent extremism and have joined terrorist groups out of bitterness.

Unresolved historical injustices have left people with some sense of mistrust where they cannot trust the people who have acted unjustly previously on them. This has always been a cause for radicalization in Eastleigh.

Use of combat as a strategy to counter radicalization has led to more radicalization. This is because this strategy is reactive. When the police are reacting over an issue in Eastleigh, they end up torturing and harming the civilians who end up being radicalized.

5.4 Recommendations

The following are the recommendations according to the findings of the study based on the objectives;

5.4.1 There is need to look for better ways of reducing poverty among the people in Eastleigh. Basic education should be emphasized to prevent people from taking their children to madrassa only. The government should also focus on equipping people with some skills that can lead them to self-employment. Polytechnics and technical institutions should also consider offering courses that can accommodate those with no primary or secondary certificate with the aim of equipping those who by bad lack did not access any basic education when they were young.

5.4.2 There is need to treat people equally irrespective of their race, ethnicity, gender, religion etc. The people in Eastleigh should be treated equally to reduce any feelings of discrimination that breeds violence. Government resources and services should be at the disposal of every citizen. The legal refugeesshould be treated with the respect they deserve, and the illegal ones should be identified through peaceful ways and then deported back to their countries.

5.4.3. Historical injustices should be dealt with by listening to the grievances of the people and having a dialogue with the citizens to arrive at a common agreement. When one side decides to do with the other, it will always favor the decision maker. Dialogue promotes peace for the two parties involved with draw a conclusion together.

5.4.4 Although combat have in the past yielded positive results, it should be avoided. Pro-active strategies to curb radicalization should be considered. Pro-active strategies are people friendly, and peace oriented. Use of violence to mitigate violence will always end up in more violence.

5.4.5 There is need to invest in mothers because they know their children more than any other person does in the family and the society. Mothers should be trained and empowered on all the issues around radicalization because they can easily identify the signs of radicalization and there can intervene more quickly if given the adequate skills to do so.

5.5 Topics for further research

- The role of Christian mothers in curbing radicalization for peaceful co-existence between Christians and Muslims.
- The impact of pro-active strategies to counter radical ideologies among the

people.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is MettoWinnyJerono, a student at St. Paul's University, Limuru. I am doing a Master of Arts Degree in Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations. Kindly fill for me the form below that will enable me to finalize my research.

(***All information obtained will be treated with the confidentiality it deserves and used primarily for this research***)

Section A: Effects of poverty on radicalization

1. How does poverty affect you as a mother (parent), your children and your community?

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2. How does poverty affect the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh?

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3. What are the causes of poverty in Eastleigh?

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Section B: Effects of discrimination on radicalization

1. What are the causes of discrimination in Eastleigh?

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2. What are the effects of discrimination on you, your children and the community at large?

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3. How do feelings of discrimination affect the way you relate to one another in Eastleigh? (As Muslims and Christians)

Section C: Effects of Historical Injustices on radicalization

1. How do your past experiences affect the way you respond to issues today?

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2. What are some of the injustices that you think have not been solved in your history as a people?

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3. What are the effects of these injustices on the way Christians and Muslims relate in Eastleigh?

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Section D: Effects of Combat on radicalization

1. What are your views on the government using military operations to stop radicalization in Eastleigh?

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2. What is the effect of military operations in Eastleigh?

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3. As a mother, what ways do you suggest that can help in reducing radicalization?

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4. Do you think mothers can play a role in curbing radicalisation? (YES) (NO)

If yes, suggest ways in which mothers can play a role in curbing radicalization.

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Thank you so much for taking your time to respond to these questions.

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW SHEDULE

1. How does poverty affect you as a mother?

2. How does poverty affect your children?

3. How does poverty affect the community?

4. How does poverty affect the relationship between Muslims and Christians in Eastleigh?

5. What are the causes of poverty in Eastleigh?

6. How does discrimination affect the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh?

7. What are the causes of discrimination in Eastleigh?

8. What are the effects of discrimination on you as a mother?

9. What are the effects of discrimination on your children?

10. What are the effects of discrimination on your community?

11. What are some of the injustices in the past that have contributed to your present situation?

12. What are the effects of these injustices on the relationship between Christians and Muslims in Eastleigh?

13. What are your views on the use of military operations to "look for terrorists" in Eastleigh?

14. What are the effects of military operations in Eastleigh?

15. What are some of the ways that you can suggest as strategies to counter radicalization in Eastleigh?

16. What are some of the ways in which mothers can play a role in curbing radicalization?

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