The Experiences and Perspectives of Kenyan Somali Youth on Citizenship and Belonging

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List of Acronyms

ASAL	Arid and Semi-Arid Lands
AU	African Union
CBO	Community Based Organizations
FPE	Free Primary Education
GOK	Government of Kenya
ICT	Information Communication and Technology
KNYP	Kenya National Youth Policy
MOSDNKAL	Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands
MOYAS	Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports
NER	Net Enrolment Rate
NGO	Non Governmental Organizations
NYC	National Youth Council
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees

Abstract

Perceptions by minority and marginalized groups of being excluded from exercising their citizenry rights continue to be a challenge for most governments due to the threat to social stability that this poses. This research makes visible the experiences and perspectives of Kenyan Somali youth from a multicultural urban environment in Kenya. It seeks to understand how they perceive and position themselves as Kenyan citizens and equally, how they are perceived and framed within official and public discourse. Through a qualitative study the research unravels how Somali identity, Islamic identity and pastoralist identity interact in a securitized environment and how this influences their perceptions of Kenyan citizenship and civic engagement in different spheres of their community and wider society. The study's findings points to a precarious citizenship experience by these youth. However, governments need to promote youth citizenship by involving youth in policy and programmes that promotes their interests.

Relevance to Development Studies

Promoting active youth citizenship of minorities and marginalized groups has the multiplier effect of enhancing social cohesion and spurring socio-economic and political development. In this research, I focus beyond the employment oriented perspective and analyse Kenyan Somali youth perceptions and positioning as Kenyan citizens from a social constructive participation perspectives. Through this lens we are able to analyse their outlook and perception on citizenship beyond formal spheres to the contribution they undertake in their community (Smith et al. 2005: 436-439).

Keywords

Citizenship, Identity, Belonging, Youth, minorities, marginalization, social exclusion, integration, Kenya

Chapter 1   Introduction

> …They become torn between these two cultures. There's the point. The new culture is driving them forcefully. And the other culture is driving them on the other part. Basically they are in the middle between two different worlds and that's the dilemma. That's the struggle. Should I be a Somali, an African, and a Muslim…or more Americanized and do what any American teenager does?
>
> (Bigelow 2010: 94)

1.1 Citizenship Discourse: Situating Kenyan Somali Youth

Citizenship like the concept 'youth,' has been conceptualized differently, in terms of legal status and accompanying rights, responsibilities and participation by individuals in the socio-economic and political sphere of a nation-state: for instance being able to receive certain privileges and rights by virtue of one's membership to a political entity. However this is problematic when it comes to young people despite normative assumptions that all citizens are equal in the formal legal sense. This notion has been attributed to the glaring 'substantial differences' between adult and youth citizenship status and the 'subordinate positioning' and dependency of youth on 'adults' at the household level and wider society something that has constrained youth agency and participation in all spheres of a society (Manning and Ryan 2004: 2-4, Okwany forthcoming: 1). This perspective is crucial for my study in understanding how young Kenyan Somali youth from a marginalized minority ethnic group perceive and position themselves as citizens and equally how they are perceived and framed within official and public discourse.

By drawing from the precarious citizenship status of Somalis of Kenyan ethnicity, which I trace through Kenya's historical timeline, my study attempts to make visible the experiences of Kenyan Somali youth from an urban multicultural neighbourhood in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. I delve further by taking into consideration arguments by a number of scholars who argue that: citizenship needs to be viewed broadly as a 'multi-layered construct' within local, ethnic and religious contexts and beyond the public sphere to include the private sphere and trans-national perspective (Hall et al. 1999: 502-504, Ndegwa 1997: 602-603, Storrie 2004: 59-60, Yuval-Davis 1999: 119-123). It is within this context that I argue that Somali ethnic identity, Islamic identity and their pastoralist identity are key factors which influence how Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens, and how they are equally perceived and framed within official and public discourse.

Somali ethnic identity has been extensively researched on and has generally been viewed along the 'identity-as-culture and identity-as-religion' narratives due to strong clan affiliations and networking 'that extends to vast areas' (Lambo 2012: 6, Langellier 2010: 68-69). Tied to Somali identity is the Somalis' pastoralists' nomadic identity which has always been a distinct lifestyle feature of the Somali nation, an identity which has been strengthened by decades of mobility in search of better livelihood especially since the collapse of the Somali state in the 90's (Lambo 2012). It is in this relation that this study analyzes

how these two identities; the Somali identity and pastoralist identity impinge on Kenyan Somali youth within the Kenyan government youth policy framework and interventions for minority and marginalized pastoralists groups. The government's policy intervention for Arid and Semi-Arid Lands (ASAL) (MOSDNKAL 2011: 95-99) views pastoralists communities as structured along 'gender and generational caste like system' that subordinates women and youth life chances to the greater communal good and ceding resource control to older men. The policy regards these traditions as some of the key factors that suppress pastoralist youth agency and enhance their dependency on adults (Ibid).

Equally crucial in my study is the Islamic identity factor which has been interwoven in various speech-acts in light of Kenya's security campaign against terror[1]. This has defined how youth (not just Kenyan Somalis) have been framed as key actors in terror activities and equally how they have subsequently framed themselves against this rhetoric. As one Kenyan Somali youth in my study observed, 'I used to get agitated and confrontational in the beginning when some of my non-Muslim friends called me names like Al-Qaeda or Osama, but with time I started taking things easy and just ignored the taunts' (Abdimalik, 16 years old male, focus group, 20/07/2015). By linking with Bigelow (2010: 99) argument on ethnic and racial identities, Abdimalik's case depicts how some of Kenyan Somali youth contest imposed identity and later on assume these identities more as a coping mechanism or a sign of resignation. This also draws parallel albeit on a different social context with Ghaffar-Kucher (2012: 1-4) study of Pakistani-American youth who embrace an Islamic identity as a means of resisting stereotypes and alienation facing them in post 9/11 rhetoric.

Finally, this study draws upon Kenyan Somali youth participation in social media, sports and recreational activities as alternative spheres of civic engagement with their community and the Kenyan state. These activities have been regarded as having a significant bearing towards the construction of a gendered youth identity and exercise of citizenship by providing opportunities and spaces for young people to socialize and negotiate their sense of belonging in their communities (Beauvais et al. 2001: 65-67, World Bank 2006: 173). A case in point in relation to this aspect is a study by Spaaij (2015: 303-318) on Somali immigrant youth participation in sports in Australia, which although in a different social context reveals high participation of Somali youth in local mono-ethnic sports clubs and poor attendance in national multi ethnic sports clubs. Further, according to the author, this might not be an indication of failure by these youth to embrace the mainstream Australian culture and identity, but a failure of sports bodies to factor in the diverse gendered needs of immigrants.

I affirm that Kenyan Somali youth perspective and experience on citizenship and belonging is influenced by: the Kenyan Somali ethnic group's experience of a precarious citizenship in Kenya's historical timeline; Somali identity,

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[1] Kenya's security campaign against Somalia based Al-Shabaab terror organization internally and in Somalia was occasioned by a series of terror attacks the country has been experiencing. This campaign has often strained inter-ethnic relations between Kenyan Somalis, Muslims and other ethnic groups.

Islamic identity and pastoralist identity. These factors continue to define their social relations from the household level to engagement in all spheres of the Kenyan society as I will discuss in the next section and subsequent chapters.

1.2 Somali Identity and Belonging: Framing of a Dynamic and Antagonistic Relationship

A number of events and factors have mirrored the dynamic and sometimes acrimonious relationship between the minority Kenyan Somali ethnic group[2], the government and the public in general, a situation which has sometimes reinforced Somali people's perceptions that they are being excluded from the mainstream Kenyan society. Some of these events include the Kenyan Somalis protest over the cancellation of their regions 2009 population census results viewed by the government as too high and inconsistent with projected population growth momentum[3]. In addition, perceptions of discrimination and treatment as 'second class citizens' through vetting process for legal citizenship alongside Kenyan Arabs and Nubians ethnic has always been contested by Somalis of Kenyan ethnicity (Lochery 2012: 616-617). Kenyan citizenship can be acquired through birth or registration and citizen are entitled to the rights and benefits that accrue (GOK 2010: Article 12(1), 13(2)). However, while availing legal identities to youth has a strong influence on their perceptions of inclusion in a society, sometimes young people do not attach any importance to such documents which they regard as means of social control by governments, preferring instead to negotiate their identity with family and friends (Isin and Wood 1999: 3-9, Jamieson 2002).

However, at the core of this fluid relationship has often been the question regarding the extent of Kenyan Somali's loyalty and patriotism to the nation-state, Kenyan. Loyalty and patriotism are part of the national values enshrined in Kenya's constitution (GOK 2010: Article 10(2)) and symbolizes expression of emotive national pride and attachment to Kenya as the motherland. These two values are expected of all Kenyan citizens and have always gained prominence in various speech acts and rhetoric whenever any act of terrorism takes place in Kenya. For instance, the involvement of a 24 years old Kenyan Somali Law graduate (the son of a government official) in the Garissa University terrorist attack in April 2015, in which over 150 students lost their lives[4] further highlighted the 'ambiguity' of the Somali identity in relation to the Kenyan identity as highlighted in Kenya's historical timeline in the following section.

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[2] Kenya borders the Republic of Somalia and has witnessed an influx of thousands of refugees after collapse of the state of Somalia. Refugees are both documented and undocumented due to a porous border and failure of encampment policy by previous governments (Campbell 2005: 1-4, Lambo 2012: 2-9).

[3] http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000017245/kenya-s-population-census-results-out
[4]http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Monster-who-led-Shabaab-mass-killers-is-unmasked-/-/1056/2677056/-/votp0kz/-/index.html

A History of 'Precarious' Citizenship Status

> Socio-economic and political inequality in Kenya are rooted in both the historical as well as the structural characteristics of the Kenyan state…with ethno-regional political patronage, colonial legacy, historical grievances and inter-ethnic rivalries accounting for these inequalities
>
> (Muhula 2009: 85)

According to Lochery (2012: 615), Somalis of Kenyan ethnicity have for a long time experienced precarious access to citizenship in Kenya which is rooted in the 'historical processes' that have institutionalized and exacerbated their marginal position in the Kenyan society from the colonial to postcolonial period. Out of a total of 47 counties in Kenya, Kenyan Somali ethnic group inhabit almost predominantly 3 counties of Garissa, Mandera and Wajir which are categorized as Arid areas alongside 23 other Arid and Semi Arid Lands (ASAL) counties in an area formerly known as the Northern Frontier Districts during the colonial period and later renamed North Eastern province as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: ASAL Counties as Per 2009 Population Census

Arid Counties		Semi Arid Counties	
Garissa	**623,060**	Kitui	1,012,709
Mandera	**1,025,756**	Makueni	884,527
Wajir	**661,941**	Meru (some parts)	1,356,301
Marsabit	291,166	Tharaka Nithi	365,330
Isiolo	143,294	Embu	516,212
Turkana	855,399	Nyeri (some parts)	693,558
Samburu	223,947	West Pokot	512,690
Baringo	555,561	Narok	850,920
Tana River	240,075	Kajiado	687,312
		Laikipia	399,227
		Kilifi	1,109,735
		Kwale	649,931
		Lamu	101,539
		Taita Taveta	284,657
Total Population	4,620,199		9,424,648
% of National Population	12%		24%

Source: Vision 2030 Development Strategy for Northern Kenya and other Arid Lands (MOSDNKAL 2011: 9)

The establishment in 2008 of the Ministry of State for Development of Northern Kenyan and other Arid Lands (MOSDNKAL) was a key event for a region often referred to in jest as '*The Wild West of Kenya*' by its inhabitants in

acts of 'self mockery' of their marginal position. The high prominence and media limelight given to this ministry was due to the crucial role that it had been tasked with to correct regional development imbalances that had not favoured this region fifty (50) years since Kenya attained its independence from Britain. This was a culmination of both internal and external pressures for redress of the region's marginalization traced to the British colonial government's isolationist and containment policies which sought to contain the movement of Somalis and spread of pan-Somali nationalism ideology to Kenya (Lind et al. 2015: 7-8, MOSDNKAL 2011: 1-12).

As Lind et al. (2015: 9-14) points out, the immediate post-colonial governments after Kenya's independence in 1963 maintained the same colonial policies contributing towards 'the social construction of Somali identity as a 'threatening identity' and effectively hindering north eastern region's integration with other regions and ethnic groups in almost all spheres of life. According to the authors, key highlights of these policies were: a crackdown on a four-year local insurgency advocating for secession in a war referred to as 'Shifta (bandit) war' of 1963 to 1967 and a 28 years state of emergency in the region from 1963 to1991 as a result (ibid). In addition, the government has always been accused of apathy and inaction towards mobile pastoralism, a key source of livelihoods for Kenya Somalis and other pastoralists communities (Mahmoud 2008: 3-9, MOSDNKAL 2011: 1-13).

It's against this backdrop of past isolationist policies and pan Somali nationalism politics which have been fed by rhetoric on Kenya's internal and external anti-terror campaign in Somalia that continues to define the identity and perceptions of the present generation of Kenyan Somali youth in my study. Many of these youth have migrated to urban centres like Eastleigh to seek better livelihood and to escape the realities of their marginal position and harsh environment in north eastern region. And many of them have heard from their elders and internalized 'real or imagined' repeated accounts of historical injustices and discrimination against their community. This 'victimhood' mentality has been reinforced by what Langellier (2010: 69) terms, Somalis strong 'oral culture' informed by their nomadic lifestyle and clan networking.

Failure to develop and integrate the region's key pastoralism sector with the national economy has had multiplier effects on the region's low literacy level. For instance, 93.4% and 71.1% of female and male respectively from the region had never attended formal school by the time Free Primary Education (FPE) was introduced in 2003, compared to 2.6% and 1.5% for female and male in Central region (SID 2004: 21). According to KIPPRA (2013: 60-61) recent estimates, regional and gender disparities were still evident by 2009, with all the Kenyan Somali ethnic counties of Mandera, Wajir and Garissa being ranked in the bottom 5 as indicated in Table 2. As Kabeer (2006: 68-69) points out, poverty among marginalized groups tends to be transmitted through successive generations, with children from these groups reproducing their 'parents patterns of illiteracy and early entry into work'. In connection with Kabeer's argument, a majority of Kenyan Somali study participants whom I interacted with had attained basic formal education level which made it difficult for them to get white collar jobs in the Kenyan labour market. Most of these youth complained of being exploited in businesses owned by their clan members in terms of poor and irregular wages and longer working hours. Identification with Kenyan citizenship was exceptionally low among this group with feelings

of being 'outsiders' in Kenyan society quite strong. Migration to the '*West'* was always on top of this group agenda. As Lambo (2012: 1) points out, 'mobility for better livelihood has always been at the core of the Somali identity.

Table 2: Primary School NER (%) by County (2009)

Region	Ranking	County	Male	Female	Total
Central	1	Muranga	93.2	93.7	93.4
	2	Nyeri	92.1	93.1	92.6
	3	Kirinyaga	91.3	92.4	91.8
	4	Embu	90.4	92.1	91.3
	5	Kiambu	90.4	91.2	90.8
Northern	**43**	**Mandera**	**42.9**	**40.6**	**41.9**
	44	Samburu	43.1	39.5	41.3
	45	**Wajir**	**35.9**	**32.9**	**34.6**
	46	**Garissa**	**35.0**	**32.9**	**34.1**
	47	Turkana	**24.7**	**24.6**	**24.6**
(National)			**90.6**	**92.3**	**91.4**

Source: Kenya Economic Report 2013: Creating an Enabling Environment for Stimulating Investment for Competitive and Sustainable Counties (KIPPRA 2013: 60-61)

Hosting a population estimated at 350,000 comprising mainly of Kenyan Somalis and an estimated 20,000 refugees, Eastleigh has always been regarded as: the 'microcosm of the dynamics between the Kenyan state and its Somali population', a transit point for Somalis heading *West* in search of better livelihoods and a business hub[5] (Lind et al. 2015: 10-27, Peter et al 2013: 13). Likewise, the positioning of Nairobi as a 'transnational city linking three continents of Europe, Africa and Asia' has always been a pull factor since the pre-colonial period' with many refugees from unstable countries in the horn of Africa and great lakes region moving to Eastleigh (Campbell 2005: 5-24). As Lambo (2012: 2-9) notes, the Somali community has been able to 'collectively preserve their identity' while creating a sense of belonging in Eastleigh through their 'aggressive' way of doing business that relies on clan networks and a 'pragmatism that makes them think globally rather than locally'. Lambo's argument conforms to the trans-nationality or multiplicity of belonging perspective which this study also focuses on and which argues that citizenship is no longer limited to a homogenous status of belonging to a single political entity of the nation-state but instead includes multiple- citizenship (Wihtol de Wenden 2014: 148-149, Yuval-Davis 2007).

Furthermore, the relationship between Kenyan Somalis and other Kenyan ethnic groups has often been described as characterized by a fluid and 'intense love-hate' relationship based on: mutual business interests which is sometimes overshadowed by negative ethnicity and perceptions of marginalization and

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[5] http://www.standardmedia.co.ke/?articleID=2000107565

discrimination (Peter et al. (2013: 7). For instance, the government's 2013 security campaign in Eastleigh dubbed '*Operation Usalama Watch*' (operation peace watch) to curtail Al-Shabaab's activities was highly criticized by Muslim and Somali leaders as a continuation of the historical process of marginalization of Kenyan Somalis (Lind et al (2015: 15-26). However, the government defended its action with the then Assistant Minister for Interior and Internal Security, Mr. Orwa Ojode alleging that, 'This is a big animal with its head in Eastleigh and its tail in Somalia', a statement that was perceived as a pointer to the depth of Al-Shabaab's links with Kenyan Somali citizens (ibid: 15). But in a rejoinder, Senator Billow Kerrow, a Kenyan Somali leader, reiterated that the operation had a different objective from the intended purpose:

> 'The Eastleigh operation was intended to disenfranchise the Somali community, whose entrepreneurial acumen is known worldwide…this is an economic war and not a fight against terror' (ibid: 26).

Such speech act have reinforced the '*We versus Them'* narratives in Eastleigh neighbourhood and has been crucial towards understanding how these narratives have influenced the construction of Kenyan Somali youth identity and the ways in which they negotiate their identity and perceive their citizenship under this social context.

Ethnic, Racial Identity discourse

However, it is not only the discourse on 'securitization of the Somali identity' and dominant narratives of fear, 'othering' and displacement which defines relations between Kenyan Somalis and other Kenyan citizens. Racial and ethnic identity factors versus the Kenyan identity have also been at the core of this dynamic relationship since the colonial period. As highlighted by Murunga (2005: 151-152) and Turton (1974: 325-381), Kenyan Isaaq Somalis, one of the major Somali clans with a strong presence in Eastleigh played a crucial role in defining and constructing a sense of superior racial identity among Somalis in Kenya and the diaspora during the colonial period. According to Turton (1974: 325-381), by linking their lineage to Arab ancestry, the Isaaqs' perceived themselves as above 'Africans' in the citizenship hierarchy ladder and relentlessly petitioned the British government to be allowed to pay higher poll taxes and enjoy more benefits like Kenyan Indians whom they regarded as their equal in status, as an excerpt from one of the petitions highlights:

> We are in a very bad condition and treated very severely in respect of the tax as some new regulations have been issued against us…and now we are ordered to pay the same taxes as slaves as if we are the natives of this Africa…(ibid: 329).

As my findings revealed, 'racial' and ethnic discourse pervades and informs much of the present relationship between Kenyan Somali youth and their counterparts from diverse ethnic groups in Eastleigh. However, according to Mahmoud (2008: 2-27), despite Kenyan Somali ethnic group's precarious access to citizenship, Kenya's enhanced democratic space and the Islamic identity of the Somali community has presented them with the right opportunity to contest and negotiate on their citizenship rights with the government, opposition and to collaborate with ethnic groups professing the Islamic faith in a bid to 'access the public sphere and make a strong case for their inclusivity in the Kenyan society'.

Based on this discussion of Kenyan Somalis' precarious access to citizenship and their dynamic relationship between the state and other Kenyan citizens, this study focused on understanding how 'Somali identity' shaped by history has influenced the ways in which Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens, how they perceive their citizenship rights and access to resources and how they have been able to construct and negotiate their identity in their daily interaction with other Kenyan citizens. This is also because youth are in subordinate positioning as young people in Kenya and also within their community.

1.3 Justification and Relevance

Previous studies have been done about the Somali ethnic group in respect to citizenship, belonging and identity, however, most of these studies have concentrated in highlighting the plight of Somali immigrants' in developed countries in the global north within the context of integration and multiculturalism (Campbell 2005, Bigelow 2010, Langellier 2010, Spaiij 2015). The few studies which have explored the experiences of Somali ethnic group in developing countries have mostly focused on analyzing notions of identity and belonging amongst refugees and immigrants without focusing specific attention on Somali youth as a distinct group and further failed to highlight how this group cope within their marginal positions as minorities in the countries where they reside (Lambo 2012, Lind et al. 2015, Lochery 2012, Mahmoud 2008).

Providing young people especially from minority and marginalized groups with the opportunity to participate as active citizens enables them to contribute collectively to their communities' development through civic engagement activities (World Bank 2006: 165-167). Perceptions' of being discriminated against and labelled as terrorists has increased amongst Kenyan Somali community (especially Muslim youth) which they attribute to frequent security operations and surveillance targeting their neighbourhoods like Eastleigh (Lambo 2012: 10-12).

In my work as an administrator in a predominantly Muslim part of the country, I interacted with some Muslim youth who also expressed similar sentiments of discrimination against them, however, it is important to note that a number of youth from different religious faiths and ethnic groups in Kenya have also joined or been lured to join terrorist organizations. In a study of young people in poor urban areas in Kenya and Uganda, Okwany (forthcoming: 5-6) points out that the marginal position of these youth exacerbated by unemployment and lack of provisioning of basic social services by the state makes these youth vulnerable to manipulation by political elites for vested interests. The same notion is advanced by Kagwanja (2005: 53) and Diouf (2003: 4-9) whose argument and case study highlights African youth response to their disenfranchisement and exclusion by the state which often includes: coping and acting-out their desires 'for the good life' within their marginal position (which often draws the ire of adults and institutions) or being co-opted as agents and perpetrators of violence by political elites keen to advance their interest at their expense.

Therefore, the ways in which a government provides and enhances resources and opportunities for young people can go a long way in enhancing active or passive citizenship. As Gough et al. (2013: 93) points out, there is a

need to understand and analyze how young people perceive the society that they live in and the ways they are positioned in that society. In this study I aim to foreground the voices of Somali youth of Kenyan ethnicity while trying to understand their experiences on how they perceive their citizenship rights.

1.4 Research Objective and Questions

This study situates Somali youth within the general debates on citizenship. The objective of the study is to examine how Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens and equally how they are perceived and framed within official and public discourse. By highlighting the experiences of Kenyan Somali youth, the study aims to highlight implications for more responsive policy and practice for providing for and engaging with youth.

In order to achieve this objective, one main research question and three specific sub-questions were posed:

1. How do Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens with rights and privileges of citizenship, and how are they positioned and framed within public discourse, Government Youth Policy and legal regulations?

   Sub-Questions

   1. How do Kenyan Somali youth regard their citizenship status and the ways they access socio-economic resources like employment and participate in civic and political processes in the public sphere?

   2. How do Kenyan Somali youth enact their citizenship through alternative spheres like social media, sports and recreational activities?

   3. What is the role of Somali ethnic, Islamic identity and pastoralist identity in the co-construction of a Kenyan identity among Kenyan Somali youth and its influence on their perception of their citizenship status?

In the next sections and subsequent chapters I explore these questions in a bid to achieve the study's objective.

1.5 Methodology

This is a qualitative study in which I used primary data from individual in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and reviewed relevant literature including government policy documents and publications related to this study, most notably: Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP), Kenya Vision 2030 development intervention strategies for pastoralists people and the Constitution of Kenya on Articles regarding citizenship rights and entitlements, youth, minorities and marginalized groups. The research was conducted in Eastleigh, an estate located in the outskirts of the capital city, Nairobi between July and Au-

gust 2015. See a map of Kenya, neighbouring Horn of Africa countries and Eastleigh in Appendix I.

Data Collection Research Technique

I adopted semi-structured individual in-depth interviews and focus group discussions (Qualitative Interview research techniques) as the two are best suited for gathering the type of information I was soliciting for and in answering my research questions. In order to guide the interviews, I developed an interview guide which I later refined in the course of the interview process. This was made possible by the semi-structured interviews technique, which according to Kvale and Brinkmann (2009: 123-141) offers a researcher the opportunity to design questions that can draw out rich and in-depth lived experiences from study participants due to its flexibility. Further I was able to make follow-up with my study participants and seek clarification on some issues. On the other hand, focus group discussions is advantageous since by employing it at the beginning of a study, it provides a researcher with more insight on a topic based on diverse opinion offered by study participants which assists in further development of an interview guide for subsequent use in individual interviews (Cronin 2008: 168). This was evident during the study as some of the key themes in the guide provoked heated and stimulating discussions that assisted in cross checking information from divergent views.

Study Participants Selection

As a result of my working years in the public service, I was able to use formal and informal networks to identify and access study participants through purposive sampling technique. The categories of study participants consisted of majority Kenyan Somali youth and non-Somali youth and comprised of youth aged between 16-25 years from different gender and diverse social background. The choice of this age category is based on Bentley (1937: 34) argument that '…this age group has a special set of problems of vocational, personal and social adjustment and that society is not facilitating a smooth, easy, and natural transition for its members from childhood into settled and happy adult life'. Further, this category was appropriate for this study as it is experiencing some of the challenges facing youth in African and other developing countries like rising unemployment.

Table 3: Study Participants

Data Collection Research Technique	Study Participants
Semi-structured individual in-depth interviews	• 12 Somali youth (8 males and 4 females). • 3 youth from different ethnic communities.
Focus Group Discussions	• 6 Somali male youth • 10 youth (both male and female) comprising of Kenya Somali and youth from different ethnic communities • 7 female youth (3 Somali and the rest from different ethnic groups).

Source: Researcher

A total of 15 study participants were accessed through semi-structured individual in-depth interviews and 23 in 3 focus group discussions. The focus group discussions comprised of a minimum of 6 participants each which I based on Cronin (2008: 168) argument that large focus group discussions comprising of more than 10 people may lead to low quality data that lack in-depth and substance. The heterogeneity in the focused group discussions and individual in-depth interviews was aimed at capturing the richness of experiences of Kenyan Somali youth regarding their perceptions of citizenship albeit from a different perspective. Young people from other ethnic communities were in a strong position to give their opinions on the experiences of the Kenyan Somali youth due to the interactions that they may have had together in the neighbourhood.

Except for three study participants during the individual interview sessions who expressed some reservation for the use of Audio voice recording the rest of the sessions were recorded including the focus group discussion which I later transcribed for analysis. The interview and discussion questions were derived from the conceptual framework models with a focus on youth citizenship. Due to the voluminous amount of data generated, the information gathered from the interview process was sorted and organized according to different themes and a comparison and contrasting was made with the conceptual framework on youth citizenship. Attached herein as appendix II is the profile of the study participants.

Ethical considerations, Challenges and Reflexivity

Issues attributed to research ethics are bound to emerge in qualitative research due to factors attributed to data collection methods that often involves 'close or long term contact between the researcher and study participants in natural settings', something that is necessitated by the need to gather and document 'rich' data (Hammersley and Traianou 2012: 1-8). In addition, the issue of power imbalance is a factor especially between the researcher and study participants, with the former being perceived by the latter as 'socially powerfully', something that affect the quality of data gathered (Laws et al. 2003: 248). The

authors further point out that researchers need to update their study participants with information regarding their research in order to gain their consent (ibid: 234-239). Owing to my position as an adult male, a Christian and a civil servant, I was sensitive to these issues and in order to address them and get consent from my study participants, I emphasized on the purpose of my study, informed them about my institution, sponsor, my current position as a student and the intended benefits of my study to policy and practice in the department am working with. Further, I also ensured that I dressed modestly and spoke in Swahili (Kenya's national language) in order to reduce class barrier with my study participants as a majority were primary level school levers and could not communicate fluently in English.

The assistance of a young male member of Kenyan Somali community well acquainted with the study participants in 'climate setting' and facilitating introductions at each session helped to ease discomfort. In order to address perceived challenge of accessing young female study participants from the Kenyan Somali ethnic group due to cultural barriers, I organized some of the interviews to take place in the presence of an older female Somali social worker. However, this was not necessary during the female only focus group discussions due to the 'assuring' presence of other female participants from other communities (Focus group discussion 3, 4/8/2015). To win further the confidence and ensure active participation of the study participants, I adopted a collaborative approach in moderating focus group discussions by adopting a 'low-level moderation'. According to Cronin (2008: 166-167), low-level moderation is suitable when the objective of a study is to get the opinion of the study participant without the researcher limiting their knowledge and contribution on the topic under deliberation. To achieve this I ensured that my active participation and engagement in the discussions was reduced to a minimum role of introducing discussion themes and then letting the study participants to deliberate freely among them without feeling constrained and interjecting only to elaborate on a theme. This approach ensured encouraging interactive discussions amongst the study participants and in the process built their confidence and trust in me.

I further followed due ethical consideration by using pseudonyms for the study participants. For both the individual in-depth interview and focus group discussions, I prepared an interview guide in close collaboration with some of the young people whom I intended to work with in order to get their perspective during the framing of key themes and questions that might be important for the study. This went along way in reducing biases and as a reciprocal approach it 'ensures that the researcher is not perceived by study participants as seeking for a particular answer' (Schelbe et al. 2014: 7). Most youth were comfortable with indoor interviews either in the comfort of hotels or their '*bases*' which included the social hall cum gym, pay video halls, Eastleigh fellowship centre building on 8th street which hosts The Centre for Christian-Muslim Relations. This preference I came to learn later was dictated by their own past and present experiences and brush with the police and the Nairobi county revenue inspectorate officers known as '*Askaris*'; hence they tended to avoid congregating in groups in open spaces as my findings revealed.

1.6 Research Paper Structure

This research paper comprises of five (5) main chapters. After this first chapter in which I provided an overview of the study topic on Kenyan Somali youth experiences on citizenship and belonging, in chapter 2 the focus is on the conceptual framework and methodology and acts as the pedestal for critically analyzing the lived experiences of Kenyan Somali youth in their community in respect to the study objective. Chapter 3 presents an overview and a critical analysis of Kenya's National Youth Policy (KNYP) (2007) and Vision 2030(mainstreamed from KNYP). Chapter 4 highlights key themes of the study's findings which are analyzed in relation to the conceptual framework and relevant secondary literature review. The aim of this chapter is to understand some of the key issues that shape how Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens and equally how they are perceived and framed within official and public discourse. Chapter 5 concludes the study by giving a summary of the research findings and analysis and highlights policy implications.

Chapter 2 Conceptual and Analytical Framework

In studying how Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens and how they are equally perceived and framed within official and public discourse, a number of concepts and related theories were crucial for the analysis of these youth experiences and perspectives. Based on this objective, the concepts of youth, citizenship, identity and belonging, Intersectionality are discussed while: the 3 dimensions' of citizenship, the employment oriented and socially constructive participation citizen model and sub-culture theory provides key analytical frameworks for analyzing the study findings.

2.1 Conceptualizing 'Youth'

Kenyan Somali youth in this study like their counterparts from other ethnic groups belong to the category 'youth', whose definition and conceptualization varies in different social contexts and which sometimes impact on their 'ability to exercise full citizenship' (Manning and Ryan 2004: 2-4). For instance, The United Nation (UN) definition of youth as persons belonging in the age category of 15-24 years has been criticized as conforming to a Western perspective (O'Higgins (2001: 17). For instance, according to the African Union (2006), 'youth' are categorized within the ages of 15 to 35 years, although there are more profound variations again in different African societies.

According to Beauvais et al. (2001: 9-10) full citizenship entails access to basic social services like 'education, protection from discrimination' and creation of a conducive environment that enhances an individual's civic and political participation. The authors add that the way youth are situated in society in terms of a state of 'semi-autonomy' denies them the opportunity to exercise full citizenship, with most youth finding themselves caught between adult and youth status in terms of struggling to take care of themselves and their families and depending on their parents for sustenance (ibid). The same notion is advanced by Hall et al. (1999: 502-503) argument that extended transition to adulthood has been caused by structural factors and policies that have sometimes contributed to extended period of youth transition to adulthood. The importance of these arguments is that there is a need to understand youth citizenship status in their present context and circumstances rather than 'treating young people as citizens in-becoming who pass through certain transitional phases' (Beauvais et al. (2001: 12-13).

This is a key concept in this study and it's conceptualization by the Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP) of 2007 is crucial for analysis of the implication it has had on citizenship experiences of Somali youth of Kenyan ethnicity.

2.2 Citizenship: Youth Perspective

Citizenship has often been conceived of in varied ways either in terms of legal status in a nation state and the accompanying rights and privileges, or multi-dimensionally in terms of participation in various levels of a society's socio-economic and political spheres (Manning and Ryan 2004: 2-3). Similarly, in his analysis of citizenship and ethnicity in Kenya, Ndegwa (1997: 602-603) talks of dual citizenship in regard to ethnic groups and nation states as arenas for enactment of citizenship by arguing that individuals tend to pay more allegiance to their ethnic bastions than the nation state. On the other hand, Hall et al. (1999:502) points out that the concept citizenship provides the forum for learning more about youth transitions to adulthood and the way they construct their identities in different 'spaces and spheres'.

However, the application of these conceptualizations to youth tends to be problematic since most young people lack the power to exercise their citizenship rights compared to adults whom they are deemed to be equal with, in the legal sense (Manning and Ryan: 85-86). Furthermore, most youth policies tend to regard youth in futuristic terms 'something to become' through rhetoric like 'young people as leaders of tomorrow' and not in the present context (Smith et al. 2005: 426).

This concept will facilitate analysis of Kenyan Somali youth citizenship experiences and perceptions within their ethnic group and locale by basing also on the Kenya state and its youth policies, laws and regulations.

2.3 Identity and Belonging

Identity and belonging are often treated as interrelated concepts. According to Beauvais et al. (2001: 68-73) a person's identity and sense of belonging can be profoundly influenced and 'shaped' by the community where they reside, ethnic group that they belong to or their marginal position in society due to poverty or discrimination. According to the authors, these influences may be manifested in the way young people for instance from minority groups negotiate their identity between identifying with their ethnic groups, religious groups or with the dominant culture of the majority in locales where they reside.

In linking identity with citizenship, Hall et al. (1999: 505-506) points out that young people's increasing sense of independence and assertiveness of their citizenry rights is finding more expression from the private spaces in the household level to public spaces like 'street corners, park benches' and recreational areas where their 'personal and social identities are affirmed, contested and rehearsed'. He further argues that, young people's localities also forms a key component of their identity and sense of belonging and attachment as they transit towards adulthood (ibid: 509).

Equally in a study of racial identities, Bigelow (2010: 99) introduces the notions of imposed, assumed and negotiated identities in which he points out that imposed identity are often not negotiated or contested while assumed identity are neither negotiated but embraced. Identity and belonging are thus

important concepts for situating Kenyan Somali youth experiences and perspectives within their community and wider society.

2.4 Analytical Framework

The 3 Dimensions of Citizenship:

This study used the 3 analytical dimensions model of citizenship which according to Beauvais et al. (2001: 2-3) comprises of rights and responsibilities, access and feelings of belonging and identity and accompanying principles of equality and independence. However, they note that although these 3 elements are crucial for attainment of full citizenship, most young people sometimes are unable to actively exercise all the 3 dimensions due to their marginal position in society in terms of class, ethnic background, social groupings that they belong to and socio-economic challenges that they experience (ibid).

Figure 1: The 3 Dimensions of Citizenship
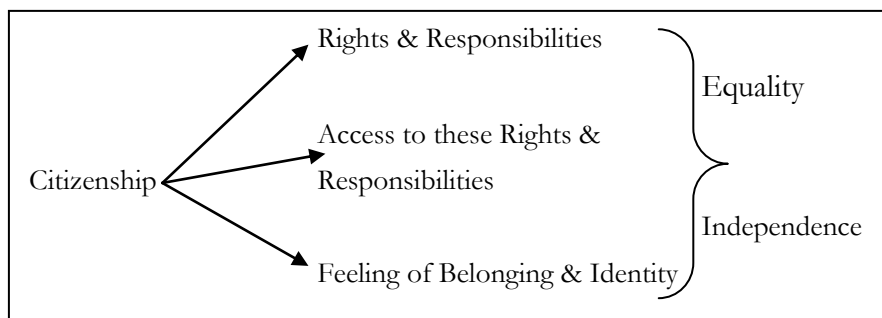
Source: A Literature Review on Youth and Citizenship: (Beauvais et al. 2001: 2)

From a gendered perspective, Orloff (1993: 308-309) and Walby (1994: 385-391) views females participation and sense of belonging in the public sphere as at times being constrained due to their subordinate position at the household, community and institutions level and which affects the way they are able to access their citizenry rights like access to education and protection from gender based violence. The 3 dimensional citizenship frameworks encompasses key concepts of identity and belonging used in this study and plays a significant role for analyzing: how Kenyan Somali youth regard their citizenship status and the ways they access socio-economic resources like employment and participation in civic and political processes in different spheres of the Kenyan society.

Employment Oriented and the Constructive Social Participation Citizenship models

These two contrasting conceptual framework models play a crucial role in determining the degree and extent of inclusion or exclusion of young people from enjoying and exercising their citizenship rights and obligations. According to Smith et al. (2005: 432-439), the employment oriented model informs most countries national youth social policies, with the ability of youth to access stable employment being viewed by policy makers as a key marker of citizenship. However, this model has been criticised for constructing a 'class based identity'

by focusing only on the labour market and negating the crucial role that young people perform in society like volunteer activities in their communities or household chores (ibid). The same position is taken by Dwyer (1998: 493-500) analysis of British welfare system which he argues has shifted from a rights based notion of citizenship of a state as the provider to duty based citizenship where individuals mainly able bodied poor and marginalized youth are deemed responsible enough to seek alternatives means of their livelihood sustenance.

In addition, Knijn and Kremer (1997: 329-332) in their study advocating for a more inclusive citizenship, argue that women's care-giving role just like paid work is equally important and the two complement each, and argue advocates for policies which recognizes women's care work as part of citizenship enactment. These two models are crucial in the analysis of Kenyan Somali youth experiences and perspectives in regard to civic engagement and political participation in both the private, public and other alternative spheres like sports and recreational activities.

Youth Culture and Sub-Culture Theories

Sub cultural theories have traditionally focused on youth occupying marginal and disadvantaged positions within society and whose behaviours are considered deviant and problematic against the dictates of social norms and values (Nwalozie 2015: 1). Terpstra (2006: 84-85) in this context argue that some of these theories regard youth sub-cultures as a means for young people to solve their problems due to societal failure to redress them. In calling for a re-conceptualization of sub-cultural theory that takes into account diverse social contexts, Nwalozie 2015: 1-10) argues that most sub-cultural theories often perceive youth sub-culture as a homogenous western 'cultural identities' in the form of a distinct linguistic, music, dress or body art works.

Garrat (2004: 145) points out that the media's 'obsession' and occasional exaggerated portrayal of young people's behavioural trends, fashion and craze sometimes inadvertently acts as a pull factor for youth to experiment with the images that the media has etched in their minds. On the contrary, young people tend to view what adult society regard as youth sub-culture as a 'symbolic challenge' to a society which sometimes they find difficulty in identifying with (ibid: 145-152). For instance, according to France et al. (2007: 309-311), in recent times, alongside the age old criminalization of Black youth hip hop music culture, there has been a shift of focus in the West towards Asian and Muslim youth expressions in music and cultural activities where their symbolic cultural expressions are being considered as a challenge to stability.

In this research, the Kenyan Somali youth occupies a unique position in one of Kenya's 'restive and securitized' urban and multicultural environment that has often been characterized by narratives of '*we versus them*'. It is under this social context that Kenyan Somali youth strive to negotiate their identities and sense of belonging. This setting therefore has provided the opportunity to review youth culture and sub-culture theories which goes a long way in providing a significant framework for understanding Somali youth lived experience and agency in respect to the study's objective.

Conclusion

The concepts of youth, citizenship, identity and belonging and the analytical frameworks are analyzed in regard to how they shape the lived experience of these youth. In addition, these concepts are further discussed in the subsequent chapters while Intersectionality as an analytical tool is used to analyze the interplay of factors such as age, ethnicity, gender and religion and how they impact on the Kenyan Somali youth citizenship claims (Wihtol de Wenden 2014: 148-149).

Chapter 3   Kenya Youth Policy and Legal Framework:

This chapter highlights and analyses the policy and legal environment informing issues on youth citizenship and intervention programmes for minority and marginalized pastoralists groups. The study's analysis focuses on Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP), published by the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports (MOYAS) in 2007 (MOYAS: 2007) and the Vision 2030[6] development Strategy for Northern Kenya region which seeks to 'secure a just and prosperous life for this region's inhabitants (MOSDNKAL 2011: 1-6). I will also review the country's new constitution which was promulgated in 2010 and which details legal guidelines for youth and minorities and marginalized groups.

The policy implications for Kenyan Somali youth experiences and perspectives on their Kenyan citizenship will be reviewed within these policies and legal context. This is informed by Kenyan Somali youth common heritage and connection with northern region as highlighted in chapter one, although there exists general differences in the way they are framed in Eastleigh, an urban areas compared to the northern region which is mostly a rural context. An overview of the urban context in Kenya and of these policies and legal framework exemplified by Kenyan constitution (Attached as Appendix III and IV) will be highlighted and reviewed based on the lived experiences of the study participants.

3.1 Youth Situation and Vulnerabilities in urban Spaces

With a youthful population between the ages 15-34 years constituting 35.9% of the total population estimated at 34.3 million in 2008, Kenya is considered as one of the countries in the global south experiencing a youth bulge, hence posing a challenge to the country's ability to support them as indicated in Appendix V (UNDP Kenya 2010: 3-4). Further, according to the government, this situation is compounded by the fact that 75% of the country's population is below the age bracket of 30 years, a situation that is exacerbated by rising youth unemployment, and their exclusion from governance processes that directly impact on their lives (MOYAS 2007: 1).

Due to the above challenges experienced by young people in Kenya, a majority of them mostly unskilled out of primary school youth often migrate to urban areas in search of livelihood, due to rising unemployment (UNDP Kenya 2010: 41-42). As Okwany (Forthcoming: 1-6) argues, rapid urbanization and growth rate in Kenya and Uganda's main cities have been compounded by the state's failure in social provisioning of basic services to some of the poorly developed locales within these metropolis. According to her, this social context

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[6] Vision 2030 is Kenya's development initiative which aims at improving the quality of lives of Kenyan citizens in an industrialized and middle income country by 2030 (MOSDNKAL 2011: 1-6)

has deepened the 'vulnerability and dependency situation' of most youth and eroded any 'sense of belonging that they may have for their locales, with females facing multiple disadvantages due to the risks they are exposed to in these locales whose public spaces are usually male dominated (ibid). As an urban centre, Eastleigh has often been described in various contradictory terms: as a 'microcosm of the dynamics between the Kenyan state and its Somali population'; as a 'picture of awkward infrastructural outer appearance and majestic buildings' in an overcrowded area that often lacks basic services like garbage disposal management (Abdulsamed 2011: 12, Lind et al. 2015: 10-27, Peter et al. 2013: 15).

With a high population of refugees and migrant Kenyan Somali youth from North Eastern counties seeking better livelihoods or using the locale as a transit point for their journey towards the *West,* Eastleigh has always been characterized by ethnic tension fuelled by high rate of unemployment (Lambo 2012: 21, Peter et al. 2013: 7-13). It's upon this backdrop of challenges facing youth in Kenya that the government launched the National Youth Policy and which was mainstreamed to Vision 2030 strategy for the development of Northern Kenya pastoralists' inhabitants of which Kenyan Somali belong.

3.2 An Overview of Kenya Youth Policy, Citizenship and National Values

Kenya being a member state of the African Union (AU) has factored in its most recent youth policy (passed in 2007), the Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP) some of the key principles of the 'African Youth Charter' which notes the challenges being experienced by African youth in accessing education, health, employment and other rights of citizenship (AU 2006: 1-6). Developed within the context of international policies, the policy aims at spearheading a gender-inclusive approach in youth development and protection of the rights and freedom of youth from all forms of discrimination irrespective of one's ethnic, class and religious affiliation (MOYAS 2007: 3-4). Further, the Government of Kenya (ibid) acknowledges the following issues as constraining Kenyan youth participation in society:

- That young people are the most infected and affected by HIV/AIDS, in addition to indulging in illicit drugs and substance abuse and crime.

- Low representation and participation of young people in the governance process (read politics) due to socio-cultural and economic barriers facing them like unemployment.

- Total lack of or non-existence of sports and recreation facilities available for young people to 'socialize and develop their talents and character'.

The policy further outlines the rights, responsibilities and obligations of young people towards the state which are enshrined in the Government of Kenya (GOK) constitution's chapters on citizenship entitlement, Bill of Rights, national values and principles (MOYAS 2007: 3-4).

3.3 Redressing the plight of Pastoralist youth

Of significance to this study is the Kenya government apparent 'commitment' towards enhancing citizenship participation of minorities and marginalized groups especially for the pastoralists' youth of whom the Kenyan Somali youth belong. The inter linkage between the predominantly Somali inhabited North Eastern Kenya and Eastleigh is quite strong with the latter often considered as the nerve centre of the government's relationship with its Somali citizens (Lind et al 2015: 10). The Government's commitment towards minorities and marginalized pastoralists is highlighted in the constitution which outlines the states obligations towards protecting them alongside, cultural and religious groups, children and youth who are deemed to be in vulnerable in the Kenyan society (GOK 2010: Article 21(3)).

The Government's Vision 2030 strategy (MOSDNKAL 2011: 95-99) points out that pastoralist youth from North Eastern and Northern region face unique and distinct challenges different from the ones faced by youth from other ethnic groups and which includes:

- Marginalization of pastoralists women and youth as a result of the existence of a power structure that is highly 'differentiated along gender and generational line' and which subordinates their interests to the general communal good. Under this power structure, decision making and resources are vested under older men's control, hence constraining youth agency and enhancing their dependency status.

- Prevalence of negative cultural practices like female genital mutilation (FGM) and neglect of the education of the girl child thus leading to low literacy rates and social mobility among pastoralist females.

- Difficulty in accessing Kenya's education system which is not adapted to the region's socio-cultural and economic context. This region is characterized by an arid and harsh environment and poor physical infrastructure like roads and water scarcity.

Some of the proposed measures by the government (MOSDNKAL 2011: 98-99) to address some of these challenges for youth from minorities and marginalized groups' includes: implementation of affirmative action in education and employment for minority and marginalized communities; focus on school retention strategies especially for girls through establishment of boarding schools and awareness campaign against retrogressive cultural traditions like FGM. Other proposed interventions includes: promotion of regional sporting and cultural activities through provision of facilities and establishment of vocational training centres to enhance self employment among pastoralist youth (ibid).

It can thus be envisaged that under a 'social contract' with the state, the state commits to ensure 'participation of youth in the country's socio-economic and political sphere through affirmative action and protection from retrogressive and harmful cultural practices' (GOK 2010: Article 55). The youth on their part are in turn expected to be: patriotic and loyal citizens;

champion democracy and the rule of the law; nurture a spirit of volunteerism and sacrifice by participating in nation building, while parents are expected to 'meet the basic and material needs of the youth and at the same time offer room for youth participation at all levels in Kenyan society' (MOYAS 2007: 5-8).

Conclusion

The Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP), Vision 2030 strategy and legal framework discussed in this section highlights the government's commitment in addressing issues that constrains the enactment of citizenship by minorities and marginalized groups of which the pastoralist Somali youth of Kenyan ethnicity belong. The vision 2030 strategy for northern Kenya people is a milestone towards addressing issues pertaining to youth citizenship for the pastoralist youth. In spite of this commitment, the government has been criticized for lacking a coordinated approach in implementing its youth policy and programmes in urban, rural and pastoralists regions. For instance: Most ministries and agencies implementing youth programmes are not using the KNYP as a guiding policy document; there is lack of clear operational guidelines on young people's participation in governance entities despite the establishment of the National Youth Council (NYC) and finally there is a general lack awareness of youth related policies and programmes is evident (Rugo and Muigei 2009: 1-4, UNDP Kenya 2010: 7-8).

Some of these challenges emerged during deliberations in the focus group discussions for instance while discussing with study participants challenges that they felt constrained their participation and contribution to their community (Focus group discussions 2: 20/7/2015 and Focus Group discussions 3: 4/8/2015):

> …As a gym instructor my source of livelihood was greatly affected when the former Nairobi Municipal Council sold the public social hall to a private developer who converted it to a shopping mall. I used to train youth in the social hall which also acted as our base…we were moved to a room in the top floor of the mall which lacks electricity (Ahmed, 24 years old male).

> …These deportees[7] have introduced in this neighbourhood children's cough syrup which they used to abuse in America. Now they have even influenced our girls…Unfortunately there are only private rehabilitation centres in this estate which are very expensive. The government needs to do something (Halgan, 19 years old female).

The study participants were not even aware of the role of the areas' sub-county youth and sports officers whom they should have approached to seek redress. Further, despite acknowledging the disempowering 'unique' challenges facing pastoralists' youth in Kenya and which constrains the way they exercise their citizenship rights, KNYP and Vision 2030 strategy do not give clear

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[7] Deportees referred to young male Somalis who had been deported from Europe, USA and Canada due to their involvement in criminal and delinquent activities according to the study participants and residents.

guidelines on how to challenge these cultural values that are deeply embedded in the mind and psyche of the adult members of the pastoralist communities. Further it is apparent that the critical and yet unremunerated role of females in the household level has not been addressed by these policies, although a lot of emphasis is put towards youth employment as a key intervention measure.

Finally, of significance is the way youth is conceptualized in contradictory terms in the Kenya National Youth Policy and the constitution. For instance, the constitution refers to youth as 'the collectivity of all individuals in the Republic who have attained the age of 18 years but have not attained the age of 35 years' while an 'adult' is defined as an 'individual who has attained the age of 18 years', and '*child*' being a person who has not attained the age of 18 years' (GOK 2010: Article 27(4), Article 260). On the other hand, Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP) defines youth as 'persons between 15 to 30 years (MOYAS 2007: 1). These contradictions presents youth as being in a state of 'limbo', of being in-between childhood and adulthood. This is problematic in regard to citizenship and policy implications. For instance, according to Manning and Ryan (2004: 23), differences in the citizenship status of young people at both the formal and substantive levels differ since 'the citizenship status of those under 18 years is one defined by rights to protection by the state, whereas that of those aged over 18 years is closer to the classical idea of a citizen who has both rights and responsibilities'.

Despite belonging to a marginal pastoralist community and experiencing some unique socio-cultural challenges that has impeded the way they exercise citizenship, Kenyan Somali youth just like any other Kenyan youth have a crucial role to play in the way the National Youth Policy is formulated and implemented.

Chapter 4 Lived Experience and Perceptions of Citizenship

This chapter presents key findings on Kenyan Somali youth experiences and perceptions of their citizenship and how they regard the ways they access socio-economic resources and participation in civic and political processes in Kenya. The chapter will also review Somali ethnic, Islamic and pastoralist identities and the role and influences of these factors in the co-construction of a Kenyan identity among these youth. Finally, the ways the Kenyan Somali youth enact their citizenship through alternative spheres is also explored.

4.1 Space and Place: Influence on Identity and Enactment of Citizenship

At the start of each session, the general perceptions by most of the study participants on what constitute rights and entitlement of a citizen was mainly based on a legal perspective. Responses ranged from right to access legal identification documents, observing law and order to entitlement of citizens to state protection. When asked about how they spend their time in the neighbourhood, different responses highlighted the important role of space and place in young people's lives (Focus group discussions 2: 20/7/2015):

> We normally chew Miraa (a mild stimulant plant known also as Khat) together with our Orma friends at our '*base*' (gym) especially in the evenings (Kim, 25 years old, male).

> I spend most of my free time assisting my mother with household chores or attending to our self help group activities at Eastleigh fellow centre since I am the treasurer. We hope to apply for the Uwezo Fund soon (a government business funding programme targeting youth, women and disabled) (Ayan, 17 years old, female)

The statements by Kim and Ayan points to the different ways youth in this neighbourhood enact their citizenship. According to Hall et al. (1999: 505-509) public spaces like street corners apart from formal and familiar spaces like schools and households performs an important role in the construction of young people's emerging identity by nurturing in them a sense of belonging and 'shared identity' in the process of socializing. This is elaborated by Okwany (forthcoming :5) who points out the crucial role of place in influencing the way youth enact their agency based on the socio-economic context of their specific locales and the gendered way these agency are exercised. Further, during the focus group discussions and individual interviews, most of the study participants from both ethnic divide were concerned with the continued negative portrayal of their neighbourhood as the epicentre of terrorism and Islamic radicalization especially by the media. According to them this had affected business activities in the area and greatly affected their source of livelihood.

While these informal spaces provide young people the opportunity to bond and nurture some form of 'collective identity' through occupation of a territory, sometimes these 'youthful acts' tends to be perceived by 'adults' as 'a

threat to the existing social order' (Hall et al. 1999: 506-509). In this context, most of the study participants from both ethnic divide in Eastleigh voiced their concern over frequent arbitrary arrest of youth by law enforcement officers in light of the ongoing anti-terror campaign by the government. However, the Kenyan Somali youth felt that they were the most affected by these operations which had also been exacerbated by the 'sub-cultural activities' of the *'Superpower'* gang or *'deportees'*. According to some of the Kenyan Somali youth, these factors combined with their Islamic identity had securitized them as 'an existential threat' to the country's stability and made them prime targets of law enforcement officers compared to youth from other ethnic groups whom they felt were being 'treated with kid gloves':

> If you are accosted by the police in the streets it doesn't matter whether you have an identity card or not what matters is whether you will be able to contact your relatives or parents to bail you out. For us Somalis and Muslims in particular the bribe for release will depend on whether you have been accused for being a member of Al-Shabaab or Superpower…but for the *'nywele ngumu'* the amount is lower (Anwar, 23 years old male).

Nywele ngumu in reference to coarse and dense afro-type of hair normally associated with a majority of Black African communities is a derogative word in Kiswahili language that is sometimes laced with racial undertones, commonly used by Somalis to refer to other Kenyan ethnic groups. This 'racial' discourse is discussed further in subsequent sections.

Compared to their male counterparts, female youth experience in public spaces were different. When asked how they coped in such a 'securitized environment', most Somali female study participants confirmed that they usually kept indoors performing household chores or helping out in family business in addition to observing *'Swallah'* (prayers) in the house mostly. However, some of the non-Somali female participants were more passionate about how they coped; their statements alluding to the displacement and 'othering' narratives that had come to characterize social relations in this neighbourhood.

> I have been forced to keep indoors as early as 8.p.m since my arrest last year. It was never like this before. 'They' (in reference to Somalis') have made life unbearable for us in all fronts. For example, rent for bedsitters has risen so fast compared to a few years ago...we are being harassed and arrested by police on trumped up charges because of their boys' (superpower gang) activities (Ann, 19 years old female).

> They look down upon us and treat all Somalis like refugees. You just feel it from the looks in their faces when you encounter them in the streets. That's why I don't like going to some of the estates like Umoja and Baba Dogo where 'they' are many (eliciting laughter from fellow participants) (Haaweyo, 20 years old female: Focus group discussions 3, 4/8/2015).

These statements conform to the arguments presented in the 3 dimensions of citizenship framework. For instance, Beauvais et al. (2001: 60-61) points out that the gendered experience in public spaces is different for both sexes, with female youth exposed to higher risks of sexual violence and are forced to adopt various coping mechanisms like 'staying at home or walking in groups'. In addition, some young people may find it difficult to exercise their citizenry rights or feel a sense of belonging in their locality due to their 'ethnicity or as a result of challenges emanating from their socio-economic environ-

ment' (ibid: 2-3). Further, the marginal position of female youth in the male dominated public sphere has been linked by various studies to the notion that most women tend to enact their citizenship in the private sphere 'due to the socially constructed gender roles that sometimes mitigates against their participation and visibility in the public sphere (Foulds 2015: 766, Okwany forthcoming: 9-10, Yuval-Davis 1997: 12).

On the same argument, it has equally been noted that Somali pastoralist traditions fused with Islamic values also play a significant role in the way Somali women enact their citizenship. In line with Islamic teachings, traditionally Somali women's visibility is supposed to be limited to their roles in social reproduction at the household level in terms of caring for the family (Unicef 2002: 5-21). However, more Somali and Muslim women participation in economic activities outside the household has increased in the contemporary period due to socio-economic and political changes and effects of globalization (ibid).

Kenyan Somali youth use of terms such as '*nywele ngumu*' (coarse afro hair type) or 'these Kenyans' in reference to their counterparts from other ethnic groups was consistent throughout much of the discussions. I also realized that for some it was not an intentional slur but a subconscious and natural speech-act. This can be deduced as a pointer to the extent to which Somali youth and Somalis in general feel alienated from the mainstream Kenyan society. However, based on studies done by various scholars, issues of racism have always pervaded relationships between Somalis and other ethnic groups since the pre-colonial period. Jannink (2009: 6-11), Murunga (2005: 151-152), and Turton (1974: 325-381) argue that, perceptions of racial superiority over 'Black Africans' has always been strong among the Kenyan Somalis especially the Isaaq clan, who claim to trace their genealogy back to the Arab ancestry in the Middle East. Jannink (2009) goes further in her study of Somali women in Eastleigh and links some of the women's desire for 'becoming white' to the notion of 'hierarchy of races' which situates the white Euro-American on a higher pedestal to other races. The quest by some of these women to improve their social and economic prospects is due to their marginal position in society compared to their Kenyan Somali male counterparts (Ibid).

Youth Culture or Sub-Culture: Acting out in Public Spaces

Garratt (2004: 145-152) argues that youth culture expressed through music or fashion may be a symbolic expression of young people's independence, identity or of their locales socio-economic or political context. The media, according to Garratt tends to 'stereotype' some symbols that characterizes young people's common identity, in the process creating a perception of young people as a threat to social order or even inadvertently influencing some youth to identify with these romanticised images (ibid: 143). As the following excerpt from one of Kenya's newspaper reported on Somali youth superpower 'gang'.

> '…They walk in groups and their hair cut is different from the rest of the people. The trousers they wear are called pipes (tight fittings) and they wear very strong cologne…they have money and whenever they are arrested and taken to court they come back because they pay bribes. They continue to give

us sleepless nights'- (A Somali elder[8] interview with The Daily Nation Newspaper, Kenya).

This type of discourse on youth culture and sub-culture emerged during one of my discussions with youth from both ethnic divide, highlighting the intersection of ethnicity, gender and religion in the different lived experiences of the youth (Focus group discussions 2: 20/7/2015):

> A young man adorning *'Mohawk'* hairstyle risks being arrested by police in the streets of Eastleigh on trumped-up charges for being a member of *'Superpower'* or Al-Shabaab… and yet these are the same current fashions adorned by soccer stars like Neymar. The risks are even higher for us Somalis and Muslims youth than for Christians'. (Abdimalik, 16 years' old male).

> I fear this gang (superpower) more. They rob and can kill if one resist… They even arbitrate disputes, for example my boyfriend can be disciplined and fined for harassing me if I report him to the gang (laughter) (Betty, 17 years old female).

The *Superpower* and other organized gangs like the *Mungiki* sect, the Somali based Al-Shabaab terrorist organizations have all been proscribed by the Kenyan government as illegal sub-cultural groups[9]. *The superpower* has played a significant role in the ways young Somali men are framed negatively in public discourse. However, the Kenyan Somali male youth were categorical that a distinction needs to be made by law enforcement officers between youth culture expressed through fashion and the *Superpower gang's* sub-cultural activities.

In their study on the engagement of African youth, Forti and Maina (2012: 63-64) propose that the Kenyan government needs to 'creatively' engage young people perceived to belong to 'charismatic youth movements, sub-cultures and gangs' whose membership normally compose of poor marginalized, low class youth living on the fringes of society. The authors further point out that rural-urban migration due to rising youth unemployment has resulted in youth being victims and perpetrators of insecurity and violence (ibid: 65-66). The same line of argument is held by Anderson (2012: 27) who points out that organizations like Al-Shabaab use the 'victimization narratives' to recruit youth by exploiting socio-economic marginalization of minority Muslim groups and youth from other religious and ethnic groups. However, Anderson emphasizes that other external factors apart from economic ones also influence young people to join terror organization, and argues that Kenya's anti-terror campaign in Somalia is being viewed within the general narrative of 'occupation and liberation in Iraq and Afghanistan in which youth are lured to join or join on their own volition to participate in a struggle against foreign invasion of a Muslim nation (ibid: 28).

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[8] http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Eastleigh-Superpower-Gang-Crime-Salah-Mohamed/-/1056/2833484/-/10jfxra/-/index.html

[9]http://www.nation.co.ke/News/All+out+war+against+organised+gangs/-/1056/1037000/-/fjfj9w/-/index.html

4.2 Competing Multiple Identities and the Elusive Kenyan Identity

While visiting Eastleigh neighbourhood, I am always struck by a strong display of Somali culture in the traders merchandise, architectural works and the large presence of Somalis in the streets. However, the extent to which Kenyan Somali community has been able to integrate with other communities in Kenya is difficult to elaborate due to the community's close knit like lifestyle. For instance, intermarriage with non-Somalis is frowned upon in the community and one risks being ostracized from the family or clan network due to Somalis strong attachment to their culture and traditional norms which are regarded as sort of 'social insurance'[10]. Stephen (2002: 7) further points out that intermarriage between couples perceived to trace their membership to clans in the same hierarchy of statuses is highly encouraged among the Somali as a way of enhancing clan network and bonding for mutual benefit although in the contemporary period there have been cases of intermarriages with outsiders especially in the diaspora.

However, my discussion with Hassan, a 22 years old male youth of mixed heritage (mother is a Somali of Kenyan ethnicity and father from one of Kenya's ethnic group) revealed how intersecting factors of ethnicity, religion and class influences the way young people from inter-ethnic marriages negotiate their identity and exercise citizenship in Kenya.

> My father, though a Muslim convert is treated with respect by security officers. Unlike me, he doesn't have to walk around with his identity card all the time…it's my physical features and religion that betrays me. Once when I was arrested they didn't believe me when I showed them my identity card and my father's copy. I thought they would release me, but instead I was hauled into their lorry and taken to remand.

From my lengthy discussion with Hassan, it was apparent that his experience as a young person from a mixed heritage background was characterized by moments of 'identity dilemma' and of being torn between three worlds: whether to identify with his father's ethnic group as social insurance against 'a securitized public space' or to identify with an 'imposed securitized identity' of a Somali and Muslim. Bigelow (2010: 99) points out that an imposed identity arises when individuals are denied the chance to contest or affirm identities that they have been identified or linked with. Further, according to Bigelow, such individuals may end up assuming or identifying with identities that has been imposed on them without negotiating these identities (ibid). The same line of argument is advanced by Ghaffar-Kucher (2012: 1-4) based on her study of Pakistani-American youth whom she argues, opts to embrace an 'imposed' Islamic identity as a means of resisting and confronting stereotypes 'by those questioning their citizenship' in post 9/11 rhetoric.

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[10]http://www.hiiraan.com/op4/2014/july/55443/mixed_marriage_in_the_somali_community_a_cause_for_celebration_not_concern.aspx

From my discussions with Kenyan Somali male youth, the need to preserve Somali identity was an important aspect of Somali peoples' lives. This was brought out from their narratives about how some of the Kenyan Somali in the diaspora sent their 'children' back 'home' (Eastleigh) to be 'reformed' by the community (Focus group discussions 1, 15/7/2015). However, in subsequent discussions it emerged that a majority of these *deportees* were facing a serious 'identity crisis', torn in-between their parents world and the world they were being forced to join (re-join) as this media report highlights:

> When I arrived, there were many of us who had been deported and to send a message that we are strong and relevant, we formed superpower, which essentially means that we came from superpower countries (Excerpt of a media house interview with a male youth member of Superpower group[11])

The above dilemma being experienced by deported Kenyan Somali youth also mirrors Bigelow (2010: 94-95) study of young Somali migrants in United States of America in which most Somali youth often find themselves in a dilemma in trying to navigate between two different cultures over the choice of being either 'a Somali, an African, an American or a Muslim' under the watchful gaze of the conservative adult members of the community. Parallel to this, Beauvais et al. (2010: 69) argues that a person's identity and belonging can be influenced by the local community, one's ethnic group, class or affiliation to a religious group. This finding therefore contradicts the 'multiple citizenship perspective argument that citizenship is no longer limited to a homogenous status of belonging, of the nation-state (Yuval-Davis 2007, Wihtol de Wenden 2014: 148-149).

Somali identity also plays a crucial role in the social and economic lives of Somali youth by inculcating a sense of belonging to the Somali community. This has been exacerbated by perceptions and feelings by some of the study participants that they lacked equal access to resources and opportunities like employment in comparison to youth from other Kenyan communities. As Khalid, a 24 years old Kenyan Somali male working for a pharmaceutical company as a medical representative alluded:

> Generally clan and Islam are the overriding criteria for accessing opportunities and support in our community. For instance because Somali weddings are very expensive and most of us youth cannot afford it. It is the grooms' clan members and friends who normally assist him through fundraising. These weddings can run up to 1 million Kenya shillings. Even a fledgling business can be supported by members of one's' clan.

But Khalid's sentiments was downplayed by Kassim, a 21 years old Kenyan Somali youth, but who downplayed the crucial role of Somali identity in empowering Somali youth arguing that inter-clan hierarchy and power contests had disadvantaged youth from minority clans. A diploma certificate holder in a business course, Kassim was not proud to be a Kenyan citizen a fact he at-

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[11]http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Eastleigh-Superpower-Gang-Crime-Salah-Mohamed/-/1056/2833484/-/10jfxra/-/index.html

tributed to two years of 'unemployment'. Despite living with and working for his uncle he felt that he was being exploited due to the low and irregular wages he received and planned to migrate again to Britain to get a job having failed in his first attempt. Kassim's views relates with the argument advanced in the Vision 2030 strategy for Northern Kenya people (MOSDNKAL 2011: 95-99) which points out that marginalization of pastoralists women and youth in regard to resource distribution is attributed to a power structure that favours male adults along 'gender and generational lines'. On the contrary, Forti and Maina (2012: 62) attributes marginalization of youth to the break down in relations between them and adults in the contemporary period and argue that many young people are ignorant of their community's social structures which are important in guiding relationships. However, Beauvais et al. (2010: 9-10) perceives the actions of young people 'leaving home' in search of permanent and well paying jobs as a means of 'seeking access to citizenship' and acknowledge that work can be a source of enhancing young people's social identity status, sense of responsible and independence. However, Beauvais argues further that this is a 'Western notion' of youth independence which might be different in some social and cultural contexts.

Further to the ethnic identity versus national identity debate, a number of studies have pointed out that an individual's ethnic identity is socially constructed, although it has equally been argued that some of the ethnic groups in Kenya were just creations of the colonial administration and were never 'monolithic entities' as they appear to be (Foulds 2015: 775, Ndegwa 1997: 600-604). In spite of this, various discourses have argued that Kenyans attachment to their ethnic identity is always strong and that ethnic identity generally overrides the Kenyan identity which is deemed as a non-binding superficial political ideal that is difficult to market in a highly polarized country along ethnic lines (Foulds 2015: 774-779, Muhula 2009: 94-99). In their analysis of citizenship education in Kenya, Odhiambo and Modiba (2009: 477-488) goes further to argue that history and civics teachers in Kenya often face the daunting task of promoting a Kenyan identity that celebrates ethnic and cultural diversity to their students who apparently are politically and socially conscious of the deep ethnic division that exists in their society.

Further, although the Kenyan government (MOSDNKAL 2011: 109-111) proposes integration through inter-ethnic exchange programmes between Kenyan pastoralist youth and their counterparts from other ethnic groups, challenges remains in realizing positive attitudinal change among Kenyan Somalis who continue to harbour feelings of discrimination and marginalisation. Further, measuring the effectiveness of such programmes in Eastleigh can be a tall order, especially in a neighbourhood where contestation over 'space' has often been reinforced by a dynamic relationship between Christians and Muslims characterized by feelings of 'marginalization, negative ethnicity, mutual suspicion and insecurity' (Peter et al. 2013: 7).

4.3 Seeking Civic Engagement and Sanctuary through Alternative Spheres

African youth participation in politics continues to be constrained in spite of increased democratization and formulation of national and regional policies for addressing issues concerning youth marginalization, a concern that has been attributed to:, with Kenya not being an exception (Muhula 2009: 93-94, Wamucii 2012: 26-31). According to the authors, this is attributed to rising youth unemployment; strict regulations and control of the civil society by governments and the marginal position that youth occupy in political parties as grass root mobilizers which sometimes exposes them to exploitation and violence. The Kenya National Youth Policy (KNYP) (MOYAS 2007: 3) for instance acknowledges that some socio-cultural barriers are impediments for youth participation in key decision making, planning, and implementation of youth centred programmes. Further, it has been noted that the inability of most young Kenyan politicians to articulate youth agenda once elected to political offices, and perennial state failure in implementing youth programmes are some of the reason why young people resort to civic engagement through other alternative public spheres like sports (Muhula 2009: 94, Wamucii 2012: 27).

Discussions with most Kenyan Somali and non-Somali youth highlighted their marginal position in political participation. However, my discussions with Saddam, a 24 years old male orphan yielded an interesting insight into youth civic engagement and political participation. A 'drifter' (I perceived him to be so) who had travelled to a number of counties in north eastern region in the last two years, shifting from one temporary job to another, Saddam was currently 'hustling' in Eastleigh 'assisting' local politicians in mobilizing youth for various political and development functions. In spite of being an ardent participant in political activities, Saddam lacked an identity card, claiming that his application had been rejected on the ground that he could not produce his late parents' legal documents as proof of his Kenyan citizenship. This he claimed limited his chances of voting during election periods and securing a well paying job. In relation to Saddam's case, Smith et al (2005: 426-428) argues that, failure by young people to exercise their voting rights in the electoral processes has always been interpreted by governments and political actors as a 'youth problem' and sign of passive citizenship. However, the authors argue that the fact that young people lack voting rights does not necessarily prevent them from participating in politics (Ibid).

Studies conceive of youth civic engagement as comprising of various forms of contributions made by young people to their communities and the wider society, actions that are significant towards the development of young people's sense of belonging and identity as citizens and as members of the communities where they reside (Boyd et al. 2011: 1167, Crocetti et al. 2012: 522). Further discussions by participants on this theme brought into focus the issue of active and passive citizenship and the way youth viewed their role as citizens in their neighbourhood. When asked about their contribution towards their neighbourhood and wider society, various responses on civic engagement emerged (Focus Group discussions 2, 20/7/2015):

> I am a law abiding citizen and a member of our neighbourhood's *Nyumba Kumi* (community policing committee)…we are struggling to eradicate drugs and crime in this neighbourhood although it is not easy but things are im-

proving… Recently when my neighbour's phone was stolen by a fellow I knew, I made sure that the young lady got back her phone (Aweys, 25 years old male).

Occasionally our self help group is normally called upon by the area Chief to participate in national events and activities. Recently in May we participated together with our county officials in marking the World No Tobacco Day to advocate against smoking, drugs and substance abuse (Fartun, 19 years old female).

In the case of Aweys and Fartun, they project the image of 'good' citizens who are deeply involved in the affairs of their neighbourhood. Their civic engagement resonates with Crocetti et al. (2012: 523) argument that youth who are actively engaged in civic responsibilities and duties either at the national or community level tends to 'have positive social attitudes' than those who are not. This argument also conforms to the socially constructive citizen model, which acknowledges the role of individual's civic engagement in their communities beyond the activities prescribed by formal organizations (Smith et al 2005: 436-439).

Somali Youth: The Internet and Social Media

While there is clearly a distinct culture among youth on the internet, youth are also creating strong links with the school, community, teachers, government and work places.

(UNDP Kenya 2010)

However, for some Kenyan Somali youth like Athman, the internet has provided for them the opportunity to engage the state albeit in a different platform. Social media has become like a 'sanctuary' for some of them from their insecure public spaces and also a forum for them to socialize with their peers and engage the State and the public on issues that they deem dear to them as Somalis and as Muslims. Such issues include terrorism, stereotyping, ethnic profiling and unemployment according to this study finding:

I have been posting a lot to a blogging forum in *Facebook* called 'Kenya I'm not a terrorist'. We aim at countering all the lies you have been hearing about us. We post our real photos on this site affirming who we are and what we stand for (Athman, 25 years old male).

With the unprecedented popularity of social media in the 21st century among youth, the internet has been regarded as a new frontier for Muslim youth to 'enact new performances of citizenship outside the formal spaces of participation' due to the freedom, security and independence that it offers (Johns 2014: 71-72). However, in spite of the autonomy that it offers, a number of discourses have attributed the social media craze among young people especially among Muslim youth to a rising 'youth culture of assertiveness and self expression' credited partly to globalization and post 9/11 war on terror rhetoric and the nation-states weakening ability to control the 'troublesome' and 'problematic youth' (Comaroff and Comaroff 2005: 21-27, Herrera and Bayat 2010: 5-11).

Intersection of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity

From discussions with Somali youth participants and other non Somali youth, several issues emerged concerning the usage of social media, differences in the experiences of young people use of social media were equally apparent. Several interacting factors like gender, age, class, education level, religion and ethnicity were key factors in the way information and images were relayed and interpreted in civic engagement.

While Kenyan Somali and Muslims mainly male youth used social media to highlight their marginal position and discrimination in Kenyan society, it was a bit different for the non Somali and non-Muslim youth although similar when it came to using the media as a tool for socializing. For example according to Kim, a 25 year's old Christian, he normally uses his Smartphone to access Facebook and participate with his friends on political debates that according to him 'are sometimes charged and laced with negative ethnicity'. On the contrary, for Aziza, an 18 years old female, she opted out of *Facebook* and *Whatsapp* due to her inability to bear the idle talks and 'faking' of profiles by most of her friends. Mukhongo (2014: 328-335) points out that ability of the Kenyan youth to create, manipulate and post images and information especially on politics has become a key concern for the Kenyan government who are keen to prevent acts that might stoke inter-ethnic and religious conflict.

However there were a number of shared experiences in the usage of social media between Kenyan Somalis and non-Somali youth who regarded themselves as apolitical and hated the murky ethnic based politics pervading the public sphere. From one of the focus group discussions, blogging sites like 'Airbase our hood' created by youth from both ethnic divide acted as a platform for youth to interact on issues of social services provisioning and social events updates in their neighbourhood. This innovation had impressed their County Representatives who occasionally engaged them on issues concerning development.

> We discuss and comment on development matters, neighbourhood cleanup and problems affecting us. Occasionally our county representative organizes and sponsors joint lunch for youth self help groups by updating us through this forum (Faiza, 21 years old female ICT student).

But unlike Faiza, an educated female from a middle class family staying in the more affluent and secure 12th street, Maryam, an 18 years, unemployed class six school leaver, had never used social media applications before but was aware of the excitement social media was generating in the neighbourhood and longed to own a smart phone. However at the moment she had to contend with her basic cell phone for calling and texting messages. Maryam's case conforms to Hilbert (2011: 479-487 argument that a majority of women in developing countries have been excluded from Information Communication and Technology (ICT) and the benefits that comes with it due to their marginal position in society as a result of low literacy levels and unemployment. He adds further that some of the internet applications are male biased and specific to the Western context and hence do not afford women from developing countries the ability to challenge discrimination and inequality in some of the highly patriarchal African societies.

Citizenship through Sports and Recreational Activities

Sports and recreational activities have always played an important role in the lives of young people. As key markers of integration, it has enabled Kenyan Somali youth and their counterparts from other ethnic groups to socialize and bond as my findings revealed and has also emerged as an alternative sphere for civic engagement within the neighbourhood.

Seizing the moment due to the popularity of sporting activities like soccer, the Kenyan Government through its National Youth Policy (KNYP) and various programmes under Vision 2030, have adopted sports as a means for promoting discipline, integration, multi-cultural understanding and checking delinquency among youth (MOYAS 2007: 10-11). Keen to achieve this objective and by acknowledging the status of sporting and recreational facilities in the country as scarce and underutilized, the KNYP (Ibid) proposes a number of key policy interventions which includes:

- Acquiring and cascading sports and recreational facilities in learning centers, urban and to the village level in a bid to promote youth talents in sports
- Enhancing HIV/AIDS awareness through sport activities among young people who are the most affected and infected.
- Cushioning youth from exploitation by sports brokers and agents through a public-private partnership and by involving youth in decision making in the sporting committees.
- Using sports as a way of promoting and preserving Kenya's rich cultural diversity.

But, the KNYP strategy as envisioned has been criticized for being too rich in details and rhetoric but little in practical implementation on the ground. Forti and Maina (2012: 63-64) for instance point out that many Kenyan youths are not aware of Kenya's youth policy and how it's supposed to empower them due to the top-down approach in policy formulation that has always been adopted by the government on youth issues. Further they argue that government youth policies and programmes always focus on dealing with legitimate youth organizations like CBOs, NGOs and sports clubs whose membership comprise of 'respectable salaried youth' while alienating and excluding organizations considered illegitimate like youth activists, gangs and sub-cultural groups whose input and engagement is crucial to tackle youth problems (ibid).

It's under this uncertain context that some organizations in Eastleigh have stepped in to try and enhance the integration of Kenyan Somali youth into the mainstream Somali community and the wider society through sports and recreational activities. According to Mwanaisha, a 25 years old female community social worker in one of these organizations, Kenyan Somali youth are facing a lot of challenges hence the reason why her organization targeted them in their programmes:

> We are appalled by the high rate of youth unemployment and female illiteracy in our community. There is too much idleness, drugs and substance abuse and pre-marital sex among our youth which exposes them a lot to the danger of contracting HIV… So you find most of them whiling away time in gyms or shopping malls looking for casual jobs.

Further, according to Mwanaisha, they were exploiting opportunities presented by sport activities to train youth on livelihood skills, poetry and theatre, and raise awareness on drugs and substance abuse, youth radicalization and integration programmes on positive Somali cultural traditions and Islamic values. Due to the prominent role of poetry among the Somali community, she added that some of their students had successfully carved out careers for themselves through public performances during weddings and political functions. In this regard and drawing from a study of a youth sports organization in Kenya, Wamucii (2012: 36-37) observes that sports and other recreational activities like drama can provide a conducive setting for young people's participation in 'community service and public outreach programmes'. She adds that such programmes can then enhance the youth capacity to influence the perceptions of some of the conservative adult members on key issues affecting youth such as negative cultural traditions (ibid). Social media another alternative sphere for young people as I had earlier discussed has also enabled politicians to organize social and leisure activities like soccer tournament and joint luncheon for young people from both ethnic divide as a way of promoting peace and integrating of young people.

However, attaining integration for youth through sports can sometimes turn out to be a mirage. As Spaaij (2015: 305-309) points out, some social boundaries 'may not be easy to penetrate or cross', but may instead reinforce exclusion for some social groups. In a study of integration of Muslim immigrant youth in multicultural societies in the *West*, Spaaij (2015) and Makarova and Herzog (2014: 1-9), argue that such boundaries may be related to differences based on gender, religion and ethnicity and may promote instead 'boundary maintenance' due to unfavourable conditions created by sports organizations towards catering for the various needs of their team members. These arguments resonate with some of my findings based on my discussion with a non-Somali youth:

> I have lived and interacted with the Somalis in this neighbourhood for long, played soccer with them in our neighbourhood football team…But what surprises me most is their lack of team spirit and respect for the rules of the game in the pitch. You disagree with one of them during a soccer match and the rest of them gang against you, including your own Somali team mates…They are fond of raising issues not related to the game during these tense moments, like how we discriminate them. It sort of kills sportsmanship (Eddy, 19 years old male).

Eddy's experience brings into question some of the normative assumptions about the positive influence that sports has on the lives of youth. For instance Spaaij (2015: 303-304) argues that some of the 'socio-cultural norms that sports embody' can sometimes end up marginalizing youth from multi-ethnic sports organization and in some extreme case make them to shift to their mono-ethnic sports clubs where they may feel a sense of belonging and acceptance. This argument elicits further question into the effectiveness of sports as a sphere for integration and enhancement of civic engagement by young people for example in situations where sports and recreational activities are turned into spheres for 'squaring off' and settling old scores between rival youth groups. This is especially true for neighbourhoods like Eastleigh where inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations are sometimes at their lowest point in what Peter et al. (2013: 7) attributes to both 'real or imagined perceptions of

marginalization and which are sometimes reinforced by negative ethnicity, suspicion, insecure environment and high rate of youth unemployment.

Based on my study finding and from the debates and discourses discussed in this section, it is apparent that sport and other recreational activities plays a crucial role in the lives of Kenyan Somali youth by enhancing their civic engagement and acts of citizenship within their community and with their counterparts from other ethnic groups.

However, Kenya's youth policy (KNYP) conceptualizes youth participation in sports and recreational activities in a paternalistic manner by perceiving youth as a problematic and population 'at risk' whose behaviour need to be controlled through sports and recreational activities. It conceives of sports as a sphere for instilling discipline and checking idleness among youth lest they indulge in delinquent activities (MOYAS 2007: 10-11). This conceptualization can be problematic since it undermines and constrains youth agency and ability to engage independently within their community through these activities which can enable them to develop a sense of belonging and identity. This notion goes against the argument in the socially constructive participation model.

Equally it is important for the government to address structural factors constraining Kenyan Somali youth civic engagement especially the high level of illiteracy among Kenyan Somali females. Some of the organizations in the neighbourhood offer opportunity for a public- private partnership programmes to address the needs of these youth. Perhaps the Kenyan government may draw useful lessons from India's state of Jharkhand youth policy which appreciates youth agency by basing its collaboration with youth on: mutual trust and a 'social contract' that seeks to empower youth socially, economically in terms of securing their livelihoods and involving them in the state's decision making processes on the premise that youth will equally reciprocate and 'protect the state through meaningful participation in nation building' (Sinha-Kerkhoff 2011: 67-84).

Conclusion

Three thematic areas emerged from the study findings have been presented in this chapter as follows: the influence of space and place on identity and enactment of citizenship; competing multiple identities and lastly civic engagement through alternative spheres. The next chapter will conclude the study by reviewing its findings based on the set objective and research questions.

Chapter 5   Towards Active Youth Citizenship

This study sought to establish how Kenyan Somali youth perceive and position themselves as citizens and equally how they are perceived and framed within official and public discourse. The study explored the Kenyan government's youth policy and legal framework, which addresses issues constraining the enactment of citizenship by minorities and marginalized groups of which the Kenyan Somali youth belong. I do this by reviewing some of the competing multiple identities shaping Kenyan Somali youth perceptions of citizenship and the ways they access socio-economic resources in Kenya. These identities include: Somali ethnic identity; Islamic identity and pastoralist identity which I also analyzed in relation to their perception of Kenyan identity. The study also explored Kenyan Somali youth participation in sports and social media as alternative spheres of civic engagement with their community and wider society apart from the usual conventional channels and spheres of participation. This is a popular trend being adopted by the broader youth population.

Drawing on the study findings from my analysis, the conclusions and implications for policy in this chapter will be based on the research questions and will be presented from a macro perspective of citizenship rather than from just a micro level. Finally, the chapter will review the general implication of the study's findings for social policy specifically towards the realization of active youth citizenship.

5.1 Perceptions on Citizenship, Access to Socio-Economic Resources and Civic Participation

The study's findings indicate that Kenyan Somali youths' perceptions of their citizenship status are mixed and varied and have generally been influenced by their community's precarious citizenship experience in Kenya's historical timeline and exacerbated by the present government's security campaign against terror. In addition, the findings demonstrates that various speech act and securitization of public spaces have affected the way youth enact their citizenship by constraining their access to public spaces, reducing their livelihood opportunities and reinforcing negative ethnicity in the neighbourhood.

The findings also show that the securitization of public spaces in the neighbourhood has also inadvertently enhanced solidarity and collective identity among Kenyan Somali youth and their counterparts from other ethnic groups as 'victims'. A majority of youth were concerned by the media's continued negative portrayal of them and their neighbourhood. This conforms to the argument by Hall et al. (1999: 501-512) that public spaces nurture in youth a sense of belonging and 'shared identity' with their peers during their socialization process. It further lends credence to the argument that citizenship needs to be viewed broadly as a 'multi-layered construct' within local community, ethnic and religious contexts and beyond the public sphere to include the private sphere and trans-national perspective (Hall et al. 1999: 502-504, Ndegwa 1997: 602-603, Storrie 2004: 59-60, Yuval-Davis 1999: 119-123).

In addition, the findings highlight the marginal position of youth and challenges in accessing employment. However an overwhelming sense of 'victim-

hood mentality' real or imagined was prominent among Kenyan Somali youth, especially in regard to accessing legal documents for citizenship that can go a long way in enabling them access citizenry rights. The study reveals that the National Youth Policy lacks a coordinated approach in implementing youth policies and programmes in urban, rural and pastoralists regions in spite of being a guiding policy document for government Ministries and agencies implementing youth programmes.

5.2 Civic Engagement through Alternative Spheres

From the findings it is apparent that the use of social media is a popular form of civic engagement among young people different from other conventional means of engagement. Just like other Kenyan youth, the internet has provided Somali youth of Kenyan ethnicity the opportunity to engage with the state and their neighbourhoods although the form and experience are different. For Kenyan Somali youth, social media has become like a 'sanctuary' and a forum for negotiating and challenging imposed identities and stereotypes on issues affecting them as Somalis and Muslims. In addition, it offers them the opportunity to connect and socialize also with non-Muslim youth locally, nationally and globally in what Johns (2014: 76) terms as enactment of citizenship and 'solidarity' that transcends nation-states borders.

Sports and recreational activities emerge in the findings as key markers of integration between Kenyan Somali youth and youth from other ethnic groups through creating space for socialization and bonding. In addition it's also an alternative sphere for civic engagement within the neighbourhood on socio-economic and political issues. However, sports activities like soccer are also avenues for youth from both ethnic divide to settle perceived grievances and grudges emanating from divisive public discourse and rhetoric. Apart from failure to develop sports, the study finds that Kenya's youth policy conceptualizes youth participation in sports and recreational activities in a paternalistic manner by regarding sports as a sphere for instilling discipline and controlling youth delinquency (MOYAS 2007: 10-11). Equally it is important that the government addresses structural factors constraining participation of youth in sport like unemployment and high level of illiteracy especially among the Kenyan Somali females.

5.3 Role of Ethnic, Religious and Pastoralist's Identities in the Co-construction of Kenyan identity and Perceptions of Citizenship

Somali ethnic identity, Islamic identity and pastoralist identity are revealed in the study findings as key competing factors shaping the way Kenyan Somali youth negotiate their identity and enact citizenship within their ethnic group, neighbourhood and wider society. Equally these identities play a crucial role in the way they are perceived and positioned by official and public discourse and rhetoric. While Kenya's vision 2030 development strategy (MOSDNKAL 2011: 95-99) argues that some of the pastoralists cultural traditions and power structures play a significant role in disempowering pastoralist youth especially

females from accessing resources and exercising their citizenship rights, it fails to come up with practical solutions.

5.4 Policy Implications

This study has highlighted the lived experiences of Somali youth of Kenyan ethnicity in relation to their perception of citizenship status. The narratives of these youth point to a precarious citizenship within a securitized environment that has affected the way they enact and access their citizenship rights through participation in all spheres of Kenyan society. Perceptions by any group of being excluded or marginalized group is bound to stir discontent and conflict in a society. This context has implications and social cost that needs to be taken into a count in policies and programmes that have direct impact on young people. Promoting active youth citizenship for minority and marginalized groups is important towards enhancing collective actions, solidarity and social cohesion among young people within communities (World Bank 2006: 165-170). This also requires governments to address issues anchored on ethnicity, religion and race which are bound to generate differences among communities and undermine social relations (Muhula 2009: 87)

Governments need to seize the moment by factoring in their policies strategies for engaging with youth through social media and sports due to their popularity and massive appeal to young people as alternative spheres of participation and civic engagement. This is important for policy consideration since civic engagement platforms like social media have emerged as new sources and sites for information that are flexible, less bureaucratic and offers voice to youth from marginalized groups to air their grievances (Mukhongo 2014: 328-335).

Devolution of power and resources to the grassroots in emerging democracies like Kenya therefore offers a window of opportunity for the new county governments to factor in their policies youth centred issues by involving young people in decision making processes.

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Appendices

Appendix I Map of Kenya, Horn of Africa and Eastleigh
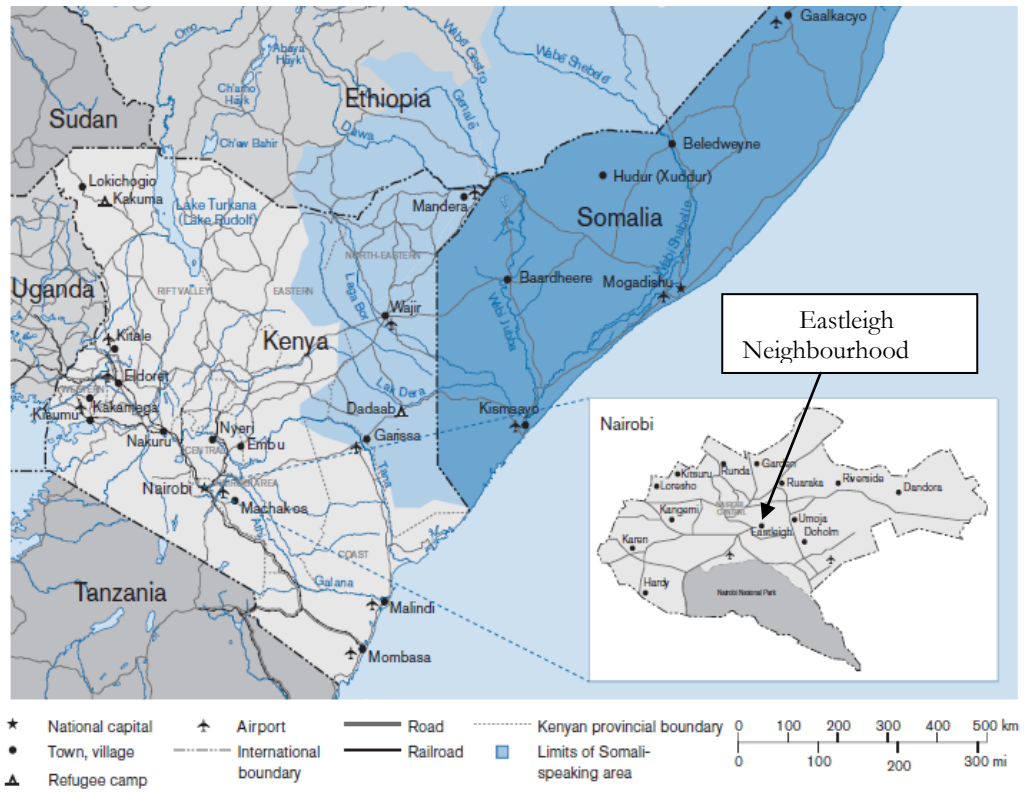
Source: Abdulsamed (2011) as derived from United Nation's Horn of Africa Map, No. 4188 Rev.2, May 2007.

Appendix II   List of Study Participants

Focus Group Discussions

1. **FGD 1: 15th July, 2015. Venue: A Gym**

S/No	Name	Gender	Age	Residence	Background
1	Mohamed	Male	23	Eastleigh	Self employed
2	Ibrahim	Male	25	Eastleigh	unemployed
3	Khaliif	Male	23	Eastleigh	Self employed
4	Rama	male	24	Eastleigh	Works in a restaurant
5	Saalim	Male	21	Eastleigh	Employed in a family business
6	Hakim	Male	20	Eastleigh	College student

1. **FGD 2: 20th July 2015. Venue: Local CBOs office**

S/No	Name	Gender	Age	Residence	Background
1	Ayan	Female	17	Eastleigh	unemployed
2	Ahmed	Male	24	Eastleigh	Gym instructor
3	Anwar	Male	23	Eastleigh	Works in a shop owned by family in Garissa mall
4	Kim	Male	25	Eastleigh	Part time driver
5	Aweys	Male	25	Eastleigh	Community Policing community member
6	Charles	Male	18	Eastleigh	Unemployed
7	Magibo	Female	19	Eastleigh	Unemployed
8	Betty	Female	17	Eastleigh	Unemployed, footballer with a youth football club
9	Abdimalik	Male	16	Eastleigh	primary school leaver
10	Fartuun	Female	19	Eastleigh	Official of a self help group

FGD 3: 4th August, 2015. Venue: Local CBOs office

S/No	Name	Gender	Age	Background
1	Haaweyo	Female	20	Official of a self help group, unemployed.
2	Halgan	Female	19	Employed in family's clothes business
3	Aziza	Female	18	Self employed, operates a clothes and handicraft business
4	Maureen	Female	17	Student at a hairdressing college
5	Susan	Female	18	Employed as a housing estate agent.
6	Alice	Female	17	Student at a hairdressing college.
7	Fardosa	Female	18	Unemployed stays with her aunt

Semi-structured Individual Interviews

S/No	Name	Gender & Age	Background	Date of Interview
1	Faiza	Female, 21	ICT student	Interviewed at a CBO's office on 15/7/2015
2	Hassan	Male, 22	Lives with parents. A part time worker.	Interview at a phone shop on 15/7/2015
	Rashid	Male, 23	Street trader	Interviewed at a phone shop on 15/7/2015
3	Athman	Male, 25	Community Social Worker	Interview took place on 20/7/2015 at Eastleigh fellowship centre, 8th street
4	Mwanaisha	Female, 25	Community Social worker	Interview took place at a CBO's office on 20/7/ 2015
5	Dekah	Female, 19	An immigrant. Lives with parents	Interview at a CBO's office on 23/7/2015
6	Saddam	Male, 24	Unemployed. A political activist and youth mobilizer.	Interviewed at a pay video hall on 23/7/2015
7	Kassim	Male, 21	Unemployed. Works at uncle's shop. A diploma graduate.	Interview took place at a pay video 23/7/2015
8	Luqman	Male, 23	Part-time worker at a shopping mall in Eastleigh	Interview took place at a rundown youth social hall cum gym on 1/8/2015
9	Maryam	Female,18	Unemployed. Lives with an aunt	Interview took place at a CBO's office on 1/8/ 2015
10	Eddy	Male, 19	Unemployed	Interview took place

				on 1/8/2015 at a phone shop
11	Okello	Male, 18	Apprentice in a motor vehicle garage	Interview took place on 4/8/2015 at a phone shop
12	Ann	Female, 19	Works in a mobile money transfer shop	Interview took place on 4/8/2015 at a phone shop
13	Khalid	Male, 24	Works with a pharmaceutical firm.	Interview took place on 11/8/2015 at a restaurant in 12th street.
14	Saaid	Male, 20	Employed in a family business	Interview took place on 11/8/2015 at a restaurant in 12th street.
15	Bule	Male, 26	Madrasa teacher	Interview took place on 11/8/2015 at a restaurant in 12th street.

Appendix III   Excerpt of Kenya National Youth Policy

<div align="center">

Kenya National Youth Policy
Sessional Paper No. 3 of July 2007
Ministry of Youth Affairs

</div>

1.1 Definition of Youth

This policy defines a Kenyan Youth as one aged between 15-30 years. This takes into account; physical, psychological, cultural, social, biological and political definitions of the term.

6.0 Policy Goal and Objectives

The overall goal of the policy is to promote youth participation in democratic processes as well as in community and civic affairs, and ensuring that youth programmes involve them and are youth centered.

The objectives of the policy are:

i.   To sensitize national policy matters on the need to identify and mainstream youth issues in national development.

ii.   To emphasize, support and partner with positive and effective initiatives and programmes set up by associations, non-profit groups that help youth to fulfill their expectations and meet their needs.

iii.   To propose ways of mentoring youth to be just and morally upright citizens.

iv.   To identify constraints that hinder Kenyan youth from realizing their potential.

v.   To promote a culture of volunteerism among youth.

7.0 Rights, Responsibilities and obligations of youth

7.1 Rights of youth

Irrespective of their social status, sex, youth have a right to:

i.   Meaningful education, good health and protection from sexual exploitation and abuse

ii.   Seeking meaningful employment

iii.   Freedom of speech, expression and association

iv.   Participate in making decisions that affect their lives

v.   Ownership and protection of property.

7.2 Responsibilities and obligations of youth

Towards this goal, youth shall will:

i.   Be patriotic and loyal to Kenya and promote the country's well-being

ii.   Contribute to socio-economic development at all levels including through volunteerism.

iii.   Promote democracy and the rule of law

iv.   Avoid careless and irresponsible sex

7.3 Obligations of adults and parents:

i. Provide equal opportunities to youth, regardless of their sex

ii. Meet basic and material needs of youth

iii. Offer room for youth participation at all levels.

7.3 Obligation of the State

i. Be the lead agent in supporting the implementation of the youth policy

ii. Ensure that youth enjoy their State rights

iii. Provide the necessary framework for young people to fulfill their obligations

Source: Kenya National Youth Policy (MOYAS 2007: 1-7)

Appendix IV   Excerpt of The Constitution of Kenya

The Constitution of Kenya

Chapter Three – Citizenship

12. (1) every citizen is entitled to-

(a) The rights, privileges and benefits of citizenship, subject to the limits provided or permitted by this constitution

Chapter Four – The Bill of Rights

Part 2 – Rights and Fundamental Freedoms

27. (4) the state shall not discriminate directly or indirectly against any person on any ground, including race, sex, pregnancy, marital status, health status, ethnic or social origin, colour, age disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, dress, language or birth.

55. The state shall take measures, including affirmative action. Youth programmes to ensure that the youth -

(a) Access relevant education and training;

(b) Have opportunities to associate, be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life;

© Access employment; and

(d) Are protected from harmful cultural practices and exploitation.

56. The state shall put in place affirmative action programmes designed to ensure that minorities and marginalized groups –

(a) Participate and are represented in governance and other spheres of life;

(b) Are provided special opportunities in educational and economic fields;

(c) Are provided special opportunities for access to employment;

(d) develop their cultural values, language and practices; and

(e) have reasonable access to water, health services and infrastructure.

Interpretation

260. in this constitution, unless the context requires otherwise –

"adult" means an individual who has attained the age of eighteen years;

"child" means an individual who has not attained the age of eighteen years;

"marginalized community" means -

(a) A community that, because of its relatively small population or for any other reason, has been unable to fully participate in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole;

(b) Pastoral persons and communities, whether they are –
(i)   nomadic; or

(ii)   a settled community that, because of its relative geographic isolation, has experienced only marginal participation in the integrated social and economic life of Kenya as a whole;

"marginalized group" means a group of people who because of laws or practices before, on, or after the effective date, were or are disadvantaged by discrimination on one or more of the grounds in Article 27(4);

"youth" means the collectivity of all individuals in the Republic who –

(a) have attained the age of eighteen years; but
(b) have not attained the age of thirty five years.

Source: The Constitution of Kenya (GOK 2010)