

**THE LINK BETWEEN MARGINALIZATION, POOR GOVERNANCE AND YOUTH  
INSTIGATED CONFLICTS IN NAIROBI, KENYA**

**BY**

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### DECLARATION

This research project paper is my own effort and is from my own research inquiries and conclusions. Other information sources other than my own have been recognized and cited. Furthermore, this research project paper has not hitherto been presented for an academic degree or examination.

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This research project paper has been submitted with my consent as the university overseer.

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## **DEDICATION**

I devote this research project paper to those who are curious. May you leave the world better than you found it.

### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

May God grant me the wisdom and dedication to be the best person I can be for humanity. To the IDIS administrators, lecturers and specifically my supervisor Dr. Martin Ouma; I salute you all for your support in this master's program. May your unending contribution to world be unwavering. God's blessings.

### LIST OF ACRONYMS

<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>FULL WORDING</b>
<b>CEWARN</b>	Early Conflict Warning System
<b>DCI</b>	Directorate of Public Prosecution
<b>DFRDS</b>	District Focus for Rural Development Strategy
<b>EACC</b>	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
<b>INGO's</b>	International Non-Governmental Organizations
<b>IEBC</b>	Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
<b>KKV</b>	Kazi Kwa Vijana
<b>KYEP</b>	Kenya Youth Empowerment program
<b>KNFJKA</b>	Kenya National Federation of Jua Kali Association
<b>KNYP</b>	Kenya National Youth Policy
<b>LATF</b>	Local Authority Transfer Fund
<b>MPSYGA</b>	Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs
<b>MDP</b>	Ministry of Devolution and Planning
<b>MCA</b>	Member of County Assembly
<b>NACOSTI</b>	National Council for Science and Technology
<b>NYS</b>	National Youth Service
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>ODPP</b>	Office of The Director of Public Prosecution
<b>PEV</b>	Post-Election Violence
<b>SPSS</b>	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
<b>SRDP</b>	Special Rural Development Program
<b>UNICEF</b>	United Nations Children Education Fund
<b>UNFPA</b>	United Nations Population Fund
<b>UNDP</b>	United Nations Development Program
<b>UNSC</b>	United Nations Security Council
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization
<b>YEDF</b>	Youth Enterprise Development Fund

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## ABSTRACT

Kenya has experienced different forms of conflict both in rural areas and urban areas. Although increased levels of inter-community and intra-community conflict have been experienced in rural areas, urban areas have over the past decades not been an exception, as they experienced varying types of conflicts. The conflict experienced in urban areas have been attributed to many causes. Despite the recognition that conflict in urban areas are caused by several factors, little has been done to examine the causes of youth instigated conflicts in urban areas. Thus, this study was carried out to investigate the links between poor governance, marginalization and youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi County. Specifically, this study sought to examine the link between poor governance and youth instigated violence, to examine how marginalization instigate youth conflict and the strategies that have been initiated by the government to suppress youth instigated conflict. The study was based on human needs theory. Mixed method research methodology was adopted as the research design. The study had a sample size of 100, which included 80 youths and 20 key informants from government and NGO officials in Nairobi County. Semi-structured questionnaire and key interview guide was used to collected data from the respondents. Content analysis was used to analyze the study findings. The study results revealed that poor governance is a cause of youth instigated conflict through socio-economic inequality and inequality in resource distribution, lack of youth participation, lack of unemployment and employment opportunities, politicization of ethnicity. Further the study revealed that poor governance has been a cause of youth instigated conflict through mismanagement and poor leadership, corruption, lack of transparency and accountability and electoral grievances. The results indicated that the strategies that the government has used to suppress conflict involve promoting youth affirmation, through using constituency development fund and devolution to promote equality of resource distribution, pursuance of electoral reform and justice and through youth empowerment funds and NYS activities. Thus, it can be concluded that marginalization and poor governance are cause for youth instigated conflict. The study recommends that the government needs to adopt a multipronged strategy that will target both poor governance and marginalization at systemic levels.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0 Introduction to the Study

With Kenya's expanding youth population, there is a need to have policies and opportunities that facilitate their emancipation from abject poverty and guarantees a sustainable future for them. In as much as they are empowered on their rights, literate, technological adept and highly informed with useful information, Kenya's youth population are disenfranchised and disillusioned about their future. This is further exacerbated by lack of pro youth policies/ implementation of the same and lack of political/Institutional will and capacity to address their needs. This chapter therefore covers introduction, thesis statement, background, and problem statement.

### 1.1 Background to the Study

Across the world, different theatres of conflict have started to detect a "youth component" as a key factor in the instigation of violence. This generalization has often watered down constructive contributions of young people to their states, including promoting social cohesion and lasting peace<sup>1</sup>.

Previous research has established a relationship between growing youthful populations and open-minded statistical risk of violent skirmishes. Though, this notion is not a proven predictor of youth instigated violence in many States, in fact, most of States i.e. Benin, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Malawi, Nicaragua and Zambia have been relatively stable even though they have large youthful populations.

When it comes to youth instigated conflict, other publications have noted that demographics is not a stand-alone risk factor. There are additional variables such as poor fiscal environment that is connected to lack of opportunities for the youth, lack of values and poor socialization, poor governance and the absence of the rule of law etc. are other notable triggers. It has been documented that the hazard of vicious clashes is high with burgeoning youth populations that overlaps with protracted phases of economic downturn that present little or no opportunities for

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<sup>1</sup> UNICEF (2016) Final Programme Report 2012-2016 on Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict-Affected Contexts

them. This breeds resentment and brings to the fore feelings of being marginalized i.e. excluded from the social, cultural and political aspects of society<sup>2</sup>.

Comprehending the participation of the young demographic in violent conflict requires us to delve deeper into the environmental realities of a state that informs their upbringing and evolution to adulthood. The issue of youth instigated conflicts is beyond just being a youth: it is not only mirror of a state under pressure but also a magnification of a heightened societal crisis that has been procrastinated over time or relegated to the periphery in place for other pressing concerns that afflict a State<sup>3</sup>.

Globally, there are thematic groupings that depict youths when trying to understand violent conflicts<sup>4</sup>. The first professed school of thought is youth as the offenders. This notion depicts the youths as the instigators of skirmishes besides being a threat to harmony and sanctuary in their respective states as well as internationally i.e. they are viewed as fighters, terrorist, criminals etc.

Secondly, the youths are viewed as victims of conflicts. From this perspective, the youths are seen to be negatively afflicted by the vagaries of chaos, civil breakdown and outright war. Recent data has more than 25 million young people directly or indirectly affected by conflict around the globe. Conflict denies and violates their basic and unalienable rights as vulnerable groups. This is because they are likely to be maimed, killed, or incorporated into the theatre of conflict as unwilling participants to play specific roles i.e. providers of sexual services, spies etc. Data previously collected on the same has accurately highlighted the psychological trauma that conflict has had on young people across the globe<sup>5</sup>

Thirdly, the youths are also seen spectators in peace making and building. Though they are known to be the most affected by violent conflict, many states lack the political will to involve the youth directly as solution providers to the impasse not only in addressing youth specific issues but also

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<sup>2</sup> 10 Barakat, B., Paulson, J., and Urdal, H. (2010). The Youth, Transition, and Conflict in the Middle East and North Africa. Peace Research Institute Oslo (PRIO). [prio.org/Publications/Publication/? x=4794](http://prio.org/Publications/Publication/?x=4794)

<sup>3</sup> UNICEF (2013) Annual Consolidated Report on Peacebuilding, Education and Advocacy in Conflict Affected Contexts

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Laila Kadiwal-The multiple roles that young people play in conflict-affected contexts- Research Consortium on Education and Peacebuilding on youth in armed conflict-affected settings

<sup>5</sup> [Unicef.org/publications/files/UNICEF\\_SOWC\\_2016.pdf](http://Unicef.org/publications/files/UNICEF_SOWC_2016.pdf)

in holistically addressing broader issues in the conflict.<sup>6</sup>In other instances, youths are viewed as change makers/agents who preempt and mitigate against conflict. Their role is not just to ensure “negative peace” i.e. lack of conflict or “liberal peace” i.e. by way of promoting democratic ideals but as enablers in addressing real triggers of violent conflict.

However, looking at the complexities of any conflict, the “youth component” cannot and should not be seen from a specific perspective and isolation as they play multiple roles and it is widely known that different actors in violent conflicts ascribe to different labels for the youth which inherently depends on their interest and agenda<sup>7</sup>.

According to a WHO report on violence and health, the findings highlighted that whilst a higher number of young people under the age of 18 directly or indirectly suffer the effects of violence, most casualties of lethal armed conflict are young men aged between 18–29 years of age. It stated that this demographic is five times more probable to be killed than young women. This is because they are most likely to be directly involved<sup>8</sup>.

On the other hand, a publication by UNFPA and Save the children indicated that young women represent a lop-sided figure of the victims during periods of peace and conflict. This is seen through physical and sexual abuse mostly perpetrated by partners, family and escalates during conflict when strangers are involved<sup>9</sup>. Another report documented women make up about 10-30% of armed actors globally.<sup>10</sup>In 2008, it was estimated that there were about 100,000 girls below 18 years involved in warfare around the globe.<sup>11</sup>

However, whereas young men are believed to make up a larger proportion of fighters in violent conflict, many of them are not involved and there has been a lack of concrete data about the day

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<sup>6</sup> Full-Text Paper (PDF): Lopes Cardozo M.T.A. & Shah R. (2016) A conceptual ... eliminate the causes of violence' (Galtung 1975, in Smith et al

<sup>7</sup> Ewunee Confidence Dumka (2013) [internationalyouthcouncil/forum/topics/the-role-of-youths-in-peace-and-conflict-resolution](http://internationalyouthcouncil/forum/topics/the-role-of-youths-in-peace-and-conflict-resolution)

<sup>8</sup>World Health Organization (2002). World Report on Violence and Health

<sup>9</sup> UNFPA and Save the Children (2009). Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health Toolkit for Humanitarian Settings

<sup>10</sup> Bouta, T., Frerks, G. and Bannon, I. (2005). "Gender, Conflict and Development", the World Bank, Washington DC. [worldbank.org/INTCPR/Resources/30494GenderConflictandDevelopment.pdf](http://worldbank.org/INTCPR/Resources/30494GenderConflictandDevelopment.pdf)

<sup>11</sup> Plan (2008). Because I am a Girl, The State of the World's Girls 2008, Special Focus: In the Shadow of War.

in the life of these youths i.e. what they do on the onset of conflict, during periods of conflict and post conflict. It is assumed that they are more focused in ensuring safe passage for their families and loved ones through negotiations with the perpetrators of violence in a bid to survive.

It is therefore critical that this scholar conducts this research to comprehend specific situations and contexts that affect the youth. This research has explored when, where, why and how youth complaints are connected, who they view as culpable, at what point they turn hostile, the roles they play and how they legitimize their pursuit of violence.

In summation, it is imperative that we acknowledge that many youths agonize over high levels of inadequacy, deprivation and exclusion from the state i.e. the social, political and economic aspects of a society. These are youths who feel that their resolve to accomplish set societal milestones by certain ages is an effort in futility and yet do not engage in violence.

It would foolhardy for the state to assume that the same status quo will remain as is for the foreknown future. It is critical that this researcher conducts this research to unearth whether marginalization and poor governance are catalyst to youth instigated conflict. This researcher needs to deduce if and how these two facets working in tandem can make violent action a legitimate resolution.

## **1.2 Problem Statement**

It's highly regrettable that the Kenyan state has made little strides to propel the youth agenda. In as much as the youth are recognized as marginalized citizens, youths are seen from a point of frailty or resurgence, anticipated to be actors of a future that has and ultimately will never come or ultimately generalized as a threat to national security and internationally set norms on peace and security.

Because of notable limitations to an all-encompassing youth agenda i.e. conditionality's to run for elective office or establish alternative organization to address and champion their concerns, lack of active engagement in the political process of the state, negative attitude towards youths i.e. youths are viewed as a monumental and homogenous group, hence the assumption that segmentation does not ensue within the seeming "youth" group. Therefore, it is important to

acknowledge the existence of this parts who beside having commonalities in needs/wants, there exist specifics that also need to be taken into consideration. The result is formation of groups to champion for their rights either passively or aggressively which portends a likelihood civil disobedience and an outright breakdown of law and order in their quest for their aspirations.

The United States of America declaration of Independence declares that: “We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.”

Kenya’s current constitution, chapter four, part three, article 55 declares that: “The State shall take measures, including affirmative action programmes, to ensure that the youth access relevant education and training, have opportunities to associate, be represented and participate in political, social, economic and other spheres of life, access employment; and are protected from harmful cultural practices and exploitation.”

### **1.3 Research Question**

1. How marginalization is linked to youth instigated conflict in Nairobi?
2. How and why poor governance can instigate youth conflict in Nairobi?
3. Why are the current strategies not effective in suppressing youth instigated conflict?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

4. To examine the link between marginalization and youth involvement in conflict in Nairobi.
5. To examine how poor governance can instigate youth conflict in Nairobi.
6. To investigate the current strategies put in place by the government to deter youth instigated conflict.

## 1.5 Literature Review

This research paper seeks to understand whether youth in Nairobi, Kenya are likely to undertake violent action individually or in groups (be it conventional or unconventional) and what measures can be put in place to preempt and mitigate against their direct participation. Across the academia, there has been a concerted effort towards demystifying and disapproving that the youths can simply be generalized as monolithic and that they aspire to one dimensional propositions i.e. access stature, material wealth and security but rather explore a wide range of inter-linked facets that shape how and why youths instigate conflict<sup>12</sup>.

Central to this study is to focus on reasons that are holding the youth back in transitioning to adulthood. Whether prolonged marginalization besides other forms of exclusion and poor governance of the Kenyan state deny them the opportunities to grow and live to be productive members of the society. Publications indicate that obstructions linked to stagnation in youth hood can breed resentment and actualize to violence<sup>13</sup>.

## 1.6 Theoretical literature Review

Good governance theory encompasses the contribution of citizens in the politics of their state. This could be through individual participation or through an accredited agent. According to the theorists, involvement is degree of participation by citizens of a state to exercise their political rights in electing their representatives in public office for the greater good. Participation is key in good governance and insists that every adult of legal age must have a say and not have decisions made for him or her directly or through their agents<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> McLean H. and McAslan Fraser, E. (2009). Youth Exclusion, Violence, Conflict and Fragile States, Report prepared for DFID by Social Development Direct, London.

<sup>13</sup> e Salehi-Isfahani, D. and Dhillon N. (2008). "Stalled Youth Transitions in the Middle East: A Framework for Policy Reform"; Kraetsch, M. (2008). "Middle East Youth Initiative" (Paper presented at the conference "Youth Exclusion and Political Violence", Oslo); Sommers, M. (2012). Stuck: Rwandan Youth and the Struggle for Adulthood. Note the idea that the transition to adulthood is 'stalled' does not necessarily mean that young people are not taking on any adult roles. Indeed, in many contexts young people may take on some adult responsibilities - such as generating an income for their family - at a very young age.

<sup>14</sup>Participation International Journal of Humanities and Social Science Volume 7 • Number 5 • May 2017 156

This ensures impartiality in society besides entrenching individual and groups rights. Furthermore, it safeguards adherence of the rule of law, which should be complimented by an independent judiciary and an honorable police force. Transparency another important attribute of good governance theory advocates that decision-making processes and observance of the said decisions are done in compliance to the rules and regulations collectively agreed upon. Moreover, it stipulates the civil education must be carried out consistently and freely through a medium that all can understand to facilitate in their making of sound decisions.

This study adopted the good governance theory to understand if proper utilization of resources for the intended purpose will provide opportunities for youth to productively and meaningfully engage in their personal growth and development as well as that of Kenyan State.

Structural conflict theory is known to have to sub sets; the fundamental structural theory advanced by Marxist dialectical school with proponents such as Mark and Engels among others. Another is the liberal structuralism advance through violence. Structuralisms sees resource-based violence from the scarcity or lack of resources. Marxists profess that the solution this quagmire is the elimination of structures within policy reforms in an exploitative system that bring contradictions. The lack thereof of these actions is civil disobedience, insurgency or revolutions.<sup>15</sup>

This study adopted the structural conflict theory to ascertain the level of marginalization and avenues of exclusion afflicting the youth and whether they are a likely trigger to youth violence in Nairobi, Kenya.

### **1.7 Empirical Literature Review**

There have been documentation and submissions on the role of youths in instigating violence throughout history. Youths have dominated and continue to be engaged in armies, special forces, criminal gangs, militia, rebels and extremist groups etc. In addition, there is evidence that show a correlation between youth bulge and a higher statistical danger of violence<sup>16</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> Barry, A., Osborne, T. and Rose, N. 1996. Foucault and Political Reason: liberalism, neo-liberalism and rationalities of government, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

<sup>16</sup>Urdal, H. (2006). "A Clash of Generations? Youth Bulges and Political Violence". *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 50: 3, pp 607-629. Urdal tests the claim that youth bulges potentially increase both opportunities and motives for



In the past, armed confrontation was between states. However, there has been a shift towards intra-state that have become more recurrent. Furthermore, when we investigate various studies on the roles and experiences on youth in conflict, analysis presents a grim picture other than the narrative and images youths as just victims or perpetrators of violence

For example, the Arab spring political conflict that began in Tunisia in 2010 spread throughout Middle East and North Africa via Egypt, Bahrain, Libya, Yemen and Syria where the latter three countries are now regarded as failed states. These violent conflicts are a stark reminder of how peace and security are fragile in states. Furthermore, these incidences bring to the fore how youths are engaged in political conflict. The Arab spring is now the most conspicuous act of youth instigated violence in the recent past that closely mirrors the fall of the former United Socialist Republic i.e. East Germany, Georgia, Lithuania, Kyrgyzstan, and Serbia that occurred in the 1990's.<sup>17</sup>

This goes to show that there has been a link between large growing youth populations, lack of opportunities, and increased dangers of volatility. In Sierra Leone, the depressed economic situation that bedeviled the youth saw the increase of economic benefits as inducement for them to engage in violent conflict.<sup>18</sup> Moreover, research has shown that there is an advanced likelihood of youth to engage in violence if they are still dependent on their families i.e. have a higher dependency ratio<sup>19</sup>.

Nevertheless, other studies have begun to dispute the notion that youth underemployment and unemployment in amplifying their choice in violent activities<sup>20</sup>. The commission of inquiry in the 2007/2008 PEV fondly referred to as the Waki commission concluded that poverty is not a stand-

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political violence through a time-series cross-national statistical model for internal armed conflict for the period 1950-2000, and for event data for terrorism and rioting for the years 1984-1995. He concludes that youth bulges (relative cohort size) increase the risk of low-intensity political violence (internal armed conflict, terrorism and rioting).

<sup>17</sup> Colin Webster. Professor ... Snakes & ladders: In defense of studies of youth transition ... race and crime. C Webster. McGraw-Hill Education (UK), 2007. 82, 2007 ... Youth crime, victimization and racial harassment: The Keighley crime survey.

<sup>18</sup> Eric S Mosinger, Brothers or others in arms? Civilian constituencies and rebel fragmentation in civil war, *Journal of Peace Research*, 55, 1, (62), (2018). Crossref

<sup>19</sup> Bilal Barakat, Research Associate, Vienna Institute of Demography. Henrik Urdal, Senior Researcher, Centre for the Study of Civil War (CSCW) ... internal armed conflict or civil war (Cincotta et al, 2003; Staveteig 2004; Urdal 2006; 2008)

<sup>20</sup> [mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/full\\_report\\_-\\_kenya\\_youth\\_and\\_conflict\\_study.pdf](https://mercycorps.org/sites/default/files/full_report_-_kenya_youth_and_conflict_study.pdf)

alone phenomenon. In its place, a combination of issues such as lack of political will, weak state institutions, ethnicity and the use of goons by politicians to advance their interests and political gains as other contributors for youth instigated conflict<sup>21</sup> This evidence shows the need to relook and understand the linkages between not only economic concerns but other factors that fuel political violence.

All these social and economic ills only go to disenfranchise the youth living them bitter and delusional about their future. In the 2007/2008 PEV, the youth played a central role. The report found that Over 70% of the direct offenders during PEV were youths and that they also constituted most of the victims<sup>22</sup>It is worth noting that though most youth did not get involved in the conflict. The Afro Barometer 2008 found that 5 % are reported to have used violence for political gain during that period. However, this insignificant number of youths had a catastrophic impact on the stability of their communities and the state.

Additionally, with unemployment in Kenya at over 20% and 75% of educated youths not engaged in gainful employment, investigators into PEV found strong evidence of the political elite hiring youths to perpetuate violence. Based on these findings, it was concluded that the lack thereof of opportunities and hopelessness were key drivers behind widespread youth participation in PEV<sup>23</sup>.

The Kenyan state embarked on new approaches to promote social and economic empowerment of the youth. Some of the programs are captured in the national youth policy (2006) that envisages equal opportunities for youths. This was later followed by youth fund, and Access to Government Procurement which have been riddle with graft and mismanagement. Recently, the former youth cabinet secretary talked of the merging of these institutions to encompass the needs of both women, the disabled and youth as one component. This shift in policy is seen to promote the ideology that this groups are monolithic and homogenous<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>The Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) was the ... National Dialogue and Reconciliation Accord of February 28, 2008,

<sup>22</sup>Fes-kenya.org/media/publications/2012/FES%20Occasional%20paper%20no.1.pdf

<sup>23</sup> Kenya: Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) final report 2008

<sup>24</sup> [psyg.go.ke/2-uncategorised/122-government-committed-in-empowering-the-youth-asserts-cs-kariuki](http://psyg.go.ke/2-uncategorised/122-government-committed-in-empowering-the-youth-asserts-cs-kariuki)

Additionally, the government reiterated that they are fixated on empowering youths through the national youth service in a bid to instill a sense of duty, pride, service and true to the state. Though a noble idea, subsequent administrators of the fund have colluded with dubious businessmen to loot the organization of its much-needed resources for youth programs across the country. Recent audits by the auditor general indicated that the fund has lost over KES 10 billion since its renaissance<sup>25</sup>

Kenya, one of Africa's key states with great geopolitical influence has been categorized repeatedly among failed states only surpassed by Liberia and Sierra Leone by Transparency International, an INGO that promotes and holds into account States in combating corruption and preventing the beneficiaries of the same from engaging in criminal activities. To unshackle itself from this vice, in 2015, the Kenyan government signed a pact with US government to aide in its war against corruption.

Moreover, tied to other bilateral cooperation agreements with the US such as foreign security assistance, this engagement emphasizes on illicit financial outflows and recovery of stolen assets. From 2005 to 2014, an international financial integrity report projected that African States lost between USD 36 Billion and USD 69 Billion to illicit monetary outflows. This was about 74% of the roughly USD 93 Billion required to address Africa's infrastructural needs.

These outflows are perpetuated by both governments and private sector leaders where goods and service procured by the State are purchased at exorbitant prices way above current market rates to enrich a select few at the expense of citizenry. Furthermore, with Kenya MP's being among the highest paid in the world and pampered with extensive perks, these legislators have time on time again been seen to disregard their mandate for personal gain. This gross violation of the trust bestowed on them by the citizenry only goes to raise important questions regarding governance. Borrowing from the history of other states across the globe, this wanton pillage of tax monies has been known to trigger subversion activities and violent acts against the state.

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<sup>25</sup>(*Ibid*)

On a positive note, there has been concerted effort to purge the vice in the country, but the momentum is seen to be waning. The head of state recently called for a lifestyle audit of all procurement officers in public service. With Kenya heavily indebted with loans from development partners and multilateral agencies i.e. world bank, diminishing tax revenues for recurrent and development spending coupled with the revelation that the state losses about KES 300 Billion annually to corruption, President Uhuru Kenyatta is seen to be trying to redeem and positively archive the Kenyatta name for posterity while transforming the country into middle income country by 2030<sup>26</sup>

### **1.8 Gaps in The Literature Review**

For the purpose of this investigation, this researcher sought to assess whether the current programs initiated by the state are currently addressing youth needs holistically from teenager hood to adulthood and what newer measures can be incorporated to meet and address evolving social, cultural, and political requirements. With corrupt officials being anecdotes of purpose and personal fulfillment, it is foreseen that attention to new media as robust networks for like-minded youth to address their needs will not solve their issues and the lack of proper mechanisms can act as a catalyst for youth instigated conflict. Furthermore, the perceptions that the state is encouraging marginalization and poor governance by rewarding “bad behavior” will further aggravate the situation.

### **1.9 Research Hypothesis**

H1: There is a link between poor governance and youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi.

H0: Current strategies used by the Kenya government have failed to deter youth instigated conflict in Nairobi

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<sup>26</sup>(*Ibid*)

### **1.10 Justification**

This study is premised on the following three justification areas

#### Policy Justification

The study seeks to help refine existing policies on youth instigated conflict.

#### Academic justification

Generation of literature that will be used by current academicians and researchers who are interested in furthering their knowledge in this sphere.

#### To the public

Holistically address issues of concerns to youth and by highlighting avenues of taking away their burden.

### **1.11 Theoretical Framework**

The situation of the human needs theory is like frustration-aggression comparable to the relative deprivation theory. The leading supposition is that individuals have needs that they are in pursuit of. However, the constant renunciation besides prevention by other people from realizing these needs will afflict them sooner or later leading to conflict. These inherent and basic needs in a sense encompass physical, psychological, societal and divine needs. To deny access to one e.g. freedom of speech and allow access to another e.g. food could make the youths resort to violence to defend these needs. Though intellectuals of the needs theory identify and appreciate that there exist different desires, some which they concur to be straightforward, they settled that hindering these wants delays the potential of individuals and groups, instigating conflict<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> scientific-contributions/2070307160\_A\_J Miller publication/274228714\_ scientific contributions/2070333491\_Jerel\_A\_Rosati, contributions/2070295801\_Roger\_A\_Coate-The\_Power\_of\_Human\_Needs\_in\_World

The human needs theory helped us understand what the underlying youth needs are, and whether the Kenya state has appropriately addressed these needs in totality. The lack thereof of political will to meet such needs has been a precursor to a youth insurgency in other states across the globe.

### **1.12 Research Methodology**

This section summaries the research process for the study. Precisely, the section presents the ensuing: research design, data collection methods, sample size location, data collection tool, target populace, sample size determination, data analysis and presentation, study limitations and legal then ethical consideration.

Quantitative methodology emphasizes quantities and numerical examination of data composed through questionnaires. Additionally, manipulation of pre-existing statistics is done by means of computational procedures. Quantitative data helped gather arithmetic statistics and simplifying it across their demographics, psychographics, habits and actions towards the subject matter.<sup>28</sup>

Qualitative methodology is the best approach to unearth conflict research insights. Information gathered qualitatively are found to be valuable means to gain insight into perceptions and attitudes of the study participants as it does not obscure depth allowing for the researcher to unearth behavioral psychographic of human deeds and the justification behind such conduct. Furthermore, open ended questions facilitate the researcher to look at a wide range interrelated courses and realisms that have been socially raised in the issue of interest.<sup>29</sup>

#### **1.12.1 Research Design**

The researcher adopted both primary and secondary data to start the research procedure. This tactic aided as a phase by phase guide to the method of data collection and facilitated data scrutiny. Moreover, the case study approach provided data on youth marginalization and their current sentiments on marginalization and governance. Furthermore, it facilitated the enquiry to collate,

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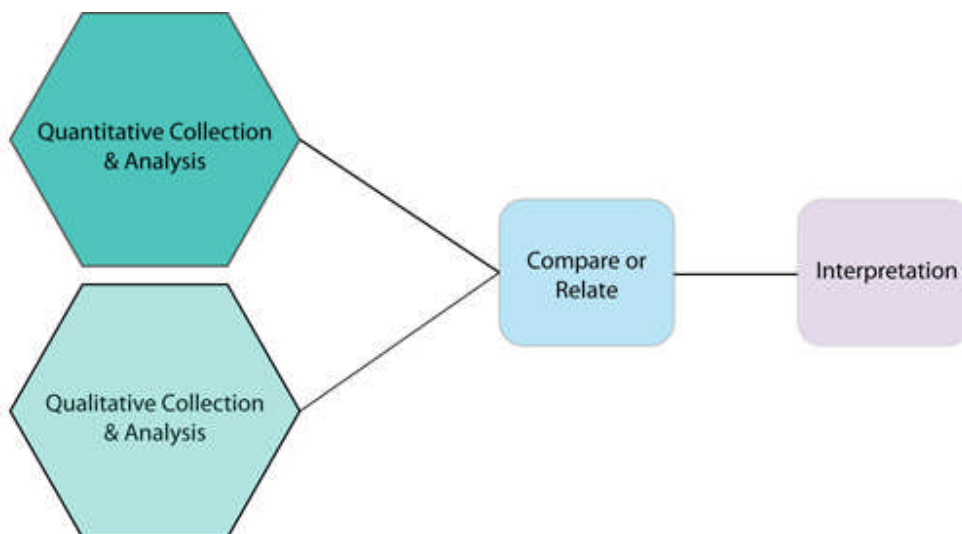
<sup>28</sup> Babbie, Earl R. *The Practice of Social Research*. 12th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage, 2010; Muijs, Daniel. *Doing Quantitative Research in Education with SPSS*. 2nd edition. London

<sup>29</sup> Alan Bryman, (2008) "Of methods and methodology", *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal*, Vol. 3 Issue: 2, pp.159-168

capture and synthesis the interface of dissimilar reasons, features and nuanced trends of youth instigated conflicts. This qualified a holistic portrayal and analysis of the topic of interest.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, mixed technique is categorized by emphasis on research problem than the method.<sup>31</sup> This calls for a scrutiny of real life circumstantial understanding, socio-cultural influences and multi-level perspectives. Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are used towards assessing the scale and frequency of constructs besides unearthing meanings, perception, attitudes and understanding of constructs respectively.

The rationale behind drawing strengths of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods is to articulate a holistic informational outline by creating possible solutions or new understanding of the issues. The proposal also incorporates more than combining the two methodologies but rather addresses a new epistemological model that occupies abstract space between positivism and interpretivism *ibid*



### 1.12.2 Data Collection Method

The researcher used both structured and unstructured questions to allow for a validation of responses. The structured questions limited the participants to the researcher's options whereas the

<sup>30</sup>Qualitative research methods for the social sciences / Berg, Bruce L. (Bruce Lawrence), 2012

<sup>31</sup> Creswell, J.W., & Tashakkori, A. (2007). Developing publishable mixed methods manuscripts. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research*

unstructured questions gave depth insight into the respondents' perceptions and attitudes towards the study subject matter.

For the qualitative approach, a purposive sampling strategy was used to target participants who are experts in youth engagement, patterns around youth conflict, governance systems/institutions, and youth inclusivity strategies etc. The interviews were conducted abiding all necessary ethical considerations. The interviews will take about 60 mins which is sufficient to engage in a depth conversation with the participants.

Furthermore, a structured questionnaire was distributed to the sample population with a request to respond and return. The pros of this method are that

1. It's faster and time conscious.
2. It cuts on field work costs.
3. High hit ratio on any sample size.
4. High response rate from consenting participant whereas declining participants can do so without any coercion.

On the other hand, its notable drawbacks include,

1. Questionnaire design is a long and tedious process that requires attention to detail. It entails internalizing the objectives to help your research.
2. Questionnaires have low rationality as they don't explore queries in depth and detail.
3. The researcher is likely to only ask question they think to be relevant. There's a likelihood to overlook important information from failure to ask appropriate questions.



### 1.12.3 Data Collection Location



Field work was conducted in August using English and Swahili as official languages in Kenya. Periodic use of slang was encouraged especially for participants who come from lower social economic classes (SEC) to facilitate their opinions in the study.

The study location is Nairobi county. As the capital of Kenya, it is cosmopolitan with a huge youth population that has migrated and converged from all parts of the country. This enabled the researcher to get opinions and insights from youths from diverse backgrounds

Language was another factor that informed Nairobi as a sample location. Most of youth speak English, Swahili and Sheng (Local Slang) fluently. This ideally cut on time that would otherwise

be spent translating data collection tools and translation of transcripts into a language that the researcher understands

The study targeted online study participants using the platform Survey Monkey. Nairobi has the highest usage on data. According to a CAK report on financial year 2015/2016, the number of Kenyans having access to the internet through smart devices had reached 74.2 per 100 peoples<sup>32</sup>

#### **1.12.4 Data Collection Tools**

The researcher used a tool with open and closed ended questions as the primary means of collecting data. Interviews were held with key informants regarding the subject matter. The interviews were consented to, conducted at the participants location and convenience and recorded for analysis/reporting purposes. Questionnaires were electronically circulated to various youths within the population sample quota. All the survey participants were above 18 years of age, literate, technologically savvy and consented to participate voluntarily. The participants were allocated adequate time to articulate and respond to the questionnaire.

#### **1.12.5 Data Collection Target Population**

The desired target participants are youths and experts who reside in Kenya for both quantitative and qualitative research respectively. The sample size is drawn from this population. Other selection approaches used comprise convenience sampling. The researcher recruited participants from professional and social networks who are readily available and accessible online for electronic data collection.<sup>33</sup>

Established quotas from the defined sample were used to achieve the sample population with the characteristics that the researcher favored and anticipated. It allowed for a stratum of the attributes that are of interest of the researcher. Other aspects to increase representativeness of the sample include age, gender, education levels. The study is cognizant that Kenya youth are not a homogenous group.

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<sup>32</sup>CA.go.ke/index.php/what-we-do/94-news/366-kenya-s-mobile-penetration-hits-88-per-cent

<sup>33</sup> Qualitative research methods for the social sciences / Berg, Bruce L. (Bruce Lawrence), 2012

For the study, the age bracket is 18 – 35 as defined and stipulated by the constitution. Any Kenya citizen who is or above this age and upon acquiring a national identity card is entitled to freedoms and liberties as enriched in the constitution etc. It is at this age that the youth are oriented into democracy, are high school graduates and are looking to build on their social and economic future which happens to be intertwined with governance. These youths are from all walks of life, but they share a common internationally recognized state with defined borders called Kenya.

### **1.12.6 Sample Size Determination and Distribution**

The main factor considered in defining the sample size was managing the research study parameter<sup>34</sup>. Furthermore, this enabled the researcher to carry out the study at an affordable cost i.e. in terms of time, finances and human resources. Application of random sampling means that every youth had an equal chance of participating.<sup>35</sup>

The Yamane Formula was used to regulate the sample size on behalf of the number of participants. Based on the Yamane formula  $N = N / [1 + (N * e^2)]$ , where n signifies the quota samples, N as the entire populace of the consistent regulars, and e which denotes the margin of error. By using a process of substitution, the total target participants were eighty.

$$n = 80 / [1 + (80 * .05^2)] \quad n = 80 / [1 + (.25)] \quad n = 100 / 1.25 \quad n = 80$$

**The eighty (80) respondents will be chosen randomly.**

Data was sourced primarily through a survey questionnaire with youths in Kenya. The type of measurement method the researcher used with the survey questionnaire was multiple choice and Likert scale, for them to obtain a more precise and specific answers. Furthermore, the same is extended to the Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs officials as well as INGO's whose thematic area of focus is on the youth.

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<sup>34</sup> Neuman, W.L. (2000) Social research methods qualitative and quantitative approaches. 4th Edition, Allyn & Bacon, Needham Heights.

<sup>35</sup> [psychiatry.uonbi.ac.ke/sites/default/.../sample%20size%20determination.ppt](http://psychiatry.uonbi.ac.ke/sites/default/.../sample%20size%20determination.ppt)

Target Group	Sample Size	Sampling Procedure
Youth	80	Random
Ministry of Youth and Sports	10	Purposive
NGO's	10	Purposive

### 1.12.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

Different procedures, instruments and techniques were used to arrive at data analysis. Qualitative data from the was transcribed and analyzed into themes through gridding. Quantitative data was cleaned, coded and scrutinized using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Toward testing the hypotheses, the frequencies of independent variables (Marginalization and poor governance) will be cross tabulated with those of dependent variables (whether the two aspects are linked to youth instigated violence), respectively. Obtained frequencies will then be weighted before subjecting them to the statistical test.

### 1.12.8 Scope and Study Limitations

Readers should exercise some limitations in the findings of the study. One major limitation was that the sample scope is comparatively minor and therefore the discoveries cannot be substantially said to be representative of the youths in Kenya and hence the need for further research to augment the findings. However, the sample specific characteristics such as ethnicity and religion were deliberately overlooked as they are insignificant to actualizing solutions to youth marginalization and poor governance. The characteristics of the populace that were captured were age, social economic class, gender and education levels of the participants.

The lack of adequate time and resources worked against this researcher to deeply articulate the socioeconomic, cultural and political nuances of the participants. There was an inclination to observing the current state of the nation and accounts provided by experts, publications etc.

In addition, the researcher anticipated some underlying undertones of the study from previous researchers not accruing direct benefits to the study area. The researcher reiterated that the study findings informed interest in the matter that would hopefully address youth marginalization and poor governance as a catalyst for conflict;

There was a likelihood that the participants took the interviews in anticipation of monetary rewards. This was mitigated by the fact that they are experts in the thematic fields of the research project paper and the study will go a long way in enrich this field.

In closing, my personal position, inclination and affiliations have had intended or unintended biasness in the research project paper. The researcher endeavored to minimize this error by adhering to a higher methodological and ethical standard to counter any biasness that may arise.

#### **1.12.9 Legal and Ethical Consideration**

A permit was gotten from the National Council for Science and Technology (NACOSTI) for the purposes of this research as the oversight institution. The researcher is therefore obligated to make available the findings of this research project paper to the National Council of Science and Technology to contribute to Kenya's research body.

Critical ethical elements of privacy, confidentiality, no harm and of benefit to the society informed the research project paper. The participants had to append their signature on a written informed-consent form as to justify that their participation was voluntary.

The above ethical factors were important to protect the identity of the participants, to assure the participants that the information they share purely for research purposes, that no physical or emotional harm shall come to them upon participating in this study and that the findings of this research paper shall be of benefit to the republic of Kenya.

## CHAPTER TWO

### MARGINALIZATION AND YOUTH INVOLVEMENT IN CONFLICT IN NAIROBI

#### 2.1 Introduction

The concept of marginalization has been in existence for the past century. The concept, which describes expounds on the living experience between two disproportionate worlds was developed in the 1920s. The concept was used to explain the second-generation Americans immigrants and their integration into the dominant political culture. Marginalization also refers the elites' social status in comparison to that of the impoverished. Traditionally, experiences that create political or economic segregation/oppression of groups or individuals over a given period is used to distinguish marginalization. Moreover, the definition of marginalization has been extended to include the process where people are peripheries because of the association, identity, environment and experience.<sup>36</sup>

The lasting marginalized personality emanates from the enduring inequality of resources distribution. Notably, marginalization in Kenya is manifested in groups that have been denied political and economic resources to improve their lives. Such groups are often referred as the marginalized community and include youth, women, disabled persons, racial minority groups like Arabs, European, Asians and ethnic minorities like the Nubians, the Sengwer, the Ongiek, El Molo, the Ilchamus and the Sakweri. This research focuses on youth marginalization; hence, the research explores the existing experience of underdevelopment, exclusion and alienation for the youth in Kenya, and particularly Nairobi County. This chapter seeks to determine the contribution of marginalization towards conflict.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>Murshed, S. Mansoob. "Globalisation, Marginalisation and Conflict." In *Globalisation, poverty and conflict*, pp. 67-80. Springer, Dordrecht, 2004.

<sup>37</sup>Tartarini, Hamdi Ibrahim. "Marginalization and Democracy: Kenya's 2007 Post Election Violence." (2015).

## 2.2 Youth Marginalization and Extremist Activities

The Youths remains the main actors constituting the bulk of the participants in conflict related violence, militias and criminal gangs, according to a majority of the youth interviewed in the study. The study findings revealed that 80% (56) of the youths' respondents believed that marginalization is a great contributor to youth who have joined terrorist related violence. The lack of employment opportunities, lack of a sense of belonging and a growing sense of marginalization among youth in an unstable political, social and economic environment have contributed to the increasing cases of youth radicalization. Majority of the youth are victims of marginalization and exclusion in the communities that they have moved to. These youths lack access to education and employment, with these making some of the youths vulnerable to terrorism indoctrination and conflicts in urban areas.<sup>38</sup>

The research noted that majority of the respondent 65% (46) were inclined to believe that youths who are well educated and exposed to job opportunities are difficult to manipulate and attract to join terrorism related violence and induced conflict. These respondents felt that the lack of job opportunities make the youth gullible and easily manipulated. These results were corroborated with evidence from literature that showed that Kenya suffers from high unemployment and underemployment, especially among the younger generation. Although official numbers are scarce, youth unemployment is estimated to be approximately 40 percent, with 80 percent of unemployed Kenyans being below 35 and over 45% of youth residing in urban areas.<sup>39</sup>

Lack of unemployment opportunities for the youths is a pressing issue in Kenya and failure to invest in youth inhibits both development and sustainability. Additionally, youth unemployment threatens social cohesion, political stability, and economic growth. Failing to invest in youth prevents them from acquiring the skills needed to advance the country's development in the future. While there is currently no direct link between unemployment and radicalization, lack of stable

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<sup>39</sup>Jerejian, Thea Emilie. "" A Helping Hand?" Recruitment of Kenyan Youth to al-Shabaab." Master's thesis, 2017.

economic income can result in relative deprivation, which could potentially lead to support for participation in conflict related violence besides radical and violent extremist groups.<sup>40</sup>

Lack of employment opportunities, both formal and informal, can leave youth vulnerable to extremist groups, especially when framed as economic marginalization by the state. It may also fuel desperation for economic stability, making youth more inclined to accept false promises of financial rewards by al-Shabaab and other extremist groups. Unemployment and lack of economic stability contributes to insecurity and “can potentially contribute to opening pathways to conflict related activities in urban areas as more youths participate in criminal gangs and groups. An official from an NGO working with deradicalization of former al-Shabaab members noted in the study that unemployment and poverty is one of the main reasons for why youth in Kenya join terrorism related conflict. According to his observations, many Kenyan Muslims are induced through the promise of financial gain that makes them fall for the indoctrination.

Unemployment problem has led to an exponential growth of informal settlements in Nairobi to accommodate low-income populations. Difficulties in securing a decent job is one of the major challenges youths in informal settlement face leaving them vulnerable to mobilization and manipulation to politicians and involvement into crime, the responses from the youth indicate that 69 percent of the youth believe that conflict in informal settlements is mainly due to unemployment among the youth with 31 percent not supporting the fact.<sup>41</sup>

The situation of unemployment makes the youth be fodder for manipulation when enticed with money. Research found that majority of them have been forced to access self-employment in the informal sector (Jua Kali) where they are frequently victims of arbitrary licensing systems, destroying of their properties because of conducting business in illegal areas and confiscation of good on accounts of engaging in illegal business. In explaining how unemployment contributed to violence more directly, the youth respondents mainly cited idleness that cause the youth to be paid to cause violence and lack of economic empowerment. The post-election violence was cited as one

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<sup>40</sup>Villa-Vicencio, Charles, Stephen Buchanan-Clarke, and Alex Humphrey. "Community Perceptions of Violent Extremism in Kenya." (2016).

<sup>41</sup>Omolu, Jacob. "Youth Employment in Kenya." Analysis of Labour Market and Policy Interventions (2012).



of the ways in which the youths used unemployment as a way of settling disputes relating to employment in Nairobi County.

Regarding access to education, most individuals mentioned the significance of money in schooling. Whereas the highly deprived persons contend that equal opportunities have not been offered by the system, the more privileged see the education system as limiting because it does not equip them with practical skills that facilitate self-employment and self-reliance, particularly in terms of entrepreneurial and business skills. The educational system has failed to prepare them for opportunities in the labour market, leaving them to engage in conflicts. The study shows that 55(39) percent of the youth believed that they participate in conflict due to inadequate education. Youths believed that if they were exposed to quality education and training they would have better employment opportunities or be self-sufficient.<sup>42</sup>

According to 'Mbith Enock' not his real name, illiteracy among the youth also plays a great role in their involvement in violent conflict in Nairobi county, more so in slums. Due to poverty in the slum, majority of the young people do not go beyond secondary in slums. This means that most youths will be without jobs or have low paying jobs that cannot allow them to survive in urban areas. As a result, they find it easier to participate in conflict as they can be easily recruited by politicians at a small fee.<sup>43</sup> Another interviewee from the national government asserted that the unemployed and hopeless youths also provide a recruitment pool for political violence in the form of groupings. He further alleged that once the short-term objectives of the merchants of violence are achieved, the groups are not disbanded. Rather, they are left to fend for themselves through illegal taxes and other forms of extortion developing interests of their own. Meanwhile, politicians bury their heads in the sand knowing the youths will be available awaiting activation should their services be needed. In between, the militias evolve usually in form of organized criminal activities such as extortion, illegal taxation, engage in conflict and violence activities in slums.<sup>44</sup>

Most of the key informants from Government officials and Civil Society were of the view that lack of employment among the youths in both slums was the major factor which negatively influenced

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<sup>42</sup>Interview with youth respondents held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>43</sup>Interview with Mbith Enock held in Nairobi on 19<sup>th</sup> August.

<sup>44</sup>Interview with youth officer at Ministry of Public service, Gender and Youth Affairs on 24<sup>th</sup> August.

young people to engage in violence and perpetuate conflict. The study concurred with these findings mainly because the youth became vulnerable and accepted to engage in any activity that could provide them with a means of livelihood through incitement by politicians. Unemployment of youth allowed for mushrooming of criminal gangs and militias formed by youth around electioneering period in many cases shaped the political and security dynamics even as politicians sought support and sympathy from such groups. Political parties and individual politicians manipulated the youth to provide them with security around the electioneering period. These militias were used to fend off rivals through fierce fighting and continued to engage in other exploitative ventures.<sup>45</sup>

The interviewees felt that both the past regime and the current regimes have failed to solve the unemployment problem. In this view some of the NGO official interviewed suggested that the inability to provide employment opportunities in Nairobi have led to mushrooming of various illegal gangs or grouping, through which many conflicts and private violence have been committed in Nairobi County. For instance, the Mungiki, Gaza gang, 42 brothers, Taliban, and superpower are some of the groups that have been in existence or mushroomed. These criminal organizations were often hired and mobilized by politicians from the ruling and the opposition parties alike to intimidate their rivals' supporters.

### **2.3 Socio-Economic Inequality and Uneven Distribution of Resources**

From the interviews with the youths, it was observed that some of the young persons cherished obstinate feelings even though some of their community members served in the government, albeit less influential positions. Moreover, youths affiliated to oppositions parties argued that members of their community holding critical positions in the government often underperformed because their ministries and agencies, for instance, were starved through numerous government bureaucrats. The Interviews also demonstrated that skewed allocation of resources to government areas affiliated with the government also contributed towards conflict and political violence.<sup>46</sup>Consequently, inequality and marginalization contributed towards armed conflict by

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<sup>45</sup>Waki Report. 2008

<sup>46</sup>Interview with youth respondents held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

denying the youth their potential. Subsequent regimes in Kenya have continuously faced the challenge of equality and equity in terms of resources allocation. The leadership's self interest in addressing underdevelopment and poverty is one of the causes the serious challenge that has faced subsequent regimes. The political elite, in turn have capitalized on the situation by securing their political position and only relegates persons belonging to these classes to the patronage levels, and at times excludes the group in terms of sharing the national resources.<sup>47</sup> Although the current constitution is people-focused and ambitious, the existing leadership does not often act in the peoples' interest. Though equity and equality are enunciated in all sectors of the national and county government by the constitution, achieving this has been a challenge across the county, with some communities and region feel neglected and excluded from "national cake".<sup>48</sup>

Marginalization of some areas by successive regimes and unequal distribution of resources since independence has been main cause of conflict in Kenya. African states, and Kenya have failed meet their citizens' socioeconomic development needs. According to Bates, ruling elites in most post-independent African countries sacrifice meeting the basic needs of society to maintain their political power. In turn, the approach fuels conflict, which mainly emanates from grievances based on horizontal inequalities among cultural groups.<sup>49</sup>

Ethnic conflict and distrust is viewed as the major problem for development in Kenya. The most crucial point is the issue of marginalization and agitation by the various ethnicities. Marginalization breeds distrust, suspicion, heightens ethnic tension and may eventually lead to conflict over the sharing and allocation of power and national resources. It, therefore, is a factor that has contributed to ethnic conflict in both rural and urban areas, with most participants in these conflicts being youths. Ethnicity emerged during the colonial period; and at independence, it became the yardstick for measuring contribution to national development efforts especially for allocating and distributing power and national resources.<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup>Tartarini, Hamdi Ibrahim. "Marginalization and Democracy: Kenya's 2007 Post Election Violence." (2015)

<sup>48</sup>Nyongesa, Wanjala, Tuikong Nature and Influence of Conflict in Kibera and Mathare Slums after 2007 Elections in Kenya International Journal of Recent Research in Social Sciences and Humanities (IJRRSSH) Vol. 3, Issue 2, pp: (9-16), (2016)

<sup>49</sup>Ajulu, Rok. "Politicised ethnicity, competitive politics and conflict in Kenya: A historical perspective." *African Studies* 61, no. 2 (2002): 251-268.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid

Successive governments in Kenya have also employed politics of exclusion especially for regions that are dominated by the opposition political parties and their communities from mainstream decision-making processes. These include regions such as the Eastern communities notably the Kamba community, Nyanza and Western Kenya, which remain poorer relative to other regions. Further persons from these regions have also felt that certain regions in urban centers dominated by ethnic communities from these areas have been neglected. For instance, it was revealed during the interviews with youths that Kibera, Mathare and Kawangware slums have been ignored by both previous and successive governments. This scenario provides an opportunity for the youth in the Slums to ventilate their frustration through conflicts and violence such as it happened during the post-election violence of 2008. Most youths in Slums are affiliated to the main parties, and a conflict normally arises due to lamentation by some of the youths and ethnic communities against unfairness of the government and poverty in the regions that supported the opposition.<sup>51</sup>

A research done by African Population and Health Research Centre blamed violence in Nairobi marginalization of the slum residents. The marginalization of residents in informal settlements means they are rarely served by social institutions such as the police and the justice system. Additionally, the unequal distribution of resources also means that the slum residents have poor infrastructure and services as compared to other areas in Nairobi.<sup>52</sup>

#### **2.4 Lack of youth participation in democratic processes**

Another related theme that emerged on marginalization and how it leads to youth instigated conflict was the theme of inadequate participation opportunities for youth in democratic processes. The study findings suggested that 70% (49) of the youth participants in the study considered lack of youth participation in democratic processes as a motivation for youth to instigate conflicts. Undemocratic leadership, especially one arising from authoritarian and tribal inclinations is the main contributor to conflicts. When these political and economic powers are applied based on the tribal inclinations brings about public wastages of resources as well as marginalization of some groups which ultimately may result in violence and criminal behaviors among the youths.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>Interview with youths held on 22<sup>nd</sup> August 2018

<sup>52</sup> APHRC, Slum conflict.2008

<sup>53</sup> Interview with youth respondents held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

During the fieldwork, some of the key informant from the NGOs expressed that the youths are not given a voice in their community. The data indicates 47 percent of the respondents feel that they are not given an audience by stakeholders in the community. While 45 percent feel that the status had changed, and the youth are being listened to more. The youth feel that they are slowly getting engaged in the decision-making process and are participating more in the outcome of those decisions. For instance, one NGO official stated “The youth are viewed as future leader’s, defenders of their nation, energetic and productive. I believe their voices are not heard. What leaders are saying is mere lip service and they are minimally heard”. “The youth are viewed as the integral part of the community. They are viewed positively; they are the future leaders who can transform the community. Somehow, they are heard, but their expectations are not met by their so-called leaders”.<sup>54</sup>

In Kenya, the political parties have the mandate of steering the country forward with regards to the reform processes but overtime they have proved to lack the necessary structures and influence to do so. The patriarchal nature of political parties in the country has subdued the participation of the women and youth groups in political processes. In as much as there have been increased numbers of women and youth legislatures in the parliament, the Kenyan youths and women have remained to be underrepresented in Kenyan politics. This is because the women and youth leaders seeking to join politics and take up leadership roles tend to be marginalized and therefore finds it difficult to take an active role in the parties’ decision-making structures and procedures.<sup>55</sup>

Women and youth are typically relegated to women and youth wings that lack structured party support. In 2008, the Political Parties Act was passed which required that the political parties’ constitution should state the party’s practices with respect to gender and youth, nomination procedures, and human rights to receive government funding. Despite these clear laws, many political parties are still struggling with the implementation of the necessary internal reforms and streamlining of their procedures to guarantee youth and women participation. With the view that there is a correlation between political power and distribution of resources in the country, the

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with an NGO officials held on 23<sup>rd</sup>-24<sup>th</sup> August 2018

<sup>55</sup> Kanyinga, Karuti. "Kenya: Democracy and Political Participation-Discussion Paper." (2014).

youths have been made to believe that they ought to address their needs through a political process hence their continued struggle to gain political participation.<sup>56</sup>

## **2.5 Politicization of Ethnicity**

Another emergent theme that came out of the study was the theme of politicization of ethnicity and marginalization among youths. The study findings indicated that 60% (42) of the youth attributed politicization of ethnicity as major factor in instigating conflict. However, Klopp was of another view that the main problem is not ethnicity but marginalization which has led to those in power fighting for influence and partisan support by politicizing tribalism leading to tribal conflicts. Tribalism started in the era of colonialism because of the “divide and rule” policy use employed by colonialists through favoring some communities while suppressing others. This resulted in rivalry among communities. This state of affairs has been witnessed even in the postcolonial Africa where politics is played along the ethnic lines. As a result, this has led to marginalization and poverty of some communities due to unequal distribution of resources.<sup>57</sup>

For example, the 2007/2008 violence that was witnessed in Kenya, Waki Report documents that it resulted from negative ethnicity. In Kenya, Presidency has been regarded as the ultimate crown by communities even when they have very little to gain at a personal level. This has led to the political elite using it as a tool or a weapon to mobilize the youths to instigate conflict and pursue their political goals.<sup>58</sup> This according to the Waki Report resulted in polarization of communities along ethnic lines prior to the 2007 general elections hence became a precursor to the PEV 2007/2008. This is an illustration of leadership of predatory elite, where members of the community may be urged to form or circumvent and organize political action group. Ethnicity continues to inform job opportunities, allocation of scarce resources and appointment to government jobs despite constitutional provision to the contrary.<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid

<sup>57</sup> Bienen, Henry. Kenya: The politics of participation and control. Princeton U

<sup>58</sup> Waki Report. 2008

<sup>59</sup> Ibid

## **2.6 Summary of Chapter Findings**

Marginalization emerged from the study as a great contributor to youth instigated conflict. The lack of employment opportunities, lack of a sense of belonging and a growing sense of marginalization among youth in an unstable political, social and economic environment have contributed to the increasing cases of youth radicalization. Marginalization through socio-economic inequality and uneven distribution of resources is a major contributor to youth ethnic conflict in urban areas. Inequality and uneven distribution of resources as a factor in instigating youth conflict contributor is a cause of ethnic conflict, with youth as the main actors in the conflict. Inequality and uneven distribution of resources are used by politicians and elected leaders to instigate the youth to cause conflict.

Lack of youth participation has further contributed to marginalization of young people in various ways. Youth's participation in political parties is limited to just few position that are not influential in determining key decision. Due to the disenfranchisement of youths they vulnerable as participants in conflicts. Marginalization of youths is compounded by the politicization of ethnicity, as through this process youths are easily corrupted to participate in youth conflict in the communities.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ASPECT OF GOVERNANCE AND YOUTH CONFLICT IN NAIROBI

#### 3.1 Introduction

The concept of good governance is the focus of this chapter. Besides defining good governance, the chapter explores its interpretation and elements. Although good governance is viewed as a prerequisite for development, understanding what it encompasses is essential. Therefore, this chapter seeks provide an in-depth understanding of the good governance concept and its contribution to conflict among youths. From the 1997 UNDP report on Governance and Sustainable Human Development, governance involves eight major qualities: rule of law; participation; responsiveness; transparency; equity; consensus oriented; efficiency; effectiveness; strategic vision and accountability. Thus, a discussion around the role of poor governance in instigating conflict is discussed considering these elements.

#### 3.2 Poor governance and conflict

From the interview schedules, all the respondents; youths, government and civil society considered that governance is not only a challenge of the state and its institutions but also the elected leaders. The interviewees perceived that the political diversities and the struggle for power played a key role in the fueling of the conflict. One of the Government officials noted that the issue of land and political power sharing needs to be addressed as it has created seeds of discord and hatred among the communities living around this area. The youths have fed on the seeds of discord in their communities and this has resulted in some of the youths participating in conflict and violence.<sup>60</sup>

Similarly, some ethnic groups strongly believe that historical marginalization resulting from perceived inequalities over land allocation and other national resources as well access to public services and goods. Politicians mostly employ these feelings to articulate grievances on historical injustices that resonate with some sections of the public. Resultantly, an underlying climate of hate and tension has been created, which in turn has prepared the potential for violence ready to be

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<sup>60</sup>Interview with youth, NGO officials and Government officials held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018



ignited and explode especially at election time. More discussion on this is provided in the section below.

### **3.3 Lack of Transparency and Accountability as a cause of Youth Instigated Conflict**

According to most of the youth (70%), inequality in distribution of limited state resources was cited as one of the major instigators of youth participation in Conflict. It emerged from the interviewees that inequality of state resources distribution has been felt in low income settlement areas which feel abandoned by the national government. Most low-income areas are characterized by illegal structures, potholes and garbage heaps because of poor urban service delivery. Most old-timers demonstrated split memories of the present dilapidated urban landscape and regular maintenance of amenities caused by many years of decline and negligence, thus arousing resentment. In turn, most of the people constantly regret over the national and county leadership. The nature of policies and politics as well as continual negligence by the county and national government are some of the factors that have caused and aggravated the situation.<sup>61</sup>

In conducting the research, the findings also showed that the living conditions in low income settlements is one of the major reasons for the conflicts in the area. For instance, one key informant from Kibera stated that social amenities such as health, power besides water and sanitation facilities are scarce. In villages such as Gatwekera, Laini Saba, Soweto, numerous shanties are made of mud as proper sanitation is a mirage with open sewers and dab drainage. There are no proper toilets in these areas as residents uses plastic bags which they discard outside their houses. This has brought a lot of problems between the tenants and the landlords.<sup>62</sup>

The tenants claim that their landlords got the land free from the government, they do not pay land rates, yet they have failed to maintain proper housing and services. The landlords on the other hand blame the tenants for the poor conditions of their rental properties. This issue has been the cause of conflict between the landlords and tenants since 1992, with conflicts mainly propagated by

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<sup>61</sup> Interview with youth respondents held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>62</sup> Interview held with NGO officials in Nairobi on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2018.

idling youths. In addition to this, they face inadequate schooling facilities, lack of drainage system and even lack of security services.<sup>63</sup>

### **3.4 Lack of Respect for Rule of Law as an Instigator of Youth Violence**

According to some of the NGO officials who participated in the study, lack of respect for rule of law has been a factor in conflict instigation among youths. For instance, one of the NGO official stated that during president Moi's leadership, numerous problems were prevalent across the city; hence, people temporarily neglected the law as they purposed to identify solutions. Lack of respect for rule of laws has been perpetuated by the rich who are able to push their way in acquiring and accessing resources. The youths, more so in low income settlement have taken to doing certain things without respect for the rule of law. A situation that has led to conflict in slums instigated by youths.

### **3.5 Mismanagement and Poor leadership as a cause of Youth Instigated Conflict**

Despite change of regimes in the past elections, most of the interviewees content that the quality of their lives has remained the same. In fact, most of the respondents posit that damages of the past government are still prevalent in their daily lives and a better leadership that can address their challenges has not been realized. This they attributed to continued cases of politics of mismanagement and lack of accountability on the side of political leaders across different levels of the government.<sup>64</sup> For instance, based on one of the interviews, the economy has become deplorable and the right mechanisms for change are not available. The youth respondent also stated that currently, there is no proper spokesperson for the young people. Based on the data obtained, most communities interpret the impact of poor leadership as a communal loss.<sup>65</sup>

The youths that were interviewed were filled with present memories of failed leadership that could not provide an expansive arena in which to assign responsibility for their current marginalized status. Nairobi's harsh living conditions often validate the bitterness of residents towards perpetual

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<sup>63</sup>Okoth-Okombo, Duncan, and Olang Sana. BalaMitaani: The Challenge of Mending Ethnic Relations in the Nairobi Slums. Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, 2010.

<sup>64</sup>Interview with youth respondents held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid

mismanagement by both county and national government, which arise out of the political elite's incompetence and greed. The problem of mismanagement has been made worse by corruption that according to some of the youths has become worse than even during the reign of Moi.

Leaders in the country have not dealt with the issues of corruption, effective governance, the rule of law and improving the quality of life for poverty-stricken Kenyans. The 2010 constitution introduced a devolved form of governance which purposed to address the negative effects of bad governance after the 2013 elections. However, the constitutional reform has not promoted good management and leadership as expected further leading to bitterness amongst youths in Nairobi county. This bitterness makes the youth vulnerable to conflict and even active participants in conflict.<sup>66</sup>

### **3.6 Corruption as a Cause of Youth Instigated Conflict**

Corruption emerged as a major contributor to youth instigated conflict, with all the youth respondents, NGO officials and government officials. Accordingly, the study participants were of the view that corruption breeds conflict among youths arising from bitterness over mismanagement, diminishes the respect of law and in conjunction with ethnicity polarizes the country. The weakness of Kenya as a country is caused by endemic corruption and the longstanding inequitable policies, thus severely compromising state institutions such as the armed forces and police. The development agenda of the country is being weakened by corruption, particularly the willingness to flaunt the law for bribes.<sup>67</sup>

Extensive and endemic corruption has made the vice an issue of international and domestic concern; and is an indicator of a failed system. Institutions that were initially designed to enhance and regulate relationships between the state and the citizens are currently being used to enrich individuals in the public and private sector.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Interview with youth, NGO officials and government official held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018

<sup>67</sup> Ibid

<sup>68</sup> Obala, Luke M., and Michael Mattingly. "Ethnicity, corruption and violence in urban land conflict in Kenya." *Urban Studies* 51, no. 13 (2014): 2735-2751.

Politicians and opportunistic bureaucrats, for example, have been maximizing their loot without any consideration on the consequence of such activities on the size of the national pie, and thereby accounting for the growth of corrupt activities that negatively impact the country. Corruption is persistent in the country because some individuals are direct beneficiaries as well as lack of capacity and will power in government institutions to address the vice. Despite the existence of a multiagency approach to the vice that includes EACC (Ethics-and-Anti-Corruption-Commission) DCI (Directorate of criminal Investigations), as well ODPP (Office of the Director of Public Prosecution) as measures to deter and curb corruption, the country is still one of the most corrupt states across the globe.<sup>69</sup>

Likewise, embezzlement, theft and fraud by public officials reduce the availability of development funds. In December 2014, for example, the Finance ministry's permanent secretary, in testimony before a parliamentary committee, admitted that mismanagement and corruption rob the country around Kshs 370 billion (approximately \$3 billion) every year. In that year, the amount lost to corruption every year is equivalent to 25 –30% of the government's budget for the 2010-2014 fiscal year. Therefore, bad governance and corruption in Kenya affects the availability of funds as well as distorts development assistance partnerships. Currently, extensive corruption in the country, and the impunity culture that accompanies the vice, has resulted in a lack of confidence in the officials of the country's government to the extent that alternative methods of funding and implementing development assistance programs are being sought and put in place.<sup>70</sup>

Under the present regime, corruption reports have been rampant including the Eurobond, NYS (National Youth Service) scandal and the Youth fund, which involved a few rogue officials at the top. The collective memory of the present government is a political dialogue of significance to the community's contemporary perception of its arduous realities. Corruption on its own does not lead to conflict but corruption when viewed through other factors directly or indirectly contributes to conflict. Corruption in Kenya has led to social unrest that has been ethnically motivated thereby

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<sup>69</sup>Mwaniki, Brian Kimari. "Enhancing the fight against corruption in Kenya: making the case for conferral of prosecutorial powers on the Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission." PhD diss., Strathmore University, 2017.

<sup>70</sup>Hope, Kempe Ronald. "Corruption in Kenya." In *Corruption and Governance in Africa*, pp. 61-123. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, 2017.

encouraging ethnic conflict.<sup>71</sup> Additionally, corruption promotes crime, insecurity and unemployment as one of the NGO official stated. For instance, the official stated that because of corruption in NYS scandal, many youths were lost their employment and were not paid. This led to demonstration and unrest in Kibera and Mathare slum creating conflict between government authorities and locals.<sup>72</sup>

Another form of corruption and its contribution to conflict emerged from the interviews with NGO official and this involved corruption in n public land allocations. For instance, one of the NGO officials stated that plot/houses allocation in Mathare North and Kibera slums was seen to favour individuals of one ethnicity because of their networks among the allocating authorities. The local; MCA (Member of County Assembly) and provincial administrators who mobilized the identification of the squatters already occupying the site were all from one ethnic community, the Kikuyu. Another NGO official confirmed that the allocations were not restricted to one ethnic group, yet most of the applicants ended up being Kikuyu. Apparently, ethnic networks were usually employed in acquisition of the land in slums, with majority one of the NGO officials saying that corruption over land allocation and use in slums has been the main cause of conflict perpetuated by youth.<sup>73</sup>

### **3.7 Elections and Electoral grievances as Cause of Conflict**

The 2010 constitution, and the laws enacted thereafter such as the Elections Act, 2011, created an electoral framework largely capable of facilitating regular, free and fair elections. An independent electoral management body, the IEBC, was established. Electoral laws were largely implemented, and the principle of universal suffrage observed. The 2013 elections and all subsequent by-elections were by secret ballot. Both domestic and international observers monitored the election.<sup>74</sup>

Election in Kenya highlight the problem of accountability and transparency, key principles of governance. The 2007-2017 elections in Kenya have been characterized by questions of transparency of the process and validity of results relating to the management of results and

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<sup>71</sup>Hope Sr, Kempe Ronald. *Corruption and Governance in Africa: Swaziland, Kenya, Nigeria*. Springer, 2017.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with NGO officials held in Nairobi on 20<sup>th</sup> August 2018

<sup>73</sup> Interview with NGO official held in Nairobi on 21<sup>st</sup> August 2018

<sup>74</sup>Kanyinga, Karuti. "Kenya: Democracy and Political Participation-Discussion Paper." (2014).

tabulation at the national level were “marred by inconsistencies. Kenya’s electoral framework provides opportunities for all political parties to campaign. The Election Act represents a crucial step in improving electoral governance. Despite the existence of the constitution and election act, the Kenyan election have been faced with claims of lack of electoral accountability. For instance, some of the youths claimed that the results announced by subsequent electoral bodies have not been fair and are bedeviled with accusation of electoral mismanagement.<sup>75</sup>

Between 2007-2017, the opposition and other observers have questioned the accountability of electoral body. The accusation against the Kenyan electoral body on electoral accountability that largely touched on its use as fodder by the politicians to stoke political violence. This has on numerous occasions led to youths to engaged in conflict under the campaign against perceived lack of electoral accountability. The youth think that their engagement in conflict would propel concerned individuals and institutions to rethink their approach to Electoral governance. They want justice which as a last result can only be achieved through mass action.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>75</sup>Wanyama, Fredrick O., and JørgenElklit. "Electoral violence during party primaries in Kenya." *Democratization* 25, no. 6 (2018): 1016-1032.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid

### **3.8 Summary of the Findings**

Poor governance is a cause of youth instigated conflict in Nairobi County. Poor governance as a cause of youth conflict has many facets that manifest itself in Nairobi. Mismanagement and poor leadership leads to misuse of funds that results in denying tax paying citizens basic services. Related to mismanagement and poor leadership is lack of transparency and accountability that creates an environment that perpetuates conflicts by creating inequality of state resources distribution. These actions make especially residents from low income settlements to feel abandoned by both county and national government relegating the youth to the periphery thus instigating conflict.

Corruption also emerged as a major contributor to youth instigated conflict, with the study revealing that corruption results in denying services to the youth thus making them disillusioned and acrimonious. This propels youths to want to take the law in their hands as a way of addressing their grievances. In addition, it was established that election and election grievances are main reasons for the rise of conflict instigated by youths. Because of election grievances, the youths see demonstration and conflict as a way of expressing themselves and championing for their rights.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### STRATEGIES USED BY GOVERNMENT TO DETER YOUTH INSTIGATED CONFLICT

#### 4.1 Introduction

The government has instituted several strategies to address conflict emanating from youths. These strategies can be traced with the various development plans that have been passed in Kenya since 1963. In addition to development plans, the government has over the years instituted policies and programmes geared to helping the youths through promotion of affirmative action. Affirmative action to youths has been promoted through government instituted programmes or programmes carried in partnership with other bilateral and multilateral donors. Various programmes have over the years been developed by successive administrations. This strategies that have been develop through programmes will be the focus of the section.

#### 4.2 Through establishment of Employment Programmes

The study results indicated that all the youth participants (100%) stated that one of the ways the government has used to minimize youth instigate conflict is through creation of employment opportunities. Although the youths were in harmony that the government has used employment strategies to mitigate youth instigated conflict, 60% (42) of the youths stated that the strategies that the government have used to promote employment have not realized their objectives. The youths' employment as a strategy to minimize youth instigated conflict was also affirmed through the 4 government officials who participated in the study. According to the government official the government have over the years developed programmes and policies aimed at reducing the youth unemployment that is a factor in promoting conflict. The position of government official was supported through the literature review.

Employment policies have been common in Kenya over many years in the past. For instance, in the 1970 to 1974 development plan employment and unemployment were presented as critical policy matters. Subsequently, the 1982/83 Presidential Committee Report as well as the 1985 unemployment Sessional Paper No. 2 made significant contributions on the development of



employment policies in the mid-1980s. In the recent past, unemployment has been viewed as structural issues and the youth dimension has been added to the policy through 2008-2012 Sector Plan for Labour, Youth and Human Resource Development Sector.<sup>77</sup>

In 2009, the KKV (Kazi-Kwa-Vijana) youth focused initiative was launched by the government, which purposed to create between two and three-hundred thousand employment opportunities in public sectors that are labour-intensive. Furthermore, in 2010, the programme was extended to include internship and training that focused mainly on projects on infrastructure. The purpose of the programme nationwide initiative was to ensure that 200,000-300,000 youths are employed each year in the urban and rural areas in labour-intensive public works projects. According to the Office of the Prime Minister (2011), various government ministries implemented the KKV initiative. The programme generated jobs by implementing small community based manual projects; for example, in the rural areas, the programme focused on construction of dams and irrigation schemes, repairing roads and boreholes, planting trees, sowing organic fertilizer and clearing bushes, among others. In urban centres, the initiative focused on repair and maintenance of access roads, constructing and operating kiosks as well as developing and implementing waste management systems.<sup>78</sup>

Low wage rates were KKV's self-targeting criteria for youths; thus, facilitating daily and task-oriented payments. Based on the programmes manual, daily wages are paid based on the Ministry of Labour national minimum wage guidelines while the rates for task are fixed at Kshs 250 per job workers in cities and employees in the rural areas received Kshs 150. The national steering committee under the Prime Minister's stewardship supervised and directed the implementation of the KKV programme. The committee consisted of Permanent Secretaries, Ministers and KKV officials. The then OPM (Office-of-the-Prime-Minister) was coordinating and monitoring the programme. The Water and irrigation Ministry was responsible for most employment

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<sup>77</sup>Odhiambo, Ted. M. "Effect of Government Structural Policies on Youth Employment Within Public Sector in Kenya: A Case Study of Kenya Youth Empowerment Programme." *Strategic Journal of Business & Change Management* 2, No. 1 (2015).

<sup>78</sup>Omolo, Jacob. "Youth Employment in Kenya." *Analysis of Labour Market and Policy Interventions* (2012).

opportunities generated through the KKV initiative. The Roads ministry was second followed by the Forestry and Wildlife as well as the Environment and Natural Resource Ministry.<sup>79</sup>

To consolidate the benefits and increase KKV's scale, in July 2010, the KYEP (Kenya-Youth-Empowerment-Project) was launched by the government. The KYEP was a four-year \$60 million project financed by the World Bank and coordinated by the office of the prime minister. The KYEP enhanced the KKV by providing youths with training and internships opportunities as well as improving ministry of youth's capacity. The enhancement programme of KKV promoted community participation in establishing clearer project selection criteria; identifying projects; and optimizing KKV's labour content. Equally, the initiative sought to develop an evaluation and monitoring system as well as improve target-setting. Some of the projects prioritized by the renewed KKV include water harvesting, small-scale water supply and sanitation, road maintenance, waste collection and forestation.

The KKV's training and internship component sought to increase youth employability by facilitating skill provision through training and internships in the private sector. The programme targeted youths between 15 and 29 years with at least 8 years of schooling for persons that have been outside the environment of work/school for not less than one year. The internships were to take between 4 and 6 months and properly distributed between the specific trainer and the workplace.<sup>80</sup> Key growth sectors aligned with the country's 2030 including tourism, energy, manufacturing, communication and information technology and micro and small enterprises were the main areas where the interns were placed. Each intern, based on this arrangement received a Kshs 6,000-monthly salary, whereas employers got a Kshs 3000 monthly reimbursement per intern. The programme allowed youths between 15 and 17 years to undertake internship in the informal sector.<sup>81</sup>

The KYEP programme was linked with interventions like YEDF (Youth-Enterprise-Development-Fund) and institutions like the KNFJKA (Kenya-National-Federation-of-Jua-Kali-Associations). KYEP's third component was to analytical support to critical youth-focused government sectors.

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid

<sup>80</sup>OECD. Kazi Kwa Vijana: Youth Empowerment in Kenya, 2012

<sup>81</sup>Ibid

Equally, the component supported capacity building in youth-focused institutions in the government and promoted institutional capacity-building in organizations working to encourage youth employability.<sup>82</sup>

Another government programmes that has been used to address the problem of youth unemployment is National Youth Service (NYS). The NYS (National-Youth-Service) is a major institution that focuses on developing skills among the youth. The institution is financed through the national budgetary allocations as well as external funds from development partners. Some of the external partners include the UK, Germany, Japanese and Netherlands government. The Kenyan government funds the institution through Ministry of Public Service, Youths and Gender Affairs.<sup>83</sup>

In the last five decades, the NYS has played a major role in addressing the unemployment among youths in Kenya. Although its initial goal was limited to offering training programmes, NYS has morphed to offering employment opportunities to youths who have gone through the programme. Over the past decades, NYS contribution in providing employment officially begun in 2014, when the current Jubilee government started a programme that was mirrored along the “KKV” programme. The NYS programme was focused on enlisting youth who were to work with NYS service men in undertaking several government sponsored programme.<sup>84</sup>

NYS programmes were first initiated in Nairobi County, with Kibera and Mathare slums as the main motivation areas of the programmes. The programmes in slums focused on cleaning, drainage and infrastructure development. The contribution of NYS programme to reducing youth instigated conflict in Slums is best shown through the speech of Kenyan president in 2014, where the president reminded the youths that NYS aim is to allow the youths to have some income generating activity that will minimize the participation in slum conflicts.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>World Bank: Youth Employment Initiatives in Kenya, 2014

<sup>83</sup>Karera. K. The Influence of Kazi KwaVijana Programme in Reducing Youth Unemployment in Kenya, A Case of Mutitu District, Kitui County (Mba Dissertation) (2012)

<sup>84</sup>OECD. Kazi Kwa Vijana: Youth Empowerment in Kenya, 2012

<sup>85</sup>World Bank: Youth Employment Initiatives in Kenya, 2014

### 4.3 Through promoting youth affirmative Action

The study results revealed that 65% (46) of the youths stated that the government has tried to address the problem of unemployment and inequality through promotion of affirmative actions. In support of these the government officials who participated in the study argued that the government has initiated several programmes in line with the constitution of Kenya to promote affirmative action. The study findings indicated that the respondents believed that programmes such as UWEZO fund, women entrepreneurship fund (WEF), Youth enterprise development fund (YEDF) and youth Access and Government Procurement opportunities (YAGPO) have been instituted to promote affirmative action among the youth<sup>86</sup>. The Constitution of Kenya 2010 also has very comprehensive and progressive provisions on youth affirmative action. The Government has also attempted to domesticate the international frameworks and implement the Constitution through the Kenya National Youth Policy and The Kenya Vision 2030 Medium Term Plan (MTP) 2013-2017 which guides youth affirmative action in Kenya.<sup>87</sup>

The goal of the Kenya National Youth Policy 2007 (KNYP) is to encourage involvement of youths in community and civic affairs and ensuring (sic) programmes for the youths include them and are centred on their needs. It identifies the challenges facing the youth in Kenya and provides direction for addressing them. It, among other objectives, seeks to address youth unemployment, and health, education and training challenges. It provides for the establishment of a National Youth Council to organize youth participation in governance and development processes. The Ministry of Devolution and Planning's Directorate of Youth Affairs and the National Youth Council make up the core institutional framework through which the Government is implementing youth affirmative action programmes in Kenya.<sup>88</sup>

The Government of Kenya signalled its intention to seriously address youth issues by establishing the Ministry of State for Youth Affairs, on 7th December 2005, to work on youth issues and concerns. The Department of Sports was added to the Ministry through Presidential Circular No.

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<sup>86</sup>The Institute of Social Accountability (TISA), Report (2017)

<sup>87</sup>Kenya Vision 2030. Transforming Kenya: Pathway to devolution, socio-economic development, equity and national Unity (2013).

<sup>88</sup>Ministry of Devolution and Planning. Implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development in Kenya, (2017)

1 of 2008 to create the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports. The establishment of the Ministry demonstrated the Government's appreciation of the underrepresentation of the youth in governance and development processes despite their numerical preponderance. It is the Ministry that developed the Kenya National Youth Policy 2007 (KNYP) with the goal of mainstreaming and coordinating youth programs in the country. The Ministry was, however, abolished after the 2013 general elections and the Directorate of Youth Affairs placed under the Ministry of Devolution and Planning through Executive Order No. 2 of May 2013. It is the latter that is now responsible for mainstreaming youth issues into the country's development planning processes, designing and implementing youth programmes and empowering the youth to participate in governance and development processes through provision of skills and financial resources.<sup>89</sup>

Although significant progress was made by the government in 2007 through creation of ministry of youth, the journey in promoting youth affirmative action stalled when the government abolished ministry of youths in 2013 and instead opted for creation of directorate of youth affairs. The downgrading of the youth from cabinet portfolio to a mere directorate within the Ministry of Devolution and Planning was retrogressive, as it relegated youth matters to departmental level like other government programmes.

On December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2006, the YEDF was gazetted and on 11<sup>th</sup> May 2007 it was turned into a state corporation. Its purpose is to reduce youth unemployment in the country. It seeks to create employment by providing loans for on-lending to youth run micro, small and medium enterprises. The Fund also provides business development and marketing services to such enterprises. By 2015 the Fund had spent 7.5 billion on 141, 316 enterprises, provided business incubation services to 129 youth, assisted 9, 370 youth to secure jobs outside the country, facilitated the establishment of 24 SACCOS, and provided market support services to 1, 982 youth entrepreneurs, among other interventions.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>89</sup>Ministry of Devolution and Planning. Implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development in Kenya, (2017)

<sup>90</sup>Wanyande, Peter, and Peter Wanyande. "Devolution and territorial development inequalities: The Kenyan experience." *Territorial Cohesion for Development Working Group, Rimisp* (2016).

YEDF emerged as a critical way through which the government has tried to address marginalization and inequality as mentioned by NGO officials and government officials. As far as the role of YEDF on addressing marginalization and equality, some NGO official argued that YEDF suffers from inadequate funding and bureaucratic process that have limited the uptake of loans from marginalized areas. Additionally, some of the NGO officials were of the view that YEDF may not realize its objective of empowerment and employment promotion given the magnitude of youth unemployment in the country.<sup>91</sup>

The Uwezo Fund was another financial programme launched by the government to promote affirmative action. It was launched by President Uhuru Kenyatta on 8th September 2013 and gazetted on 21st February 2014 through Legal Notice 21 of the Public Finance Management Act 2014. Its purpose is to enable women, youth and persons with disability access business loans at the constituency level. It provides business mentorship through a capacity building programme to enable the recipients to make use of 30 per cent of procurement tenders reserved for the groups. However, the operation of UWEZO fund has been duplication as the YEDF fund that also carries out similar objectives.<sup>92</sup>

The social justice rationale emphasizes the importance of affirmative action in fostering societal integration, equity and justice. On this basis, affirmative action for youth participation in governance and development processes in Kenya is justified on several grounds. Affirmative action programmes undertaken through the National Youth Service have played a role in bringing together youth from different ethnic communities and regions of the country, thereby fostering national integration. Through the NYS programmes, youth from disadvantaged and marginalized communities have had the opportunities to acquire skills and knowledge that they can use for their empowerment or create employment opportunities. The programme also enhances democratic participation by admitting underrepresented segments of the population.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>Interview held with NGO officials in Nairobi on 23<sup>rd</sup> August 2018.

<sup>92</sup>Olima, Getrude Achieng. "Influence of Uwezo Funds on Enhancing Livelihoods Among Youth and Women in Ainabkoi Constituency, Uasin Gishu County, Kenya." (2016)

<sup>93</sup>Ministry of Devolution and Planning. Implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development in Kenya, (2017)

In accordance with article 55 of the Constitution of Kenya, it is required of the State to take measures to promote youth affirmative action. To realize this requirement, the government launched the “Youth Access to Government Procurement Opportunities” (YAGPO) which was aimed at creating awareness amongst the youth and the public on the opportunities available in public procurement. The aim of the policy was to create more opportunities for youths in procurement through a reservation and preservation policy in public procurements.<sup>94</sup> This was viewed as a way of addressing marginalization of youths from socio-economic opportunities. In furtherance of this, the national government passed a directive requiring 30% of public tenders to be given to young persons as one of the strategies to empower youths. The various arms of the government, government institutions and the county governments are also helping youths by implementing the 30% preference on public procurement. However, the directive has failed to fully benefit young persons because policies and systems are inadequate at the county and national level.<sup>95</sup>

Although the Government has put in place institutional frameworks, developed policies, laws and initiated programmes to address the challenges facing the youth in Kenya, its efforts are, largely, inadequate and ineffective. It is yet to realize the goals set by the international declarations which it is a party to as well as the aspirations of the Constitution of Kenya 2010. Many factors account for this, including: weak transparency and accountability mechanisms; inadequate funding; inadequate research and analysis; weak monitoring, reporting and evaluation mechanisms, a fragmented approach and weak coordination of youth initiatives; inadequate youth participation; weak institutional frameworks; cultural factors; and lack of political will.

Due to weak transparency and accountability enforcement mechanisms, the public sector in Kenya is plagued by runaway corruption to which youth programmes are not immune. It is estimated that 25 and 30 per cent of the annual national budget is lost through corrupt procurement (Daily Nation, Thursday 2nd December 2010). Given the challenges and needs of the youth, government budgetary allocation to youth programmes and initiatives is grossly inadequate. Consequently, the programmes only reach or impact on a small percentage of the needy youth population and are

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<sup>94</sup>The Institute of Social Accountability (TISA), Report (2017)

<sup>95</sup>Public Procurement and Disposal (Preferences and Reservations) Regulations, 2013.

hardly visible to most of the youth. Both the Directorate of Youth Affairs and the NYC are poorly funded and, thus, have challenges delivering on their mandate.

The Ministry of Devolution and Planning does not seem to appreciate the magnitude of the youth situation in terms of the challenges afflicting them, their marginalization and their untapped potential. Consequently, it has not adopted a wholistic approach in tackling youth issues. The Ministry has placed youth affairs within the social pillar and seems to be totally blind to the political challenges faced by the youth, especially their chronic underrepresentation in decision making structures of public institutions and has not outlined any plans to help address them.<sup>96</sup> The youth in Kenya have been historically marginalized from the country's socio-economic and political life. Their needs and desires have not been given adequate attention as they are underrepresented in policy making, and programme design and implementation processes. Consequently, their energy, creativity, knowledge and skills have not been properly harnessed.<sup>97</sup>

The Government's decision to abolish the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports and establish a Directorate of Youth Affairs within the Ministry of Devolution and Planning has had the effect of diluting the institutional framework for addressing youth issues. The Ministry of Devolution and Planning is one of the largest ministries. It is handling several crucial portfolios and is unlikely to accord the youth affairs portfolio the attention it deserves. The National Youth Council is grossly underfunded. The government has also not operationalized its grassroots structure and establish the Youth Advisory Board. Its capacity to rally the youth and oversight government implementation of youth policies and programmes is, therefore, severely compromised.<sup>98</sup>

The many inconsistencies in the Government's implementation of youth affirmative action highlighted in the foregoing sections points to lack of political will to accord the youth situation the attention it merits. Even though the Jubilee Coalition Government campaigned on the platform of generational change, it has not walked the talk in addressing the underrepresentation of the youth in decision making structures of public institutions. The recent appointment of directors to

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<sup>96</sup>Wekesa SM „County governments and rights of marginalised ethnic minorities in Kenya: Evaluating the potential challenges and benefits of devolution“ (Unpublished LLM thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012)

<sup>97</sup>Ministry of Devolution and Planning. Implementation of the Agenda 2030 for Sustainable Development in Kenya, (2017)

<sup>98</sup>The Youth Agenda Report (2015)



the boards of state owned enterprises is a case in point. The appointees, largely, consisted of old recycled politicians with established patronage networks with no focus on youths.

#### **4.4 Creation of Technical Vocational and Training Institutes**

The study found out that all the government officials who participated in the study and two of the NGO official agreed that the government has been promoting the creation of technical institutes in constituencies to enhancing youth with technical skills. However, to some of the respondents this is still at an early stage strategy. To tackle marginalization in terms of employment opportunities, the county and national government have been intervening by creating technical schools, which will equip young people with relevant labour market skills. These programs are geared towards those without formal education. The county and national governments together with the private sector have sought to improve learning in the technical schools as a way of increasing productivity, improving youth employability and expanding human skills.

#### **4.5 Promoting Equality and Distribution of Resources through CDF**

From the study findings it emerged that 80% (56) of the youths believed the government has attempted to address inequality of distribution of resources through devolved funds such as CDF and County government allocation. This was affirmed during the interviews with NGO and government officials who stated that through CDF and devolution, the marginalized areas in Kenya have experienced some element of equalization. To support this further, one government official argued that through equalization fund, counties that are marginalized in terms of resource distribution have been given increase funding to compensate for their inequality.

To address socio-economic inequalities in Kenya, the government has been experimenting various development strategies. For example, in 1977 the government introduced the SRDP (Special-Rural-Development-Program) while the DFRDS (District-Focus-for-Rural-Development-Strategy) was introduced in 1983. Moreover, the LATF(Local-Authority-Transfer-Fund) was

introduced in 1988 as well as the CDF (Constituency-Development-Fund) early 2000 by the 9th Parliament of Kenya.<sup>99</sup>

The LAFT and the CDF are the most noteworthy post-independence response to societal and political pressure for increases in equal distribution of national resources. Through the CDF Act of 2003, the country introduced the CDF in 2003. The Act ensures that around 2.5% of the governments ordinary revenue is set aside and distributed under the CDF programme to all constituencies in the country. Seventy-five percent the amount is equally distributed to all 210 constituencies while the remaining twenty-five percent caters for poorer constituencies and is distributed based on the poverty index. The main goal of CDF is to ensure that development resources are equally distributed across the country as well as manage regional development imbalances emanating from partisan politics. The fund targets all development projects at the constituency-level, especially those seeking to fight poverty at the grassroots.<sup>100</sup>

Although the CDF has benefited various development projects across the country including health facilities and schools in areas that were formerly marginalized, the programme faces various challenges that have affected its effectiveness. For example, based on various reports, the CDF programme is undermined by corruption and poor management. Moreover, the management of CDF by MPS goes against the principle of separating powers between the legislature and the executive. Since the programme was created by MPs, most Kenyans feel that its management should not be under the same people. The problem became more pronounced as MPs in most constituencies appointed close relatives or acquaintances to manage the fund.<sup>101</sup>

Management of CDF also lacks effective and efficient oversight. The government does not have sufficient capacity to audit CDF accounts; hence, most of the fund's project are rarely audited or closely evaluated or monitored. Resultantly, most of CDF funds are misused and most projects fail to meet the required quality. Equally, the fund was challenged by the act of parliamentary CDF

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<sup>99</sup>Simiyu, Robert Silikhe, Joseph Njugi Mweru, and Francis Ikapel Omete. "The Effects of Devolved Funding on Socio-Economic Welfare of Kenyans: A Case of Constituency Development Fund in Kimilili, (Kenya)." *European Journal of Accounting Auditing and Finance Research* Vol 2 (2014): 31-51.

<sup>100</sup>Mulu, Makali B. "Benefit Incidence Analysis of Constituencies Development Fund Spending on Education Bursaries in Makueni County, Kenya." PhD diss., Kenyatta University, 2015.

<sup>101</sup>B W Namano. *The Constituency Development Fund. Merits and Demerits to Community Development*, Munich, GRIN Verlag. (2014)

committee overruling projects proposed by the CDF project committee or even the CDF committee itself. In some situations, projects were imposed on the CDF committee by the parliamentary CDF committee without the CDF board approval.<sup>102</sup>

Moreover, inequality is addressed through revenue sharing in the government at the national and county level as stipulated by the current constitution. Based on the constitution, 15% of the revenue raised in the country in each financial year must be given to the county government. As such, the county governments can finance their activities as pointed out in the constitution. The CRA (Commission-for-Revenue Allocation) developed a formula for sharing revenue that determines the actual amount given to counties. However, the formula has been contentious.<sup>103</sup>

Furthermore, the constitution stipulates that additional funds may be conditionally or unconditionally given to the county governments by the national government. Through this fund, poor counties can be enabled to finance projects that seek to uplift the poor's quality of life. The condition funds given to county governments ought to be used in projects that are identified by the national governments and agreed upon by both the national and county government. On the other hand, unconditional grants can be used to implement projects chosen at the county level. Proper use of conditional and unconditional funds will ultimately uplift the recipient county's wellbeing. Both the unconditional, conditional and equalization fund operate as affirmative action because their purpose is rectifying imbalances that are not caused by the fund's recipients.<sup>104</sup>

#### **4.6 Promoting Participation in Democratic Process**

The findings of the research established that 50% (35) of the youths stated that participation in democracy has been improved through programmes that are strengthening political parties to provide youths with more voice in parties. Against this backdrop, the study found out from the interviews with NGO officials that the public debates in the country tend to emphasize the

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<sup>102</sup>Wanyande, Peter, and Peter Wanyande. "Devolution and territorial development inequalities: The Kenyan experience." *Territorial Cohesion for Development Working Group, Rimisp* (2016).

<sup>103</sup>International Budget Partnership. Kenya: Analysis of the Commission on Revenue Allocation's 2017/18 Recommendations on Sharing Revenue (2016)

<sup>104</sup>B W Namano. *The Constituency Development Fund. Merits and Demerits to Community Development*, Munich, GRIN Verlag. (2014)

marginalization of women, people with disabilities and minority ethnic communities more than the youth.

The issue comes up many times in relation to appointments, nominations and election into public offices, including political parties. Secondly, political parties assign roles to the youth, but do not provide opportunities for youth voices to be heard in decision making processes. Specifically, the study findings revealed that the NGO officials argued for the need for “youth voice” to be enhanced through strengthening the youth party leagues particularly in decision making process. This it emerged should be done through both internal party process and creating legal framework in parliament to empower youth voice in political parties in Kenya.

#### **4.7 Pursuance of Electoral Reforms and Electoral Justice**

The study also revealed that 60(42%) of the youth agreed that pursuance of electoral reforms and electoral justice has been a common strategy used in addressing electoral grievances in Kenya. The youth explained that the opposition party(s) in Kenya have pushed for minimal electoral reforms in Kenya in 2013 and 2016. <sup>105</sup>These electoral reforms have been aimed at addressing electoral management in Kenya. These electoral reforms have been carried out through legal amendment, with focus on the electoral process and the leadership of the electoral body. <sup>106</sup>

Another strategy that emerged from the study for solving electoral grievances was electoral dispute resolution mechanisms through the courts. Two of the government officials and Three of the NGO officials who participated in the study stated that this strategy has been used in the past two elections (2013, 2017). The judiciary has received petitions from the opposition parties challenging the presidential election, with the 2013 election petition upholding the presidential results while the 2017 election petitions nullifying the presidential elections. The judiciary received over 500 and 800 election cases in 2013 and 2017 respectively. This has resulted in providing amicable way of resolving electoral disputes thereby limiting the use of other violent measures to seek electoral justice. <sup>107</sup>

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<sup>105</sup>Interview with youth held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018

<sup>106</sup>Ibid

<sup>107</sup>Interview with NGO officials and Government officials held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018

#### **4.8 Strategies to Fight Corruption and Mismanagement**

Although the study participants agreed that corruption and mismanagement are vices that afflict the country. There was disagreement regarding the strategies that have been employed by the state. According to 70% (49) of the youths, the government has not implemented strategies that can be stated as focused on tackling corruption.<sup>108</sup> In the words of most of the youth's participants, corruption is becoming a menace that is spreading each day. However, the NGO official and the government officials who participated in the study were of different opinion. To them, the strategies employed by the government over the years have mainly been through legal reforms and strengthening of Anti-corruption institutions in Kenya.

In the last decade or so, there has been a flurry of activity on the legislative front with the passing of the Anticorruption and Economic Crimes Act, 2003; Public Officer Ethics Act, 2003; signing up to the African Union Convention on Preventing and Combating Corruption, 2003 and United Nations Convention Against Corruption, 2003; and The Constitution of Kenya, 2010 providing a strong anchor for the fight against corruption. Most recently, the Proceeds of Crime and Money Laundering Act 2015 was passed. These legislations have all been targeted at curbing corruption and mismanagement in Kenya. Enactment of the laws has been accompanied by establishment of institutions with specific mandates to combat unethical behaviors and corruption. The entities include EACC, director of public prosecutions, special magistrates' courts and the recently established Anti-corruption division at High court.

Though the government has formulated, implemented and instituted strategies to fight corruption in Kenya, the war on corruption is still far from over this is mainly because the institutions charged with the war on corruption and the individuals that have been picked to head these institutions are still susceptible to corruption themselves. As such, it can be deduced that anti-corruption strategies continue to weigh heavily among the key priorities of the governments and development partners owing to the assumed association between corruption and stagnation in the socio-political and economic underdevelopment of states. In addition, while there exists several institutional and legal

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<sup>108</sup>Interview with youth held in Nairobi between 15<sup>th</sup> August to 26<sup>th</sup> August 2018

anti-corruption strategies and frameworks in Kenya, effective analysis of the extent to which these strategies have influenced the corruption trends in Kenya are lacking.<sup>109</sup>

#### **4.9 Summary of Findings**

The government has implemented different strategies aimed at addressing youth instigated conflict. These strategies have been focused on addressing the marginalization of youths in the society and addressing poor governance. The study revealed that most of the strategies focused on marginalization, with specific focus on youths has been targeted at empowering of youths and providing employment opportunities. This has been done through programmes such as UWEZO fund, YEDF fund, WEF fund, YAGPO and TVET training institutions.

The government through implementation of the constitution, CDF and devolution has provided financial support to these institutions as a way of reducing marginalization of communities and inequalities in resource distribution. Further to this, it has been established that strengthening of youth voice in political parties has been a strategy adopted by bilateral donors and the government. In relation to corruption, legal reforms and institutional strengthening have emerged as the key strategies while electoral reforms and dispute resolution mechanism through judicial are the main strategies used to address electoral grievances.

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<sup>109</sup>Kichwen, Evans Kipchirchir. "The Effectiveness of Anti-Corruption Strategies: A Kenyan Case Study." PhD diss., United States International University-Africa, 2017.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to assess the link between the link between marginalization, poor governance and youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi, Kenya. The first objective of the study aimed at examining the link between marginalization and youth involvement in conflict in Nairobi. The second objective was to examine how poor governance can instigate youth conflict in Nairobi and the final objective was to investigate the current strategies put in place by the government to deter youth instigated conflict.

#### 5.2 Summary of Findings

Chapter examined marginalization as a cause for youth instigated conflict. It examined the various ways in which marginalization leads to youth instigated conflict. It was noted that socio-economic inequality and unequal distribution of resources are a major cause for youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi County. Furthermore, the chapter indicated that marginalization through lack of employment and empowerment opportunities were main catalyst to youth to instigated conflict. The chapter also highlighted that lack of youth participation in democratic process and politicization of ethnicity as some of the minor causes that leads youth into conflict. The next chapter focused on the Aspects of marginalization as a factor that leads youth to initiate conflict.

Chapter three critically analyzed the aspects of poor governance that leads youths to instigated conflicts. The findings of the study indicated that mismanagement and poor leadership are some of the major causes that endorse youth to conflict. Corruption as a factor also emerged as an instigator of youth into conflict. Additionally, the findings revealed that elections and electoral grievances are also factors that contribute to youth's active involvement in conflict. Related to these attributes was lack of respect for rule of law, lack of transparency and accountability that were established as aspect of poor governance leading to conflicts.

Chapter four of the study focused on the strategies that the government has used to deter youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi County. The study findings demonstrated that most of the strategies that have specifically focused on youth are categorized as employment and empowerment-based strategies. These strategies have been complemented through establishing of TVET training institutions. Besides this, the study found out that the government has implemented many broad strategies that have been aimed at reducing conflict and by extension youth conflict. These include: promoting equality, even resource distribution, carrying out electoral reforms and legal reforms and strengthening institutions fighting corruption.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This study has provided a comprehensive review of the link between marginalization, poor governance and youth instigated conflict in Nairobi County. The study concludes that marginalization is a contributor to youth instigated conflict in Nairobi. Many youths have been led to participate in conflict because of unemployment and lack of empowerment opportunities. It also concludes that socio-economic inequality and uneven distribution of resources are significant contributors to youth instigated conflict. The study findings also suggested that lack of youth participation in democratic participation and politicization of ethnicity play a part in leading youth to conflict.

Furthermore, the study concludes that different poor governance is a factor in causing youth instigated conflict in Nairobi County. Mismanagement of county and national resources, coupled with poor leadership play a key role in instigating youth conflict. It also concludes that corruption play a major role in facilitating conflict among youths in Nairobi County. Study also concludes that electoral grievance mechanisms determines the participation of youth in conflict.

Finally, the study concludes that the government has initiated several strategies both geared at deterring the youths from initiating conflict. In line with this the study, government strategies have focused at carrying out legal reforms, developing programmes and establishing institutions to promote youth affirmative action. The study also concludes that the government has implemented broad strategies that have resulted in arresting participating of youths in conflict. It also concludes that some of the strategies enacted have been led by other stakeholder such as



political parties and bilateral donors e.g. electoral reforms and justice.

#### **5.4 Recommendation**

To have productive and holistic youths in Kenya, the county and national government must establish a thorough education curriculum that also encompasses talent development and sports. Equally, interventions that enable youths to get employment through their talents must be promoted and nurtured at the county and national levels where talent becomes a critical source of employment. For example, frameworks linked to the Devolution and Planning as well as the Sports and Culture ministries must be developed to achieve this. Moreover, it is necessary to remodel YEDF into a formal business structure as well as. Notably, funds should be allocated to the arts and film industry as well as the sports sector to enable youths to earn an income. Furthermore, rather than view youths that participate in talent-based business as failures such persons must be promoted and encouraged.

Although YEDF is a positive and timely government initiative to address unemployment, the fund has been marred by ineffective administration of resources. For example, the youth fund is characterized by an ineffective policy, legal and institutional framework, thus creating space for resource misappropriation, mismanagement and political interference. Consequently, at the legislature, MPs need to establish an act of parliament on administration of youth funds.

Besides reforming YEDF and creating other initiatives such as providing youths with the 30% public procurement preference, mechanisms must be established to ensure that the opportunities and funds are affordable, available and easily accessible, especially among needy youths. For instance, information available on 30% public procurement preference as well as youth funds must be made readily available and simplified. Furthermore, youth funds operations must be developed to increase its impact and reach. In addition, to ensure that youths reap maximum benefits, loans targeting them should be more affordable and the borrowing process ought to be less bureaucratic. Equally, youths must be involved in generating ideas on effective and efficient administration of the Uwezo fund. In the long term, youth fund initiatives must be sustainable and cost effective to enable them to address unemployment and benefit young persons.

Together with the county government and other stakeholders, the national government should review, develop and implement relevant regulatory frameworks and policies to facilitate efficient and flawless participatory methods in activities and programs for the youth. All levels of governance must promote inclusive and effective involvement of youth in development issues by enacting appropriate laws for the youth as well as leadership capacity development.

Together with the private sector as well as other stakeholders, the government should focus on creating a conducive environment for creating job opportunities as well as frameworks that sustain and improve connections between demand and supply of labour; promote entrepreneurship culture to develop and sustain ready market relevant youth labour while capitalizing on the emerging sectors and enhancing infrastructure, social services and promoting rural development to encourage young persons to settle in rural areas.

Establish Mechanism to promote identification, development and management of talent among youths must be established by the government. Moreover, the government should facilitate infrastructure creation, coordination, protection and promotion of youth's talents and creativity through innovation hubs. Through the Information, Communication and Technology authority, the government must endeavour to move towards the digital future, and thus ensure that Kenya is transformed into a technical hub in the region to raise the competitiveness of the country and ensure that the ICT goals are aligned with Vision 2030.

The aim of the government is to ensure that agriculture remains attractive and tap the youth's energy and creativity to improve food security and promote sustainable development by encouraging green technologies and processes. To address the challenges to effective youth participation in political parties, the state requires three levels of action that focus on political reforms within political parties, organizational reforms within political parties and organizational and thematic capacity building of youth leagues.

Kenya's government needs to focus on the implementation of anti-corruption policies that seek to deal with corruption in the country at its roots. For instance, the government must ensure that anti-corruption measures adopted make perpetrators of corruptions pay dearly through jail terms and

finances, and further intensify efforts of eliminating petty corruption at the grassroots level. State officials as well as the government must ensure the institutions responsible for dealing with corruption in the country are established as autonomous units that cannot be influenced politically. Equally, the anti-corruption organs must be vested with prosecutorial powers to enable them address corruption effectively.

Moreover, focal points for the youth must be established by the government in every ministry, department as well as agency to intensify delivery of services to the youth. Youths structures at the grassroots levels must also be operationalized and aligned to establish structures that facilitate representation of youths in development and governance process at all government levels.

Since the situation of youths: their needs and problems, idle potential and marginalization affect the entire socioeconomic and political life of the country, an inter-ministerial coordination committee dealing with youth issues should be established urgently based on the Kenya National Youth Policy 2007 recommendations.

### **5.5 Areas for Further Research**

The study recommends for more quantitative studies that will be conducted nationally as opposed to Nairobi County only. This will help provide comparative findings from other regions of the county. Furthermore, the study recommends the need for more investigations that will explore the interrelationship between marginalization and poor governance in causing youth instigated conflict as this was not the focus of the study.

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## APPENDIX

### APPENDIX I: SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

#### SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

##### **INFORMED CONSENT - [TO BE READ BY INTERVIEWER TO RESPONDENT]**

Good morning/evening, my name is **[Insert Name]** a student/interviewer from Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies a department within University of Nairobi. I am here today to speak with you to better understand some few issues regarding **the link between marginalization, poor governance and youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi, Kenya**. I would like to ask you a few questions about this topic if you do not mind.

We would also like to let you know that this is a voluntary survey; there is no obligation to speak to me if you do not want to, and choosing whether to or not to participate will not affect you in any way. All the same, your views are important as they will go a long way in shaping policy around the subject. Your responses will be completely confidential, and no one will be able to trace your responses back to you. The interview will take between 20-30 minutes.

##### **Confidentiality**

No one other than the team doing the survey will know that you participated, and your survey responses will be kept confidential but may be shared without your name with authorized evaluators. Reports will include only summaries of your information combined with those of others.

**Risks:** Discussing and answering personal and sensitive questions may be uncomfortable for some people, and you may decide to end the interview if you are not comfortable. This is meant to minimize the potential risks of survey participation.

**Benefits:** This survey is purely informational, and offers no immediate benefit to you, but by participating in the survey you and other participants will help to strengthen and improve on policies, literature around youth marginalization, governance and youth instigated conflicts. The results of this survey will be used to understand knowledge, attitudes, practices and beliefs and

thus find solutions to reduce risk-taking behavior which has the potential of causing injury or death.

**Do you have any questions at this point?**

Yes	No
1	2

**Do you agree to participate in this survey?**

Yes	No
1	2

*If NO, end survey*

## SECTION 2: DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

**1a. Pick age range**

0 -18 years;	1	TERMINATE
18- 24 years	2	CONTINUE
25- 30 years	3	CONTINUE
31- 35 years	4	CONTINUE
> 40 years	5	TERMINATE
Other (Specify)	7	TERMINATE

**Gender? (Observe – DO NOT ASK THE RESPONDENT)**

Male	1
Female	2

**What is the highest level of education that you have completed? (SINGLE RESPONSE. DO NOT READ)**

No formal education	1
Some primary education	2
Primary education completed	3
Some secondary education	4
Secondary education completed	5
Some middle level college (not university)	6
Completed mid-level college (Not university)	7
Some university education	8
University education completed	9
Post Graduate (Masters, MBA, PhD)	10
Madrassa/Koranic school only	11
RTA	99

**How long have you been living in Nairobi? DO NOT READ. SINGLE RESPONSE**

Less than 6 months	1
6 months to 1 year	2
2 to 3 years	3
4 to 5 years	4
More than 5 years	5
RTA	99

**Which is your district of birth? SINGLE RESPONSE.**

Region	Districts
--------	-----------

(Specify).....	(Specify).....
----------------	----------------

**What is your current marital status? DO NOT READ. SINGLE RESPONSE**

Married	1
Living together / co-habiting	2
Divorced / separated	3
Widowed	4
Never married/ Single	5
RTA	99

**What is your main source of income? DO NOT READ. SINGLE RESPONSE**

Self employed	1
Formal employment	2
Dependant	3
Other (Specify)	15
RTA	99

**SECTION 3: KNOWLEDGE ON MARGINALIZATION**

**During the last 1 year, how have the general economic conditions been for you? READ OUT.  
SINGLE RESPONSE**

Worsened	Stayed the same	Improved	RTA (DO NOT READ)
1	2	3	99

**What makes you say that? MOD: ASK PARTICIPANTS TO GIVE/WRITE REASONS AND WHY?**

Reasons	Why?

**As a youth in Nairobi, would you say that you are marginalized**

Yes	1
No	2

**If yes, what are the reasons for you to say you are marginalized? DO NOT READ. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

Lack of economic opportunities i.e. jobs	1
Lack of basic services i.e. food, shelter & clothing	2
Lack of education	3
Lawlessness/insecurity	4
Poor health services	5
Other (Specify).....	6
RTA	99

**Who do you hold responsible for being marginalized? DO NOT READ. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

Myself	1
Fellow youth	2
National government	3
County government	4
Other (Specify).....	5
RTA	99

**What would you say are the current measures that the national government has instituted to address youth marginalization in Kenya? DO NOT READ. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

Youth empowerment programmes i.e. youth fund	1
Affirmative action/preferential treatment i.e. AGPO	2
Job creation	3
Other (Specify).....	5
None	
RTA	99

**Do you think these measures are sufficient?**

Yes	1
No	2

**What more do you think can be done to address youth marginalization**

Reasons	Why?




**SECTION 4: KNOWLEDGE OF YOUTH CONFLICT**

**What is the state of youth instigated conflict in your area from a scale of 1-4?**

<b>Very High</b>	<b>High</b>	<b>Rare</b>	<b>Non-Existent</b>	<b>Don't know (DO NOT READ)</b>	<b>RTA (DO NOT READ)</b>
<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>99</b>

**IF YES, what are the reasons for youth conflict? DO NOT READ. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

Lack of economic opportunities	1
Neglect by the state	2
Lawlessness/insecurity	3
Poor governance by the National government	4
Poor governance by the County government	5
Lack of morals and values	6
Other (Specify)	7
RTA	99

**Thinking about the area that you live in; how would you rate the state of security? Would you say it very unsafe, somewhat unsafe, somewhat safe, or very safe? (SINGLE RESPONSE. READ OUT THE FIRST FOUR OPTIONS)**

Very Unsafe	Somewhat Unsafe	Somewhat Safe	Very safe	Don't know	RTA
1	2	3	4	97	99

**Among the list of the problems mentioned below, according to you which are the most problems that affect the most your village/town/city? DO NOT READ. MULTIPLE RESPONSES ALLOWED**

Ethnic animosity	1
Disease	2
Infightings among leaders	3
Lack of freedom of movement	4
Local Youth Gangs / robbers	5
Lack of social services i.e. water, hospitals, infrastructure	5
Drugs and substance abuse	7
Bombing, fighting and other attacks/aggression related to conflict	8
Lack of financial resources	9
Unemployment	10
Other (specify).....	11
None/ there is no threat	12
RTA	99

**How has the problem mentioned above affected your day to day activities? MULTIPLE RESPONSE. DO NOT READ**

I cannot move around freely/ there are curfews	1
I am not assured of our children's safety	2
I cannot run my business freely	3

Reduction in income	4
I am not assured of my own safety	5
I cannot access opportunities	6
Expensive medical treatment	7
Family crisis	8
Others (specify).....	9
RTA	99

**Have you heard of youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi?**

Yes	1
No	2 >Go to Q 22
RTA	99 > Go to Q 22

**What types of youth instigated conflicts are you aware of? [MULTIPLE RESPONSE DO NOT READ]**

Peaceful Demonstrations	1
Violent demonstration	2
Civil disobedience	3
Murder	4
Other (Specify).....	5
Don't Know	97
RTA	99

**From which sources, did you hear about youth instigated conflicts? [MULTIPLE RESPONSE DO NOT READ]**

Radio	1
TV	2
Newspapers	3
Internet /Websites	4

Schools	5
Hospitals	6
Local authorities i.e. police, army	7
Friends/family/colleagues	8
Churches	9
Village elders	10
Posters	11
Community gatherings	12
Billboard/posters/leaflets/Advertising	15
Speakers	16
Theatre/plays	17
Specialist visiting – door to door	18
Social centers	19
Social Media -SPECIFY	20
Other (specify)	21

**Who are the main victims of youth instigated conflict? [MULTIPLE RESPONSE DO NOT READ]**

Civilians	1
Government staff and officials	2
Animals	3
Children	4
Other (specify)	5
Don't know	97

**Have you ever received any awareness information on the risks of youth instigated conflict?**

Yes	1
No	2

RTA	99
-----	----

**Please tell me which warning signs and clues indicate the likelihood of youth instigated conflict? [MULTIPLE RESPONSE DO NOT READ]**

Heightened social media protests	1
Widespread media coverage	2
Peaceful protest	3
Boycotts	4
Violent demonstration	5
Other (specify)	6
Don't know	97
RTA	99

**How have youth instigated conflicts affected your daily life in this village/area? [MULTIPLE RESPONSE DO NOT READ]?**

Prevents use of land freely for economic activities	1
Living in fear	2
Psychological stress	3
Loss/reduced income	4
Dependency	5
Inability to work	6
Children are unable to go to school	7
Destruction of assets/property	8
Death	9
I am not assured of our children's safety	10
I am not assured of my own safety	11
Physical injuries	12
Disabilities	13

Other (specify)	14
Don't know	97
RTA	99

**We would like to contact in future to ask you questions about different or similar survey content. Please give us a mobile phone number we can reach you on**

Phone number (Specify)	1
No Phone number	2
Refused	3

**Thank you for participating in this survey.**

**End of Survey**



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Date: **13<sup>th</sup> September, 2018**

James Maina Kariuki  
University of Nairobi  
P.O Box 30197-00100  
**NAIROBI.**

**RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *“The link between marginalization, poor Governance and Youth instigated conflicts in Nairobi, Kenya,”* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **13<sup>th</sup> September, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the Principal Secretary, Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM  
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The Principal Secretary  
Ministry of Public Service, Youth and Gender Affairs.

The County Commissioner  
Nairobi County.

# THE LINK BETWEEN MARGINALIZATION, POOR GOVERNANCE AND YOUTH INSTIGATED CONFLICTS IN NAIROBI, KENYA

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