YOUTH SOCIALIZATION IN ETHNIC POLITICS IN NAIROBI CITY COUNTY: THE CASE OF KIBRA CONSTITUENCY.

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DECLARATION
This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other
University.

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DEDICATION

Special dedication to the soul of my father Nelson Nyarieko Masongo, who believed in socializing young people to be good citizens through the provision of education
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Agents of Political Socialization: Whereas there are many agents of ethnic political socialization, the current study will focus on the media, the family, the school and the peers.

Ethnic Environment: It refers to a situation where there is more than one ethnic community living in an area.

Ethnic Politics: It is politics based on issues of identities or where one hails from. In this situation members of a given community will support their own, this includes those in positions tend to favor their own communities.

Ethnic Socialization: It is a process through which the young people acquire the values, perceptions, attitudes and behaviors of a given ethnic group.

Ethnic Violence: Refers to conflicts based on issues of identity.

Political Socialization: The process of transmission of political knowledge from one generation to another.

Youth: Means the collectivity of all young individuals who are between the age of eighteen and thirty-five years.
GLOSSARY OF TERMS

*Kibera and Kibra:* The term Kibra and Kibera are used interchangeably, they both refer to the same place. The Nubians claim that the name should be Kibra. They consider Kibera as a mispronunciation by the Kikuyu ethnic group. The electoral and Boundaries Commission has gazetted the area as Kibra Constituency.

*Matatu* these are vehicles used as means of public transport.

*Bunge La Mwananchi:* This are debates by a group who are not elected representatives. They debate on issues affecting the state.
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AGPO: Access to Government Procurement Opportunities

ANC: African National Congress

CEO: Chief Executive Officer

ILO: International Labor Organization

KADU: Kenya African Democratic Union

KANU: Kenya National African Union

KC: Kibra Constituency

KKV: Kazi Kwa Vijana

LPO: Local Purchase Order

NYS: National Youth Service

ODM: Orange Democratic Movement

PNU: Party of National Unity

SACCO: Savings and Credit Cooperative Organization

SDA: Seventh Day Adventist

TJRC: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

UN: United Nations

YEDF: Youth Enterprise Development Fund
ABSTRACT

Politics is necessary for survival, and youth are socialized in politics in many ways. However, the manner in which individuals are socialized in politics at the youthful age affects their adult life. This research sought to investigate the level of ethnic political orientations and the formation of such political orientations in Nairobi County with a focus on Kibra Constituency (KC). Kibra Constituency was important because political aspirants import voters from their ethnic background for support into power. The research objectives were: to analyze the role played by the media in socialization of the young people in ethnic politics in KC; to examine the role that the family plays in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC; and to assess the role of school environment and that of the peers in orienting the youth in ethnic politics in KC. The study adopted a three-dimensional narrative space theory and social learning theory. The study employed the qualitative method in collecting and analyzing data. Purposive sampling and snowballing were used in the study. The study used oral interviews in the collection of primary data. Qualitative Data was arranged in a thematic way, and then analyzed. The findings indicated that the family and media socialize the youth in ethnic politics while the peer, the school, and its environment does not but creates awareness of the diverse communities in the society. The study concluded that there are several points of ethnic socialization among the youth.
CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Background of the Study

Various studies exist on how youth are socialized in politics globally. For instance, Danziger (2003) argues that the first powerful and lasting agent of political socialization is the family, in which political orientations of most individuals are deeply influenced by behaviors and beliefs experienced in the family environment. He further notes that before individuals make judgments for themselves, they absorb perceptions about the political world from conversations overheard within the family. Danziger also observes that the family is viewed as a major obstacle to the agendas of some leaders. For example, when Mao Zetung came to power in 1949-1976, he deeply opposed the traditional loyalties taught by Confucianism that stressed obedience to kinship groups, elders, and to males.

In addition, there is scholarly work that has documented the importance of the mass media as agents of socialization of young people. According to Atkins (1981), heavy consumption of television news is associated with high levels of political knowledge throughout adolescence. In his study of aspects of political socialization, Sigel (1970) examined the reaction of primary and secondary school children following the assassination of President Kennedy of the United States of America. He observed that both adults and children had similar responses to this national crisis. He further noted that children were more worried than adults were about the political outcomes of the assassination. Similarly, Greenstein (1969) examined questionnaire responses of a sample
of New Haven, Connecticut school children aged between nine and thirteen years with adult attitudes. He found out that children learn political education from many sources such as the family, school, and the mass media. He further observed that children tend to have highly favorable views of political leaders especially the president, though this declines with age.

Langton (1970) established that informal school environment; the social class climate of the peer group and the lower class student's political attitudes is key in political socialization. He argues that informal political learning is more significant than formal civic education. As such, this raises important questions for educators concerned with social change. Langton's data, gathered from a national sample of secondary school students in Jamaica, the West Indies, reveal several class differences in political attitudes that:

The working class students have less positive attitudes toward voting and are less politically cynical and less economically conservative than middle-class, and upper class students are. Lower class students whose school friends are all from the lower class are likely to hold political attitudes characteristic of the lower class. On the other hand, lower-class students in "heterogeneous class peer groups"- which include higher status students-, are likely to support higher-class norms. The peer-group class environment and the class climate of the school apparently have a cumulative effect on the students' attitudes. The author concludes that interaction with higher class peers functions to socialize lower class students toward the political orientations of the higher classes (Langton, 1970, p. 155)

From the above studies (Danziger 2003; Atkins 1981; Sigel 1970 and Langton, 1970), we established that Peer group, media, family and the school are strong agents of political
socialization. It is also important to note that the above studies majorly focus on children, which could be attributed to the developmental age that can be easily manipulated by the identified agents. However, the questions that arise from these studies include the extent to which each of the agents socializes youth to politically? Do these agents play a critical role in socializing youth in ethnic politics?

Drake (1960) underscored the influence of traditional patterns of authority on social actions in his work titled *Traditional Authority and social action in former British West Africa*. He points out that the ethics of traditional society before the colonial contact put the assent on age as a primary attribute of power holders. This study was significant to the current study as it raised questions about whether age was a factor considered while socializing the young people in the society along ethnic values.

In a study on political socialization in new nations of Africa, Roach (1967) noted that socializing agents are associated with traditional values and attitudes and that in the cycle of the socialization process and personality building, these values become latent. Roach concludes that educational systems that existed in West African societies before the introduction of Western education were the socializing agents. Roach’s study raises questions on the trends of such political socialization through the various regimes in the West Africa Societies.

Apter (1961) studied political development in Uganda and Ghana to develop concepts and approaches to the study of various stages of political evolution. He indicated that the cycle of political socialization is influenced by variables that impinge on the cycle at one level and generate effects that may be felt in the next. A good example is the perceptions
generated by the colonial experience that have continued to the contemporary society. Apter identified authority structures and values that are crucial in the understanding of emerging political institutions. He observes that in societies with greater resistance to change such as Ashanti, there is a subtle integration of religious and social ties that guide their behavior. This study was important to the current study as it raised questions on the religious and social ties that were considerable in socializing youth in ethnic politics.

In Kenya, just like any other country, people have political values that shape their political action such as voter behavior and voting patterns. Researches by Koigi (2008), Cowen and Laakiso (2002), Badejo (2006), Khamisi (2011), Michela (2009), Kisiangani (2003), Smedt (2009) among others that focus on sociological bases of politics in Kenya have majorly focused on ethnicity and economic dimension as one of these values. However, it has also been noted that the education system and political elites are connected with the socialization of the young people into politics. For instance, Ombaka (2007) observes that Kenya's political system under President Moi recognized the role of the education system as means of political socialization. As such, Moi exploited on the education system to realize his political existence. According to Ombaka, this was part of President Moi’s strategy to entrench his personal rule by trying to mold “young people” into unconditional obedience. (Ombaka, 2007, pp. 5-6)

It is also important to note that during President Moi’s political leadership, entry into Kenya's top most jobs was based on rewarding those close to him. One was socialized to be loyal to his government right from childhood. The President repeatedly reminded Kenyans that children are the adults of tomorrow. Therefore, there was need to prepare
them for tasks ahead (KNA, 1988). However, significant questions arise from this study; did Moi socialize the young people along their ethnic lines? What role did the school play in socializing the youth along ethnic lines?

Although president Moi tried to ensure that, the youth were socialized right from childhood through youth hood to ensure they complied with loyalty and obedience without questioning his administration; this was not the case among the young generation. Rasmussen (2010) observes that like many other African countries, Kenya has a large and a growing youth population, which is easily influenced to join outlawed outfits. For instance, he explores Mungiki’s combination of politics, religion and Kikuyu traditions as key pillars of the group. Using the examples of snuff tobacco, revolutionary talk, and generational exclusion, it is argued that one way of understanding the connection between the various elements in Mungiki is to look at specific youth practices that cut across apparently separate activities.

From the above background, the realization of political socialization in these contexts was highlighted, at the same time considerable questions arise. We did not know, for instance, the extent through which, the family, the peers and school environment socialize the youth in ethnic politics. We did not know at what point in one's life an African youth acquires ethnic attitudes; nor did we know the implications of youth orientation to negative ethnic values in the African context and Kenya in particular. Therefore, there was need for an urgent study to establish the role of the family, media, school and the surrounding environment as well as the peer group in the formation of such ethnic political orientations among youth in Kibra Constituency and the point of
formation. Danziger (2003) contends that the school, the family and the peers are very important in value transmission in the society. Studying youth was important, as the youth are the leaders of tomorrow (Ombaka, 2007).

Kibra constituency was an important area of study because according to Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) of Feb/March 2012, the Nubians have only been able to elect a member of parliament from their ethnic group (Yunis Ali) once in 1969 for one parliamentary term even though they argue that they are the original owners of Kibra’s informal settlement scheme. The document notes politics took ethnic dimension when local politicians started importing people from their own communities to register as voters in Kibra to have numerical strength. For instance, Yunis Ali was defeated by Mwangi Mathai, who imported people from his community as well as support from the local administrators who were members of his community.

Massey (1973) argues that it is paradoxical that nearly all of the research on the development of the regime and political system support has come from societies with relatively new regimes but the more established democracies in the West. This leaves a gap in Africa, to be more specific KC in Kenya. Therefore, this work endeavored to fill this scholarly gap.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the light of the above background, the study sought to investigate the formation of ethnic political socialization in Kibra Constituency. It attempted this by interrogating the role of the family, media, peer and the school in political socialization of young men and
women in Kibra. The implication of this on youth engagement in political processes was also examined. The study concluded by suggesting possible ways of re-orienting the youth into a political culture devoid of negative ethnicity. Investigating the type of political orientation given to youth in KC was important because of inadequate information on the point of formation of ethnic political values not only created a gap in the education system but affect the functioning of a political system.

1.3 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:

(i) To what extent the media played a role in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in Kibra Constituency (KC)?

(ii) How has the family played a role in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC?

(iii) What role has the school environment and peers played in socializing youth in KC?

1.4 Research Objectives

The research was guided by the following objectives:

(i) To analyze the role played by the media in socialization of the young people in ethnic politics in KC.

(ii) To examine the role that the family plays in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC.
(iii) To assess the role of the school environment and that of the peers in orienting youth in ethnic politics in KC.

1.5 Research Premises

The research was premised on the following:

(i) That the media has created ethnic awareness among the youth of KC.

(ii) That the family as the basic unit plays an important role in orienting Kibra Youth in Ethnic Politics in KC.

(iii) That the school environment in Kenya has created ethnic political awareness among the youth, while the peers played a political role in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC.

1.6 Justification and Significance of the study

The study focused on youth socialization in ethnic politics in Kenya because the youth in most cases are used by politicians to cause ethnic violence according to the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (CIPEV), (2008). In addition, the youth are perceived to be the leaders of tomorrow (Moi, 1986). Ombaka (2007, p. 9) opines that a study is needed to gauge the democratic ideals, attitudes and orientation of university undergraduate students in Kenya as people who are strategically placed to provide future leadership. The study focused on youth between the ages of 18 and 35 years as provided by the Constitution of Kenya of 2010. This is because at this stage in child development, one can understand aspects of socialization than in childhood (Easton & Hess, 1970).
Investigating ethnic socialization in Kenya is important because it is responsible for corruption, underdevelopment, violence and rigging of elections (Masakhalia, 2011). Kibra constituency was an important area of study not because it has a distinct political socialization way of life, but because of its cosmopolitan nature. Smedt (2009) argues that Kibera is a home to members of all Kenyan ethnic groups. This provided an opportunity for the researcher to study how the youth is socialized to politics at the center of different ethnic cultures. KC also experiences political violence and negative ethnicity (Smedt, 2009) making it more relevant to study on how youth is socialized in such environment.

The current study illustrated the importance of doing research on political socialization among the youth in Kenya generally and in slums in particular. The year 1963 is significant as it is the time Kenya attained independence. This meant that there was more open democratic space for Kenyans and therefore this period is very important to study how youth have been socialized through various regimes the first president Jomo Kenyatta, followed by Moi, Kibaki and now Uhuru Kenyatta. The study ended in the year 2017, because the year 2017 is when I completed my academic course.

Investigating the level of political orientation and the formation of such political orientation in KC in the period 1963 to 2017 was of significant because the findings would bridge the gap in the literature on the topic and add to the available literature in the field. The government will also use the findings during policy making to ensure that youth is socialized to politics by law to prepare them for future political responsibilities.
1.7 Scope and Limitations

While there were many youth in Kibra constituency, the study focused on the term youth as a relative term. As such, the study examined the youth in the various regimes (Jomo Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki, and Uhuru). The study therefore interrogated how the youth were politically socialized along ethnic lines in KC geographical area in the period 1963 to 2017. The study did not confine to the period 1963-2017, where necessary the period before 1963 was examined, and any important information in 2017 was also evaluated. Kibra Constituency has many market centers, but my study was confined to Makina, Laini Saba, Kenyatta, Olympic, and Lindi.

Those youth with information were interviewed including those who recently migrated to KC as well as those who were in kibera in 1963.

The study faced some challenges due to ethnic animosities since members of some communities felt that they were being interrogated for a wrong course. To address this, the researcher interviewed only those who were willing to participate in the study to get reliable information. KC is diverse, and this made it very difficult to identify and interview people from different ethnic backgrounds. To overcome this challenge, the researcher applied the snowballing method to get to the intended respondents as well as research assistants.
1.8 Literature Review

1.8.1 Introduction

This section presents a detailed review of the literature on family, media, the school and peer socialization of youth along ethnic lines and the implication of such socialization politically. Finally, this section focuses on the theoretical framework and conceptualization that informed the argument of the study. The literature was scanty especially in Africa, a clear indication of how the topic under study has been under researched.

1.8.2 The Evolution of political socialization.

Although the researcher indicated that the study began in 1963-to-2017, it was necessary to give the background history of political socialization to enrich the literature on the area of study. It is also important to note that one cannot understand the evolution of political socialization without studying political socialization as a discipline. This section, therefore, reviewed literature on the evolution of political socialization as a discipline.

There are several ways in which the discipline can be studied. Dawson and Prewitt (1969, pp. 6-7) identifies three broad ways through which political socialization development can be studied. Firstly, the authors point out that classical political theory in Plato's *The Republic* devotes much attention to education and childhood experience as the means of instilling appropriate citizenship values. Plato observed that citizens' values affect the stability and order of political institutions. Aristotle stressed that the relationship between character types and constitutional character required different types of political value
disposition. Such attention given to childhood education experience has an important bearing on Kenyan case although they do not focus on the youth.

Secondly, Dawson and Prewitt (1969) point out that student of political socialization borrow from other behavioral sciences especially social anthropology, psychiatry, and sociology since each of these disciplines deal with socialization. Finally, Dawson and Prewitt (1969) examine the development of political socialization by acknowledging that at the beginning of 1920's, students of politics begun to investigate voting behavior, party identification, political ideology, and opinion. They further added that the development of techniques survey, sampling, interviewing, questionnaire design, and personality development during 1930's and 1940's also facilitated the development of the discipline (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969 pp. 11-12). This study is significant to the current study as it provides the insights on the development of data collection methods especially those related to political socialization such as survey, sampling, questionnaire and interviewees.

Sears (1990, p. 69) observes that by the late 1950s and early 1960s, some classic books were produced such as Hyman (1959), Greenstein (1965), Hess and Torney (1967), and Easton and Dennis (1969), as were textbooks, books for reading and many journals. This also warranted a chapter in the *Handbook of Political Science* (Sears, 1975), and the entire handbook in its right (Renshon, 1977).

Greenstein (1970) felt that political socialization is a growing stock, although Cook (1985) noted the gradual disappearance of articles on political socialization, particularly on preadolescents, from the political science journal. Sears (1990, p. 71) examined articles published in the year 1982-1987 in major six journals to establish the status of the
study of political socialization as a discipline. The author summarized the results into 125 issues that were reviewed, offering well over 1000 articles, but there were 14 articles on what might be called traditional topics on political socialization. Niemi and Hepburn (2008) observed that research on political socialization began in the 1950s and died prematurely in the 1970s. The field atrophied because it was based on exaggerated premises, misinterpreted and misunderstood research findings (and lack of findings). These findings were significant to the current study as it sought to investigate whether a similar situation was experienced in Kenya.

During the late 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, there was a decrease in political socialization as indicated by Patrick (2000). The decrease was due to the reasons mentioned above. Ombaka (2007) observes that from the Mid-1990s, the field of political socialization got a new lease of life attributed to the global resurgence of democracy. Evenson (2000) observes that the field of political socialization after being dead mutated itself to what he refers to as ‘socialization studies reborn.’ In Kenya, the scholars of political socialization have focused on the role of education in democratization (Ombaka, 2007, Sifuna, 2001 & Ruto 2001). The studies gave insights into the wider environment within which political socialization has taken place over time. It is, therefore, relevant to the current study, as it became a stepping-stone upon which our study was founded.

The question is whether children are politically knowledgeable is one of the issues debated by political scholars. Purta (1990) observes that young children have a vague and poorly structured representation of aspects of politics. On their part, Moore, Lare, and Wagner (1985) point out that children see the divine connection in American presidents.
They note that many young children believe that God or Jesus appoints the President of the United States or tells him what to do.

Easton and Hess (1970) observe that socialization is the most important means by which a system creates support for itself. Children develop firm emotional attachments to symbols of their country and the structure and forms of its political regime long before they are capable of rational understanding of the political world. The authors posit that the child's political learning begins in the pre-school period and that his fundamental orientations toward the regime and the political community are perhaps firmly established by the age of thirteen and that:

*Most children do not become familiar with the term political party until the fourth and fifth grade at the earliest. But before this, as early as the second grade, large numbers are nevertheless able to assert a party identification. In a pre-test sample of about 700 children, a strong majority in each grade from two through eight states that if they could vote, they would align themselves with either of the two major parties in the United States. (Easton & Hess, 1970)*

Since Easton and Hess study was carried out several years changes have taken place in political socialization which needs to be examined and therefore the question that arises is whether the study findings can explain similar phenomenon after the changes in political socialization over time or can it be used to explain how the youth are socialized to ethnic politics.

In Africa, the youth have been involved in activities, which are ethnically based. Isichei, (1977) notes that among the Igbos of Nigeria, youth community service can be traced to pre-colonial times when youth was organized into age sets that were mobilized for the
defense of the community as well as in the construction of infrastructures such as roads and bridges. Similar practices occurred in Kenya where an age-set system was the foundation of group formation and for the allocation and distribution of responsibilities. For instance, initiation ceremonies prepared the youth for education, development, and socialization programs that fostered a sense of belonging and responsibility to the community. Although the work of youth being organized into age sets does not focus on the socialization of youth in ethnic politics, it provides insights on the responsibilities allocated to the youth, which is useful to the study.

According to Baker and Ricardo (2005), studying young men and the reconstruction of masculinity in Sub-Saharan Africa observes that African young men are often stigmatized, and seen as criminals, delinquents, potential or actual troublemakers or predators. The language used to refer to young men—particularly low-income, urban-based young men—in the African context is often pejorative. For instance, in Sierra Leone, they are called "array boys" (footloose youth), a pejorative term for low-income youth, or a rebellious youth culture. In Nigeria, they are referred to as jaguda (crook) boys, or more recently as "area boys." In East Africa, they are called bayaye (rogue people) (Abdullah, 1998). Less pejorative is the term "young lions" used in South Africa to refer to young men in ANC who were eager to use violence to overthrow the apartheid regime. These young men are simultaneously revered for their role in overthrowing apartheid, while also seen as being out of control and quick to use violence (Marks, 1992). This work provided the researcher with the general understanding of the attitude of the senior members of the community towards the youth, how the youth are perceived as dangerous
members of the community, however, it does not focus on ethnic formation among the youth.

Numerous studies have confirmed the cultural power of rites of passage as "agents of political and social incorporation, notably of young men who are most likely to be the warlike element in any society" (Ellis, 1997). These rites become particularly important for creating cultural and collective identities when more formalized public institutions such as schools, formal religion, and political institutions are weak. These rites of passage provide a combination of social control, assistance, and guidance to young people. This paves way for transition from childhood to adulthood, as well as forming or enhancing a sense of cultural or tribal identity and social cohesion (Baker & Ricardo, 2005). Although, Baker and Ricardo (2005) do not talk about socialization of the youth in ethnic politics, their ideas seemed to add to the socialization of the youth along their culture, which was useful in our study.

Mwangi (2004) examines women political participation in Kangema, Murang'a County from 1963-2002. She argues that Kangema women just like many other rural women have not received adequate attention from scholars and policy makers yet women comprise the highest population compared to men. Further, she noted that the penetration of colonialists and missionary activities in Kangema had adverse effects on women's political participation. By its patriarchal nature, colonialism had no place for women, and this was later adopted by independent Kenya in 1963. Although the work focused on women's participation in politics, it gave some insights concerning the family, which is germane to the current study if we have to understand how people are socialized.
politically. In addition, its methodology was useful to the current study, specifically during analyzing historical trends.

Okemwa (1993,p.33) in a study of the place and the role of the women in the Seventh Day Adventist (SDA) church in Kenya 1911-1990 observes that amongst the Gusii community, women were not allowed to participate in discussion when the elders met. She further indicated that women were never consulted even when decisions affecting the whole family were made. This is because decision-making was a preserve of clan elders. She concluded that this was an indication that the position of a woman was inferior as nobody sought women opinion in the community. Although the study did not focus on youth, it had rich data that was used to interrogate socialization of the youth within the family environment.

Ombaka (2007) discusses two programs that the Kenyan state, under President Moi, attempted to use in influencing the political attitudes of university students. He notes that the first one was the Pre-university national service scheme that was jointly carried out by the national youth service in the Office of the President, the Ministry of Education and Public universities. This was seen as an effort by the Moi government to socialize them to be loyal citizens. In 1978 when Moi ascended to power, he started a second program; one of the policies in this program was the inclusion of selected university student leaders in presidential state visits (The Weekly Review, February 15, 1985, Pp. 3-6).

This was an attempt to co-opt the supposedly hostile intellectual community to support his regime. Another policy in this program was that student's leaders visited him at Statehouse where he gave tea and fatherly advice. The president's objective in all these
policies was to rid himself of opposition to his regime in the universities and win total support and loyalty (Ombaka, 2007, pp. 5-6). Although the study does not focus on ethnic formation among the young people, it provides understanding of how the Moi regime socialized the youth to rally behind his political endeavors. Therefore, this work is relevant to the current study as it enriched literature on the topic of political socialization.

1.8.3 Theoretical Framework

1.8.3.1 Political theory of system persistence.

Easton and Dennis (1969) in their political theory relate childhood political socialization to variations in the persistence of a political system. They observe that earlier political socialization proceeded as follows: The child first becomes aware of a political system ( politicization), chiefly through the proximal figure in whom he has personal contact (the policeman) and the remote personnel symbol of government (the president). He thus views government as symbolized by these two persons (personalization). As a child matures, these early idealized and personalized view of government evolves into a few in which the government is symbolized by institutions, which the child approves and likes ( diffuse system support).

The basic preposition in this theory is that early idealization and personalization are necessary conditions for later diffuse support. One implication is that such contingencies should hold within individual children. Easton and Dennis do not test for that, showing instead that age cohorts, in the aggregate, follow such sequence, so from their data we have no way of knowing whether or not an early personalized and idealized view of
government is a necessary prerequisite for later system support (Sears, 1975). This theory does not seem to answer questions more especially at what point of youth does ethnic formation take place.

1.8.3.2 Three-dimensional narrative inquiry space theory

The three-dimensional narrative space theories are grounded in a Deweyan theory of experience, works from a view of experience as embodied, always in motion, and shaped and reshaped by continuous interaction among personal, social, institutional and cultural environments (Dewey, 1938). Clandinin and Connelly (1990, 2000, and 2006) are the proponents of this theory. Clandinin and Connelly (2000) drew on Dewey's two criteria of experience to develop a narrative view of experience. Drawing on Dewey's first criterion on interaction, they wrote that people are individuals and need to be understood as such, but they cannot be understood only as individuals. They are always in relation, always in a social context.

Connelly and Clandinin (1990, 2006) ideas on the development and use of narrative inquiry are inspired by a view of human experience in which humans, individually and people shape their daily lives by stories as they interpret socially, lead storied lives. Their past regarding these stories. Story in the current idiom is a portal through which a person enters the world and by which their experience of the world is interpreted and made personally meaningful. Narrative inquiry is the study of experience as a story, then, is first and foremost, a way of thinking about the experience. Narrative inquiry as a methodology entails a view of the phenomenon. To use narrative inquiry methodology is
to adopt a particular view of experience as a phenomenon under study (Connelly & Clandinin, 2006, p. 479).

The three-dimensional theory was useful in analyzing the case of Kibra Constituency as informants narrated stories concerning their life experiences. This was crucial to the study as it provided an opportunity for survivors of various regimes to give an account on how they were politically socialized in an ethnic politic society.

1.8.3.3 Social Learning Theory

In the 1960s, an American psychologist, Albert Bandura rejected the strict behavioristic view of a learning process and created a bridge to the cognitive models for learning through his works and theory. His theory of social learning states that a new behavior is acquired through observation alone and thus learning appears to be cognitive. The Social Learning and Imitation theory suggested that people obtain competencies and new modes of behavior through response consequences (Miller & Dollard, 1941). Social learning theory explains human behavior regarding the continuous reciprocal interaction between the intrinsic reinforcement of cognitive, behavioral, and the external reinforcement of environmental influences.

Bandura also identified the four necessary conditions of Internal or Intrinsic Reinforcement needed for effective modeling for the method of observational learning. These components include attention; retention; motor reproduction; and motivation (Bandura, 1977, pp. 24-28). The social learning theory advocates that individuals,
especially children, imitate or copy modeled behavior by observing others, the environment, and the mass media.

In the case of Kibra Constituency, the Social learning theory was used to analyze various events that were ethnic in nature. It argued that the young people in Kibra constituency copied the behavior from what they observed in the media, families, at schools, peers and from politicians.

Whereas the three-dimensional theory was useful in examining the life experiences of our informants through their narration of events it could not explain the point of ethnic socialization of this young people, therefore, it was used together with the social learning theory.

1.9 Methodology

1.9.1 Research Design

The study adopted explorative and historical research design. The approach was useful in establishing how the youth was socialized in ethnic politics since the year 1963 to 2017 and to get this information could only be acquired through investigating the respondents, while explorative research approach was important as the respondents gave firsthand information on how they were socialized.

1.9.2 The Area of Study

Kibra is one of the Constituencies within Nairobi County. Nairobi county is an administrative area of 684 Km², and is also the capital city of the Republic of Kenya.
which acts as the center of politics, economy, administrative and culture of Kenya (Nairobi Urban Master Plan Draft, 2013).

KC is the largest slum in Africa and one of the biggest slums in the world, with an estimated population of 200,000 residents (Amelie Desgroppes & Taupin, 2011). Most people living in Kibra come from the largest ethnic groups in Kenya, the Nubian and other communities. They include among others the Kisii, Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya and the Kamba (https://www.globalgiving.org/pfil/1771/projdoc.pdf). Langata was one of the Nubian Villages created following the allocation of 4,197 acres of the then forested land to the ex-KAR Sudanese, who served in the British Empire in the late 19th Century and early 20th century (TJRC, 2012). The area was named Kibra meaning jungle in their language (Abuya & Kassim, O.I. 2015, TJRC, 2012).

Kibra Constituency is subdivided into five electoral wards namely; Woodley/ Kenyatta Golf course, Makina, Lindi, and Sarang'ombe. The multi-ethnic nature of Kibera's populism combined with the ethnic animosity that pervades Kenyan politics has seen Kibera witnessing ethnic conflicts (Yarime & Emmanuel, 2011). They point out that, initially the Kikuyu community dominated Kibera slum population. However, over the years, the Luo community has grown dominant. Today, Kibera residents represent all the major Kenyan ethnic groups, with some areas individually dominated by people of one ethnic-linguistic group. It is, therefore, significant to ask a question whether it is possible for slum families to socialize their youth politically by their culture and yet most of the time these youth play together despite their different ethnic backgrounds. This makes KC unique, thus calling for research to establish the level of political orientation and the
formation of such political orientation of the youth. See the map of Kibra Constituency In Nairobi City County below;

1.9.3 The Target Population

The target population was teachers, the clergy, parents and members of the civil society.
1.9.4 Sampling Techniques

Purposeful sampling and snowballing were adopted in the study. This enabled the researcher to get the specific information from the survivors since 1963 and across the various regimes (Jomo Kenyatta, Moi, Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta) to 2017. The approach used was important because of the need to get the specific information because not all the youth sampled across the various regimes were knowledgeable. The informants were identified by the researcher initially through a village elder after which the informants directed the researcher to other respondents through snowballing. The village elder was very helpful because they not only identified the informants but also introduced me to them. 15 key informants were interviewed. The sample included; 4 teachers, 4 parents, 3 clergy and 4 members of the civil society.

1.9.5 Research Instruments

1.9.5.1 Oral Interviews

The oral interviews were administered by the researcher assisted by research assistants. The informants were interviewed at homes, schools, worship centers and workplaces. Notes were taken during the interviews and the researcher employed a free discussion with the respondents. The researcher used pens and notebooks during the field interview.
1.9.5.2 Question Guide

The study used Appendix 1 (question guide) to generate information from participants. This accommodated the use of open-ended question, which favored many issues as possible that arose during the interview.

1.9.6 Instrument Test

To ensure validity and reliability of the instruments developed, the researcher carried out a pilot study on the instrument. However, data collected during pilot study was not incorporated during data analysis. Piloting was important as it helped in revealing deficiencies in a question guide. For example, questions that were vague were revealed in the sense that respondents interpreted them differently. The test helped in determining the reliability of the instruments so that necessary adjustments will be done on the parts that do not appear to be clear to the respondents. The instruments were piloted in Laini Saba market. The area has similar political environment situations in all aspects in reference the topic of study.

1.9.6.1 Validity

The whole exercise of collecting and analyzing data was done with the close guidance of the project supervisor. The data collected was subjected to qualitative analysis. The data collected was also linked to the historical period under study. Secondary data was also collected and subjected to historical criticism to establish its validity.
1.9.6.2 Reliability

The researcher ensured that the questions were well understood by the respondent and clarified points necessary to anyone listening. The researcher also took notes to avoid message distortion.

1.9.7 Data Collection Procedures

This was done through examining both primary and secondary data. An informant was very useful during the collection of data since he enabled us to move through the densely populated slums without any difficult. The informant also introduced us to various responds that were very useful to our area of study. Primary data was collected through oral interviews guided by question guide in the entire Kibra Constituency and archival information that was from Kenya National Archives and Documentary Service. Oral interviews were very important because the informants gave an account of their personal experiences at their youthful age while archival information provided documented information about the topic of research.

Secondary data mainly composed of written documents and these were obtained from Kenyatta University Post-Modern Library and online publications. The documents from Kenyatta Post-Modern Library included textbooks, theses, and newspapers while online documents included journals and magazines. Secondary data was very important as it provided a theoretical framework through which the study was undertaken and conceptual framework in which the study was based.
1.9.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data was arranged in thematic ways based on similarities and differences. Information from respondents was analyzed by comparing similarities and differences. Textual Criticism was employed to establish the accuracy of secondary data. After analyzing the data, with the guidance of the research objectives, the writing of thesis began.

1.9.9 Ethical Considerations

Before the research was conducted, the researcher sought permission from the university seeking an introduction letter and another similar letter from National Commission for science and innovation see Appendix V and VI. The researcher went ahead and guaranteed the respondent confidentiality of any information that they would give during the interviews. This included disclosing only one name with an initial.

This chapter focused on the background of the study, the statement of the problem, research questions, research objectives, premises, justification and significance, scope and limitation, literature review and methodology. Chapter two will focus on the role of the media in socializing the young people in ethnic politics.
CHAPTER TWO

THE MEDIA AND SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUTH IN ETHNIC POLITICS

2.1 Introduction

The objective of this chapter was to interrogate the role of the media in socializing the youth in ethnic politics within the Kibra context. This is based on the social learning theory which advocates that individuals, especially children, imitate or copy modeled behavior by observing others, the environment, and the mass media. The study began by examining the role of the media in socializing the youth in ethnic politics, printed media and youth socialization in ethnic politics, conceptualizing the term youth; the space of youth in Kibra; and finally the role that various regimes played in in-depth socializing of the youth in ethnic politics in Kenya and Kibra in particular from 1963-2017.

2.2 The Role of the Media in Socialization of Youth in Ethnic Politics

Youth Socialization is important in societal and communal life about political identities. Hence any discussion surrounding the youth and their socialized political identities is a mission impossible if the media is ignored. The effects of the flow of information from mass media have been studied by various scholars (Dalton, beck & Hucfeldth, 1998; Bartels, 1993 and Zaller, 1996).

Gilens (2011) argues that citizen political attitude is determined by their increasingly use of information flow from Newspapers, television as well as political conversation with other people. According to Niemi and Sobieszek (1977), mass media is a powerful tool in
political socialization. Most of the respondents noted that they watched and listened to news broadcasting especially in the evening. Therefore, this section examined how media has contributed to the youth socialization in politics in Kenya.

Firstly, the media is educative to the society especially the young people. For instance, it demonstrates its strength in the degree of expression and ideology representation of the youth about politics and ethnicity. If new generations of society do not learn its way of life, it ceases to exist, and the media has been credited in the achievement of this realm through its role to enlighten society, and this ideology has been utilized by the youth. For instance, there exist youth radio and television programs, which teach cultural values related to democracy, participation in political debates, and regional representations, which have developed and advanced throughout the past political regimes.

The media has helped to promote the views of the youth and their ideologies from various policies, and this has contributed to addressing their challenges and push for change. Although this has faced challenges and opposition from the political leaders who restricted its freedom towards individual gains, the end of the Moi regime in 2002 gave it a breath. This allowed freedom to media where it openly criticized the government in its level of delivery and opinions on public policy. This has seen the Kenyan media remain the main source of information on political, economic and social matters in the country (Somerville, 2011).

Secondly, it was only until after the formal legalization of multiparty politics in Kenya under the Moi regime that the media got the opportunity to air and project live political debates, however, these debates were censored and this latter led to the need for greater
freedom of expression that caused liberalization of the electronic media sector (Lafargue, 2009). Since the year 2002, the Kenyan media has recorded achievement and growth with increased freedom, and this has made the Kenyan youth informed and involved in the legal and political life of their communities. According to (Hadland, 2010), this freedom has socialized communities and made people interact freely, and this has led to the spread of political ideologies and even religious ideas to the communities and their adjacent polities. This has also gotten a boost from the emergence of vernacular stations in the media sector. However, media has been seen as a cause for the spread of hate speech and political radicalization, which caused the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya (Njogu, 2011).

The media freedom has assisted the spread of political ideology globally and even Kenyan youth in the diaspora contribute to debates surrounding youth politics and their space in the national arena. This notable credit is awarded to two leading media houses, The Nation Media Group and The Standard Group, which have active internet sites and interactive online platforms where the youth post their views about politics and give comments, which significantly influence outcomes in political debates and decision making. For instance, the media site is especially helpful and attractive to the Kenyans in diaspora in keeping in touch with the political developments in the country. The Standard Group also has a platform on the internet to cover elections (Lafargue, 2009)

Over the years, this has seen the rise of stations such as Aljazeera, which have helped in shaping the political front by giving the youth a contributory ground concerning decisions made in the government. This has improved their space in decision making, as most of
their views have been included in the political and economic matters affecting them directly. This has led to youth participation in decision-making and governance today (Matsaganis & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

Through the media and the journalism industry, there has been a noted trend of political ideologies, which are geared at ensuring that the youth parliament is very active and influences the political decisions made nationally since a nation without the voice of the young people in governance is not inclusive in the 21st century. This has seen the journalism industry utilize their technological expertise and ensure they effectively influence the youth from the representative regions to project their issues to the leaders at the grassroots who will then represent them in the national arena for determination and action.

This has created political activism from various ethnic regions, which have seen them get their equal share of the national cake. When people are unsatisfied, they have a platform through the youth to launch their requests, which have to be taken seriously to prevent them from becoming causes of ethnic divisions. In doing this, the media has influenced the lives of many (Couldry, 2012).

The rise of the vernacular radio stations and televisions such as Inooro TV, Mwanyagetinge TV, Ramogi FM, Egesa FM and Kass FM (Oloo O.I., 2015), has considerably helped in the socialization of the youth in ethnic political ends. For instance, during the 2007 general elections in Kenya, the Kenya media was accused of spreading hate speech and projecting information towards ethnic divides by using the youth in the
post-election violence. A notable case was the use of Kass FM, which triggered ethnic tensions that caused post-election violence (Olorunnisola & Douai, 2013).

The media has also been used to publicize political campaigns in various regions which have seen the youth participate in marketing political elites from own ethnic communities. This has modified the way people think and view national politics. This has also exposed the ever-widening desire for power and regional competitions to have their community leaders acquire prominent positions in the central government so that they benefit from the advantages that other communities get from their leaders serving in the national government (Syracuse University & Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 2007).

In projecting such information, the media has strengthened ethnic politics in the country where the youth to get attached and affiliated to their community leaders. Through such activities and links, people have been able to create networks where they share information (Kurschus, 2014).

The media has also highlighted the debate surrounding the inter-ethnic marriages that has ended up in grouping people in different communities and ethnic groups as establishing either stable or unstable marriages. This debate has created and widened the existing racial differences thus reducing the level of cohesion and unity. This has made people in the public and social service to give any arising job opportunities to those from their ethnic background. These has advanced to the political front where people want to elect their community members to the public and national service so that they can easily
access and benefit from any likely opportunity which may arise in the service (Matsaganis & Ball-Rokeach, 2011).

With regard to socialization of youth, the media has given little focus on inter-community activities such as cultural days and sports, which contributed to the ever-growing animosity within ethnic communities hence creating divergent attitudes and feelings, which portray other cultures as inferior. As such, the ethnic groups form revolutions and develop political stands and support a particular or selected candidate in order to achieve a selfish end (Goonasekera, 1999, Atenya O.I., 2015).

Since political socialization entails a complete process that traces the entire life circle of individuals, it finds its way back to the society where the life is nurtured and prepared. This has made people form groups that are ethnically propagated to achieve selfish dimensions through existing political opinions, which victimize many. This stands to justify the existence of party loyalism in various ethnic regions. For instance, in Kenyan politics, ODM is generally associated with people from Nyanza while Jubilee with central and Rift Valley regions and these regional animosities have been highlighted by the media sometimes in a way, which has generally encouraged negative socialization, whereby negative values are inculcated in party members and youth are the most victimized (Riggins, 1992).

Oloo (O.I., 2015) also observes that ‘some communities in some parts of Kibra, parents control news viewings by putting off the television if the news broadcasts are anti-Raila. In Kibra if the newspaper does not have, communication-containing Raila, people will not buy it and if Raila appears in all the papers, then, they will buy all of them. During
the 2005 national referendum on constitutional change, the symbols used were an orange for “No” and banana for the “Yes” group. It was established that there was a child who could not eat banana after the referendum because it was the symbol for yes during the 2005 elections, which was associated with the Kikuyu community while their community was on the side of the No camp.

**Bunge La Mwananchi (kamkunji, Sarang’ombe ward, Kibra Constituency.)**

In an interview with Atenya (O.I 2015) at Kamkunji in Sarang’ombe ward who was among a group of people who were debating on issues affecting the state near a newspaper vendor. The aim of the interview was to establish whether during the debates issues of ethnicity emerged which could influence the youth who were the majority.

Atenya (O.I 2015) was emphatic that;

> The group is called Bunge la Mwananchi. Noting that it was not formed by any specific individual but it started as a group of people who pay a little fee to the Newspaper vendor and read all the Newspapers without carrying them away. It was after this, those people especially who earn low income started analyzing events which arose in the state as reported by the newspapers. At a time like this when it is electioneering period, the debates are high. We really have think tank minds in our debates. We normally analyze the newspaper every weekend that is every Saturday and Sunday. Sometimes there disagreements, and in most cases the disagreements are based on party politics. There is the tendency for instance for those who are aligned to major political parties like Jubilee and ODM of supporting issues subjectively. It is at this point that the issue of ethnicity comes in. The issue of ethnicity does not directly come but you will find it through party politics.

On further probing, Atenya (O.I, 2015) also noted that during the debates, the young people take positions, which are taken by political leaders from their ethnic background.
Atenya further observed that they would support political parties with all their strength without sometimes referring to the leaders. Noting that it is through their support that you will be able to know one’s ethnic background. Atenya (O.I, 2015) emphatic that you will hardly find youth form Rift-Valley region in agreement with those from Nyanza Region. The only difference is that there is health debate. In addition, the young men from central region will hardly attend these debates. They tend to see that it’s their president who is being targeted.’

The above data on Bunge La Mwananchi provided an opportunity for the current researcher to conclude that debates in Bunge La Mwanachi are ethnic based since each group of the young people participated in the discussion having self-interest, which was to protect leaders from their ethnic background. The next section 2.3 will examine printed media and youth socialization in ethnic politics.

2.3 Printed Media and Youth socialization in Ethnic Politics.

The researcher found it significant to examine the printed media in Kenya since 1963 before interrogating and conceptualizing the term youth in the Kenyan context. This was necessary as it gives a microscopic picture of the environment in which the youth are brought up in the Kenyan society. Social learning theory was used to analyze the information from the printed media. It argued that the youth copied what they learnt from printed media. Therefore, development of ethnicity in the colonial era, the Jomo Kenyatta era, the Moi Era, the Kibaki era and Uhuru Kenyatta era were examined.
2.3.1 Ethnicity in the Colonial Kenya

Ethnicity in Kenya is attributed to the colonial legacy, which is essentially historical but with ramifications in the post-independence era. It is a historical fact that the indirect rule administered by the British colonialists later turned out to be the “divide and rule” strategy, which polarized the various ethnic groups in Kenya. This, in turn, contributed to the subsequent incompatibility of these ethnic groups as actors in one nation-state called Kenya. It was unfortunate that the early political parties in Kenya that championed the nationalist struggle against colonial establishments were basically `distinct ethnic unions. The Kikuyu for instance, formed the Kikuyu Central Association (KCA), the Akamba formed the Ukambani Members Association (UMA), the Luhya formed the Luhya Union (LU), the Luo formed the Young Kavirondo Association (YKA), the Kalenjin formed the Kalenjin Political Alliance (KPA), the Coastal communities formed the Mwambao Union Front (MUF), Taita formed the Taita Hills Association (THA), in that order of ethnic conglomerations (Nyukuri, 1997).

Consequently, the preceding ethnic trends denied cultivation of a common political voice and a sense of commonness. Massive land alienation during colonialism created the squatter system and marginalized Africans into unproductive reserves and this similarly affected the pastoral communities like the Maasai, Samburu, Nandi, Pokot and other Kalenjin-speaking communities. During the period of nationalism and decolonization, land grievances were central to all ethnic groups that actively participated in the struggle for independence. In fact, the land question is one of the main factors for the MAU MAU rebellion and the subsequent declaration of the state of emergence by the British. This
made the British administration to address the land question intelligently to avoid rebellion at the eve of independence by re-distributing and giving grants for land purchases. That, in turn, meant that there was no free land for distribution. The price tag made land very scarce. This is the critical point at which the subsequent; land-tenure became a factor of ethnicity and hence ethnic animosity intensified (Nyukuri, 1997).

2.3.2 Kenyatta Era

The largest beneficiaries of this land distribution program immediately after independence were Kikuyus and their allies, thus the Embu and Meru were disadvantaged in the process despite having formed political alliance. By projecting mythological kinship and taking advantage of neighborliness, the Kikuyu managed to win the Embu and Meru into some ‘land alliance’ within the framework of GEMA, which was a bargaining organ for these communities on how to share the national cake. The Kikuyu with their allies quickly formed land buying companies and cooperatives with the blessing of Mzee Jomo Kenyatta (Nyukuri, 1997).

The critics of GEMA stated that the membership of these land buying companies and cooperatives were strictly ethnical-contrary to constitutional and company law provisions against this form of discrimination (Kiliku Report, 1992). By 1978 when President Kenyatta died, the Kikuyu had, far more than all other ethnic groups put together, bought the bulk of the so-called "white highlands." Besides, they were the main beneficiaries of the government’s settlement plan for the landless at no cost or minimal rates.
Therefore, the Kikuyu expanded their land ownership and settlement beyond their traditional home Central -into the region Rift Valley region, and a bit into the Coast region, apart from their widespread networks in urban centers within Kenya. The distribution of land formerly occupied by the white settlers to Kikuyu people mainly was perceived by other ethnic groups as unfair, and there were parliamentary debates that called for equal distribution. Unfortunately, these debates did not address the issue of ethnic imbalance, and the subsequent animosity that later on degenerated in the recent ethnic conflicts between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjins in the Rift Valley (Koigi, 2008).

The unequal distribution of resources is another source of potential instability in Kenya. Apart from their easy access to land, the economic success of the Kikuyu region in the first ten years of Kenya's independence was enviable by other ethnic groups. The Kikuyu also enjoyed good modern roads, abundant schools and education facilities, expanded health services, piped water, electricity and other forms of infrastructure (Kiliku Report, 1992). They visibly outdistanced other ethnic groups at a pace that posed animosity in post independent Kenya.

2.3.3 Moi Era

For a variety of reasons, repression under Kenya's second President, Daniel Arap Moi, became more draconian. First, he did not start with the same array of resources (such as land, civil service jobs, and a buoyant coffee boom) available to Kenyatta to reward his supporters and the general public. Second, in 1982, he experienced an attempted coup against him. This followed an unsuccessful attempt by parts of the Kiambu Kikuyu elite in 1978 to keep him from becoming the President. For both reasons and perhaps for
others, violence, including detentions without trial and the routine torture of perceived
and real dissenters, became institutionalized early on under Moi's rule (Koigi, 2008).

This, in turn, generated a groundswell of dissent against his rule by a growing opposition
movement, including politicians, lawyers, students, and others from all parts of the
country, as well as members of the Kikuyu from Central region whose economic power
he tried and partially succeeded in decimating. President Moi's actions were designed to
destroy the economic base of his opponents and to bolster his position and that of his
supporters, who were mainly drawn from his Kalenjin, Maasai, Turkana and Samburu
(KAMATUSA) and allies from the marginal areas (Koigi, 2008).

In the period leading up to independence and through to 1964 when KADU was
dissolved, and its members joined KANU, KADU had campaigned for a federal system
of government known by the Swahili name "majimbo". This was meant to protect the
members of the smaller communities from the numerical power of the larger ethnic
groups such as the Kikuyu and Luo. To consolidate his base after becoming the President,
Moi rewarded his supporters, particularly the Kalenjin, through appointments to political
offices and with jobs in the public service and the military. Rightly or wrongly, these
individuals were viewed by President Moi's opponents as not qualified or incompetent.
As the opposition to Moi's leadership grew over the years, civil society became
increasingly vocal and donors increased pressure on him, including the use of financial
sanctions, to democratize. In the end, President Moi reluctantly agreed to allow multi-
party democracy in 1991 and he presided over two multi-party elections during his rule,
one in 1992 and another in 1997 (Koigi, 2008).
Although he agreed to multi-party democracy, President Moi did not accept the idea that he might lose the presidency. Thus, it was in the 1990s that violence became institutionalized during presidential and parliamentary elections. Under the amended Constitution, to win the presidency, President Moi needed to win his parliamentary seat, obtain a majority of the votes cast in the country, and receive at least 25% of the votes cast in five regions. In the presidential and parliamentary elections, the opposition to President Moi and the then ruling party, KANU, consisted mainly of not-KAMATUSA voters.

Various reports covering elections held during this period alleged that high-ranking political figures, civil servants, and others close to the heart of the government organized and used violent gangs to intimidate people in areas of potential opposition support, most of whom were Kikuyu, Luo, Luhya, Kamba, and other groups. The strategy was to keep opposition supporters from voting. Moi hired gangs in the Rift Valley and elsewhere to kill people and displace individuals from their home areas so that KAMATUSA candidates could win, and President Moi could be assured of obtaining at least 25% of the vote in five regions, the majority of the votes cast for the President, and the majority of elected Members of Parliament. In short, violence became a means of securing political power and winning elections (Kiliku Report, 1992).

The elections-related violence occurred not just in 1992 but also in 1997. This led to a culture of impunity where those who maimed and killed for political ends were never brought to justice. This changed Kenya's political landscape concerning elections, a point noted by Human Rights Watch (1999). Each of these reports implicated politicians as the
organizers of the violence and killing for political ends, and noted that the warriors and gangs of youth who took action were both paid and pressed into service.

Consequently, youths were sometimes Promised Land and jobs after evicting dwellers. However, from testimony in the Akiwumi Report 1998 it is not clear if they got either. A pattern had been established of forming groups and using extra-state violence to obtain political power and of not being punished for it. Some of the displaced individuals, including youth from Laikipia County, moved to Nairobi and became members of Mungiki, which up through the 1980s had been largely a cultural cum religious cult in the Kikuyu inhabited parts of the Rift Valley. Later it metamorphosed into a Mafioso style gang that grew and eventually became a shadow government in the slums of Nairobi and parts of Central region.

Initially, the Mungiki were seen as substituting for a lack of public services in the slums. Later it started bullying individuals and businesses, including matatus (these are vehicles used as means of public transport) and owners of real estate, into making payments for services, which it would provide, including connecting electricity, providing pit latrines, and meting out justice. Mungiki and other gangs across the country such as Taliban, Chinkororo, Kamjeshi, and Baghdad Boys grew and multiplied within the context of a political culture that both used and tolerated extra-state violence (Kiliku Report, 1992).

As late as 2007, long after the government had banned some gangs including Mungiki, they continued to operate with their leader Maina Njenga telling his followers to engage in more robberies to compensate for the decrease in revenue from their traditional matatu shakedown operations that had occurred as a result of the crackdown by the government.
As extra state violent gangs began to proliferate and continued to be used by politicians, the political terrain was transformed. Violence trickled down into daily life, and the State no longer commanded the monopoly of force it once had in a previous era. As such diffused extra-state violence existed all over the country, where it could be called up and tapped at any time, including being used to arbitrate over elections as it has been doing since the early 1990s. Once the Government itself used both its own and extra-state violence for partisan political ends, it lost its legitimacy, was not seen as dispassionate, and consequently has been unable either to maintain peace and security or to reform itself (kiliku report, 1992).

2.3.4 Kibaki and Uhuru Era

The Kibaki and Uhuru era did much the same as the Jomo Kenyatta and Moi era whereby ethnic families were given first priorities especially in resource distribution. One of the respondents noted that it was ethnically correct to come from the same ethnic group as the president. This is because those who came from the President’s ethnic background got some favors in the government services. Section 2.5 will focus more on the Kibaki and Uhuru Kenya Era in relation to resource allocation among the youth. While Section 2.3 highlights on how ethnicity has developed in Kenya since the colonial era to Moi era and the youth have been depicted as being hostile. Section 2.4 will define a youth in the Kenya Context.
2.4 Who is a youth?

The above background information (section 2.3) on printed media and youth socialization in ethnic politics in Kenya provided a general understanding on ethnicity in the Kenyan context and the role of the youth depicted as being violent, and that the youth is used by politicians for their selfish ends. It is therefore, significant to ask who is a youth in the Kenyan context and why are they used by politicians? Hence, this section examined various definitions of youth. Nevertheless, the study adopted a youth as a person between 18-35 years as to per the Kenyan constitution. To answer the above question on why the youth are used by politicians for their selfish ends, Section 2.5 examined the space of youth in Africa.

The UN Secretariat uses the terms youth and young people interchangeably to mean age 15-24 with the understanding that member states with other entities use different definitions. Youth is associated with the age group of 15-35 (Sierra Leone National Youth Policy, 2003). Youth has been embraced as a person between 12 and 35 years (Kisiang'ani, 2002). According to the National policy prepared by the National Youth Policy Steering Committee (NYPSC 2003) in Kenya, the definition of a youth encompasses various aspects taking cognizance of psychological, physical, cultural and political approaches. It thus defines youth as a being between the age of 15 years and 30 years.

Mwangola (2007) examines Kenya National African Union (KANU) youth wings during the Moi regime in Kenya and observes that one of the most interesting facts about these youth wings was their total disregard of age as a determining characteristic for
membership. It was not rare to find men over the age of 50 years taking roles in youth-wing activities.

Just as it is problematic in defining a youth among the scholars of political socialization so was the case during our interview from different respondents. Wafula (O.I., 2015) noted that youth is a person between 15 years and 40 years and such a person does not understand himself. He observed further that if it is a girl, she starts growing breasts and for the boys their voices deepen, noting that such persons should be given guidance because at this age, he/she is looking for identity in the community and these young people do things that they don't expect any other person to control them, for they believe that whatever they do is perfect. Asiago (O.I., 2015) defines youth as a person with a fresh mind aging between 18 and 45 years. Mwema (O.I., 2015) describes a youth as a young person who has not married while Muriithi (O.I., 2015) defines youth as anybody below 35 years. However, as indicated earlier this thesis considers a youth as per the Kenyan constitution 2010.

2.5 The place of youth in Kibra Constituency

The above section has examined the definition of the term youth, and from the findings there was no common definition, they all seem to agree that they are young and strong people. This section highlighted the place of youth in the society; it was important because for one to understand how youth is socialized in ethnic politics, one has to know how the youth is perceived in the society, his role as well as the available opportunities. The youth without opportunities in the society are easily manipulated along their ethnic lines by politicians.
According to International Labor Organization (ILO, 2010) the number of youth in the Sub-Saharan Africa between the year 2010 and 2015 was expected to rise by 19.4 million, making them 75% of the world population. A substantial question that arose from these figures is how the government socializes youth into politics and sufficiency of such opportunities. Is youth socialized along ethnic lines by governments?

Maina (2012) noted considerable numbers of young people and the reality of poverty that characterizes most of these post-conflict states. He further added that youth unemployment levels in sub-Saharan Africa, which is about 60%, is the world’s highest, hence this illustrates that unemployment is likely to pose a threat to long-lasting peace and driver of conflict, through direct violence, protests, criminal activities and transnational vigilantism. This poses a question in which one is left to interrogate the place of youth in these weakly defined states. He concludes that issues surrounding the discussion on peace can no longer be confined to a few particular elites, but meaningful peace can be realized through conversations by the masses.

In Africa as well as other developing countries in the world, the youth has been used by elites to cause violence among the citizens, and political opponents so that a given group of elites can continue being in power. Cubitt (2012) claimed that in Sierra Leone, the elites historically entrenched their strategies by politicizing violence and coercing youth into politics to attain and pursue their political ambition in a power struggle at the national level. Cubitt emphasized that the post-war era had witnessed democratic elections marred by the intimidating tactics managed behind the scenes by others.
According to Fort and Maina (2012) in Kenya, the elites have on some occasions created ethnic tensions between communities by inciting violence aimed at achieving their economic gains. They argue that taking into account the great numbers of young people and the reality of poverty that characterizes most parts of Kenya, youth's role within Kenya must not be understated. They argue that an analysis of their place in society must also be juxtaposed with an assessment of the Kenyan state's ability to guarantee security for its citizenry.

To find out the place of youth in Kenya, the respondents in Kibra constituency were asked if they were proud of being the youth of their time. From the information acquired from the respondents, there was no common consensus. For instance, Asiago (O.I., 2015) argued that he was not proud because the government has not assisted him in any way and therefore he owns nothing, arguing that "you can only celebrate when you are successful." Wambui (O.I., 2015) affirmed that during her youthful age, she enjoyed very much since there was free milk and education was free, there was a lot of money, and there was no much sickness.

Nyabuto (O.I., 2015) noted that the youth was highly recognized during the Moi regime. He adds that they participated in digging graves, arranging people at the funeral and employment was not a problem at that time. Mwema (O.I., 2015), Muriithi (O.I., 2015) argued that during the reign of Kenyatta, the first president of Kenya, the government did not assist the youth; the youth took care of cows, and only a few who were from the Chiefs' family went to school. In addition, Muriithi (O.I., 2015) argued that the youth
acted as messengers who were sent by elders. At times, they acted as vigilante groups that provided security to their communities.

Wafula (O.I. 2015) said that he was proud being a youth because at Kibra where he stays, there is peace and he sleeps without disturbance. "In other places such as Kapedo, youth don't stay in their houses. The peace that prevails here makes me think about what is good for my family." Atenya (O.I., 2015) was not proud as a youth because he had no hope, and wherever he went he was told that he was not educated hence could not be given that job, and there was also favoritism." Abdallah (O.I., 2015) said that he was proud being a youth because the government was supporting the youth and involves them in its programs. "For instance, our president is young (Uhuru Kenyatta), and he is much interested in youth, and he is not selective."

In conclusion, the study noted that there is no common definition of a youth amongst scholars although most people viewed a youth as a strong young person. Consequently, youth in Africa are highly increasing in number, but there are fewer opportunities for them. It was also found out that the youth is used by political elites to cause violence for their political gain. A significant question that arose is how are the government is coping with the increasing number of youth in the Kenyan society with little opportunities? Do governments socialize the youth to political obedience along ethnic lines? To get the answers to this question, the researcher focused on the formation of political attitude along various regimes from 1963-2017 (Jomo Kenyatta, Moi, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta Era).
Although, secondary data that was examined did not directly indicate that regimes socialized the youth in ethnic politics. It was observed that ethnicity was an important factor across all the regimes especially in resource distribution. This meant that those who came from the ruling regime got favors in resources distribution. Thus, this raises a very remarkable question: how are young people socialized to ethnic politics in such an environment? Therefore, this section was theorized on social learning theory where the youth in various regimes will copy from the behavior of the regimes in power. I also argued that regimes recognized the energy of the young people in a way that was considered a threat to their political power. As such, they made a constitutional amendment to regulate them through age limits although this had to cut across all ethnic groups. The various regimes are examined below.

During Jomo Kenyatta regime, the government saw the youth as a way through which its policies, ideas and the philosophy of a new society will be propagated (Mboya, 1963). This fact was supported years later by Njiru and Kutswa (1997) who worked with presidential press unit during the Moi Regime. They observed that the youth had considerable energy and immense potential, which could be harnessed and used in nation building. Contrary to this, the government went ahead and made a constitutional amendment to ensure that the youth was confined to kazi ya mkono to avoid competition hence continue dominating in power. For example, the Ninth constitutional amendment of 1968, imposing a minimum age to 35 years for the presidency, reinforced the false associations of young people with immaturity (Mwangola, 2007). By the successful amendment of this constitution, it now meant that presidency was now a preserve of a given group elites based on age although this may not have been ethnically based.
Mwangola (2007) also pointed out that people's political participation brought new challenges to the youth just as it was at the end of colonialism. He further observed that while some people did distinguish themselves in the political realm during the first three decades of post-colonial period, the youth was neglected and given little space in governance. Their work remained ‘Kazi ya Mkono’ a role performed in the colonial government very well through forced labor. Kazi, ya mkono among the youth was a very visible manifestation during the first three decades of independence, and this was ever-present in the youth party wings. The youth wings carried instructions from above and existed on both sides of the political divide (Mwangola, 2007). A question that arose from the study was who were the beneficiaries of the jobs that were not Kazi ya mkono? Were they members of one given community?

Murithi (O.I., 2015) born in 1950 observed that Jomo Kenyatta did not assist youth, he told the youth to go back to rural areas. However, those who were educated were given jobs in government. In 1969, he ordered all companies to ensure 10% of employees are from the Kenyan youth. Murithi further stated that president Kenyatta was a dictator, and important jobs were given to the people close to him and mostly from the Mt. Kenya region. This fact is supported by Kisiang'ani (2003) who argues in his thesis that ethnic identity was an important factor during the Jomo Kenyatta state in Kenya's social equation. He further notes that as ethnic paranoia persisted, it became politically correct to speak the Agikuyu or to be a kikuyu. From the study it important to ask that, could this behavior of ethnic favoritism have been passed down to the youth of his family or those of an ethnic group?
In 1978 when President Moi got into power, he promised to follow the footsteps of President Jomo Kenyatta (Kisiangani, 2003). This means that those aspects of ethnicity that were under the Jomo Kenyatta regime were also part of his administration. For instance, Murithii (O.I., 2015), Observes that during the Moi regime, members of his community were favored in employment especially in security forces and Kenya Postal services and Telecommunication company.

Concisely, president Moi’s socialization of youth to politics through the family can be seen through the Nyayo Philosophy that was founded on African socialism ideals anchored on the social-cultural base of the Nyayo Philosophy. Nyayoism is a pragmatic philosophy, which crystallizes and articulates what has always been African, indigenous and formative in our societies. Nyayo Philosophy incorporates, articulates and revitalizes what is traditional and endemic to the African thought, patterns and ways of life. This emphasizes love, peace, and unity (Moi, 1986). A question that arises from the Nyayo philosophy is what type of political socialization did the Moi state want young people given? Was it ethnically based?

Additionally, Njiru and Kutswa (1997) Observes that "Starting with the home then a crucial period at school and thereafter in early working life, it is vital for us to appreciate that no amount of training can hope to succeed the behavior of the youth, unless the adult population conducts itself in an exemplary manner. No one can deny the fact that the youth learns through observation and imitation of their peers in addition to other methods. As individuals and as a community we have a duty and important moral obligation to live our lives in a manner that will benefit our society. It is important for us
adults to be honest and sincere when dealing with the youth, we must accept that honest
is the beginning of all education and thus strive to make our children grow up as honest
and confident human beings. In Kenya, we uphold the philosophy of peace, love and
unity, which is the abstention for our prosperity. President Moi believed that youth could
only be focused if the kind of information they got was vetted and was in line with
African traditions. He notes that:

... Development cannot take place in a cultural vacuum. That is to say, uncontrolled cultural importation introduces defective and unspecified, declarative factors into the equation for development. With such a lack of control a youthful society cannot ensure the likelihood of the success of nation building and development programme's. I mean to discourage apish cultural importation. The deeper philosophic tenets of Nyayo demand we are time to our history and cultural heritage. A true Nyayo follower is a realist. We must face reality and protect truth. To conserve the cultural capital-resource to develop and apply it we have the ministry of culture and social services. (Moi, 1986, p. 38)

In the light of the above, the Moi regime was concerned with how the youth could
politically be socialized to live in peace, love and unity and this is in tandem with
Ombaka (2007) indicated that the Moi state socialized the youth (university students) to
have unconditional obedience. Additionally, Moi favored members of his community
when it came to available opportunities such as employment. Thus, one may ask the
following questions; how are the youth socialized in a society in which opportunities are
distributed along ethnic lines? Was the Kibaki regime different from the Moi and Jomo
Kenyatta regime?
In the year 2002, Kibaki got into power bringing into closure Moism era that had existed for 24 years. He got into power when there were high cases of unemployment thus raising hopes among the youth as he had promised to employ 500,000 people yearly majority being the youth (Mabinda , 2012 July 7). According to the Ministry of Youth and Sports, there is nearly 2.5 million unemployed youth, and barely 125,000 are absorbed annually into formal employment. However, many economists believe the number of unemployed youth could be higher than the official government figure, given the expansion of secondary and tertiary education in recent times (Otieno, 2010 June 1). On his part, Kibaki saw that the only way he could socialize the youth to unconditional obedience was through economic empowerment. However, one may ask whether youth empowerment was based on ethnic affiliations.

Kabira and kimemia (2013) observe that when Kibaki came to power, he created the ministry of youth affairs in his government and launched a national youth enterprise fund to help empower the youth in macro, small and medium enterprises, provide business development service and loans for youth enterprises. The fund also facilitated over, 8,000 youth to take up jobs abroad. To address the issue of youth unemployment, president Kibaki directed that 10% of all government contracts be earmarked and awarded to the youth. A major question that arises from the above is how were the above opportunities distributed among the youth? Did the distribution of opportunities take ethnic dimension? Atenya (O.I., 2015) observes that" Kibaki came up with the kazi kwa vijana initiative, and these made us not to stay idle, and this money assisted us a lot. However, he too came up with youth development, which was for a few selected. The youth fund was meant for the children of the elites. If we could group ourselves about 20 people who are
Although Atenya's observation is not supported by secondary data, there are similar instances that show that the youth was not treated equally as the rest of the members of society. For instance, Majiwa (2011, October 28), notes that the phrase commonly used to describe the Kazi kwa Vijana (KKV) Project, "Kazi kwa Vijana, Pesa kwa Wazee" holds a lot of water. Otieno (2010, June 1) observed that despite government efforts on investing in job creation through the Kazi Kwa Vijana projects, to help the youth live decent lives, despite the economic challenges the country faces, the project financial and administrative problems, causing concerns that it might soon collapse, shutting more youth from employment.

As it has been noted in the Kibaki regime, it is hard for one actually to say that the child is socialized by systems along the ethnic line because KKV was all over the republic and was intended to assist the youth from every corner of Kenya. Nevertheless, it is also important to note that the young people from the president's ethnic group could easily access the fund while it was tough for the rest of the young people from other communities. This raise further the question of the type socialization young people in the Kibaki regime got. Were they influenced by the way resources were distributed along ethnic lines? Moreover, one may ask, will similar happenings take place in Uhuru Kenyatta regime?

After receiving the instrument of power from President Mwai Kibaki, Uhuru Kenyatta’s task was to socialize the youth to be loyal to his government, more especially after noting
that his worth competitor Raila Odinga in the concluded 2013 general election had a mass following among the youth. The Uhuru government had to take so many steps so as to ensure it had a cordial relationship with the youth and minority members of societies in Kenya. The remaining part in this section will highlight the activities that President Uhuru Kenyatta initiated to assist the young people to continue to be glorified by the youth and on the process socialize them into his political system. In other words, the Uhuru regime took economic empowerment as one way of socializing the young people to be obedient his regime.

The Regime began by socializing them into being obedient and loyal to the Kenyatta administration. According to Juma (2015.20th April- 3rd may), Cabinet Secretary Anne Waiguru said National Youth Service (NYS) provides an opportunity to build the next generation of leaders who are ready to build the ‘Kenya we all dream to have. The recruits are inculcated with a sense of patriotism, civic competence and self-reliance. He noted that 10,736 servicemen and women, 30% of who are orphans and youth from de-privileged backgrounds graduated in pass-out parade ceremony commissioned by President Kenyatta. Juma observes that the youth went through four months of rigorous training and regimentation, civil competence and re-socialization. He further noted that this was the first time that youth with disability joined their able-bodied colleagues in such training. From Juma's observation, there were positive attitudes from the Uhuru government to benefit the youth. But who were the most favored beneficiaries of this development? Did the slots of those who were in the youth training colleges represent all the ethnic groups? Can one argue that the ministry of devolution and planning was used as an agent of socialization of the youth to Uhuru regime through the various activities
that it performed that supported the youth? What other ways did the government use in socializing the youth?

The ministry of devolution and planning which is under the office of the president also opted to single on advice as a way of a reaching the youth cheaply, socializing them to their regime, as well as preparing them to face the challenges ahead of them courageously. Kochwa and Kutswa (2015, 30th March -12 April) granted in an address at the University of Nairobi to students during the end year Graduate Advisory Program for the department of sociology and social work on 31st March 2015.

Kochwa and Kutswa (2015, 30th March -12 April) noted that the then Cabinet Secretary Anne Waiguru told the youth not to give up when they fail to succeed on the first attempt but challenged them to be persistent when applying for tenders and business opportunities in government. She also acknowledged that the youth is skeptical about engaging in the procurement process. In addition, the youth was advised to commercialize their skills and create jobs for themselves rather than waiting for employment. Ms. Waiguru also asked the young people to take advantage of the Youth Empowerment Program by applying for internships and increase their employability chances (Kochwa & Kutswa, 2015, 30th March -12 April).

The regime also came up with ways in which they could make funds more available for the empowerment of youth. According to Kochwa, and Kutswa, (2015,30th March -12 April) the government designed specific financial programs for the youth and women such as the Uwezo Fund, Youth Enterprise Development Fund, Women Enterprise Fund and the Access to Government Procurement Opportunities (AGPO). She described as
programmatic interventions aimed at supporting the youth to take up opportunities towards their empowerment.

Adyang (2015, 20th April-3rd May) claimed that Cabinet Secretary Anne Waiguru made a one-day visit to Kisii County on Monday 20th April where she issued Youth Enterprise Development Fund and Women Enterprise Fund cheques worth Ksh 13.5 million to various women and youth groups from nine-sub counties. Adyang further noted that Waiguru said the special group, the majority of who might not have enough capital to service the tenders before payments were made after the delivery of supplies, would use the Local Purchase Orders (LPO) to apply for loans to the Youth.

During the fieldwork in Kibra constituency, the researcher sought to know if the various activities funded by the Uhuru government socialized the youth in ethnic politics. Abdallah (O.I., 2015) observes that during the Uhuru regime, there has been fair distribution of resources among the communities living in Kibra constituency. For instance, there are 16 villages in Kibra constituency and when there is an opportunity for training, internship among other important things; two young people are selected from every village in which gender and ethnic balance are highly considered.

In an interview with Abdallah, who is a chairman of Kambi Mulu Huduma SACCO, which is an initiative of the Uhuru Kenyatta regime that aims at empowering the youth, he was emphatic that "since I was born I have never known what is NYS and how it works. Since Uhuru Kenyatta took power, he looked for those idle youth and created employment for them within the NYS. For instance, we work alongside NYS in the building of toilets, boreholes, fish bonds, and urban agriculture and in the process; we
gain experience from those NYS officers. After our work, we go home with one packet of milk and we are provided with lunch here. Our needs today are taken care of unlike our former MP (Raila Amolo Odinga), who stayed here for twenty years and did nothing. President Uhuru has brought electricity to each house and the streets are now passable at any time of the day since they are well lit. As a result, the youth have left their bad habits such as theft and also the living standards have improved.’’

He also noted that they are always paid 2300/= but Ksh. 707 is deducted, which goes to the SACCO where members can access the funds in terms of loans. Nonetheless, the government provides them with tools such as groves, gumboots, and masks for protection when working. Each village has one posho mill in which youth are employed. There are also established programs in Kitale in which a few people are selected to go and study about garbage management.

He further highlighted that, to show their patriotism to the government they clean everywhere, and whenever they are wanted, they are always there for the government. They have also brought about garbage tanks in areas to dump the garbage to avoid scattered garbage” (Abdullah, O.I., 2015). About the information given by Abdullah, it becomes very difficult for one to argue that the young people are socialized along ethnic lines by regimes.

2.6 Chapter Summary and Conclusion.

This chapter delved on various definitions of youth. It was established that there was no single common definition of youth. The study also examined various regimes from 1963
to 2017. It was found that various regimes socialized youth into politics in unique ways. For instance, the Jomo Kenyatta regime had no much interest in the manner youth were socialized to politics while his Son- Uhuru Kenyatta-, is keen on how the youth are socialized to politics. The second president (Moi) also monitored closely how the youth was socialized while President Kibaki showed little interest on youth socialization to politics. Economic opportunities also became important tools in socializing the youth in ethnic politics as they were used by politicians to distribute resources to the youth from their ethnic background.

It was found out that the media play a critical role in the socialization of the young people along ethnic lines. In addition, incidences such as ethnic violence, unequal distribution of resources, and party merger were responsible for the socialization of the young people along ethnic lines. The study concluded that there was no particular point or age of ethnic socialization among the youth based on the above findings. The chapter also concludes that the youth play crucial roles in the economic and political development of any given state. The study connoted that there is no specific definition of youth; his space in politics across the various regimes and the criteria used in job allocation among other opportunities. The next chapter will provide more highlight on the point of socialization of youth along ethnic lines within the family.
CHAPTER THREE

SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUTH IN ETHNIC POLITICS BY THE FAMILY

3.1 Introduction

The background information in chapter two provided information on understanding the youth in the Kenyan context, the space of youth in the society and how the young people had been socialized in ethnic politics. The issue of the media socializing young people in ethnic politics was also interrogated. This chapter examined the point of ethnic socialization within the family. This was done by comparing primary data that was collected through oral interviews at KC with different secondary data.

The social learning theory became very essential in this section as it was used to interpret the secondary data. Based on the social learning theory, it was argued that the youth observed what the leaders did and this with time influenced them to do the same manner.

It was found noteworthy, firstly to examine the formation of attitude in politics within the families among the young along ethnic lines, as this will provide an understanding of what ethnicity real means in the Kenyan context. Therefore, this section interrogated development of ethnic political awareness among the youth within the family and the role of the family in socialization of youth along ethnic lines.

3.2 The formation of attitude in politics within the families among the youth

In connection with the above ethnic implications, this section focused on political socialization of youth within the household. This section was vital to the study because it
argued that one could not understand socialization of young people in ethnic politics within the families without understanding how youth is socialized within the household.

Studies on socialization indicate that the family provides a promising habitat through which political attitudes is formed among the youth. Hess and Torney (1967) identified various roles played by the family in political socialization within the family domain. The functions include; first, the family presents an example that children mirror, for instance, parental party attachment is the most significant. Hess and Torney (1967) observed that socialization of partial preference is well set before a voting age. They also noted that choice of High school youth and their parents reported a correlation of 8 and 9. The results are supported by reflective studies of parent party preference. Two stories, Hyman, 1959; Maccoby, Mathews, and Mortion, 1954 as parroted by Hess and Torney (1967). This report indicates children's reflective to identify with his parents' party; the reports maintain the assumption that children follow their taste or their parents in at least three-fourths of the cases in which both parents band together in the same party.

Secondly, Hess and Torney (1967) notes that transfer of attitudes, which portray a different opinion, are as well passed in the family; this may include taking a position on current affairs such as civil rights and federal right to education. Thirdly, they indicated that the family unit passes attitudes or values which reflect the community agreement and this includes perceptions of honor, loyalty for emblem of government (mainly the flag, statue of liberty) as well as the kind of behavior expected of a person (citizen) especially in conformity with the law, therefore, adding that the family bolsters other institutions.
Fourthly, presumptions formed from history are later generalized to political objects. The record of a hierarchic social system is first attained in the home through the interaction within the family. Fifthly, Hess and Torney (1967) reported that values contemplated to be important for children to hold are passed down to them by parents. Sixthly, they insisted that Idiosyncratic attitudes are also transmitted by the families; these are an opinion which does not agree with any acknowledged or outlined division in the community. After examining how political attitude formation takes place in the family, some questions arose which may be useful in answering our objective on the socialization of the youth in politics along ethnic lines, for instance, can similar findings explain whether the family socializes the young people into ethnic politics? At what point does one become ethnic aware? Section 3.3.1 interrogated this question.

### 3.2.1 Development of ethnic political awareness among the youth within the family

This subsection examined the point at which one develops ethnic awareness. It was very significant to the study because it enriched background information on the point of ethnic consciousness within the society. Racial awareness is the knowledge and recognition of ethnicity within the people. Aboud (1988) reasoned that the truth of racial differences exists and that challenging the differences can create more problems than embracing the difference. The author further revealed that in England, labels that are used to test ethnic understanding might be white, West Indian and Asian. Aboud (1988) added that if a child can specify correctly to a person in North America when given the labels black, American Indian, Chinese, white or whatever is used in the community conclude that he carries a form of ethnic alertness. Key factors of ethnic self-identities include critical
aspects of an ethnic group and by asking what the most important thing about being an X is (for instance Asian, Black, and French Canadian), as a result, without these aspects, one cannot be X.

Such elements may include origin or parentage, national or religious background, language, skin color and the group label. Another aspect is that one's ethnicity is seen to remain constant, that, to be both consistent across changes in the context and continuous over time. If one's ethnic identification changes as a result of changes in clothing and language or age, then it is not constant. The last aspect is by recognition that one is not from a particular ethnic group and is different ethnically in certain ways from members of another ethnic group (Aboud 1988).

Aboud (1988) observes that one can pick the age of 4 years in case one wants to choose a single year at which children express negative reactions to members of a different ethnic group. However, those ethnic attitudes are acquired by most children of the ages between 3 to 5 years. Aboud notes that the native Indian boys’ attitudes towards their members were consistently negative than the whites. He observed that white children are consistently negative towards members of another ethnic group. While other Minority groups such as the blacks, Hispanics and Asians were more heterogeneous because they were initially more adverse to their ethnic members.

Aboud (1988) argues that between the age of 4 when attitudes are acquired and the age of 7, white children become more consensually and or strongly biased against others for their ethnic members. On the other side children from the minority, the ethnic group remains split over which is the negative and which is the favored team to up seven years
of age. Ethnic minority children after the age of seven and before adolescence less frequently express negative attitudes towards their group. The usual pattern is either a bias against other groups and for their own or more neutral/nonconsensual attitude toward their own and others (Aboud, 1988).

During data collection in the field, the researcher sought to know the respondents perception and understanding of ethnicity. The question was weighty to the study because in one way or the other, answers were intended to give information on the point of ethnic awareness. Although ethnicity can be both positive and negative, the majority of those interviewed gave it a negative approach. Otieno (O.I., 2015) said that ‘ethnicity means many things, for example, the Nubian people love themselves. Nyabuto (O.I., 2015) said that people show that they are different as per the communities for instance during our time we regarded the people from other communities as beggars but today we share. Mwema (O.I., 2015) observed that ethnicity is hatred. From the above understanding, ethnicity generally denotes some elements of bias by a given group of people who perceive their community superior than other communities. The data agrees with Koigi (2008) who argues that negative ethnicity manifests itself when people begin to feel that their religion, language, songs, culture, food is superior to those of other groups, or even they look better than other groups.

In the same token, some informants associated ethnicity to origin or place of birth of a given group. Momanyi (O.I., 2015) responded that ethnicity is the way people group themselves according to the language they speak and the activities they do either social or economic about the rest of other communities. Asiago (O.I., 2015) noted that ethnicity is
roots based where one is born (community); Wambui (O.I., 2015) argued that this is a group of people who do not agree with another group in behavior. These data affirms the works of Cowen and Kanyinga (2002) who defines ethnic identity as a group of people of same territorial association in a given area of land and these people have a particular language.

The respondents were also asked to say when they knew about ethnicity. This question was significant because the point at which one acquires given information is the point at which one becomes conscious of a given issue. Therefore, this part argues the point at which an individual receives information/knowledge of ethnic issues whether negative or positives and how it becomes appoint of ethnic consciousness.

Otieno (O.I., 2015) notes that initially, he never knew about ethnicity but in 1996, he realized it when house rents became problematic in Kibra. The issue was to reduce house rent whereby the Nubians refused. During this incident war broke-out between the Nubians and the Luo, and this was the time he came to understand that people were different ethnically. Nyabuto (O.I., 2015) said that when he came to Nairobi in 1987 and started looking for job, he realized it was hard to get one since ethnicity was rife even within his own communities there was division (clans). Wafula (O.I., 2015) said that he first heard about ethnicity in 1992 during the introduction of multiparty in Kenya. During these time leaders went to their people to seek support, Nyachae to Kisiis, Raila to Luos and Matiba to Kikuyus. These marked the beginning of the divisions amongst people. Asiago (O.I., 2015) points out that he understood ethnicity during the general election in multi-party 1992 when people grouped themselves according to their community to
support their own. Wambui (O.I., 2015) said that she learned about ethnicity in 2007, post-election violence when 42 communities were against one community.

Muriithi (O.I., 2015) observed that he learned about ethnicity first before 1961 when Kikuyus were sidelined by colonialist and when the kikuyuand Luo merged in KANU and sidelined small groups. The information given by Wafula,O.I., 2015, Asiago, O.I., 2015, Wambui, O.I., 2015 and Muriithi,O.I., 2015. Agrees with Cowen and Kanyinga (2002) study, which showed that Kenyans were mobilized along their ethnic groups by their leaders to support them into power. In conclusion, this section provided some insights on the point of how ethnic formations take place; it further highlighted on the point of attitude formation drawing from both primary and secondary data. This formed a basis to answering our primary objective on the role of the family in the socialization of youth in ethnic politics, and this would be examined in the next subsection.

3.2.2 The Role of the Family in Socialization of Youth along Ethnic Lines

In socialization of children, parents and guardians play key roles in ensuring that children identify themselves with their communities. According to Hughes, Rivas, Focust, Hagelskamp, Gersick and Way (2008), the circumstances under which mothers nurture their children significantly impact on their ethnic thoughts and opinions in their adulthood. For instance, a study conducted in the United States found out that Latino mothers believed discrimination discussions is an inevitable aspect of life as it prepares the children to face such circumstances with ease in their adulthood. However, a distinguished group of mothers ignored such discussions because of their fear that it could generate animositic feelings to other ethnic groups. This amplified the already
existing status of Latinos to lower and even dimed their space and involvement in decision-making.

Primary data collected from the field raised more questions than answers on the role of ethnic political socialization by the family. This is because no single accurate conclusion could be drawn from the data collected. Otieno (O.I., 2015) observed that ethnic identity is not influenced in the family. However, people are born with different attitudes. When one is born, he may develop that behavior, while others maybe drunkards, others become religious and therefore that has no relationship with the family.

Sometimes families treat members of their own communities as their own children. Atenya (O.I., 2015) observed that when he was 15 years old, he went to work in a Luo family in Siaya and that when the mother of the family bought her clothes, the neighbor complained, as to why his children were also not bought for clothes. However, her employer replied that her employee was like her children. There are also people who feel that issues of ethnicity are not associated with the families in the village. For instance, Abdallah (O.I.2015) pointed out that “It is our leaders who are ethnic and that in the village there are no such issues.”

The study of family in socializing the youth in ethnic politics will not be complete without examining the role played by the family in introducing the young people to various religions. Religions are very key to this study because they socialize the young people according to the morals of the society. There is disagreement among Scholars on which family members most strongly influence religious socialization (Martin et al., 2003). In most of the studies, parents are credited as a unit that is most influential in
religious socialization agent (Flor & Knapp, 2001; Regnerus, Smith, & Smith, 2004). Whereas other studies indicate that, the greatest influence on offspring religiosity is through their mothers (Acock & Bengtson, 1978; Park & Ecklund, 2007).

According to Vermeer (2014), there are three important ways through which the intergenerational transmission of religious beliefs and practices take place and thus is of crucial for the persistence and continuation of religious traditions and communities. Firstly, it is rare to find inter-denominational switching and conversion later in life in the Netherlands and other countries in Western Europe (Becker & Hart, 2006). They noted that majority of people remain in the denomination they were brought up in or they abandon faith altogether. This is an indication that religious beliefs, preferences and affiliation are regulated early in life as a result of parental impact.

Secondly, According to Hart (1990), religious transmission may also occur in religious schools or in the religious community. However, when you compare the influence of parents, the influence of the religious school or the religious community is weak. Finally, it is significant to note that religion is but one of the many aspects that parents transmit to their children. Parents may for example transmit characteristics of life style general political orientation, sex roles and parental orientation but parental impact is best evident in the field of religion (Becker & Hart, 2006).

Although there is much focus on religion and spirituality in the lives of African Americans and the principal role of families in socializing religious development (Flor & Knapp, 2001; Mattis, 2005; Park & Ecklund, 2007), few studies have examined the role played by religion in socializing the youth in ethnic politics. This subsection examined
the point of religious socialization of young people in ethnic politics in Kibra constituency in the period 1963 to 2017.

Chong (1998) in his study “What it means to be Christian: The role of religion in the construction of ethnic identity and boundary among second-generation Korean Americans” reexamined the role of ethnic religion for the second generation in the context of a contemporary non-white ethnic group. He noted the role played in the construction and maintenance of second-generation Korean ethnic identity and boundary in the Korean church specifically by the evangelical Protestant church. His findings from Korean-American churchgoers indicated that ethnic church could play a dominant role in the group's quest for identity and sense of belonging when an ethnic group is faced with a strong sense of social marginalization believed to arise from its racial status.

In addition, sociological and developmental theories show the role of religion in the lives of adolescents as being positive. Durkheim’s (1915) theory of social integration point out that devotion to a group and participation in community rituals, such as church services and activities, would help to ameliorate a sense of anomie in the individual. Thus suggesting that participation in a religious organization will be associated with well-being. His theory further proposed that religion plays an important role in legitimizing and reinforcing a given society’s norms, thus providing individuals with guidelines that encourage positive behaviors.

According to Erikson (1994), religion provides social support and helps develop social values, functions that are likely to protect youth from alienation. He observed that the youth are attracted to ideologies that answer the larger questions in life, which are
frequently asked in adolescence. Nahimy and Fishman (1965), show that despite the second- generation members' eagerness to reject some aspects of their cultural heritage such as language and traditional customs, they retain some important forms of ethnic identification.

Vermeer (2014) interrogated the role of the Korean ethnic church for second-generation to establish why these members would choose to attend the ethnic church. The respondents were asked to explain why they attend a Korean church. The findings showed there were social and cultural reasons for coming to a Korean church. The responses from most members indicated that religious reasons were not the main factor of attending the church but most important was to keep the Korean social ties culture and language. Vermeer (2014) further noted that it was through going to church that the generation of the Korean society would be socialized.

In this study the researcher asked a member of Seventy Day Adventist church why the church is mostly dominated by the Kisii and the Luo society in Kibra Constituency (Nyambeta, O.I., 2015). The respondent noted that the church is most dominated by the Luo and Kisii because the missionaries first settled at Kendu bay, Nyanchwa, and kamagambo. He further observed that the mentioned areas were largely dominated by the two communities. However, he could not explain why despite KC being very far from Kisii and Luo Nyanza, the church was still dominated by Kisiis and Luos. In his study, Williams (1988) highlighted how immigrants can use different aspects of their various religions to develop new patterns of group identity such as ethnicity of national identity, in the new society.
In addition, Vermeer (2014) notes that the main issue that attract people in a fellowship is trying to find a group that is comfortable as well a sense of closeness. For instance, he found out that most children from white areas came to church to relate to Korean friends, this is because there is an understanding in terms of background, which brings a sense of comfort. In a study of Dutch Calvinists, Lucas (1955) observed that the community stuck together not mainly on the bases of ethnicity or nationalism but on the basis of their religion. Galush (1977) notes the inseparable link between the identities of Roman Catholicism and Polish immigrants.

In this study the respondent were asked to answer what the members of the church consider when choosing their church elders. Oloo (O.L 2015) noted that apart from the official procedures and the church doctrines that need to be followed, ethnicity played a significant role in choosing the leaders. He further observed that if given leaders are not chosen into specific positions in the church, they mobilize members of their ethnic groups to go against the newly chosen officials. Properly this explains why there is violence among the faithful in various churches today.

**3.3 Summary and Conclusion**

In summary, this chapter examined the point of ethnic socialization within the family. It was found out that the family and religion play a critical role in the socialization of the young people in ethnic politics. It was also established that there was no particular point or age of ethnic socialization among the youth based on the above findings. Chapter four will examine the role of the peers, school, and its environment in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics.
CHAPTER FOUR

THE ROLE OF PEERS, SCHOOL AND ITS ENVIRONMENT IN THE
SOCIALIZATION OF THE YOUTH IN ETHNIC POLITICS

4.1 Introduction

Apart from the family and the media that was investigated in the previous chapters as an agent of ethnic socialization among the youth, chapter four interrogated other agents of ethnic political socialization and to be more specific the peer, the school, and its environment. This section was notable as it sought to provide answers to objective three in the study. It is was difficult to interrogate how the youth is socialized in ethnic politics in school environment and by peers without first examining how these institutions socialize them to the political world. The researcher, therefore, considered this by attempting to answer the following questions; how does the school act as a socializing agent? Does the surrounding community contribute to attitude formation among the young people? Do what extent does the peer act as socializing agents?

This chapter was theorized on, social learning theory which argued that the young people copied ideas from the books, teachers, and the school. This is the ideas of the elites in the society who through those intuitions pass ideas, which are aimed in socializing the youth along ethnic lines. This is important for them as it enabled continue dominating the young people even in their minds to be loyal to leaders of their ethnic background thus giving them unquestionable support when needed.
4.2 The School and its Environment as a Political Socializing Agent

This subsection does not answer whether the school socializes the youth in ethnic politics; it focuses on how schools socialize the young people into politics through the curriculum, teacher, and the surrounding. However, critical questions are raised on ethnic socialization in this subsection, which was basic as they demonstrated the relationship between political socialization and ethnic political socialization.

Hess and Torney (1970) note that the school is the most important agent of political socialization in the United States especially for lower class children. They, however, agree that the family appears to have considerable influence on the child's formation of ties to a political party. My data during the oral interviews agreed with Hess and Torney (1970) that the school plays a significant role in socializing the young people into politics. Nyambeta (O.I., 2015) an informant who is also a teacher at Jeremic Adventist secondary school said that "it was automatic that politics has to take place in school and that it is the teachers who do marketing of politicians. There is no neutral ground in school. For instance, when politicians donate material to our schools, we speak well of them. When the kids go back home, they will promote those who assist them by actually reporting what their teachers say. Therefore young people copy from the teachers." This observation also agrees with (Ombaka, 2007) who in his work notes that the school is apolitical.

Although in the above view the school is perceived as a primary agent of political socialization among the youth, the observation poses significant questions; how does this political socialization take place in schools? Why does the state interfere with the type of
education the young people get at school? In addition, how does such political socialization take place in Africa?

The first question on how does political socialization happen in school is very significant to the study as it provides necessary information on various ways through which political values are passed down to the youth in the school. This was relevant to the study as it formed the basis at which ethnic socialization within the school environment was evaluated. Hess and Torney (1967, p. 101) notes that evaluation of politically relevant curriculum appear to be the most important and efficient instrument of political socialization in the United States of America where public schools seem the most useful element of political socialization.

This contributes to a cognitive dimension to political involvement and reinforces other community institutions. The school enhances the early attachment of the child to the nation. This reinforcement of patriotism is accomplished in some ways tested for instance displaying the flag, repeating the pledge of allegiance and singing patriotic songs….Also in classrooms, pictures of historical figures, such as Washington and Lincoln, and historic monuments or other symbols and sites of national interest were displayed.

My data confirms Hess and Torney findings as observed above in which the young are trained to be patriotic to the state at schools. Nyambeta (O.I., 2015) said that learners should be encouraged to be more friendly since the child wakes up in the morning and goes to school, eats at school and makes friendship at school, therefore, the way the school will be that is the way the child will be socialized. He also pointed out that despite what the school does, children also need to have time to stay at home so that the parents
can instill some morals in them. A question that rises from the above is, do these various values of political socialization take the ethnic form of political socialization among the youth?

The second question examines why the state is concerned about the manner in which young people are socialized into politics. The problem was significant because by understanding how, when and why the state is concerned about the type of education given to young people enabled us to evaluate whether the state is involved in the socialization of young people along ethnic lines. Levin (1990) observes that schools are sponsored by the state that has been fashioned to serve both democratic and capitalist interests.

On the other hand, schools inculcate the values of capitalism with its focus on individual competition. The schools also prepare students for different positions in the productive hierarchy of capitalism as well as participation in capitalist work organizations that correspond closely to the structure and function of schools. Teachers serve as supervisors who direct the work of students according to preplanned regimen and provide extrinsic rewards such as grades and promotions at work.

In connection to the above, data during oral interviews indicated that at school, the youth is socialized to be good citizens respective to the state. Wabomba (O.I., 2015) observed that at school the young people are encouraged to vote, to be patriotic and that they have a duty to respect the law. Wabomba's views are similar to those of Levin (1990) who see education as one way through which the ideas of the elites in the society is legitimized.
The third question on whether similar ways of political socialization as those found in America are evident in Africa was very significant to the study. This is because the current study was carried out in Africa and therefore there was a need to review similar work done in Africa similar to the topic under study for comparison purposes. Unfortunately, there was scanty information on the subject under consideration as it was observed earlier in chapter one, this makes the available literature in Africa on the socialization of young people to politics not sufficient enough to make conclusions on similar topics. Thus, one may ask this question: do states in Africa value the manner in which young people are socialized to politics through education?

Shapira (1990) noted that education was not a major official goal of schools, especially in less developed countries. Shapira also indicates that in some countries such as Malawi, teachers are forbidden to discuss political issues in schools. Shapira further observes that in other nations such as Israel, the division of labor between the school and the voluntary youth movements was officially enforced during certain periods of early statehood. The youth movements were forbidden to enter schools and recruit members during school hours. From the above observation, one wonders if states such as Malawi where teachers are not allowed to discuss political issues could socialize their young people along ethnic lines.

In conclusion, from the observation made in the above background, there was an agreement between primary data collected and secondary data that the school played a significant role in socialization of youth into politics. The main reason for this was that the young people spend most of their time at school with their teachers, interacting with
books and socializing with their peers. In the remaining subsection, the study focused on the role of the curriculum, teachers, the surrounding school community and the peers in attitude formation toward the political world. Investigating how political attitude formation takes place was significant to the study as it provided general understanding on the topic under study. This was helpful in evaluating the issue of ethnic formation among the youth.

The role of the curriculum in political attitude formation is one of the aspects that were examined during the study as it has been indicated above. There were some questions that needed an explanation, for instance, the extent of political content in the curriculum that influences young people into political values. Although we did not find an answer for the above question, some of the work reviewed was very significant in explaining how the young people were socialized to politics. For example, in some countries the education content cannot be complete if some values of socializing the young people to unconditional obedience are incorporated in the syllabus. Elias, Mahyuddin and Lope Pihie (2004) observe that in Malaysia, any educational program is incomplete without adding the element of values. A value comprehensive program would enable children and young adults to explore and develop universal values such as honesty, respect, peace, love, and tolerance. The values imparted to children today either consciously or unconsciously have a substantial impact on the society in future. The inculcation of values cannot be left to chance as we may lose an integral piece of culture.

In relation to the above, primary data supports the idea that educational programs in school need government friendly values to socialize young people to be obedient to
political systems. However, even when the syllabus does not contain some aspect of political socialization among the youth, teachers passed political information that was not in the curriculum to serve their self-interests. Wabomba (O.I., 2015) observed that the syllabus does not encourage political socialization, and teachers go as per the syllabus. In some cases, teachers can influence, but the syllabus cannot influence.

According to Ehman (1980) research conducted on education for democratic participation on social and civic responsibility, the curriculum was not found useful to establish the strong political attitudes because it mainly focused on the modes of teaching rather than the subject objectives. These findings showed that tutors manipulated the classroom setting to suit them and spread their ideology concerning the political education of the youth.

The school administration is also another symbol of curriculum latency because of the correlation of the political attitudes through the imparting of skills for active participation in democratic affairs right from the election of the representative student leadership. This helps to build the kind of relationship that should exist amongst peers, the surrounding community together with the school culture and policy (Ehman, 1980). Hess and Ganzler (2006) conclude that classes without discussion culture are miniature models of U.S. politics. This is because due to the absence of controversial discussion, the student's political diversity lays dormant, and they easily develop the misperception "everybody is in the middle." Besides, students in homogeneous classes, such as in explicitly Christian schools, tend to mislabel dissenting different views as out of the mainstream and as assaults unworthy of proper consideration. According to the authors, both problems
discourage students to participate in public political discussions. Teachers may show to be a part of the political process but do this unknowingly, not as a concrete example of their participation (Tilman, 1998).

Snyder (2013, 30th Dec) claims that majority of children being educated in public schools were rapidly turning into indoctrination centers. Instead of children focusing on the basics such as reading, writing and math, a host of politicians and education officials have, and teachers are constantly injecting as much propaganda as they possibly can into classroom instruction. Instead of learning how to think, children are told what to think. According to Dawson and Prewitt (1969), school systems carry out some form of political indoctrination. The myths and legend from the past, the policies and the programs of the present, and the goals and inspirations of the future are taught selectively.

However, John and Lott (1999) observe that governments use public education to control the information that their citizens receive. More totalitarian governments, as well as those with large wealth transfers, make greater investments in publicly controlled information. The above information show that governments control the type of education given to young people, but one may ask to what extent does the government control information flow in public schools?

According to John and Lott (1999), totalitarian governments value public schooling to instill desired values because they pay rents to teachers. When it is hard to monitor teacher behavior, the threatened loss of these premiums can help ensure that teacher work to instill the desired views. The issue is to identify which teachers must be paid the
highest rents to elicit their cooperation. They further noted that more totalitarian government might start public pre-primary schooling at an earlier age and have a larger number of percentages of pre-primary school age children attending government run schools. They also noted that Sweden government attempted to weaken parental influence on children by encouraging women to enter the work force, thus helping parents to stay away from their children. Can the above observation explain the same phenomenon in Kenya?

Nyambeta (O.I., 2015) noted that during the Moi regime, lecturers and teachers were very careful on the information they passed to students more particularly in public universities. Those found teaching or giving lectures that were antigovernment were arrested by special branch police. In Kenya, much of the content of education in Literature, drama, music, visual arts and even in such non-academic activities such as sports and games were based on foreign cultural traditions and practices, and yet there were a wealth of local traditions which represent the genuine cultural background of the people, such as storytelling, singing, dancing, carving and acting; all these required revival in the minds and activities of Kenyan teachers (Kenya, 1983). My primary data indicated that young people are made to sing songs and recite poems at school and these poems and songs in most cases contain information that is political in nature (Nyambeta, O.I., 2015). He observed further that this information was meant to make the young people appreciate their leaders and be patriotic to their country.

In addition, teachers in Kenya were also viewed as agents of political socialization in schools. Njiru and Kutswa (1997), Oloo (O.I., 2015) observe that teachers have an
important duty to pass useful skills to their students. More fundamental is their responsibility to instill the ideals of patriotism, self-reliance, and social responsibility in the youth. The youth should be enlightened on national values and philosophies. Olooh (O.I., 2015) noted that it was common in history subjects that teachers teach and acts as agents and clients of those leaders in their community since in teaching, they promote political ideas. Another issue is the manner teachers’ award student marks who come from their communities. I remember when I joined the university as a first year in my undergraduate studies, my course lecturer in history asked us to raise up hands as he mentioned different areas of our country and one was supposed to raise up his/her hand when the lecture said his home areas. When members of his community raised hands, he told them that "all of you will get A's in your examination since you come from a bright community." The above remarks raise the question on the type of political socialization the young people get in this environment.

The objective in this chapter was also to establish the role the surrounding school community has in youth socialization in ethnic politics. However, it was difficult to get secondary data on the topic or similar areas of study. Therefore, the study only relied on primary data from respondents. During the field research, it was established that the communities surrounding the school are very influential in determining who should be the head teacher of their institution (Atenya, O.I., 2015, Jumba O.I., 2015, Nyambeta O.I., 2015).
Nyambeta (O.I., 2015) notes that "if the school community has no good relationship with the surrounding, the children will go to neighboring schools. The community supports the learning in institutions by instilling good morals in the children. Oloo (O.I., 2015) observed that the community wants to have the head school that supports the local politician.

In this section, there has been an agreement between our data and that of scholars that the school plays a significant role in political socialization among the youth. It has been observed that the curriculum and the teachers shape the attitude of the young people toward political ideas. The section has provided information that allows more understanding on how attitude formation takes place among the youth at the school. The next section focused on political opinion formation among the peers.

4.3 The Role of the Peer in Political Attitude Formation among the Youth.

Peer groups are very essential in attitude formation among the youth because most of the time, the young people are together in various places including worship centers, schools, market places and even in youth development groups. Studying attitude formation among the youth is significant because it is impossible to understand how young people are socialized to the ethnic group without first understanding how political attitude formation takes place within the peer groups. Therefore, this section investigated how the youth is socialized to politics by peers through examining scholarly work and primary data. Youth groups were considered. However, for purposes of this study, only Sonko rescue team was explored. Investigating Sonko rescue team was significant to the study as it provided an understanding on how group socialization takes place. There are various observations
on political attitude formation among the young people by different scholars; Dawson and Prewitt (1969) notes that peer groups are important agents of political learning. That they are most influential during adolescence and adulthood, and that consequently they have their significant influence at the later stages of political maturation. They note that:

"... Peer groups are like families in some ways and not like by other means. Like the family peer groups make the process of political learning haphazard, non-deliberate, and largely decentralized.... A small group of close friends who gather to play poker every Thursday night, or neighboring farmers or peasants who go to local ...Saturday evening, may become involved in political discussions. When they get together, they sometimes talk about politics; they influence each other's political values. (Dawson & Prewitt, 1969, p. 140)

The above observation is significant to the current study in relation to examining how political, ethnic attitude formation among the youth in Kibra Constituency Kenya takes place.

According to Danziger (1994, p. 80), peer group is a general term that includes friends and acquaintances, neighbors and colleagues at work place or clubs or organizations. He notes that a person is more likely to be accepted by his peers if his beliefs and actions are consistent to those in the group. It is also a subtle tendency for a person to be influenced by what "people like me," think. China used peer group as a mechanism for political socialization under Mao Zedong. Small groups of collective firms, in factories, and in other work places were required to discuss their political beliefs and actions but were supposed to monitor everyone else's behavior in some cases. Groups became so influential in shaping the ideologies of that day such that those with a contrary opinion could be punished. The above observation is supported by our data in which the majority
of our respondents confirmed that it is easier for members of particular group to accept ideas of their members. Nevertheless, could this explain how ethnic formation takes place among the youth in Kibra Constituency?

Hess and Torney (1967, pp. 120-121) observe that the peer is a dominant force in the development of many social norms. The peer group children who participate frequently in-group activities should show their interest in political affairs and more rapid acquisition of attitudes than their non-participating contemporaries should. Jumba (O.I. 2015) noted that those attracted to groups are too attracted to political involvement. Havighust and Neugarten (1962) noted that although the peers may have a subculture of their own, they reinforce and teach the adult subculture, which they are a part.

Langton (1967) observes that religious, social class and ethnic subcultures maybe transmitted through the peer group. For instance, a child who grows up in a working-class family learns the working class way of life. If he entered a school peer group composed of students from the same social class, this may act to reinforce as well as elaborate the class attitudes and expectations learned in the family.

Langton (1967) observes that while the group with homogeneous class composition may operate to reinforce the class way of life associated with political orientations of its members, a lower class boy or girl entering a heterogeneous class structure may serve to enhance the class way of life and related with political orientations of its members, a lower class boy or girl entering a diverse class group where he interacts with individuals of higher social status may learn from them new ways of behaving and believing.
Nevertheless, can this explain how ethnic formations take place among the in Kibra constituency? Are youth groups in Kibra constituency based on the ethnic structure?

The fieldwork focused on Songo Rescue Team. Gideon Mbuvi (Currently Nairobi senator) formed this group following the 2007-2008 post-election violence. The primary objective for the formation of the group was to reform the youth and create jobs such as water supply, fire brigade, and breakdown services (Jumba O.I. 2015). Investigating one specific group was significant to the study as it provided the insight on how groups are socialized into politics.

During the oral interview, a respondent, (Jumba O.I. 2016) said that he was a member of Sonko Rescue Team and that the team comprised three groups namely Warembo Wa Sonko Mashinani, Warembo na Sonko and Sonko Rescue Team Mashinani. He also said that as a requirement for membership, undergone was vetted to ensure loyalty to the group. The group has a prefect, also known as the Nairobi chairman, who does the vetting and through him, one is able to join the team.

From the research findings, it was established that Sonko Rescue team has assisted the youth in a number of ways. For instance, it has reduced poverty by engaging the youth in economic activities. The Rescue Team also visits patients in hospitals and children’s home providing them with food and clothing as well as individual people who need help. Besides the Sonko rescue, team provides a convoy to those wedding and also support to those bereaved. It was also pointed out that group is unique and different from such groups as Mungiki because since its formation, crimes have reduced significantly. For
instance, youth have returned more than 70 guns to Sonko and as a reward; Sonko opens business for them and keeps on monitoring to ensure they are reformed.

The findings also showed that the group was not involved in violent activities. It was pointed out that the group follows law in executing its activities. For instance if there is a court ruling that a particular piece of land was grabbed, then has an obligation to bring down anything that is within the land. Therefore, the group protects public property as well as the interests of the people. Sonko Rescue Team has membership from all ethnic groups in Kenya, it is a national team, and when time comes for election.

From the Sonko rescue team above, groups are not necessarily founded on ethnic grounds in order to support a given candidate with political ambitions, However, one can argue that such a group is composed of youth from different ethnic backgrounds because KC is a cosmopolitan constituency and for one to get grassroots support has to be popular among the young people from the various ethnic groups. Another explanation for the above observation is that once the youth has equal chances to resources, they are likely to vote the person who provides resources for them without considering the ethnic background.

4.4 The Role of the School in Socialization of Youth along Ethnic Lines

The previous section focused on how the youth acquire their political attitude within the school and the surrounding. This section investigated the point at which children receive ethnic identity within the school and its surrounding. To achieve this, the exposure of the child to school was examined against ethnic identity. Examining one's exposure to school
was significant to this study as it enabled us to understand the role played by the school and the surrounding in ethnic identity formation.

Ethnic identity comprises practices, attitudes belonging, traditions, self-identification and the pride for the ethnic group a person considers she/he is part of (Phinney, 1990, 1993, Phinney and Makayama 1990; Waters 1990). Phinney's three stage model consist of the unexamined ethnic identity ‘ethnic identity search”, and achieved ethnic identity stages. In the unexamined ethnic identity stage, Phinney (1993) suggests that the adolescents have not explored their ethnicity. Phinney (1993) states the results vary as to why the youth have not explored their ethnic identities. (Phinney, 1993) observes that when adolescents reach ethnic identity achievement, they develop a mechanism to disengage from negative stereotypes of their racial or ethnic groups, not internalizing them or letting them affect their self-perception of their ethnicity. This allows positive developments of youth in different aspects of their lives, including schools.

Quintana et al. (2010) conducted qualitative interviews with 24 Mexican Americans adolescent about their ethnic labels and inter and intra-ethnic experiences to understand their ethnic identities. From the study, six major issues emerged from the interview. The first was ethnic identity that is about the discrimination experienced by the youth, or the pride they have toward their ethnic group. The second is socialization referring to the ethnic socialization they receive from their family and peers.

The third category is the intra-ethnic support and challenges that refers to the support and empowerment that they receive from their ethnic group as well as the challenges they encounter from other members of their group. The fourth category is inter-ethnic
relations and attitudes including the racism and conflicts arising with other ethnic/racial groups, awareness or stereotypes placed on them by the other groups. The inter-ethnic transcendental category emerging from the interviews consist of adolescents define themselves as being color blind or beyond rule/ethnicity assimilation, problems encounters when attempting to transcend ethnicity/race, or positive experience with transcending. Lastly, the ethnic differences and similarities category describes the markers such as language, values, and traditions. Linking the adolescents to others in their ethnic group and the discussion of differences in privileges and opportunities or social capital as compared to, for example, white adolescents.

For instance, most of my respondents argued that those who have gone to school are less affiliated to ethnicity than those who have not gone to school. They argued that those who have gone to school have been taught on diverse communities and their cultures, a factor that makes them co-exist peacefully while acknowledging their culture whereas those who have not gone to school cannot appreciate other cultures. This makes them see other people’s culture in stereotypic ethnic names such as *Mundu wa nyumba* (Kikuyu) *omonto oito* (Gusii), *Mawuodwa* (Luo), *mundu wetu* (Embu), *Mundu wa musya* (Kamba) *mundu we munzu* (Luhya), all referring to a person from our ethnic group. Such words are exploited on by politicians especially when they seek support from their ethnic members (Atenya, O.I., 2015, Jumba O.I., 2015, Nyambeta O.I., 2015).

The data also indicated that those youth who went to school could easily support a person from another ethnic group than those who did not go to school because at school
the youth is socialized to vote for a person with merit. (Jumba O.I., 2015, Nyambeta O.I., 2015).

Casonova (2011) examined the racial and ethnic identity of African-American, Latino, and other minority group adolescents within the context of the school had shown that the risk of educational disengagement increased when adolescents did not identify with their ethnic group at all or identified with only their ethnic group. When the adolescents incorporated both the ethnic/racial group and wider diverse American society into their identity, educational engagement increased (Oyserman, Kemmelmier, Fryberg, Brozil & Hart-Johnson, 2003).

The study found out that the manner in which the youth are exposed to the other communities contributed to how they relate to other communities. This finding contradicted a number of earlier studies such as a study conducted on Mexican and American adolescents by Romero and Roberts (2003), which found out that youth experienced high levels of ethnic discrimination, and even those with high ethnic affirmation still were identified to have high levels of self-esteem, while the self-esteem of their colleagues with a low levels of ethnic affirmation appeared to suffer.

Similarly, Wong et al. (2003) found out that among African American youth, a positive connection to one’s ethnic group moderated the association between racial discrimination and poor academic achievement and problem behaviors. Another study conducted by Rivas-Drake, 2011a, 2011b; Rivas-Drake, Hughes, & Way, 2009 pointed out that the African American youth who felt others viewed African Americans less favorably were less vulnerable to the negative impact of racial discrimination. According to Conchas,
Latino adolescents who felt unwelcomed and stigmatized experienced poor performance and a high rate of school dropout. However, the present research gathered any information that identified any young person who had been defamed when it came to analysis in the learning institutions. Furthermore, some psychological case studies suggest that group stigma leads to academic underperformance (Graham, Taylor, & Hudley, 1998; Schmader, Major, & Gramzow, 2001; Mickelson, 1990; Ogbu, 1991, 1993).

Aboud (1988, p. 82.) argues that although most children continue to live ethnically homogeneous neighbors, majority interact in schools. The author observes that according to the inner-state authoritarian theory of prejudice, children will not displace or project negative qualities to people they know. According to cognitive developmental theory, at eight years of age children begin to develop capabilities that allow them to understand individual qualities to perform friendship.

Gonzalez (2009) emphasized the effect of positive ethnic and racial interaction for students to affirm their ethnic identities and help with their academic achievements. Students in the study who were Mexican-American report the positive effects on their self-perception and academic engagement of encountering and participating in events that dispel stereotypes and stigmas and acknowledge asset of the ethnic groups (Gonzalez, 2009).

Suarez-Orozco et. al. (2008) discusses relational engagement in school as ‘the extent to which students feel connected to their teachers, peers and others in school. Relational engagement is necessary for adaptation and academic success of students. A sense of
belonging, guidance, emotional support amongst others is crucial for immigrant student's academic achievements. Since immigrant, adolescents are looking to understand and navigate the American culture in school context having positive support from peers and teachers leads to positive outcomes for adolescents themselves (Suarez-orozco et. al. 2008).

In light of the above, the point of ethnic formation was investigated. The study established that issues of ethnic formation were not common at schools. Primary reason for this was that the youth who were exposed and tolerated the various cultures. The next section focused on the role of the peer in ethnic formation among the youth.

4.5 The Role of the Peer in Ethnic Formation Among the Youth

This section investigated language proficiency, culture, and social interaction among the peer as a way of ethnic formation. Such process included a detailed study of the history of various groups and traditions and how to confront possible issues dealing with discrimination given that such discussions arise when adolescents discuss with parents and guardians about matters that focus on ethnic and group identification (Phinney & Kohatsu 1997).

According to Phinney et.al (2001), assessment of the fundamental factors that contribute to ethnic identity provides a roadmap towards curbing its spread and the related effects on the parties involved. Some of the factors, which were identified, included; ethnic language proficiency, cultural maintenance by parents and guardians, attitudes of parents regarding cultural support, social interaction with peers from the same ethnic group.
among others. This indicates that the family is the basic socialization agent of children and the adolescents. This is because parents who migrated from different ethnic diversities wanted to maintain their language, traditions and culture (McCoy, 1992; Woon, 1985). Studies also identified that the kind of relationship between parental socialization for cultural maintenance and ethnic identity contributed to the existing cases of ethnic divisions and discrimination (Alba 1990).

According to a report by Bankston and Zhou (1995), children of parents from the same ethnic set up had higher ethnic identity compared to their counterparts from the Mexican American, Japanese American, and African American adolescents and their parentage.

According to Phinney et al., (2001), the level of social interaction and time spent with colleagues contribute significant influence on ethnic identity. Similarly, Bakalian (1993) stated that ethnic identity was high and active in the immigrant communities. However, Alba (1990) pointed out that social interaction can provide and reinforce a means by which ethnicity is experienced and expressed.

Bankston and Zhou (1995) report indirect evidence for a relationship between parents' attitudes toward cultural maintenance and adolescents' ethnic identity. They found out that if a mother belonged to one or more ethnic organizations, the child tended to have a higher ethnic identity. In contrast, in an interview study of Mexican American, Japanese American, and African American adolescents and their parents, Phinney and Chavira (1995) found a non-significant relationship between adolescents' ethnic identity and parents' responses to questions regarding whether they taught their children the cultural practices of their group. However, in this study, parental socialization was assessed with
dichotomous (yes/no) responses to questions regarding their ethnic socialization; these items did not provide a response range that might show a relationship.

The primary data indicated that language, culture, and social interaction did not show any significant relationship on ethnic formation among the youth in Kibra constituency. The majority of respondents argued that language mainly Kiswahili played a great role bringing the young people from diverse communities to understanding one another making them stay as brothers and sisters. The informants also observed that even the culture among the youth of Kibra constituency promoted diversity among the peer due to shared services such as food, hospitals, schools, mosques and other social places. The findings of this study indicated that social interaction among the peers promoted diversity between the young people from different groups (Atenya, O.I., 2015, Jumba O.I., 2015, Nyambeta O.I., 2015).

4.6 Chapter Summary and conclusion

To establish the role-played by the peer and school in socializing the young people in ethnic politics in Kibra constituency, the researcher was guided by the following questions; how does the school act as a socializing agent? Does the surrounding community contribute to attitude formation among the young people? To what extent does the peer act as socializing agents? Further, the research examined the role played by a peer, the school and its surrounding in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics.

The study found out that neither the school nor the peers did socialize the child in ethnic politics. This is because the school and the peer introduce the young people to many
communities through personal interaction as well as the materials they read on different ethnic groups. These two aspects make the youth accept the other communities. However, there was some aspect that contributes formation of ethnic attitudes among the youth for example where the community wants the head of the institution to come from the ethnic background.
5.1 Introduction

This Chapter presents a summary of the main findings and conclusions arising from the study. It briefly discusses the ways of socializing the youth in ethnic politics within the society. Lastly, it makes recommendations in light of the findings of the study and makes suggestions for further research. The present study was carried out to investigate the point of ethnic political orientations in Kibra Constituency (KC) in the period 1963 to 2017.

5.2 Summary

The main purpose of the study was to investigate the formation of ethnic political socialization in Kibra Constituency in the period 1963 to 2017 among the youth. Various agents of political socialization were interrogated. This included the family, media, peer and the school in political socialization of young men and women in Kibra. Investigating the type of political orientation given to youth in KC was important because of several reasons, for instance Kenya has more than forty-two communities where there has been suspicion among the communities on who are the beneficiaries of government resources. This has made some communities to claim that those in political positions favored members from their ethnic communities.
The issue of economic favoritism is also one factor that informed the research as public officers practice ethnicity while those who are not related to them in one way or another are made to give heavy bribes to get jobs done or get employment.

To investigate how ethnic formation takes place among the youth in Kibra Constituency. I attempted to find out how the youth are socialized in ethnic politics and this was guided by three questions, (i) to what point has the media played an important role in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC? (ii) To what extent has the family played an important role in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC. (iii) What role do the school environment and peers play in socializing youth in ethnic politics in KC?

Questions were guided by the social learning theory, which advocates that individuals, especially children, imitate, or copy modeled behavior from personally observing others, the environment, and the mass media. This meant that young people copy what they see in the process of their growth and try to apply in the future. For example, if the young learn from the media that those in leadership give first priorities to members of their ethnic group, then they are likely to favor members of their ethnic group later when they get opportunities.

Another theory that was useful to the study is the three-dimensional narrative space theories grounded in a Deweyan theory of experience, arguments for the development and use of narrative inquiry are inspired by a view of human experience in which humans, individually and people shape their daily lives by stories as they interpret
socially, lead storied lives. This theory was necessary as the information that we got was based on the experience of the informants.

The basic preposition in political theory of system persistence is that early idealization and personalization are necessary conditions for later diffuse support. One implication is that such contingencies should hold within individual children. Easton and Dennis (1969) do not test for that, showing instead that age cohorts, in the aggregate, follow such sequence, so from their data we have no way of knowing whether or not an early personalized and idealized view of government is a necessary prerequisite for later system support (Sears, 1975). This theory did not seem to answer questions more especially at what point of youth does ethnic formation take place.

The researcher examined the term youth, the space of youth in Kibra, role played by various regimes in in-depth socializing of the youth in ethnic politics in Kenya and Kibra in particular from 1963-2017. Finally, the researcher examined the role of the media in socializing the youth in ethnic politics.

The term youth was very problematic in it is definition because there was no single definition or generally accepted definition. The primary data indicated a youth as a person who is young and energetic. However, there was no specific age for a youth that was given by my respondents. This relates with the disagreement among scholars on specific age of a youth. For instance, according to Kisangani (2002), is a youth between 12 and 35 years while Mwangola (2007) observes that it was not rare to find men over the age of 50 years taking roles in youth-wing activities during the Moi regime.
It was also significant to establish the space of a youth in the society because this provides understanding about the institution of youth and how the youth relates to the available resources. To find out the place of youth in Kenya, the informants in Kibra constituency were asked if they were proud of being the youth of their time. From the data collected, there were varied answers on role and even opportunities of the young people.

Some of the respondents argued that there was nothing to celebrate as youth since they were unsuccessful in life. While others noted that, their youthful was of importance as they enjoyed various things, as those who were youth during the Moi regime noted. While others noted that the youth were given the lowest jobs during the Moi regime noting that heavy energy, demanding jobs such as digging graves were a reserve of the youth. Mwangola (2007) noted that during the Kenyatta era, the work of the youth was kazi ya mkono. While it was kazi kwa vijana during the Kibaki era (Otieno, 2010,).

Uhuru Kenyatta’s presidency is not much different; the work of the young people has been the construction of bridges, roads and garbage collection by the aid of the NYS. The youth are made to work and paid weekly wages. Primary data indicated that those youth who worked with NYS were paid 2300/= weekly but there was deducted Kshs 707 for the SACCO. From the data, both primary and secondary supported that young people did heavy works and the amount of money that they were paid was little.

The researcher, therefore, concluded that regimes socialize the young people to poorly paying jobs to continue relying on them for financial support. This enables those who are in political positions to control and dictate the daily lives of the young people. As a result,
they manipulate them along ethnic lines and command them to even cause ethnic violence to achieve their political goals. It is therefore important to acknowledge that politicians use the youth not only for violence against other ethnic groups but also against their community men in competing against political positions.

However, even when regimes try to ensure that young people remain controlled by providing them poorly paid jobs, those youth who come from the families of the ruling class are favored. They are given top positions in those poorly paid jobs; they supervise the rest of the youth and act as special intelligence for the ruling class. They are instructed to promote members of their community if need arises.

In addition, the study examined the role played by the media, and observed that the consumer of media information are specific to the type of information they receive. For instance, in the case of the Luo as narrated by one of the informants, the television maybe switched off during the news broadcasting if it does not cover news about their leader Raila Odinga.

Additionally, purchasing of newspapers also depended on the headline information. If the headlines contained the names of the leader from their community, then the newspaper could be bought by most people in that community and if all the local newspapers had similar headings, they were all bought. Secondary data indicated that media is very powerful source of political socialization and a source of ethnic animosity if not carefully used. For instance, Olorunnisola and Douai (2013) noted that vernacular radio and television were used to spread hatred among different communities in Kenya.
Both primary data and secondary showed that media was powerful in passing information more especially in relation to ethnic formation. The social learning theory was very significant in interpreting these results due to the fact that the young people observed what was broadcasted and printed and as a result copied the same when they are in strategic positions.

To the second question was on what extent has the family and religion played in the socialization of the youth in ethnic politics in KC from 1963 to 2017. The above question raised further questions, to what point does one become ethnically aware? Can one who has ethnic awareness be termed as being ethnic? During data collection in the field, the research sought to know the respondents perception and understanding of ethnicity. The question was weight to the study because in one way or the other, answers were intended to give information on the point of ethnic awareness.

Primary data showered that majority associated ethnicity with language, territories and common ancestry and this agreed with Cowen and Kanyinga (2002) who defines it as a group of people living in a given territorial association, in a given area of land and these people have a particular language grouping. Some of the respondents gave the term ethnicity a negative connotation probably due to mistrust among the communities. For instance, one of the respondents defined ethnicity as hatred.

In relation to the above, the respondents were asked when they first became aware that they were members of a given ethnic community. One of the respondents noted that initially he never knew about ethnicity but in 1996 he realized- when house rents brought problems in Kibra. The issue was to reduce house rent whereby the Nubians refused.
During this incident war broke out between the Nubians and the Luo, and this was the time he understood that people were different.

Another respondent said that he knew about ethnicity when he came to Nairobi in 1987 and started looking for job….and even within our community there was division (clans). When he was sought for a job, he was told to go to his clan.

The two respondents above provided a clear picture of how the young people grow in a mixture of communities without realizing that they are from a given ethnic background. It is only when there is a conflict over resources that they understand that they came from different ethnic backgrounds. This is different from the earlier studies that indicated specific ages as points of ethnic socialization. Aboud (1988) notes that between the age of four when attitudes are acquired and the age of seven, white children become more consensually and or strongly biased against others for their ethnic members.

Lastly, the study examined the role played by the school environment and peers in socializing youth in ethnic politics in KC in the period 1963 to 2017. The research considered this by attempting to answer the following questions; how does the school act as a socializing agent? Does the surrounding community contribute to attitude formation among the young people? To what extent does the peer act as socializing agents?

The study findings were in agreement with secondary data (Hess & Torney, 1970) that the school played a significant role in socialization of youth into politics. The main reason was that young people spend most of their time at school with their teachers, interacting with books and socializing with their peers. The study also focused on the role
of the curriculum, teachers the surrounding school community and the peers in attitude formation toward the political world. The primary data supports the idea that educational programs in most schools have government friendly values in them that socialize young people to be obedient to their political system (Elias, Mahyuddin & Lope pihie, 2004).

While investigating the peers, the study focused on the Sonko rescue team and established that groups from different ethnic grounds were formed in order to support a given candidate with political ambitions. However, one can argue that such a group is composed of youth from different ethnic backgrounds because KC is a cosmopolitan constituency and for one to get grassroots support has to be popular among the young people from the various ethnic groups. Another explanation for the above observation was that once the youth has equal chances to resources, they are likely to vote the person who provides resources for them without considering the ethnic background. Hess and Torney (1967, pp. 120-121) noted that the peer is a dominant force in the development of many social norms.

From the perspective of the objectives of this study, the findings may be summarized as follows:

First, the researcher undertook objective one to establish the extent to which the media has played a role in socializing the young people in ethnic politics. The different definitions of the term youth was discussed and was established that there was no single common definition of youth. However, there was an agreement between the study findings and that of scholars that a youth is a person between 12 years and 35 years (Kisiang'ani (2002); Sierra Leone National Youth Policy, (2003); & Muriithi (O.I., 2015)
The study also examined various regimes from 1963 to 2017. It was found that various regimes socialized youth in politics in unique ways. For instance, the study findings indicated that the Jomo Kenyatta regime had no much interest in the manner youth were socialized to politics while his son- Uhuru Kenyatta- is keen on how the youth are socialized to politics (Juma, 2015, 20th April- 3rd may). The second president (Moi) also monitored closely how the youth was socialized in politics (Ombaka, 2007) while President Kibaki showed little interest in the socialization of youth ethnic politics.

The data also indicated that economic opportunities also became important tools in socializing the youth in ethnic politics as they were used by politicians to distribute resources to the youth from their ethnic background. This was established across all the regimes that were examined. The data agreed with Kisiangani (2003) who noted that in both Moi and Jomo Kenyatta era, employment opportunities were biased towards ethnic families of those who were in power.

The study also established that the media play a critical role in the socialization of the young people along ethnic lines. For instance, broadcasting incidences such as ethnic violence, unequal distribution of resources, and party merger were responsible for the socialization of the young people along ethnic lines. This confirms Olorunnisola, & Douai (2013) findings that the Kenya media was involved in spreading hate speech and projecting information along ethnic divides.

Second, objective two examined ethnic socialization within the family among the youth. Some informants associated youth socialization in ethnic politics to origin or place of birth of a given group, language and culture. These data was in agreement with the works
of Cowen and Kanyinga (2002) who defined ethnic identity as a group of people of same territorial association in a given area of land and these people have a particular language grouping.

The respondents were also asked when they became aware of ethnic differences. The primary data showed that various incidences created ethnic awareness. For instance, Otieno (O.I., 2015) came to understand that people were different when war broke-out between the Nubians and the Luo over house rent in which the Luo had refused to pay for increased rent in which the Nubians were the Landlords and this turned to be ethnic violence in 1996.

This research also found out that resource distribution was very important in creating ethnic awareness among the youth as the elites tended to favor members of their community. The political parties also were very significant in socializing the young people in ethnic politics. This is because members of a given ethnic community supported a political party that its top officials were from their own community. This data agrees with Cowen and Kanyinga (2002) who indicated that Kenyans were mobilized along their ethnic groups by their leaders so as to get into political offices.

Finally, objective three interrogated ethnic political socialization among the peer, the school, and its environment. In order to do this, the study addressed the following issues; how does the school act as a socializing agent? Does the surrounding community contribute to attitude formation among the young people? To what extent does the peer act as a socializing agent?
The collected data indicated that children spend most of their time at school and that teachers who do marketing of politicians, cannot miss to say it at school and more especially in class. This observation also agrees with Ombaka (2007) who argues that the school is apolitical.

Besides, Oloo (O.I., 2015) noted the community would always want to have the head teacher from the dominant group surrounding the school. In addition, that poor performance will send away teachers who do not belong to the community. This study affirms the work of Miguel (1999) who found out that those boards, which are ethnically diverse, are less able to do things since board members are less willing to criticize someone from their ethnic group in front of members of other groups.

The study found out that neither the school nor the peers did socialize the child in ethnic politics; this is because the school and the peer introduce the young people to many communities through personal interaction as well as the materials they read on different ethnic groups. This makes the youth to accept the other communities. However, there was some aspect that contributes formation of ethnic attitudes among the youth for example where the community wants the head of the institution to come from their own ethnic background. This data was contrary to Alesina, Baqir, and Easterly (1999) who suggest in their study that diversity increases the problems of collective action because more of the benefits are external to the group.
5.3 Conclusion

There are three major recommendations that were established in the study. These were arrived at by examining the outcome of each premise:

That Kenyan media created ethnic awareness among the youth of KC from 1963 to 2017. The study concluded that the media socialized the youth in ethnic politics especially through the programs that were ethnically inciting such as hate speeches among leaders from various communities.

Concerning the premise that the family has socialized the youth in ethnic political lines in the period 1963-2017, the study found out that the family played a critical role in the socialization of youth in ethnic politics. Finally, campaigns based on ethnic mergers also created ethnic awareness among the youth in KC. The findings agree with those studies that indicated that the family played a significant role in the socialization of the young people along ethnic lines (Hughes & colleagues, 2008). Based on the above evidence the second conclusion is that the family socializes the youth in ethnic politics.

The school and its environment do not play a significant role in the socialization of youth in ethnic politics. Additionally, the study documented that peers especially those in development groups showed no significant relationship in socializing of the youth in ethnic politics. This is because the groups in which the young people interacted promoted diversity. As a result, they could easily tolerate one another despite their different communities. Therefore, the third conclusion is that the school and its environment do not largely socialize the youth along ethnic politics. Finally, the study concluded that
there are a number of sources for ethnic formation and that there is no single point of ethnic formation.

5.4 Policy Recommendations

In light of the preceding discussion, two recommendations follow. The first one is on the values passed down by the family, media, the peer, the school and its environment. The second is in relation to further researches on political socialization.

In Kenya, it seems that most opportunities are lost during transmission of values to the young people through the family, media, the peers, the school and its environment. It is necessary to resolve areas of contradiction in politics of the young people by entrenching good values in the constitution to prevent the family, the peer and the school and its environment from manipulating the youth along ethnic lines during political socialization.

Further research recommendation:

The study came up with certain relationships that it could not explain and some issues that raised questions that are major in pursuing if the role of socialization in ethnic politics among the youth is to be established. About the topic of youth socialization in ethnic lines, the study suggests the following topics can be researched:

(i) There is need to examine boys and girls differently to establish whether such ethnic political socialization takes gender dimension.
(ii) Similar studies should be done on adult population paying attention to their ethnic formation within the family.

(iii) Studies should also be carried out in details focusing on the peers influence in ethnic formation.
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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Questionnaire

Name (optional)

Sub location

Age in years

Marital status

Level of education

Occupation/ position in society

Role of the media in socialization of Young People.

1. Do you watch television

2. What are your favourite programmes.

Political socialization in the family

1. What is ethnicity?

2. When did you hear the word ethnicity first?

3. Do your parents discuss political matters with you?

4. Have you ever seen any of your family members being involved in political violence? What happened?

5. Did members of your family vote in the last general presidential election? If yes, whom did you vote for? Give a reason for your answer

6. Will you vote for a presidential candidate from a different community if elections were held today? Explain your answer.
7. Do your parents tell you whom to vote for in an election? If yes, did they give you a reason for the preferred candidate?

8. Why do you think people prefer supporting candidates from their community?

9. All the Kenyan laws free for all ethnic groups in Kenya? Give a reason for your answer.

10. When did you hear about stone throwing?

11. Does the family play any role of manipulation of youth in politics? If yes, at what point will these manipulations take place?

12. Do you think the family is responsible for ethnic identities among the youth?

13. Give a story of what you the president or a politician did that affected the families and influenced the behavior of youth more specifically at the family level?

The role of school environment and the peer in political socialization

1. What is the name of your school or a learning institution that you ever attended? Does the name have any meaning?

2. Did you do history and government in your studies or social studies? If yes, what did you learn about the relationship between Kenyan communities?

3. Are people from different communities employed in your school? If yes, are they treated equally as those people in your community?

4. Do students elect their leaders in your school? If yes, what do they consider?

5. Can members of your peer influence you to vote for someone who is not of your choice in an election? If yes, what will make you agree with them?

6. In your opinion do you think that youth can vote for a president who is not from their community?

7. In your opinion, what role do peer groups play that appears to be national in nature?

8. In your opinion do you think the school manipulates the learners to political ideas? Explain?

9. Have you ever seen youth in the school or their peers through stones? Give reasons?

11. What does elected leader do when they come to your school?
12. In your opinion do you think the school and the peers are responsible for the socialization along ethnic identities?

13. Give a story of what you the president or a politician did that affected the school and influenced the behavior of youth more specifically at the school level?

To establish the consequences of political socialization among the youth?

1. Do you think that your parents are the best in guiding you on political issues? Explain?

2. In your opinion should the school environment be involved in matters of school administration? Do these affect the way in which youth are socialized to politics?

3. Does the law of Kenya serve the Youth equally as the other people in the society?

4. What should we consider when choosing leaders? Explain.

5. How does the name of the school influence political socialization among youth?

6. What are the consequences of students electing their leaders based on ethnic background?

7. What are the consequences of employing people of one community in an educational institution to the youth?

8. In your opinion do the school environment, peers, and the family contribute to ethnic identities?

9. If the school, the family, and peers contribute to ethnic identities what do you think should be done to prevent these?
Appendix ii: Letter from Kenyatta University Graduate School

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke
Website: www.ku.ac.ke

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

TO: Geoffrey Machuka Nyarike
C/o History Department,

DATE: 4th August, 2015

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

This is to inform you that Graduate School Board, at its meeting of 29th July 2015, approved your Research Proposal for the M.A. Degree Entitled, "Socialisation of Youth into Ethnic Politics in Kenya: A Focus on Kibera Constituency, 1963–2014".

You may now proceed with data collection, subject to clearance with the Director General, Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking forms per semester. The form has been developed to replace the progress report forms. The supervision Tracking Forms are available at the University's website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

EDWIN OBUNGU
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

C.C. Chairman, Department of History

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Susan Mwangi
   C/o Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies
   Kenyatta University

2. Dr. Joseph Wasonga
   C/o Department of History, Archaeology and Political Studies
   Kenyatta University
Appendix iii: Research Permit

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. GEOFFREY MACHUKA NYARIEKO
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-40202
Keroka, has been permitted to conduct
research in Nairobi County

on the topic: SOCIALIZATION OF YOUTH
INTO ETHNIC POLITICS IN KENYA: A
FOCUS OF KIBERA CONSTITUENCY
1963-2014

for the period ending:
10th September, 2016

Applicant's
Signature

Permit No: NACOSTI/P/15/9093/7539
Date of issue: 11th September, 2015
Fee received: Ksh 1,000

Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation