"LITTLE MOGADISHU": RECONSTRUCTION OF A HOMELAND AMONG EASTLEIGH'S SOMALI REFUGEE COMMUNITY IN NAIROBI, KENYA

BY

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DECLARATION

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To family

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ABSTRACT

Somalia has for several decades now experienced internal conflicts and continues to exhibit political instability which has over the years led to the displacement of its citizens. The Somali people have found themselves migrating to the neighboring countries and beyond in search of peace, stability and a better livelihood. The proximity of Kenya to Somalia saw thousands of Somalis seeking refuge in its border towns and some trickle into urban Centres such as Nairobi. Their presence and activities in Eastleigh, provided the basis of this study which sought to establish the relationship between "little Mogadishu" a Somali shopping center located in Eastleigh, Nairobi and the retention and preservation of the Somali national and cultural identity in exile. It also sought to establish what identities the Somali refugee community has maintained in the process of reconstructing a homeland and how effective these identities have been in preserving their national and cultural identity in exile. The theoretical framework adopted for this study was derived from the Social Capital Theory of Migration. The theory postulates that people gain access to social capital through membership in networks and social institutions, which are converted into other forms of capital to improve and sustain growth and cohesion of a group enabling people to act collectively. The study employed the snowball technique and purposive sampling technique to select the sample of 96 respondents, relying mainly on social networks to locate respondents. Questionnaires, interviews and observation were used as the tools for collecting data. Data was analyzed using both the descriptive and analytical technique by using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences. Tables and charts were generated to present the analyzed data. Results of the study informed the researcher to conclude that Somali refugees in Eastleigh have retained and preserved their national and cultural identity by making conscious efforts in observing cultural and religious practices, which have been made easier by the presence of the Somali Kenyan host community whom they share the same culture and kinship ties. That, Somali refugees have indeed reconstructed a homeland in Eastleigh by drawing from the social capital held by the greater community. That Little Mogadishu is just a phrase used loosely to refer to the specific area of Eastleigh inhabited by the Somali refugees. The study recommends that the Government of Kenya considers issuing proper documentation to Somali urban refugees so as to get the exact number of the population for statistical, planning, collection of taxes and avoid arrests. This will help in recognizing the status of the urban refugees and giving them self-determination opportunities as they seek durable solutions such as integration into the Kenyan Community.

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ABBREVIATIONS

UNHCR   United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

OAU   Organization of African Unity

UN   United Nations

NGO   Non-Governmental Organization

NFD   Northern Frontier District

DRA   Department of Refugee Affairs

RAS   Refugee Affairs Secretariat

RSD   Refugee Status Determination

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Somalia, pronounced *Soomaaliya* is a country located in the Horn of Africa. It is bordered by Ethiopia to the west, Djibouti to the northwest, the Gulf of Aden to the north, the Indian Ocean to the east, and Kenya to the southwest (See Figure 1.0). Somalia has the longest coastline on the continent's mainland, and its terrain consists mainly of plateaus, plains and highlands. Climatically, hot conditions prevail year-round, with periodic monsoon winds and irregular rainfall.

Somalia has a population of around 10 million as of 2009. Around 85% of its residents are ethnic Somalis, who have historically inhabited the northern part of the country. Ethnic minorities are largely concentrated in the southern regions. The official languages of Somalia are Somali and Arabic, both of which belong to the Afro-Asiatic family. Most people in the country are Muslim, with the majority being Sunni.

The roots of forced migration in contemporary Somalia lie in former colonial divisions, clan conflicts and fierce competition over the economic and political resources of the, post-colonial state. During the colonial era, the Somalis were grouped into two major divisions, Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland and three lesser ones, the northern frontier district of Kenya and those areas of Ethiopia and French Somaliland populated predominately by Somalis. When Somalia gained independence in 1960 it was handicapped by lack of political legitimacy and a weak economic base. On October 21,

www.operationworld.org/files/ow/maps/igmap/soma

Figure 1.0   Map of the Republic of Somali

1969, senior officers on the Somali national army deposed the government in a
bloodless coup and established the supreme revolutionary council, headed by Major
General Said Barre.

Excessive militarization and aid dependency, superpower patronage and the
centralization of control in the hands of dictator, Major General Siad Barre, was the

pattern throughout the 1970s. The nationalization of economic assets under the scientific socialism ideology, which declared that Somalia was to be a "socialist state dedicated to scientific method" which they equated with Marxism-Leninism rather than African or other forms of socialism. Siad Barre described scientific socialism as a system in which all means of production and natural resources belong to the entire society and one that distributes the national products.

The effects of a major drought in 1974 and of military defeat in 1978 in the Ogaden war resulted in the wholesale alienation of the population from the Barre regime. Armed opposition to Barre began in earnest in 1988 in North West Somalia. Some 400,000 Somalis fled to Ethiopia and Djibouti as a result of the war. The overthrow and fleeing from the Capital of Somalia by Barre on 27th January 1991 propelled Somalia into a prolonged period of civil war. At the height of the conflict in 1991-1992 some 800,000 Somalis were refugees in neighboring countries and two million were internationally displaced. Kenya and Ethiopia hosted the majority of their refugees. Somalis with family connections or means managed to resettle in third countries and now form part of the enormous Somali Diaspora. A total number of 465,751 Somali refugees have since been repatriated, about half of whom have returned to Somaliland. There remain about 400,000 Somali refugees worldwide of who 144,129 are registered in Kenya, 67,433 in Yemen and 37,498 in Ethiopia (Singo, 2004). According to UNHCR (2010), there are 42,261 refugees living in Nairobi of these 20,172 are Somalis.

Prior to the massive influx of Somali refugees into Kenya in 1991, the Kenyan government practiced what is described as 'an open policy' towards refugees in her territory. This meant that refugees were allowed free movement within the country

without much restriction. However, following the massive influx into the country the government changed this strategy and adopted a new one, which required refugees, to be registered by UNHCR and moved to camps established in different parts of the country. Milner (2006) characterized Kenya's refugee policy after 1990 as effectively one of "abdication and containment". According to this new government regulation, refugee camps were set up in remote areas, far removed from the urban centre where population was sparse and the climatic conditions harsh. Thus, Somali refugees who had been living in camps in Utange, near Mombasa and Thika near Nairobi were moved to new established camps in Dadaab in Northeastern province (Horst, 2002). The town of Dadaab is located in Garissa district in the Northeastern province, some 500km from Nairobi and 80km from the Kenya Somali border. There are three refugee camps in Dadaab being Ifo, Dagahaley and Hagadera.

Kenya ratified the United Nations Convention relating to the status of refugees on May 1966 and was required to domestic the law to make it applicable. The law did not provide for non-refoulement, right to work, freedom of movement or any durable solutions for dealing with refugees until the enactment of the Refugees Act no.13 of 2006. The Act, which became operational in 2007 defined refugee status, outlined the rights and duties of refugees and asylum-seekers and established institutions that would manage refugee affairs in the country. The Act defined a statutory refugee as a person;

> 'owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for any of the aforesaid reasons is unwilling, to return to it.'

The Act also required that the refugees, upon determination, be issued with a refugee identity card or pass and permitted to remain in Kenya within the designated refugee camp. The government tried to contain the refugees in camps, restricting their movement and not allowing them to take up employment. UNHCR only gave UN travel letters for people to travel to Nairobi for resettlement interviews, to university students, to people needing medical treatment and people with particular security problems (Crisp, 1999). However, despite the government's attempts to contain them in remote regions, many refugees ended up in Nairobi and other towns.

Tens of thousands more Somalis reside in neighboring countries without proper documentation preferring to live beyond the law in urban cities rather than remote refugee camps. Although the Kenyan government largely denies the presence of thousands of refugees in Nairobi-stating that the only refugees in Kenya are those housed in the refugee camps. UNHCR (2010) reports, that it assessed the status of 20,172 Somali refugees in Nairobi at the end of 2010. This figure is on the conservative side, and UNHCR acknowledges that the actual number could be as high as 60,000 (African Population and Health Research Center, 2002; Campbell, 2005; Moret *et al*., 2005)

A minority of those Somalis arriving in the 1990s had the resources to set up homes in Nairobi or Mombasa or stayed with relatives and never declared themselves to UNHCR

(Farah, 1996; Goldsmith, 1997). When the Mombasa camps closed in the mid-1990s many refugees moved to Nairobi instead of relocating to the new camps or voluntarily repatriating to Somalia. Most of these people ended up in Nairobi's Eastleigh area located to the far east of the central business district (Goldsmith, 1997; Sirola, 2001).

This chronology of events in Somalia shows how the Somali people found themselves uprooted from their country to being referred to as refugees in camps and some in major urban cities of Kenya. This study focuses on the Somali refugee who settled in the urban city of Nairobi herein referred to as Eastleigh. It concerned itself with determining how the reconstruction of a homeland in exile had contributed to the retention and preservation of the Somali refugee national and cultural identity

1.2   Statement of the Problem

Urban refugees have long existed in the Nairobi area, and international aid agencies have long been aware of their presence. Currently, there are estimated 40,000-60,000 urban refugees in the city of Nairobi alone (Dix 2006). The often cited 'invisibility factor' may have made it easier to ignore the urban refugees. Like self-settled refugees elsewhere, those in Nairobi are living and working among the host community. They are geographically dispersed across the city, and many are mobile, moving between the city, camps and even their country of origin. They may also take on different identities depending on the context, and this makes it harder to see them. For example, in Eastleigh, the neighborhood with the highest concentration of refugees in the city, the census reports that most of the area residents are Kenyans. But deeper investigation does not confirm this position.

According to Kroner (2000), migration and movement of persons and of refugees generally entail, especially in urban settings, the contact of at least two collective identities and local cultures: those of migrants or refugees and those of host communities. It is also increasingly recognized that refugee interests, perceptions and

capacities do not operate in a vacuum, but interact, shape and are in turn shaped by those of host populations and government policies (Landau, 2003).

The question as to how these different cultures and identities have influenced each other is debatable and questions such as how these interactions lead to the refugee giving less significance to their national and ethnic identities in favor of assimilation or adoption of a more hybrid or cosmopolitan identity is researchable. Hall (1989), talks about the fluidity of identity and how one's concept of self evolves, changes and takes on multiple identifications leading to disruption of identity. That in the increasingly globalized world, identities are constantly being undermined and instead, identity proves to be a process which is changed and developed through cultural, historical and political factors.

The refugee status is imagined as a temporary state for individuals and that once the reasons of migration are resolved the individuals will return back to their countries of origin. However, the continued internal conflict in Somalia which dates back to late 1980s and appears not to resolve in the near future has led the Somalis in Eastleigh to struggle to create a sense of home and continue with their lives in the hope that one day the conflict back home will cease. Hence this study sought to establish if the Somali refugee community in Eastleigh, has retained its, national and cultural identity and if *Little Mogadishu* is a reconstruction of their homeland, as in most cases refugees strive to keep their identities by reconstructing an imagined homeland even when conditions are not conducive.

1.3   Research Objectives

1.3.1   General Objective

The main objective of this study was to establish if *Little Mogadishu* is a reconstruction of a homeland and how it has contributed to the retention and preservation of the Somali refugee national and cultural identity in Eastleigh, Nairobi.

1.3.2   Specific Objectives

1. To establish how the Somali refugees perceives their nationality in exile.

2. To establish what identities the Somali refugees in Eastleigh have retained.

3. To establish the efforts made by Somali refugees to preserve the culture and national identity.

4. To establish if Eastleigh's *Little Mogadishu* is a reconstruction of homeland for the Somali refugees.

1.4   Research Questions

This study attempted to answer the following questions:

1. What is the state of the Somali refugee nationality in exile?

2. What identities had the Somali refugees in Eastleigh retained?

3. What efforts are made by Somali refugees to preserve their culture and national identity?

4. Is Eastleigh's *Little Mogadishu* a reconstruction of homeland for the Somali refugees?

1.5   Significance of the Study

There is a significant number of Somali refugees in Nairobi who do not necessarily depend on the government or humanitarian assistance. They have been able to settle and carry on with life engaging in social and economic activities. While most of the studies focus on the humanitarian and legal issues surrounding urban refugees the results of this study will contribute to the growing pool of knowledge on construction of identities amongst urban refugee communities and enrich literature on the concept of imagined homeland. The study will inform policy makers and non-government organizations (NGOs) who deal with urban refugees on matters of national and cultural identities in social community cohesion.

1.6   Scope and limitation of the Study

This study was concerned with the identities used by the refugees in the reconstruction of an imagined homeland in the preservation of cultural and national identity in exile. It was conducted amongst the Somali refugee community in Eastleigh Nairobi.

One of the major limitation experienced in the course of the study was the refusal by respondents to confirm their identity, whether they were refugees or not. This may have been mainly due to fear of being known to government officials, who have been known to harass them leading to arrests and eventual repatriation. To overcome this challenge, the researcher tried to convince them that the information was for academic purpose and not for use by the police. It helped that the researcher had a research permit and identification from the government and her student identification card, which she used to introduce and identify herself to the respondents.

Some respondents asked for money before giving any information with the assumption that the researcher was funded or was going to use the information to source for funds. The researcher convinced the targeted respondents by providing the letter from the office of the President to prove that the study was authorized and was only going to be used for academic purpose.

1.7   Definition of Concepts

Assimilation: The state or condition of being absorbed into something, the process of adapting or adjusting to the culture of a group or nation or state.

Integration: The process or action of incorporating, unifying, merging, mixing, sing, blending, putting together two or more parts to form a whole.

Mogadishu: The capital city of the Republic of Somalia. Herein used loosely to refer to an area of Eastleigh in Nairobi which has a significant population of Somali refugees.

Nationa: Stable community of people formed on the basis of a common language, territory, economic life, ethnicity or psychological make-up manifested in a common culture. It is politically aware of its autonomy, unity and interests.

Nationality: The status of belonging to a particular nation either by birth or naturalization.

Prima Facie refugees: Are persons recognized by a state or UNHCR on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition.

Refugee: A person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, sex, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country, or not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence, is unable or owing to well-

founded fear of being persecuted for any of the aforesaid reasons is unwilling, to return to it.'

Repatriation: Refers to the return of someone to their own country.

Somali: Refers to an ethnic group that can be found in the following countries; Somalia, Djibouti, Eastern Ethiopia, Eritrea and Northeastern Frontier of Kenya.

Somalia: Refers to the Republic of Somalia following the unification of the Italian Somaliland and British Somaliland. It is a sovereign state with territory located in the Horn of Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the literature reviewed by the researcher and that contributed in guiding the study. The chapter begins with a discussion of the theoretical framework that guided the study. Followed by literature focusing on the Somali socio cultural identity research findings on refugee identities in exile, imagined homelands and reconstruction of a homeland with examples of Cubans and Latinos in America and the existing, legal framework for refugees in Kenya.

2.2   Theoretical Framework

Anthropological theories of ethnicity can be grouped into three basic categories: Primordialist, instrumentalist and constructivist theories. The primordialist argue that ethnicity is something given, ascribed at birth, deriving from the kin and clan structure of human society and hence, something more or less fixed and permanent. They maintain that a person is a member of a particular group by birth and thus unchangeable part of the person's identity. Supporters of Instrumentalism view ethnicity as based on peoples historical and symbolic memory which can be changed, created, used and exploited by leaders and others in the pragmatic pursuit of their own specific interests. The theory assumes that people will chose ethnicity as a criteria for social differentiation and political organization on the basis of predetermined preference.

Constructivist believe that ethnic identity is not something people possess but something they construct in specific social and historical contexts to further their own interests and is therefore fluid and subjective. They reject the views of the primordialist

that ethnic identity is natural or the instrumentalists' view of ethnicity as a tool of manipulation for individual or collective political goals. For them, ethnicity is enduring social construction that is a product of human actions and choices rather than biological. Evaluation of the three approaches show that they all present strengths and weaknesses when accounting for aspects of ethnic identity formation and maintenance. This study focuses on the instrumentalist dimension of use or exploitation of Social capital to make a living in the environment that the Somali refugee finds him/herself in.

The theoretical framework adopted for this study was derived from the Social Capital Theory of migration developed by Douglas S Massey who picked up on Pierre Bourdieu (1986). According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), social capital is the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. This theory postulates that people gain access to social capital through membership in networks and social institutions and then convert it into other forms of capital to improve or maintain their position in the society (Bourdieu 1986; Coleman 1988).

Social capital is similar to other forms of capital in that it can be invested with the expectation of future returns (Adler and kwon, 1999), is appropriable (Coleman, 1988), is convertible (Bourdieu, 1986), and requires maintenance (Gant et al;2002). Social capital is different from other forms of capital in that it resides in social relationships whereas other forms of capital can reside in the individual (Robinson et al;2002). Further, social capital cannot be traded by individuals on an open market like other

forms of capital, but is instead embedded within a group (Gant et al; 2002: Glaeser et al, 2002).

Social capital is much more complex and includes, connections, reputation, influence, bridging capital (the number of connections you have across to different industries, social strata among others) bonding capital (the depth of your close connections), access to ideas and talent through connections, access to resources through your connections, potential access to further resources and the social capital of those who have relationships with.

There is now increasing international evidence that social relationships, which are characterized by high degrees of mutual trust and reciprocity, are argued to sustain better outcomes in the growth and cohesion of a group (stone and Hughes, 2002).

These sorts of social relationships are said to be laden with social capital, the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively. Empirical evidence shows that social capital represents a propensity for mutually beneficial collective action, which in turn derives from the quality relationships among people within a particular group or community. Communities with high level of social capital produce superior outcomes in joint actions and communities with low social capital are less productive. Therefore, social capital refers to connections within and between networks.

For Hanifan (1916), social capital referred to those tangible substances that count for most in the daily lives of people: namely good will, fellowship, sympathy, and social intercourse among the individuals and families who make up a social unit. The

individual is helpless socially, if left to himself, if he comes into contact with his neighbor, and they with other neighbors, there will be an accumulation of social capital, which may immediately satisfy his social needs and which may bear a social potentiality sufficient to the substantial improvement of living conditions in the whole community. The community as a whole will benefit by the cooperation of all its parts, while the individual will find in his associations the advantage of the help, the sympathy, and the fellowship of his neighbors. Social capital is about the values of social networks, bonding similar people and bridging between diverse people, with norms of reciprocity (Dekker and Uslaner, 2001).

Migrant networks are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kingship, friendship and shared community origin. They increase the likelihood of movement and increase the expected net returns to migration. Network connections constitute a form of social capital that people can draw on to gain access to various kinds of financial capital.

Fukuyama (1999) clarifies that many definitions of social capital refer to its manifestations rather than to social and cultural coherence of society, the norms and values that govern interactions among people and the institutions in which they are embedded. Social capital is the glue that holds societies together and without which there cannot be any economic growth or human well-being.

Virtually all forms of traditional culture social groups like tribes, clans, village associations, religious sects, and among others, are based on shared norms and use these norms to achieve cooperative ends. Social capital more often than not is produced

by hierarchical source of authority, which lay down norms and expects obedience to them for totally a rational reason (Fukuyama, 1999). The world's major religions like Buddhism, Hinduism, Christianity, or Islam, or large cultural systems like Confucianism, are examples. Norms from such sources are transmitted from one generation to the next through a process of socialization that involves much more habit than reason. Apart from religion, shared historical experience can shape informal norms and produce social capital. Social capital is frequently a byproduct of religion, tradition, shared historical experience, and other factors that lie outside the control of any government (Fukuyama, 1999).

The theory of Social Capital is relevant to this study because, social relations and trust are essential to informal economic transactions in the context of the volatile, risky, violence ridden environment (Little, 2003) that Somali refugees find themselves in. It emphasizes the importance of group or social relationships and how the membership into these groups provide security, access to resources, social influence, and growth without which the individual may not flourish or survive on their own especially in the case of Migrants in disadvantaged situations.

Somalis as a group have invested greatly on social networks that thrive on acceptable norms and mutual trust which have developed over time due to long periods of conflicts that have broken the normal channels of communication, state protection and the known ways of earning a livelihood. Social networks function as systems for the transaction of information, services and resources between individuals (Scott, 1991). The networks have offered the much, needed solutions to communication, security and means of having meaningful life. These networks form a web of other networks that

have no boundaries but the aspect of belonging. For one to benefit from the network, the aspect of belonging and identifying with the group becomes important, since the networks rest on the human capacity for mutuality, trust and exchange in relationships (Heyman & Smart, 1999).

The networks have managed to flourish as they do not compete for political space or influence government actions hence the governments in the territories that the networks are operate do not feel threatened by their presences. After all, the networks are invisible and to some, imaginary. It is argued that the Somali refugees have never relied on the nation state but instead relied on extensive clan and trade networks (Brons, 2001). Bradbury (2003), asserts that the Somalis have re-appropriated development by adapting to the protracted civil war and to changes in the global political and economic system, building on economies that do not rely on local production or state institutions but on shadow trade and transnational networks instead.

The ability to build on existing well entrenched trade networks (Horst, 2006) and weak border controls in the horn of Africa, many goods are imported duty and tax free from Dubai, Gulf states and other Asian countries, smuggled into Kenya and sold in Eastleigh at cheapest prices (Campbell,2005a). Therefore, the importance of strong networks to livelihoods based on these shadow trade cannot be stressed enough (Bradbury, 2003; Horst, 2006; Meagher, 2003). Indigenous ethnic or religious networks provide a framework of cohesion and shared norms and offer economic infrastructure which coordinates transnational trading activities (Meagher, 1995). Networks keep social ties strong, connecting urban centres with refugee camps, the homeland and the wider Diaspora (Horst, 2006).

This study gave more focus to how the respondents identified themselves against others, their repeated actions and behaviors that are considered as identifying of the respondent, the acceptance amongst others and the degree of relation or interaction.

2.3   Identities of the Somali refugee Community

2.3.1   Somali nation and national identity

According to Anderson (2006) he defines the nation as an imagined political community, imagined both inherently limited and sovereign. He contends that it's imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion. That, communities larger than villages of face to face contact are imagined.

Somalia is one of the few ethnically homogenous nation states in Africa faced with the problem of being a 'dismembered nation' with ethnic Somalis living under the rule of several governments. The Somali national identity is rooted in the memory of a 'greater Somalia' which stretched from the northern region of Kenya, through Ethiopia's Ogaden, to the coast of Indian Ocean. This is emphasized by national flag which displays a five pointed star and the crescent. The points are said to represent the Ogaden, Djibouti, former Italian and British territories and the Northern frontier district in Kenya. The crescent represents the new moon and is a universal symbol of the Islamic faith.

The Leopard is considered the national symbol of Somalia. Two African leopards adorn the national emblem, a five pointed, white star on a light blue shield with a gold border. Another symbol of major importance is the camel because it provides transportation, milk, meat, income and status to a majority of Somalis. They also observe national holidays such as Labor Day, Independence Day commemorating the 1960 independence and unification.

It is difficult to discuss the Somali national identity without talking about its culture and religion which are greatly intertwined in the nation. Lewis (1993:25) makes an attempt and claims that the Somali people are mono-ethnic, with a common language and religion.

2.3.2   Somali Language and medium of communication

The Somali people have two main dialects representing the people from the North and South but in 1792 *Maxa* language became recognized as an official language of the Somali state. Somali nationals speak one of the several dialects of the Somali language. Somali is one of a set of languages called lowland eastern Cushitic spoken by peoples living in Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Djibouti. Common Somali is spoken by most of Somalis and is used by broadcasting stations in Somalia (Nelson 1982).

In addition to Somali, Arabic, which is also an Afro-Asiatic tongue, is an official national language in Somalia and many Somalis speak it due to centuries old ties with the Arab world. English was also widely spoken, taught and used as a working language in the British Somaliland protectorate. Other minority languages include *Bravanese*, a variant of the Bantu Swahili language that is spoken along the coast as

well as the *Kibajuni* which is the mother tongue of the Bajuni people. Language and the mastery of speech is greatly valued in Somali society and has been used greatly in Somali poetry which constitutes an important part of society and gives expression to issues of social, political and personal relevance. Scholars have analyzed Somali poetry as a reflection of the people's identity, visions, morals (Ahmed 1996, Samatar 1982).The traditional Somali lifestyle is continuous quest for news and need for intelligence whether for good or bad reasons. Most news is communicated in ordinary speech (*tiraab or Hadal*) which is easily understood but the most respected medium of communication in Somali society is poetry (*Hawraar*) (WSP 2005).

Poetry occupies a large and important place in Somali culture, interest in it, is universal, and skill in it, is something which everyone coverts and many possess (Andrzejewski & Lewis, 1964). Radio is widely considered to be the most powerful medium of communication in Somali community.

2.3.3   Somali Culture and traditions

i.   *Heritage*

Somalis are believed to share a common heritage rooted in the belief that they descended from a common founding father, *Hiil*, father of *Sab* and *Samale*. Six clan families exist, the *Darood*, the *Hawiye*, the *Isaq* and the *Dir*, descendents of *Samale* and the *Digil* and *Reewin* clans as descendents of *Sab*. Clanism is one of the main characteristics of Somali society as each of these clan families have several clans and sub clans. Genealogy therewith is at the heart of Somali social system and a basis of identification and organization. The clan system constitutes one of the identities of Somali people and continues to be the ideological basis for Somali Unity.

The clans to this day are the sole and exclusive provider of wide variety of public goods. Hussein Adam compared their function to the work of modern trade unions observing that in the absence of a functioning state they have become the primary source of an individual's security, social standing, judicial redress and economic opportunity (Adam 1992). Historically, the majority clans have practiced an egalitarian form of pastoral democracy in which all adult males were entitled by right to participate as equals in politics and decision making processes. Within this system intra clan disputes were governed and resolved by formal traditional practices.

Somalis have three name the first name is the given name and is specific to the individual. The second part is the name of the child's father and the third name is the name of the child's paternal grandfather. Thus, brothers and sisters will share the same second and third names. Women when they marry do not change their names so as to maintain their affiliation to the clan of birth.

ii.   Family life

The focus of Somali culture is on the family. The family is more important than the individual in all aspects of life. Somalis will live with their parents until they get married. Living with extended family is the norm and in times of need, all resources are pooled. Marriages are either arranged or of personal choice. Men who can afford marry up to four wives as is customary in Islamic tradition. Men are usually the head of the household while women manage the finances and take care of the children. A woman's status is enhanced by the more children she bears.

iii. Food

A typical Somali day starts with flat bread called *canjero* or *laxoo*, liver or cereal made of millet or cornmeal. Lunch is the biggest meal of the day and is made up of mainly rice and noodles and meat. Dinner is the smallest meal, mostly just beans, muffo or a small salad. Somalis love spiced tea, but goat, sheep and camel milk is the most popular. Milk remains an important food as Somali men travel a lot, either herding camels or for business. The milk is stored in a *haan*, a covered pitcher or a wooden basket which keeps the milk cold even in the heat.

iv. Dressing

The Somalis are tall and wiry in stature, with aquiline features, elongated heads and light brown to dark skinned Men wear western style pants or a plaid *ma'awis* kilt, western shirts, shawls and a *qofe*, the snug fitting hat that men wear. Women wear dresses, *Direh*, a long billowing dress that is worn over petticoats, a coantino, a fouryard cloth tied over the shoulders and draped around the waist, *Toob*, commonly worn throughout Africa, *Hijab*, and head scarves are common too. Although they do not wear the Muslim veil, they generally do not socialize with men in public places.

v. Social norms

Many social norms are derived from Islamic teachings and are similar across Islamic countries. Men and women don't touch but each gender can shake each other's hands. Respect is given to elders of the community and elders are addressed as aunt or uncle even if they are strangers. The right hand is considered clean and polite hand to use for daily tasks such as eating, writing and greeting people.

2.3.4   Somali Religion

According to the PEW Research Center, 99.8% of the Somalia's population is Muslim and Christianity represents 0.1%. Islam is an intrinsic part of the Somali people's identity, a distinguishing element in the definition of the Somali nation and a factor promoting unity. Islamic identity and clan identity are considered the twin pillars of Somali society. This duality is fluid and overlaps by the immersion of Islamic customs and laws in the everyday life of the Somali clans. Nearly all Somalis identify themselves as Muslim of the *Sunni* branch of faith (Nelson, 1982).

Religion is regularly presented as a feature of a united Somali culture shared by everyone in the Somali nation. The standard interpretation of Somali islam is provided by Lewis (2003) who describes the dominant *sufi* mystical brotherhoods (*turuq, Sing and tariqa*) prevalent in Sunni Somalia and found throughout the muslim world.

All Somalis trace their origin to two brothers, *Samale* and *Sab* who are believed to have descended from the tribe of Prophet Muhammad, the *Quaraysh* of Arabia, which in part provides the argument on adherence to Islam and Arab influence (Lewis 1998).

Historically, Islam was brought to Somalia by south Arabian merchants and seamen who founded settlements along the Somali coast more than 1000 years ago and is deeply ingrained in cultural traditions and social norms (Nelson 1982). The religion's basic tenet is stated in its creed, recitation of the creed, daily prayers performed according to the prescribed rules, fasting during the lunar month of Ramadhan, almsgiving and the pilgrimage to Mecca constitute the five pillars of Muslim faith. The basic teaching of Islam, are embodied in the *Quran* and *Hadith* (remembered doings of

the Prophet) and form the *Sunna* a comprehensive guide to the spiritual, ethical and social life of Muslims.

Politically, the constitution of Somalia defines Islam as the state religion of the Federal Republic of Somalia and Islamic Sharia as the basic source for national legislation. It stipulates that no law that is inconsistent with the basic tenets of sharia's can be enacted.

Somalis observe religious holidays which include the Islamic holidays of Ramadhan; Id al- Fitr; the first of Muharram; Maulid and Nabi and Id al-Adha. These holidays fall at different times of the year according to the Islamic calendar. Holidays are celebrated with feasting and storytelling, visiting graves, giving to the poor, parades, plays and ceremonies. Many religious holidays involve the ritual killings of a lamb or goat.

2.3.5 Somali social gatherings

Social gatherings are an integral part of Somali culture as these are used to socialize, educate, solve social problems, and communicate views and messages to the community.

i. *Mosques*

Mosques have historically played both a formal role in education and guidance of the community as well as an informal social role. People came together at the mosques for worship five times a day and religious sermons are held there on Fridays and other religious festivals. The Imam addresses the congregation on an issue of concern to the community and these discussions continue outside the mosque as people communicate the message to the greater community exchanging views on the pertinent issues.

As a community's most important gathering place, the mosques provide a venue for many other types of social interactions as well. The mosque's considerable influence in this respect derives in part from its status as a holy place and a forum for religious teaching.

ii. *Madal, Mefrish and Makhaayad*

In Somalia, gathering of any significance typically took place at the *madal* usually the cool shade of a large tree. The *madal* served as a venue for the community's important institutions: the *Shir* (deliberations of the adult men of the lineage on matters of common concern) and the *xeer-beegti* (meetings of the judicial experts on matters of customary law). Information on matters of war, peace and livestock was exchanged and examined in the shade of the tree and members of the younger generations were educated in their religion, culture and traditions. The *madal* also provided the setting for ceremonial occasions, where distinguished guests were accommodated and entertained. The resolutions of conflicts, marriage arrangements, formalization of conflicts were all celebrated under the shade of the tree.

Mefrish is used to describe both a venue for chewing *Qaad* and a circle of acquaintances that routinely meet to chew *qaad* in the same place. These venues were categorized into two, those where simple social gatherings take place and those politicized and attendants shared a common political view.

Another traditional gathering place common in Somali culture is the teashop (*makhaayad*) where men meet to exchange news and views. Teashops provided venues for chewing *Qaad*, reading newspapers and listening to the radio.

Women were not allowed in the *madal*, the *makhaayad* and the *mefrish* except in the market places, public transport, weekly religious gathering (*sitaad*), weddings and other festivities.

iii. *Qaad (Cathula edulis) or Khat*

This is a stimulant plant grown in Ethiopia and Kenya whose green leaves are consumed widely in Somaliland. Historically, *Qaad*, is said to have been consumed by religious leaders (*sheekhs*) and their followers in order to stay awake for their lessons and recitals. Today, the use of *qaad* primarily fulfils a social function as men gather to talk while they chew, although some also chew to remain alert for monotonous tasks.

2.4   Research on Refugee Identities in Exile

Identity and its formation, negotiation and development are particularly relevant due to the recently intensified contact of different communities brought about by social processes such as globalization and human migration (De Fina, et al 2006). Dickinson (1997) wrote that Identity is a project, a constant repetition of stylized acts that are not founded on any secure structure, but instead are enmeshed in constantly changing, socially constructed forces. These constantly changing, socially constructed forces are the working of memory, for the sedimentation of past actions, past proscriptions and past sanctions compose the cultural resources people utilize in the performance of themselves.

Research on refugees' identities in their host societies has resulted in different findings and opposing conclusions. On one hand some authors Stein, Taylor and Nathan (Malkki, 1995) concluded that, in exile, due to contact with a new environment, refugees lose or are most likely to lose ethnic, national and cultural identities. On the other hand, Kibreab (1999), Kroner (2000) and Jolluck (2002) contend that displacement does not necessarily lead to loss of identity as in most cases refugees maintain their, national and cultural identities even when conditions are not conducive to do so. The discussion below outlines these two arguments.

Stein (Malkki, 1995), predicts "They (refugees) will confront the loss of their culture, their identity, their habits and every action that used to be habitual or routine will require careful examination and consideration". Likewise, Taylor and Nathan (Malkki,1995) argued that refugees lose their patterns of conduct because of the uncertainty of what kind of behavior is acceptable or unacceptable in their new environment; the patterns of behavior that sustained life at home are no longer sufficient. These views illustrate the implicit assumption found in the current literature of refugee studies that to become uprooted and removed from a national community or territory is automatically to lose ones identity, tradition and culture. The mere fact of movement or displacement across nation-state borders is often assumed a priori to entail not even a transformation but a loss of culture and or identity (Malkki, 1995).

In a comparative study of camp based and self-settled Burundian Hutu refugees in Western Tanzania' Malkki (1995:2) found "radical differences in the meanings that people ascribe to national identity and History, to notions of home and homeland, and

to exile as a collectively experienced condition. While camp-based refugees in Mishamo strove to maintain a distinct collective "Hutu identity" by engaging in continuous construction and reconstruction of their history as a people (the 'mythico-history' narratives), while self-settled refugees or urban refugees in Kigoma did not engage in those spontaneous, oratorical didactic monologues about the history of the Hutu as a means of preserving a distinct collective identity. Rather they sought ways by which to assimilate themselves into the larger society and consequently produced more cosmopolitan forms of identity" (Malkki 1995:4).

Analyzing these findings, Kibreab (1999), argued that the 'strategy of invisibility' adopted by the town refugees was in response to 'inauspicious policy environment' thus a *facade* and not a reflection of a true loss of identity. Using Malkki's own data he shows that town refugees valued and were determined to keep their Burundian national identity as indicated by their refusal to become Tanzanian citizens. For him, hiding one's identity is not a measure of loss of identity. Kibreab further illustrates his argument with another example of Eritrean refugees in Sudan and Saudi Arabia who assumed fictive Muslim identity not because they had lost their collective identity or attachment to their homeland, or wanted to assimilate into Sudanese or Saudi society but because it was a strategy that enabled them to carry out their political, economic and social activities by evading detention. In support of Kibreab, Rodriguez (2006) suggests that due to changing relationships and situational contexts, a person's identity is constantly negotiated and changing. Instead of just maintaining one primary identity, people have plural identities that are brought out in different situations.

Kroner (2003), studying the identity of Somali refugees in Egypt, documents that, although within the Somali community identities were further differentiated, they maintained and even strengthened their collective identity of being Somali. Further, Jolluck (2002) reveals not only the harsh treatment Polish women in the Soviet Union during World War 11 experienced, but also how they maintained their identities as respectable women and Patriotic Poles. She found out that for those exiled, the ways in which they strove to recreate home in a foreign and hostile environment became a key means of survival. The findings above corroborate Bakewell's (Jacobsen, 2001) argument that although some may wish to establish new lives as 'normal' people among those where they settle, in many cases, refugees want to maintain their national identity and attachment to their country of origin by remaining marked out with special status and treatment.

This study drew its main assumption from Kibreab's line of thinking by arguing that refugees and displaced persons do not necessarily loss their identity and in most cases, maintain their national and cultural identities. This adherence to new identities does not necessarily override attachment to old ones especially in situations where refugees believe in the temporariness of their situation (Kibreab, 1989). Many a times refugees in trying to cope with new environs regroup themselves and live in their respective communities where they are likely to maintain the distinctive characteristics of their national or cultural identity.

2.5   Imagined Homeland and preservation of national identity

According to the Oxford English dictionary (1989), homeland is the land where one finds home or where one's home is located, that is, one's native land. Homeland,

whether real or imagined, presupposes the existence of another land generally more real than imagined. Much literature on the individual's relation to home and homeland focuses on the homeland as the object of one's longing (Westin, 2000). The homeland emerges as a mental image in a recollection once one is no longer there. The homeland is intimately linked to migration and is sometimes in the minds of migrants, the culture and social life of their origins, in short, in the everyday life of which they were once apart. The concept of homeland makes itself known once in it is no longer there and represents a lack of something and nostalgia (Westin, 2000).

According to Runblom (2000) the relationship between migrants and homelands can be studied from many perspectives (social, psychological, cultural, economic and political) and on many levels (individual, group, nation and state). One must observe this phenomenon overtime, in both an individual and a communal perspective. Although certain basic attitudes and values tend to be constant in many individuals from adolescence on, an individual's homeland orientation normally changes over time. Attitudes to the old and new homeland are, *inter alia,* related to the individual's age at emigration and to the time spent in the adopted second homeland. One could here apply a life cycle perspective and investigate how education, settling, change of citizenship, marrying and raising children inform attitudes towards the original homeland.

Attitudes of homeland are also related to changes in the homeland. No society is static, and developments and transformations impact individuals who have memories from it, set great hopes on it, or indulge in expectations of it. Even if an emigrant keeps himself or herself informed of or about the homeland there is a great risk that discrepancies between reality and imagination will develop. Migrants tend to preserve an old picture

of the homeland, and individual psychological processes often result in memory distortion. Many migrants compare the land of emigration with the land of immigration, and comparisons tend to be biased in one way or another. Much literature on the individual's relation to home and homeland focuses on the homeland as the object of one's longing. One component is homesickness, the longing back to a place abandoned or forsaken. On this point fiction says more than other genres.

It is not unusual for migrants to invent an image of their homeland. In the Essay, *Italians in the United States as Patrons of Public Art,* Groseclose, cites the use of Christopher Columbus monuments by Italian Americans in the United States as borrowing a symbol to embody a vision of homeland that centered on Italian nationalism. She asserts that Italian American commemorations of Columbus in the United States is not only recalling of homeland but active resistance to assimilation in the new land. Garcia (1996), brings out a Cuban reconstruction of homeland and struggles of Émigré's obsessed with defining their identity and culture. To maintain a sense of Cubanidad meant to preserve Cuban culture, or those customs, values and traditions the émigrés associated with being Cuban. Maintaining a sense of Cubanidad was easier to do in Miami than elsewhere for several reasons: an estimated thirty thousand Cubans already lived in this area, having migrated earlier in the century, the climate and topography were similar to Cuba, which was an important consideration for the homesick, snow fearing émigrés and the plane ride from Havana to Miami was a short and inexpensive one, making a return ride easy. With Cuba, less than one hundred miles away, a refugee could even pick Up Cuban radio stations on a portable radio and stay in touch with the latest news from the homeland (Garcia, 1996).

Gupta and Ferguson (1992), confirm that remembering places has often served as symbolic anchors of community for dispersed people. This has long been true of immigrants who use memory of place to construct imaginatively their lived world. Homeland in this way remains one of the most powerful unifying symbols for mobile and displaced peoples, though the relation to homeland may be differently constructed in different settings.

2.5.1   The reconstruction of a homeland

2.5.1.1   *"Little Havana"* as a symbol of imagined homeland for Cubans in America

The city of Miami in Southern Florida attracted the largest number of Cubans in an area that came to be known as 'Little Havana'. It was once a decaying residential district inhabited mostly by elderly Anglo-Americans but was transformed into a Cuban enclave with a lucrative commercial flare and a powerful cultural presence. The Cuban cultural presence permeated the city through Spanish speaking radios, speeches in churches and synagogues, street vendors sold Cuban souvenirs, foreign smell of native food filled the air, Cuban and Latin brands lined the shelves of grocery and supermarkets while small farmers outside the city harvested vegetables important to the Cuban diet (Garcia, 1996).

Many Cubans hoped to return to their homeland one day, and maintaining a sense of Cubanidad was crucial and meant preserving the Cuban culture, or those customs, values and traditions the emigrant associated with being Cuban. Hence, they looked for ways to remember and celebrate the past and thereby reinforce their feelings of connection to Cuba. They created organizations that sponsored lectures, cultural

pageants on Cuban history, art and folklore. Bookstores ensured that the community was well supplied with literature on Cuban life. For parents who were concerned about the future of their children, little Havana established school programs in which children were taught the home language, learned to sing the Cuban national anthem and read about important events and heroes of Cuba's past.

Cuban exiles realized that their identity was dependent upon continuity between the past and the present, and between Cuba and the United States, but in some way they duplicated the past so exactly in Miami that Cubans who arrived during the 1980s remarked that they had entered a time warp and stepped back into the Cuba of the 1950s.From the foregoing, it is clear that it is not only in refugee camps that refugees are able to retain their identity but even in cities.

2.5.1.2 *"Plaza Fiesta"* as a symbol of imagined homeland for Latinos in America

Located in Atlanta, Georgia, Plaza Fiesta has served as a neighborhood-gathering place for Latinos that offered shopping, entertainment, leisure, recreational activity, a variety of Latin American foods, and cultural celebrations. The mall evolved over time from a low traffic shopping center that included shops and a movie theater, to an oriental shopping mall, to a current focal point of Latino activity and community events in Atlanta (Moriarty,2000). Today, the shopping mall offers a variety of stores, healthcare facilities, and entertainment venues that attract Latino patrons by using cultural appeals and the Spanish language. Spanish is the dominant language used at the Plaza, including signs in Spanish, healthcare services available in Spanish, and Spanish speaking vendors.

Sarah (2008) elaborates on how Plaza Fiesta has contributed to the re-imagining of a homeland amongst the Latino community in Atlanta. "It is a gathering place for Latinos, a signal that everybody can recognize easily. Even if somebody is not familiar with the Buford Highway area, everybody knows where Plaza Fiesta is Located. Plaza Fiesta is a marketplace that evokes "imaginings of the homeland," (Price,2007) and has constructed memories of Mexico or and other Latin American countries through its design and architecture, product offering, and music. Plaza Fiesta is a place where memories of one's homeland are strong, yet a new sense of home is created through cultural fusions.

Plaza Fiesta's architecture and design evoked memories of shoppers' homeland. Founders based its design and decorations of the mall, replicated a *Mercado* (market) and a plaza one would find, on locations in Mexico. The name Plaza Fiesta evoked the same community feeling of those plazas throughout Mexico and Latin America, a place where families gather, go for walks, socialize, eat and enjoy entertainment. Therefore, Sarah's findings, suggest that a homeland was re-invented and remembered through recreations of patriotic festivals by Plaza Fiesta.

 The current study on Little Mogadishu was a mirror to the above case studies of Cuban and Mexican migrants in America in an attempt to establish identities that the Somali refugees in Nairobi have employed to preserve their national and cultural identity.

2.6   Refugee Protection in Kenya

The Urban refugee protection environment in Kenya remains complex and unpredictable as refugees continue to be associated with insecurity and encampment

policy remains in force. The urban refugee program by UNHCR caters for 65,715 (as at end of January 2018) asylum seekers and refugees residing mainly in Nairobi, and other urban towns including Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, Kitale, Meru-Maua, Isiolo and Bungoma. UNHCR continues to intervene for urban refuges on ensuring equitable and timely access to services within their host communities based on clearly defined criteria and in accordance with existing standard operation procedures.

The main sources of international law on refugees are the 1951 Refugee Convention and the OAU Convention of 1969. Kenya acceded to the 1951 Convention and the obligations under these documents include not sending a person back to a country where he or she may be persecuted and in the case of OAU Convention 1969, where his or her life is threatened because of the threats to public order which forms the basis for refugee status.; not discriminating among groups of refugees; the right of refugees to freedom of movement and to work in the country; the same right to basic education as a national; the duty of the refugees to obey the law in the country where they are received. The OAU Convention adds that member states shall use their best endeavors to receive refugees and ensure their settlement. It makes a special mention of persons fleeing protracted civil disturbance and widespread violence and war in Somalia and Eastern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo as entitled to refugee status.

The Kenya government policy is that refugees must reside in designated camps to qualify for assistance all new arrivals who approach the Refugee Affairs Secretariat (RAS) should be registered and issued movement passes to proceed to Kakuma camp. Kenya considers itself only as a country of asylum for as long as the refugee has a mandate. Under the international law, it is the responsibility of UNHCR to supervise

the implementation of the 1951 Convention and monitor the protection of refugees. UNHCR took over the responsibility of refugee affairs management in 1992 from the Kenyan government following the continued increase and influx of refugees.

In the early 1990s a draft Refugee Bill was prepared, institutionalizing camps which were deemed to be the more appropriate way to host refugees, as they would facilitate the control, registration and eventual repatriation of the refugee population. In 1999 the government held consultations with civil society and stakeholders, regarding the rights of the refugees and the draft Bill, which was revised and became the Refugee Bill of 2000. The Refugee Bill was republished after its expiry in 2003 and became the Refugee Bill of 2006. Due to the increased influx of refugees and terrorism attempts in the country the Government in 2012 issued a directive to transfer refugees from urban areas to the refugee camps at Dadaab and Kakuma but on 26th July 2013 the High court of Kenya ruled against the directive and upheld the asylum right of the urban refugees. On 29th November 2006, Kenya's parliament passed the Kenya Refugee Act that also saw the establishment of the Department of Refugee Affairs to handle refugee related issues.

In spite of the Department of Refugee Affairs being mandated under the Act to take over the registration and processing of asylum cases from UNHCR, the department is yet to operate as intended, raising confusion for refugees with whom they should register with. It is important to note that prior to the enactment of the Kenya Refugee Act in 2006, refugees in Kenya were subjected to the provisions of the Aliens Restrictions and Immigration Acts. Several years later the two Acts remain in operation alongside the Refugee Act resulting in inconsistent application by the law enforcers.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the methods that were used to achieve the objectives of the study. It discusses the research design, study area and sample size used in the study. It explains the data collection methods and the research procedure used. How the data was analyzed, the reliability and validity, challenges encountered and ethical considerations.

3.2   Research design

The study used both the qualitative and quantitative research method. Qualitative approach was used in this study, as it required deep exploration of parameters such as attitudes, beliefs, symbols and behavior while the quantitative method assisted in measuring and giving the statistical numbers to quantify the attitudes, opinions and behaviors.

3.3   Study area, population and Sample size

This study was conducted in Eastleigh, Pumwani division of Nairobi amongst the Somali refugee community. This community consists of Somali nationals who escaped from their country because of war and have settled in this area as urban refugees.

Due to time, logistical constraints and the nature of the study population a sample of ninety six (96) respondents was used for the study. This sample makes no claim to be representative of the Somali refugee community. One hundred (96) questionnaires were filled by the researcher as she held interviews with the respondents. The same tool was

used throughout the study so as to standardize information for easy analysis. The respondents were of various age groups of both gender selected from the Somali refugee community in Eastleigh. The respondents were those born and bred in Somalia before the outbreak of the war hence internalization of all aspects of their nation, national symbols, institutions, cultural and traditional norms as well as everyday livelihood of their community.

3.4   Sampling techniques

This study employed the snowball sampling (Atkinson & Flint, 2001) technique to select the sample. Snowballing is a method for recruiting respondents through a process of onward referrals from known respondents. Sampling started with one individual who was known to the researcher meeting the given criteria. The individual was interviewed and asked to nominate and facilitate introductions to other people whom they knew and who fulfilled the criteria required. The nominees were contacted and interviewed, and the process was repeated. The sample thus expanded by tapping into the social contacts and networks to locate respondents. It was preferred for this study because, it is a population that is closed in nature and suspicious of outsiders, due to their illegal status.

This sampling technique has its weaknesses as it may have led to sampling of respondents with similarities though every effort was made to interview one member from every household.

3.5   Data collection and instrumentation

Data was collected using respondent questionnaires, interviews and observations as the main tools for collecting data. The selection of these tools has been guided by the nature of data to be collected, the time available as well as by the objectives of the study.

3.5.1   Questionnaires

Questionnaires were preferred since the study was concerned mainly with variables that could not be directly observed such as views, opinions, perceptions and feelings of the respondents (Touliatos & Compton, 1988). The Somali refugee population is secretive and highly suspicious, and did not want to be recognized or known by name to the researcher and for reliable and unbiased information questionnaires are preferred in maintaining anonymity.

Ninety-six questionnaires (96) were administered by the researcher to all the respondents, together with a letter of introduction and research permit for identification. Special attention was taken to balance gender participation and equity, though this was not achieved as more men participated than women.

All questions were similar in form and presentation hence, eliminating variations in the questioning and interviewing process. The questions included both closed and open-ended questions. The open-ended questions were used in order to enable the respondents to give further information and express themselves without limitation.

3.5.2 Interviews

Face to face in-depth interviews were used where the researcher asked questions relating to the study and observed the respondents with a view to elicit information that could not be put down in writing or was not covered in the questionnaires. According to Kvale, (1996), interviews are particularly suited for, "Studying peoples understanding of the meanings in their lived world, describing their experiences and self-understanding and clarifying and elaborating their own perspectives on their lived world". The interviews were conducted in Kiswahili which most of the respondents' (Somali refugees) preferred. An interpreter was availed to translate in cases where respondents were not sure of themselves. The respondents were interviewed at their habitual residences; work places, tea shops *Khat* stalls and some in the streets. This was found to be more suitable as it made the respondent comfortable in his own environment.

3.6 Research procedure

With an introductory letter from the department of study, the researcher obtained a research permit from the Ministry of Higher Education. A pilot study was carried out to test the research instrument, which for this study was the questionnaires, as well as train two research assistants before employing the instrument.

Research assistants were used to overcome barriers of communication and identification of respondents minimizing the level of suspicion and helped the researcher familiarize with the target community before the research took place. This

was in the form of visiting community leaders attending community gathering and teaching the researcher on expected etiquette and presentation.

3.7   Data analysis

The content analysis technique was used to analyze the raw data collected from the respondents. Content analysis is a method of analysis used in qualitative research in which text is systematically examined by identifying and grouping themes and coding, classifying and developing categories.

Data from open ended questionnaire items and interviews was grouped under broad themes and converted into frequency counts. Data was coded to facilitate easy analysis using the computer Software Programming for Social Scientists (SPSS) package, to generate summary output frequencies, graphs and tables. All data was analyzed at a level of significance of 95%.

3.8   Reliability and Validity

Sound measurement must meet the tests of validity, reliability and practicality. Validity refers to the extent to which a test measured what was actually meant to be measured. The study instrument was availed to several persons with technical knowledge on refugee studies to assess the validity and their expert opinion was sought before going to the field.

The reliability of a research instrument refers to the extent to which it can yield the same results on repeated trials and concerns its ability to produce consistent results and how stable it is over time. After the instrument had passed the validity test by experts it

was administered to ten respondents who were also targeted in the pilot study and the two sets of tests were compared to confirm its consistency. The pilot study also assisted the researcher to check and improve the reliability of the questionnaire by rewording and rescaling some of the questions that were not answered as expected

The practicability characteristic of a measuring instrument was judged in terms of economy, convenience and interpretability. The instruments used for this study were economical to the researcher, convenient and easily interpretable.

Convenience in data collection was obtained by simple layout of the research instruments. To ensure convenience, the questionnaires had clear instructions to make it more effective and easier to complete. Interpretability was important when persons other than the designer are to interpret results.

3.9   Challenges encountered

Technical and methodological challenges were encountered during the course of the research as noted by earlier researchers Landau, (2004); Jacobsen (2003); and Kibreab (2003) researching urban self-settled refugees has always been problematic especially in terms of developing an adequate sampling strategy that allows one to make claims of representativeness. This is made particularly difficult by the 'less accurate estimates of the size of one's intended study population and their spatial distribution' (Landau, 2004).

Secondly, despite their genuine interest, respondents seemed to be particularly busy as the research was carried out during the months of November and December, which are high season months for shoppers in Eastleigh. The researcher made early morning

visits before shoppers arrived and focused more on respondents who were at home or coffee shops.

Thirdly, some respondents refused to participate if no incentive was given as they say is the case with researches conducted by non-government organization that give handouts after the interviews. The researcher made it clear during introductions with the respondent that she was a self-sponsored student with no support for hand-outs and that the research was purely for academic purpose only. Nevertheless, by adopting, "an innovative strategy demanding creativity and willingness to compromise" (Kibreab 2003, in Landau 2004), sufficient data was collected.

3.10   Ethical considerations

The study adhered to general ethical standards through several ways;

1.   The respondent was made aware on the purpose of the research and that the decision to participate was out of choice hence a verbal consent was sought before each interview.

2.   Respondents were informed that their identities and information given would be treated with strict confidentiality.

3.   Efforts were made to avoid unnecessary invasion of privacy.

4.   The researcher adhered to the Somali general etiquette of respect especially in introduction and dress code.

The chapter has highlighted that ninety-six Somali refugees who reside in Nairobi's Eastleigh area were sampled for the research study. Questionnaires and Interviews were administered as a way of collecting data. It discusses how the data was analyzed, the

reliability and validity, challenges encountered and how the researcher went around the challenges and the ethical considerations that were put in mind. The next chapter will discuss the analyzed data and findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a brief background on Eastleigh and discusses the research questions and the study objectives in chapter one as supported by the analyzed data collected from the field, using the tools discussed in the previous chapter. Descriptive statistics such as frequencies (F) were used to analyze responses to various items in the questionnaire. Tables and figures have been used to summarize and illustrate the findings of the study.

4. 2. Background on Eastleigh's "little Mogadishu"

Anyone would be forgiven for mistaking the veiled women and girls strolling down alleys, the men chewing the popular *khat* stimulant and the camels' milk in Nairobi's Eastleigh suburb for thinking they were in Mogadishu. Since the early 1990s, this quarter has become home to thousands of Somalis fleeing the terror and destruction that accompanied years of anarchy and warlord rule in their homeland. It has become a microcosm, a little Mogadishu, where urban refugees can continue living as they would at home in Somalia, a country where conflict rages and tensions continue to mount (Goldenberg, 2006). Rather than settling in congested refugee camps along the Somali-Kenyan border and getting by relief, the Somali residents of Eastleigh chose to live independently.

This study focused on Eastleigh, which has a large Somali population. The vast majority of Nairobi's urban refugees live in Eastleigh which is densely populated, low income area, where the informal economy is flourishing, Eastleigh is popularly referred to as 'little Mogadishu' and is dominated by Somalis and other African refugees and immigrants.

'It's just like Mogadishu,' said Yassin Juma, a Kenyan journalist who covers Somalia and the Somali community in Kenya, 'except without guns.

Eastleigh was formerly a predominantly Asian residential estate with some shops and businesses. Over the year's Kenyan Kikuyu landlords began to acquire property there. There was a small Kenyan Somali community prior to the Somali civil war, some of who were shopkeepers and had grown up in Eastleigh (African Population and Health Research Center, 2002; Moret & Mader 2005). Kenya had a substantial indigenous Somali Kenyan community particularly in the North Eastern province known as the northern frontier district under the British rule. Other Kenyan Somalis trace their families back to colonial employers or independent traders who settled in Kenya's towns and cities (Anderson 2005, Turton 1972) such as Eastleigh.

Throughout the 1990s Eastleigh was transformed, largely by Somali businessmen, from residential community to the commercial centre of the Eastland's area. Eastleigh has become a major business and shopping district where business people including refugees, invest in import and export businesses, retail outlets, chemists, property and real estate development. Hotels, restaurants, lodges, miraa (khat/qaad) outlets, cafes,

long distance transport companies, taxis, phone and internet bureaus, money transfers and exchange services (Little, 2003).

The influx of refugees in the area affected the local property and housing market. There was increased demand from Somalis which raised the cost of accommodation pushing many Kenyan tenants out into other areas of Eastland's, while the refugees pooled together and lived in overcrowded conditions, sharing and subletting (Goldsmith, 1997; Sirola, 2001; Campbell, 2005; Hyndman, 2000).

Commercial development in the district area known as "Section Two" also accelerated, pushing up the price of land for redevelopment into shopping malls. These refugees bought residential blocks and turned many of them into multi-million shillings retail malls and commercial enterprises. The cornerstone of this development is the famous 'Garissa Lodge' and Amal plaza which serve today as a symbol of refugee businesses in Eastleigh (Perouse de Montclos, 1998). Many Somalis resided in this former guesthouse before its transformation into a modern retail shopping mall, officially renamed little Dubai.

The largely unregulated expansion of business and the increasingly overcrowded scenario outpaced repairs and improvements to public infrastructure. Roads are now in a dilapidated condition with deep mud during rainy seasons and rising dust when it is dry. The area has also become strongly associated with the increased hardship created by the introduction of the structural adjustment programmes (Anderson, 2002). Muggings and streets thefts of mobile phones and money are common and public transport to Eastleigh has suffered numerous carjack attempts particularly at night.

Some Somali refugees have obtained Kenyan identity cards or alien identity cards through various means to avoid police harassment as the UNHCR letter states that there are *primafacie* refugee which is of little use due to their ambiguous politico-legal situation outside the camps (Hyndman, 2002; Verdirame, 1999). In developing countries, host governments tend to view refugees living in border zones as *prima facie* refugees, because they have not undergone determination procedures and therefore do not have full refugee status. Most refugees in these countries never become convention refugees and don't experience the rights and privileges of convention refugees, nor are they ever likely to be legally integrated into the host country. By contract, UNHCR regards *prima facie* refugees as refugees in every sense of the word, and entitled to all the rights offered by the 1951 convention, including local integration.

The arrival of the refugees shaped local social relations and Kenyan Somali families were an important source of assistance to their close relatives and clans' people (Goldsmith, 1997; Horst, 2006). Many of these refugees depend on cash remittances from relatives overseas through the Somali money transfer system popularly known as Hawala or *Xawilaad* (Lindley, 2007).

Due to the nature of urban refugees who are mostly not documented, and would not want to be identified due to their illegal status in the city, the exact population size is not known but an estimated figure of about 60,000 is given by UNHCR. This figure represents the collective number of all identified refugees from other African countries who live in Nairobi and not just Eastleigh and not specific to Somalis.

4.3   Discussion of Findings

4.3.1   Somali refugee perception of their nationality in exile

The study sort to establish if the refugees were aware of who they were, what their nationality involved and how their nationality had been affected in exile. Observations and discussions with the respondents, led to the conclusion that the Somali refugee was aware of who he or she was, as evidenced in the way they talked with pride and jest on who a true Somali person is, how they walk, talk, dress, look, behave and qualities of honesty and openness. They defined themselves based on belonging to the nation of Somalia, the clan and family they belong to, being a Muslim, dressing in a certain way, eating certain foods, economic livelihood, and position held in the community, marital status and refugee status. However, the discussion, kept on making comparisons with other communities found around them so as to give a clear picture of who they are and differentiate them from others.

All the 96 respondents identified themselves as Somalis who are refugees in Kenya and were proud to be Somalis but did not like being referred to as refugees as they were not helpless and they felt demeaned. All they needed was recognition and a conducive environment to earn an honest living.

A person qualifies to be called a refugee if he or she fits into one of the definitions below. The 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees is one of the key legal documents that define who a refugee is and their rights. It defines a refugee as a person owing to a well, founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of

his nationality and is unable or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself or herself of the protection of that country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events is unable to return to it (UNHCR: 2010).

A mandate refugee is one who meets the criteria of the UNHCR statutes and qualifies for the protection of the United Nations provide by the High Commissioner regardless of whether or not he is in the country that is party to the 1951 convention or the 1967 protocol or whether or not he has been recognized by his host country as a refugee under either of these instruments hence such refugees are within the High Commissioner's mandate (Perruchoud, Redpath-Cross, eds, 2011).

The data collected indicates that out of the total number of respondents 45 were Mandate refugees while 25 were conventional refugees. 13 preferred not to indicate their status. This group can be assumed to be the invisible urban refugee who is unaccounted for in official statistics but falls in the *prima facie* refugee status.10 were using the ration card which is allocated to refugees who are in camps and 3 were using the alien certificate for identification.

Prima facie refugees are recognized by a state or UNHCR on the basis of objective criteria related to the circumstances in their country of origin, which justify a presumption that they meet the criteria of the applicable refugee definition (Perruchoud, Redpath-Cross, eds, 2011)

Studies on migrant identities (Jacobsen 2001) argue that even though some migrant may wish to establish new lives and identities in many cases refugees want to maintain

their national identity and attachment to their homeland with the hope that they will one day return home. When asked if they would return home if sustainable peace was achieved, 82 out of the 96 respondents said they would while 7 said they wouldn't and 7 were not sure. **Figure.4.1** shows the distribution as 81 respondents said they would fit into the society back home as they had made great efforts in preserving their nationality and traditions while in exile.
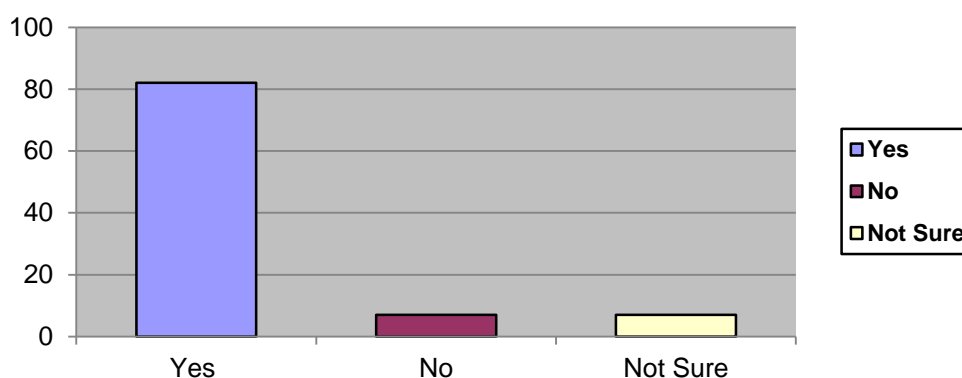

Figure 4.1   Return to the home country

Secondly, regardless of how long they had been staying in Kenya they were proud to be identified as citizens of Somalia. They felt that despite the negative publicity about Somalis and their country, it still remains their country and it is where they belong. They said that, even if one tried to claim to be from another nationality, there are still some salient features that one would not be able to change unless this was done over several generations and a lot of inter-marriages between. Though, despite being proud to be Somalis, the study found out that in some circumstances 44% of the respondents hid their nationality not because they did not like it but to evade police arrests and possible deportation while others hid to access social amenities that are only available to Kenyan Somalis at minimum or no cost at all. The amenities include access to health

care services, local schools, protection and security from government entities among others.

Urban refugees are generally target of harassment from the host community and the host government security organs especially the police. The fact that they lack the right papers and information on their rights to protection and humane treatment; they are forced to adapt ways to evade police arrests and detention which eventually lead to their deportation back home.

It has been reported that Somali refugees normally colluded with Kenyan Somalis to declare them as relatives so as to qualify for Kenyan national identification documents. Some just bribe the issuing officers or present fake documents for processing.

Figure 4:2 distributes the percentages as 52 out of the 96 respondents did not feel compelled to hide their nationality yet 44 respondents felt they had to hide their identity.
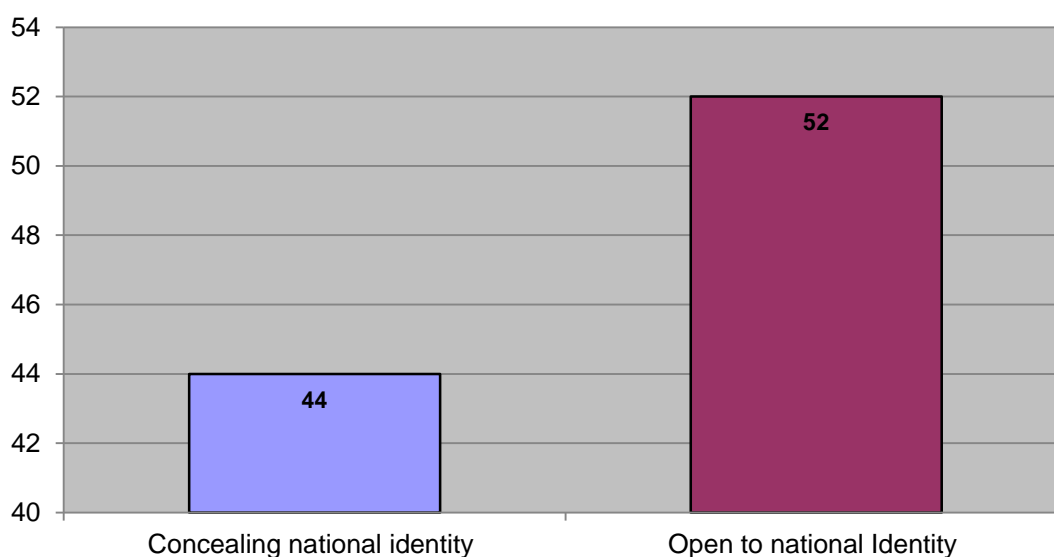

Figure 4.2   Concealing of nationality

The respondents who preferred to hide their nationality gave the highest reason as evading police arrests and to a small extend access social amenities such as free medical services in the public hospitals, free primary education for their children and avoid being charged higher rates for housing and business premises but not because they were ashamed of their nationality. Of the 44 respondents 38 of them were evading police arrest as shown in **Figure 4.3**. The issue of police harassment and arrests ranked highly as the refugees feared being held in jail, moved back to the camps or deported back to their country**.**
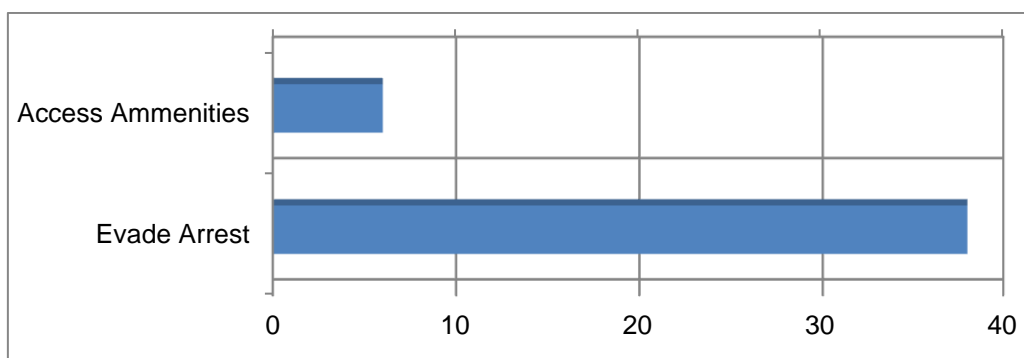

Figure 4.3   Reasons for hiding national identity

The study also went further to establish if the respondents made attempts to know the political situation of their home country and 76 of the respondents said they very often, followed the political affairs of their country with the Radio ranking highest as the source of information for the community. The hope of returning back home was a main motivator for the respondents to follow the events taking place at home. The radio was most preferred as it was small, easily portable during movement, used batteries and could receive several frequencies from home. They said the radio had programmes which discussed the political and economic situation at home, programmes on Somali music and poetry, and those that talked about issues affecting the society as well as

announcements of events and deaths of relatives. The BBC was also amongst the most listened to channel.

Figure 4:4 gives the distribution as very often at 76 out of 96 respondents often at 16, and not often at 4 respondents. **Figure 4:5** gives the primary sources of information on political affairs back home as the radio at 68 politicians at 12 the internet at 9 television at 5 street talks at 4 and newspapers at 2 respondents.
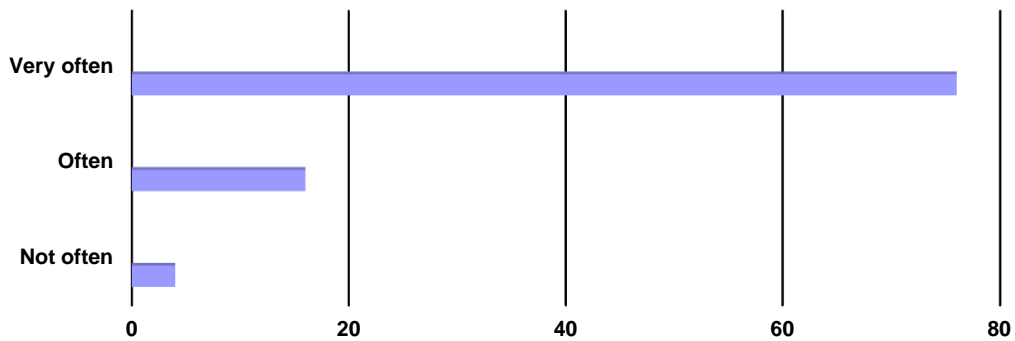

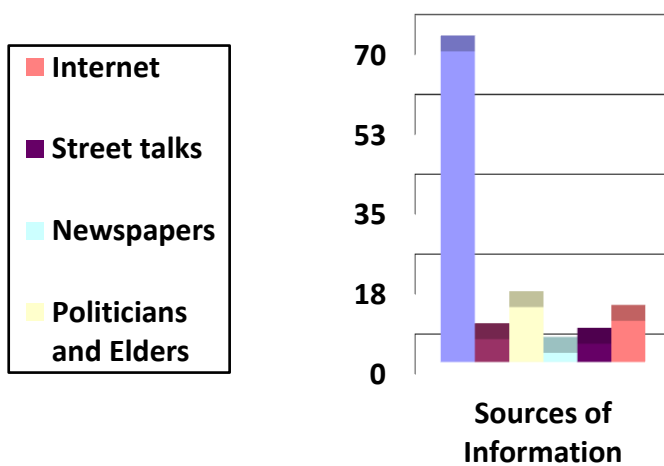*Figure 4.4   How often do you follow the political affairs of your country*

Figure 4.5   Primary source of information about the political affairs

It can be concluded from the findings above that the Somali refugee is conscious of his nationality and takes pride in it despite the challenges of being in exile. The individual and community at large have taken great effort in keeping abreast with the events back home in the hope that one day they may go back home.

4.3.2   Identities the Somali refugees in Eastleigh had retained

The objective of the study was to establish what identities the Somali refugees possess so as to be able to determine what identities they had retained. The literature reviewed informed us of a homogenous Somali nation whose people belonged to one ancestral root divided into several clans of birth sharing common acceptable norms and beliefs. The study established the belonging of the respondent and the awareness of the individual to what makes him a member of the nation. The nation here was characterized by the identification with the national territory, a common history, a common language, literature and a common culture (Wimmer, 2002). With the assumption of a homogenous group the following identities were used to measure the respondents belonging, these being, the nation, the national identity and its symbols, religion, culture and its practices and language use.

The findings established that the respondents were aware and proud of their nationality as Somalis regardless of the clan they belonged to. It is important to note that the data collection tool did not give attention to the clan as a single entity. This was informed by discussions held with a few respondents during the piloting of the tool that the community was making efforts of cohesiveness by giving more focus to the group entity of Somali rather than Clanism as it had been divisive leading to the many wars

experienced by the community back at home. On the other hand, it was realized that its omission would not affect the outcome of the study in any way.

Majority of the respondents that were interviewed at home and places of work or business, were proud to show the researcher displayed miniature flags, copies of the constitution of Somalia, home currency and photos of political leaders and people of influence back home. This expression of nationhood supports Smith's (1991) definition of national identity as a collective phenomenon whose special features include, among others, a historical territory, common myths and historical memories, a legal political community and a common mass, civic public culture and ideology. He argues that national identity fulfils more intimate and internal function for individuals and community by providing repertoires of shared values, symbols and traditions. By the use of symbols, flags, anthems, coinage and national ceremonies, members are reminded of their common heritage and cultural kinship and feel strengthened and exalted by their sense of common identity and belonging.

The researcher challenged the respondent on having lost to a small percentage, part of their unique culture and belonging, after the long duration of time spent away from home. The respondents were enthusiastic in the way they defended their position of purity and highlighted how they adhered to all the religious holidays as prescribed in the Koran and national holidays by gathering and listening to the Radio on what the leaders back home were saying. Culturally they preserved their purity by way of dressing and presentation, which is distinctively Somali and separates them from other Muslims of different origins.

Religion posed an interesting discussion with the respondents, as the researcher tried to determine the identity of the individual regarding religious beliefs. This was foreseen as the Somali culture is greatly entwined and influenced by religion. Mojzes (1998) argued that in a collective society, religion and politics work together to strengthen and protect the ethnic community from outside threats. Therefore, religion is enmeshed with all other cultural and civilization aspects of life to the degree that it is not possible to clearly delineate where religions ended and politics, art, science, began and vice versa. Among the great world religions, Islam to this day most closely maintains this model. Muslims will frequently say that Islam is not a religion but a way of life. Religion and ethnic identity have become so enmeshed that they cannot be separated. Communities where religious and ethnic identity and nationalism are congruent and where a religious institution exists that is seen as the progenitor and guardian of the nation.

Therefore, the respondents agreed that the individual is first born a Somali and is nurtured a Muslim and that majority of the Somalis are Muslims due to their heritage and birth. This was also supported by the analyzed data where 93 out of 96 respondents were Muslims; the importance of religion was highly ranked by 95 respondents while 90 respondents felt that religion played a big part in preserving their identity.

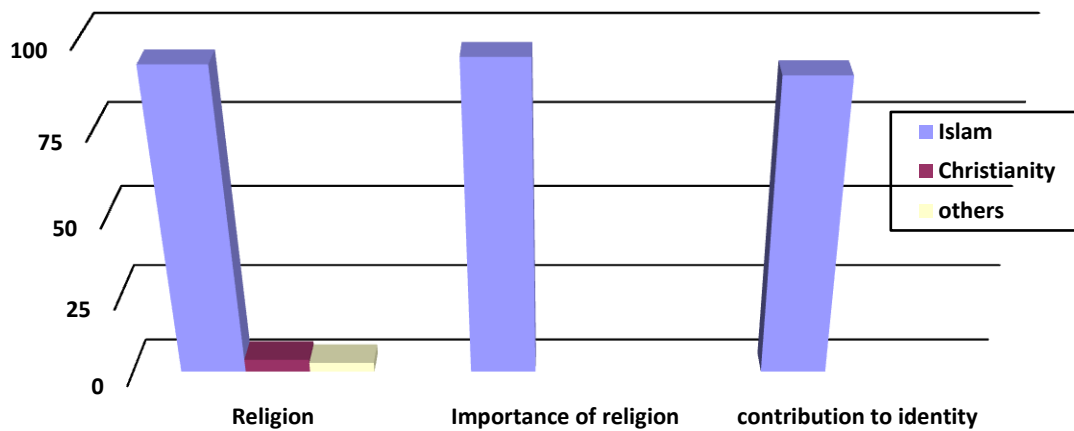Figure 4.6 shows the distribution of religion, its importance and contribution to identity of the refugee.

Figure 4.6   Religion, its importance and contribution to identity

Culture was of importance to this study as it attempted to establish if it was a shared identity of the group and how the group presented it. Culture as assumed in the study, referred to patterns of human activity and the symbolic structure that give such activities significance and importance (Harper 2001). Culture can be understood as system of symbols and meanings, all the ways of life including arts, beliefs and institutions of a group that is passed down from generations. As such, it includes codes of manners, dress, language, religion, rituals, and norms, of behavior such as law and morality, and system of belief as well as the art.

The homogenous level of culture for the Somalis is debatable and subject for further research. This is deduced from the fact that the Somalis migrated from different territories with different terrains and climatic weather patterns which influenced greatly their way of life. Majority were pastoralists, some agriculturists, traders, fishermen and other small vocations such as medicine men, circumcisers, religious masters etc.

Either way, the respondents argued that these were just means of earning a living but traditions, customs, norms and moral values which governed them remained the same. To affirm this argument, it was pointed to the researcher that while in exile none of them have the referred means at their disposal but they remain cohesively the same group of people most of all operating businesses as a way of earning a living and one could not distinguish at face value the farmer, the fisherman or the herder.

Culture is a way of life of a group of a people, the day-to-day systems of belief, behavior, rituals and norms that govern how individuals relate to each other for the common good of all. This study sought to establish what aspects of culture the Somali refugees in Eastleigh still practiced which reinforced their identity. Discussions with the respondent highlighted religious beliefs and practices as the highest practiced since religion dictated how people dress and present themselves as well as other aspects of their lives.

In the same vein the respondents felt that culture was also very important in contributing to who they were as a community. **Figure 4.7** gives the distribution, as 70 out of 96 respondents thought culture was very important, 20 thought it was just important and 6 said it was not important.
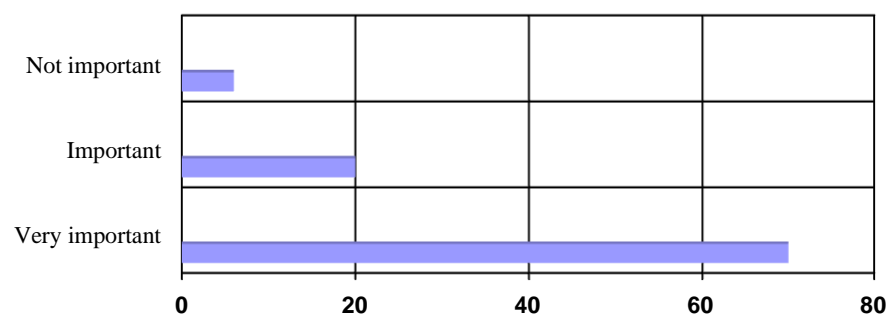

Figure 4.7 The importance of culture

When asked how they preserved their culture the respondents said that they did so by wearing the Somali traditional attire, living with relatives, cooking and eating indigenous foods and singing and dancing to cultural songs during ceremonies ranked highly. The question was open and the respondent listed as many indicators as shown in **Table 4.1**

Table 4.1. Distribution on preservation of culture

Indicators	Frequency
Wearing Somali attire	87
Living and visiting older relatives	73
Cooking and eating indigenous foods	79
Singing and dancing cultural songs during ceremonies	71
Respecting elders	5
Teaching and discussing its importance to children	53
Visiting the mosque for prayers	59
Preserving its beliefs	49
Having culture nights sometimes	14

The study went further to establish if the Somali refugees felt that their culture was eroding and 52 out of the 96 respondents said that they thought their culture was not eroding as parents ensured that children born in exile were taught and practiced their culture at home while 44 respondents thought that some aspects of their culture was eroding.

The respondents felt that the erosion of culture was caused by the youth adopting western practices and going to schools that are not Muslim based. These two reasons ranked highly at 39% and 34% respectively probably showing a correlation between school attending youths and adapting of other practices. The presentation is shown in **Figure 4:8**.
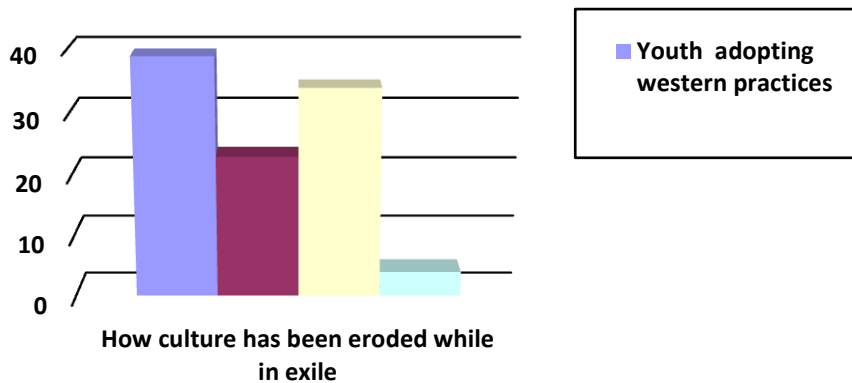

Figure 4.8 Indicators leading to culture erosion in exile

The data collected presented several solutions on how the refugee community was handling the problem of culture erosion. The respondents indicated that they made sure that while at home from school the children and youth are involved in activities that enhance their culture such as dressing in respectable attire, preparation of cultural foods, having discussions with the elders and ensuring that the children attend religious prayers and classes.

Therefore, it can be said that culture is important to the Somali identity and a lot of effort is made to practice it in everyday life. That culture for them is enshrined on shared customs, norms and moral values that govern their existence and not by means of earning a livelihood. It can also be concluded that the Somalis in Eastleigh have in

addition adopted new identities to cope with their present situation of being away from home without their given resources such that born pastoralists are now not traders of animals but of clothes and foodstuff or fishermen are now running *khat* stalls in the city etc. just to make a living.

Language and its use was also a major indicator in the establishment of the Somali identity. Language is a system of communication either in written or spoken words or gestures which are used by a group of people. Language promotes identification, bonding and unity of a group. People who share the same language tend to regard non-speakers of the language or those who speak the language in a different accent as foreigners. Language becomes a rallying aspect in the development of a nation. Every nation in the world over has a language common to its entire citizenry, as it is necessary to keep the national bond tight.

Despite the various dialects highlighted in the review, Somali and Arabic languages were identified as the acceptable national languages followed by English which was an official language of communication in formal set ups. The analysis of the data confirmed that respondents preferred to use Somali language in there day to day communication and 92 respondents used it mostly between themselves. The combination of the use of Somali, Arabic and Swahili language ranked the highest amongst the respondents as they interacted with themselves and the host community. See Tables 4.2; 4.3 and Figures 4.9; 4.10. Observations made by the researcher during the period of the study, also confirmed that Somali as a language was used a lot by the refugees especially when talking to each other and Kiswahili was used when addressing people who were not Somalis.

Table 4. 2 Languages spoken by the Somali refugees in Eastleigh

The language spoken by the refugees	Distribution
	Frequency
Somali and Arabic	32
Somali and Kiswahili	37
Somali, Kiswahili and English	16
Kiswahili and English	2
Somali	9
Totals	**96**

The respondents did not have any problem speaking the four languages as Somali and Arabic were regarded as mother tongue and Swahili as a spoken East African language shared by Kenyans, Tanzanians, Congolese, Rwandans, Burundians and Ugandans. English was ranked the lowest amongst adult population though it was observed that school going children and young adults who had attended some formal schooling could read and write but was uncommon to find or hear them use it while communicating with fellow Somalis. This was uncommon because communication at home was with elders and parents who mostly preferred to use Arabic or Somali language as a way of instilling identity to the young.

The highest ranked language amongst all age groups was the Somali language at 76 out of the 96 respondents as shown in **Table 4:3.**

Table 4. 3 The most used language by the refugees

The language used most by the refugees	Distribution
	Frequency
English	0
Somali	76
Kiswahili	6
Arabic	14
Total	**96**

The Somali language was most used while communicating with people of Somali origin, at places of business, at home with family members and at the mosque.

Out of the 96 respondents 22 said that their children were conversant in Swahili, 52 with Somali, 17 with Arabic while English ranked the least with 5 as shown in Figure 4.21. The respondents were further asked what language they used most while speaking to fellow countrymen and 88 out of 96 respondents confirmed that Somali language is the most used. Figure 4:10 shows this distribution.
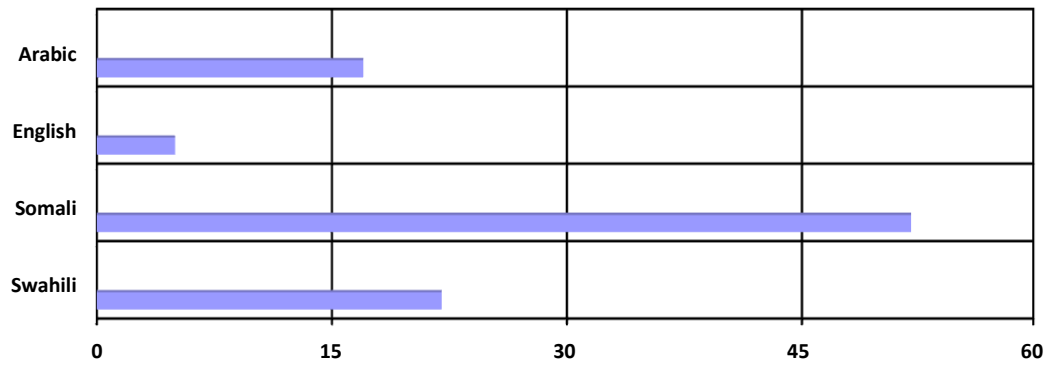
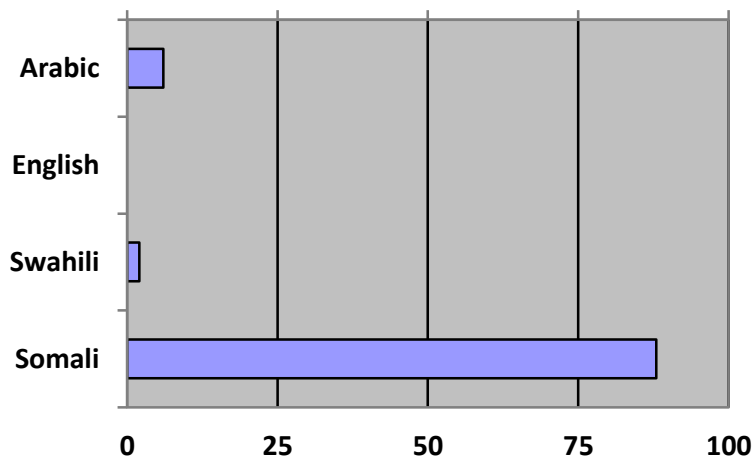*Figure 4.9 Language spoken by the children of the respondents*

Figure 4.10   Language spoken while communicating with fellow Somalis

Therefore, language is a key component in any group or community identification. The level of competence in spoken or written language normally reflects the commitment to the identity of the person. The Somali refugee has used language to promote group ideals, norms and way of life hence tightening bonds within the group and keeping non-speakers out of the group.

It is clear from the discussion above that the Somali refugee community in Eastleigh has retained several identities which include the national, cultural, religious, language and day to day practices that make them Somalis. The community has also adopted new identities as a means of livelihood as people tried to manage their lives in exile.

4.3.3 Preservation of Somali refugee culture and national identity

The study was able to establish that the Somali refugee Community in Eastleigh had managed to preserve its nationality and cultural characteristics. The study also went further to determine the means put in place to ensure that both identities were not lost. Kibreab (1989) believed that at times refugees in trying to cope with new environs regrouped themselves and live in their respective communities where they are likely to maintain the distinctive characteristics of their national or cultural identity. The fact that the Somali refugees did not choose to live anywhere else in the country but Eastleigh supports what Kibreab calls regrouping to cope and maintain national and cultural identity. Therefore, we can say that the process of regrouping to Eastleigh was an effort to maintain and preserve their identity. It is important to note that the regrouping has been replicated in other major towns where Kenyan Somalis are located.

Respondents in the study confirmed that they observed their national holidays while in Kenya and symbols such as national anthem and national flag were highly respected. Figure 4.11shows that 64 out of 96 respondents observed the Somali national holiday while 70 respondents felt that the national anthem and flag were important symbols of nationhood. Figure 4:13 brought out an interesting observation that the respondent observed the religious holidays more than the national holidays though by a small margin of 1%. This result is not odd as religion plays a major role in the life of Somalis. Majority of Somalis are Sunni Muslims and for a long time religion and religious leaders were an integral part of the social and political structure of government.
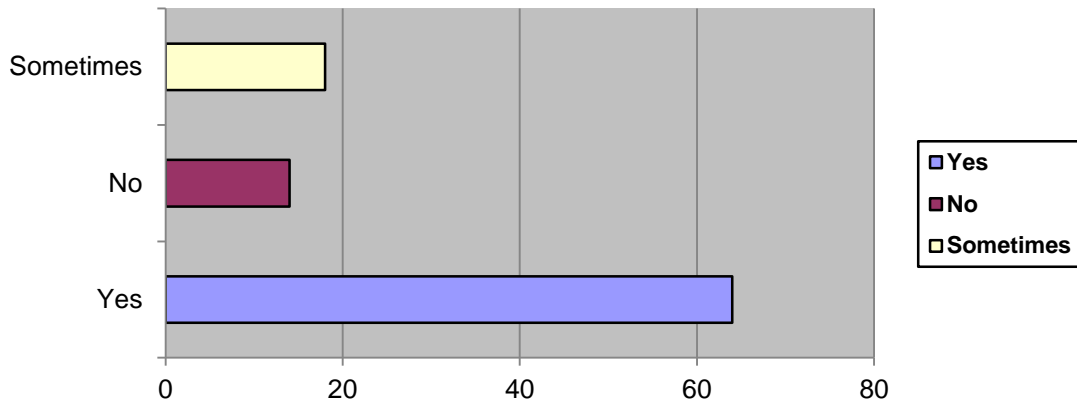
Figure 4.11 The observation of national holidays while in Kenya
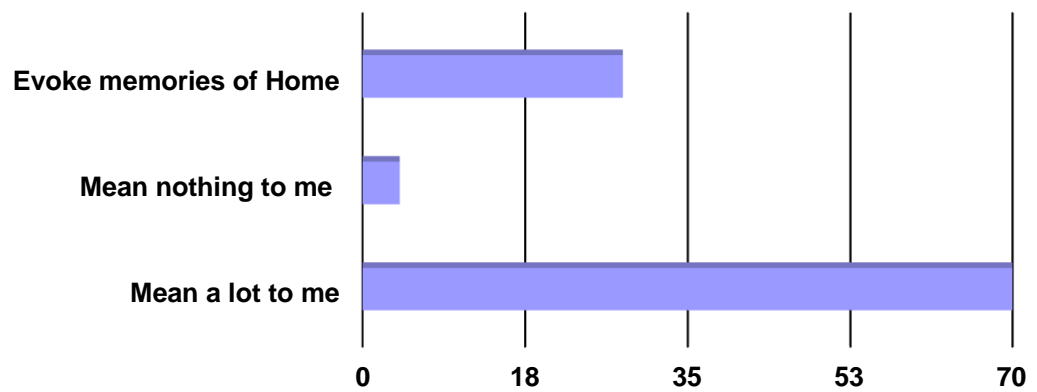
Figure 4.12   The meaning of national symbols and memories such as the national anthem and the flag to the respondents
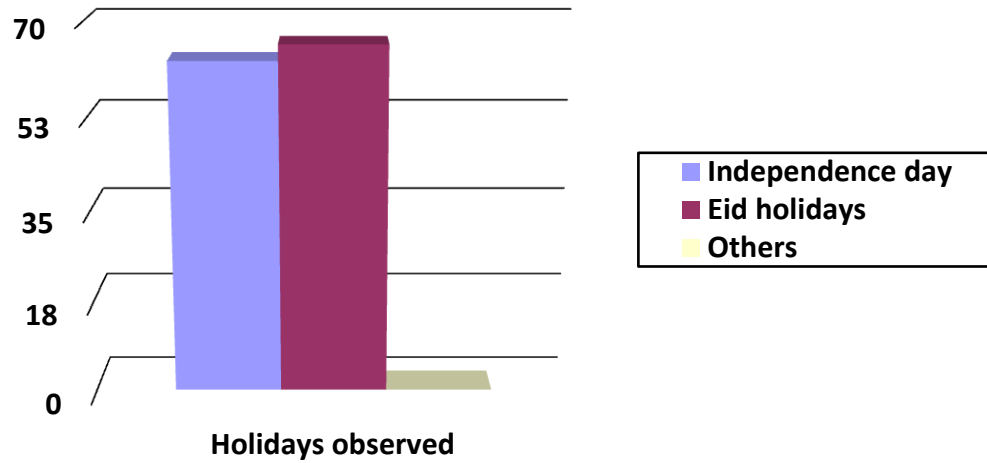
Figure 4.13 The holidays observed by Respondents

The study revealed that the respondents and their children were able to sing the national anthem of their country as 72 out of 96 respondents stated that they could sing, while 14 could sing with difficulty as shown in Figure 4.14below.

Figure 4.14 The singing of the national anthem of country of origin

The 14 respondents who stated that they could not sing the national anthem of their country, they were asked to state the reasons and majority said that they did not sing the national anthem because they were not happy with the home country, that it brought

out deep emotions of heartbreak, grief, sorrow, misery, annoyance, self-pity, despair and sadness as it reminded that of what they had lost, the traumatic experiences and the hopelessness of their situation.

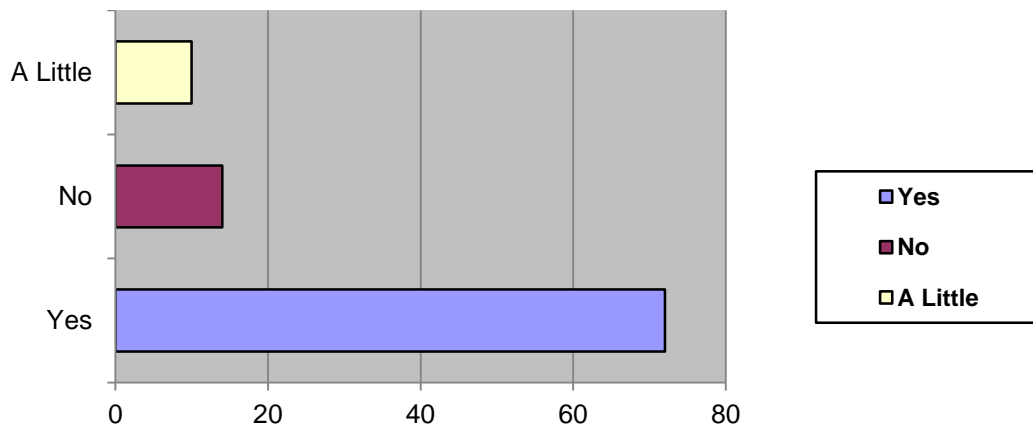The Somali way of life is intricately woven together with the Islam religion. Religion forms the bases of association and interactions in everyday life. It stipulates the day to day guiding principles, rules and regulations that an individual should practice and adhere to. Children born in exile are continuously educated on tenets of being a good Muslim and this is done from an early age by attending classes known as *madrasa.* The adults go to the Mosque to attend to their daily prayers which are performed five times in a day and listen to the teachings of the Koran as presented by the Sheikhs. Their dressing, despite it being slightly different from other Muslims, still adheres to the requirements of the Koran as well as tradition.

It is traditionally acceptable for Somalis to live with parents and relatives which is an added advantage in the preservation of both national and cultural identity. The older generation provides stability in unstable changing environments for which the community finds itself. This is because the older generation is more grounded in their ways and world view. The parents make it a habit to continuously educate the younger family members on their origins, exalting their way of life and their heroes. This is done through dress, cooking indigenous foods, storytelling, song, dance and reading of materials that speak about home. This was established by the analyzed data and the distribution given in Table 4.1.

The observation of important days such as the birth of a child, engagement and marriages, death and funerals have provided opportunities for people to come together

and participate in traditional rites. During these ceremonies a lot of poetry, song and dance takes place. Traditional, foods and gifts specifically for the occasion are also presented or exchanged and everybody, the young and the older takes an active role.

Of importance, during the research it was observed that the Somali men liked to congregate in hotels and teashops conversing in their language sipping strong herbal tea, others camel milk while others kept on chewing *miraa*, Swahili for Qaad or Khat. Theses congregations were particularly prevalent in the evenings after prayers and amongst those who were not engaged in active businesses. When asked, the respondents said that these gatherings provided sources of information for the community, exchange of ideas, news from home, business opportunities and advise to the youth. These forums also presented avenues for people to vent their frustrations and problems in the hope that solutions and assistance is found for those affected and resolve conflict between individuals.

4.3.4 Eastleigh's *Little Mogadishu* as a reconstruction of homeland for the Somali refugees

The study tried to establish if the Somali refugees perceived Eastleigh as a reconstruction of their homeland and if the reconstruction had contributed to the preservation of the national and cultural identity of the community. Homeland in this study being the native land of the Somalis, Somalia, before migrating to Kenya.

The data collected established that there was sufficient reason why the Somali refugees chose to leave the camps and live in Eastleigh. The reasons ranged from the presence of relatives in Eastleigh at 60 respondents, to availability and access to resources at 21 respondents and that Eastleigh reminded them of home at 15 respondents.
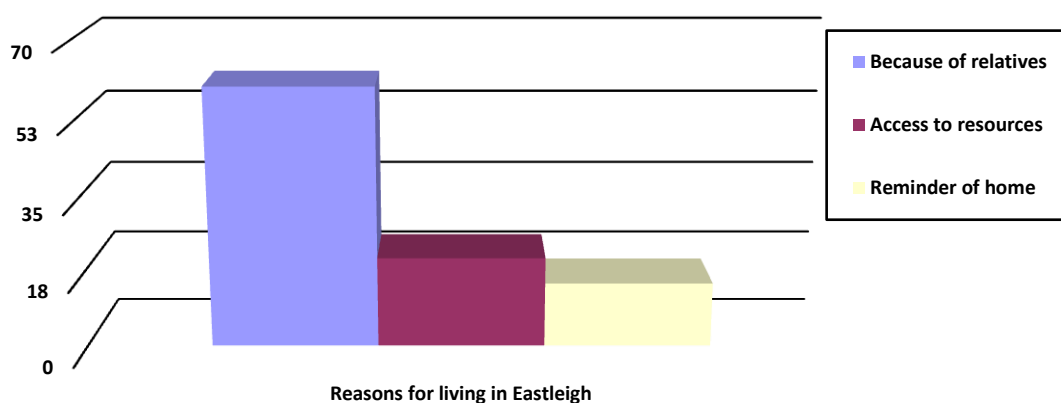
as shown in Figure 4.15.

Figure 4.15   Reasons for living in Eastleigh

When asked if they would live in Eastleigh if their relatives were not there, majority of the respondents at 65 out of 96 respondents said they would not. This view is supported by Kibreab (1989) who believed that at times refugees in trying to cope with new environs regroup themselves and live in their respective communities where they are likely to maintain the distinctive characteristics of their national or cultural identity.

This aspect was important to the study as our theory postulates that relationships, recognition and mutual acquaintances provide social capital that migrants draw from during migration and resettlement.

The analyzed data from the 96 respondents confirmed that 82 of the respondents had relatives in Eastleigh and that 54 were from the immediate family consisting of spouse or children, 28 were from extended family of uncles, aunts, in-laws, grandparents and great grandparents and 14 of the respondents indicated as having no direct relatives in Eastleigh but, drew relationships from being members of the wider clan.

As discussed in chapter two of the study, Somalis are inherently related to each other regardless of their geographical positioning in the world as they can trace their lineage to one father. Individuals are identified by the clan they belong to despite their location. It would be correct to say that Somalis in Kenya, Ethiopia and Djibouti share and belong to the same clans as the Somalis in Somalia. Therefore, the presence of Somalis in Kenya made it a convenient place to migrate to. Furthermore, the presence of Kenyan Somalis in Eastleigh estate made it even easier for the refugees to relocate there evading the harsh conditions in the camps.

The Social Capital Theory of migration by Douglas (1992) defined social capital as the sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. Therefore, identifying and belonging to a particular clan provided social capital that the refugees used to enable them, locate their relatives who in turn provided them with a home.

In the process of trying to establish if Eastleigh was a reconstruction of the homeland the study sort to find out if the two places were identical. The data established that 47 out of the 96 respondents did not think Eastleigh compared to Mogadishu while 49 felt that the two towns were similar. They argued that Eastleigh had acquired some characteristics that were identical to Mogadishu such as both the places comprised of people found in parts of Somali land, goods sold in Mogadishu were also found in Eastleigh, people spoke a common language, lived as a community and practiced cultural rites and some houses in Eastleigh resembled those found in Mogadishu. But this is based on the memory they have of Mogadishu, which they feel may have

changed due to the prolonged period of war. Some of the reasons given for no comparison ranged between Mogadishu and Nairobi being the weather pattern, Nairobi being cooler than Mogadishu, political, administrative and social structures which are totally different in formation, operation, security and lack of basic amenities due to the war.

An imagined homeland is a mental recollection of place of origin where one, once belonged.   The concept of an imagined homeland represents a lack of something and nostalgia (Westin, 2000). Migrants tend to preserve an old picture of home to avoid losing their identity, though depending on the reasons as to why they migrated, the memories can be painted in good or bad imagery. The study tried to establish what memories the refugees had and what they missed most about their homeland. The respondents at 28 had vivid recollection of the war and death of close family members at 10, People and friends at 14, property and livelihood at 17 as shown in Table 4.4. The respondents missed the peace they had at home at 35, family and relatives at 28, friends and home at 11 and 10 respectively as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4. 4 The respondent's memory of their country of origin

Memory	Property and livelihood	War and death	The geographical scenes	People and friend	Insecurity and drought	Peace before war	Killing of family member	Total
Respondents	17	28	9	14	10	8	10	**96**

Table 4. 5. What the refugees missed most about their country of origin

What the refuges missed most about their country of origin	Distribution
	F
Home	10
The geographical scenes	6
Family and relatives	28
The peace that you had before the war	35
Your friends	11
The food	3
The freedom that you had	3
Total	**96**

The responses of the respondents did not touch on culture and nationality as expected but more on social relations and property as the things they missed most. It can therefore be assumed that the reason that the refugees did not miss their nationality and culture is because these two indicators have not been suppressed in exile and have flourished freely. The presence of their ethnic tribe and clans mate in Eastleigh has

provided a conducive environment for them to practice their culture, religion, national aspirations and access capital to earn a living.

Local integration is one of the three durable solutions supported by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. Local integration as a durable solution is seen as necessitating eventual granting of legal status which enables access to civil, socioeconomic and cultural rights and to a certain degree political rights (UNHCR 2004A: 7). Figure 4:16 shows that majority of the respondents at 60 out of 96 respondents would want to be integrated as Kenyan citizens so as to enjoy the peace in Kenya as well as other social amenities.,31 would not want to be Kenyan citizens as they hope to return home one day. And 5 were not sure if they wanted to be integrated or return home.
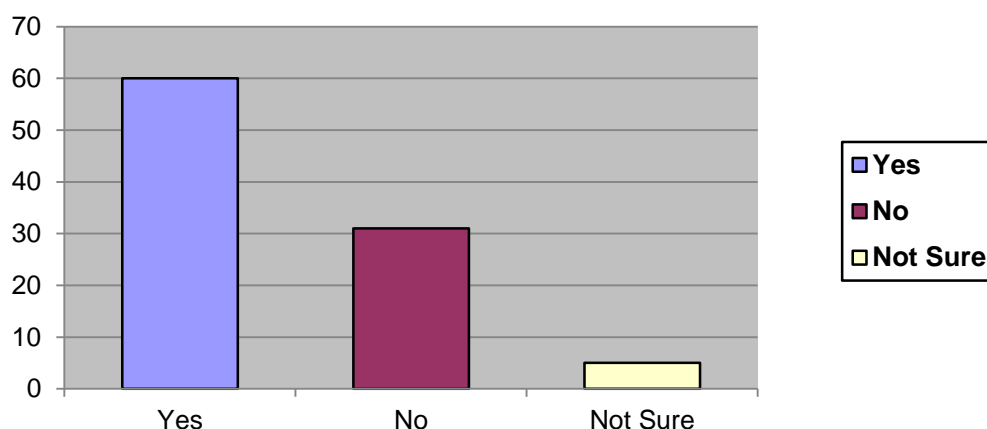

Figure 4.16   Integration as Kenyan citizen

Out of 96 respondents, 40 did not want to be integrated and gave a variety of reasons ranging from desire to go back home and resettlement to another country as important. See distribution in Table 4.6.

Table 4. 6 Reasons for not wanting to be integrated as a Kenyan citizen

Reasons for not wanting to be integrated as a Kenyan citizen	Distribution 40
Desire to go back to the home country	14
Lack of security	1
No reason	2
Resettlement to another country	18
No jobs in Kenya	3
Life in Kenya is expensive	1
Religion	1
Total	**40**

It can be assumed that 60% of those who wanted to be integrated into the community imagined and desired to make Eastleigh their home. Secondly, as Rodriguez (2006) suggested that due to changing relationships and situational contexts, a person's identity is constantly negotiated and changing. Instead of just maintaining one primary identity, the Somali refugees would prefer to attain other identities.

The discussions inform us that Somali refugees have made Eastleigh their home not by imagining or reconstructing the home but because Eastleigh already had the characteristics of home that made it conducive for the refugees to live and nurture their culture and nationality.

In conclusion, the chapter has given a brief background on Eastleigh and discussed the research questions and the study objectives in chapter one as supported by the analyzed

data collected from the field, using the tools discussed in the previous chapter. Tables and figures illustrate the findings of the study. The respondents remained loyal to their culture and national identity as evidenced by visible group practices and behaviours and made conscious efforts such as living amongst the Kenyan Somalis, to maintain their identity. The next chapter summarizes the discussion of the findings, make conclusions and give recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations from the study in-line with the research questions and the study objectives.

5.2   Summary of the findings

The study established that the vast majority of respondents remained loyal to their respective national and cultural identities. Satisfactory levels of loyalty to national and cultural identity were recorded using respondents' answers and actual distinctive group practices and behaviors. Most respondents reported to be proud of their national and cultural identity and expressed strong attachment to it. They were also found to make conscious effort to maintain their basic value system as well as their public common culture particularly through the use of national language and religious practices. No specific contentions were recorded between the immediate host community as they shared the same culture and social political structure.

All Somalis despite their location are united by language, culture, devotion to Islam and putative genealogical ties linking all of them to a common ancestor. This fact has made it easier for the Somali refugee to appear to disappear into the Somali community in Eastleigh. The Somali refugee has made use of clan ties and kinship relations that they share with the Kenyan Somali to sustain their livelihood in exile. This too has reduced the level of conflict between the refugee and the host, has ensured that their culture, religion and practices are upheld, as there are no differences in beliefs.

The study was keen to establish if the refugees would prefer integration into the host community but most reported that they would like to return home once peace was achieved though the younger respondents preferred to be resettled abroad where they believed opportunities were more accessible hence the reason for attending formal education. The respondents confirmed that the choice to live in Eastleigh was because of high population of Kenyan Somalis whom they shared varied relations with. The fact that they resembled each other, dressed and behaved the same, talked the same language and shared the same religion made it easier for the refugees to adapt to their new environs, camouflaged their presence and ensured that their cultural and national identities were not affected.

5.3 Conclusion of the study

The study concluded that Eastleigh as a residential area did not wholly compare to Mogadishu in the eyes of majority of the respondents. A given percentage felt that in some ways Eastleigh could be a representation of Mogadishu as it comprises of all the ethnic clans of the Somali people, the culture and way of life, languages spoken, food and music played in the streets as well as naming of buildings and cafeterias. Hence *Little Mogadishu* is in reality just a phrase used loosely to refer to Eastleigh Somali inhabited neighborhood and the presence of refugees from Somalia.

That the homogenous nature of the Somali nation irrespective of its location has contributed to the adaption of a home in Eastleigh. The commonality in way of life and beliefs that the Somali refugees shares with the Somalis in Kenya has assisted them to migrate and settle blending effortlessly with the host and being able to practice their culture and sustain their identity.

The Somali refugees have been able to reconstruct a home in Eastleigh due to the power of Social capital invested in migrant networks that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kingship, friendship and shared community origin. Therefore, the Somali refugee has made use of the Social capital found in belonging to the Islam religion, sharing a common culture, language and Kinship with the Kenyan Somali in the process of making Eastleigh their home.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that the Government of Kenya should consider issuing proper documents to Somali urban refugees in Eastleigh to establish the exact number of the population for statistical and planning purposes. This documentation will reduce police harassment and unnecessary arrests of the refugee. It will also allow the refugees rights and access to social amenities and legal representation. The remarkable economic growth and development observed in Eastleigh contributed by the refugees proves that they are a driving force of local development which if harnessed by the government by formalizing their presence and businesses, taxes can be collected for the overall development of the area which has since seen the explosion of human population put a strain on the existing infrastructure and social amenities.

Further studies are also recommended in the durable option of integration of the Somali refugees and the legal recognition framework of the urban refugee in Kenya, protection and rights of the urban refugee in Kenya and host relationships with the refugee community

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APPENDIX I: LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Cynthia Mutuku
Department of History, Political Science and Public Administration
School of Arts and Social Sciences
P.O. Box 3900-30100
ELDORET

Dear Respondent,

RE: RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE

I am a Master's student at Moi University undertaking studies leading to M.Phil degree in Forced Migration. The topic of my research is: **"Little Mogadishu": The reconstruction of a homeland among Eastleigh's Refugee Community in Kenya.**

This questionnaire is purely for academic purpose and is aimed at determining the preservation of culture and national identity amongst the Somali Refugee community in Eastleigh. Your responses to the attached questionnaire will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Please do not write your name anywhere on the questionnaire. Your participation in this study will be high appreciated.

Thank you.

CYNTHIA MUTUKU
SASS/PGFM/02/07

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONAIRE

1. **Demographic Information**

Gender: (a) Female ☐

(b) Male ☐

Age/Approximate age:

(a) Age 18 – 24 ☐

(b) Age 25 – 32 ☐

(c) Age 33 – 50 ☐

(d) Age 51 and above ☐

Level of Education:

(a) Primary ☐

(b) Secondary ☐

(c) Tertiary ☐

(d) University ☐

2. **Nationhood**

1. What is your nationality?

(a) Kenyan ☐

(b) Kenyan Somali ☐

(c) Somali ☐

(d) Ethiopian Somali ☐

(d) Others (specify) _____

2. Are you proud of your nationality?

(a) Yes ☐

(b) No ☐

(c) Not sure ☐

3.   What is your refugee status?

   (a)   Mandate ☐

   (b)   Convention ☐

   (c)   Others (Specify) _____

4.   How long have you lived in Kenya?

   (a)   1 – 5 years ☐

   (b)   6 – 10 years ☐

   (c)   11 – 15 years ☐

   (d)   15 years and more ☐

5.   How long have you lived in East Leigh?

   (a)   1 – 5 years ☐

   (b)   6 – 10 years ☐

   (c)   11 – 15 years ☐

   (d)   15 years and more ☐

6.   Do you have relatives in East Leigh?

   (a)   Yes ☐

   (b)   No ☐

7.   What relationships do you share with them?

   (a)   Immediate family (spouse and children) ☐

   (b)   Extended family (parents and grand parents ☐

   (c)   Clan members ☐

   (d)   Tribe members ☐

8.   How old were you when you left your country of origin?

   _____

   _____

9.   What do you remember most about your country of origin?

_____

_____

_____

10.   What ties bind you to your country?

    (a)   Family and relatives

    (b)   Businesses and property

    (c)   Home

    (d)   Others (specify) _____

11. What do you miss most about your country of origin?

_____

_____

12. How much do national symbols or memories such as national anthem, flag, etc mean to you?

_____

_____

13. Do you observe your country's national holidays and ceremonies here in Kenya?

    (a)   Yes

    (b)   No

14.   Which ones? _____

_____

15. Can you and your children sing the national anthem of your country of origin? _____

16.

17. If no, why? _____

_____

18. How often do you follow the political affairs of your country of origin?

18. If you do, what are the primary sources of information about political affairs in the country of origin?

_____

_____

19.   If your country attained sustainable peace and stability would you go back home? ☐

    (a)   Yes

    (b)   No   ☐

20.   If possible, would you like to be integrated as a Kenyan citizen?

    (a)   Yes   ☐

    (b)   No   ☐

21.   If yes, explain why _____

    _____

    _____

22.   If no. explain why _____

    _____

    _____

23. In your opinion, do you think the Somali community in East Leigh has been assimilated by the Kenyan host community?

    (a)   Yes   ☐

    (b)   No   ☐

24. If yes, to what degree is the assimilation?

    (a)   Complete assimilation   ☐

    (b)   Partial assimilation   ☐

    (c)   Very limited assimilation   ☐

    (d)   No assimilation   ☐

25. In what areas has assimilation taken place? _____

_____

_____

26. Are there times and circumstances where you hide or feel like hiding your national identity? _____

_____

1. If yes, when and why? _____

_____

3. **Language**

28. Which languages do you speak? (Tick as many)

    (a)   Somali and Arabic   ☐

    (b)   Somali and Kiswahili   ☐

    (c)   Somali, Kiswahili and English   ☐

    (d)   Others (Specify) _____

29. Which language do you use most? And when? _____

_____

30.   What main language do your children usually speak? _____

_____

31.   What language do you speak when interacting with people from your

country?_____

_____

4.   Culture

32.   What aspects of your culture do you practice? (Tick as many)

(a)   Rituals, dance, songs and poetry   ☐

(b)   Dress and etiquette   ☐

(c)   Food and ceremonies   ☐

(d)   Religion beliefs   ☐

33.   How important is culture to you?

(a)   Very important   ☐

(b)   Important   ☐

(c)   Not important   ☐

(d)   Not sure   ☐

34.   How do you preserve your culture? _____

_____

_____

35.   Do you think your culture has been eroded while in exile?

(a)   Yes   ☐

(b)   No   ☐

36.   If yes, explain how? _____

_____

37.   If no, explain why? _____

_____

38.   How does the community ensure that children born in exile are aware of their culture and nationhood? _____

_____

_____

5.   Religion

39.   What is your religious belief?

(a)   Muslim   ☐

(b)   Christian   ☐

(c)   Others (specify) _____

40.   How important is religion to you?

(a)   Very important   ☐

(b)   Important   ☐

(c)   Not important   ☐

(d)   Not sure   ☐

41.   Do you think religion has played a part in preserving your identify?

_____

_____

42.   How? _____

_____

43.   If you went home (Somalia) today, would you fit in the community and society there?   ☐

(a)   Yes

(b)　　No

6.　**Eastleigh as an imagined Homeland**

44.　Why did you choose to live in Eastleigh and not any other part of Kenya?

　　(a)　　My relatives live here

　　(b)　　Accessibility to resources

　　(c)　　The place reminds me of home

　　(d)　　No reason

45.　If Question 34 is c, what about Eastleigh reminds you of home?

　　_____

　　_____

　　_____

46.　If the things you have mentioned above were not present, would you still live in Eastleigh? _____

47.　Do you think that Eastleigh compares to Mogadishu and how?

　　_____

　　_____

　　_____

APPENDIX III: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Telegrams: "SCIENCETECH", Nairobi
Telephone: 254-020-241349, 2213102
254-020-310571, 2213123
Fax: 254-020-2213215, 318245, 318249
When replying please quote

P. O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA
Website: www.ncst.go.ke

Our Ref: 13th November, 2009

NCST/5/002/R/1033/5

Cynthia Ndunge Mutkuku
Moi University
P. O. Box 3900
ELDORET

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on *"Little Mogadishu': The reconstruction of a homeland among Eastleigh's Somali Refugee Community in Kenya"* I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake your research in *Nairobi Province* for a period ending *30th December 2010*.

You are advised to report to *The Provincial Commissioner Nairobi Province and The Provincial Director of Education Nairobi Province* before embarking on your research project.

Upon completion of your research project, you are expected to submit two copies of your research report/thesis to our office.
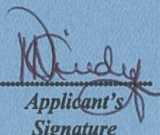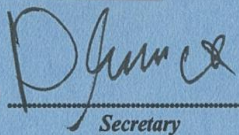
PROF. S. A. ABDULRAZAK Ph.D, MBS
SECRETARY

02/12/2009

Copy to:

The Provincial Commissioner
Nairobi Province

RECEIVED
02 DEC 2009

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT

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THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:

Prof./Dr./Mr./Mrs./Miss........CYNTHIA
NDUNGE MUTUKU

of (Address) MOI UNIVERSITY
PO BOX 3900 ELDORET

has been permitted to conduct research in................
PUMWANI...........................Location,
NAIROBI.............District,
NAIROBI.........Province,
on the topic.......'LIITLE MOGADISHU'
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A
HOMELAND AMONG EASTLEIGH'S
SOMALI REFUGEE COMMUNITY
IN KENYA

for a period ending.......30TH DECEMBER ,20 10

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Research Permit No........NCST/5/002/R/1033........
Date of issue......11.11 2009........
Fee received......SHS 1000........

Applicant's Signature   Secretary
                              National Council for
                              Science and Technology

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