



WHAT ARE THE FACTORS THAT DEFINE A KENYAN IDENTITY? THE CASE OF KENYAN ASIANS

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HITAL MURAJ

HTLHIT001

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Supervisor: Emeritus, Prof. Martin J. Hall

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is a product of my own work. All other information has been duly cited and fully referenced to provide acknowledgement to the authors. This work has not been previously submitted for the award of any other degree, diploma, or academic certification.

Name: Hital Muraj

Student Signature:

Signed by candidate

Reg No: HITHTL001

Date:.....11.09.23.....

I hereby confirm that I have examined the MPhil, Inclusive Innovation dissertation, and approved it for defence.

Prof. Martin J Hall

Supervisor's Signature:...

Signed by candidate

Date:.....11.09.23.....

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I would fill a page discussing this life-changing journey and the people who were instrumental in enabling me. Unfortunately, my word count was limited.

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“A people without the knowledge of their past history, origin and culture is like a tree without roots.” Marcus Garvey

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my late mother, Sharda Raicha, who tragically passed away before finishing my research project. My mother would have been proud of my achievements in writing this paper. A particular thanks to her for her support, encouragement, and belief in me. She anticipated travelling to Cape Town to attend my graduation. Mum, thanks for being my supporter.

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ABSTRACT

In Kenya, tribalism and ethnicity have wielded considerable influence over social, political, and economic dynamics. A notable milestone in the pursuit of inclusivity occurred on July 21, 2017 (Appendix V), when former President Uhuru Kenyatta officially designated the Kenyan Asian community as the 44th tribe, marking a significant stride toward fostering unity. This step held immense significance as tribal identity serves as the bedrock of Kenyan national identity, and the acknowledgement of Kenyan Asians as a legitimate demographic group represented substantial progress.

In light of this development, the present research is dedicated to formulating a praxis model for a social movement aimed at rationalizing the social integration of Kenyan Asians. This endeavour entails a comprehensive exploration of their identities, perspectives, attitudes, concerns, and aspirations, facilitated through the effective utilization of digital platforms, forums, and the Internet. The research engaged a total of 147 participants, with 27 participating in face-to-face interviews and the remaining 120 completing online surveys. This diverse sample encompassed individuals from indigenous Kenyan tribes as well as Kenyan Asians, spanning an age range from 18 to 77 years.

Methodologically, the study adopted an ethnographic approach that combined grounded theory and inductive reasoning. Edwards' phenomenological research methodology was additionally employed to gain deeper insights into the everyday experiences of the target population while mitigating preconceived researcher biases.

The inclusive innovation praxis model aims to foster a racially inclusive, diverse, and equitable nation. The research's culmination highlighted that Kenyan Asians recognize the country's immense potential for achieving its economic growth objectives. A significant proportion of the Kenyan Asian participants represented second, third, and fourth generations, exhibiting diversity in education, political affiliations, and professions. Notably, the Kenyan Asian community played a pivotal role in Kenya's struggle for independence and identifies as Kenyan by birth with Indian ancestry.

However, despite their historical contributions, tensions and a lack of acceptance persist among Kenyan Africans towards the Kenyan Asian community. Many Kenyan Asians perceive the 'Tribe 44' designation as primarily politically motivated and offering limited tangible benefits. On the other hand, Kenyan Africans contend that Kenya struggles with unity across its numerous tribes and sub-tribes, which constitute the national identity. Personal identities

among Kenyan Africans are closely tied to their tribal affiliations. Furthermore, perceptions of economic exploitation, stemming from the colonial era, persist, with some Kenyan Africans viewing Kenyan Asians as "thieves" and the colonial system as designed to perpetuate African subjugation. Race, religion, food, politics, and marriage also emerge as contentious points, with religion posing the most significant challenge.

The study responds to these challenges by developing a praxis model for fostering integration between these two communities. Additionally, it outlines a business model canvas encompassing six dimensions: challenge, inclusivity, innovation, practicability, sustainability, and prototype. The study advocates for equal access to social, political, and economic opportunities, underscoring the importance of dismantling structural biases and prejudices. To achieve inclusivity, the involvement of multiple stakeholders is essential, including the general public, political leaders, media, educators, corporate figures, and individuals of Kenyan Asian descent.

The study further recommends the deployment of various online tools, such as websites, Facebook Groups, Twitter, Instagram, WhatsApp/Telegram, SMS, newsletters, video chats, podcasts, and workshops, as part of a comprehensive innovation strategy encompassing understanding, translation, adoption, and internalization

Keywords:

Kenyan Asians, Kenyan African, National Identity, Social Integration, The #Tribe44

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

A2A	Authorities to Authorities
A2C	Authorities to Citizens
APC	Association of Progressive Communications
C2A	Citizens to Authorities
C2C	Citizens to Citizens
CAK	Communication Authority of Kenya
CCK	Communications Commission of Kenya
COVID-19	Coronavirus Disease 2019
CSOs	Civil Society Organisations
EASSy	East African Submarine Cable System
FEMA	Federal Emergency Management Agency
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ISP's	Internet Service Providers
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KP&TC	Kenya Posts and Telecommunications Corporation
LION II	Lower Indian Ocean Network II
MENA	Middle Eastern and North African
NCIC	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGOs	Nongovernmental Organisations
NOFBI	National Optic Fibre Backbone Initiative
NRI	Non-resident of India
SEACOM	Submarine Communications Cable
TEAMS	The East African Marine System
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UCT	University of Cape Town
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Dukan	Gujrati shop
Duka walla	Swahili for a shopkeeper
Kamba	Kenyan Tribe living in the Eastern region of Kenya
Kenyan Africans	Indigenous Kenyans/blacks
Kenyan Asians	Asians who were born and raised in Kenyan or lived in Kenya for generations
Kikuyu	Bantu ethnic tribe, native to Central Kenya
Luo	Kenyan Nilotic tribe, native to Western Kenya
Muarabu	Arabs
Muindi	South East Asians, aka Kenyan Asians
Mzungu	Whites
Rockets	Recent migrants from India

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

Race relations have long been recognised as a highly sensitive and intricate topic that garners significant attention from scholars in the fields of social and political sciences (Horowitz, 1985). The United States of America, the Republic of South Africa, and Zimbabwe are examples of countries that have grappled with substantial challenges in navigating relationships between diverse ethnic groups (Horowitz, 1985). In pluralistic societies, where discrimination extends beyond race to encompass language, culture, moral codes, and spirituality, racial discrimination becomes more pronounced, resulting in tension and conflict (Bhat, 1976). This chapter serves as an introduction to the research, which seeks to explore Kenyan Asian identity within the encompassing socio-cultural milieu of Kenya.

Kenya, known for its rich cultural diversity, encompasses myriad ethnicities, languages, and traditions. Among this diverse population, Kenyan Asians have historically played a significant role in the growth and development of the country (Bhat, 1976). However, the experiences and perceptions of Kenyan Asians regarding their identity in Kenyan society have received limited scholarly attention. This study seeks to address this research gap by exploring the identity perceptions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians and proposing strategies to foster social integration between these racial groups. By shedding light on the multifaceted factors that shape the identity of Kenyan Asians and examining their relationship with Kenyan Africans, this study aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics of racial identities within Kenyan society.

The findings of this study hold significance on both academic and practical fronts. Within the academic realm, they contribute to the existing body of knowledge concerning race relations, identity formation, and social integration. Additionally, the research outcomes offer valuable insights for practical applications aimed at fostering mutual understanding, respect, and unity among diverse racial groups in Kenya. By shedding light on the pivotal factors influencing Kenyan identity, particularly within the context of Kenyan Asians, this study seeks to advance inclusivity and social cohesion within the broader Kenyan society. The ultimate objective is to celebrate diversity while promoting social integration through the development of evidence-based policy interventions, educational initiatives, and social programs, as underscored by (Bhat 1976). Chapter One sets the stage by providing a comprehensive overview of the

research, outlining the underlying problem, clarifying the research's overarching purpose, and delving into aspects such as the study's significance, inspiration, research objectives and questions, as well as its organizational structure.

1.2 Background to the Study

Kenya's attainment of independence from colonial rule in 1963 and subsequent processes of decolonisation and democratisation have been accompanied by contentious arguments and sporadic conflicts, particularly affecting minority groups (Bratton & Haynie, 1999). Among these minority groups are Kenyan Asians, also known as South East Asians, Indo-Kenyans or Kenyan Indians, who possess a complex historical background. Kenyan Asians primarily trace their ancestry back to Indian immigrants who arrived in Kenya during the colonial era to work on the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. The highest influx of Asians occurred in the 19th century when they were recruited as labourers by the British to contribute to the railway project. Consequently, Asians found themselves dispersed across the Indian Ocean region, embracing foreign territories as their new homes. Some of the workers who were originally employed as labourers transitioned into the role of "duka wallas" (shopkeepers) and became significant links between Kenyans and the historical Indian Ocean trade networks (Gupta, 1998a).

Throughout history, Kenyan Asians have made significant contributions to Kenya's socio-political and economic development. However, despite these contributions, Kenyan Asians continue to experience political powerlessness and marginalisation, limiting their participation in the political affairs of the state. Various factors have contributed to the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians in achieving full social integration and acceptance in Kenyan society. These factors include historical discrimination, economic disparities, cultural differences, and political dynamics.

Historically, the colonial legacy has had a lasting impact on the socio-political landscape of Kenyan Asians. Colonial policies of divide and rule created divisions among Kenyan ethnic groups, including Kenyan Asians, hindering their social integration into broader Kenyan society (Karanja, 2007). Furthermore, land redistribution policies implemented by the Kenyan government after independence adversely affected Kenyan Asians, who owned substantial agricultural land, leading to resentment and subsequent alienation from the larger Kenyan society (Newbury, 2009).

Cultural differences and perceived privileges have also acted as barriers to the social integration of Kenyan Asians. Kenyan Asians have maintained distinct traditions and cultural practices that have set them apart from most Kenyan ethnic groups. These cultural differences have impeded social integration and acceptance within Kenyan society (Jacobsen, 2011). Additionally, Kenyan Asians' perceived economic success and strong business presence have contributed to a sense of resentment and exclusion from mainstream Kenyan society (Lynch, 2018).

Economic factors, including economic disparities and employment discrimination, further contribute to Kenyan Asians' continued exclusivity. Despite their significant presence in the business sector, some Kenyan Asians face poverty and limited employment opportunities, further hindering their integration and social inclusion (Riyat, 2013). Reports of employment and ethnic-based discrimination in hiring practices further exacerbate the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians in their pursuit of economic progress and social integration (Amutabi, 2017).

Political factors also played a role in the exclusion of Kenyan Asians. Marginalisation, limited political representation, and challenges in obtaining citizenship have hindered their social integration into the broader society (Odote, 2012; Njogu, 2006). However, significant efforts have been made by both Kenyan Asians and the Kenyan government to promote social integration and acceptance. In a notable development, President Uhuru Kenyatta recognised Kenyans of Indian descent, also known as "Muindis," as the 44th ethnic group in Kenya on July 21, 2017. He stated, "Nobody should treat you unfairly, bully you, or needlessly prohibit you from participating in all national issues. You are no longer required to be treated as a foreign person. We accept you as our sister and brother. You will participate in the parade of our whole nation" (Authority of the Republic of Kenya, 2017). Despite these positive steps, there is still progress to be made to fully integrate Kenyan Asians into Kenya's social fabric.

In conclusion, the intricate dynamics surrounding the identity and social integration of Kenyan Asians within the wider Kenyan society have been significantly shaped by historical, social, economic, and political forces. Understanding these multifaceted factors is imperative for effectively addressing the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians and for fostering a more inclusive and harmonious Kenyan society.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

This qualitative study aims to address the persistent challenge of the lack of cultural identity and social integration experienced by Kenyan Asians within broader Kenyan society. Despite

their recognition as the 44th tribe of Kenya through official gazettelement, this relatively small population of over 100,000 Kenyan Asians continues to confront the issues of discrimination and alienation. Even after residing in Kenya for several decades, Kenyan Asians are often viewed as outsiders, both in terms of their racial identity and participation in political and economic spheres (Cheeseman, 2015). The dominant majority population has exerted control over key sectors, acting as de facto representatives of the interests of racial minorities (Frost, 1997; Kanyinga, 2006). Furthermore, historical policies such as "Africanisation" restricted the eligibility of individuals of Asian origin for public offices and confined their business activities to metropolitan regions (Siundu, 2018). Despite the significant contributions of Asians to Kenya's social and economic advancement, the persistent lack of integration presents obstacles to their full engagement within society.

This problem significantly hinders the complete participation of Kenyan Asians in socio-economic and political activities, primarily due to their limited social integration, recognition, and acceptance within broader Kenyan society. One possible cause of this is the enduring lack of acknowledgement and acceptance of Kenyan Asians as an integral part of Kenyan society. The ongoing deficiency in social integration has adverse effects on Kenyan Asians' active involvement in socio-economic and political domains, perpetuating tensions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. This situation is deeply rooted in Kenya's historical practice of assigning decisive significance to ethnicity in social, political, and economic affairs, a legacy inherited from the colonial politics of division implemented by the British. Thus, this study investigates the perceived identity and absence of social integration among Kenyan Asians using a qualitative grounded theory approach.

Importantly, this study contributes to the academic and intellectual landscape by shedding light on an understudied aspect of Kenya's history and society. The limited documentation available, particularly from the perspective of the Kenyan Asian community, calls for a comprehensive exploration of their identity, history, and culture. Given that there is relatively little recent scholarship on this particular community, it is clear that this study is timely. By undertaking this research, we aim to address this knowledge gap and provide valuable insights into the experiences and challenges faced by Kenyan Asians. Furthermore, this research is significant in illuminating the struggles and aspirations of marginalised groups, empowering them with a platform to articulate their diverse ethnic and racial heritage within the broader Kenyan nation. It is essential to document and understand the nuanced experiences of Kenyan Asians, ensuring

that their voices are included in the narratives power-sharing, resource allocation, and decision-making processes, thus promoting a more inclusive and equitable society.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

This study aims to explore the perception of identity and social integration among Kenyan Asians. By investigating their experiences and perspectives, this study seeks to gain insight into the challenges they face and the factors hindering their full integration into Kenyan society. The findings will contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics of identity and social integration, informing policies and initiatives aimed at fostering intergroup understanding, unity, and equitable inclusion of Kenyan Asians within the broader Kenyan nation.

Understanding the perceptions of identity and social integration among Kenyan Asians is crucial for building a more inclusive and cohesive society. The integration of minority groups is fundamental for creating a harmonious and equitable nation. By examining the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians in terms of identity and social integration, this study aims to contribute to a better understanding of the complex dynamics involved and to identify strategies for promoting intergroup understanding and unity.

This study significantly contributes to the scholarly landscape by redressing a conspicuous void in the extant literature. It is noteworthy for its deliberate focus on the experiences and perspectives of Kenyan Asians, a demographic group hitherto marginalized within the broader Kenyan narrative. The limited attention accorded to this community's unique identity within the broader Kenyan context underscores the urgent need for this investigation. Consequently, this study not only offers a fresh perspective but also provides a critical foundation for the formulation of policies, initiatives, and social programs. Its distinctive emphasis on fostering heightened social cohesion and inclusion among Kenyan Asians within the expansive tapestry of the Kenyan nation elevates its relevance and significance within the academic realm.

In brief, this study's primary objective was to delve into the perceptions regarding identity and social integration among Kenyan Asians. By scrutinizing their experiences and viewpoints, the study sought to unearth the hurdles they encounter and the determinants impeding their comprehensive social integration within the encompassing Kenyan societal fabric. The resultant findings hold the potential to enrich our comprehension of the intricate interplay between identity and social integration, subsequently serving as a foundational resource for the development of policies and initiatives geared towards cultivating intergroup

comprehension, unity, and equitable inclusion of Kenyan Asians within the broader Kenyan nation.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Despite the long-standing presence of the Asian community in Kenya spanning several decades, scant documented evidence exists concerning their active participation in the intricate socio-political, economic, and cultural fabric of the Kenyan nation. This conspicuous gap underscores their historical sense of alienation within the broader societal framework. Curiously, until the present, this critical concern has evaded the attention of analysts and scholars alike.

The outcomes emanating from the research articulated within this dissertation not only illuminate the hitherto uncharted territory of Kenyan Asians' multifaceted engagement in the political, economic, cultural, and social dimensions of Kenyan society but also serve as a catalyst for rekindling discourse surrounding the imperative inclusion of ethnic minorities within the national narrative. Notably, among the salient revelations is the substantial economic contribution of Kenyan Asians, particularly their role in creating employment opportunities for the Kenyan African populace, thus constituting a pivotal aspect of their socio-economic significance.

Research and findings from this study attempt to rectify the absence of a comprehensive understanding of Kenyan Asian history, culture, and heritage in the primary, secondary, and tertiary education curricula in institutions of learning, an absence that hinders the institutionalisation of national inclusion and equality in Kenya. For an educator, the results of this research serve as one of the triggers for enhancing a broad-based, multi-community nation, which is set out as an ambition in the National Cohesion and Integration Act, and in the Constitution of Kenya Act 11(1) as follows: "...this Constitution identifies culture as the basis of the nation and as the collective development of the Kenyan people and nation..." (Deacon, 2018; the Government of Kenya, 2010).

Like the African majority, which was deprived of freedom during colonial rule, an educator needs to re-examine Kenyan history from its proper perspective and re-energise students to study the collective struggle of pre-colonial Kenya, including the role and impact of Kenyan Asians. This research also contributes to teaching the importance of tolerance as a key value. This was based on a sense of self-worth in each community, including the Kenyan Asian community, and a sense of shared pride in the achievements of every other community in the

context of national achievement and inclusion. Educators can tap into this sense of pride and tolerance.

The findings of this research hold the potential to catalyse educational institutions to re-evaluate Kenya's historical and economic narratives by incorporating the multifaceted contributions of diverse communities, including Kenyan Asians. Moreover, these research outcomes may inspire policy experts to tap into the unique strengths of the Kenyan Asian community, notably their philanthropic ethos and spirit of tolerance, both at local and national levels. Initiatives could commence within educational institutions, where curriculum enhancements could reflect the historical and contemporary contributions of Kenyan Asians.

Furthermore, the insights derived from this research can be readily shared with curriculum developers, thereby facilitating a broader dissemination of the aspirations and experiences of Asians residing in Kenya. Beyond the realm of education, various platforms for influence, such as museums and civil society networks (e.g., the Asian Foundation, the Hindu Council, and the Inter-Religious Council of Kenya), present opportunities for opinion leaders and policymakers to engage in meaningful dialogues within civic and cultural spheres. This engagement can contribute to the formulation of public policies that actively nurture the rights and aspirations of ethnic minorities who have grappled with persistent inequality and prolonged marginalization.

The outcomes of this research may also engender a communal and national conversation on race relations and inclusivity, and on the collective memory of the Kenyan Asian community, as expressed in records, artefacts, material culture, history, and identity. This would enrich our educational systems and foster dialogue among Kenyans regarding the values of hard work, caring, fidelity, and education that have come to define the Kenyan Asian community. Some Asian role models can serve as inspiration to solve national problems. President Kibaki said in his speech to the Asian Foundation on February 2, 2013:

"The fight for Kenya's independence from colonial authority involved a significant contribution from the Indian population. Freedom warriors such as Manilal Desai, Gama Pinto, Joseph Murumbi, and Pranlal Sheth were among those who came from it" (The Asian Heritage, 2013).

This research underscores the enduring and influential role of Kenyan Asians in addressing overarching national concerns. The implementation of the praxis model represents a concerted effort to address and rectify prevailing ethnic and racial injustices. Leveraging digital platforms offers an avenue for the broad dissemination of research findings, enabling

the outreach to a significantly larger audience and facilitating the transmission of crucial Kenyan Asian experiences and historical narratives.

1.6 Inspiration for the Study

"..... I am a Kenyan national, and I do not know of any other home. While, I take pride in my ancestral heritage, history has been unfair to it. I am honoured to be part of my ancestry, but history has been unfair to it. The complexities of my identity surface vividly in my experiences: in Kenya, I'm not always seen as Kenyan, and in India, I'm not readily embraced as Indian. It's a peculiar feeling of being wanted in my homeland but not necessarily seen as needed..." (Hital Muraj, 2023).

A turbulent chapter began in 1982 when President Daniel Arap Moi was the target of an attempted military coup. This period witnessed a groundswell of support from Nairobi's urban poor for rebels within the Kenya Air Force, aiming to overthrow the government. The repercussions were chaotic, particularly for the minority Kenyan Asian community, whose conspicuous wealth became the focal point of protesters' outrage and discontent. Like many Asians living in Kenya, my family found itself in the crosshairs of racial animosity. The looting and destruction targeted Asian-owned shops, resulting in 90% of them losing their hard-earned possessions. Kenyan Asian men and women endured physical assaults, and young girls fell victim to sexual violence. As a young girl, I bore witness to these harrowing days, during which my family sought refuge under our bed for three days until the turmoil subsided. The year 2007 brought forth another distressing episode as my family became victims of looting, suffering significant property losses when violence erupted in Kisumu, my birth town.

Kenyan Asians' monopoly on commerce has turned us into economic pawns, often bearing the burnt blame for the declining living standard of Kenyan Africans. It's a heavy burden, especially considering that estimates suggest that Kenyan Asians contribute nearly one-third of Kenya's GDP. The aftermath of the 1982 coup cast a long shadow of animosity upon our community. Media outlets such as Kenya Times, painted us with broad strokes as "rich, cruel, secretive, insular, and dismissive of the African majority" (Fitzgerald, 1986).

After independence, a period marked by volatile relations between different groups, many Kenyan Asians sought refuge in countries like United Kingdom, Canada and the USA; most fled to the United Kingdom until the United Kingdom restricted entry of Kenyan Asians holding British passports. Simultaneously, the Kenyan government imposed limitations on

resident foreigners, mandating work permits for their stay. These permits were often elusive, granted only to a select few as part of efforts to curtail the influx of "unwanted aliens."

Kenyan Asians who were traders felt the impact of the trade licensing imposed further complicating our lives. Despite the adversity and hostility, a significant portion of our community chose not to return to the land of their birth after emigrating. Kenya had become our home, and we embraced it as such. Over time, we fostered a vibrant enclave, affectionately referred to as 'Little India', where we not only adapted to Kenyan life but also made substantial contributions. Mosques, temples, schools, and roads bearing the names of India's freedom fighters became enduring symbols of our resilience and commitment to our adopted home.

In 1972, a distressing chapter unfolded in neighbouring Uganda, my mother's birthplace, when President Idi Amin issued a chilling order to evict approximately 50,000 Asians. It stands as one of the most heinous and ruthless instances of prejudice in Africa's history. President Idi Amin accused the minority Asian population of treachery, citing their alleged failure to integrate and accusing them of "milking Ugandans." He sought to justify this mass expulsion by framing it as a gesture to "hand back Uganda to the ethnic Ugandans."

The aftermath witnessed around 27,200 refugees embarking on journeys to various corners of the world, seeking solace. Some found refuge in the United Kingdom, while others sought new beginnings in Canada, India, Kenya, Malawi, Pakistan, and West Germany (Adams & Bristow, 1978). Amid this anarchic exodus, a heart-wrenching personal ordeal unfolded as a group of military officers subjected my cousin to a rape experience. She had grown up in Uganda, cherishing her African childhood, only to be abruptly uprooted and repatriated to the United Kingdom, where they resided in a refugee camp.

While many years have passed since they left Uganda behind, the scars remain etched deep within their hearts. The influence of Uganda is still there in their everyday activities, manifesting in the flavours of the cuisine they cook and the memories connected to Swahili and Luganda.

At the age of 30, I travelled to India as a tourist and that experience brought profound realisations to me. In this land of my ancestors, I grappled with a sense of not truly belonging – it didn't feel like home. I was categorised as an "NRI", a "non-resident of India". The truth was, I had no roots in India. I travelled to Gujrat, the place from which my ancestors hailed, and even though I spoke the same language as the local Gujrati's, I couldn't help but feel like an outsider.

Our appearances often become the basis for assumptions about our identities. I am a light brown-skinned Kenyan woman, yet to others, I am sometimes perceived as a “Mzungu”, a “Muarabu” or a “Muindi” but never a Kenyan. The core of who we are extends far beyond what can be seen. It is woven into the fabric of our life experiences, our intricate histories, and the richness of our culture.

In the twenty-first century, we find ourselves navigating a profound identity crisis. For me, discovering "who I am" has been essential to building connections with people. My complex identity has frequently been a source for discord within me. It is these deeply personal experiences that have driven me to embark on this academic journey and undertake the authorship of this thesis. The insights unearthed through this study hold the potential to offer guidance and understanding to fellow Kenyan citizens and Asians who grapple with similar questions of identity and belonging."

1.7 Research Objectives and Questions

This study evaluates the key factors that define Kenyan identity, with Kenyan Asians serving as the case study. Specifically, the research questions were as follows.

- i. What identity perceptions exist between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians?
- ii. What strategies can be used to support the social integration of these two racial groups?

1.8 Thesis Roadmap

The structure of this dissertation is designed to contextualise Kenyan Asian identity and the need for ways to educate Kenyan Africans about Asian heritage. Chapter One serves as a foundational pillar, offering a comprehensive overview of the pivotal concepts and concerns that underpin this study. A comprehensive examination of the experiences and perspectives of Kenyan Asians is provided in this chapter, along with a discussion of the immediate need to preserve Kenya's heritage for future generations. A complex tapestry of components is woven together within the parameters of this chapter, including the historical context of the study, the justification for its execution, the specific research goals that set the course, an in-depth examination of the issues at hand, the overarching goal that motivates the study, the key research questions that direct the inquiry, and an overview of the study's defined scope and its broad importance.

An in-depth examination of human identity and the innate desire for connection is the focus of Chapter Two's careful investigation of the body of prior knowledge. The following section of the chapter then maps a route that analyses the complex relationship between national identity and its substantial effects on the basis of social and political development.

This scholarly journey delves deeply into Kenya's demographic landscape, tying together threads that shed light on the country's rich cultural diversity, ethnic diversity, and the enduring legacies of colonial rule. Additionally, it embarks on with an in-depth examination of the historical journey of Kenyan Asians, highlighting the historical circumstances that have influenced their unique journey.

The chapter continues by looking at the complex effects of Africanization on non-citizens and how ethnic boundaries were created in the crucible of colonialism. Further levels of insights are unveiled, such as a review of the role of mobile communication in Kenya, the incubator of ICT innovation, and the rise of Kenya's thriving online community. This comprehensive tapestry covers the key roles played by social networks and social movements in influencing revolutionary events like the Arab Spring.

The narrative also takes the reader back into colonial Kenya's media landscape, providing details about Indian population life prior to the Internet's advent. The chapter methodically provides the groundwork for the praxis model, a visionary idea created to promote unity and cohesive integration between Kenyan Asians and their fellow Kenyan Africa using a means of social movements, as the conclusion to this thorough study.

Chapter Three serves as the cornerstone for describing the research methods and techniques used in this study. Within the confines of this chapter, a complex framework is precisely defined, encompassing the methodology, philosophy, various research categories, and ethical considerations. The study's demographic details and the specific sample size are clearly displayed inside this framework, together with an in-depth description of the methodologies used to gather the data and conduct the analysis. Furthermore, careful consideration is given to the aspects of research reliability, research validity, and the ethical standards that strictly guided the study.

The findings drawn from both in-person interviews and online surveys are explained and explained in Chapter 4 as it unfolds. The reader is presented with an overview of the backgrounds and demographic details of the study's respondents here. The following narrative

delves into a comprehensive exploration of the themes and sub-themes that organically emerged from the meticulous analysis of the gathered data. Each sub-theme is carefully examined within this complex tapestry of insights, and a thorough discussion follows, supported by the inclusion of important quotes from the surveys and interviews, providing a rich and nuanced presentation of these results.

Chapter Five gives an in-depth discussion of the findings. The chapter initiates by seamlessly integrating the findings with the literature expounded upon in the second chapter. It then proceeds to delve into a comprehensive exploration of the implications of these findings in the context of real-world situations and practices.

The summary, conclusions, praxis model, suggestions, and directions for further study are all presented in Chapter Six. This comprehensive chapter centres on the praxis model, which was meticulously developed to promote the integration of Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter Overview

The suggested study's underlying theoretical framework is examined in the first portion of this literature review. A review of the pertinent empirical literature on the subject from both historical and modern perspectives comes next. The history of Kenyan Asians, their national identity, and contributing elements including politicization, Africanization, colonization, and the influence of media from historical perspectives are some of the key topics explored. The recent literature examined discusses, using the Arab Spring as an illustration, how ICT advancements have influenced social media growth in Kenya. The assessment concludes by looking at social movements as a context for the praxis model, which was created to support the integration and cohesion of Kenyan Asians with the rest of the Kenyan society.



Figure 1: Indian Indentured Labour

Source: South Africa State Information Office (1949).

2.2 Theoretical Orientation

The study of the social integration of Kenyan Asians is grounded in social identity theory. As a psychological theory, social identity theory describes the development and maintenance of one's sense of self within the context of social groups (Hogg, 2016). This theory was initially advanced by Henri Tajfel, a British psychologist, and later refined by Tajfel and Turner. Social

identity theory argues that people's self-concept and self-esteem are closely tied to the groups with which they identify and the social categories of their belonging (Stets & Burke, 2000). People strive to identify with groups they perceive to be of high status and favourably compare their group to other groups. Social categorization and social comparison are the two driving principles of social identity.

Naturally, people are categorised into social groups based on their shared attributes, including nationality, gender, occupation, and religion. Since groups form a significant component of one's self-concept, categorizing individuals into specific social groups creates a sense of belonging, purpose, and identity (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2019). After categorizing individuals into social groups, they engage in social comparison to evaluate the ingroup (their own group) and the outgroup (other groups) to maintain a positive self-image (Brown, 2000). Naturally, people tend to perceive their social ingroup as superior to outgroups, even if the differences are arbitrary or minimal.

Furthermore, social identity theory emphasizes the significance of three psychological processes that contribute to the formation and maintenance of social identity. The first process is social identification, which occurs following the adoption of ingroup beliefs, values, and norms as they integrate into their self-concept (Stets & Burke, 2000). Identifying a given group enhances an individual's self-esteem, as they also gain a sense of belonging to social support. The process of social comparison involves evaluating the ingroup and the outgroup. A comparison process helps individuals establish positive distinctiveness for their ingroup by emphasizing its positive attributes and minimizing negative qualities in relation to the outgroups. This process enables individuals to maintain or enhance self-esteem. Social identity theory recognises the process of social change. Changes in social identity can occur by either changing their group to a more desirable one or by improving the image and status of their current group.

2.3 Application to Study

Social identity theory has wide-ranging implications in this study. Social Identity Theory provides key insights into the dynamics of social integration and perceptions of identity between different groups, such as Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. This theory has provided a lens to understand ingroup favouritism among Asians, intergroup conflict between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians, as well as the ongoing prejudice and discrimination against Kenyan Asians. Consistent with Harwood (2020), knowledge of social identities can

be used to shape individual thoughts, attitudes, and behaviours through interventions that seek to promote positive intergroup relations, reduce prejudice, and foster inclusivity. Hence, social identity theory provides valuable insights into how Kenyan Asians can navigate towards social integration and acceptance into the broader Kenyan society and relate to others based on their group affiliations. This further highlights the importance of group membership in shaping perceptions, behaviours, and social interactions.

In the Kenyan Asian and Kenyan African contexts, Social Identity Theory provides a framework to understand the differences in perceptions of Kenyan identity. Regarding the principle of categorization into different social groups, it is evident that Kenyan Asians and Africans represent distinct social groups. Differences in identity are embedded in the heritage, cultural practices, and historical experiences of Asians, whereas Kenyan Africans are rooted in their African roots and indigenous cultures. These group categorisations form the basis that influences the perceptions of identity. It is important to evaluate and address these impediments to the social integration of Asians into Kenyan society.

It is further argued that people derive self-esteem from their social group membership. There are different perceptions of social identity, based on how each group is perceived within a wider society. Kenyan Asians tend to have a higher social status due to historical factors or economic advantages, contributing to a stronger sense of social identity and higher self-esteem than Kenyan Africans.

Intergroup comparisons could also contribute to differing perceptions of Kenyan identity among these groups. Kenyan Asians can emphasize their unique cultural heritage and contributions, leading to a distinct perception of their Kenyan identity. On the contrary, Kenyan Africans might prioritize indigenous cultures and historical struggles to form a different perception of their Kenyan identity. The Social Identity Theory recognises that intergroup conflicts can occur when group identities are threatened or compete for resources. Historical tensions or competition for resources could shape their perceptions of the Kenyan identity. Fostering social integration may require interventions to address conflicts, promote positive intergroup contact, and encourage a shared sense of Kenyan identity that respects and values diverse cultural backgrounds. In conclusion, social identity theory provides a framework for assessing differences in perceptions of Kenyan identity between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. Knowledge of these dynamics of group categorisation, social identity, intergroup

comparison, and intergroup conflict contributes to strategic intervention aimed at fostering social integration and creating a sense of shared identity among diverse communities in Kenya.

2.4 Review of Empirical Literature

2.4.1 History of the Kenyan Asians

Historically, Indians migrating to other countries have been known to maintain their distinct national identities, such as dress, attire, ethnic food, and community associations (Maalouf, 2001). A classic example is Mahatma Gandhi; the image in Figure 2 shows him traditionally dressed. It is important to note that despite his new environment, he succeeded in preserving his identity. Hindu religious rituals and Indian culture continue to thrive in nations such as Thailand and Indonesia (Bathala, 2005).



Figure 2: Mahatma Gandhi in Traditional Attire

Source: National Herald (2020).

Asian migration to Kenya occurred in three major waves. The first wave, driven by trade opportunities, began in the 7th century and lasted until about the 14th Century. The second wave began around the 16th century, in association with European colonisation, and lasted until the early 19th century. During this wave, East Indians took up residence in colonies that were first settled by European explorers and took advantage of the opportunities opened by colonisation. The third wave began in the mid-19th century when Indians were brought in as indentured labourers (Bathala, 2005). Economic reasons were the main driving force behind

Indian migration to East Africa; hence, it is unsurprising that they significantly contributed to and greatly benefited from the empire's growth (Gupta, 1998b).

During the first wave, Arab and Indian communities traded across the Indian Ocean and through the Arabian Peninsula. Indian traders were "the main importers of ivory, gold, iron, incense, and slaves, as well as the principal suppliers of essential goods such as textiles, beads, and cotton" (Muhammedi, 2017). Muslim traders originating from India frequently stayed behind and married local women who had been converted to Islam by Arabs, whereas Hindu traders often went back to India. Their descendants were those who remained assimilated with the Swahili population along the coast (Gupta, 1998a).

In the second wave, Indians came as traders, of whom a small number opted to settle in Kenya and opened small shops, or "Dukas", that provided small quantities of consumer goods to farmers in exchange for food items. The shopkeepers, or "duka wallas," gained such prominence in commerce that many traded in outlying regions, opening up fresh marketplaces for consumer items (Muhammedi, 2017). Indians were prosperous because they invested considerable effort and were thrifty. They invested in their gains, boosting the growth of their enterprises. Their prosperity caused a lot of jealousy, and they faced criticism for wanting to make money with little loyalty to their country of adoption (Gupta, 1998a).



Figure 3: Indian Duka

Source: Indian diaspora in Southeast Africa (2007).



Figure 4: Indian Home in Rural Kenya

Source: Rudy Brueggemann "Indians of Africa" (2000).

Then came the indentured labourers. Thousands of labourers were needed to build railway networks in Kenya and Uganda during the 1840s. This need was met through "coolies" or indentured labourers; the name "coolie" is from the Hindi word "quli," meaning labourer. Immigration rose significantly throughout this period and until the early 20th century. The Ugandan Railway was constructed over five years, from 1896 to 1901, using 32,000 Indian labourers (Ruchman, 2017). The Indian Emigration Act of 1883 allowed the lawful settlement of indentured labourers who chose to stay behind, and 6,724 took up this opportunity. Those who returned to India were an essential source of insight into the economic potential of East Africa, particularly in light of the recently built railway, encouraging further migration (Muhammedi, 2017).

The British colonial authorities also imported a further set of immigrants to imitate the colonial government in India. These were primarily from Goa and were mostly employed by the government, although others also worked as merchants, chefs, and tailors (Muhammedi, 2017).

Asians have experienced racism after independence in East Africa. However, Kenya's pro-capitalist policies meant that Asians contributed more to Kenya's growth than they did in Tanzania or Uganda (Gupta, 1998b). Figure 5 shows Indians (Labourers) and whites (supervisors) building the railway.

Table 1: Statistics on labourers from India

Year ending June	No. of lab. imported to end of year	No. of locally engaged lab. at end of year	No. re-patriated to end of each year	No. of invalided men to end of each year	No. of deaths to end of each year	Total casualties to end of year	Av. no. of lab. throughout year	Av. no. of effective lab. in year
1897	4269	1349	—*	200	121	321	3398	—*
1898	7131	1372	—*	705	340	1045	6377	6085
1899	15593	2509	773	1206	611	2590	11485	10365
1900	23379	2690	2761	3424	1164	7349	17116	15350
1901	31646	2506	4109	5811	1984	11904	20484	18853
1902	31983	2335	9616	6354	2367	18337	19114	18154
1903	31983	1865	16312	6454	2493	25259	12275	11725

* detailed figures not available

Source: *P.P.*, 1904, Cd. 2164, Final Report of the Uganda Railway, p. 13.



Figure 5: British engineers coordinating cutting through the rocks at mile 101

Source: Cooper (2010).

Indians in East Africa, therefore, made significant contributions to the British colonies, as Winston Churchill recognised: "The Indian trader has done more than anyone else to create the early stages of commerce and build the first tenuous channels of communication by infiltrating and sustaining himself in a variety of locations where no White man would go or could make a life. The one crucial railway on which everything else depended was built by Indian labour. The majority of the capital that is still accessible for commerce and entrepreneurship is

provided by Indian bankers, to whom European settlers have repeatedly turned for financial assistance" (Winston Churchill, quoted in Himbara, 1997).

2.4.2 National Identity of Kenyan Asians

The concept of national identity encompasses the nuanced interplay of factors that contribute to an individual's sense of belonging to a particular nation or country. These factors encompass shared historical narratives, cultural heritage, language and core values. In the context of Kenya, a nation characterised by its multi-ethnic composition, Kenyan Asians, who trace their origins to South Asia, form a distinct minority group of significant relevance. While Kenyan Asians have made substantial contributions to the country's economic and social fabric, they have encountered challenges concerning their national identity and social integration. Kenyan Asians' national identity represents a multifaceted and intricate issue, characterised by fluidity and variability influenced by factors such as age, generation, geographical location, and religious affiliation. As a result, ongoing debates persist regarding the appropriate categorisation of Kenyan Asians, with some advocating their assimilation as Kenyans, while others emphasise the importance of preserving their distinct cultural and religious identities.

The majority of Kenyan Asians trace their ancestral roots to various regions in India, notably Gujarat, Punjab, Rajasthan, Tamil Nadu, Goa, and Maharashtra. Within the Kenyan Asian community, Hinduism prevails as the predominant religion, with diverse caste-based groups such as Lohanas (traders), Shahs (merchants), Brahmins (priests), Patels (agriculturalists), and Mehtas upholding their Hindu traditions and assuming leadership roles (Njogu, 2017). Furthermore, Kenyan Asians comprise significant Muslim communities, primarily consisting of Sunni Muslims and various Shia groups, including Ismailis (followers of Imam Ismael Ibn Jafar), Bohoras (followers of Fatimid Imams and descendants of Prophet Mohammed through his daughter Fatima), and Ithnā'ashariyyah (believers in the 12 ordained Imams). Additionally, Sikhs, Jains, and Catholics contribute to religious diversity in the Kenyan Asian population (Gregory, 1993). These diverse religious affiliations further enrich the intricate tapestry of Kenyan Asian national identity.

The recognition and comprehension of Kenyan Asian national identity hold significant importance in fostering social cohesion and inclusivity within broader Kenyan society. Through a meticulous examination of the intricate dynamics shaping their identity formation, influenced by ethnicity, religion, and generational disparities, this study seeks to provide

valuable insights into the complex nature of the Kenyan Asian national identity. Such an understanding can inform the development of pertinent policies, initiatives, and social programs aimed at fostering intergroup understanding, unity, and equitable integration of Kenyan Asians into the broader Kenyan nation. By unravelling the complexities surrounding the national identity of Kenyan Asians, this research aims to contribute to scholarly discourse and promote a more comprehensive understanding of their unique position within the Kenyan social fabric.

The range of Indian identities is summarised in Figure 6.

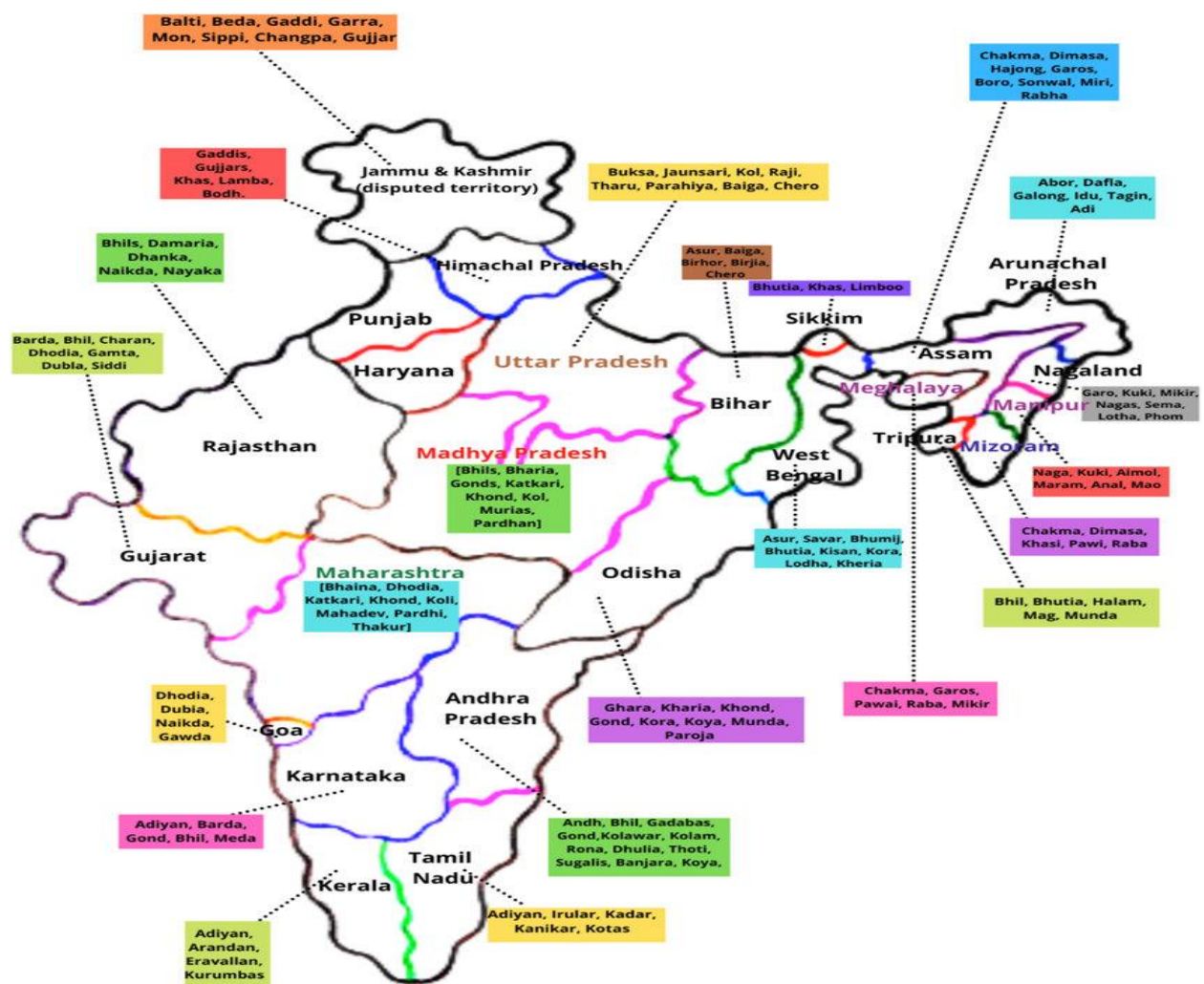


Figure 6: Map of India showing different Adivasi tribes within different states of India

Source: Bhukya (2008).

Immigrant Asians have long been recognised for their commitment to preserving their cultural identity through various means such as religion, language, traditional attire, cuisine, and

community associations. For instance, prominent figures such as Mahatma Gandhi exemplified their dedication to their cultural roots by adhering to personal commitments such as abstaining from alcohol and meat during his educational journey in England. Moreover, Hindu traditions and culture are still prevalent in countries such as Thailand, Bali, and Indonesia, as evidenced by the presence of temples and Gurudwaras that serve as significant cultural and religious centres for Indians, particularly those who follow Sikhism (Schnapper, 1994; Osano, 2018). These establishments often maintain strong ties with the ancestral region or language of Asian Indians. Additionally, dietary preferences also contribute to the distinctiveness of Asian Indians, with many adhering to food restrictions that exclude meat, fish, or eggs (Bathala, 2005).

Within the context of Kenyan Asians, a growing body of literature has examined their national identities, revealing a complex and multifaceted outlook. Many Kenyan Asians exhibit a strong sense of Indian culture and heritage, intertwining it with their deep connections to Kenya. However, their national identity is not fixed, and can vary based on several factors. Generational differences play a role, with younger Kenyan Asians being more inclined to identify primarily as Kenyans rather than Indians compared to older generations. Location is another factor, as Kenyan Asians residing in urban areas are more likely to embrace their Kenyan identity than those in rural areas. Furthermore, religious affiliation influences identity dynamics, with Hindu Kenyan Asians more likely to emphasise their Indian identity than their Sikh or Muslim counterparts (Salvadori, 1983). It is important to recognize that these identity complexities cannot be reduced to a singular answer, as they are fluid and are influenced by multiple factors.

Kenyan Asians demonstrate a strong sense of Indian culture that stems from their ancestral ties to the Indian subcontinent. Their commitment to preserving cultural traditions is evident in the practice of language, religious rituals, cuisine, music, dance, and attire. Indian festivals and customs have been enthusiastically celebrated and passed down through generations in the Kenyan Asian community. The preservation of cultural heritage is reinforced through community organisations, social gatherings, and religious affiliations. However, alongside their cultural pride, Kenyan Asians also exhibit a profound sense of identity. Over generations, they have been integrated into various aspects of Kenyan society, including social, economic, and political realms. Their contributions to the development and diversity of Kenya are recognised and appreciated, indicating a strong sense of belonging to both their Indian heritage and the Kenyan nation. To navigate their dual identity, Kenyan Asians engage in a delicate

balancing act by embracing multiple languages such as Gujarati, Punjabi, Swahili, and English. They actively participate in both Indian and Kenyan festivals while incorporating aspects of both cultures into their daily lives (Salvadori, 1983).

It is important to note that the experiences and identities within the Kenyan Asian community may vary significantly. While some individuals strongly identify with both Indian culture and Kenyan identity, others may lean more towards one dimension than the other. The balance between these two identity dimensions is influenced by factors such as family background, personal experiences, and individual choices. Furthermore, the recognition of Asians living in Kenya as the 44th tribe by the President of Kenya in 2017 (Gazette Notice 7245 (102); The Republic of Kenya, 2017) holds significant symbolic value, reaffirming their place within the nation, and further emphasizing the need for a comprehensive understanding of their identity and integration.

2.5 Landscape of the Kenyan Population

The most recent national census, conducted in 2019, reported that Kenya has a total population of 47.5 million people. The five most populous tribes are Kikuyu (8 million), Abaluhya (6.8 million), Kalenjin (6.35 million), Kamba (5 million), and Luo (4 million). Kenyan Asians (47, 555) are among the least populous tribes (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

The landscape of a nation's population consists of its identity, culture, tribe, and ethnicity. The concept of the "tribe" originated in the Roman Empire to describe a political division of the Italian people but was appropriated by European colonisers to describe a collection of people who share a similar ancestry and who are socioeconomically underdeveloped (Ochieng, 2008; Wanyonyi, 2017). Kenya's tribes coexisted in the nineteenth century, regardless of the languages they spoke or the customs they followed (Guse & Samuelsson, 2009). The British colonial government of the early twentieth century further divided Kenya into additional ethnic groups (Yieke, 2010). Since then, Kenya's 43 ethnic tribal groupings have traded with one another and intermingled, frequently in a manner that was mutually beneficial for pastoralist and agrarian communities

British colonial administrators strategically employed the "divide and conquer" approach to quell indigenous insurgent factions. Simultaneously, British settlers sought fertile agricultural prospects, leading to their concentration in regions like the Rift Valley, Central Kenya, and segments of Kenya's Western Region. Consequently, this coerced various communities into

recurrent relocations within Kenya, thereby catalysing the formation of ethnic minorities within the nation (Taaliu, 2017).

After a bloody anti-colonial battle spearheaded by the Kikuyu-Mau Mau insurrection from 1952 to 1959, Kenya won its independence from Britain in 1963 (Hamilton, 1995). Luhya, Kikuyu, Kamba, Luo, Kisii, and Kalenjin emerged as the primary ethnic groups in Kenya after independence, although there are also a large number of other minor ethnic groups (Chege, 2008a). Since independence, power at the national level has been dominated by the two tribes. Political and economic power was held by President Jomo Kenyatta's loyal group of fellow Kikuyu from the country's declaration of independence in 1963 until Kenyatta's death in 1978 (Owino, 2013). In contrast, from 1978, Kalenjin elites gained a majority of political power during the second presidential administration (Chege, 2008b).

Governing parties have aimed to exploit state resources for the benefit of their ethnic communities and their supporters in each of several regimes since independence. Before 1991, there were no significant incidents of violence resulting from population shifts to regions with diverse ethnic communities. However, after the introduction of multi-party democracy in 1992, large-scale inter-ethnic violence was politically instigated (Chege, 2008b). In 2007, there were several causes and motives for post-election violence. The allegation that the election count had been tampered with was broadly shared by international observers (Owino, 2013). Kenya's largest and most economically powerful ethnic group, the Kikuyu, has ruled the country since its independence. Long-standing income imbalances and struggle for resources have emerged, which are also at the core of post-election violence (Guse & Samuelsson, 2009). Owning property has become critical to the survival of many Kenyans from different tribes (Mwaruvie 2015).

2.6 Tension between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans

The relationship between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans has been marked by tensions and perceived differences stemming from historical, political, economic, and cultural factors. Despite the long-standing presence of Asians in Kenya, Kenyan Africans have often regarded them as foreign entities in terms of race, politics, and economics (Cheeseman, 2015). This perception has been reinforced by populist black politicians who portrayed Kenyan Asians as betraying the nation and engaging in criminal activities, leading to ethnic-based harassment and discrimination (Balachandran, 1981). Reciprocal prejudice and mistrust have characterised the perceptions held by both communities towards each other. The origins of the tensions

between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans can be traced back to the colonial era when Kenyan Asians of Indian descent arrived in the country to work on various projects, notably railway construction. During this period, Kenyan Asians received preferential treatment in terms of educational and economic opportunities, creating a sense of resentment among sidelined Kenyan Africans who were denied similar opportunities (Gupta, 1998b).

Following Kenya's independence in 1963, the new government implemented policies to address these disparities and promote the advancement of Kenyan Africans. However, tensions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans have persisted over the years, often manifesting as economic disparities and competition for resources. Kenyan Asians have played prominent roles in sectors such as commerce, industry, and finance, which some perceive as exploitative and monopolistic. As a result, sporadic acts of violence and discrimination have occurred, particularly during periods of political unrest or economic downturn, further exacerbating the tensions between the two communities. Instances of looting and targeted violence against Kenyan Asian businesses during riots and coup attempts have underscored heightened animosity (Holmquist & Githinji, 2009; Hornsby & Throup, 1992).

It is important to note that Kenyan Asians made significant contributions to the African cause during the struggle for freedom from colonial domination. Asian journalists, trade unionists, and lawyers actively supported African aspirations and defended Mau Mau suspects (Furedi, 1974; Githige, 1982). However, after independence, the political influence of Kenyan Asians diminished as the new administration pursued a policy of "Africanisation," which restricted their participation in politics and limited their businesses to urban areas (Nyaggah, 1974). Many Asians with British passports sought refuge in the UK, while those who remained in Kenya faced challenges in obtaining trade and employment licenses, prompting their efforts to acquire Kenyan citizenship and a sense of belonging (Qureshi, 1968). During this time, The animosity and distrust between Africans and Asians grew further over time still. Kenyan Africans felt the Asians were disloyal for not taking up Kenyan nationality.

These tensions and historical dynamics have resulted in limited political influence and representation for the Kenyan Asian minority, compelling them to support the ruling party in safeguarding the security of their community. Consequently, the formal recognition of Kenyan Asians as Kenya's 44th tribe by President Uhuru Kenyatta's administration carried a significant symbolic weight. For many Kenyan Asians, this recognition represents a transformative moment, ultimately instilling a sense of being a first-class citizen in their own nation (Siundu,

2018). However, Patel and Ghai (2017) provided an interesting perspective by suggesting that the recognition of Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe primarily relates to their cultural identity rather than their involvement in public life or achieving equality (Patel & Ghai, 2017). This observation raises further questions and calls for a deeper examination of the complexities surrounding the status and integration of Kenyan Asians within broader Kenyan society.

2.7 Factors Promoting Social Integration

Efforts to foster social integration among Kenyan Asians and other ethnic groups in Kenya require collective action from various stakeholders, including the government, community organisations, and individuals. Several key factors are instrumental in promoting social integration among Kenyan Asians. A crucial factor is the advancement of equal rights and opportunities for all Kenyans. Ensuring that Kenyan Asians have equitable access to education, employment, healthcare, and participation in political and social spheres is fundamental to social integration. This includes the formulation and implementation of antidiscrimination laws and policies that safeguard Kenyan Asians and other minority communities from prejudice, racism, and unfair treatment. These measures create an inclusive environment that fosters respect for and facilitates social integration.

Education and awareness campaigns play a pivotal role in promoting social integration; however, there remains a need for greater emphasis on educating young Kenyan children about the history of their nation and the existence of minority communities, such as Kenyan Asians. The curriculum should include comprehensive content that highlights the contributions, challenges, and rich cultural heritage of the diverse ethnic groups within Kenya. By providing students with a broader understanding of their nation's history, these educational initiatives can foster empathy, respect, and a sense of shared heritage among Kenyan Asians and other communities. Additionally, open dialogue and conversations within educational settings should encourage discussion about perceptions, prejudices, and the importance of cultural diversity. By addressing misconceptions and promoting an intercultural understanding, these dialogues can help break down barriers and nurture a more inclusive society.

Facilitating language learning and communication has been a crucial aspect in helping Kenyan Asians integrate into a larger society. In the Kenyan context, the promotion of Kiswahili as a national language has played a significant role in fostering social integration (Owino, 2013). Kiswahili serves as a unifying language for multi-ethnic communication in Kenya, spoken by approximately 65% of the Kenyan population as a second language and as a first language by

the Swahili people on the coast (Githiora, 2008). Additionally, nationwide ideologies such as "African socialism," "Harambee" ("all pull together"), and "Nyayoism: Peace, Love, and Unity" have been promoted to foster a sense of national unity and identity (Koross, 2012). These ideologies emphasise the importance of inclusivity, collaboration, and unity among all Kenyans, irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds, and have contributed to the social integration process by promoting a shared vision and common values.

Political representation holds significant importance in promoting social integration, and while there have been some advancements, more efforts are needed to encourage the greater participation of Kenyan Asians in politics. While a few Kenyan Asians have begun to engage in the political arena, there is still room for increased representation. It is crucial to create an inclusive political environment that encourages and supports Kenyan Asians' active involvement in decision-making processes. By providing opportunities for Kenyan Asians to contribute to policymaking, their unique perspectives and needs can be addressed, ultimately fostering social integration and inclusivity.

Social support networks are essential for fostering social integration, particularly among low-income earners who may face additional barriers. It is crucial to establish programs that specifically target this demographic, aiming to change perceptions and provide support for social integration. By addressing socioeconomic disparities, offering mentorship programs, and creating avenues for economic empowerment, these initiatives can empower low-income Kenyan Asians to overcome obstacles and participate actively in the social, economic, and political fabric of Kenyan society.

The Kenyan government took action to encourage integration and national cohesiveness. In reaction to violent protests in 2007, the National Cohesion and Integration (NCIC) Act of 2008 was passed with the intention of lowering ethnic strife, advancing reconciliation, and eradicating discrimination (Owino, 2013). The adoption of the new Kenyan Constitution in 2010, with its provisions on culture, language, and population, has further supported efforts towards national healing and identity (Government of Kenya, 2010). In 2017, President Uhuru Kenyatta's recognition of Asians living in Kenya as the 44th tribe through a presidential proclamation marked an important milestone in acknowledging their place within Kenya (Gazette Notice 7245 (102); The Republic of Kenya, 2017).

2.8 Factors Hindering Social Integration of Kenyan Asians

The colonization of East Africa, coupled with the reliance on Indian labour, engendered the pivotal political quandary known as the "Indian Question" within the discourse of colonial politics spanning the years 1895 to 1929 (Watkins, 1923). During this period, East Africa grappled with a surge in racial tensions as the British colonial government, both in London and East Africa, steadfastly promoted the 'doctrine of racial compartmentalization,' wherein 'superior' Europeans occupied the apex, followed by Asians in the middle, and 'inferior' Africans at the base (Mangat, 1969). European settlers regarded Africans as inherently inferior and held similar perceptions about Indians, labelling them as 'inferior,' 'uncivilized,' and 'exploitative' (Patel & Ghai, 2017). The Kenya Economic Commission of 1919 went so far as to characterize Indians as "carriers of diseases, lacking trust, immoral, and inciters to crime and vice." Consequently, the report advocated for an anti-Indian racial policy and endorsed their expulsion from the colony (Patel, 2013).

Racial discrimination constituted an integral component of the broader colonial strategy of divide and rule, effectively creating divisions along racial lines between Africans and Asians. This strategy gave rise to enduring miscommunications and intense competition between Indians and Africans, providing Europeans with an opportunity to exploit this racial and political schism to perpetuate discord between Asians and native Africans (Jones, 2007). In a significant historical development, Lord Delamere, through the East African Royal Commission (EARC) in 1954, imposed a ban on Indian immigration to Kenya (Mwangi, 2007). Another pivotal moment in the history and politics of Kenya's Asian community was marked by the British White Paper of 1954 (Maxon, 1991). This document underscored the primacy of African interests, upheld European sovereignty, fostered racial alienation, and downplayed Indian political and citizenship rights as well as their economic concerns. Colonial Secretary Ormsby Gore, in 1943, went as far as to assert that Indians were 'sheer intruders in a country that belonged only to Africans and Europeans' (Van Paassen, 2016). Fears among the Indian community ran high, with concerns that Kenya might replicate the South African model, leading to their complete marginalization through policies related to race, land taxation, immigration, the judiciary, franchise, and education (Berman, 1992). The conflicts that ensued between colonists and Indians from 1901 to 1923 significantly dampened Indian interest in government-related affairs, diverting their focus away from political and agricultural activities and towards commerce and trade (Bennet, 1982).

Within the colonial compartmentalized system, Asians derived certain social benefits. As a traditional society, Asians residing in East Africa often found contentment in being allowed to practice their customs and preserve their cultural heritage (Ballard, 2018). Moreover, the colonial system was somewhat acceptable to them because, as immigrants grappling with uncertainty regarding their rights and status, Asians found clarity in roles defined along racial lines, thereby mitigating competition with Africans. Although they were aware that certain positions of influence remained off-limits, they encountered no insurmountable barriers to success in the realms of business and industry. However, they understood that attaining the highest echelons of public service was beyond their reach. Many Asians had achieved considerable wealth during this period, an aspiration that may have been unattainable had they remained in their countries of origin (Manjula & Gaonkar, 2014).

In the realm of political rights, Asians' limited political awareness facilitated their acquiescence to the colonial framework. It is important to remember that Asians endured various racial injustices and indignities during the colonial period. The relatively subdued nature of Asian protests can be attributed, in part, to their recognition of their limited capacity to effect substantial change within the East African context (Ghai & Ghai, 1965; Muhammedi, 2017).

The British colonial authorities created a socio-political system in which the Asian minority was blamed for exploitative practices by the African majority; anger was aimed towards the Asian minority rather than the real offenders, the colonialists, because they had been positioned as a buffer between the British and indigenous people. Asians became a key component of British power over the native people, and as a result, they were given more rights than Africans, which caused them to face far greater hostility from the black population than from the colonists (Ganguly, 2014). The "colonial sandwich" was deeply ingrained in East African colonial society and played a significant role in the country's economic structures.

The division of society into three social, economic, and political groups shaped all aspects of life in East African colonies. For instance, there are different residential zones, maternity homes, hospitals, and schools in various groups (Cliffe, 1977). The segregation on the economic front was based on racial pay scales. Africans were always at the bottom of the hierarchy, with Asians occupying an intermediate position (Ghai & Ghai 1965).

Newly independent governments used the system they inherited as justification for their discriminatory practices toward the Asian minority in their newly independent countries. Due to these conflicts, the idea that "he is rich because he is Asian and I am poor because I am

African" became widely accepted. This provided Idi Amin with the strongest evidence to support his expulsion decree for all Asians in 1972 (Ghai & Ghai 1965; Muhammedi, 2017).

2.9 Africanisation

After their independence, African leaders were under enormous pressure. They had to take on new functions such as conducting foreign relations, expanding developmental projects, and managing foreign aid. Nationwide linkages and national identity had to be built in the face of ethnic anxieties, and ethnicity-based nationalism gained widespread popular support throughout East Africa during the period immediately following independence (Brizuela-Garcia, 2006). In neighbouring Tanzania, at the time of independence in 1961, many prominent politicians advocated Africanisation policies and opposed full citizenship rights for Asians (Macrae & Moore, 1959). Although the new government rejected rapid Africanisation and did not enact exclusionary policies targeted at its Asian racial minority, the majority of Asian landlords in Tanzania had their rental properties confiscated by the government without compensation, and Asian entrepreneurs were not available for credit facilities (Balachandran, 1981).

In 1971, in Uganda, President Amin publicly accused the Asian community of various transgressions, such as isolationism, corruption, hoarding goods, smuggling, deliberate interference with African traders, and disloyalty to the government (Parsons, 2007). These traits were widely acknowledged and accepted by the African population in Uganda, ultimately leading to the expulsion of Asians from the country (Parsons, 2007).

In 1964, the Kenyan Government initiated an "Africanisation" or "Kenyanisation" policy aimed at replacing non-citizens with citizens in key economic roles (Frenkel, 2010). Under this policy, individuals involved in businesses were provided with a two-month notice period to divest from their ventures. This development caused considerable anxiety within the Asian community, particularly among those whose trading activities would be affected by the new policy. Consequently, many Asians responded by making preparations to depart from Kenya (Twaddle, 2001).

2.10 The Role of the Media in Kenyan Asian Identity

Although Indians were brought to Kenya as cheap labour, they came to dominate business life in East Africa. Kenyan Asians established newspapers as part of their business interests (Faringer, 1991; Wa'Njogu, 2004). These included Samachar (1902), East African News (1915), Hindi Prakash (1915), East African Chronicle (1919), Kenya Daily Mail (1926), and Colonial Times (1962, edited by Pio Gama Pinto) (Mbutia, 1995).

One key factor in political alienation was their status as a minority community within Kenyan society. As a minority, Kenyan Asians faced socio-political barriers and discrimination that limited their access to political participation and representation. Additionally, certain government policies and laws in colonial Kenya restricted the political rights and opportunities available to Kenyan Asians. The Kenyan Asian community was granted limited privileges by British colonists, such as economic opportunities and better educational facilities, however, these privileges often came with political participation restrictions. In return, the political rights of Kenyan Asians were severely restricted by relative economic and educational advantages under colonial rule. The community was excluded from participating in mainstream political processes and institutions as political representation was primarily reserved for the African majority. To date, this exclusion from formal political structures has prevented most Kenyan Asians from actively engaging in politics.

Despite the prevailing political restrictions, a segment of Kenyan Asians proactively participated in political media and press activism. They discerned the influential role of the media in moulding public perception, disseminating information, and championing reform. Utilizing newspapers, magazines, and various media outlets, these individuals voiced their opposition to colonial rule and made significant contributions to the anti-colonial movement. Their written works, editorials, and articles played a pivotal role in elevating consciousness regarding the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians and the broader struggle for independence (Vora, 2016).

The contributions of these politically engaged Kenyan Asians were significant in amplifying the voices of the sidelined communities and challenging colonial power structures. They played a vital role in shaping public discourse, promoting social justice, and fostering a sense of unity among various anticolonial movements. It is crucial to recognise that while a majority of Kenyan Asians may have been politically uninvolved or sidelined, the activism and contributions of a select few should not be overlooked. These individuals demonstrated

resilience, courage, and commitment to social and political change, using the media as a tool to advocate for their rights and the rights of others (Gupta, 1998a).

The East African Chronicle holds the distinction of being the inaugural newspaper to address British colonial concerns (Wa'Njogu, 2004). Its resounding voice in condemning discriminatory policies laid the groundwork for Kenyan political activists and the colonial liberation movements to utilize the media for public engagement (Wachanga, 2011). The East African Chronicle eventually came under the ownership of Prince Karim Aga Khan, an Indian-born entrepreneur who went on to establish Taifa, a Swahili-language weekly newspaper, in 1958. Both Taifa and the Daily Nation charted a departure from the European colonial publications by boldly decrying colonial oppression and despotism (Iraki, 2010).

While the Asian community as a whole was sidelined from politics, some individuals and groups recognised the significance of vibrant media as a means of voicing their concerns, advocating their interests, and contributing to societal development. Consequently, some Asians such as Pio Gama Pinto, invested in media enterprises, establishing newspapers, magazines, and radio stations that catered to the Asian community (Pinto, 2010). These media cover a broad range of discussion topics, including business, social issues, education, and culture (Siundu, 2018). These media outlets offer a good platform for debates, cultural expression, and community engagement. Kenyan Asians use media outlets to maintain their identity, inform and educate their community, and participate in public discourse (Frederiksen, 2011). Significant changes in the political landscape of Kenya have been noted in recent years, and there is growing recognition of the need for inclusivity and diversity. Initiatives are being undertaken to bridge divides and foster a more inclusive society, which may provide opportunities for greater political participation and engagement in all communities including Kenyan Asians. Hence, the alienation of most Kenyan Asians from politics is attributed to historical factors, colonial policies, and tensions between different racial and ethnic groups (Siundu, 2018). However, some Kenyan Asians, such as Pio Gama Pinto, recognised the importance of media as a means of expression and community engagement, leading to the establishment of vibrant media outlets that served their community's interests.

The significant role of mainstream media in colonial struggle and the political landscape has been largely recognised. However, the advent of technology and the accompanying online social media platforms have become important tools for promoting democracy and social movements worldwide. One case in point is the Arab Spring, which were a series of pro-democracy uprisings and social movements that occurred across several Arabic countries starting in late 2010. During the Arab Spring, social media was used as a tool for communication, organisation, and mobilisation among protesters (Gire, 2017). The purpose of this study is to develop a Praxis Model for integrating Kenyan Asians and Africans through social media and promote cross-cultural understanding and unity. Similar to the Arab Spring, social media could be utilized to acknowledge Kenyan Asians within Kenyan Society and magnify voices/link proponents of social inclusion. Using social media channels, the Praxis Model aims to foster meaningful interaction and debate between the two populations. Further the Praxis Model aims to establish a space where people from both backgrounds may have open conversations, share perspectives, experiences, culture, and break down boundaries. The ultimate goal is to use social media as a tool for constructive social change, to promote inclusivity, and celebrate Kenya's diversity.

Kenya's internet and mobile communication sector has undergone a profound transformation, witnessing a remarkable surge in users from less than 1% of the population in 1999 to an impressive 80% in 2012 (Demombynes & Thegeya, 2012). The advent of social media over the past decade has exerted significant influence on contemporary culture (Kaplan & Haenlein, 2010). Leading social networking platforms boast substantial user bases: as of July 2020, there were approximately 2 billion active users on YouTube, 2.0 billion on Facebook, 326 million on Twitter, 1 billion on Instagram, 2 billion on WhatsApp, and 800 million on TikTok. Kenya, in particular, boasts 45.7 million Internet subscribers (Julius, 2020), with a

predominant usage of mobile phones to access the Internet. The graph below provides an illustrative breakdown of Kenya's social media adoption in terms of percentages.

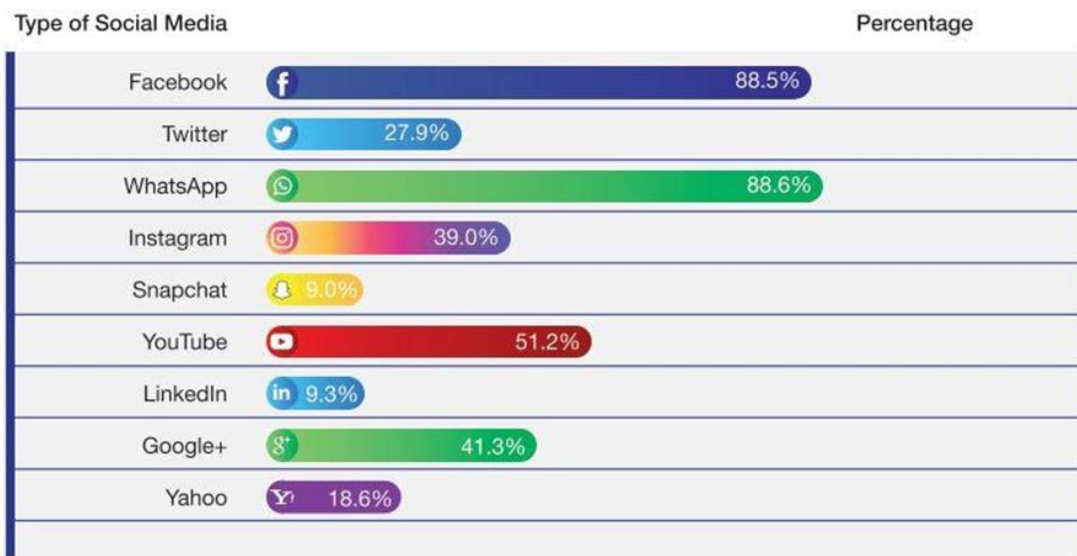


Figure 7: Snapshot of the use of social media in Kenya in percentage (%)

Source: SIMElab (2019).

Figure 7 shows that WhatsApp usage in Kenya was 88.6%, Facebook at 88.5% (SIMElab, 2019), YouTube (51.2%), and Google+ (41.3%). LinkedIn and Snapchat are the least popular in Kenya, at 9.3% and 9.0%, respectively (SIMElab, 2019). People often use social media for news, self-promotion, publishing, and relationship development (Robinson et al., 2017).

2.11 Role of Social Media in Social Integration

Knowledge is power. People may connect and build connections, mobilise for a cause, exchange ideas, seek advice, and provide assistance through social media. Everyone online is empowered by the unfettered flow of information (Amedie, 2015). Facebook, one of the most well-known social media platforms, helps us better comprehend, learn, and share information instantly, making the entire globe seem like a small village. International boundaries, communication obstacles, and other restrictions have been eliminated by social media (Amedie, 2015).

In Kenya, social media have been used to affect social change. The blog "Kenyan Pundit" serves as an example, and was founded by Ory Okollo, a lawyer who graduated from Harvard University in 2005 (Brinkman, 2019). Kenyan Pundit was listed as the second most popular

worldwide blog during the post-election violence crisis in 2007, which is a remarkable position for a blog on Africa (Brinkman, 2019). Many Kenyans responded to the blogs on this website with responses, reports, and comments, and some of them disseminated the material to others via email and SMS, thus reaching a wider audience. The blog and Okollo drew interest from all over the world. This gave her the inspiration for the concept that launched a "mashup" that integrated SMS-sent accounts from eyewitnesses on a map. As a result, "Ushahidi," a platform utilised in crisis circumstances such as Haiti, was developed (Brinkman, 2019).

Similarly, Twitter serves as Kenya's virtual "town square" (Kaigwa & Wu, 2015). Journalists increasingly utilise it as a part of their beat, keeping up with popular blogs and other Kenyan developments. Daily and weekly newspaper sources and cites tweets and other remarks from social media, such as "Tweet us your opinions" or "Our hashtag is...," and similar expressions at least once every week (Ndemo & Weiss, 2017). The number of social media users in Kenya increased by 2.2 million (+25%) between 2020 and 2021, By January 2021, there were an estimated 11 million social media users in the country (Kemp, 2021).

Social media's political and social power is demonstrated by the "Arab Spring". Different Arab Spring-affected nations have varying degrees of internet accessibility. Internet adoption rates ranged from 10% in Yemen to 17% in Libya, approximately 20% in Syria, 37% in Egypt, 68% in Tunisia, and 89% in Bahrain, as of 2011 (Waechter, 2019). The mobile penetration rates were 16% in Yemen, 58% in Tunisia, 63% in Syria, 91% in Egypt, 95% in Libya, and 99% in Bahrain (Karolak, 2017). Despite these distinctions, social media was utilised throughout the area to highlight the brutality of security forces and rampant corruption, generate awareness for protests, plan them, and spread activism inside and beyond specific nations' boundaries (Axford, 2011).

Social media has been utilised as a weapon for pro-democracy movements and the mobilisation of protests in many parts of the world (Bohdanova, 2014; Danju et al., 2013). Social media have been used to mobilise protests in Iran (El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012), Tunisia (Wulf et al., 2013), Ukraine (Bohdanova, 2014), and Egypt (Wiest & Eltantawy, 2011). Protest movements in the United States, Spain, Turkey, and Ukraine (Jost et al., 2018) have shown that social media platforms make it easier to exchange information about transportation, turnout, police presence, violence, medical services, and legal support, which is crucial for organising protest activities. Additionally, social media platforms enable the transmission of emotive and inspiring information in favour of and against protest activities, including messages

emphasising rage, social identity, collective efficacy, worries about fairness, justice, and deprivation, as well as overtly ideological themes (Wulf et al., 2013)

Social media can also be used to promote national identity and increase awareness. Yadlin-Segal (2017) conducted a thematic analysis of 140 tweets and images shared with the hashtag #IranJeans on Twitter and highlighted how social media provides users with a special platform to engage with international political discourse, reconstruct their identities, and dispel cultural stereotypes on a global scale (Yadlin-Segal, 2017). In another study, KhosraviNik and Zia (2014) used a Critical Discourse Analytical approach to examine how an Iranian nationalist identity is being (re)presented on the popular Persian Gulf Facebook Page (KhosraviNik & Zia, 2014). The study concluded that the discourse around emerging Persian national identity is focused on fending off what is perceived as an invasion of Arabic culture and the spread of Islamic identity.

Other research has examined how ethnic identity was formed on the Russian social network VKontakte (also known as "In Contact," which is comparable to Facebook) (Glukhov, 2017). The analysis of the study's data revealed two trends: ethnic segregation and secularisation in the modernised host Russian community. This study sought to identify the roles and functions of social networks in the national reproductive and ethnic support of Russian immigrants from Central Asia (Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan). Another study examined the discursive fabrication of local identity in Hong Kong by analysing social media posts made by localist advocacy groups. The study concluded that the Chinese regime is seen as a new coloniser, while a purified colonial past is imagined as the lost homeland (Wang, 2019).

It is clear from the research of several experts that social movements are essential for bringing about social change (El-Nawawy & Khamis, 2012; Jost et al., 2018; Palen & Hughes, 2018; Wang, 2019; Wiest & Eltantawy, 2011). Social movements begin when a group of people has a shared problem. They share the objective of paying more attention to social issues to effect change. A change in legislation or even in people's attitudes may be involved (Grasmuck et al., 2009). The ability to organise protests, exercise one's right to free speech, and influence public policy are all wonderful benefits. People can join social movements to express themselves, bringing attention to a problem they are passionate about and affect change.

Social media is also used to promote engagement; examples include Authorities to Authorities (A2A), Citizens to Authorities (C2A), Authorities to Citizens (A2C) (Reuter & Kaufhold, 2018). When authorities connect with their citizenry (A2C), it may be necessary to raise

awareness or in times of emergency. The COVID-19 pandemic provides a pertinent example. The Ministry of Health employed Facebook and Twitter to disseminate information regarding the nation's infection statistics and preventive measures to the general public. While social media platforms like Facebook and Twitter are not typically designed for inter- and intra-organizational collaboration (A2A) among authorities, they can contribute to enhancing inter-organizational awareness and informal processes (Reuter & Kaufhold, 2018).

Emerging groups or "private" individuals engaged in the Citizens to Citizen (C2C) initiative collaborate toward shared goals, often in areas such as agriculture, commerce, or procurement of goods (Reuter & Kaufhold, 2018). The integration of user-generated content falls under the category of citizen to authority (C2A). Social media platforms can be utilized to influence policy changes, enforce regulations, or alert authorities to specific issues through data mining techniques (Reuter & Kaufhold, 2018).

2.12 The Praxis Model

Praxis, as defined by Freire (1985), encompasses both reflection and action. In this context, knowledge and contemplation become devoid of meaning if they are not followed by action. Conversely, when action lacks the underpinning of thought and reflection, it loses its significance and becomes misguided. Genuine praxis is established through the dynamic interplay and integration of reflection and action over time (Freire, 1985).

The goal of Sandiford et al. (2021) was to get students to critically reflect on themselves, examine historical settings of inequality, and comprehend the layers of identity as they relate to geography and history. The students were encouraged to:

1. Develop cultural self-awareness.
2. Question power, privilege, and positionality in a global context.
3. Recognise and researching the historical roots of oppression and inequality in local situations.
4. Develop the capacity to adopt new viewpoints and think about various modes of comprehension
5. Use your newly acquired knowledge and abilities to make meaningful and responsible contributions to our interconnected society.

According to Sandiford et al. (2021), our identities represent how we exhibit ourselves to others. Our interactions with one another are affected by who we are, sometimes enforced, and other times self-identified. The beliefs and perspectives of the cultural groups to which we belong shape our identities. It is becoming clearer that in our interconnected world, we must put in the effort to forge cross-cultural connections, beginning with a knowledge of who we are and how our identities impact our perceptions, intending to improve intercultural communication. Intercultural praxis is a collection of skills and practices for critical reflective thinking and doing, and it helps people become more effective intercultural communicators, thinkers, and actors in a global setting (Sorrells, 2010).

The intercultural praxis model advocated by Sorrells (2010) encourages a non-linear approach to cross-cultural communication and persistently challenges us to locate our identities and those of others within earlier inequitable systems that have shaped our world. Figure 8 below illustrates six elements of intercultural praxis: inquiry, framing, positioning, discussion, reflection, and action.

Inquiry refers to the desire to study, inquire about things, and gain information. We must be willing to take chances and be open to questioning and changing our worldview and way of thinking. Finally, we must be willing to set aside preconceived notions about others to perceive and interpret others and the environment from various perspectives (Patterson, 2011).

Framing implies to our perspectives and how we perceive the world, other people, and ourselves are always constrained by our frames. We understand the world using geographical, sociological, cultural, and personal frameworks that necessarily include and exclude certain aspects. Understanding the frames of reference through which we perceive and experience the world is crucial (Orna-Montesinos, 2017).

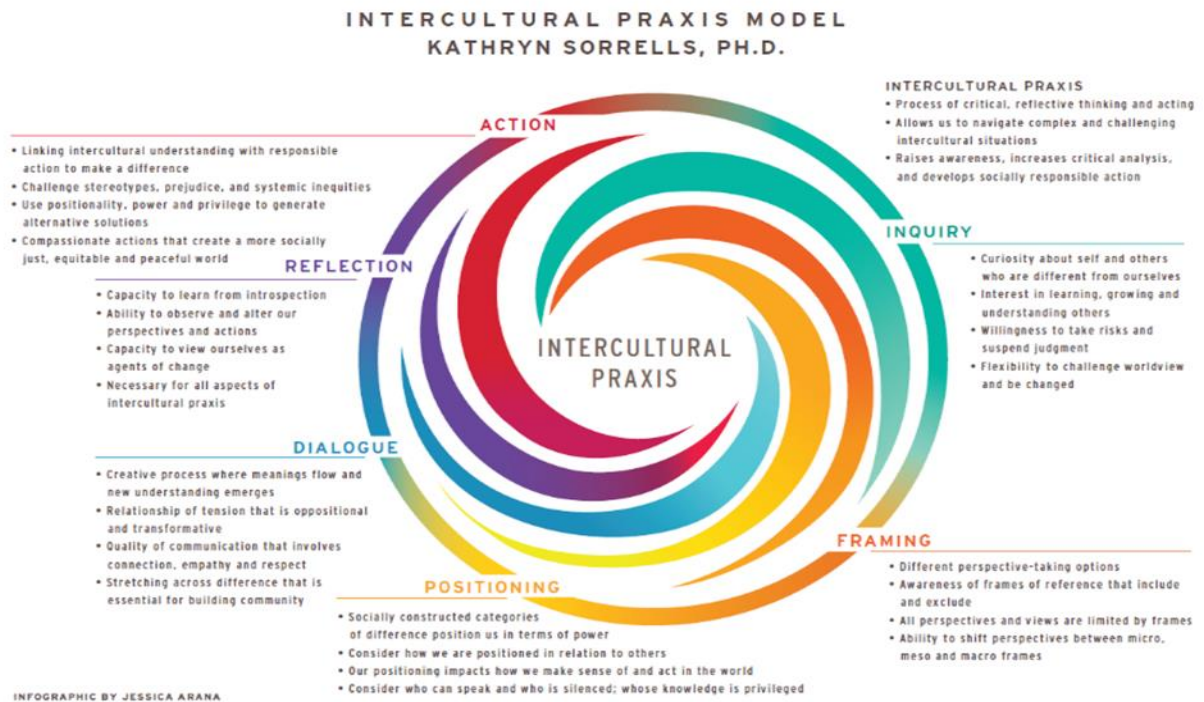


Figure 8: Overview of Sorrell’s (2010) Intercultural Praxis Model

Source: Sorrell (2010).

Positioning helps us see that the various views we choose have implications at both a practical and symbolic level. Our position may change depending on where and who we are conversing with. We analyse the relationship between what we regard as "knowledge" and power, and accept that our perception of reality is influenced by social and historical background and developed in the framework of power (Patterson, 2011).

In an ICP environment, conversation is a transforming process in which we are aware of power and positionality differences, it’s no longer merely two-person interaction. Dialogue challenges us to conceive, feel, and creatively interact with others in novel ways (Orna-Montesinos, 2017).

Reflection is the capacity to reflect on oneself and to see how one compares to others. The inquiry, framing, positioning, and discourse depend on reflection, yet the dominant culture devalues it in favour of action and task completion. When we reflect on, we may act in the world in meaningful, effective, and responsible ways (Rodriguez, 2019).

In intercultural practice, thinking, reflecting, and acting are ongoing processes. We must analyse the links between our choices and acts in the context of globalisation and power relations and the elements that shape our decisions and actions to take effective action. The

Intercultural Praxis Model bridges the gaps between identity, diversity, equality, inclusion, and cross-cultural communication. It is a method of navigating differences that promotes understanding, empathy, and action (Orna-Montesinos, 2017).

2.13 Chapter Summary

This chapter has undertaken a comprehensive review of pertinent theoretical and empirical literature pertaining to ethnic identity, with a specific focus on Kenyan Asians. The investigation into the social integration of Kenyan Asians has been anchored in social identity theory, serving as the overarching theoretical framework. Within this framework, various aspects such as ingroup favouritism among Asians, intergroup conflict between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians, and the persistent prejudices and discriminations against Kenyan Asians have been elucidated. The literature review further delved into topics related to national identity and politicization, encompassing identity crises, the demographic landscape of Kenya, and the historical trajectory of Kenyan Asians. Tensions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, as well as the media's role in shaping the national identity of Kenyan Asians, were also explored.

While the Kenyan government has officially recognized Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe of Kenya, the literature review has underscored a noticeable gap in knowledge pertaining to the integration and acceptance of Asians into the broader Kenyan society. Drawing upon this review, it becomes evident that in the contemporary digital age, social media stands as a potent instrument that can be harnessed to promote national identity and raise awareness regarding the integration of Kenyan Asians. The subsequent chapter will expound on the research methodology and the procedures that were adhered to in conducting this study.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological framework employed in this study, which seeks to investigate the perceived identity challenges confronting Kenyan Asians and their prospective integration as the 44th tribe within Kenya. The study addresses the persisting issues of discrimination and marginalization experienced by the Kenyan Asian community. Within this chapter, a comprehensive exposition of the chosen methodologies is presented, encompassing the various techniques, methods, and approaches deployed to realize the study's objectives. The chapter encompasses elements such as research design, the targeted population, sampling methodologies, procedures for data collection, the instruments employed for the study, the conduct of pre-tests, and the techniques employed for data analysis. Ethical considerations underpinning the research are also deliberated upon.

3.2 Research Method and Design

Researchers use three types of methods: quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods (Edmonds & Kennedy, 2019). A mixed methods approach is best suited for the proposed research study for several reasons. Firstly, qualitative analysis is appropriate for exploring the perceptions and experiences of Kenyans regarding their identities (Tracy, 2010). These perceptions and experiences are better explored and discovered using interviews and open-ended questions used in qualitative studies (Harris et al., 2019). The qualitative approach is appropriate in this context because of its exploratory focus on the purpose, which is a point of discovery (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Furthermore, qualitative research is used to develop theories, hypotheses, or assumptions to explain study phenomena instead of validating or invalidating existing theories or hypotheses based on the statistical analysis of data (Bradshaw et al., 2017). Qualitative research starts with the words and experiences of the participants to make sense of a phenomenon (Bradshaw et al., 2017). In addition, a qualitative method was considered appropriate to explore the phenomenon of racial identity in Kenya based on the social construction of the realities of the participants.

Secondly, quantitative methodologies were also considered appropriate for this study to generate objective findings for the creation of the praxis model. Thus, to allow the in-depth experiences of participants to be captured and generate objective data for the creation of the praxis model, a mixed methods approach has been used. A mixed method is a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods in a single study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018).

3.3 Research Design

Research design refers to the arrangement of conditions for the collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in the procedure (Creswell & Poth, 2018). The different types of qualitative research designs are grounded theory, ethnographic, narrative, phenomenology, and case study design (Morse, 2015). Exploratory grounded theory was selected as the research design for this study. This approach is a type of exploratory research that collects insightful data from participants to support the development of a theory or model to explain the phenomenon. It is used to answer questions such as what, why, and how (Swedberg, 2020). Grounded theory focuses on developing theories to explain this phenomenon. This study sought to develop an innovative model that can promote the racial identity of Kenyan Asians.

Alternative designs were also considered to assess their suitability for the study. The phenomenological design explores the lived experiences of the participants and examines their construction of meaning. Phenomenology is an unmerited approach to understanding the broader social and cultural identities of Kenyans. This approach was not chosen because the focus was not to explore lived experiences, but instead to explore the perspectives of participants on the cultural identity of Kenyan Asians (Maxwell & Joseph 2017). Hence, the phenomenological design does not align with this purpose. Ethnographic design is focused on in-depth interviews, observation, and participation in the daily lives of participants in their natural settings to gain knowledge of their culture, behaviours, and perspectives. Researchers are fully immersed in the field and have become part of the research process (Siraj-Blatchford, 2020). This design was considered unsuitable in this context because the focus was not on studying the social context and culture of Kenyan Asians. While ethnographic design is a significant approach to understanding complex social phenomena, it was unsuitable for assessing the perceptions of participants regarding the identity of Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe.

3.4 Target Population

A population refers to all subjects, objects, events, elements, and items that bear common observable characteristics that are of interest to researchers (Ayala & Elder, 2011). The study population consisted of Kenyan African and Kenyan Asian populations. The target recruitment population for this dissertation was members of the Kenya Intercultural and Heritage Centre. The entity was chosen for recruitment for the study as it has a population of 300 members

(Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans, and Whites) and conducts research, holds exhibitions, and engages in other educational activities for communities within Kenyan boundaries.

3.5 Sampling Procedure

Sampling is the process of drawing a sample (subset) from a target population using an appropriate sampling strategy. Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) stated that selecting a sample guided by the developed sampling frame is crucial. This study used a stratified random sampling method from a target population of 300 members (Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans, and Caucasian). The stratified sampling technique was selected as it is the most objective approach when dealing with a heterogeneous population and when grouping this population into homogenous subsets (Etikan & Bala, 2017). Selecting a sample using this method promotes representation of the population (Etikan & Bala, 2017). This study grouped the population into three strata: Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans, and Caucasians. In addition, a simple random sampling technique was used to obtain samples from each stratum. This technique further promotes the objectivity of the data collection procedures, as the method produces the nearest accurate results. Yamane's (1967) formulae were used to estimate the sample size.

$$n = N/1+N*(e)^2$$

Where: N = Population size
 n = sample size
 e = Margin error of the study set at $\pm 5\%$

Therefore, the sample size was as follows:

$$n = 300/(1+300*(0.05)^2) = 171$$

This study sampled 171 members (Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans, and Caucasians) at the Kenya Intercultural and Heritage Centre, which is 57% of the target population. The survey outputs helped to further understand the tensions and perceptions between the two groups and added quantitative data to the extensive qualitative data collected through in-depth interviews with key informants. It also sought to provide details on what could be included in the development of a Praxis model, helping inform the recommendations of this study.

3.6 Instrumentation

In-depth interviews and open-ended survey questionnaires were used to collect the primary data. Detailed information regarding these data sources is provided below:

3.6.1 Open ended Questionnaire

To help with decisions related to the development of the model for the integration of Kenyan Asians, a web-based online survey was created to gather the opinions and perspectives of 171 respondents sampled from 300 members at Kenya Intercultural and Heritage Centre (Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans, and Whites). This approach was created as an experimental approach to allow for a deeper investigation of the causes of tensions and perceptions. The study adopted semi-structured questionnaires to prevent restricting respondents' responses, thereby promoting the objectivity of the outcomes. The combination of both closed and open-ended questions offers more detailed responses (Baker, 2003).

3.6.2 In-depth Interviews

Interviews were selected to provide greater insight into perceptions and opinions regarding differences in identity between Kenyan Asians and Africans. Semi-structured interviews were used to provide a balance between structured and unstructured formats, allowing for flexibility while maintaining a certain level of consistency (Böser, 2015; Hammer & Wildavsky, 2018). Email messages were sent to survey takers who indicated interest in participating in the interviews. Potential interviewees were identified based on the survey respondents who indicated that they were interested in being interviewed. Twenty-seven voluntary parties were selected to obtain the opinions of users from various racial and ethnic groups. Nine of the twenty-seven people questioned ranged in age from 18 to 93, and 18 of the respondents were men. Kenyan Asian and Kenyan Africans were interviewed in equal numbers. A field journal was maintained during each interview to capture participants' non-verbal communication during the interview and group discussion process, as well as the researcher's thoughts (Mohajan, 2018).

Interview questions were developed based on the reviewed literature, main research questions, expert input, and field testing (Hammer & Wildavsky, 2018). Draft interviews were conducted with two experts in the research field to evaluate and revise the questions to address the research problem. The feedback from experts was used to refine the interview questions by removing any ambiguous questions and improving some questions for the final interview questionnaires. The researcher further conducted field testing with similar participants drawn from Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans to help smooth the interview questions (Yin, 2018). After

scheduling interviews, participants were given a summary of areas of focus, mode of administering interviews, and the approximate length of the interview session (Ragab & Arisha, 2018). The face-to-face individual interviews were semi-structured and lasted between 45 and 60 minutes (Berry, 1999).

3.7 Study Procedures

The study process involved multiple statements. A link explaining the study was shared via the Kenya Intercultural and Heritage Centre. The link contained the email address of the researcher and inclusion questions for self-assessment by participants to determine their eligibility. Participants who met the inclusion criteria were requested to reply via email. Eligible participants were sent electronic consent forms to confirm that participation in the study was voluntary (Yin, 2018). Data collection commenced after signed consent forms were obtained from the participants.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

It is important to ensure that the research findings are reliable and trustworthy based on the collected and analysed data. A strength of this study is the use of a mixed methods design, which provides greater insight by integrating qualitative and quantitative data. Further, the credibility of the data and study outcomes was enhanced using multiple cross-checking strategies to determine the veracity of participants' responses, including input from experts, peer debriefing, use of multiple sources of data and sampling methods, member checking and verifying findings with participants, consulting peers for feedback, and self-reflection on personal assumptions and biases (Chess, 2017). Participants were allowed to evaluate and revise their responses and add or delete information as deemed fit. Member checking of transcribed interviews and surveys ensured that the transcription reflected the correct views of the participants. Feedback from member checking was used to improve the quality of the data and reduce the researcher's personal bias for more credible outcomes.

The outcomes of this study can be transferable to other contexts, such as other minority tribes in Kenya, such as Kenyan Arabs. The transferability of the study findings was enhanced by providing a detailed account of the research process, enabling other scholars to replicate the study and assess the applicability of the findings (Korstjens & Moser, 2018). A large sample size of 171 participants helped improve the transferability of the findings to the target population. Probability sampling method was used to select a representative sample for the study, enhancing the transferability of the study outcomes.

Research findings were further enhanced using reflexivity which involved a critical examination of personal biases conceptions and positionality. Furthermore, to enhance rigor a reflexive field journal was used throughout the research process.

3.9 Data Analysis Methods

This study is a mixed method study which involved both quantitative and qualitative data that was analysed and interpreted to answer the research question. Quantitative data from the survey questionnaires were mainly used to collect the demographic data of participants to explain the study sample, while the research questions were addressed based on qualitative data. Microsoft Excel was used to code quantitative data, which was then analysed with descriptive statistics and given a written interpretation. Qualitative data were analysed thematically based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis. A codebook and colour coding were used to assist in deciphering key terms and themes that appeared in all the interviews and to comprehend what they meant. A reduced set of data themes was subsequently shown using text-based matrices to facilitate understanding. The qualitative data were thematically organised, analysed, and supported by quotations from the interview data from the field.

3.9.1 Analysis of Quantitative data

Quantitative data were used to analyse the demographic profile of the participants to explain the study sample. Microsoft Excel was used to code quantitative data, which was then analysed with descriptive statistics and given a written interpretation. Descriptive statistics were summarised and presented in the form of frequencies, charts, and tables.

3.9.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

The research questions were addressed based on qualitative data. The data obtained from the open-ended survey and semi-structured interviews were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis approach to identify, analyse, and report patterns (themes) within the data. Thematic analysis is an approach used to identify, analyse, and report themes present within a qualitative dataset. This analysis was conducted in six phases: (a) data familiarisation, (b) generating the initial code, (c) searching for themes based on codes, (d) reviewing the themes, (e) defining and naming themes, and (f) producing the report. In this study, research data were analysed using the following six stages of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis.

Familiarizing with research data: This phase involved reading and re-reading the data (e.g., interview transcripts, survey data, and field notes) to become immersed in the data and gain a broad understanding of the content.

Generating initial codes: This step involved systematically identifying and labelling meaningful phrases, words, or sentences (i.e., codes) related to the research question. The generated codes were both descriptive and interpretive and were labelled using short phrases or keywords.

Searching for themes: Thematic analysis involving collating generates codes into possible themes. This process is essential for capturing patterns or meanings within data. The themes were based on emerging patterns from the collected data.

Reviewing themes: Step three is the review of generated themes to ensure that they are accurate representations of collected data and are internally coherent – each theme has related codes.

Refining and naming themes: Step four entail refining the reviewed themes to make them clear, concise, and meaningful. This was followed by giving each of the themes descriptive names to capture their essence.

Generation of Research Report: The final step in the analysis was to select and present the most salient themes in a manner that was coherent and meaningful in the form of a dissertation report. This involved the use of quotes from data to support each theme.

3.10 Research Ethics

Ethical considerations are key in critical theory paradigms (Garzon, 2014). This aims to dispel misunderstandings and misconceptions and promote giving values and historical situatedness due consideration throughout the inquiry process (Garzon 2014). This ethical position stresses respect for correspondence and open interaction. Ethical considerations are essential in this study because it involves human participants. The key ethical requirements observed in this study included obtaining ethics approval from the Institutional Review Board of the University of Cape Town and written consent from participants before conducting the study. Furthermore, the study supervisor and University of Cape Town dissertation committee approved an ethical consideration form before the initial data collection to safeguard the confidentiality and safety of all survey and interview respondents. The data collection process commenced after receiving approval from the institutional review board of the University of Cape Town. Informed consent was obtained from potential participants to confirm their voluntary participation in the study.

Respondents were informed of the researcher's aims and urged to contact them if they had any queries regarding their dissertation. Participants consented to the written consent before collecting data from each respondent to ensure that they understood and approved of their voluntary involvement, free from coercion. The signed consent form authorised their data to be used in this research in keeping with the ethics policy of the University of Cape Town. Furthermore, the participants were given the opportunity to ask questions and seek clarity before and during the study. Another important component adhered to in this study was the confidentiality of data obtained during interviews and surveys.

The researcher also adhered to all principles of the Belmont Report (United States, 1978), such as respect for people, beneficence, and justice (Ciuk & Latusek, 2018). The interviewer was respectful of the participants, showing genuine interest in understanding the respondents. The participants were allowed to choose a convenient time and location for the interviews. The interviews and surveys were administered in a non-discriminatory manner, including the use of good language and fair treatment during the study process. In line with the beneficence principle, all participants were protected from any form of undue psychological or physical harm. These included using non-sensitive material in the study of any kind in surveys and interviews, as well as during the research process (Iphofen & Tolich, 2018). The principle of justice was ensured by protecting the participants' rights to confidentiality, autonomy, and the right to withdraw from the study at any time (Ciuk & Latusek, 2018). The research data were kept secure and safe on Google Drive and backed up by cloud storage with a password-protected 256-bit AES encryption system. Only the researcher and research supervisor had access to data. Securing the stored data helped protect the identities of the participants. Data from the study participants were coded, and pseudonyms were used instead of real names to hide the identity of the participants and enhance confidentiality.

3.11 Chapter Summary

Chapter 3 outlines the methodology applied in this study. The selection of research methods and design, encompassing the adoption of a mixed methods approach, is justified based on their appropriateness for investigating perceptions and experiences associated with identity. The study opted for an exploratory grounded theory design, facilitating a profound comprehension and theory development. The chapter delineates the target population, sampling procedure, and tools employed for data collection. It also delves into considerations of validity and reliability, with a particular focus on credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Furthermore, the chapter expounds on the data analysis techniques, encompassing both

quantitative and qualitative approaches. Ethical considerations, including the acquisition of informed consent and data security measures, are thoroughly examined. This chapter furnishes a comprehensive exposition of the methodological facets of the study, ensuring a rigorous and ethically sound research process.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive exposition of the findings and their analysis within the context of the study's objective to investigate the identity, perspectives, attitudes, anxieties, and aspirations of Kenyan Asians, with the aim of facilitating the process of social integration in Kenya. Data for this analysis were gathered via an online questionnaire and face-to-face interviews. The analysis of this data unearthed a plethora of themes and sub-themes, providing valuable insights into the experiences and perspectives of both Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. To enrich the presentation of the findings, pertinent quotations extracted from the interviews and questionnaires were thoughtfully incorporated.

4.2 Questionnaire Analysis

4.2.1 Response Rate and Respondent Demographics

The online survey was completed by 107 out of 171 people who were approached to participate, producing a response rate of 62.6%. Of the 107 participants, 58% self-identified as having an Asian heritage and 42% as Africans. Most respondents (100; 93%) resided in Kenya. The demographics are shown in Figure 9.

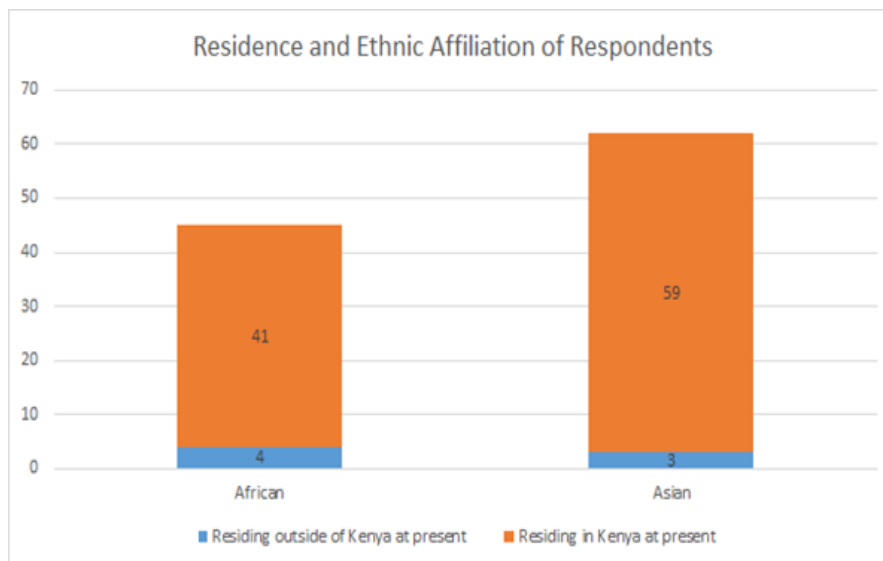


Figure 9: Residence status and Ethnic affiliation of Questionnaire respondents

Demographic factors were used to establish the eligibility of respondents to participate in the study (see Figure 10).

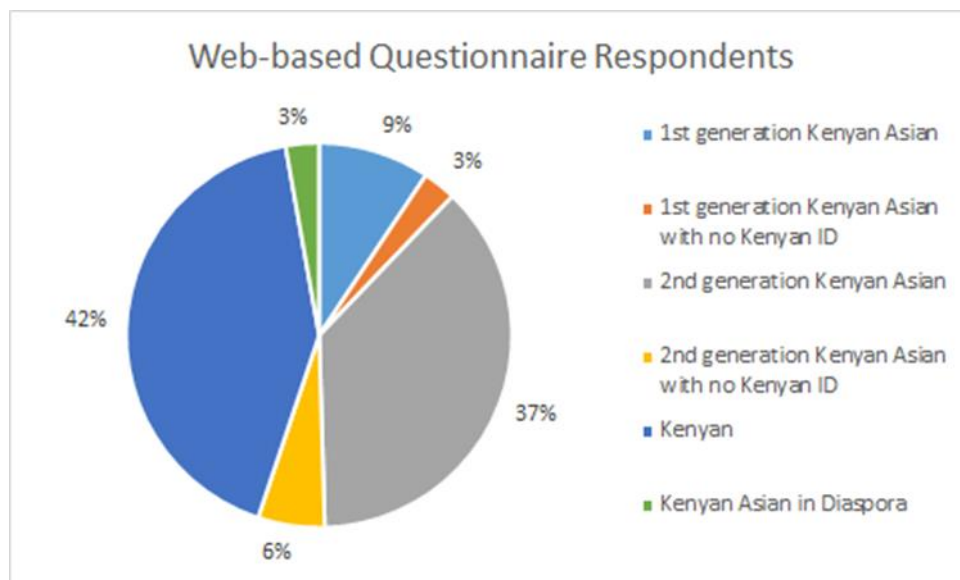


Figure 10: Asian generations

Given the age of the respondent, family history, and heritage, along with the presence of a Kenyan identity document, it was identified that the majority of Asian respondents were second-generation Kenyan Asians (37%). The data revealed that 9% of the respondents (9 individuals) were still without a Kenyan identification document.

The survey sought to establish respondents' current place of residence and their eligibility to hold a passport in Kenya. The results are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

Table 2: Residency Frequency

Residency	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
Yes	100	94
No	7	6
Total	107	100

The findings show that 100 (94%) of the respondents resided in Kenya, while 7 (7%) resided elsewhere. The findings imply that the respondents were part of Kenyan society of various capacities and qualified to participate in the study.

Table 3: Kenyan passport/ID holder Frequency

Passport/ID holder	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
Yes	96	90
No	11	10
Total	115	100

Further, the findings in Table 3 indicate that 96 (90%) of the respondents possessed a Kenyan passport or ID, while 11 (10%) had no nationally recognised identification documents. The result qualifies the respondents for taking part in the study, as the majority (90%) were individuals recognised by the Kenyan constitution and law as part of Kenyan society and growth.

Religion is an integral part of Kenyan society. The survey sought to establish respondents' religion or to determine whether they were affiliated with any religion. The results are presented in Table 4.

Table 4: Respondents' Religion Frequency

Religious Affiliation	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
Hinduism	8	7.5
Spiritual	16	15.0
Islam	26	24.3
Christianity	43	40.2
Sikh	4	3.7
I do not follow a religion (Agnostic)	2	1.9
Jainism	6	5.6
Would rather not comment	2	1.9
Total	107	100.0

The results presented in Table 4 show that 43 (40%) respondents were Christians. In addition, 26 (24%) were Muslim, 16 (15%) were spiritual, 8 (7%) were Hindu, and 6 (5.6%) were

Jainism. The findings further showed that 2 (1.9%) were not affiliated with any religion. These results imply that religion is an important part of Kenyan society's integration and coexistence.

The survey also sought to establish the ethnic affiliation of the respondents. The results are shown in Figure 11.

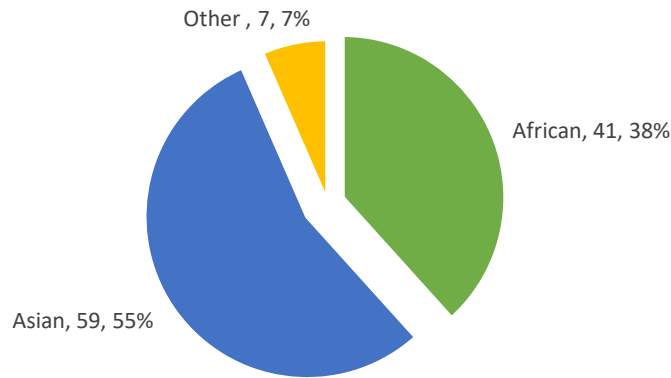


Figure 11: Ethnic background

The results showed that 59 (55%) of the respondents were Asians, 41 (38%) were Africans, and 7 (7%) belonged to other ethnic groups. The results imply that the study captured an appropriate group of citizens to respond to items in the questionnaires, thereby meeting the survey's intention to capture various ethnic groups who are assumed to possess varied opinions on the components of the factors that define Kenyan identity.

The survey sought to identify Kenya's populous Asian community. Table 5 presents the results.

Table 5: Kenyan Asian Community Frequency

Kenyan-Asia	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Sunni	4	7
Gujarati	45	76
Goan	1	2
Rajput	1	2
Punjabi	5	8
Shia	3	5
Total	59	100

The findings show that 45 (76%) of the respondents were Gujarati, 5 (8%) were Punjabi, 4 (7%) were Sunni, 3 (5%) were Shia, and those from Rajput and Goa accounted for 1 (2%) of the Kenyan Asian community. The results show that the largest number of Kenyan Asians were

from the Gujarat region of India, situated on the western coast of India and encompassing the Kathiawar Peninsula. The lowest number of Kenyan Asians were from Goa and Rajput.

4.2.2 Responses by Kenyan Asians

The survey asked Kenyan Asians to indicate the label they identified with the most. The results are shown in Figure 14.

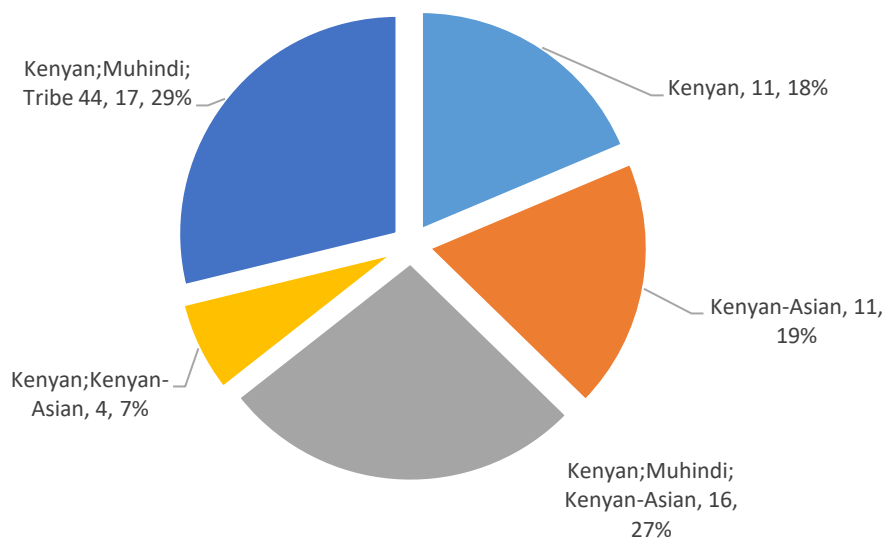


Figure 12: Identification Label

The findings in Figure 12 above show that 16 (27%) of the Kenyan Asians taking part in the survey identified themselves with the Kenyan “Muindi”, or Kenyan Asian, label. Furthermore, the results indicated that Kenyan Asian and Kenyan labels accounted for 11 (19%) of each Kenyan Asian respondent. In addition, 17 (29 %) of the Kenyan Asian respondents identified themselves with “Muindi,” Kenyan Asian, or Tribe 44. The results imply that the most common labels for identification were the “Muindi”, Tribe 44, and Kenyan Asian labels.

In addition, the survey asked Kenyan Asian respondents to indicate a single label for identification, and the results are presented below in Table 6.

Table 6: Preferred ‘Label’ Frequency

Preferred ‘Label’	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Kenyan Asian	18	31
<i>Muindi</i>	6	10
Kenyan	35	59
Total	59	100

The results showed that the majority (35; 59%) of Asians identified themselves as Kenyans; 18 (31%) preferred to be labelled Kenyan Asians, while only 6 (10%) identified themselves with the “Muindi” label. This result implies that Kenyans of Asian origin prefer to identify themselves as Kenyans. Additionally, the survey sought to establish the one-label Kenyan Asians least identify with. Table 7 presents the results.

Table 7: Least Identification ‘Label’ Frequency

Least Preferred ‘Label’	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
Muindi	17	29
Tribe 44	26	44
Kenyans of South East Asian Origin	15	25
Kenyan-Asian	1	2
Total	59	100

The findings show that the least preferred label is Tribe 44 (26; 44%), followed by “Muindi” 17 (29%), then Kenyans of South East Asian Origin 15 (25%) and Kenyan Asian 1 (2%). These results imply that Kenyan Asians least identify with the labels Tribe 44, “Muindi” and Kenyans of South East African origin.

In addition, the survey asked respondents to explain why they were least identified with “Muindi”, Tribe 44, and Kenyans of Southeast Asian origin. Some respondents indicated that they considered these to be derogatory and demeaning reference terms. Several indicated that the terms enhanced ethnicity and tribalism and that they, therefore, preferred to be identified as Kenyans, as they had never believed in privileges and opportunities based on tribal identifications. A few indicated that they hated the term "tribe" as it is divisive and primitive. One respondent held that “Muindi” was a racist term. A female respondent indicated that she

was born in Kenya and, therefore, must be referred to as Kenyan and not any other term, as Kenya is and will always be her motherland. Some held that they considered themselves global citizens and that they should not be identified with a tribe or race.

A middle-aged male respondent stated the following:

“Tribe 44 has not added any value to me as a resident of Kenya who was born in Kenya after independence ... I have applied for registration as Kenya Citizen, and the matter is pending for five years despite meeting eligibility. I feel Tribe 44 is a farce....”.

In addition, one female respondent held that

“Sometimes the labelling is used in an insulting/ dividing/ derogatory manner.... and that Tribe 44 is just a formality, and I do not see any significant help by being labelled the 44th tribe.”.

One male respondent held the following:

“..... a Kenyan is Kenyan; my ethnicity or race does not determine my patriotism or love for my country...”.

Finally, a male respondent indicated that:

“..... I feel it isolates me and it is mostly used in a derogatory manner....”.

Overall, the survey results imply that “Muindi”, Tribe 44, and Kenyans of Southeast Asian origin labelling were used with divisive, derogatory, insulting, or demeaning motives.

The survey also sought to establish terms used by Kenyan Asians to refer to Kenyans of African descent. The results are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: Kenyans of African Descent Frequency

African Descent	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Kenyan	39	66
East African	3	5
African	15	26
Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc.)	2	3
Total	59	100

The results show that the majority of Kenyan Asians participating in the survey referred to Kenyans of African descent as Kenyans (15; 26%). The other terms were Africans, 3 (5%), and East Africans. Only 2 (3%) of the Kenyan Asians surveyed referred to Kenyan Africans using a tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu, etc.). The results imply that Kenyan Asians prefer to refer to Kenyans of African descent with reference to the place where they were found, whereas only a small proportion preferred the tribal reference.

The survey respondents were asked to indicate the label least used by Kenyan Asians to refer to Kenyan Africans. The results are presented in Table 9.

Table 9: Least Used ‘Label’ by Kenyans Asians to Kenyans Africans Frequency

Least Used ‘Label’	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
East African	6	10
African	10	17
Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).	43	73
Total	59	100

The findings show that the majority 43 (73%) of Kenyan Asian respondents referred to Kenyan Africans using the tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu, etc.); 10 (17%) as Africans, and 6 (10%) as East African.

The survey used an open-ended question to establish the reasons for Kenyan Asians’ least used terms to refer to Kenyan Africans. Responses included the following: “just Kenyan is enough... tribalism or ethnicity or class system is a curse on human race....”; “tribal reference is not inclusive. Honestly, with all the intercommunity marriages and having generations coming from there, it's not accurate....”

In addition, respondents indicated that “East Africans and Africans terms are not related to only Kenyans, can be for other African nationals...” and that Kenya is a strong identity in itself.” A male respondent held that “a Kenyan is a Kenyan, why does it need further breakdown? We do not need to divide people’s aims to unite them”. An elderly male respondent indicated, ‘I think divisions or labels based on tribal references cause rifts that are unnecessary’. Another respondent indicated that “tribal labels have lots of underlying and preconceived connotations.... tribal references are what are somewhat leading to the problem of tribalism in

Kenya”. A male respondent held that “from an African point of view there are many tribes in Africa and some tribes from Kenya are really insignificant in the affairs of the continent”.

The survey sought to identify the counties in which Kenyan Asians lived. The results are presented in Table 10.

Table 10: County of Residence in Kenya Frequency

County of Residence	Frequency(N)	Percent (%)
47 Nairobi	52	88
01 Mombasa	1	2
42 Kisumu	3	5
26 Uasin Gishu	2	3
17 Makueni	1	2
Total	59	100

The outcomes show that the majority (52 [88 %]) of the survey respondents of Kenyan Asian descent resided in Nairobi County; 3 (5%) resided in Kisumu County, 2 (3%) resided in Uasin Gishu County, while Mombasa and Makueni accounted for 1 (2%) of the Kenyan Asians participating in this study. These outcomes imply that most Kenyan Asians are attracted to residing in an urban environment.

In addition, the survey asked for information on the places of residence within the counties of residence. The findings show that the majority of Kenyan Asians resided in high-end neighbourhoods. For instance, in Nairobi, Kenyan Asians resided at Loresho, Lavington, Spring Valley, Milimani, Parklands, Wetlands, Riverside, Ngara, Upperhill, Brookside, Kitisuru, Runda and Muthaiga. In Mombasa County, they resided at Nyali, and in Uasin Gishu, Kenyan Asians resided in the Elgon View area. This survey aimed to determine whether Kenyan Asian respondents were aware of recent Kenyan Asian immigrants who had become Kenyan residents. The results are shown in Fig. 13, below.

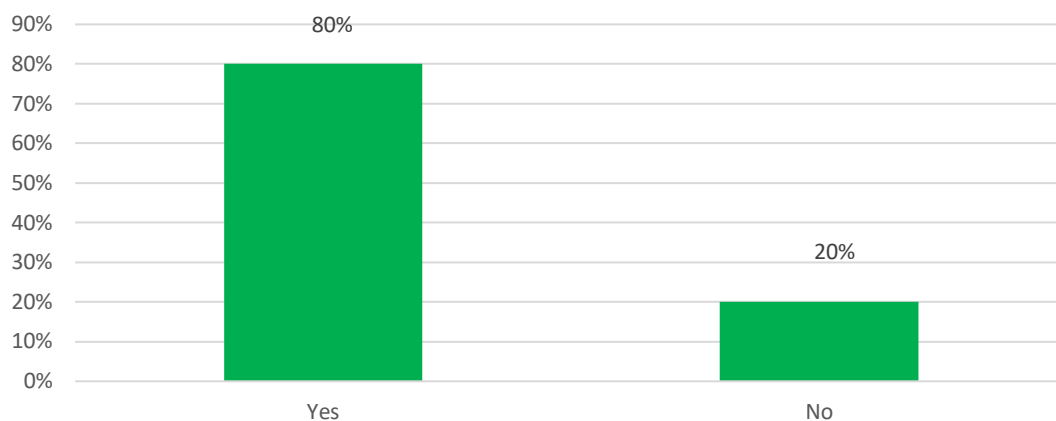


Figure 13: Kenyan Asian Immigrants

The findings presented in Figure 13 show that the majority, 47 (80%), were aware of recent Kenyan Asian immigrants who had become Kenyan residents. Additionally, the survey sought to establish social labels for Asian immigrants. Table 11 presents the results.

Table 11: Social Labels for Immigrants Frequency

Social Labels	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Rockets	27	46
Desi	6	10
Oshwal community member	4	7
New Indians in Kenya	1	2
Muindi	9	15
None	12	20
Total	59	100

The findings show that 27 (46%) Kenyan Asians referred to recent Indian immigrants as “Rockets” as a social label, while 12 (20%) had no social label for new Indian entrants into Kenya. Further findings show that 9 (15%) referred to immigrants as “Muindis”, 6 (10%) referred to immigrants as Desi, 4 (7%) as Oshwal community members, and 1 (2%) as New Indians in Kenya. The results imply that Indian immigrants had a variety of social labels depending on their place of residence in Kenya, originating from India, or race.

Following this, the survey sought to establish a description that best described recent immigrants within the context of the larger historical Kenyan Asian community. The findings

show that most Kenyan Asian respondents described recent immigrants as individuals identified as Indians but working in Kenya. A few respondents described them as individuals of Asian descent working in Kenya for economic gain, while they have no heritage ties to Kenya and her culture. Some regarded them as Indian nationals living in Kenya, while others saw them as people looking for greener pastures and people of South Asian ancestry living in Kenya, who had no prior ties to the nation and had no loyalty to its people.

With regard to their family history, the study sought to determine the description that most accurately describes what originally brought their family to Kenya. The results show that most respondents indicated that economic gain through trade was the reason their families originally came to Kenya. Others indicated that their families came to Kenya to contribute through infrastructure development, while a few indicated that their professions and employment originally brought their families to Kenya. A male respondent indicated that his family originally relocated to Kenya to better their lives because of hardship conditions in India at the time of their migration. These results show that each family had specific reasons for coming to Kenya originally, and that, for most, economic conditions in India at the time pushed them to migrate to Africa.

The survey asked about the current roles of families in Kenya. The findings showed that the majority of Kenyan Asian respondents indicated that they were part of the social fabric and that Kenya was their heritage. Some respondents indicated that their role was economic participation through trade, which contributed to infrastructure development in Kenya. Some indicated that their desire for land ownership keeps them in Kenya. The findings imply that the roles of immigrants at the time of the study were diversified depending on their interests, and were, for the most part, economically motivated.

The survey requested Kenyan Asians to indicate their emotions on July 21, 2017, when President Uhuru Kenyatta gazetted the recognition of Kenyans of Indian descent as the 44th tribe in Kenya and invited them to participate in the political, economic, cultural, and social development of the nation. The findings show that most Kenyan Asians contributing to the survey felt delighted, empowered, hopeful, appreciative, and optimistic. Some respondents were indifferent, annoyed, pessimistic, resentful, and upset, whereas a few were neutral. The results imply that Kenyan Asians have mixed feelings about the President's recognition of Asians as the 44th tribe in Kenya but that the majority are happy and optimistic about this development.

The survey undertaken in this study aimed to establish the respondents’ perceptions of the motivations behind the establishment of Tribe 44. The findings revealed that the primary motivation behind the creation of Tribe 44 was a desire to foster improved social integration and facilitate statistical data collection, notably for purposes such as the national census. A minority of respondents, however, felt that the formation of Tribe 44 also had political motivations. These outcomes suggest a multifaceted set of motivations underpinning the establishment of Tribe 44.

The objective of the survey was to ascertain whether Kenyan Asians had individually experienced concrete advantages resulting from their acknowledgment as a tribe within Kenya. Table 12 provides an overview of the obtained results.

Table 12: Benefits of Recognition as Tribe 44 Frequency

Benefits	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Yes	14	24
No	45	76
Total	59	100

The results in Table 12 show that the majority – 45 (76%) of the Kenyan Asian respondents indicated that the recognition of Kenyan Asians as Tribe 44 had no benefits to them, while 14 (24%) indicated otherwise. One female respondent explained the following.

“we, as Kenyan Asians, always have to use the other way to gain benefits; by that, I mean corruption, be it any legal issue or illegal issue. I honestly feel personally I have never gained, rather always given in many circumstances.....”.

Another male respondent held that “I no longer get called “Muindi” when I am walking around.....”.

In summary, the feedback gathered from the survey comments suggests that, according to the participants the acknowledgement of Tribe 44 did not yield significant immediate advantages. However, it is evident that the recognition has had long-term benefits, particularly concerning land and property ownership in Kenya.

This study also aimed to determine the frequency of interactions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans in various settings, including corporate, social, educational, and religious contexts. The outcomes are presented in Table 13.

Table 13: Frequency of Interaction with Kenyan Africans

Interaction with Kenyan Africans	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Corporate environment		
Daily	43	75
Weekly	5	9
Several times a week	3	5
Less than monthly	2	4
Monthly	4	7
Total	57	100
Social environment		
Daily	26	44
Weekly	10	17
Several times a week	8	13
Monthly	6	11
Less than monthly	8	13
Never	1	2
Total	59	100
Education environment		
Daily	32	54
Weekly	1	2
Several times a week	9	15
Monthly	2	4
Less than monthly	6	10
Never	9	15
Total	59	100
Religious environment		
Daily	6	10
Weekly	3	5
Several times a week	1	2

Interaction with Kenyan Africans	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Less than monthly	21	36
Monthly	3	5
Never	25	42
Total	59	100

The findings in Table 13 show that the frequencies of interactions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans are minimal in the religious environment, where 25 (42%) never interacted and 21 (36%) had interacted at least once in less than a month. In the educational environment, 32 (54%) interacted daily; in the social environment, 26 (44%) interacted daily; and in the corporate environment, 43 (75%) Kenyan Asians interacted with Kenyan Africans daily. This result implies that Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans need each other in business, society, and education, although not in religious observance.

4.2.3 Responses by Kenyan Africans

Kenyan Africans were asked to indicate the terms they used to refer to Kenyan Asians. The results are presented in Table 14.

Table 14: Kenyan Africans’ ‘Labels’ for Kenyan Asians Frequency

Kenyan African ‘Labels’ for Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Muindi	23	47
Kenya Asians	7	14
Tribe 44	3	8
Kenyan	15	31
Total	48	100

The findings show that most – 23 (47%) – of the Kenyan African respondents labelled the Kenyan Asians “Muindi” while 15 (31%) referred to Kenyan Asians as Kenyans. In addition, the results showed that 7 (14%) referred to them as Kenyan Asians. The results imply that Kenyan Africans use no specific label for Kenyan Asians, but “Muindi” is the most common label.

Furthermore, the survey sought to establish the labels least used by Kenyan Africans to refer to Kenyan Asians. Table 15 presents the results of the study.

Table 15: ‘Labels’ Least Used by Kenyan Africans for Kenyans Asians Frequency

‘Labels’ Least Used by Kenyan Africans for Kenyans Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Kenyans of South East Asian Origin	23	48
Kenyan	9	19
Tribe 44	13	27
Muindi	3	6
Total	48	100

The results indicated that most – 23 (48%) – Kenyan African respondents least referred to Kenyan Asians as Kenyans of South East Asian Origin, and 13 (27%) referred to them as Tribe 44. Additionally, 9 (19%) referred to Kenyan Asians as Kenyans. The results imply that Kenyan Africans prefer to refer to Kenyan Asians as “Muindi” 3 (6%) compared to Kenyans of South East Asian 23 (48%).

This study sought to determine the labels Kenyan Africans used to identify themselves. The results are shown in Figure 14.

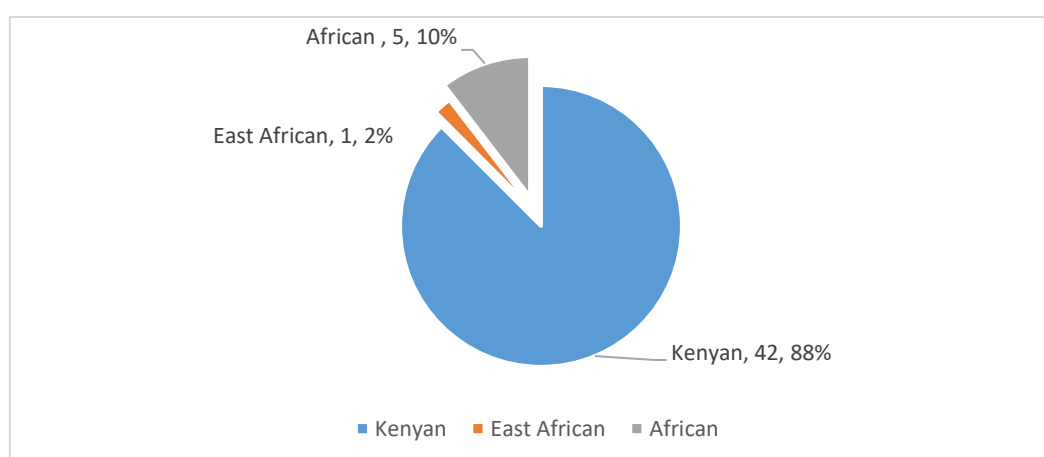


Figure 14: Labels for Kenyan Africans

The findings show that the majority – 42 (88%) – of the Kenyan Africans who were surveyed identified themselves as Kenyans, 5 (10%) identified themselves as Africans, and 1 (2%)

labelled themselves as East-African. Additionally, the survey sought to determine the labels least used by Kenyan Africans to identify themselves. The results are listed below in Table 16.

Table 16: ‘Labels’ Least used by Kenyan Africans Frequency

‘Labels’ Least used by Kenyan Africans	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
East African	21	44
African	7	13
Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).	14	31
Kenyan	6	12
Total	48	100

The results indicated that most – 21 (44%) of the Kenyan Africans in the survey–least identified themselves as East Africans. 15 (31%) used tribal references to identify themselves, and 7 (13%) identified themselves as Africans. This suggests that Kenyan Africans considered the East African label 21 (44%) too broad to identify, implying that they preferred a more specific label for identity, namely Kenyan 6 (12%).

Kenyan Africans are distributed across many counties in Kenya, as shown in Table 17.

Table 17: Kenyan African Counties of Residence Frequency

County Name and Number	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
47 Nairobi	28	59
22 Kiambu	4	8
06 Taita Taveta	1	2
01 Mombasa	2	4
02 Kwale	1	2
38 Vihiga	1	2
32 Nakuru	7	15
41 Siaya	1	2
37 Kakamega	1	2
31 Laikipia	1	2
34 Kajiado	1	2

Total	48	100
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These findings show that the majority of Kenyan Africans (28 [59 %]) who completed the survey resided in Nairobi County, 7 (15%) resided in Nakuru County, 4 (8%) resided in Kiambu County, and 2 (4%) resided in Mombasa County.

The survey also included questions about the residential locations of the Kenyan respondents within their respective counties. The findings indicate that Kenyan Africans resided in the Industrial Area, Buru Buru, Mwihoko, Donholm, Kahawa Wendani, Kariobangi, Mathare, Dagoretti South, and Imara Daima. Similarly, in Nakuru, Kenyan Africans were found to reside in areas such as Shabaab, Kiamunyi, London, Langalanga, and the White House.

The survey sought to establish whether Kenyan Africans were aware of recent Kenyan Asian immigrants who were residents. Table 18 shows the outcomes of this inquiry.

Table 18: Kenyan Africans Awareness of Kenyan Asian Immigrants Frequency

Awareness	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Yes	31	65
No	17	35
Total	48	100

The findings show that the majority – 31 (65%) – of Kenyan African respondents were aware of recent Kenyan Asian immigrants who are residents. Kenyan Africans unanimously indicated that Kenyan Asians were individuals of Asian descent working in Kenya for economic gain only, and had no heritage ties to Kenya and her culture.

In addition, the survey sought to establish Kenyan Africans’ opinions on why Kenyan Asians originally arrived in Kenya. Table 19 presents the findings.

Table 19: Original Reasons for Kenyan Asians Coming to Kenya Frequency

Original Reason	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
A desire for land ownership	1	2
Economic gain through trade	27	56
To contribute through infrastructure development in Kenya	14	29
Political reasons	6	13

Total	48	100
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The results show that the majority (27 [56 %]) of Kenyan African respondents held that Kenyan Asians originally came to Kenya for economic gain through trade; 14 (29%) to contribute to growth through infrastructure development in Kenya, 6 (13%) for political reasons, and 1 (2%) was to fulfil the desire to own land. The results imply that diverse reasons originally brought Kenyan Asians to Kenya, but the economic gain through trade stands out as a major reason for their coming to Kenya.

Kenyan Asians were also asked to indicate the role of Kenyan Asians in Kenya today at the time they were completing the survey. The results are listed in Table 20.

Table 20: Current Role of Kenyan Asians in Kenya Frequency

Current Role of Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Economic gain through trade	36	75
To contribute through infrastructure development in Kenya	9	19
Political reasons	3	6
Total	48	100

The responses listed in Table 20 show that the majority (36 [75 %]) of Kenyan African respondents view the current role of Kenyan Asians as economic gain through trade, 9 (19%) to contribute through infrastructure development in Kenya, and 3 (6%) for political reasons.

On July 21, 2017, President Uhuru Kenyatta recognized Kenyans of Indian descent as the 44th Tribe in Kenya and invited them to participate in the political, economic, cultural, and social development of the nation. Kenyan Africans were asked whether it was necessary for Kenyan Asians to be named a Tribe 44. The outcomes are presented in Table 21.

Table 21: Naming of Tribe 44 Frequency

The naming of Tribe 44	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Yes	27	56
No	21	44
Total	48	100

The findings show that the majority – 27 (56%) – of the Kenyan-African respondents viewed it necessary to name Kenyan Asians the 44th Tribe in Kenya.

Kenyan Africans were requested to indicate their motivation for the creation of Tribe 44.

Table 22 presents the results of the study.

Table 22: Motivation for the Creation of Tribe 44 Frequency

Motivation for Creation of Tribe 44	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
To further enhance social integration	18	37
For statistical purposes (such as census)	8	17
To create social integration	9	19
Political Reasons	13	27
Total	48	100

The findings show that most --18 (37%) -- of Kenyan African respondents held that the creation of Tribe 44 was motivated by the enhancement of social integration, and 13 (27%) for political reasons.

The survey sought to establish the presence of tensions in the interactions between Kenyan African respondents and Kenyan Asians in terms of food, entertainment, education, religious doctrines, religious acceptance, philanthropic activities, intermarriage, community interaction, use of resources, economic patriotism, employment, and local investment. The results are listed in Table 23.

Table 23: Tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians Frequency

Tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Food		
Yes	22	46
No	26	54
Total	48	100
Entertainment		
Yes	34	71
No	14	29

Tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Total	48	100
Education		
Yes	32	67
No	16	33
Total	48	100
Religious doctrine		
Yes	38	79
No	10	21
Total	48	100
Religious acceptance		
Yes	40	83
No	8	17
Total	48	100
Philanthropic activities		
Yes	26	54
No	22	46
Total	48	100
Inter-marriages		
Yes	44	92
No	4	8
Total	48	100
Social community interaction		
Yes	41	85
No	9	15
Total	48	100
Social use of resources		
Yes	39	81
No	9	19
Total	48	100
Economic patriotism		

Tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Yes	39	81
No	9	19
Total	48	100
Offering cheaper employment		
Yes	42	88
No	6	12
Total	48	100
Local investment into the economy		
Yes	39	81
No	9	19
Total	48	100

Among Kenyan African respondents, the findings indicate that a majority (54%) reported no food tensions with Kenyan Asians. However, the majority, ranging from 67% to 92%, experienced tension in areas such as entertainment, education, religious doctrine, religious acceptance, inter-marriages, social community interactions, social use of resources, economic patriotism, and local investment in the economy. The results imply that Kenyan Africans feel that tensions exist between themselves and Kenyan Asians in almost all aspects of day-to-day life.

The survey sought to establish the frequency of interaction between Kenyan African respondents and Kenyan Asians. Table 24 presents the findings.

Table 24: Frequency of Interactions

Interactions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Corporate environment		
Daily	13	27
Weekly	12	25
Several times a week	5	10
Less than monthly	5	10
Monthly	7	15

Interactions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Never	6	13
Total	48	100
Social environment		
Daily	4	8
Weekly	9	19
Several times a week	5	11
Monthly	15	31
Less than monthly	13	27
Never	2	4
Total	48	100
Education environment		
Daily	24	50
Weekly	11	23
Several times a week	6	13
Monthly	2	4
Less than monthly	4	8
Never	1	2
Total	48	100
Religious environment		
Daily	2	4
Weekly	4	8
Several times a week	2	4
Less than monthly	3	6
Monthly	8	17
Never	29	61
Total	48	100

These results show that in the corporate environment, interactions mostly occur with daily and weekly frequencies. In the social environment, interactions occur weekly or several times a week, and in education circles, interactions occur daily or weekly. On the other hand, in the

religious environment, interactions rarely occurred, with 29 (61%) Kenyan Africans having no interaction with Kenyan Asians.

A scale of 1-10 was used to measure the current levels of social integration between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. The results are presented in Table 25.

Table 25: Social Integration Frequency

Social Integration	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
1,2,3-low integration	33	31
4,5,6-moderate integration	49	46
7,8,9,10-high integration	25	23
Total	107	100

The results show that most of the study respondents (49 [46%]) held that the level of integration of Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians is moderate; 33 (31%) believed integration is low, while 25 (23%) reported that integration levels are high.

The survey sought to establish which forms of interaction are preferred by both Kenyan Africans and Asians. Table 26 presents the study outcomes.

Table 26: Interaction Platform Preferences Frequency

Interaction Platform Preferences	Frequency (N)	Percent (%)
Indifferent (Online/physical)	57	53
Online	29	27
Physical	21	20
Total	107	100

The results showed that the majority (57 [53%]) of the respondents had no specific preference concerning their form of interaction, whether physical or online. In addition, 29 (27%) preferred online platforms for interaction, while 21 (20%) preferred physical environments for interaction. These results imply that interactions can be easily achieved through any medium regardless of the purpose.

The survey used an open-ended question to establish how the respondents felt about being Kenyan. A majority of the respondents indicated that they were proud, patriotic, and hopeful

of being Kenyans. Most felt happy and lucky about being born in Kenya. One female respondent indicated the following.

“to be Kenyan to me signifies hospitality. We have a very generous and helpful attitude towards foreigners”.

Another claimed:

“ I am proud to be a Kenyan belonging to the country, and having equal rights, for example, politically makes me feel complete....”.

Finally, one male respondent stated that “.....being Kenyan gives me my identity...”.

The survey aimed to gain insight into the respondents' perceptions of Kenya as a country. The majority of respondents viewed Kenya as a land of opportunity, characterized by diversity, development, industrialization, and technological advancement. Many believed that Kenya possessed a rich history and culture. Additionally, some respondents perceived Kenya as a nation that values integrity, with a reputation for producing exceptional runners and successful businessmen. A few respondents regarded Kenya as a just and equitable country where everyone has the potential to excel. One male respondent expressed the following:

“I love all our natural resources but mourn all the wastage and corruption. We could be economically self-sufficient.....”.

In addition, one female respondent indicated that:

“Kenya is a beautiful country with a diverse people. I would like to see more genuine cohesion amongst communities.....”

Another participant stated that:

“Kenya is a growing nation...with the right leadership, Kenya can progress positively”.

An elderly business person stated the following:

“Kenya is a beautiful country ruined by corruption. If the right policies are adopted, and corruption is reduced, then Kenya will flourish and develop quickly.

Lastly, the survey sought to establish what respondents felt was their primary identity: national or tribal/community. Figure 15 below, presents the results of this question.

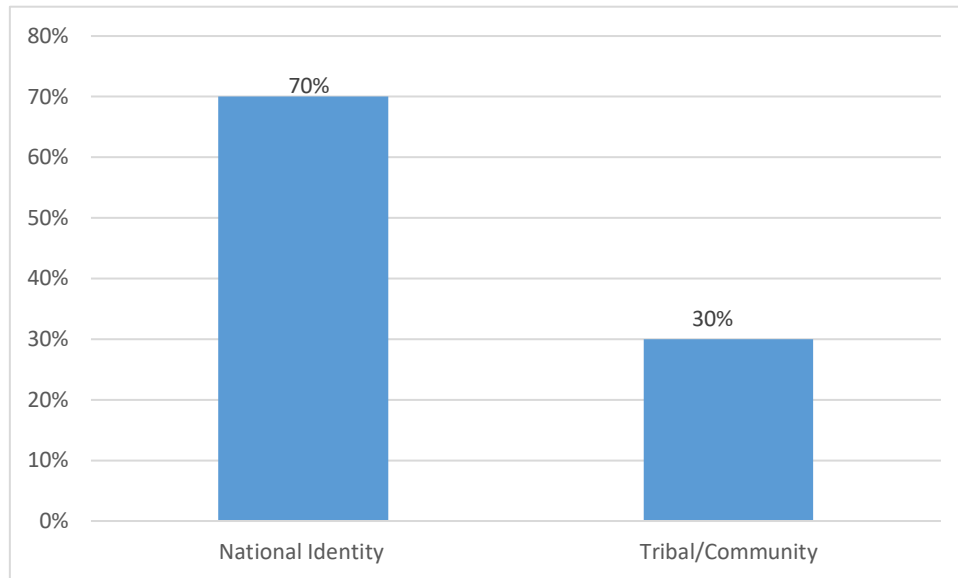


Figure 15: Tribal/Community vs National Identity

The findings showed that the majority (75 [70 %]) of the respondents felt that their primary identity was national – Kenyan, while for 32 (30%), their primary identity was their tribe (*Luo, Kikuyu, Muindi, etc.*).

4.3 Interview Analysis

The in-depth interviews with the selected respondents were audio-recorded, transcribed, and coded by theme to assist with the analysis of the interview data. The study held 27 in-depth interviews evenly distributed between those who were identified as Kenyan Asians and those who were identified as Kenyan Africans.

4.4 Demographics

The background of the respondents in the interviews was required to qualify them for eligibility to participate in the study. The outcomes are presented in Table 27, mainly focusing on age and sex.

Table 27: In-Depth Interview Analysis of Demographic Profile

Age and Gender	Heritage		Grand Total
	Kenyan Asian	Kenyan Africans	
Female	6	3	9
18-21	1		1
21-40	1	2	3
41-60	2	1	3
61-80	1		1
81+	1		1
Male	8	10	18
18-21	1	1	2
21-40	1	6	7
41-60	1	2	3
61-80	4	1	5
81+	1		1
Grand Total	14	13	27

Interview coding is the process of defining keywords to bring context to the interview narrative (Gorden et al., 1998). The interviews were coded descriptively to provide context for the information collected (Strauss, 1987). The coding process followed that outlined in Excel to structure the qualitative data (Ose, 2016). The broad sampling frame generated from this coding, which identifies topics under key emergent themes, is shown in Figure 16.

National Identity	Perceptions and Tensions	Praxis Model
What does it mean to be a Kenyan? (KA) I am a Kenyan (KA) Accepted as a Kenyan Loyalty as a Kenyan Lack of acceptance as Kenyans Belonging to Kenya – home Tribalism Tribalism positive Tribalism negative Racism Views on Kenya Kenya as a country, growth Kenya as corruption	Perceptions Religion Food differences Marriage Object of marriage KK marriage to Asian KA to KA marriage tension Social Isolation Lack of integration KA to KK Lack of integration KA to KK in business KA to KK integration- education KA to KK community isolation / tension KK to KK community isolation / tension KA to KA community isolation/tension KA to KA community together KA-KK Equality Politics causes a tension	PRAXIS suggestion Presentation Involvement with the Community Contribution to community Community involvement Jaffery Community involvement – banking and business Community – philanthropy /charitable actions Current employment Asians contribute to country Personal Identity Tribe 44 Tribe44 unawareness Tribe 44 belongingness Tribe 44 +ve Tribe 44 –ve The name – Tribe 44 Term Kenyan-Asian/Indian
Historical Background of Kenyan Asians How did family come to Kenya Family background Historical memories		

Figure 16: Coding frame for in-depth interview analysis

4.5 Kenyan Asians' Views in Interviews

Based on the analysis of the transcripts of interviews conducted with Kenyan Asian respondents, the primary themes emerged, as presented in Table 28.

Table 28: Kenyan Asians Interviews Themes

Themes	Description
National Identity	Collective items are made specifically for a country that its citizens may identify with generally, such as its national resources or language.
Background of Kenyan Asians	Basically encompasses the place of origin, birth, identification etc., of the citizens and residents of Kenya who have ancestral roots in the South East Asian Continent.
Educational background	A person's academic qualifications, including degrees, diplomas, and certificates earned through formal education and training. It can also include information about the schools attended, academic performance, and areas of specialisation.
Perceptions of Kenya as a country	Kenyan's and foreigners' attitudes and viewpoints, influenced by corporate, political, social, and environmental contexts
Perceptions and Tensions	Views formed and conflicts arising from the perception, e.g., Kenyan Africans for a long time have viewed Kenyan Asians as economic exploiters, and this has created hostility at different levels of interactions.
Tribe 44	The 44 th Tribe of Kenya which are the Asians. The Asians were grouped as a tribe by the President in 2017.
Community Contributions	The responsibilities of individuals/groups/foundations in making the country a better and safer place for its

Themes	Description
	Citizens in terms of business, security, education, employment, interactions etc.
Lack of acceptance as a Kenyan	The rejection of Asians as Kenyan citizens and their treatment of them as foreigners with contempt, animosity, a lack of trust, etc.

4.5.1 Background of Kenyan Asians

The majority of the Kenyan Asians who took part in the study were from the second, third, and fourth generations, for instance:

"..... I have a 3rd generation Kenyan background in Mombasa, Kenya, and we have a complete Kenyan identity. We have got no relatives or no lineage in India whatsoever or on the sub-continent, and so that makes us completely Kenyan – my great grandfather came and invested in some property, but then he went back soon after...’." (Kenyan Asian R14_R14_5)

"..... I am an Asian, a Kenyan Asian, and I feel strongly about that. However, I think my background is somewhat interesting in the sense that I always interacted more with the African population than Asians..... When I went to Kisumu Boy's High School, it was not an Asian school, and then I went to Lenana School in Nairobi where the majority, predominantly, the population there was Africans and again going overseas and so I've had a bit of an interesting background that I've not been so connected with the Asians in my upbringing as much as I have with the Africans....." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_6)

Furthermore, interviewees observed the following:

"..... I am 3rd generation Kenyan, so my grandfather came here as a teenager...." (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_4)

"..... My family, my mum and dad, were both teachers. My mum was the first girl in her village to go to university; they knew things about her in the village. They were both teachers, and by the time I was born, my parents were School Administrators. They were principals of their schools. I had a nice childhood; I had everything I wanted, I think, and in Kenya because my mum was the Head of the Institution, they were kind of..... I knew we were doing okay, like even financially, we could go on holidays, we had a holiday home at Katarina, but then

my dad passed away when I was 13 years old, and we are six kids in my family, so my mum was left to take care of all of us, and it was quite tough. I was not so exposed to the toughness of it because I went to high school in boarding school, but I do know that things have changed.... all of us are going to University actually and working in different places. My last one is my brother who is still in school background....." (Kenyan R1_R1_6)

"..... I'm 18 years old, I just finished my A-levels, and I'm well. I identify myself as a Kenyan, but by like my ancestors are Indian, so I guess you could say I'm like Kenyan Indian....." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_2)

".....my family started as this employee of other people who are in business, usually tradesmen, but then my father set up a soap factory which was in its time quite well-known, it was called Devani Soap Works....." (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_14)

The study reveals that a significant portion of the respondents are second and third-generation descendants of migrants who initially came to Kenya as traders and professionals. Surprisingly, rather than carrying forward their ancestors' entrepreneurial pursuits, the majority of these individuals choose to establish small businesses or seek employment with others.

4.5.2 Educational Background

In terms of education, political orientation, and profession, Kenyan Asian families are diverse. While some allow their children to attend government schools with a Kenyan curriculum, others prefer the British system of schooling so that their children can emigrate. The community, therefore, shares a common experience with the diverse races present in Kenya. The experiences they obtain from social institutions also enable them to blend into varied Kenyan cultures and cement their sense of identity as Kenyans. Some of the comments that reflected this are as follows:

".....It happened, and we had to start our education right from Class 1, so I lost two years of education, but we took tutoring in English and other subjects, so we managed to find our feet – we went to a mixed public school, a Government school and it was Nairobi South Primary School, and so we had a good mix of Africans and Asians, we had about 50 students all mixed up, and I miss those days you know, so we grew up in that kind of environment, even my High School was a Government school, Highway Secondary School....." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_9)

".....When I went to Kisumu Boy's High School, it was not an Asian school, and then I went to Lenana School in Nairobi where the majority, predominantly, the population there was African and again going overseas and so I've had a bit of an interesting background that I've not been so connected with the Asians in my upbringing as much as I have with the Africans....." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_6)

Responses also indicate that some Kenyan Asians who attend foreign education institutions feel that they have missed an opportunity to learn more about their home country, Kenya. The lack of in-depth education in Kenya in the foreign curriculum limited their understanding of the national values and beliefs, and as a result, they struggled to define their Kenyan identity. One respondent stated:

".....I went to school, and I went through the British private schooling system, which I had a lot of problems with in hindsight because I feel like I was raised to be a British ex-subject, and I learnt no Kenyan history, I learnt no Kenyan geography, I never learnt a day of Swahili, and there's a sense of self-hate that is within the British system. Then I went to university in Canada, and I studied development....." (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_19)

The findings also indicate that certain Kenyan Asians have pursued education abroad in pursuit of high-quality academic opportunities. Kenyan Asians have successfully established themselves as professionals across various fields and frequently engage in the management and operation of family-owned businesses and enterprises. As one respondent articulated:

".....Then the Rhode College of Surgeons finished all the residency training and came back because I trained and lived and liked it in Britain, but I didn't want to stay there – many did, including my colleagues.....". (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_20)

"..... Here in Kenya, I've got three girls, the youngest one is about to finish university, the first one already has two kids, the third one is a designer, she's freelancing and stuff, she's set up her farm actually, she's an interior designer, and they stay in Kiserian....." (Kenyan Asian R14_R14_19).

4.5.3 National Identity

The concept of national identity is comprehended through the lens of a sense of belonging and acceptance. Interviews conducted during this study unveiled a variety of viewpoints among Kenyan Asians regarding their national identity. The findings reveal that several respondents consider themselves Kenyan due to their ancestral roots, having been born and raised in Kenya.

Furthermore, a majority of respondents associate their family's contributions to the country's development as a factor reinforcing their sense of national identity. Additionally, some respondents link their feeling of national belonging to the way they are treated by their neighbours'.

From the responses gathered, it is evident that many Kenyan Asians identify as Kenyan by birth but acknowledge their Indian heritage. To exemplify this perspective, one respondent expressed the following viewpoint:

"..... Yes, so, I'm a 4th generation Kenyan, so one of my great grandmothers was born in Kenya in Kijabe, and so our family has been here for a long time...." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_2)

Another quote echoes this sentiment.

"..... I'm like a 3rd generation Kenyan, born and brought up in Mombasa, Kenya, and we've got a complete Kenyan identity. We've got no relatives or no lineage in India whatsoever or on the sub-continent, and so that makes us completely Kenyan" (Kenyan Asian R14_R14:_5)

The majority of Kenyan Asians interviewed in this study were born in diverse parts of the country and, as a result, consider Kenya as their home. Others were born in India and had migrated to Kenya for family and business reasons. In this regard, one respondent said,

"..... we came to Kenya in 1981, my father got a job here, somebody happened to be visiting India in late 1979, and they saw my father working in his workshop with his brothers, they were in the furniture business, and when they saw my father working, they loved his skill, and they offered him a job," (Kenyan Asian R13_R13: _1)

The Kenyan Asians interviewed in the course of this study hold the belief that the notions of home and heritage are closely interlinked. They regard Kenya as their homeland and feel a sense of duty to contribute to its advancement through professional and humanitarian endeavours. Kenyan Asians who have spent a significant portion of their lives in Kenya tend to establish amicable and neighbourly relationships with Kenyan Africans more easily. Despite prevailing social challenges like corruption and tribalism, they openly and willingly identify with Kenyan Africans, fostering a sense of belonging in Kenya. One respondent corroborated this perspective by stating:

"..... I'm more Kenyan than an Asian, and I'm proud to be a Kenyan. Kenya has taken care of me, taken care of my family, taken care of my father. I've got citizenship with my father's hard work" (Kenyan Asians R6_R6: _38)

Another respondent agreed that his nationality and heritage were tied to his job, which allowed him to contact a varied set of Kenyans. He said:

"..... being Kenyan means contributing to economic growth, and people around you recognise you as a Kenyan. I think so, but then you know my exposure to the communities around me is quite big, ... so my exposure is basically to the African population, so in that sense, sometimes I sort of get the feeling that they don't look at me as an Asian, but they look at me as a Kenyan, and I feel very proud about that....." (Kenyans Asians R21_R21_8)

For some Kenyan Asians, skin colour is not perceived as a restricting factor in their Kenyan identity. They value their positive relationships with their fellow Kenyan neighbours and recognize their contributions to various economic aspects. One of the respondents expressed a similar sentiment:

".....so being a Kenyan means, first of all, erasing that superficial difference between myself and my African brothers. First of all, I don't consider myself Indian or Asian. I'm a Kenyan. I'm even an African of a different colour – that's it, and I can't prove it. I can only live it, and it takes time for people to see how because they're still in the process. A lot of Kenyan friends of mine are saying you're more Kenyan than most Kenyans....." (Kenyan Asians R13_R13_53)

Other respondents considered Kenyan Asians to be an integral part of the nation, with Kenya as their home and ancestral land. These perspectives highlight that familial contributions, careers, reputation, and a sense of gratitude all play a role in shaping Kenyan Asians' perceptions of their national heritage.

Furthermore, respondents expressed their appreciation for their connections with Kenyan communities. However, a few individuals felt that further efforts were needed to achieve optimal integration and community development. Some of the comments supporting this viewpoint are as follows:

".....I've got a responsibility to my country, and that's what we do..." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_47)

"Okay, I'm not exactly sure what I would say it means to be Kenyan, but from my point of view, I do feel like I have loyalties to this country because I am from here, and what I mean by loyalty is that I feel like I would need to give back in the future...." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_13)

"The first man who took a step in Kenya on the East African soil, I call it, this is the man of creation, this should be a matter of honour, but I live in a country in a land that the world acknowledges as the Cradle of Mankind, it's a sense of pride...." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_57)

These perspectives provide insight into the sentiments of many Kenyan Asians towards Kenya. They proudly embrace their identity as Kenyan nationals, as they feel accepted by other Kenyan communities. However, it's worth noting that some Kenyan Asians expressed a desire for a more egalitarian and less corrupt nation, as they believed that corruption and tribalism were hindering the country's progress in terms of inclusivity and economic development. Here are some comments reflecting this sentiment:

"..... I think that it is a good place. I like it, I think there is a lot of potential because we have a lot of coffee and tea farms, and there is potential for growth, but I think the one thing that let us down is corruption because due to that, the rich get richer and the poor just remain poor, and it's such a bad cycle, and it's like really hard to like break....." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_15)

4.5.4 Perceptions of Kenya as a Country

Kenyan Asians acknowledge the country's significant potential for achieving its economic growth objectives. However, the majority of respondents also perceive corruption as a persistent issue with no apparent solution. Corruption poses a significant challenge that undermines both economic and social goals, particularly in a multicultural society. Here are some of the responses that echo this concern:

"Giving money is not the answer – they've created industries which are making billions, most of them corrupt, you can't get that - in this country you can't find that break without some element of corruption, yeah so they give back and they feel good about themselves but what impact are you really making – that's the question and the only way to start it is to break through this imaginary barrier that we've created between us and them....." (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_24)

The data also indicate that many Kenyan Asians believe that corruption is deeply ingrained in Kenyan culture and society. Therefore, eliminating corruption remains a significant challenge. One respondent expressed this viewpoint as follows:

".....Indians are very comfortable because we're exploiting the system, we're exploiting Black people financially, work – labour is cheap, affordable, we're able to be corrupt and influence policy in politics, we're able to get away with you know, not having licenses, a job, work and things like that, just by paying people, we've grown so comfortable in this element of fucking corruption....!" (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_5)

Tribe 44 evokes a wide range of sentiments among the Kenyan Asian population, primarily due to historical events. Tribalism has consistently hindered Kenya's progress. Interview responses reveal that while some Kenyan Asians welcome recognition as Tribe 44, the majority of them are reluctant to be identified as Tribe 44 because they fear it may exacerbate tribalism within Kenya. Tribalism is perceived as a significant issue in Kenya that undermines unity, and being labelled as Tribe 44 could be misinterpreted. The country's division is often attributed to tribalism, and some Kenyan Asians are uncomfortable with being associated with the factors that divide the nation:

".....our primary identity is Kenyan and not Asian, and I think even the idea of Tribes in Kenya has been very detrimental. It's been very negative because Tribalism has destroyed the very national fabric of this country. In fact, the situation we find ourselves in today, we are a very polarised country. That's what BBI is trying to address in terms of how we deliver political power and how we evolve political power. These are some of the challenges that are going on at the moment..... But I think Tribalism has been extremely negative, and I think it's sort of marginalised where we've got one or two Tribes that have dominated the economic and social discourse in this country and dominated economically where the wealth of this country is owned by a few people from like one or two Tribes and I think that has robbed Kenya of devolution in terms of political power....." (Kenyan Asian R14_R14_24)

The results also demonstrate that some Asian Kenyans experience prejudice as a result of their mixed nationality. Respondents emphasized that racism stems from misconceptions about people's identities, especially in traditional groups that believe people of Indian origin only have Indian nationality and are not citizens of any African country. Racism produces rejection, which leads to discrimination in various regions of the world. The practice, however, is not ubiquitous in some multicultural countries that do not view things via a racial prism. This sentiment was expressed in several of the responses.

".....When he went to India, he was not accepted as an Indian because of his mother, he was called an African, and when he came back to Kenya, he was called an Asian because his father

was an Indian and he finally decided, I'm not going to be called in-between the two, I'm going to have to give up one, so he gave up his Indian identity and adopted his maternal grandfather's name ...so that this is the best I can do to show you I am African, I've chosen my path, so don't call me Indian anymore and that's what he lived by, he cannot forget his spiritual roots, but he lived by his African belonging" (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_63)

"No, not everyone – when I play football, I'm the only Asian.... that's playing in a group of Kenyans or Black people, and they're shocked when I speak the local languages, they're shocked that I have a Kenyan passport and that's really like concerning because, at the end of the day, I'm just a person like them ..." (Kenyan Asian R9_R9_32)

The findings reveal that many Kenyan Asians are optimistic about racism since the younger generations are more enlightened than the older generations, and thus, are likely to promote tolerance and embrace diversity. Community initiatives that seek to break discriminatory social vices, such as racism, are interracial marriages, multicultural schools, and workplaces are on the rise, and a number of the respondents expressed optimism concerning their nationality and acceptance across the social sphere.

".....I think the newer generation is much more enlightened, much more educated, much more exposed, much more, as I said, you know, the whole issue of inter-racial marriages, the whole issue of multiracial schools, you know, it's much more now in the national focus, that you know you don't say that an Asian was one of the triple AAA's, everybody together, I feel that generation will take-up the whole issue of having a non-racial lens to identity and development in Kenya....." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_30).

4.5.5 Perceptions of Ethnic Tensions

The analysis of the interviews highlighted conflicts related to culture, race, religion, food, politics, and marriage. Respondents noted that Kenyan Asians have been raised with values centred around hard work and family, which may not align with the need for social integration, especially in today's world where it is crucial for commercial and professional advancement. Additionally, some respondents mentioned that certain members of the Kenyan Asian community are inclined to uphold traditional norms, emphasizing wealth accumulation, family business management, and intra-community marriages. Furthermore, there is a perception among some Kenyan Asians that they hold entitlement and greater authority compared to Kenyan Africans.

Nonetheless, the responses also reveal a segment of Kenyan Asians who are actively challenging these prevailing norms and beliefs that hinder the development of a diverse and multicultural Kenya. Interestingly, these individuals are sometimes labeled as 'rebels' by their Kenyan Asian peers. They are driven by a strong commitment to altering the norms that they believe are hindering progress within their community. They advocate for a more selfless approach and aspire to transform the status quo that they perceive as detrimental to the majority of Kenyans.

"...no, because our tribe is divided. You have people like myself who are integrating with the local Kenyans on a new level while the others are just sitting over there like in their fancy cars and fancy houses doing nothing and have no idea like 90% of the Asians have never even been to a slum or experienced what it's like, and one thing I hate about Indians is the way that we misuse our power like the Asian community feels that they're powerful and that they owe the local people something and that's stupid like you can't act like you're in a superior position to someone, yet you want to be part of them.....it's not going to work." (Kenyan Asian R9_R9_38)

"...that if we rock the boat, it'll have the ripple effect will go all across, and people will struggle, people will struggle, it's like poking a wild animal with a stick, and they don't want to do that, so what they do is, let it be the way it is, be happy and make your money, get your son in your business (giggle), marry your daughter off and perpetuate the cycle once again." (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_7)

"... I knew all along, but it became very clear that in the Asian community, the strategy had been put your head down, work hard and just save your money, and you'll be fine. It became very clear to me that that strategy will not work and it does not work, and we don't have a choice but to engage in the country that we live in because if you put your money under the mattress, it will get stolen. If you put your money in the bank, it will get stolen, and also, you can't live in a country where there are people, where there's such a huge disparity. You cannot live like that and expect that there will be no consequences – so that sort of disparity." (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_35)

".....I think that we have a very proactive, very wise leader in President Kenyatta, and I can see that the way he comes to your Eid Festival, or he'll come to a Diwali Festival, the way he will invite you, he doesn't feel he's breaking the barriers, and I think he doesn't feel them, and when we were at the State House the other day, he came up, he addressed us all as women, and

he said, one day I want to see one of you on this side of the podium, and we all stood up and gave him an ovation because if he can go past gender bias then surely he will pass any tribal bias..... " (Kenyan Asian R5_R5_106)

Religion has been frequently mentioned as a source of societal tension and conflict. Sikhs had trouble identifying with Kenyan nationality because of their strong ties to India. Consequently, their adherents find it difficult to combine their religious practices with those of traditional Kenyans, who are largely Christian and Muslim, without violating the set doctrines in Sikhism.

In a positive light, some responses show that Kenyans accept religions practiced by minorities. Some respondents believed that the president's friendly attitude towards other religions is a unifying force that promotes religious tolerance. Religious organizations are seen as important forms of welfare support since they provide schools and hospitals.

".....Then the religion is different which I think often....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_61)

".... Kenyan Asians who are in Sikhism find it difficult to observe all the principles associated with their religion..." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_43)

Political allegiance leads to additional conflicts. Given that the nation is frequently divided during election years, Kenya's political spectrum is sometimes seen as a place where ethnic and communal disputes can flourish. Minority populations often have little impact on matters of governance. Asian business owners in Kenya, according to some respondents, are also active participants in the chaotic political environment that exists there.

Motives for funding political activities are seen to serve mostly personal and community interests and not necessarily to change politics for better Kenya. Kenyan Asian respondents note that some of their brothers and sisters are becoming involved in Kenyan politics, gaining government appointments and elective posts:

".... like I think at times of tension, and I think this is the same thing with ethnicity, even in my department, even within the University, you have Kikuyu friends and other friends, and everyone is fine until election time, and somehow politicians can manipulate identities and make them like much less fluid than they are....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_52)

"...So, I'm not saying there is full acceptance, but I do think a lot of this animosity comes out more at times of election or like at times of corruption when there's the whole thing of Ruto with that Weston Hotel and then there's a picture of a businessman, like all those things I think

because of the race issue.... I don't see why it matters that they are Brown or Black – at the end of the day, they're corrupt, and they should be dealt with....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_60)

In a broader context, concerns regarding social tensions were prevalent in the observations made by respondents. It was noted that communities, whether majority or minority, that foster easy integration tend to have stronger social connections based on mutual respect and an acknowledgment of diverse religions and traditions. However, respondents also pointed out that there is limited integration between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, and some Kenyan Asians tend to live within a self-imposed "bubble." The lack of social integration between these communities is attributed to their respective religious and historical beliefs, resulting in a primarily "transactional" relationship between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.

Nevertheless, some Kenyan Asian respondents mentioned that, recognizing the reality of their separate lives, they have developed social strategies to bridge the gap with Kenyan Africans. They firmly believe that fostering equality would contribute to their larger goal of peaceful and harmonious coexistence among communities, built on a foundation of respect, trust, and unity. The following statements echo this sentiment:".....okay because we live in a bubble as much as we like to pretend, we do live in a bubble as Asians, so I don't think we are accepted, but that's due to our fault that we don't integrate with other people or we don't make an effort to be Kenyan and get like the wholesome experience....." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_24)

".....I mean, it's good that we're getting the recognition, but it's two ways. Kenyans have also formed very stigmatised opinions of the Indians based on how they act, and the Indians continue to act that way. There's no Indian who's stepping out of that zone to change how they're behaving because you look at opinions like older Asians, they're bossy, they're rude, and if you notice the way all Asians act, it's the same way like nobody is trying to act different or trying to change the perception....." (Kenyan Asian R9_R9_40)

Due to the lack of social integration between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, commercial partnerships between the two populations are limited. According to the respondents, cultural, religious, and historical perspectives, rather than interests, compound the lack of a better business relationship between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. Furthermore, the legacy of colonial segregation plays a significant role here, as Kenyan Asians are regarded as superior, while Kenyan Africans are regarded as inferior, and this has continued to affect their self-esteem. As a result, the few Kenyan Asians advocating for better relations and integration

through advocacy programs that challenge established beliefs and perceptions are considered rebels.

".... I just feel like if we made more of an effort as Kenyan Asians to be a part of Kenyan society, they would accept us more because Kenyans are generally very accepting of people. I think it's all on us to make an effort and try rather than live in this bubble that we do" (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_33)

Intercommunity tensions are further heightened by marriage customs and associated perceptions and stereotypes. Kenyan Asian respondents admitted to pressure from their families in terms of strict rules of dating within the community

"..... I think marriage becomes a big issue between Native Kenyan and Asian, but when the Asian-African exhibition was first put in place in 2000, too many restrictions loosened...." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_46)

Religious and cultural disparities often exert pressure on Kenyan Asians to marry within their own community, as marrying outside of their community can be met with resistance. Nevertheless, some Kenyan Asian respondents have expressed optimism that this is changing, and the community is becoming more accepting and open to marriage partners from different tribes and races. However, the fear of potential ostracism from their own communities still looms large, which has resulted in intermarriages between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans remaining exceedingly rare. Despite this, some respondents believe that evolving perspectives towards mindset, culture, religion, and integration may eventually lead to a shift in this trend:

" they were scared, and they were very nervous, but they were very, very supportive Then I got married, but I wasn't married for very long I was married for about 2½ to 3 years, his father was from Kenya, but he wasn't born and raised here, he was an outside foreigner and then got divorced, and I kind of stumbled through various careers" (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_31)

"Even within African communities, I think you have to view marriage as not this lens for integration so this idea to say that you're not integrated because you're not married, I don't think it's a valid argument and now within our community". (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_50)

"..... one of my colleagues and I now realise he's quite a difficult person in general..... he's third question was, so how does one marry an Asian woman? I was so angry. It was like I had a PhD which he didn't know anything about, and I was working on a research project within

the University of Nairobi, which he didn't know anything about, like surely those are the things he should be interested in, but I was straightaway reduced to this Indian woman as an object for marriage – you know what I mean?" (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_56).

4.5.6 Perception of Tribe 44

The proclamation of Tribe 44 meant full state recognition of Kenyan Asians as one of Kenya's many tribes. However, the proclamation elicited different reactions from Kenyan Asians who preferred to be referred to as "Kenyans." Some believed that the motivations behind Tribe 44 were purely political. To others, however, the recognition of Tribe 44 was seen as adding benefits to Kenyan Asian communities in terms of belonging, integration and unity:

"..... and so, the President recently announced us as the 44th Tribe in the country, which was a major milestone for so many people....." (Kenyan Asian R23_I_127)

"..... I didn't know anything about it recently, I'm not going to lie to you, I didn't know much, and then after reading about it, I can't exactly say that I know much, but I guess because I am Asian, it gives me a sense of belonging, so to speak and I also think it's beneficial to the country because Asians do have a lot to bring to the table and like if you think about it, I do think it's a good thing to a certain extent....." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_19)

"..... You see, I don't know what the Tribe 44 thing is beyond the President announcing it, like is it going to make an impact on the census? I'm already on the census. Is it going to allow us access, you know, when the Makonde were the Tribe 43, and they didn't have papers, we have Kenyan citizenship like I still feel like, it was one of the things that I bought when it first came out, I was like I need to go back and see who are the other 43 because I always thought we were one of them....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_90)

Respondent's lack of awareness of the meaning or relevance of Tribe 44 is fuelling confusion among Kenyan Asian communities. A small group of Kenyan Asians lobbied for this directive and a large majority were not consulted. Others have seen Tribe 44 as a demonstration of Kenya's unhealthy obsession with indigenous identities and an extension of its warped tribal politics. They claim that Asians do not meet the criteria for belonging to a "tribe". Why have they introduced another tribe when they claim that politics, tribalism, and ethnicities have harmed Kenya?

".....I'm against any ethnic Balkanisation, I'm against people saying that, you know, we're in our Tribal enclaves, I just think that we are all Kenyans, and you know the country was built,

if you look at the founding fathers of this country, you know there's a multiplicity of Tribes.....For me, the 44th Tribe rings bells in my mind that I would like to avoid in the sense of saying, do we go into our Tribal enclaves and then make our case, are we marginalised/not marginalised, are we part of the mainstream/not part of the mainstream, so for me, this whole issue of the 44th Tribe is not something a) that I understand and b) that I'm keen to promote....." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_22)

".... I just wish it wasn't called. I feel very much part of the Asian African community, I think....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_87)

Respondents were invited to provide insights into which individuals from previous generations within the Asian community should be considered for recognition under the 44th tribe status. They also raised important questions regarding the inclusion of all Kenyan Asians in Tribe 44 based solely on their skin colour and geographic histories. They pointed out the diverse nature of the Asian community, comprising numerous distinct groups and subgroups, each with its own unique places of worship, social gatherings, and cultural traditions.

It is essential to understand that the term "past generations" in this context refers to the preceding lineages within the Asian community, encompassing ancestors and forebears who have contributed to the collective historical experiences of Kenyan Asians. By exploring this aspect, this study sought to shed light on the specific individuals who hold significance and merit recognition within the framework of Tribe 44. Respondents held that:

".....it means a lot to me that I was born here, and this is where I grew up and made my life, but it also means a lot to me that I moved, at least in the immediate generational sense in India – in the long-term sense we're all central Asians, North Africans and ultimately Kenyans – we don't go back that far, we go back a few generations which is what our cultural memories can accommodate – we're Indians, and I accept that....." (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_110)

"..... especially those families who have been here like for three or four generations have a lot of stuff – photographs, letters, records, documents, even old passports with stamps and people's notebooks and stuff, there's a lot of stuff out there, but a good starting point I believe for you for that particular kind of thinking and initiative would have been a good start....." (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_208)

On the other hand, the findings of this study indicate that, despite the Presidential Proclamation's unpopularity, some Kenyan Asians seek equal honour and reverence. Kenyan

Kenyan Asians who were born in Kenya have made substantial contributions to the country's development, both before and after independence. According to respondents, their contributions merit greater recognition. They view the President's designation of Tribe 44 as a significant milestone, signifying that they are now considered first-class citizens of their country. This recognition has placed them on an equal footing with other Kenyan tribes, alleviating the need to constantly justify their Kenyan identity and eliminating the label of "Muindi" that had previously been associated with them.

"..... My sense of community was more with the continent than what it was with the sub-continent, and I was just really proud to be Kenyan, but I also didn't understand what being Kenyan meant, and I also didn't understand the nuances at play, I understood my version of Kenya. Then I came back, and I had to now navigate the idea of perhaps not feeling like I was Kenyan enough and initially I was like, I was mad, I was mad at my community, I was mad at the Asian community for not engaging more, I was mad at the fact that we were being insular, I was angry....." (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_51).

".....the Post Office, the Water Department, the City Councils were all run by Asians, and so at that time, they didn't say I'm Asian, and you are African, so I just think the conversation around the non-racial lens being more Kenyan, cohesiveness, integration – yes and keeping in mind the distinctive features of our culture – a person is not going to say, I'm going to abandon my colour and I'm going to become a Kenyan, what does a Kenyan identity mean?" (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_40).

"...I don't think it's particularly important because if you think about it, deep enough and far back enough, we're all Kenyans, aren't we – because mankind came from Kenya and Ethiopia -...I think okay in my current form, shape, language, culture, history – what am I – ancestral level – I'm an Indian, and so as I grow older, I accepted that, but I also accepted that I'm born and brought up here – this is where I got educated, made a life for myself due to my parents and grandparents and great grandparents – sacrifice is combined with wisdom" (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_100)

".....only way I could do it for I was looking into our vast history – what our forefathers had done in this country? ..." (Kenyan Asian R8_R8_8)

The declaration was also particularly helpful to children, who are now more certain of their nationality:

".....my son's nine, somehow that makes such a big difference to him because until then, he would say no, no Mama, I'm Indian, I'm not Kenyan, and I'd explain everything. When he was five, he drew himself an Indian passport and then this year, he was at a school which is a British system, but he was quite good for one of the topics at the beginning of the September term. They did Tribes of Kenya, and he was first in that project, and he was so pleased with the announcement....." (Kenyan Asian R4_R4_67)

"....so that was a turn-off point for many of the Asians who succeeded, who built and said no if we're not going to get this recognition, what are we doing here, we're wasting our time? You have those Asians who still don't have that recognition for a local man. I've worked myself out here, and so what am I gaining out of it if you cannot recognise me and I've made my contribution here, so is there any point living here? Firstly, I would send my children for their education, and then I would go myself, so I hope that with this 44th Tribe, it's going to work things better and see more people in the Government – Asians – more activities, social activities and move on." (Kenyan Asian R6_R6: _66)

As elaborated above, the responses from the interviews show that many Kenyan Asians dislike the president's declaration of Tribe 44. They feel that the head of state did not need to recognize them as a tribe in Kenya as they are already Kenyans because of their contribution since colonial times. Kenyan Asian communities have lived and worked in the country for more than a century; thus, referring to them as Tribe 44 would not change much. The Kenyan Asian community's understanding of nationality is based on contributions to the state and not tribal status. The Kenyan Asian community comprises people who trace their ancestry to India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh; hence, grouping them as one "tribe" is inappropriate:

"..... well, to me, we are the better ones for the country we have built. Why do we want to be counted – we have given our blood and sweat to this country. You go to the end of Kenya anywhere. Once upon a time, there was an Indian who opened it upso I didn't pay very much attention. I heard the 44, there were some people who went to the State House, and the President said that 'I'll make you the 44th Tribe' – well, was it a gimmick for his succession ... When people start recognising you don't want to be recognised and say I am someone, people recognise you, and to me, the Asians have been like that all the time for 125 years we didn't feel it that there was a necessity that we should be counted as one of the Tribes, and so it's a great deal to get counted now – I would have thought that it would just have remained as an

overall shadow and keep ourselves saying that, well we had a major part in building this society – this country, we had a major part in building it..... " (Kenyan Asian R15_R15_37)

Other negative opinions on Tribe 44 expressed that this had very little to do with unifying Kenyan communities to appreciate and treat each other with equal respect and dignity:

".... we're finally going to be recognised as a Tribe because in Kenya the language of belonging is Tribe, you know, and so initially I was very excited, then I started thinking, well why now, what's the political agenda behind it and the people who went to the President to ask for it, who were they speaking on behalf of and what was their agenda and what does being a Tribe, what do I have access to that I didn't have access to before?" (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_57)

4.5.7 Perception of Community Contributions

Through the eyes of respondents interviewed for this study, the contributions of Kenyan Asians to the community are significant. Respondents noted how the Kenyan Asian community played a significant role in Kenya's nationalist rebellion and contributed significantly to establishing its independence. For instance:

"..... As a Sikh.....we have a rich history behind us, so many wonderful personalities who have played a prominent role, and they've suffered for it in the cause of independence. Our community has failed the pioneers in Kenya, and I stopped expecting anything from our Sikh community a long time ago..... just a bunch of hypocrites or just in it for the power, they don't know their history....." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_33)

".....I'm employed, and I have to say that I've never had any business. I've never been drawn to any business to run a business because we were brought up by a teacher, and our exposure was that limited that we had no time to interact in that society where we would have that business sense....." (Kenyan Asian R6_R6_30)

Although the Asian contribution to Kenya's growth is mostly evaluated in terms of its economic and political aspects, it is crucial to recognise that it also included contributions to the fields of welfare, education, and health. Respondents pointed out that Asians from Kenya work to improve the neighbourhoods where they live. Many participate in various charity endeavours. The findings also indicate that Kenyan Asians are involved in creating awareness regarding their identity, heritage and nationality, and thus reduce confusion and stereotypes that some Kenyans might have of them, and vice versa:

"...as a member of the Oshwal community, we have activities we do for charity, so we gather foodstuff, and they take to the children's homes, and when there are insecurity issues, we can have a meeting there, and then everybody gets together – obviously – there's no-one without security problems, everybody has the security problems, and I have contributed personally to homes for the poor and whatever little I can give I give,I give what I can afford....."
(Kenyan Asian R6_R6: _32)

Kenyan Asians are also involved in creating and participating in foundations that support various community groups in enhancing the livelihood of the less privileged in terms of education, health, and economic well-being. Some also note their involvement in environmental work to reduce pollution and help better manage already scarce natural resources such as water and forests. Examples of the responses that illustrate Kenyan Asian involvement in these areas are:

".....my community is every Kenyan, I run a non-profitable football academy called MK Warriors FC, where we provide free football training, academic support, and monthly groceries to young Kenyans from different informal settlements around Nairobi, and we're non-discriminatory, we don't look at the Tribe, the religion or anything, the only thing that we look at is the ability of the child to play football, the discipline, the commitment" (Kenyan Asian R9_R9_18)

"..... the webpage is just an informal way to educate, to create awareness of the role played by Kenya's Freedom struggle, after independence as well.....we're just Africans of a different colour.... So, the whole idea is, to be honest with you, our leaders have failed us...so the Kenyan Kalasingha page is a bridge of information and education....." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_23)

".....no one probably knew who we were, so we used to use all kinds of cartooning methods to create awareness and things – that's the kind of legacy that I've sort of come from....."
(Kenyan Asian R14_R14_14)

"...In terms of what I do, essentially, we run our samosa festivals, not-for-profit organisations and ventures, although we try and raise money from human rights organisations to individuals for support..... I think we spend 90% of our time doing work with civil society ..." Kenyan Asian R14_R14_20

The results also show that Kenyan Asian groups are involved in acts of charity as part of their karmic yoga. One respondent from the Ithnā'ashariyyah/Jaffery community mentioned that the Jeffery community supports the education and mentorship of young Kenyan Africans:

"I'm part of the Jaffery Community – I wouldn't say I play like a massive role, but we do have a Youth Committee, and they do often plan events, for example, sports or like camping trips, and I do attend those events, but I wouldn't say like I play a massive role in the community....." (Kenyan Asian R3_R3_10).

"..... I'd like to think, and I've witnessed this again, quite anecdotally, but generally, people of Indian origin seem to almost culturally have the welfare of others in mind most of the time a principle of our culture is to help others, do something you can – however small – we grew-up with that" (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_56).

Furthermore, Kenyan Asian social groups play a vital role in mobilizing resources to assist those in need. The Oshwal community, for instance, actively engages in charity work, using member contributions to support impoverished households. As one respondent aptly put it:

".....There is the Oshwal Community, and they have some activities, and we do a lot of charity, so we gather foodstuff, and they take to the children's homes, and when there are insecurity issues, we can have a meeting there, and then everybody gets together – obviously – there's no-one without security problems, everybody has the security problems, and I have contributed personally to homes for the poor and whatever little I can give I give, I'm not saying I give too much, but I give what I can afford....." (Kenyan Asian R6_R6: _32).

Respondents also noted that Kenyan Asians are business owners and have created employment opportunities for many citizens. Some of the comments portray the sacrifices and hard work that Kenyan Asians have put into building businesses:

"..... MP Shah, this house was built by him, it was built in about 1953 or 1954, something like that, so by then we had to sell off everything, and they decided to, that we just came in and we started with one manufacturing unit, 40 people were working – employees – four of us plus my two brothers – six – so 46 people working in this little plant making souvenirs and whatnot" (Kenyan Asian R15_R15_9).

".....Because this whole family, 36 members at home and six working, the point was at that time that it was nothing else but hard work, building and paying off of what we have learnt in our life because of the influence of Gandhi on one side, sacrifice of our parents on the second

side and other success in education made us in the classroom, so we started doing nothing but sit day and night... but to work, work, work – no salary, no holidays, nothing until we built-up from 400, 500, 600, 700, 800 people and so by 1958, from 51 to 58 in 7 years we had gone quite high in terms of manufacturing, and we are selling all over the place....." (Kenyan Asian R15_R15_13).

Respondents also emphasized the hard work and determination that Kenyan Asians have invested in their businesses, which has allowed some to establish substantial business empires. The adoption of business strategies such as the "multiplier effect" and the utilization of family labor, practices that have been part of the Kenyan Asian community since their settlement in the country, has facilitated their success across various sectors of the economy, including banking, manufacturing, and retail businesses. Furthermore, respondents argued that the Kenyan public often unfairly singles out the Kenyan Asian community as corrupt based on a few isolated instances within the community. Additionally, some Kenyan Africans attribute the business success of Kenyan Asians to corruption and their perceived political and financial influence. Here are some responses that support this assertion:

".....Well, you know Asians, if you talk to Asian businessmen like Chandaria, they'll tell you that the Asians are into every sector, you know, in terms of business, industrial, strength, business strength, and you know we're so big in that, but the issue is that with the promotion of the industrial manufacturing sector by the Asians, that first of all is not being recognised, that really we are the contributors of the economy, all that we are looking at is people who fall foul of the law, the Pattni and them, so you know when that debate happens in the newspapers or whatever, the whole issue of that community comes out, and that's what I meant by marginalisation that everybody is painted with the same brush....." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_26)

"..... By the 90s, we were in 35 countries, so the criterion of growth is a multiplier. If you know how to multiply ... so it dawned on us that look, it's a multiplier, and as we grew, it became a multiplier effect. That was part of how we succeeded in our businesses and how the children went back, just like us. Our younger children then went and then came back, and both of them joined. There were one or two exceptions who didn't join us, but it was an exception. Most of them joined us....." (Kenyan Asian R15_R15_19)

".....For me, that decision was purely a financial thing because he has affiliations with so many hierarchical Indians who are making a lot of money, so it was more of a business deal to keep

them happy. I guess because economically speaking, there is a lot of value that the Indian community does in like the economic infrastructure of this country, so to keep them happy, so you must play politics well – for me, it doesn't affect me at all, I don't care a shit about being labelled one more Tribe....." (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_35)

The results of this study show that some Kenyan Asians were actively involved in political and civic movements after the realisation of independence and multiparty democracy. Findings show that Kenyan Asians have loyalty to Kenya and demonstrate this in different forms, including engagement in political and educational issues. A response which illustrates this is:

".....Then Zarina and I got together ... soon after the coup in 83/84/85, and we were sort of part of the underground, and then you know, as multi-parties, a lot of the groups then started dissolving themselves as the multi-party era started coming through, so Zarina and I got together around that time, we did a lot of political work together and then so come the 90's you know could come multi-parties and everything changed because now we became where the Underground Movement had finished their work and now it was in a struggle for multi-party democracy and things which happened in 1992....." (Kenyan Asian R14_R14_10)

4.5.8 Perceived Lack of Acceptance as a Kenyan

Respondents generally believe that Kenyan Asians have always been an integral part of Kenya, both before and after independence. However, some respondents mentioned that they have been branded with names that they do not like or resonate with. Some also believe that because of their past and political affiliations, native Kenyan populations treat them differently. As a result, there is still a lack of a sense of complete integration and an inclusive Kenyan society. The nation's tensions are preventing communities from integrating and harmonising smoothly. The comments that back up this assertion include the following:

".....there has been a change with generations, and so now I'm not in a sense so much discriminated against It does happen from time to time in certain civil service situations, shall we call it and certain civil liberties situations I suspect I'm treated differently when I'm stopped by a policeman, whether it be traffic or general police, than an irregular Kenyan African who is just walking in the street going home....." (Kenyan Asian R23_R23_112)

The comment expresses the respondent's experience of endemic tensions between minority immigrant communities and natives. In comparison to five decades ago, responses show that there has been an effort in Kenya towards developing amicable and peaceful communities that

live side by side. Through their professions and neighbourhood interactions, Kenyan Asians have continued to fight for improved integration and acceptance. The following is evidence for this:

"..... after independence, I had to make real stringent efforts to get accepted, and I think once we went through the underground experience, it was like after we came out of there saying, this is who we are and too bad if you don't like us if you can't accept us – it's your heartache, not mine and that's my attitude now....." (Kenyan Asian R8_R8_146)

Some respondents also believe they are treated as 'lesser Kenyans' due to a negative view of corruption. They see blaming Kenyan Asians for corruption as unjust and racist. Instead, respondents say, the issue should be tackled rationally rather than by demonising others because this tarnishes hardworking Kenyan Asian communities' reputation:

"..... you know, it's not like I've benefited from the.... but I think it's better to think of those corrupt people as part of the broader corrupt fabric in Kenya, but very often, it was viewed as you are the corrupted people or the community is wealthy because it's corrupt and I found that, I've always struggled with that, you know as a Kenyan who feels Kenya is your home, but often, you're treated as not Kenyan enough....." (Kenyan-Asian R4_R4_38).

4.6 Kenyan Africans' Views in Interviews

Based on the analysis of the transcripts of the interviews conducted with Kenyan African respondents, four primary themes emerged, as presented in Table 29.

Table 29: Themes from Views of Kenyan Africans

Themes	Definition
National identity	Refers to the sense of a nation as a cohesive whole, as represented by distinctive traditions, culture, and language. The collectiveness of the Kenyan languages/cultures that promotes the co-existence amongst the communities gives the citizens the Kenyan-ism to identify with all.
Personal identity	The unique and persistent characteristics, qualities, and attributes that define an individual's sense of self. The distinctive and enduring features that shape an individual's self-perception encompass values, beliefs, experiences, memories, relationships, and physical traits. It arises from a combination of internal factors

Themes	Definition
	like self-reflection and external influences such as society and culture. Personal identity offers a sense of continuity, helping individuals understand their uniqueness and differentiate themselves from others.
Community contributions	The various roles played by specific individuals/foundations/communities towards a common agenda of improving the quality of life.
Perceptions and tensions	Formed opinions about an individual/object/community/place/race. Tensions are the conflicts (physical/emotional/mental/social) arising from the perceptions formed about the subject of interest.

4.6.1 Perception of National Identity

By definition, Africans born in Kenya are Kenyan Africans. Kenyan Africans also have tribal identities. Observations made during the interviews conducted in this study revealed that some Kenyan Africans believe that Kenya, as a country, lacks unity across numerous tribes and sub-tribes that comprise this national identity. The respondents expressed the belief that tribal divisions shape perceptions more than a single sense of national identity. Consequently, tribalism is a divisive factor that works against the quest for national unity and identity. Following are a few perceptions that support this idea:

"... I was born here, and it's a place I guess I can call home, but as for strong Kenyanness, I don't feel so patriotic because I see so many bad things happening to my country, and I wish people could change, and we had leadership that was changing that." (Kenyan African R1_R1_8)

"Kenya has no identity. That's our biggest problem, Kenya has no identity. I think if you asked me what is Kenya's identity – I don't know, maybe when people are running they say, oh, it's athletics - we don't have that identity, you know the way you can see a Nigerian and say, that's a Nigerian the way they're dressed and the way they even talk, there's no identity and I think that has been one of our biggest problems and that's the reason we lack national unity and we vote around lines because we lack a national identity and we lack a national culture, we can't say this is our culture, there's nothing? There was a time they tried to get a national dress, and

they couldn't even agree on a dress – so Kenya's a country that doesn't exist. What we have is tribal warlords and kingpins, so we have the Kikuyu King, the Luo King, and the (unclear) King, and when it comes to voting, we don't vote on issues. We vote on tribal lines because our identity as people is a tribe." (Kenyan African R19_R19_46)

Concerning Kenyan Asians, the majority of Kenyan African respondents recognise them as part of the national fabric. Following this realisation, some programmes and events promote cultural exchanges between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans to promote unity and integration. As such, many Kenyan Africans are welcoming and open to accepting minority groups such as Kenyan Asians:

"... I think it's very important because once, you know, that gives the man identity, so they are no longer Indians, they're Kenyan Indians, they're actually Kenyans now, and so they become part of the Kenyan tribes, it's very important. Because as long as that wasn't there, then they were not part of the community, but now that they reached acceptance – the history of this country would have been very different without Indians. They built the railway, and the railway opened up most of the country,..... they opened small shops across this country – when there was a struggle, they were discriminated against. They're part and parcel of this country, but I hope that they could direct more and do things differently... " (Kenyan African R19_R19_37)

Kenya is known for world record-breaking athletes, and influential persons such as President Barack Obama make Kenyans feel proud of their country. These achievements strengthen their belief that their country is rich with potential. However, Kenyan Africans are also not proud of certain practices that are often associated with their country. Respondents noted that corruption and poor leadership were major demoralising factors that greatly affected their loyalty and pride in their national identity. Respondents had this to say:

"...I'm proud of being a Kenyan, and they are very identifiable in the world. I mean, Obama came from here and stuff like that, it's a good thing, and we have all the astronomers and all of that..." (Kenyan African R10_R10_16)

"..... we patriotic when our Kenyans are winning all around the world in athletics, but the sport should be a uniting factor and not a dividing factor....." (Kenyan African R2_R2_36)

".... Anisha, who is a Kenyan Asian, went to the UK to study sports, she's worked with Africans, she's gone to Radio Africa and worked with Africans..... and I take pride in her success as a fellow citizen...." (Kenyan African R25_R25_72)

4.6.2 Personal Identity

Personal identity defines one's uniqueness in terms of actions and perceptions. Kenyan Africans attach their identity to the tribe to which they belong. Responses to interview questions show that some Kenyan Africans accept Kenyan Asians as Kenyans and therefore do not see them as outsiders. Moreover, some regard the Kenyan Asian community as philanthropic and say that they have a lot to learn from them in terms of culture, behaviour and education:

"...I think for us as Kenyans, I think we should be more accepting of them – think about it, someone (unclear) but they wouldn't go to India, they are Kenyans, so it's up to both sides to be able to come together...." (Kenyan African R25_R25_139)

".....to thank the President for recognising the Asians as 44th Tribe because they are Kenyans and they are part of us, and she feels they are nice people and honest people....." (Kenyan African R11_R11_2)

"..... I think most people accept most Asians because they came here a long time ago, most of them that are currently here, most of them are born here, and they have a right to identify themselves as Kenyans because they were born here and they do business here, they went to school here, I mean they live the Kenyan way, so I think they are Kenyans and they are entitled to be referred to as such....." (Kenyan African R18_R18_17)

".....then there's a community of the Philanthropists, they're trying to do something different with the under-privileged....." (Kenyan African R12_R12_23)

Kenyan African responses also include the view that Kenyan Asians have contributed substantially to nation-building since independence. As such, they are seen as an important and useful component of Kenya's identity. Following this, they perceive the recognition of Kenyan Asians by the President of Tribe 44 as befitting:

" I had never known that there was a clamour by Indians to be recognised as a Tribe. To me, I think it is a good thing because that's one way of killing that notion that they're foreigners because, in any case, most of these guys are people we grew up with, and they're born here,

and they're Kenyans by birth, so for me, I think it's a positive step by the Government. Whether that translates into something meaningful for the community is something that we can't know, but what I know, and this is from, I also participated in politics a bit from 2007 to 2013 – you know, like the 44th Tribe thing is something that is going to now break that notion, that Indians are not Kenyans, then for me it would be a positive." (Kenyan African R24_R24_35)

Respondents also believe that there is a lot that the Kenyan Asian community can bring to the country, and, as such, the declaration by the President of Tribe 44 was something overdue and should be celebrated and embraced by the Kenyan African community. Some of the responses that supported the declaration of Tribe 44 had these to say:

"... I think the President did well to do that to mention that because I think that we are both human beings and so let's not talk about colour... you're Black and White, or maybe you think we can't be in the same status, I think they are just human beings like us, and we need to interact so that we can know more and we can learn more about our cultural practice..." (Kenyan African R17_R17_25)

"Yes, it's good. I think the number of tribes because if they are not there, I think most of us won't be employed, and we will have social problems – again because of the employment, they provide us with employment, and we can't neglect them, not to be among us...." (Kenyan African R17_R17_27)

"... I think it was a good call from the President because it was high time they were referred to as Kenyans. After all, they have grown here, they are contributing big time to the economy of the country, in the infrastructure, in the employment, they employ people, and I think it is high time that they are regarded as the 44th Tribe in Kenya, and so I take it positively...." (Kenyan African R18_R18_19)

However, on the other hand, some respondents felt that the political aspect of the declaration of Tribe 44 was problematic. For example:

"...To be honest, when we saw the news, we were like, what is this? What does our leadership want from the Asian community, and so they're doing this, they're doing it now – I mean, I'm very suspicious of things like that, I mean, the President is my Tribe. People think we are privileged. I don't know. Maybe I'm speaking like I'm not privileged, and I have to be privileged, so if you can get a tribe and feel like you belong, it's a really good thing if it is

making you invest more in Kenya and their children to feel like this is where they belong, that's a good thing....." (Kenyan African R1_R1_34)

4.6.3 Community Contribution

Kenyan Asians' engagement in community leadership and socio-economic endeavors is something that many Kenyan Africans perceive as setting them apart. Kenyan Asians are predominantly business-oriented and tend to have less involvement in politics compared to Kenyan Africans. However, they are actively engaged in welfare activities and are often described as selfless, particularly when they collaborate with Kenyan Africans in advocating for democracy. Some Kenyan African respondents in the interviews expressed the view that considering the substantial contributions made by many Kenyan Asians, they should be better represented in legislative assemblies. This perspective highlights the recognition of Kenyan Asians' role in societal development and the desire for their increased participation in governance. Here are some responses that reflect this sentiment:

".....there are a lot of communities that the Indians took through either corporate contributions or personal contributions that favour Africans because it's usually Africans who are in the unfortunate category....." (Kenyan African R24_R24_43)

".....there are quite several Asians in politics, even in positions in the Government. I would say 10/20 years ago; it was difficult for them to get, being elected or even nominated into political positions – again, we've had them being appointed to run institutions, be it in the Government, University Vice Chancellors have been appointed from the Asian community so I would say they've made a positive input other than just contributing to the economy" (Kenyan African R22_R22_51)

Many Kenyan Africans also perceive Kenyan Asians as highly influential and successful within the country's financial environment, often occupying powerful positions within their family businesses. This perception reflects the significant economic contributions of Kenyan Asians and their substantial presence in various sectors of the economy.

"..... Asian businessmen like Chandaria..... Asians are into business, industrial, strength, business strength and you know we're so big in that, but the issue is that with the promotion of the industrial manufacturing sector by the Asians" (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_26)

4.6.4 Perceptions and Tensions

Despite these positive sentiments, analysis of the interviews reveals tensions and contrasting perceptions held by Kenyan Africans toward the Kenyan Asian community. Some responses indicate that Kenyan Africans have long believed in their economic disadvantage compared to Kenyan Asians, perceiving themselves as poor and needy in contrast. This perception is rooted in the historical context of colonialism, which created a system designed to keep Africans at the bottom of the social hierarchy (Ezeanya-Esiobu, 2019). The legacy of colonial systems, characterised by exploitation and racial divisions, has perpetuated negative views of Kenyan Asians among Kenyan African communities (Owino, 2013).

Furthermore, Kenyan African respondents express grievances related to work dynamics, race relations, and historical conflicts. Many respondents believe that Kenyan Asian employers mistreat their employees, contributing to a negative perception of the community (Horn, 2015). There is also a prevailing sentiment among Kenyan Africans that Kenyan Asians view them as "thieves," which they believe justifies the preference for hiring Indians and Asians directly from the Asian continent (Kanyinga, 2006). These perceptions reflect the ongoing tensions and misunderstandings between the two communities, influenced by historical factors and socio-economic disparities (Kothari, 2004).

This sort of perspective was confirmed by one such response, which was:

"..... Kenyan Asians are part and parcel of this country, but I hope that they can direct more and do things differently. I find with some of my friends who are Indians who are in business, they get workers from India to come and work here because they think that Kenyans are thieves, but I think that was a very important decision it was a very important decision....." (Kenyan African R19_R19_37)

Additional sources of tension revealed through the interviews conducted for this study were related to race, religion, food, politics and marriage. Kenyan African responses noted that the majority of Kenyan Asians are good people whose culture is generously oriented and who often work to enhance others' livelihoods:

".... Fatuma said she was born in Kwale Golini and she currently lives in Mashimoni Kibera in Nairobi and she says that she has lived with Indians for quite a long time,..... she has worked with them and she says they are quite nice people. They don't have issues, she gets along well with them, and she'd also like to thank the President for recognising them as 44th

Tribe because they are Kenyans and they are part of us, and she feels they are nice people and honest people....." (Kenyan African R11_R11_4)

"She says that the Indians are really good, they help you with school fees they buy for your food, they give you food, unlike other Tribes that don't do that, like for example the Whites." (Kenyan African R11_R11_33)

But at the same time, Kenyan African respondents say divisions and jealousies as dividing all tribes in Kenya, including their own. For example, Kikuyus are seen as having an extreme love for money as compared to other tribes:

"Yes, it is the same thing because the Kamba would like – Kikuyu's love money. If I was to get married to a Kikuyu today, my mum would be very worried. This girl is going to fleece you, you know, so it's these problems, and it's based on fear of the unknown if you were to take more time to understand each other, then I think much of it would fizzle out because he's an Indian, there's usually tension when you would marry from a different Indian cast...." (Kenyan African R25_R25_143)

Consequently, it is inevitable that Kenyan Asians will be perceived as both charitable and prejudiced.

Religion is a substantial element in Kenya's social fabric, and Kenyans identify with Christianity, Islam and Hinduism. The results of this study indicate that Kenyan Africans are very sensitive to religious inclinations. Responses indicate that Kenyan Africans identify first with religion and then with community and country:

"..... I normally identified with my religion before I identified with my Tribe, and now with nationality..... The first thing I would always say like oh, my name is Wendy, and I'm a Catholic, then the next I will go, maybe like I'm Luo, and I'm a Kenyan in that order..... I think I'll identify with more with my religion mostly because these other people I get to spend a lot of time with....." (Kenyan African R20_R20_8)

This strong linkage to religion has enabled some religious organisations to sponsor schools and hospitals to serve the social and health needs of their congregants and the community at large. The results reveal that religion is a major factor of identity in Kenya since several Kenyans also identify with their religious organisations, in addition to their tribes. For instance:

".....in school we had Asians.....Hindus, where they learnt Gujarat did an examseparate from us, and then we had Muslims who studied Islamic Religious Education, and then we had Christians who studied Christian Religious Education for the rest of the curriculum. It was just uniform, same class, sports and the same everything during the religious education where we are segregated" (Kenyan African R22_R22_15)

The analysis of the interviews conducted for this study shows that, like Kenyan Asians, Kenyan Africans see politics as the major cause of tension and conflict. Kenyan African respondents perceived the diverse political standpoints associated with multi-party democracy to be fuelling tribal conflicts and tensions. Responses also confirm that ethnic factors drive political ideologies and subsequent forms of leadership. As a consequence, minorities such as Kenyan Asians are less likely to ascend to power despite their leadership potential and capabilities. One of the responses supporting this statement was:

"So, I thought to myself that if my generation thinks like that, then that tribal nature is still there I remember we had a collision with the guys I went to school with because of opinions, and I've always felt like, you know, minority tribes, not only Indians but generally, they are usually side-lined a lot when it comes to stuff to do with Government and stuff to do with how the country is run – they are usually just lumped as the rest." (Kenyan African R24_R24_38)

Kenyan Asian entrepreneurs, according to some Kenyan African respondents, are seen as deceitful in the messy political environment that characterises Kenya. Some respondents accused some wealthy Kenyan Asians of funding political activities for both personal and community gain. Tribe 44, for instance, is seen as a controversial and political move by the President to fragment the Kenyan Asian community for political reasons rather than to change Kenyans-Asians and Kenyans-Africans relations and achieve integration. Political actions are merely a smokescreen that further thwarts attempts to build a resilient and united country:

".... I also participated in politics a bit from 2007 to 2013..... The Indian community has funded a lot of politics in Kenya, and that might have been because of either personal interest or community interest because, remember, mostly entrepreneurs. However, if that is something, you know, like the 44th Tribe thing is something that is going to now break that notion, that Indians are not Kenyans, then for me, it would be a positive" (Kenyan African R24_R24_35)

"..... there should be an equitable political situation where you can campaign and get elected not based on your economic status but based on the ideas and the basis of your political

ideas, and however you want to make Kenya a better place to see, and it requires massive work, and I think as far as the Asian community is concerned, one of the greatest things that you could do is, that if you got truly involved in terms of political reform....." (Kenyan African R14_R14_16)

"..... you get elected into Parliament, and serve the interest of political elites, then it's fine, you have got into Parliament, butwhat is the legacy? Your legacy then becomes that you serve the elites, and you haven't served the people....." (Kenyan African R14_R14_30)

Marriage remains a source of tension between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians due to associated stereotypes and perceptions. Kenyan African responses confirm this assertion by noting that while intermarriage between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians is possible, many are discouraged from pursuing it due to differences in culture, traditions, and religious backgrounds. Kenyan Asians are seen as holding tightly to their culture and community, and those who consider breaking these norms fear being ostracized. These factors are perceived as significant obstacles to achieving multicultural communities in Kenya, and many potential interracial marriages are deterred in order to preserve cultural and religious norms. The findings also indicate that neither Kenyan Africans nor Kenyan Asians actively promote intermarriage, despite the emergence of a few rare instances of intermarriage.

"Currently, most of my friends are Asians, and I've interacted with them... some are talking negatively, mostly they always talk about their traditional aspect of living, some are trying to imply, like you find out that some are supporting these inter-marriages like Asian to Black marriage, some don't like that because of the traditions...." (Kenyan African R17_R17_18)

Overall, the interview data has provided valuable insights into the tensions that exist between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, shedding light on their perceptions of various issues, including marriage, integration, and recognition as a tribe. The research aimed to provide a platform for both groups to voice their feelings about each other, as these topics are often not openly discussed in their day-to-day lives. This study has contributed to a better understanding of the complex dynamics and perspectives of these two communities in Kenya.

4.7 Chapter Summary

Chapter 4 undertakes a comprehensive analysis of the findings drawn from the quantitative and qualitative data sources. The chapter begins by presenting demographic statistics, which are

visually represented through charts and figures followed by detailed explanations. Subsequently, the qualitative findings are presented textually, allowing for a deeper exploration and comprehension of the participants' perspectives and experiences.

The chapter addresses critical aspects, including respondents' perspectives on national identity, their perceptions of Kenya as a nation, the existence of ethnic tensions, the recognition of Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe, the inclusion of Kenyan Asians in the national identity, and the perceived contributions of the Asian community to Kenya's social and economic growth.

The analysis reveals that a substantial portion of the respondents are descendants of second and third-generation migrants who initially arrived in Kenya as traders and professionals. In terms of national identity, the majority of Kenyan Asians in the study identify themselves as Kenyans, emphasizing their ancestral settlement and upbringing in the country. In terms of their perception of Kenya, most participants view it as a land of immense potential for growth, while acknowledging the persistent issue of corruption without a clear solution.

The findings indicate that the creation of Tribe 44 was primarily motivated by the desire to enhance social integration and for statistical purposes, such as the census. Furthermore, the responses revealed that the participants perceived that Kenyan Asians played a significant role in the country's nationalist struggle and made substantial contributions to its independence. However, some participants highlighted the incomplete integration and inclusivity of Kenyan Asians within broader Kenyan society.

Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive summary of the findings, offering insights into the perceptions, attitudes, anxieties, and aspirations of Kenyan Asians concerning their identity and social integration in Kenya. These findings contribute to a deeper understanding of the dynamics surrounding the Kenyan Asian community and set stage for the subsequent chapter, which presents the conclusions and recommendations derived from this study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter analyses the findings obtained from the data collected in previous chapters and explores the underlying reasons for the ethnic challenges faced by Kenyan Asians. It also discusses strategies to address their lack of inclusion and equality, which hinders Kenya's progress in development. The analysis is connected to relevant literature and previous studies.

The terms "Kenyan Asian," "Kenyan Asians," "Kenyan Indians," "Kenyan South East Asians," "Asian diaspora," and "Asian minority" refer to descendants of pre-partition Indian immigrants. The term "African Asians" has emerged recently, reflecting a sense of belonging beyond Kenyan territory. However, its usage is debated due to concerns about creating a Pan-African identity where it does not naturally exist and potentially undermining the state's sovereignty (Sheffer, 2003).

This thesis focuses on the present and active involvement of the growing Kenyan Asian population in economic, social, and political spheres. It does not provide a comprehensive historical account, as extensive research on this topic already exists (Adamson 2012).

The subsequent sections critically analyse the findings, drawing upon existing literature. This analysis explores the underlying factors contributing to the ethnic challenges faced by Kenyan Asians and proposes potential solutions. By considering the data in the socio-political context, this chapter provides insights into policies and initiatives that promote inclusivity, equality, and social integration for Kenyan Asians in Kenya.

5.2 Discussions of Findings

To create a comprehensive praxis model to change the dynamics between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, 147 individuals participated in a combination of in-person interviews and online questionnaires.

5.2.1 Recognition of Kenyan Asians

After gaining independence, the Kenyan Asian community encountered significant barriers to political participation, as discussed in Chapter 2 (Chege, 2008a). Rather than being actively engaged in politics, Kenyan Asians were largely confined to roles as businessmen and fundraisers (Chua, 2004). This marginalisation was a result of the Africanisation policy, which

created disparities in trade opportunities, civil service positions, citizenship rights, national identity, and social interactions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans (Chege, 2008a; Sheffer, 2003). Kenya Asians were underrepresented in politics because Kenyan African politicians believed they lacked political acumen (Chege, 2008a). Moreover, government policies since independence have not effectively promoted economic empowerment for both minority and majority groups (Chege, 2008a). Consequently, the limited political involvement of Kenyan Asians not only hinders the progress of Kenya's development but also overlooks their significant economic contributions and potential for political growth (Chege, 2008a).

The persistent underperformance of Kenya's economy and the resulting low living standards have led to profound inequalities and widespread poverty among Kenyan Africans (Chege, 2008a). This situation has also posed challenges to the way of life of Kenyan Asians and has compelled some to seek opportunities in other countries (Chege, 2008a). Those who have chosen to remain often seek economic security within specific enclaves (Chege, 2008a). However, growing disparities have fostered negative attitudes toward Kenyan Asians, jeopardizing their economic survival and interests (Chege, 2008a). Consequently, a self-perpetuating cycle has emerged, wherein Kenyan Asians continue to face violence, crime, discrimination, and xenophobia from the Kenyan African majority (Chege, 2008a). Nevertheless, despite political threats, prejudice, uncertainty, and unfavourable preconceptions, many Kenyan Asians have demonstrated resilience and continue to prosper by leveraging their industriousness, entrepreneurial nature, and adaptability (Chege 2008a). Kenya is not an isolated case in this regard, as entrepreneurial minority communities worldwide have frequently encountered animosity and unfair treatment (Chege, 2008a). Expelling entrepreneurial citizens or foreigners hinders a country's progress and prosperity (Chege, 2008a; Chua, 2004). According to the findings of this study, this same phenomenon was apparent and the respondent (Kenyan R19_R19_20) said "I think there's a bit of confusion for them because there's a history, if you look at the history of this country, the history of the Asian community in Kenya actually, they're actually involved in the freedom struggle, they're traders in this country by the Asian community and they became part of their national fabric but along the way there was the 1982 coup, where there was a lot happening in the Asian community, women were raped, the shops were looted and then there was a bit of xenophobia attacks during that time.....".

Chapter 4 revealed the existence of a generalised and unfounded belief that Kenyan Asians have made minimal contributions to Kenya's development as a nation (Rounds & Huang,

2017). They have faced unfair accusations of dominating and exploiting the economy through corruption, selfishness, exploitation, and disloyalty, consequently enduring suspicion, animosity, and prejudice (Rounds & Huang, 2017). For example, Kenyan Asians have been criticised for mistreating their Kenyan African workers by offering low wages and engaging in irregular dismissals, as indicated by the interview findings (Rounds & Huang, 2017). However, based on the research results presented here, it is evident that many Kenyan Asians perceive these negative allegations as exaggerated by Kenyan Africans and amplified by the media (Rounds & Huang, 2017). Some Kenyan Asians argue that bribery and corruption in business are not exclusive to their community but are prevalent universally (Rounds & Huang, 2017). They acknowledge that Kenyan Asians may have wielded significant economic control in the 1960s, but assert that this has changed with the forces of globalisation (Rounds & Huang, 2017). Presently, the Kenyan economy is dominated by multinational corporations in sectors such as banking, construction, and processing/manufacturing (Rounds & Huang, 2017). Kenyan Asians contend that the stereotypes assigned to them stem from the narratives propagated by Kenyan African politicians and business interests, who face intense competition from multinational corporations (Rounds & Huang, 2017). These interests have shifted blame to the vulnerable Kenyan Asian community, further marginalizing them in the eyes of economically disadvantaged Kenyan African communities, which constitute the majority of voters (Rounds & Huang, 2017).

5.2.2 National Identity

The participants in this research project, comprising Kenyan Asians, predominantly identified themselves as Kenyans, both in terms of nationality and personal identity. This identification stems from factors such as birth, culture, and contributions to the economy (Shankardass, 2019). Over the years, the notion of India as their ancestral homeland has diminished in significance for many second and third generation immigrants who have had limited or no contact with India and have grown up in a colonial Kenyan environment influenced by English practices (Shankardass, 2019). Consequently, India appears distant and unfamiliar to them, characterised by a rigid caste system and traditional customs (Shankardass, 2019).

Additionally, the research highlights the significant contributions of Kenyan Asians to the economic and political growth of Kenya, further solidifying their status as "natives" rather than foreigners within the country of their birth (Njogu, 2017). These findings align with existing literature on national identity, which emphasises the role of birth, culture, history, and socio-

political and economic contributions in shaping one's sense of belonging and loyalty as a citizen (Dittmer, 2004).

Language, heritage, and ethnicity are identified as the primary elements of nationalism, while the group's origin, history, and position in society contribute to a sense of shared interests (Dittmer, 2004). Despite linking their nationality to Kenya, research findings indicate that Kenyan Asians still maintain a strong attachment to their Asian roots and heritage. It is not uncommon for immigrants to feel torn between their country of origin and their adopted country, experiencing a sense of perceived betrayal (Maalouf, 2001). Shankardass (2019) points out that Kenyan Asians, while establishing roots in a foreign land, have also retained a distinct identity separate from their African compatriots and other immigrant groups. In the early years of settlement, first and second generation immigrants maintained ties with their "home country" for emotional and psychological support (Shankardass, 2019). Overall, the findings underscore the ability of this population to navigate their dual identity by striking a balance between Indian cultural practices and traditions, and their active participation in Kenyan society (Gesora & Ochieng, 2016). This is consistent with the survey's findings, where one participant stated "so being a Kenyan means first of all erasing that superficial difference between myself and my African brothers, first of all I don't consider myself Indian or Asian, I'm a Kenyan, I'm even an African of a different colour – that's it and I can't prove it....." (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_53).

5.3 Personal Identity

The study findings shed light on the complex and nuanced personal identity of Kenyan Asians influenced by historical and sociocultural factors. Kenyan Asians, individuals of South Asian descent brought to Kenya during the colonial period, have experienced discrimination, political upheaval, and displacement, which have contributed to their unique sense of identity within Kenyan society (Osano, 2018). Despite the challenges they face, Kenyan Asians have maintained a strong cultural identity reflected in their language, cuisine, and religious practices (Wandia, 2019). They exhibit a connection and identification with their Asian relatives and extended families, rooted in their upbringing and education in Kenya.

While Kenyan Asians consider themselves Kenyans based on their birth, culture, and economic contributions, they also hold onto their Asian roots and heritage. This dual identity is a result of their historical experiences and the need to maintain ties with their "home country" for emotional and psychological support (Shankardass, 2019). The findings align with the

literature on national identity, emphasizing the importance of language, heritage, and ethnicity in shaping one's sense of belonging and common interest (Dittmer, 2004).

The study also explores the perception of Kenyan Asians regarding the designation of "Tribe 44." Some Kenyan Asians resist this label, preferring a name that is not divisive or politically oriented. They view themselves as a pro-business, entrepreneurial community and emphasise their contributions to Kenya's economy (Njogu, 2016). On the other hand, some Kenyan Africans welcome the Tribe 44 designation, seeing it as an opportunity for Kenyan Asians to be more integrated within the nation and recognised beyond their business endeavours (Patel & Ghai, 2017). These perspectives on personal identity and the Tribe 44 designation highlight the complexities and varied viewpoints within the Kenyan Asian community.

In conclusion, the personal identity of Kenyan Asians is shaped by a combination of factors, including historical experiences, cultural practices, and the complexities of belonging to both Kenya and their Asian heritage. Their sense of identity reflects a blend of Kenyan and Asian influences, emphasizing their contributions to the country's economy and their connection to their ancestral roots. Understanding and acknowledging the multifaceted personal identity of Kenyan Asians is crucial for promoting inclusivity and fostering a sense of belonging within Kenyan society.

5.4 Loyalty to Kenya

The issue of loyalty to Kenya among Kenyan Asians, a minority community of Indian origin, has been a subject of debate and contention in Kenyan history. This matter gained prominence during the struggle for independence from British colonial rule in the 1950s and 1960s and has continued to be a topic of discussion in the post-independence era. While some Kenyan Asians have faced accusations of being more loyal to India than to Kenya, others have strongly identified as Kenyan and made significant contributions to the country's development.

One notable example of a Kenyan Asian demonstrating loyalty to Kenya is Manu Chandaria, a prominent businessman and philanthropist. Chandaria, who was born and raised in Nairobi, considers Kenya his motherland and expresses pride in being Kenyan (The Standard, 2018). Another example is Pio Gama Pinto, a Kenyan Asian journalist and political activist, who played a key role in Kenya's struggle for independence (Pinto, 2010). Pinto's commitment to the cause of independence ultimately led to his assassination. Similarly, figures like Manilal Desai, a Kenyan Asian trade unionist, have been actively involved in the fight for independence (Wanga-Odhiambo, 2021).

Beyond individual examples, Kenyan Asians have made significant contributions to the country's economy and social fabric (Tyce, 2020). They have played a crucial role in commerce and industry, with many businesses spanning multiple generations and contributing to economic growth. Kenyan Asians have also been active participants in politics, serving in various capacities such as members of parliament, judges, and civil servants (Chege, 2008b). Zarina Patel, a Kenyan Asian journalist, has made significant contributions to the struggle against colonialism and apartheid in South Africa (Durrani, 2022). These instances highlight the diverse ways in which Kenyan Asians have demonstrated loyalty to Kenya.

The issue of loyalty to Kenya is influenced by factors such as nationality, tribe, religion, and family. Kenyan Asians, like any other group, exhibit a range of allegiances that can vary based on factors such as age, generation, location, and religious affiliation (Gus & Samuelsson, 2009). It is important to recognise that identity is fluid, and individuals' sense of belonging can be shaped by various influences.

Nevertheless, tensions and conflicts exist between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, hindering the collective goal of loyalty to Kenya. Perceptions of cultural differences and religious disparities contribute to these conflicts, with some Kenyan Asians feeling discriminated against in their own country, and some Kenyan Africans perceiving Kenyan Asians as outsiders. These dynamics impact the level of allegiance Kenyan Asians hold toward Kenya (Shankardass, 2019). It is essential to acknowledge that national identity plays a significant role in defining membership in a nation and can influence individuals' thoughts and behaviours (Triandafyllidou, 1998).

While some Kenyan Asians have faced accusations of prioritizing their ties with India over their loyalty to Kenya, it is important to avoid generalisations. Many Kenyan Asians strongly identify as Kenyan and have actively contributed to the country's development in various spheres. Their commitment to Kenya is evident through their economic endeavours, educational contributions, and philanthropic initiatives (McCann, 2019). As President Uhuru Kenyatta emphasised, Kenyan Asians are an integral part of Kenyan society and have made substantial contributions to the nation's growth and progress.

In conclusion, loyalty to Kenya among Kenyan Asians is a complex and multifaceted issue shaped by historical experiences, socio-cultural factors, and individual perspectives. While challenges and tensions exist, many Kenyan Asians identify strongly as Kenyan and have played significant roles in the country's development. "I've got a responsibility to my country

and that's what we do, so accept it or not accept it, it doesn't bother me, I'm not fearful to stand alone and that's what rebels are made" (Kenyan Asian R13_R13_47) attests to what is being said above.

5.5 Perceptions and Tensions

The relationship between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians has been characterised by complexity, perceptions, and tensions, influenced by historical, socio-cultural, and political factors (Himbara, 1997). Economic inequality has been a primary source of tension, with Kenyan Asians often perceived as wealthier and more successful, leading to feelings of resentment and envy (Daily Nation, 2019). This perception is not without basis, as Kenyan Asians historically held significant economic power in Kenya (Voigt, 2020). Housing and education have been areas where tensions related to economic disparities have manifested, with instances of housing market dominance and allegations of discrimination in educational admissions (Gupta, 1998a).

In terms of political representation, the study reveals barely any political tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians since independence. While there is a growing desire among some Kenyan Asians for political representation, political tensions between the two ethnic groups are negligible (East African, 2019). It is crucial to acknowledge the individual experiences within each group and avoid generalisations (Tyce, 2020).

There have been instances of collaboration and unity between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. For example, during the 2017 elections, Kenyan Asians actively promoted peaceful elections and encouraged voter turnout (Daily Nation, 2019). These positive experiences reflect the potential for cooperation and mutual understanding between the two groups.

Although there are no explicit political conflicts between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians, some Kenyan Asians have been accused by other Kenyan Asians of interfering in politics and supporting initiatives that further their own agendas, which results in favouritism (Cheeseman, 2015). Some Kenyan Asians see the President's announcement of Tribe 44 as a political tactic, which has sparked controversy (Daily Nation, 2019).

Despite insignificant political tensions between the two groups, results from the study reveal that there are however, tensions and unfavourable perceptions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians stemming from cultural and theological issues. In a society composed of diverse ethnic groups and cultural traditions, issues related to race and ethnicity carry significant implications (Omenya, 2002). Historical factors, such as the colonial

administration's role in creating divisions and the subsequent segregation and biased regulations, have contributed to the perceptions and tensions between the two groups (Ghai & Ghai, 1965; Ayers, 2007).

Religion and marriage also contribute to perceptions and tensions. While intermarriage between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans is relatively rare, some recent generations of Kenyan Asians are more open to marrying individuals from different races and tribes (Wandia, 2019). However, cultural and religious practices, as well as the dynamics of mindset, culture, and integration, continue to be significant sources of tensions between the two groups.

In terms of social tensions and perceptions, the analysis presented in Chapter 4 highlights a lack of integration in various aspects such as education, health, residency, business, equality, and food between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asian communities. These social constructs and disparities create suspicions and tensions, with Kenyan Africans perceiving Kenyan Asians as a privileged minority group interested in maintaining the status quo (Tyce, 2020). Theological and historical perceptions contribute to the decline in social cohesion between the two communities, resulting in social isolation and limited business partnerships (Wandia, 2019).

To foster better relations and integration, some Kenyan Asians advocate for advocacy programs challenging misconceptions and outdated beliefs perpetuated by colonial influences (Tyce, 2020). These efforts aim to address the tensions and promote a more inclusive and cohesive society.

In conclusion, the relationship between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians is complicated, influenced by historical, sociocultural, and economical factors. Tensions emerge as a result of economic inequities, cultural divides, and historical and religious perspectives. However, examples of collaboration and positive experiences demonstrate that the two groups have the capacity for unification and cooperation.

5.6 The National Identity vs the Tribal Discourse

During the interviews conducted for this study, respondents, particularly Kenyan Asians, identified national identity as a difficult and diverse problem. Their Kenyan nationality was not a distinct and consistent sentiment. Some Kenyan Asians associated more strongly with their ethnicity, while others identified primarily as Kenyan. In contrast to national discourse, the idea of "tribe" appeared to be more well-defined and dominant. The key debate in any

society revolves around hegemonic discourse, which refers to the dominant set of ideas, beliefs, and values that shape and maintain the power and control of a dominant group over subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1971). This discourse encompasses cultural, economic, and political influences that establish and reinforce a particular worldview or ideology as the normative framework for society. It plays a significant role in shaping social norms, identities, and power dynamics, with the aim of legitimizing the interests of the dominant group while marginalizing alternative perspectives and perpetuating social inequalities (Frederiksen, 2010).

In the Kenyan context, the national discourse can be seen as a form of hegemonic discourse that is widely embraced and accepted among citizens. The majority of tribes express a sense of national unity through phrases such as "We are all Kenyans." However, some Kenyan Asian respondents expressed the view that simply identifying as Kenyan was inadequate. One respondent articulated this sentiment by stating, "It's all right to be proud to be Kenyan, but don't you yearn to be proud to belong to something more?" (Kenyan Asian R16_R16_51).

This statement suggests that the national identity alone may not provide a strong sense of belonging for some individuals. According to Jørgensen and Phillips (2000), the existence of a nation and a national identity is often accompanied by a desire for independence. However, in the Kenyan context, the national discourse appears to be secondary to the tribal discourse. Since Kenya gained independence relatively recently, the dominance of the national discourse may strengthen over time, as suggested by Jørgensen and Phillips (2000).

In summary, the interviews revealed the complexity of national identity among Kenyan Asians, with no clear consensus on their identity as Kenyans. The concept of tribe, on the other hand, appeared more defined and influential. The national discourse, although widely embraced, may not fully satisfy the desire for a deeper sense of belonging, indicating the potential dominance of the tribal discourse. As Kenya's national identity continues to evolve, it may gain prominence over time, shaping the dynamics of identity and belonging (Frederiksen, 2010; Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000).

5.7 Ethnocentrism, Culture and Tribalism

Ethnocentrism, culture, and tribalism are complex and interconnected phenomena that have profound implications for society. In the context of Kenya, these issues have played a significant role in shaping the country's history and social dynamics, particularly concerning the Kenyan Asian community.

Ethnocentric evaluation of other cultures using preconceived notions derived from one's own norms and conventions. In Kenya, ethnocentrism has had a notable impact on the country's politics and social relations, with different ethnic groups competing for power and resources.

This has resulted in tensions and conflicts between various groups and fostered mistrust and suspicion among them. Culture refers to a particular group of people's shared beliefs, values, customs, and practices. Kenya has many different cultures, each with its unique traditions and ways of life. Various factors, including history, geography, religion, and social dynamics, have shaped these cultures.

Culture encompasses the shared beliefs, values, customs, and practices of a specific group of people. Kenya is home to numerous diverse cultures, each with its own unique traditions and ways of life. These cultures have been shaped by a variety of factors, including historical events, geographical influences, religious beliefs, and social dynamics.

Tribalism refers to the loyalty and identification with one's own ethnic or tribal group, often at the expense of other groups. Tribalism has been a major factor in Kenyan politics, with politicians regularly using ethnic and tribal identities as a way to win votes and gain control. This has exacerbated tensions and mistrust between various ethnic groups and stymied efforts to create a society that is more inclusive and united.

For Kenyan Asians, these issues have manifested in complex ways. Kenya Asians are a minority in the nation, and they have a history that is deeply entwined with colonization, migration, and political changes. They are frequently seen as being socially and culturally different from other Kenyans, which has occasionally led to tensions and confrontations. One example of this is how Kenyan Asians have been viewed as outsiders by some Kenyans, partly due to ethnocentric attitudes that consider them culturally and racially inferior.

As discussed in Chapter 2, during the colonial period, the British employed the divide-and-rule strategy, creating ethnic tensions and segregating Kenyans into various racial and ethnic groups, further accentuating the perceived separation between Kenyan Asians and indigenous Africans.

However, in recent years, there has been an increasing recognition of the contributions that Kenyan Asians have made to the country, particularly in the realms of business, education, philanthropy and culture. There is also a growing appreciation for the diversity and richness of

Kenya's different cultures and a recognition that all Kenyans have a role to play in fostering a more inclusive and equitable society.

The respondents in this study were well aware of how political leaders exploit tribalism to secure the support of their ethnic groups.

As one respondent stated, "everything in Kenya has a tribal foundation" (Kenyan Asian R14_R14_24). This phenomenon is prevalent in pluralistic societies, as discussed in Chapter 2, where ethnic belonging is often seen as a form of group competition (Eriksen, 2002). Respondents also expressed concerns about the use of native languages by political leaders during nationwide campaigns, as it can contribute to fostering a sense of division and animosity: "it orates hatred" (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_5).

Marriage emerged as a significant issue raised by the majority group: "if I took home an Indian girlfriend to introduce her to my folks, my father will have a heart attack" (Kenyan African R1_R1-34).

"growing up, we were trained to be ethnocentric, to put our culture above all else. Tradition is a beautiful thing, but it's too much trouble than it's worth. It should just die." (Kenyan Asian R7_R7_5).

The assertions made above reflect the tension and conflicts that can arise when cultural traditions clash with changing societal norms and aspirations.

The findings also highlight the potential impact of traditions on individuals: "ethnocentrism is a part of Kenya. But it's hard to comprehend those cultures are just diverse, and none is superior to another..." (Kenyan Asian R21_R21_30). This statement indicates that individuals often hold firm to their own cultures and traditions without considering the richness and value of other existing cultures, thereby contributing to Kenya's ethnocentric inclinations.

In summary, ethnocentrism, culture, and tribalism are intertwined phenomena that have had significant implications for Kenyan society. These issues have influenced the history, politics, and social dynamics of the country, particularly with regard to the Kenyan Asian community. While progress has been made in recognizing the contributions of Kenyan Asians and appreciating the diversity of cultures in the country, tensions and conflicts arising from ethnocentrism and tribalism continue to challenge the goal of fostering a more inclusive and harmonious society (Eriksen, 2002).

5.8 The Politicisation of Identity

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 has shed light on the significant impact of the colonial period on the present state of independent African nations. Scholars have taken differing positions on the magnitude of the colonial era's influence and its lasting effects. One perspective argues that the colonial era's impact was less significant compared to the enduring legacies left behind by the colonisers, suggesting that the colonial period may have been overemphasised (Simon & Grabow, 2010). On the other hand, an opposing viewpoint attributes the current state of African states, particularly in terms of government functioning and intergroup relations, to the colonial era and its role in shaping ethnic and racial divisions among citizens (Checkel & Katzenstein, 2009).

The findings of this study align with Mahmood Mamdani's theory, which offers insights into the Rwandan genocide of 1994. Mamdani posits that the violence perpetrated during the genocide was perceived as a necessary purification process to rid the nation of the colonisers' legacy of violence. According to Mamdani, the Rwandan genocide can be understood as a product of the colonial administration's construction of a "native genocide," whereby the Tutsi population was labelled as outsiders and subjected to racial branding (Mamdani, 2020). This analysis reveals that the crimes of colonialism extended beyond the seizure of native lands and encompassed the politicisation of indigeneity itself. Mamdani further argues that Africans should consider political identities as historical constructs that are not fixed or unchanging realities.

In summary, the literature demonstrates divergent perspectives on the colonial period's impact and its lasting effects on African nations. Mahmood Mamdani's theory regarding the Rwandan genocide offers valuable insights into the politicisation of identity and the enduring consequences of colonial legacies. This highlights the need to critically examine political identities in African contexts as historical constructs that have been influenced by colonialism, rather than viewing them as static or essentialist categories (Mamdani, 2020).

5.9 Race and "Biological Nationalism"

The official declaration by the Kenyan government that "all Kenyans are native regardless of their race" extends to all citizens, including Kenyan Asians. This signifies that the nation is perceived as belonging to individuals from both African ethnic/racial groups and non-African racial groups, such as Indians. This declaration establishes the recognition of all Kenyan Asians

as part of the "native" population, a designation that has been further reinforced through the presidential recognition of Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe.

The factor of race has become an integral part of the daily experiences of many Kenyan Asians. When Kenyan Africans encounter Kenyan Asians in public spaces, there are often whispered terms like "Muindi," which contribute to a sense of estrangement. Similarly, Kenyan Asians have also contributed to the perception of difference by referring to their Kenyan counterparts as "Africans." This phenomenon can be understood as a legacy of colonialism, but it also serves as a marker of racial distinctions.

5.10 Cultural Citizenship

One intriguing finding, as noted by McIntosh (2016), is that "Asians in Kenya are not deemed fit to fully embrace the stereotype of the 'wenyeji,' a Kiswahili term referring to 'local inhabitants' who may not fully appreciate the cultural citizenship in the nation as a whole." To emphasise their belonging to Kenya, Kenyan Asians have employed various strategies, one of which involves showcasing their "cultural citizenship," such as enrolling in Kenyan schools (Dolby, 2006). During the research, a respondent highlighted the hostility faced by Kenyan Asians but was keen to point out that he never missed an opportunity to attend public functions. Another respondent, a successful businessman born and raised in Kenya, emphasised that: "All of us, regardless of our races, are Kenyans, and the culture is not that dissimilar. Our upbringing is more or less the same, and the education system we all went through is not different. Education has a way of bringing people together. The significant thing bringing us [ethnic Asians from Kenya and Asia] together is the religion, a bit of language, and our diverse skin colours. If not, the background can have a very immense influence on somebody's life" (Kenyan Asian R15_R15_19).

When respondents were asked about the factors that divide them from Kenyan Africans, they mentioned the difference in religious beliefs. A significant proportion of Kenyan Africans identify as Christians. The divisions between Asians and Kenyan Africans are further exacerbated by differences in religious beliefs and affiliations. Additionally, Kenyan Asians have historically experienced political marginalisation, which has persisted since the colonial period. However, they have achieved prosperity in entrepreneurial activities, which has earned them prestige over their Kenyan African counterparts, leading to perceptions of inferiority among the latter in this sector. These divisions and the dominance of Christianity in Kenyan

politics have hindered the social integration of these communities into a larger cohesive society.

5.11 Kenyan Asians as "Ambiguous Citizens"

Various Kenyan Asians perceive and respond to the apparent lack of acceptance and integration into the larger Kenyan society differently, according to responses given by the participants. Respondent R3_R3_33, in his mid-40s, identifies himself as Kenyan in all aspects. His parents came from families that were urbanised during the colonial era, and his grandfather worked as a labourer. While his immediate family categorises themselves as Hindus, he considers himself to live a Kenyan life, engaging in activities that are typical of Kenyans, such as going to clubs. Despite his efforts to integrate, he has experienced hostility and a sense of social disconnection, which was particularly evident during the post-election violence in 2007 when he was targeted in an attack that he attributes to business and economic competition. These experiences reflect the challenges faced by Kenyan Asians in feeling a sense of national identity.

Narratives like the one described above raise important questions about the criteria that define a person as a legitimate citizen. Despite the significant contributions of individuals of Asian descent to the construction of the Kenyan economy, they are often perceived as foreigners. One respondent expressed his ambiguous nationality as a Kenyan in terms of personal safety:

"I have had this discerning thought for a long time, and I still do - I'll lay low, work as hard as I can, put my kids in private school, get private healthcare, erect high walls, hire a lot of security guards, and I'll be okay..." (Kenyan Asian, R14_R14_19).

5.12 Changing Identification

The Afro barometer data provides evidence of a gradual shift in the emphasis on ethnic identification compared to national identification among Kenyans (Todd et al., 2006). When asked about their preferred mode of identification, Kenyan Asians showed a preference for national identification rather than ethnic identification. However, it is important to note that these findings only indicate the desire of Kenyan Asians to be recognised as ordinary citizens of the state and do not provide insights into the everyday experiences of individuals. The research conducted for this study highlights the ambiguity surrounding the citizenship of Kenyan Asians, as they are often perceived as not racially or culturally belonging in Kenya.

5.13 Take Away Points: The Question of Belonging

The issue of belonging has been a recurring theme in the discussion surrounding Kenyan Asians, and the findings of this study reveal that despite efforts towards cohesion and acceptance of Kenya's diverse races, Kenyan Asians still face challenges in fully integrating into the national identity. While the new constitution holds promise for greater inclusion, its impact on legislation and practical implementation is still evolving. Despite some Kenyan Asians holding positions of socioeconomic and political prominence, they continue to occupy an "ambiguous citizen" status, neither fully embraced as part of the country nor fully excluded from it. The term "Asian" serves as an umbrella term for a heterogeneous population, with its meaning as either an "insider" or an "outsider" contingent upon specific circumstances (The Daily Nation, February 2019). The concept of the "ambiguous citizen" encompasses the diverse perceptions of Asians in Kenya that have emerged from various historical trajectories. Notions of "growth in numbers" and "economic strength" are associated with Kenyan Asians, although they represent a small yet noticeable group (Lochery, 2012).

Building on the discussions presented in this thesis, Kenyan Asians find themselves situated in the "grey spaces" that lie between legitimacy and exclusion, consent and devastation. These "grey spaces" are shaped by a range of actors, including non-Asian Kenyan politicians, and are characterised by the rise of "persistent" informalities that are often subjected to delegitimization and criminalisation (Yiftachel, 2006). These dynamics contribute to the preservation of ambiguous spaces, where certain actions and populations exist in a state of "permanent temporariness," simultaneously endured and destined, perpetually awaiting resolution (Yiftachel, 2006).

During the colonial era, the British administration governed their "foreign" Indian subjects by intentionally keeping their legal status vague, debatable, and ill-defined (Gupta, 1998b). This sense of "otherness" has persisted over time, and the language of "othering" has transformed from that of labourers and subjects. The Kenyan government continues to employ political tactics such as screening, registration, and checkpoints, perpetuating a sense of ambiguity in the status of Kenyan Asians.

McIntosh (2016) argues that embracing a "cosmopolitan ideal" and promoting a civic nationalism that welcomes all groups engaged in the nation can be a way for Kenyan Asians to assert their Kenyan identity (Omenya, 2002). As evidenced in the study, Kenya's self-perception as a diverse nation is reflected in the mechanisms of citizen-making employed by

the state, as exemplified by the census and elections. It is contended that many Kenyan Asians are ready to seize the opportunity to assert their Kenyanness if given the chance.

5.14 Chapter Summary

This chapter has examined key themes emerging from the research, contextualised within the existing academic literature. The interviews conducted revealed the presence of community members who are descendants of pre-partition Indian immigrants. The socio-economic challenges faced by Kenya, including gross inequalities and poverty among the majority of Kenyan Africans, have also impacted the way of life of Kenyan Asians and contributed to their emigration to other countries. Kenyan Asians have historically experienced oppression political upheaval, and displacement. These experiences shaped their identities and created a sense of otherness among Kenyans. Kenyan Asians are renowned for their entrepreneurship, philanthropy, and they are reluctant to be categorized into one group based only on tribal affiliations.

On the other hand, some Kenyan Africans welcome the recognition of Kenyan Asians as "Tribe 44," seeing it as a means to solidify their place in Kenya. The perception of Kenyan Asians as wealthier and more successful than Kenyan Africans is not unfounded, given their historical economic advantage in the country. These differing cultural and theological perspectives between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians contribute to tensions and unfavourable perceptions. Although intermarriage within the two groups is still uncommon, religion and marriage are two areas where such conflicts are evident. The Kenyan Africans view marriage with the Kenyan Asians as a social unifier.

In order to address the tensions and perceptions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans in the next chapter, a PRAXIS model was developed using the study's findings as its basis. The Africanisation policy implemented in Kenya sidelined Kenyan Asians in various aspects, including trade, right to own land, opportunities in the civil service, citizenship rights, and social relations with Kenyan Africans.

Kenyan Asian issues and interests were often ignored or underrepresented by Kenyan African politicians who perceived them primarily as businessmen lacking political acumen. Consequently, many Kenyan Asians have focused on maintaining economic stability and retreated into their comfort zones. Stereotyping of Kenyan Asians can be attributed to the competition they pose to Kenyan African politicians and business interests in the face of multinational corporations.

The majority of Kenyan Asians who participated in this research identify themselves as Kenyans based on their nationality, cultural background, and economic contributions. The findings support the notion that national identity is characterised by attachment to a geographically defined area, active participation in socio-political and economic development, and loyalty as a citizen (Dittmer, 2004). Language, heritage, ethnicity, and the group's historical position within society contribute to a sense of common interest and foster nationalism (Dittmer, 2004). Kenyan Asians have maintained a strong cultural identity, evident in their language, cuisine, and religious practices. While some accusations of divided loyalty have been made, with Kenyan Asians being perceived as more loyal to India than Kenya, many Kenyan Asians strongly identify as Kenyans and have made substantial contributions to the country's development. The loyalty of Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans to Kenya is influenced by their nationality, tribe and religion.

The relationship between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians has been characterised by perceptions and tensions over the years, with economic inequality being a primary source of tension. Kenyan Asians are often viewed as wealthier and more successful, leading to feelings of resentment and envy among Kenyan Africans. These findings align with Cheeseman's (2015) observations that Kenyan Africans tend to view Kenyan Asians as outsiders from racial, political, and economic perspectives.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

6.1 Overall Conclusions

The conclusions drawn from this dissertation highlight the detrimental impact of racial allegiances that pit one tribe against another based on arbitrary standards, which ultimately undermine human dignity. Constructive pursuits of self-interest align with the interests of others to achieve common goals; however, when self-interest is pursued at the expense of others, it becomes destructive. The promotion of shared interests within a democratically structured community is the most effective way to ensure that everyone has access to an acceptable quality of life. Ethnic identity, when used sparingly, does not divide or alienate individuals. Therefore, the findings of this study encourage both Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians to engage in self-reflection and reduce the negative effects of ethnicity.

Self-reflection has the potential to transform individuals into beings who surpass individual and collective egoism by embracing high-order values such as truth, the well-being of all ethnic communities worldwide, and the interconnectedness of humankind. This self-reflection will foster tolerance among the diverse ethnic groups in Kenya. Critical thinking, characterised by rational judgment based on evidence, is essential in dismantling hasty decision-making processes that favour one option over another. It empowers individuals to take personal responsibility for their decisions and actions, reducing blind ethnic loyalties and conformity to established cultural norms that perpetuate ethnic chauvinism and impunity. In terms of equality of opportunity, Kenyan Asians must have the same possibilities and opportunities for involvement and representation in a democratic society as other Kenyans.

Political engagement plays a significant role in forging allegiance and identification with the Kenyan nation, of which Asians are a part. However, the exercise of popular sovereignty has been undermined by the position of power and domination held by Kenyan Africans, leading to discrimination and alienation that contradict the principles of participatory democracy. Recognizing the need for the inclusion of minorities as a political rights issue and an avenue for economic and political progress is crucial. This study has demonstrated that a combination of internal and external factors has contributed to the persistent exclusion and alienation of Kenyan Asians, reflecting the challenges Kenya faces in addressing issues related to race, ethnicity, leadership, and integration.

Creating an inclusive atmosphere and establishing fair processes pose significant challenges that require prioritisation to foster the flourishing of participatory democracy in Kenya. The

opportunities and constraints identified in this study fall within the scope of addressing these challenges. However, it is essential to acknowledge that while the adoption and acknowledgement of these principles would provide support for the inclusion of the Kenyan Asian community, additional work will be necessary to address the challenge of Kenyan Asian identity. The praxis model, introduced in the following chapter, contributes to this endeavour.

In summary, this study has presented Kenya as a multi-ethnic society with over 40 ethnic groups, each characterised by distinct cultural practices, languages, and beliefs. These ethnic identities play a significant role in shaping individual and collective identities in Kenya. Religion is another important factor that defines Kenyan identity, with Christianity and Islam serving as dominant religions, alongside traditional African religions in some communities. Religious beliefs and practices influence values, worldviews, and individuals' sense of belonging in Kenya. Furthermore, language emerges as a crucial factor in defining Kenyan identity, with Swahili and English serving as official languages, while various ethnic groups maintain their distinct languages. Language use is closely tied to ethnic identity and can shape individuals' sense of belonging and inclusion.

Political and economic factors also play a significant role in shaping Kenyan identity. The struggle for independence and subsequent political upheavals have shaped Kenyan identity and the socio-political landscape of the country. Economic factors, including poverty and inequality, influence social status and access to resources. As descendants of Indian immigrants who arrived in Kenya during the colonial era, Kenyan Asians possess a distinct cultural identity that has been shaped by their experiences of living in Kenya.

6.2 Priorities for Change

Drawing from the research findings presented in this dissertation, it is evident that several crucial areas demand attention to realize the goal of fostering a shared national identity.

6.2.1 National Identity

Based on the research findings presented in this dissertation, the majority of Kenyan Asian respondents identify themselves as Kenyan nationals, primarily based on factors such as their place of birth, cultural affiliations, and substantial economic contributions to the country. Over time, their ties to Kenya have grown stronger, diminishing the significance of India as a distant "homeland," particularly among second and third-generation immigrants. This research underscores the substantial political and economic contributions made by Kenyan Asians to

Kenya, justifying their recognition as Kenyan citizens rather than being perceived as foreigners within the national borders.

Conversely, for Kenyan Africans, their ethnicity and identity are closely intertwined with factors such as their place of birth, tribal affiliation, and religion. Scholars like Ochieng (2008) emphasize the critical role of identity, culture, tribe, and ethnicity in defining a nation, and these elements significantly contribute to Kenyan Africans' sense of national identity. Additionally, Wanyonyi (2017) defines a tribe as a collective group characterized by shared heritage and relatively lower socioeconomic development, underscoring the significance of tribal relationships in discussions of nationality and identity among Kenyan Africans.

Kenyan Asians, as the descendants of Indian immigrants who arrived during the colonial era to participate in the construction of the Uganda Railway, have established themselves as a prominent business community and have made significant contributions to Kenya's economic development. However, their presence in Kenya has been marked by tensions and conflicts, particularly during the post-colonial period characterized by discrimination and persecution. In contrast, Kenyan Africans, as the indigenous people of Kenya, exhibit diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds deeply rooted in the land and their traditions. Despite their struggles with colonialism and discrimination, Kenyan Africans maintain a robust sense of pride and identity in their heritage.

The identities of both Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans have been moulded by their encounters with colonization, migration, and assimilation into Kenyan society. Nevertheless, these identities are also subject to the impacts of factors like race, ethnicity, religion, language, and socioeconomic standing. In more recent times, there has been a growing acknowledgement of the significance of commemorating and embracing the diversity inherent in Kenya's populace, encompassing the multifaceted identities of Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. The Kenyan government has initiated measures to foster inclusivity and diversity through policies that recognize the contributions and entitlements of all communities.

6.2.2 Negative Perceptions

The findings of this study reveal that one of the root causes of hostility between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians can be traced back to their differing cultural and religious perspectives. The research demonstrates that some Kenyan Asians harbour negative views of Kenyan Africans, labelling them as "thieves" and corrupt, while Kenyan Africans, in turn, accuse Kenyan Asians of being "racist" and corrupt. In a society characterized by a rich tapestry

of ethnic groups and cultural traditions, race relations become even more significant, as the population is divided not just along racial lines but also in terms of language, culture, values, and religion. In the absence of a shared perspective or a strong sense of national identity that transcends ethnic and racial differences, an atmosphere of hostility and suspicion can emerge (Omenya, 2002).

The study also concludes that, as time has passed, interactions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians have become more frequent, resulting in increased intercultural awareness and understanding. As a consequence, many of the previous stereotypes and biases held by both groups have started to get challenged, leading to a greater recognition of shared histories, struggles, and aspirations. This shift in perspective has resulted in enhanced cooperation and collaboration across various domains, including business, politics, education, and social services.

Despite these positive developments, significant challenges persist in addressing the negative perceptions and biases that exist between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. These challenges encompass issues concerning exclusion, marginalization, and discrimination, particularly in relation to political representation, economic opportunities, and educational access. Moreover, deeply entrenched stereotypes and prejudices continue to shape the perceptions and interactions between these two groups.

6.2.3 Mutual Tensions

This study concludes that the tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians have been a persistent issue in the country for several decades. A complex mix of historical, political, economic, and social factors, including colonialism, land ownership, ethnic identity, political representation, and access to resources, have fuelled these tensions. The study demonstrates a lack of integration between the communities of Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians in terms of food, housing, health, business and equality, resulting in social conflicts. The substantial differences in the social structures of the two communities are a major source of conflict because Kenyan Africans perceive Kenyan Asians as a wealthy minority group that is motivated to maintain the current socio-economic situation. However, the lack of social integration between the communities is attributed to each group's respective theological and historical perceptions. Because Kenyan Asians are socially cut off from the rest of Kenya, tensions and mistrust are heightened. Between the businesspeople in the two groups, there are very few commercial alliances and associations. As a result, some Asians in Kenya are pushing

for improved relations and integration through advocacy initiatives that dispel erroneous and outdated views and prejudices, many of which were shaped by colonial rule.

One of the main sources of tension between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians can be traced back to the colonial period when British colonial authorities favoured the Asian population over the African population. The Asians were granted more rights and privileges. The legacy of colonialism has created deep-seated resentment among many Kenyan Africans who feel sidelined and excluded from the country's economic power structures.

Furthermore, the study concludes that the issue of land ownership has been a contentious one between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. It is a common belief among many Kenyan Africans that Kenyan Asians acquired extensive land holdings illegally during the colonial era and have subsequently used their economic influence to maintain control over these resources. However, historical evidence contradicts this notion. In 1903, Sir Charles Eliot, a diplomat and colonial administrator, initiated the policy of white supremacy in Kenya and explicitly instructed his Land officer not to grant land in the Highlands to Indians. This directive laid the foundation for the controversial White Highlands Policy (Coldham, 1979). Indians fought relentlessly for land rights and against discrimination, but they faced significant challenges while trying to open up the Highlands to Indian farmers.

Significant changes began to unfold after World War II, with indications of constitutional reforms that favoured Africans. Ultimately, in 1960, the legal underpinnings of the Highlands policy were dismantled, marking the end of the settlers' dream to establish a "white man's country" in Kenya (Coldham, 1979). This historical context underscores the need to reconsider prevailing misconceptions about land ownership and its historical complexities in Kenya.

Economic competition and disparities have undeniably played a significant role in aggravating tensions between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians. It is a prevailing sentiment among many Kenyan Africans that Kenyan Asians control substantial influence over the nation's economy, especially within the retail and trade sectors. This perception has fuelled the belief that Kenyan Asians employ their economic leverage to both marginalize and exploit Kenyan African workers and businesses.

6.2.4 Social Integration

This study was conducted to proactively contribute to the integration of Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians, with the ultimate goal of improving the social, political, and economic future

of the nation and its citizens. The study recognizes that changing behaviour and fostering integration require a progression from awareness to internalization.

Overall, the findings of this study underscore the importance of social integration in building a cohesive and harmonious society where individuals from diverse backgrounds can coexist peacefully, respect differences, and collaborate towards shared objectives. When communities are socially integrated, individuals experience a sense of belonging and are more likely to engage in positive interactions with people from different backgrounds. However, for policymakers, community leaders, and other stakeholders to effectively design and implement interventions to promote social integration, it is crucial to have up-to-date information and insights. Regular studies on the social integration of communities, particularly in areas where tensions or conflicts between different groups may exist, are necessary. These studies can provide valuable insights into the strengths and weaknesses of social integration efforts, identify effective strategies, and inform the development of evidence-based policies and programs that foster social integration.

6.3 Inclusive Innovation Praxis Model

The Master's in Philosophy Inclusive Innovation program, within which this study exists, presents a unique opportunity to develop an inclusive praxis model that can offer practical solutions to the issues identified in the research. The need for such interventions in Kenya is urgent, given the long-standing tensions that have characterized Kenyan politics. The eruption of tribalism in 2007 resulted in a devastating loss of lives and the internal displacement of thousands of people.

Addressing the social problem of the lack of recognition and inclusivity of Kenyan Asians as a Kenyan tribe necessitates a social innovation capable of providing an effective, efficient, and sustainable solution. Social innovation serves as a valuable framework for understanding and generating sustainable social change, focusing on benefits accruing to society as a whole rather than just private individuals. In this context, the proposed social innovation will function as a tool to promote the positive social integration of Kenyan Asians into broader Kenyan society.

An inclusive social movement is oriented towards enhancing the participation of diverse and informal social networks to enhance the capabilities, opportunities, and dignities of various identities, particularly those who are less privileged within a society. Inclusive societies prioritize the empowerment of all individuals, regardless of factors such as age, gender, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, religion, economic status, or other considerations, across

social, economic, and political spheres. Therefore, an inclusive social movement like "Tribe44" has the potential to foster cohesion and integration among Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans across various socio-economic, political, and cultural domains.

6.3.1 Social Integration of Kenyan Asians

The social integration of Kenyan Asians holds significant importance in shaping their cultural heritage and cultivating a sense of belonging within the wider society. Nevertheless, there are pressing issues related to the preservation and promotion of their identity that require innovative solutions. The proposed "Tribe44" model presents a potential remedy to advance and strengthen the social integration of Kenyan Asians. This model involves a digital campaign that leverages the influence of social media and community involvement to commemorate the ethnic identity of Kenyan Asians, with a particular focus on the 44 recognized Asian communities in Kenya, each of which embodies distinct cultures, languages, and traditions.

In the digital era, social media platforms have emerged as global tools that facilitate the creation of awareness, amplification of voices, and advocacy for social change. Through social media, individuals can easily highlight injustices and challenge unethical practices. People usually feel compelled to defend their rights, and one of the most common methods is through social movements. In such campaigns, activists announce their desire for equality, and freedom of expression, resulting in liberation from oppression. When a critical mass of people speaks out, social media becomes a potent force for prompting action from significant stakeholders, including governments, businesses, and individuals. Hashtag activism is the act of building public support through social media and this has proven effective in raising awareness of critical issues and mobilizing supporters to take action. Advocates can draw attention to their cause and connect with a vast audience by harnessing well-known hashtags, ultimately leading to increased awareness and support for the cause. The term "Tribe44" is commonly used in Kenya to refer to Kenyan Asians as the 44th Tribe. The #Tribe44 model strategically leverages this phenomenon by employing the Tribe44 hashtag across various social media platforms, including Instagram, Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, and TikTok.

This model for advancing social integration takes inspiration from the transformative influence of social media platforms, a phenomenon exemplified by events like the Arab Spring. The Arab Spring stands out as a prominent case study showcasing the potent capacity of social media in mobilizing and amplifying voices advocating for social change.

To effectively implement the #Tribe44 model, it is crucial to adopt a comprehensive framework that fosters intercultural understanding and communication. The Intercultural Praxis model provides a suitable foundation for the execution of the #Tribe44 model. This framework prioritizes the integration of practical steps and strategies with intercultural communication principles, facilitating meaningful interactions and dialogues between diverse ethnic groups. Through the amalgamation of these components, the #Tribe44 initiative can actively promote the social integration of Kenyan Asians and contribute to the overall harmony and cohesion of Kenyan society.

The subsequent section will delve into the proposed approach for implementing this initiative, delineating specific measures and strategies to attain the envisioned objectives.

6.3.2 Platform Implementation

The hash tag #Tribe44 will be implemented on various social media platforms and will be open for engagement by any Kenyan.

Purpose and goals

The objective of the movement is to facilitate the social integration of Kenyan Asians into the wider Kenyan society, utilizing the #Tribe44 hashtag as a central element. Multiple social media platforms will be utilised to enhance awareness, stimulate dialogue, exchange experiences, and promote cultural engagement. The researcher will customize the content and strategy on social media to address the particular challenges, requirements, and aspirations of the target audience.

The social media platforms will provide an avenue for participatory dialogue where interactive engagements can take place such as sharing comments, feedback, asking questions, posting content such as articles and videos. s

Target Audience

- Kenyan Asians
- African Kenyans
- Organisations working to promote social integration and ethnic cohesion
- Any other person or organisation interested in diversity and multiculturalism.

Proposed Social Media Strategy

- Defining Campaign Goals such as building the Tribe44 brand, increasing engagement

- Identifying the social media channels that will be used such as TikTok, Twitter, Facebook and YouTube
- Planning the social media campaign strategies for example, specific types of posts or videos that will feature key messaging and visuals to support the goals.
- Choosing the metrics to monitor per platform for example for Instagram, use the Instagram story poll to capture, for Facebook would be the number of likes and shares.
- Create a social media content calendar to clearly plan, prepare and organise the upcoming campaign content by date and channel. This will ensure that we know what is going live and when.
- Designing compelling content will can be posted according to the calendar.
- Monitor and respond to activities on the posts.

Proposed Social Media Content

- **Create A Twitter Handle**

A Twitter account with a #Tribe44 Username will be created with a brief description of the handle's purpose in the Twitter profile. The profile will have a compelling header image and profile picture that visually represents the intended message. A mix of images, videos, texts, polls, and hashtags will be used to engage the target audience. The researcher will engage and collaborate with organisations and influential individuals working to promote similar goals to amplify the reach and impact of the handle. The handle will be promoted using professional and personal networks, leveraging other social media platforms such as WhatsApp, TikTok, Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube. The researcher will monitor and measure the success of the Twitter handle using in-built analytics and third-party tools. Analytics will provide insights to adjust the content strategy to improve the effectiveness of the channel.

- **Create Facebook Page**

Facebook is at the top of the social media game because its platform appeals to a diverse range of users, combining a number of media elements ranging from photographs to messages to text. The researcher will create a Facebook account and a page with an appropriate category specifically dedicated to #Tribe44 with a customised profile describing the purpose and goals of the page. The page will be linked to other accounts that align with social integration, Asian culture, diversity, and ethnic cohesion in Kenya. Metrics like views, likes, engagement rate, shares and audience demographics will be collected after every campaign.

- **Create A TikTok Channel**

TikTok also allows activists, regardless of their following size, to publish content that is particularly relevant to them. One of the key reasons TikTok has been so popular is that it focuses on the one type of content that generates the greatest interaction - short-form videos that always capture viewers' attention. The research will create a TikTok channel for the #Tribe44 for audio and video sharing. The audio and videos will contain the demographic of presenters and conversation as in the Podcast channel.

- **Create A YouTube Channel**

The most popular online video channel is YouTube. One of the main reasons YouTube's popularity has exploded over the years is its simplicity. YouTube makes it incredibly simple for content producers to reach a wide audience with their work. Video interviews with prominent Kenyan Asian industrialists and personalities will be shared, historical videos of Asian migration into Kenya will also be shared. YouTube analytics is an effective tool that provides in-depth information and statistics on a channel's effectiveness and viewer engagement. Views, watch time, demographics, and interaction data like likes, comments, and shares will be collected and analysed.

6.3.3 Implementation Schedule and Activities

Phase 1: Pre-launch Phase (Week 1-2)

Objective: The researcher will lay the foundation for the social media campaign and build anticipation among the target audience.

Actions: the actions will include developing a detailed social media strategy and content plan. Different types of social media accounts and a campaign poster will be created. Identify influential individuals and organisations and release teaser posts to initial collaboration.

Phase 2: Awareness and Education (Week 3-8)

Objective: This will involve raising awareness about the history, contributions, and shared experiences of Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.

Actions: Post educational article, infographics, and videos. Host webinars and online panel discussions on various platforms. Running a series of social media contests and featuring personal stories on various platforms.

Phase 3: Media and Communication (Week 9-16)

Objective: Amplify the campaign message through media partnerships and impactful storytelling.

Actions: Collaborate with media outlets for interviews and articles. Conduct Q&A sessions and share audio and video clips on platforms such as YouTube and TikTok, Twitter and Facebook.

Phase 4: Intercommunity Events and Programs (Week 17-28):

Objective: Organise a face-to-face interactions and virtual engagements between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.

Actions: Promotion of cultural events through social media posts and live streaming. Organise virtual exchange programs and workshops.

Phase 5: Collaborative Projects (Week 29-38):

Objective: Organise joint projects with collaborators to showcase the collective achievements of both communities.

Actions: Launching a social media campaign for joint projects, collaborate influencers and content creators.

Phase 6: Stakeholder Involvement (Week 39-42):

Objective: Engaging key stakeholders including the like-minded organisations to actively participate and endorse the campaign.

Actions: Conduct online forums and panel discussions with key stakeholders. Creating video testimonials and launching joint stakeholder advocacy campaigns.

Phase 7: Evaluation and Adaptation (Week 43-44):

Objective: Assess the campaign's impact and make necessary adjustments for future initiatives.

Actions: Analyse social media metrics and gather feedback. Summarise outcomes in a comprehensive report.

Revenue Generation Strategies:

- Social Enterprise and Corporate Sponsorships
- Donations and Crowdfunding
- Membership or Subscription Program
- Merchandise and Online Store
- Collaborative Projects and Ventures
- Grant Funding and Partnerships
- Social Media Advertising and Influencer Marketing
- Event Sponsorships and Ticket Sales
- Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) Collaborations

Incorporating revenue generation strategies will sustain the campaign initiatives while promoting social integration and inclusivity in Kenya.

6.4 Areas of Future Research

The study has effectively examined the factors contributing to racial identity and variations in identity perceptions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. However, there are certain limitations that should be addressed in future research within this domain. Firstly, forthcoming studies should delve into the economic disparities between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, exploring their historical origins and their contemporary impact on both communities. Such research could provide valuable insights into potential strategies for mitigating economic inequality, thereby facilitating the enhanced recognition of Kenyan Asian identity.

Secondly, future research endeavours should prioritize the investigation of identity formation and integration processes. An in-depth exploration of how the historical experiences of Kenyan Asians, encompassing discrimination, political upheaval, and displacement, have shaped their identities and perceptions of belonging in Kenyan society is warranted. This line of inquiry would contribute to a deeper understanding of the factors contributing to their perceived 'otherness' and would inform the development of strategies aimed at fostering greater social integration and inclusivity.

Further research in this area could encompass an examination of ethnic and tribal dynamics to explore the implications of categorizing Kenyan Asians as "Tribe 44" and its influence on their position within Kenyan society. Investigating the attitudes of various Kenyan ethnic groups

towards the recognition of Kenyan Asians as a distinct Kenyan tribe would offer valuable insights into the intricacies of identity politics in Kenya.

Additionally, future studies could focus on intermarriage patterns and the degree of social integration between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. Such research may yield a deeper understanding of the prevailing cultural and religious barriers, facilitating the identification of relevant strategies aimed at fostering increased social cohesion and acceptance of Kenyan Asians as the 44th tribe.

Another avenue for research could involve an investigation into the specific challenges faced by Kenyan Asians in terms of social integration and their identity as Kenyans, particularly in the context of growing inequities and adverse attitudes. The findings of such a study could serve as a foundation for the development of policies and programs geared towards supporting their social integration and recognition within Kenyan society.

Further research could delve into the development and evaluation of the PRAXIS model mentioned in the study's findings, offering valuable insights into effective strategies for addressing perceptions and tensions between ethnic groups. Additionally, a study assessing the effects of the #Tribe44 model would be instrumental in gauging the impact and scalability of the intervention, potentially identifying additional best practices for fostering greater harmony and cooperation among various communities in Kenya.

These emerging research areas have the potential to significantly enhance our understanding of the historical and cultural relationships between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans. The findings could be instrumental in strengthening social cohesion, reducing disparities, and creating a more inclusive society that fully embraces the inclusion of Kenyan Asians.

6.5 Study Limitations

This study faced certain limitations that should be considered in future research to ensure the reliability of study outcomes. The first limitation pertains to subjectivity and researcher bias, which are inherent in qualitative studies and can potentially influence data collection, analysis, and interpretation of findings. To mitigate this limitation, reflexivity and acknowledgment of the researcher's biases were employed through positionality statements, along with active reflection on potential research process influences. Additionally, peer debriefing involving a neutral researcher was used to minimize bias and enhance the credibility of the findings.

Secondly, the study primarily focused on the experiences and perceptions of Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans who were members of the Kenya Intercultural and Heritage Centre. This approach may have excluded the perspectives of individuals outside this particular context. However, qualitative research does not aim to generalise but rather represent claims of the target group.

Another challenge in comprehending the social integration of Kenyan Asians is the lack of contemporary scholarship on the subject. The absence of recent data and studies dedicated to this population has hindered the acquisition of a comprehensive understanding of the obstacles faced by Kenyan Asians in their integration process. Without up-to-date research, it becomes challenging to assess the current state of social integration, pinpoint specific areas of concern, and offer targeted solutions. In this regard, the existing literature in the review lacks seminal contributions, underscoring the need for the present study to address the gap in empirical research on Kenyan Asian social identity and integration.

Cultural and environmental factors also presented constraints. Given the limitations inherent in qualitative approaches, capturing the entire spectrum of influences on identity posed difficulties. However, these challenges were mitigated through data triangulation, incorporating in-depth interviews, open-ended questionnaires. The researcher further employed innovative methods like cultural probes to gather extensive and contextually rich data on the studied phenomena. To enhance the study's contextual understanding, these methodologies were complemented by a review of existing literature and input from subject matter experts. In conclusion, while qualitative studies offer valuable insights into intricate phenomena like Asian ethnic identity, it is imperative to acknowledge and address these limitations to ensure the study's rigor and reliability.

6.6 Closing Reflections

As a researcher exploring into the factors of a Kenyan identity, with a particular focus on Kenyan Asians, this study has been an inherently personal and profoundly meaningful journey for me. As a fourth-generation Kenyan Asian, I embarked on this intellectual journey with the aim of gaining a more profound comprehension of my own values, beliefs, choices, and behaviours in the context of my identity as a Kenyan. Over the course of this research, I have undergone a process of self-discovery, endeavouring to unravel the intricacies of my inner

identity and its intricate connection to the broader Kenyan society. It has proven to be an enlightening, contemplative, and occasionally confounding exploration. The deeper I delved into the underlying conflicts between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans, the more I felt a deep sense of connection and a responsibility towards my country and its future.

Sharing the findings of this study serves not only as a form of self-expression but also as a way to offer insights to fellow Kenyan Asians who may be on a similar journey of self-discovery. By delving into our heritage and tracing the paths our forebears took to reach Kenya, we can gain a deeper understanding of our roles within the broader narrative of our nation. This research has illuminated the intricate and multifaceted nature of identity formation in a diverse society such as Kenya. Through an exploration of historical, cultural, and social factors, I have garnered invaluable insights into the intricacies of Kenyan Asian identity and its interplay with the broader Kenyan society.

A pivotal finding from this study is the acknowledgment that Kenyan Asians possess a multifaceted identity that encompasses their Asian heritage alongside their experiences as Kenyan citizens. It has become evident that a Kenyan identity cannot be confined to a single dimension but is rather sculpted by an array of factors, including culture, history, language, and the socio-political milieu. Furthermore, this research has underscored the significance of social interactions and communal dynamics in shaping a Kenyan identity. Kenyan Asians, like other communities in Kenya, engage in various spheres of life that contribute to their self-perception as Kenyans. These interactions transpire within workplaces, educational institutions, places of worship, and community gatherings. Understanding these dynamics has provided invaluable insights into the intricate and diverse nature of the Kenyan identity.

The study has also shed light on the profound impact of historical experiences on the development of Kenyan Asian identity. The migration, settlement, and integration experiences of earlier generations have played a pivotal role in shaping the identity of Kenyan Asians over the course of time. From the early traders and professionals to subsequent generations who were born and raised in Kenya, this research illuminates the evolving nature of Kenyan Asian identity. Moreover, it is essential to recognize that identity is a dynamic concept, subject to change and adaptation. The study underscores how contextual factors, such as Kenya's ever-evolving social, political, and economic landscape, exert influence on the Kenyan Asian identity. As our nation advances and undergoes transformations, so too do the identities of its citizens. This necessitates the need for an ongoing exploration and comprehension of the

factors that mould and redefine the Kenyan identity, inclusive of the perspectives and experiences of Kenyan Asians.

As I conclude this study, I cannot help but be profoundly moved by its implications, particularly as a devoted Kenyan Asian deeply committed to the nation's future. This research has reaffirmed my resolute dedication to Kenya's advancement, unity, and prosperity. I firmly believe that embracing of our diverse identities and fostering a sense of shared belonging is imperative for our society's progress. This research has not only enriched my understanding of Kenyan Asian identity but has also ignited a renewed sense of optimism and determination within me. I am inspired to persist in advocating for a Kenya where every individual, regardless of their background, experiences a profound sense of belonging and enjoys equal opportunities to contribute to our shared future.

The study on the factors that define a Kenyan identity, with a specific focus on Kenyan Asians, has provided invaluable insights into the intricate nature of identity formation in Kenya. By recognising the multifaceted nature of Kenyan Asian identity, the influence of historical factors, and the significance of social interactions and community dynamics, we can promote understanding, inclusivity, and cohesion within our society. This research has been an exceptionally personal and transformative journey for me. It has deepened my perception of my own identity and reinforced my commitment to a future wherein all Kenyans can wholeheartedly embrace their diverse identities and collaboratively strive towards a more inclusive and prosperous nation.

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Appendix I – Participant Agreement Form

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY IN INCLUSIVE INNOVATION

INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM:

Participant name:

I volunteer to participate in a research project conducted by **Hital Muraj** as partial fulfilment of the requirements for the MPhil Degree at the Graduate School of Business. I understand that the research is designed to gather information about **What factors define a Kenyan Identity? The case of Kenyan Asians** and that I will be one of approximately **30** of people being interviewed for this research.

Background and purpose of the research

The population of Indians in East Africa sits at about 3 million people. Most of them arrived in the 19th Century as labourers to work on the Kenya-Uganda Railway by the British. Theirs is a story intertwined with colonialists bringing them all the way across the Indian Ocean, to a land alien to them that they adopted as home. My research will explore the perspectives, attitudes, anxieties and aspirations of Kenyan Asians today.

Ethics approval

Ethical consent for the study has been approved by the *UCT Commerce Faculty Ethics in Research Committee*

Participation and confidentiality

I understand that my participation in this research is voluntary, that I will not be compensated and that I may withdraw at any time.



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The interview will take approximately 45 - 60 minutes to complete and will be audio recorded.

I understand that I will not be identified by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure. Subsequent uses of records and data will be subject to standard data use policies which protect the anonymity of individuals and institutions.

Consent

I consent to participate in this interview, based on the terms outlined above and subject to the following additional condition of my own (if any).

Should you have any queries kindly use the following contact details:

Researcher: Hital Muraj
HTLHIT001@gsb.uct.ac.za +254722515022

Supervisor: Emeritus Professor Martin Hall
martinjohnhall21@gmail.com +2720580389

Signed by interviewee

Date

Signed by candidate

Signed by Student

Date: 27th November 2018



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Appendix II – Instrument – Quantitative

Hi - my name is Hital Muraj and I am an MPhil student at the University of Cape Town, South Africa. I am inviting you to help me collect some data relating to my dissertation project, "What are the factors that define a Kenyan Identity? The case of Kenyan Asians."

Before you commence on this survey please be informed that the data captured is anonymous and will be stored in Google's encrypted online storage servers. Please email me on hital.muraj@gmail.com if you have any further queries.

* Required

Are you born in Kenya? *

Yes

No

Do you hold a Kenyan passport or Identity Card (even if dual citizen) *

Yes

No

Are you comfortable with Swahili? (i.e. can manage a basic conversation) *

Yes

No

Do you currently reside in Kenya? *

Yes

No

What is your religion? *

Buddhism

Christianty

Hinduism

Islam

Would rather not comment

I do not follow a religion (Agnostic)

Other:

How long have your parents resided in Kenya? *

Less than 5 years

Between 5 - 10 years

Between 10 - 20 years

More than 20 years

They were born here

What is your ethnic affiliation? *

African

Asian

Other

Kenyan Asians

Which Kenyan-Asian community do you belong to? *

Goan

Gujarati

Punjabi

Shia

Sunni

Other:

As a Kenyan-Asian, which of the following 'labels' do you most identify with? Please select all that apply. *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

None of the above

Other:

If you were to pick only one 'label' to identify with, which one would it be? *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

Of the following, what 'label' do you LEAST identify with? *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

Why have you made this selection (referring to the question above: what 'label' do you LEAST identify with?

Which of the terms do you most identify with when referring to Kenyans of African descent? Please select all that apply. *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

None of the above

Are there any other terms that you may use?

If you were to pick only one term to identify Kenyans of African descent with, which one would it be? *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

Of the following, what term do you LEAST identify with? *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

Why have you made this selection (referring to the question above: what term do you LEAST identify with?

Within which county do you live? *

Please state the area of residence within the county (e.g. Kilimani, Nairobi). *

Are you aware of more recent (i.e. 'new generation') Kenyan-Asian immigrants who are resident here in Kenya? *

Yes

No

If so, do you know of any 'social labels' by which they are known?

Which description in your opinion best describes these recent immigrants within the context of the larger historical Kenyan-Asian community? *

An individual of Asian descent working in Kenya for economic gain only. They have no heritage ties to Kenya and her culture.

None of the above

With regards to your own family history, which of the following most accurately describes what brought your family to Kenya originally? *

A desire for land ownership

Economic gain through trade

Political reasons

To contribute through infrastructure development in Kenya

Which of the following apply to you and your family's current role in Kenya? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

Economic gain through trade

A desire for land ownership

Philanthropic reasons

Political reasons

We are part of the social fabric - Kenya is our heritage

We have nowhere else to go

To contribute through infrastructure development in Kenya

Other:

On July 21st, 2017, President Uhuru Kenyatta has gazetted the recognition of the Kenyans of Indian descent as the 44th tribe in Kenya and invited them to participate in the political, economic, cultural and social development of the nation. What emotions did this naming evoke within you? Select as many as apply. *

Annoyed

Appreciative

Certain

Delighted

Empowered

Frustrated

Hopeful

Indifferent

Mistreated

Mournful

Optimistic

Overjoyed

Pessimistic

Renewed

Resentful

Strengthened

Upset

Other:

What do you feel was the motivation for the creation of Tribe 44? *

For statistical purposes (such as census)

Political

To create social integration

To further enhance social integration

Other:

Have you personally experienced any tangible benefit from Kenyan-Asians being recognised as a tribe in Kenya? Please elaborate on your experience.

With regards to interactions between yourself and other Kenyan Asians from a different community, do you consider there to be any tension in the following areas: *

Yes - a lot

Yes - some

Yes - minute

No tension

Not sure

Culture - in terms of food

Culture - in terms of entertainment

Culture - in terms of education

Religion - in terms of doctrine

Religion - in terms of religious acceptance

Religion - in terms of philanthropic activities

Social - in terms of inter-marriage

Social - in terms of community interaction

Social - in terms of use of resources (incl. finance)

Economic - in terms of lack of patriotism

Economic - in terms of offering cheaper employment
Economic - in terms of lack of local investment into the economy
Culture - in terms of food
Culture - in terms of entertainment
Culture - in terms of education
Religion - in terms of doctrine
Religion - in terms of religious acceptance
Religion - in terms of philanthropic activities
Social - in terms of inter-marriage
Social - in terms of community interaction
Social - in terms of use of resources (incl. finance)
Economic - in terms of lack of patriotism
Economic - in terms of offering cheaper employment
Economic - in terms of lack of local investment into the economy

With regards to interactions between yourselves and other Kenyan Africans do you consider there to be any tension in the following areas: *

Yes - a lot

Yes - some

Yes - minute

No tension

Not sure

Culture - in terms of food
Culture - in terms of entertainment
Culture - in terms of education
Religion - in terms of doctrine
Religion - in terms of religious acceptance
Religion - in terms of philanthropic activities
Social - in terms of inter-marriage
Social - in terms of community interaction
Social - in terms of use of resources (incl. finance)

Economic - in terms of lack of patriotism
Economic - in terms of offering cheaper employment
Economic - in terms of lack of local investment into the economy
Culture - in terms of food
Culture - in terms of entertainment
Culture - in terms of education
Religion - in terms of doctrine
Religion - in terms of religious acceptance
Religion - in terms of philanthropic activities
Social - in terms of inter-marriage
Social - in terms of community interaction
Social - in terms of use of resources (incl. finance)
Economic - in terms of lack of patriotism
Economic - in terms of offering cheaper employment
Economic - in terms of lack of local investment into the economy

In a corporate environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Africans? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In a social environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Africans? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In an education environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Africans? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In a religious environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Africans? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

Kenyan Africans

Which of the terms do you most identify with when referring to Kenyans of Asian descent? Please select all that apply. *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

None of the above

Are there any other terms you may use?

If you were to pick only one term to identify Kenyans of Asian descent with, which one would it be? *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

Of the following, what term do you LEAST identify with? *

Kenyan

Muindi

Kenyan-Asian

Tribe 44

Kenyans of South East Asian Origin

Why have you made this selection (referring to the question above: what term do you LEAST identify with?)

As a Kenyan-African which of the following 'labels' do you most identify with? Please select all that apply. *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

None of the above

Are there any other 'labels' that you identify with?

If you were to pick only one 'label' to identify with, which one would it be? *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

Of the following, what 'label' do you LEAST identify with? *

Kenyan

African

East African

Tribal reference (Luhya, Luo, Kikuyu etc).

Why have you made this selection (referring to the question above: what 'label' do you LEAST identify with?

Within which county do you live? *

Choose

Please state the area of residence within the county (e.g. Kilimani, Nairobi). *

Are you aware of more recent (i.e. 'new generation') Kenyan-Asian immigrants who are resident here? *

Yes

No

If so, do you know of any 'social labels' by which they are known?

Which description in your opinion best describes these recent immigrants within the context of the larger historical Kenyan-Asian community? *

In a corporate environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Asians? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In a social environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Asians? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In an education environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Asians? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

In a religious environment, what is the frequency of your interaction with Kenyan Asians? *

Daily

Weekly

Several times in a week

Monthly

Less than monthly

Never

PRAXIS Model

It has been considered that in order to combat some of the misconceptions, misunderstandings and gaps in knowledge of key topics between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans a 'portal/repository' of information can be created. Please answer the questions in this section with reference to what you would like to see on such a platform.

What CULTURE based content would be most appealing to you? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

Food

Music

Entertainment

Cultural celebrations

None of the above

Other:

What RELIGIOUS based content would be most appealing to you? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

Religious practices

Beliefs and Values

Religious History

Religious ceremonies

None of the above

Other:

What SOCIAL based content would be most appealing to you? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

Marriage and inter-marriage

Daily life, routine and activities

Differences amongst communities

Practices in childcare / upbringing etc.

None of the above

Other:

What ECONOMIC based content would be most appealing to you? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

Financial planning

Land ownership

Trade and investment

Job opportunities

None of the above

Other:

What HISTORIC based content would be most appealing to you? (Select as many as you feel appropriate) *

The arrival of Kenyan-Asians

The contribution of Kenyan-Asians to society over the years

The naming of Tribe 44

The continued role of Kenyan-Asians in socio-economic, cultural and political activities in the country

activities in the country

None of the above

Other:

On a scale of 1-10 to which level do you feel that there is currently social integration or social isolation between Kenyan-Asians and Kenyan-Africans? *

Severe social isolation

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

8

9

10

Strong social integration

On a scale of 1-10, how do you feel that such a platform would enhance social integration between Kenyan-Asians and Kenyan-Africans? *

Will not change levels of social integration

1

2

3

- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10

Will significantly enhance levels of social interaction

Please rate the different forms of content as to how you would engage with them on an online platform from 1 - 5. 1 - I am not interested, 5 - I am very interested. *

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5

Photos
Blog posts
Video clips
Recorded interviews
Live online sessions
Written reports
Statistics and Graphs
Photos
Blog posts
Video clips
Recorded interviews
Live online sessions
Written reports
Statistics and Graphs

Are there any other forms of content you would like to see on the site?

How often do you think you would visit a physical centre of information? *

Weekly

Monthly

Quarterly

Yearly

I wouldn't visit

If an entrance fee were charged to visit such a centre, how much would you consider as appropriate? *

Less than 1,000Ksh

Between 1,001 - 3,000 Ksh

Between 3,001 - 5,000 Ksh

Over 5,001 Ksh

I would only attend if it was free

Which constituency of Nairobi do you feel would best suited for such a project? *

Starehe

Which of the following options for a physical platform sounds most interesting and engaging to you? *

An outdoor centre, where you can walk and exercise with information on notice boards

An outdoor centre where you can walk and exercise with interactive informative devices

An indoor centre with artifacts and informative displays

An indoor centre with interactive information devices and opportunities for practical experiences/immersion into the culture

Would you prefer to engage with a digital or physical platform? *

Online

Physical

Indifferent - I would engage with either

Indifferent - I would engage with both

Qualitative Questions

The following are a small set of questions where you are asked your opinions. Please feel free to answer them in as much as depth as you are happy to give. I welcome your opinions and views, and these will greatly contribute to both data collection and analysis.

What do you? Do you run a business? Are you employed?

Run a business

How do you contribute to your community?

Perform voluntary service for my community

What do you feel about being Kenyan? What does it mean to you to be Kenyan?

I feel strongly about being Kenyan

What is your idea of Kenya as your country?

The respect for pluralism in Kenya

Recently, the President announced the Kenyan Asians as Tribe 44. This was a major milestone for many Kenyan Asians. What is your view on this?

I think it boxes Kenyan Asians into thinking of tribal affiliations as opposed to thinking that we are all Kenyans

Are you: *

Kenyan-Asian

Kenyan-African

Qualitative Questions (Kenyan-Asians)

What is the story of your family? How did your family come to Kenya?

Do you feel like you are part of Tribe 44?

Thank you so much for being an important part of this research by completing the online questionnaire. Your responses will be very valuable and are highly appreciated. If you would like to engage in further discussion and/or receive a copy of the findings of this research when completed, please include your email address below. Sincere thanks again for your time and honest insights.

Hital Muraj

Qualitative Questions (Kenyan-Africans)

What do you feel is your 'primary' identity - Kenyan (i.e. 'national') or ethnic community (i.e. 'tribal')?

What do you think about Tribal vs National Identity?

How do you think Kenyan-Asians should identify themselves - as Kenyans (i.e. 'national') or as a distinct ethnic community (i.e. 'tribal')?

Thank you so much for being an important part of this research by completing the online questionnaire. Your responses will be very valuable and are highly appreciated. If you would like to engage in further discussion and/or receive a copy of the findings of this research when completed, please include your email address below. Sincere thanks again for your time and honest insights.

Hital Muraj

Appendix III – Instrument – Qualitative

Interview Questions

Part 1:

These set of questions will help me build trust and rapport with the interviewee.

1. Tell me about your background.
2. What is the story of your family? How did your family come to Kenya?
3. Tell me what do you? Do you run a business? Are you employed?
4. How do you contribute to your community?

Part 2:

These set of questions will give me data on the Kenyan Asian Identity.

5. What do you feel about being Kenyan? What does it mean to you to be Kenyan?
6. What is your idea of Kenya as your country?
7. What is your of the perceptions and ethnic tensions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans?
8. How do you perceive your contribution to the Kenyan society? economically? politically, and culturally?
9. What is your perception of lack of acceptance as Kenyans?

Part 3:

These will be specific questions around the recent announcement of Kenyan Asians being officially accepted as the 44th Tribe.

10. Recently, the President announced the Kenyan Asians as Tribe 44. This was a major milestone for many Kenyan Asians. What is your view on this?
11. Do you feel like you are part of Tribe 44?
12. Do you think anything should change? Can you amplify your answer?

The question to African Kenyans:

13. What do you feel is your primary identity is? Kenyan or your tribe? Discuss
14. What do you think about Tribal vs National Identity? How about your personal identity?
15. How do you think of the Kenyan Asians should? As Kenyans or Kenyans?
16. How do you perceive the contributions of Kenyan Asians to the Kenyan society?
17. What is perception of ethnic tensions between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans?
18. What is your perception of declaring Kenyan Asians as 44th tribe?

Closing:

19. Is there anything else you would like to add that we haven't covered?

Appendix IV – Ethics Clearance Approval



Faculty of Commerce

Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701
2.26 Leslie Commerce Building, Upper Campus
Tel: +27 (0) 21 650 4375/ 5748 Fax: +27 (0) 21 650 4369
E-mail: com-faculty@uct.ac.za
Internet: www.uct.ac.za



@Commerce UCT



UCT Commerce Faculty Office

07 February 2020

Ms Hital Muraj
Graduate School of
Business
University of Cape Town

Dear Hital Murij,

REF: REC 2018/012/152

WHAT ARE THE FACTORS THAT DEFINE A KENYAN IDENTITY? A CASE OF KENYAN ASIANS.

We are pleased to inform you that your ethics application has been approved. Unless otherwise specified this ethical clearance is valid for 1 year and may be renewed upon application.

Please be aware that you need to notify the Ethics Committee immediately should any aspect of your study regarding the engagement with participants as approved in this application, change. This may include aspects such as changes to the research design, questionnaires, or choice of participants.

The ongoing ethical conduct throughout the duration of the study remains the responsibility of the principal investigator.

We wish you well for your research.

Shandre Swain
Administrative Assistant
University of Cape Town
Commerce Faculty Office
Room 2.26 | Leslie Commerce Building

Office Telephone: +27 (0)21 650 2695 / 4375
Office Fax: +27 (0)21 650 4369
E-mail: sl.swain@uct.ac.za
Website: www.commerce.uct.ac.za<<http://www.commerce.uct.ac.za/>

Appendix V – Tribe 44 Announcement – Kenya Gazette

SPECIAL ISSUE



THE KENYA GAZETTE

Published by Authority of the Republic of Kenya

(Registered as a Newspaper at the G.P.O.)

Vol. CXIX—No. 102

NAIROBI, 21st July, 2017

Price Sh. 60

GAZETTE NOTICE No. 7245

IN THE MATTER OF THE PETITIONS BY THE ASIAN
COMMUNITY FOR FORMAL RECOGNITION AS A TRIBE IN
KENYA

PRESIDENTIAL PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, the Presidency and other Government Offices have received numerous Petitions from Kenyans of Asian Heritage requesting the formal recognition of the Community as a Kenyan Tribe;

WHEREAS, the Preamble to the Constitution of Kenya affirms our National Pride in our Ethnic, Cultural and Religious Diversity being the bedrock of our Unity as a Sovereign Nation;

WHEREAS, Articles 11 and 44 of the Constitution of Kenya enshrine the duty of Government to promote and protect the diverse cultural heritage of Kenya; and

WHEREAS, Kenyans of Asian Heritage have been an integral part of our National fabric since the Dawn of our Nation.

NOW THEREFORE, and having considered the said Petitions in light of the Constitution of Kenya, our National Values and Principles of Governance; I do hereby Recognize, Proclaim and Order:

1. THAT Kenyans of Asian Heritage constitute a Community that is one of the Tribes of Kenya;
2. THAT from now henceforth the Community of Kenyans of Asian Heritage are Kenya's 44th Tribe;
3. THAT all Persons, Bodies and Authorities within the Republic of Kenya shall recognize the Community of Kenyans of Asian Heritage as being Kenya's 44th Tribe.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I, Uhuru Kenyatta, President and Commander-in-Chief of the Kenya Defence Forces, have hereunto set my hand and seal this 21st day of July, 2017 at State House, Nairobi.

UHURU KENYATTA,
President.

Appendix VI – Business Model Canvas

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)				
Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Non-profit organisations such as Asian Foundation Kenya, Kenya Oshwal community Kenya, The Kenya Heritage and Cultural Centre, National Museums of Kenya ✓ Kenyan Government ✓ Ministry of Sports, Culture and Heritage ✓ Educational institutions ✓ Kenya Education Fund (KEF) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Content Creation: Creating engaging and informative content that promotes cultural understanding and exchange by creating blog posts, videos, graphics etc ✓ Community Management and moderation of online communities, including social media groups, discussion forums, and messaging apps. ✓ Providing language learning resources to 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Cultural Exchange: Social integration initiatives will allow KAs and KAFs to learn about and appreciate different cultures. ✓ Increased Social Cohesion: Social integration initiatives can help foster greater social cohesion and understanding between Kenyans Asians and Kenyan Africans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Engagement: Social media platforms will offer numerous opportunities for engagement, including commenting, liking, and sharing content. ✓ Education: Social integration initiatives will aim to educate users about different cultures, languages, and customs. ✓ Community Building: Social integration initiatives will be aimed at fostering a sense of community among the KAs and KAFs by 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Kenyans Asians: Individuals of Asian descent living in Kenya interested in learning more about Kenyan culture and connecting with Kenyan Africans to promote social integration. ✓ Kenyan Africans: Individuals of Kenyan descent residing in Kenya interested in learning more about Asian cultures and connecting with

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)

Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
<p>✓ Kenya Institute of Curriculum Development</p> <p>Motivations for partnerships:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Optimisation ✓ Economic and Social Constraints ✓ Reduction of risk and uncertainty ✓ Acquisition of specific resources and activities 	<p>users to help them learn new languages and communicate with others more effectively.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Planning and hosting online events, e.g. cultural festivals, webinars, and language exchange events. ✓ Conducting user research and analysing data to better understand user behaviour and preferences. ✓ Working with partners and stakeholders to develop collaborative 	<p>✓ Improved Communication: Social integration initiatives will help improve communication between KAs and KAFs in areas of language barriers may exist.</p> <p>✓ Career Opportunities: Social integration initiatives will provide users with access to equal career opportunities and networking connections.</p>	<p>encouraging them to share their experiences and stories through user-generated content or hosting online forums or discussion groups.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Customer Support: Social integration initiatives will provide reliable customer support to users who may have questions or concerns by providing a help centre or customer support hotline to address issues or tension concerns. ✓ Personalisation: Social integration initiatives will aim to provide a personalised experience 	<p>Kenyan Asians to promote social integration.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Cultural and Community Organisations: Organisations that promote cultural understanding and social integration, e.g. language schools, cultural centres, and community groups. ✓ Businesses benefit from promoting social integration, such as those offering language services, cultural products or

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)

Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
	<p>initiatives and partnerships that support social integration.</p>	<p>✓ Personal Growth: Social integration initiatives can provide users with personal growth and development opportunities.</p>	<p>for users by tailoring content and recommendations to their interests and preferences using data analytics to better understand user behaviour and preferences.</p> <p>✓ Feedback and Improvement: Social integration initiatives will solicit feedback from users and use that feedback to improve the user experience by sending surveys or conducting focus groups to gather input on how to</p>	<p>services, or those looking to diversify their customer base.</p> <p>✓ Government Agencies: This customer segment includes government agencies that promote social integration initiatives and programs, such as those promoting multiculturalism or integration.</p> <p>✓ Non-Governmental Organisations that promote social integration, such as</p>

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyan Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)

Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
			improve the integration initiative.	those working to promote diversity, equality, and human rights for Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.
	Key Resources		Channels	
	✓ Online Groups and Communities: Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram bring people from KAs and KAFs to share ideas, experiences, and cultural practices		✓ Social Media Platforms: Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter provide an ideal space to connect with users and promote social integration by sharing content, hosting discussions, and engaging with users.	

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)

Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
	<p>✓ Cultural Events and Festivals: Social media will be used to promote and share information about cultural events and festivals that bring together Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians to celebrate and appreciate each other's cultures.</p> <p>✓ Language and Translation Services: Social media can be used to provide language and translation services to facilitate communication and</p>		<p>✓ Messaging Apps: WhatsApp and Telegram will be used to create groups where users would communicate and share information by facilitating discussions, sharing resources, and providing support</p> <p>✓ Video Conferencing Platforms: Zoom and Skype will be employed to host online events and webinars by hosting cultural events, language learning classes, and other initiatives aimed at promoting social integration.</p>	

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)

Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
	<p>understanding between Kenyans, Asians and Kenyan Africans who may speak different languages.</p> <p>✓ Education and Awareness Campaigns: Social media will raise awareness about the importance of social integration and educate people about different cultures, traditions, and customs.</p> <p>✓ Mutual Support Networks: Social media will be used to create mutual support networks between</p>		<p>✓ Websites and Blogs will be used to provide information and resources to Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians by sharing cultural guides, language learning resources, and other materials aimed at promoting social integration.</p> <p>✓ Mobile Apps: Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Africans will have access to language learning tools, cultural guides, and other resources. The apps are designed to provide a personalised experience and track users' progress</p>	

BUSINESS MODEL CANVAS: Social Integration For Kenyans Asians (KAs) and Kenyan Africans (KAF)				
Key Partners	Key Activities	Value Propositions	Customer Relationships	Customer Segments
	Kenyans, Asians and Kenyan Africans to help each other navigate the challenges of integrating into a new culture or society.		✓ Email Marketing: Email marketing can be used to promote social integration initiatives and encourage users to engage with the initiative. Emails can be used to share news and updates, promote events, and solicit feedback from users.	

Costs Structure	Revenue Streams
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Personnel: Social integration initiatives will require personnel to manage and promote the initiative on social media platforms, such as community managers, social media managers, and content creators. ✓ Technology and Infrastructure: Social media platforms require technology and infrastructure to operate, such as servers, hosting, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Advertising: Social media platforms will be used to generate revenue by allowing businesses to advertise their products and services to Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians ✓ Sponsorships: Social media platforms will generate revenue through sponsorships by partnering with organisations or individuals who support social integration initiatives.

Costs Structure	Revenue Streams
<p>and website or app development. Additional costs for maintenance, upgrades, and security measures.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Marketing and Promotion: Initiatives aimed at promoting social integration will require marketing and promotional activities to raise awareness and encourage participation. Thereby advertising, partnerships ✓ Events and Programs Costs: Social integration initiatives may involve events or programs aimed at bringing Kenyans, Asians, and Kenyan Africans together, such as cultural festivals or language classes. These initiatives may require venue rental, equipment, materials, and transportation expenses. ✓ Legal and Regulatory Costs: Social media platforms must comply with various legal and regulatory requirements, such as data protection laws, intellectual property laws, and advertising regulations. Compliance with these requirements may incur additional costs, such as legal fees or compliance software. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Donations: Social media platforms will generate revenue through donations from individuals or organisations that support social integration initiatives. ✓ Paid Memberships: Social media platforms will realise revenue by offering paid memberships that will provide access to exclusive content or features such as language services, cultural events, or other resources aimed at promoting social integration between Kenyan Africans and Kenyan Asians ✓ E-commerce: Social media platforms can generate revenue through e-commerce by allowing users to buy and sell products or services directly on the platform. Social media platforms will feature products or services aimed at promoting cultural exchange or understanding between Kenyan Asians and Kenyan Africans.