HINDU-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN
POST-INDEPENDENT KENYA:
A CASE OF NAIROBI COUNTY

CHARLES K. MOYWAYWA

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of requirements for the award of the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Religious Studies at the University of Nairobi

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for the award of a degree in any other institution of higher learning.

............................................. ........................................
Charles Kinanga Moywaywa Date
C80/80161/11

This thesis has been submitted with our approval as University supervisors.

............................................. ........................................
Dr.Constantine M. Mwikamba Date
Senior Lecturer, Department of Philosophy & Religious Studies

............................................. ........................................
Dr.Stephen I. Akaranga Date
Senior Lecturer, Department of Philosophy & Religious Studies
DEDICATION
To my Grand Father, the late Mzee Moracha Bonyinyo and my Grand Mother, the late Mama Barare Kwamboka.
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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AACC – All African Council of Churches
ACK – Anglican Church in Kenya
ACRL – African Council for Religious Leaders
ADB – African Development Bank
CBS – Central Bureau of Statistics
CLARI – Centre for Law and Research International
CIC – Constitutional Implementation Commission
CMR – Christian-Muslim Relations
CORD – Coalition for Restoration of Democracy
CSIE – Centre for Studies in Inclusive Education
CUEA – Catholic University of East Africa
EAEP – East African Educational Publishers
EAPH – East African Publishing House
EASM – East African Scottish Mission
FBO – Faith-based Organizations
HACI – Hope for African Children Initiative
HCK – Hindu Council of Kenya
HIV & AIDS – Human Immuno Deficiency Virus/ Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
HUP – Harvard University Press
IBEAC – Imperial British East African Company
IEA – Institute for Economic Affairs
ICC – International Criminal Court
IEC – Independent Electoral Commission
IEBC – Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
IFAPA – Inter-Faith Action for Peace in Africa
IKSAH – Institute of Kenyan South Asians History and Culture
IRCK – Inter-Religious Council of Kenya
ISPCK – Indian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
JCC – Jesus Celebration Centre
JIAM – Jesus Is Alive Ministries
KADU – Kenya African Democratic Union
KANU – Kenya African National Union
KeMU – Kenya Methodist University
KLB – Kenya Literature Bureau
Mbh – Mahabharata
MCK – Methodist Church in Kenya
MDGs – Millennium Development Goals
MMS – Methodist Missionary Society
NARC – National Alliance of Rainbow Coalition
NCCK – National Council of Churches of Kenya
NCIC – National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NCPD – National Council for Population and Development
NGO – Non Governmental Organization
NLC – Nairobi Lighthouse Church
NPC – Nairobi Pentecostal Church
NUP – Nairobi University Press
OAIC – Organization of African Instituted Churches
OAU – Organization of African Unity
ODM – Orange Democratic Movement
O. I. – Oral Interview
OUP – Oxford University Press
OVCs – Orphans and Vulnerable Children
PM – Prime Minister
PNU – Party of National Unity
PRA – Participatory Rural Appraisal
PROCMURA – Project for Christian Muslim Relations in Africa
RCB – Religious Coordinating Bodies
RCC – Roman Catholic Church
Rep – Representative
RV – Rig Veda
SAMOSA – South Asian Mosaic of Society and the Arts
SC – Supreme Court
S.C.M – Society of Christian Ministries
SDA – Seventh-Day Adventist Church
SPCK – Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge
SUPKEM – Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims
SWAK – Society for Women and AIDS in Kenya
TJRC – Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission
UN – United Nations
UNESCO – United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UoN – University of Nairobi
WCC – World Council of Churches
WCRP – World Conference on Religion and Peace
WV – World Vision
ABSTRACT

This study on the Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya focused on factors that influence relations between Hindus and Christians as well as the nature and extent of inter-faith dialogue initiatives between these two religious systems. It sought to determine Hindu integration into the Kenyan society and was guided by four objectives: to examine the relationship between the social environment and the state of Hindu-Christian relationship in post-independent Kenya, evaluate the relationship between adherence to Hindu caste system and the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society, explore the inter-religious dialogue initiatives between the Hindu and Christian communities and to establish challenges currently facing Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya. The research was limited to Nairobi County and focused on Hindus of Indian ethnicity and Christians of African ethnicity. Various books, government documents and journals were reviewed and any other relevant information guided by various sub-themes. The research adopted a descriptive research design and data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The target population for this research was estimated at 2,023,000 (2 million Christians and 23 thousand Hindus). Out of this, a sample size of 2324 was selected using a combination of sampling techniques. Methods of data collection included: oral interviews, questionnaire, participant observation, focused group discussions and literary documents. Data was qualitatively analyzed disclosing that there exists close affinity between Indian and African cultures which could form a basis for stronger Hindu-Christian interfaith relations. The study revealed that, there are various factors that have taken place in the social, cultural, and political spheres that either positively or negatively impacted on Hindu-Christian relations as well the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society. It further indicated that Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives affect and is affected by various aspects of the social environment in post-independent Kenya. The research also revealed that Hindu integration into the Kenyan society is necessary for the enhancement of national cohesion and for the realization of an all-inclusive society as envisaged in the Kenya Vision 2030. The study then concluded by stating that the current social, economic, cultural and political conditions in Kenya present enormous opportunities for inter-faith dialogue initiatives which if well utilized could lead to the establishment and enhancement of mutually enriching relations between Hindus and Christians.
CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Kenya is one of the African countries with a significant population of Hindu immigrants who according to the 2009 Census are estimated to number 53,393 ((Kapila, 2009; CBS: 2010). It is believed that more than half of the Kenyan Hindus live in the city of Nairobi live mutually with their indigenous African countrymen ever since this country gained her independence in 1963. Most Hindu immigrants are entrepreneurs who live in urban areas and are involved in shop-keeping, general merchandise, engineering and the construction industry. Others are found in various professions such as Medicine, Law, Education, and Banking. In most cases, they are the entrepreneurs. This is why some Hindus are also engaged in salaried employment, both in the public and private sectors (Mampilly, 2000). Hindus are involved comparatively in the same occupations and professions in which Christians also play part. This is why the Hindus are essentially next door neighbours or working colleagues or business partners to Christians although they prefer to live in exclusive homes or isolated residential areas (Patel, 2011, Salvadori, 1989).

Hindus in Kenya are part of the larger Asian immigrant community who although small in number are part of the Asian community and wield a lot of economic power. Just like the other Asians, Hindus are a deeply religious people (Bhatt, 1976: 7). They observe Hinduism which is the most popular religion among Kenyan Asians. Some Asians, however, also adhere to other religions such as Sikhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism (Parseism), and Christianity (Patel, 2011; Patel, 2007). Like Christianity, Hinduism exerts devotional demands on its believers (Burnett, 1992). Hindu faithful according to Salvadori (1989) are always keen to apply the teachings of their faith in everything they do. A good example is the fact that Hindu Asian entrepreneurs embrace great spirituality in their business pursuits (Salvadori, 1989: 6).
The Afro-Indian relationship in Kenya is a subject that has attracted attention, particularly in the post-independent period. At independence, Kenya adopted a policy aimed at integrating the Asian immigrants into the larger Kenyan society (Kapila, 2009). This was hoped to cultivate a sense of belonging among the Asians, thereby fostering inter-communal interaction and national stability in this country. Now, more than forty years since Kenya attained her political independence there are general observations which indicate that the integration of Indian immigrants into the wider Kenyan society remains largely unachieved. The interaction between Hindus of Indian ethnicity and Christians of African ethnicity appears to be characterized by veiled mutual suspicion (Salvadori, 1989; Patel, 2002; Kapila, 2009).

Kenya has enjoyed relative peace since it gained independence from Britain in 1963. And in the last few decades the country has witnessed ethnically instigated cases of violence which have made most Kenyans realize that the peace and tranquility they have enjoyed in the past should not be taken for granted. It is unfortunate that Kenyans should resort to violence as a means of settling ethnic, political or even religious differences. This scenario implies a paradox in regard to the presumed role of religion in fostering inter-cultural harmony in this country.

Although much of the African and Asian community co-existence has been characterized by tranquility, there have been instances where this relationship has been hostile (Oloo, 2005). Since the majority of Indians in Kenya are Hindu while indigenous Kenyans largely adhere to Christianity, sometimes these instances of hostility have tended to assume religious connotations. This calls for the involvement of both religious bodies in cultivating a mutually enriching relationship between their members. Inter-faith dialogue therefore stands out as one of the tools that can be utilized to realize such an outcome. Hinduism accommodates the social stratification of society through its caste system which recognizes four distinct classes of people as follows: the Brahmin, the Kshatriya, the Vaishya and the Sudras who are listed in a descending order of importance. The caste system is less elaborate in Kenya than it is in India, however it has created issues that some critics of Indian immigrant community have tended to attribute to the latter’s exclusive lifestyles.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Kenya Vision 2030 is driven by the desire to transform the country through the social, economic and political empowerment of all its citizens. The key objective of Vision 2030 as enshrined in the social pillar is meant to create a cohesive society. This objective reflects the aims of the millennium development goals which underline the importance of cohesion in a country’s socio-economic and political development. As a multi-religious society, Kenya is faced with the challenge of developing an all-inclusive inter-religious and inter-communal atmosphere where people of all religions and cultures can co-exist in harmony. This research explored the nature of post-independent social environment and the extent to which it affects Hindu-Christian relations as well as the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society.

Throughout the world, inter-faith dialogue is a major theme in the quest for global pacification. The Hindu and Christian followers have lived side by side with each other ever since Kenya gained her independence in 1963. However, very little is known about the interaction between these two groups during the course of their co-existence in this country, at formal, informal, communal or individual level. There is also no available information on Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives in Kenya and their effects on Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya. This research also focused on ways in which the socio-economic and political environment in post-independent Kenya has affected the inter-religious relations between Hindus and Christians in this country.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to explore the relationship between Hindus and Christians in the post-independent era. The study specifically, seeks to:

(i) Examine the relationship between the social environment and the state of Hindu-Christian interaction in post-independent Kenya,

(ii) Evaluate the impact of the Hindu caste system on Hindu integration into the Kenyan society,

(iii) Analyze interfaith dialogue initiatives between the Hindu and Christian communities,
1.4 Rationale for the Study

This research was prompted by recent trends in inter-faith dialogue and an ever-increasing quest for sustainable national, regional and global peace. The coexistence between members of various religious faiths and societies in sub-Saharan Africa, especially in Kenya, is an issue of great concern. This is so because the region is home to a multiplicity of religious, ethnic and racial groups. Some sub-regions in Sub-Saharan Africa have witnessed religiously instigated socio-economic instability. Besides, most religious groups in this area embrace teachings and attitudes that are mutually exclusivist in nature. Yet, in a world that is increasingly becoming globally inclined, such exclusivism is a mere paradox. Globalization implies pluralism in all aspects, including religion. This is why it is necessary to examine how various religious groups can appreciate and embrace the spirit of pluralism (or inter-religious tolerance), mutual respect, understanding and cooperation. Abraham Haschel (1991:6) pointed out that; no religion –in the current pluralistic set-up can be an island to itself. In recent years, there has been a renewed attempt to apply creative and mutually accommodating techniques in inter-faith dialogue pursuits.

The proliferation of armed conflicts in Africa, and Kenya in particular, as witnessed in the post-independence era, presupposed a lack of mutual tolerance between various religious and ethnic groups. It is important to conduct studies in this area so as to enhance the realization of mutually enriching interfaith relations among the various religions represented here. This study provides some new impetus in the quest for interfaith dialogue in Kenya. As it is currently, inter-religious dialogue initiatives – particularly at the formal level, tend to exclude the religions of minority communities. This study on Hindu-Christian relations study has highlighted benefits that could accrue from the inclusion of religions of minority communities in the inter-faith dialogue process within this country.

It is hoped that the information arising from this research could be utilized to enhance knowledge in inter-religious and intercultural studies. The findings will hopefully benefit Theologians, Historians, Sociologists, Anthropologists, Political

1.5 Scope and limitations of the Study
This research falls under the wider subject of inter-religious studies and was restricted to Nairobi due to the high number of resident Indian immigrants here. The period under study stretched from 1963 when Kenya gained her political independence to 2013. Non-Christian African and non-Hindu Indian traditions in Kenya serve only as points of reference for the background information on this study. The study does not concern itself with issues of authenticity of religious thought, or comparison between the two religions. Finally, this study concentrated on Hindus of Indian ethnicity and Christians of African ethnicity.

1.6 Definition of terms
Hindu: individuals, groups or teachings belonging to Hinduism.
Religious identity: characteristics based on a people’s religious beliefs and practices, which give a specific identity to that particular group of people.
Religious culture: the societal mores, traditions or customs that grow out of or are inspired by the awareness of an empirical-super-empirical distinction of reality.
Inter-denominational: members of different branches within a given Religion.
Inter-faith dialogue: efforts designed to encourage mutual understanding, cooperation and interaction between members of diverse religious backgrounds.
Inter-religious praxis: the process by which members of different religions engage in joint execution of programmes aimed at uplifting the general welfare of society as a whole or its various components (including human and non-human existence).
Inter-sectarian: the relationship between members of different sects within a given religion.
Hindu-Christian relations: the interpersonal or inter-communal social exchange or interaction between members of the Hindu and Christian communities.
Target population: members of the Hindu and Christian communities in Kenya, who form the primary subjects for this study.
Sect: a sub-group within a religious system.
Scripture: a document containing stories, songs and poetry considered to be sacred literature within a given religious system.
1.7 Review of Related Literature

The subject of Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya has not been adequately documented, apart from the existence of intermittent media articles and documentaries.

There are however, some works which contain themes that focus on various aspects related to this study. These include works on; Kenya’s post-independent history (with particular reference to major political and demographic trends), history of Asian immigrants in Kenya, Hinduism in Kenya, Christianity in Kenya, Hindu-Christian relations globally, (especially in India, United Kingdom and the Caribbean), religion and culture as well as writings on Interfaith Dialogue (both generally and in Kenya), Afro-Hindu relations, and religious identity.

1.7.1 Major Political and Demographic Trends in Post-independent Kenya

This research covers the post-colonial period of Kenya’s history and examines the Hindu-Christian relations during this period. There are certain events which occurred during this period (particularly in the demographic and political realms) which have in one way or the other influenced or shaped this relationship.

Kenya, upon gaining her independence from Great Britain in 1963, was ruled by Jomo Kenyatta, the founding president of the nation who ruled until his death in 1978 when President Daniel Toroitich arap Moi ascended to power. Both Kenyatta and Moi are criticized for not tackling the problem of tribalism in Kenya which has continued to affect this country up to the present time (Patel 2011).

Upon independence, Kenya adopted an American-styled multiparty democracy under the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU) and Kenya African National Union (KANU). In 1969, the country was, transformed into a de facto one-party state and KANU became the sole legal party in Kenya. This move was ostensibly aimed at uniting Kenyans because multi-party democracy was viewed as a recipe for inter-ethnic squabbles, especially at the political front. It was the fear of the self emancipation inculcated in the Kenyatta-Moi regime, which led to the need for multi-party democracy. This led to inter-racial and inter-tribal animosity within the country, hence the reason for its disbandment. The Kenyan people, however,
became even more ethnically divided during the entire period of the one-party political system, something that has created a favourable atmosphere for ethnically-instigated political chaos. This has often erupted during and around the time of the General Elections. In 1991, President Moi submitted to internal and external pressure for political liberalization to reinstate multi-party democracy. The ethnically fractured opposition parties however failed to dislodge KANU from power in the 1992 and 1997 General Elections, which were both marred by violence and malpractice.

President Moi stepped down in December 2002, following a constitutional amendment which limited the presidential term to only ten years. During the same year, presidential elections were held and Mwai Kibaki, a former vice president, won the General Election. His party, National Rainbow Coalition (NARC), formed the government while KANU’s candidate Uhuru Kenyatta trailed second and became the Official Opposition Leader. In a surprising twist of fate, Uhuru Kenyatta succeeded Kibaki as president during the 2013 General Elections. It was during Kibaki’s regime, however, that the process of redrafting Kenya’s national constitution gained momentum. At the same time, there was widespread suspicion that the president and his cronies were trying to influence the process so as to realize a constitution that could favour their vested interests. The NARC government, thus, became increasingly unpopular as the constitutional review exercise progressed.

Kibaki’s NARC coalition split in 2005 over the constitutional review process where government defectors joined with KANU to form a new opposition coalition, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) which was later transformed into a political party. The government’s draft constitution was defeated in a popular referendum, held in November 2005 (World Fact book, 2008).

In the 2007 general election, president Kibaki and his newly formed coalition party, Party for National Unity (PNU) was bid against the ODM candidate Raila Odinga. Mwai Kibaki won the fiercely contested election against claims of massive vote rigging which resulted into widespread violence. This led to a political crisis and the international community had to step in to prevent the situation from getting worse. A team of eminent personalities, led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan was
sent into the country to hold negotiations with the key political leaders, with the hope of solving the crisis. Through the efforts of this team, a negotiated deal was finally signed by the two principal political leaders:, President Mwai Kibaki of PNU and Mr. Raila Amolo Odinga, of ODM, who became the Prime Minister. The two came agreed to form the grand coalition government that was mandated to run the government until the next general elections, that were held on 4th March, 2013.

In 2010, the country, for a second time, conducted a national referendum on the proposed new constitution which had since undergone major amendments. Unlike in 2005 when the draft was defeated, the second attempt proved fruitful and the new constitution was overwhelmingly passed by Kenyans. The 2010 draft, unlike the government-supported 2005 version, was viewed by majority of Kenyan citizens as generally reflecting the will of the people, hence the overwhelming support it elicited.

One of the requirements stated in the new constitution was the establishment of various public institutions and the reformation of other existing ones, a move aimed at introducing a more transparent approach in the running of government affairs. In line with this requirement, various institutions were created especially the Supreme Court (SC) and the Constitutional Implementation Commission (CIC). Some of the existing public institutions that were reformed to render them more effective in service delivery include the police force, which is now headed by an Inspector-General previously run by a Police Commissioner, and the Elections body, which is now the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC). The election malpractices that led to the 2007 violence were largely blamed on the partiality of the then electoral body, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

It is estimated that about 1000 people lost their lives while nearly 600,000 were displaced from their homes as a result of the 2007 post-election violence. Six suspects were charged at the International Criminal Court (ICC) - based at the Hague, Netherlands, for orchestrating crimes against humanity. They included Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, Hussein Ali, Henry Kosgey, Francis Muthaura and Joshua Arap Sang. Three of the suspects; Hussein Ali, Francis Muthaura and Henry Kosgey were acquitted, while the case against the other three was still in
progress (BBC website, 8/7/13). The government has made various unsuccessful attempts to have the criminal proceedings against the president and his deputy dropped or the court sessions relocated to within East Africa, a move that has drawn some significant support from the African Union Heads of State (BBC Web, 2013).

Kenya gained her political independence in 1963 after a prolonged freedom struggle against the colonial government which was spearheaded by the Mau Mau fighters who buttressed the emergence and realization of African nationalism in this country. There were, however, some Asians (mainly the Hindus) who supported Kenya’s struggle for political independence (Salvadori 1989: 305).

African consciousness was, however, instrumental in determining the structure and style of political administration in the independent Kenya. The period immediately following the attainment of independence according to Galia Sabar (2002), was predominantly characterized by a major drive to Africanize all institutions in the country because the instruments of government were now in the hands of Africans and it was felt that the same (process of Africanisation) should be extended to other areas of public and private life in Kenya. There are some major post-colonial political events that have had some bearing on the life of Asian immigrants in Kenya. In 1968, the government issued a decree that all persons living in Kenya by the eve of the Independence Day were to be issued with Kenyan citizenship, if they so wished (Salvadori, 1989). This meant that even Indian nationals were at liberty to take up Kenyan citizenship as long as they fulfilled the stipulated conditions. Some dual citizenship was disallowed, hence most Asians decided to retain their Indian citizenship.

In 1978, another occurrence was witnessed when the trade restriction law was enacted that barred non-citizens from operating in rural towns. This affected Asian business people in two ways. First, most of them had opted to retain Indian citizenship rather than seize the 1968 government offer for Kenyan citizenship (Salvadori, 1989: 12). They preferred to possess dual citizenship, which the Kenyan government refused to endorse. Given a choice between their motherland India and Kenya, most Asians opted to remain Indian nationals. Second, Asians were itinerant business people who had traversed the length and width of interior Kenya in search
of business opportunities. When the government thus decreed that trade licenses would no longer be issued to non-citizens—ostensibly to encourage and protect native business entrepreneurship—the Asians were the most affected (Salvadori, 1989: 12). This resulted into the mass exodus of Asians from Kenya into the United Kingdom (UK) especially towards the close of 1968. This led to a big reduction in the number of Asians in Kenya—who had been estimated in 1962 to top 200,000, to about 70,000 by the 1969 Kenya National Census (CBS, National Census, 1969). By the year 2003, the total Asian population in Kenya was estimated at 100,000, while the total population for the whole country was estimated at 34,000,000 people (CBS website, 23/10/08).

It is clear that those Asians who left the country were doing so out of fear for their future in Kenya. These fears however appear to be farfetched since those Asians who remained in Kenya explored more opportunities for doing business which has made them to prosper. This occurrence, nevertheless, is one of the post-independent events that has affected Hindu-Christian relations in the period and forms a key part of this study.

1.7.2 History of Hinduism in Kenya
Hindu presence in East Africa dates back to the pre-colonial era and even preceded the coming of Christianity (in the 19th Century) in Kenya (Delf 1963). Hindu culture in East Africa was introduced before the entry of Christian culture into this region, because the interaction between African communities in East Africa and the Indians has been going on for a very long period (and can date back to the first century B.C.E or there about or there about Delf (1963). Hinduism has a long history in Kenya yet Africans have embraced Christianity in big numbers. Hindus of Indian ethnicity have resisted this new faith and has not attracted converts from the African communities. This raises questions on Hinduism’s openness to other cultures. African Christianity, which is mission-founded, continues to bear the marks of the western culture from which it originated. One such a mark is the issue of denominationalism, which has one major divisive element in Kenyan Christianity that has strongly hindered Christians from the achieving of a united approach in addressing issues of common interest (Z. Nthamburi, 2000). These views are helpful
in determining whether denominationalism has any bearing on Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya.

**1.7.3 Relationship between Hinduism and Christianity Globally**

David Burnett (1992) examines various precepts of Hindu faith in relation to the Christian mind-set. He discloses that there is a lot of similarity between the Hindu belief in “avatar” and the Christian concept of Christ. Burnett’s use of the ‘jungle’ metaphor to describe the reality of the religio-cultural diversity within Hinduism is significant to this study. In a forest, various plants and animal species dwell with a considerable degree of mutual dependence and competition. Burnett’s work targeted mainly the British Christian missionaries. His presentation of Hindu religious identity appears inclined towards fostering a European cultural conquest of the oriental cultures. This book nevertheless, provides useful hints on the Christian perception of Hindu religious and cultural beliefs and practices, which form a key part of this research.

Rudolf Otto (1930) who compares and contrasts the beliefs and practices of Hinduism and Christianity, arrives at the conclusion that Hinduism like many other Asian religions makes similar and competing demands on the individual, just like Christianity. He views Hinduism as Christianity’s major competitor in seeking Indian converts. His work is of great significance to this study as it presents ideas covering Christian-Hindu relations, which is the major focus for this work.

Since Otto’s book targeted Christian missionaries working in India, his views are influenced by the Christian hegemony (mainly derived from Western culture) of superiority complex and self-justification. This paradigm is not appropriate for an inter-faith and inter-cultural approach that suits the contemporary pluralistic and multicultural world.

Raymond Pannickar (1984) in *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* presents Hindu religion as an ‘anonymous Christian’ (to borrow Karl Rahner’s terminology) community. He compares Hindu beliefs and practices to those of Christianity. Pannickar concludes that the two religions are closely related in their basic teachings
particularly on matters of faith and ethics. The two religions have, however, been wrongly antagonized so as to perceive each other as enemies rather than co-workers in the service of humankind.

Eric J. Sharpe (1977) criticizes Christianity for being western-oriented and therefore self-alienated Hindu Asians. He further points out that the ethno-centric attitude of the western missionaries towards Hinduism during their work in India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries only helped to malign the Indians further from the Christian faith.

In *A Guide to Religions*, David A. Brown (1975) states that the God revealed to ‘us’ in Jesus Christ is the eternal father who cares for the whole of his creation. It is important that Christians should open up to people of other religions and consider them as co-workers rather than rivals in the service of God and humankind.

Brown’s sentiments are reflected by Kuncheria Pathil (1991) who contends there is an urgent need for all religions to relate to one another through “dialogue and common ventures”. Pathil’s views could be interpreted as a call to all religions to search for or identify those aspects that are common to them all and which can assist in close associations. Various religions should emphasize on shared aspects rather than on unique and mutually exclusive claims that perpetuate seclusion rather than cohesion or inclusiveness (Pathil 1991: 25).

In an article, “*Christian Theological Approaches to Other Religions from a Historical Perspective*,” Thomas Menickam (1991) examines the evolution of Christian theological consciousness towards other religions, throughout the history of Christianity. He points out that as new situations emerged due to the entry into foreign cultures, the Christian faith has undergone reinterpretation in order to render it contextually relevant. Menickam urges contemporary Christianity to embrace a new approach that suits such a religious pluralistic context as the one in which the world is currently immersed. In this approach, he suggests the need for participation so as to enable Christians enter into dialogue and collaborate with people of other faiths. His work serves as a useful tool for social analysis in this study.
S. Arakisamy (1991) asserts that there is a co-relation between inter-religious or inter-cultural collaboration and the success of liberation struggle. In his article, “Theology of Religions from Liberation Perspective”, he argues that if liberation is to succeed, then the cooperation, commitment and active participation by people of all religions must be addressed. Liberation struggle will otherwise, always remain a partisan activity and a breeding ground for disintegration rather than integration.

1.7.4 Inter-faith Dialogue in Kenya

Interfaith dialogue is a process that requires great commitment from the participating parties (Dupuis, 1991). This can only succeed if the concerned parties are willing to embrace certain key attributes, namely authenticity, humility, integrity and sensitivity (John Scott, 1975). These attributes, should be present in any interfaith dialogue process. In his address to the World Parliament of Religion held in Chicago in 1893, Vivekenanda that all religions are in the path seeking the truth. He strongly advocated for a parliament of all religions so that various religions ought to view each other as partners rather than competitors which is relevant for Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya.

Interfaith dialogue in Kenya has been enhanced by the constitution which guarantees freedom of worship and harmonious co-existence to all its citizens (Dupuis, 1991: 221). The old constitution of Kenya was written prior to independence but the freedom of worship guaranteed in that constitution points at possibilities that interfaith dialogue has potentially been in existence in Kenya even before the advent of independence. Such efforts of interfaith dialogue in Kenya were intermittent and driven largely by non-religious actors. Johnson A. Mbillah (2004) attributes the existence of interfaith compliant segments in the Kenyan constitution to the fact that the African indigenous belief systems and practices are inherently pluralistic.

Deliberate efforts in interfaith dialogue in Kenya could be traced back to the post-independence era, in the 1960s. Newton Kahumbi Maina (2003) notes that there are three main groups involved in interfaith dialogue initiatives in Kenya. These include; the Roman Catholic Church, National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and Project for Christian Muslim Relations in Africa (PROCMURA).
The Roman Catholic Church’s initiatives towards inter-faith dialogue are traced to the Second Vatican Council as contained in the document *Nostra Aetate*. The catholic faithful worldwide are urged to “strive sincerely for mutual understanding, safeguarding and fostering social justice, moral values, peace and freedom (Maina, 2003: 180). This message formed the bulk of Pope John Paul II’s teachings on global pacification.

The NCCK and PROCMURA are interlinked in Kenya through the former’s Christian-Muslim relations (CMR) programme. The CMR’s objectives are a replication of those of PROCMURA, but with a contextualized approach. They include; seeking to understand people and communities of other faiths, promoting such understanding among Christians, stimulating church interest in witnessing to people of other faiths as well as organizing conferences, courses, seminars and discussion groups to handle the subject of interfaith dialogue in Kenya (Maina, 2003: 181). Most current interfaith dialogue initiatives in Kenya are biased towards Christian-Muslim relations. The other religions in Kenya are virtually sidelined and there is need for studies to be conducted in order to strive for a truly representative and an all-inclusive model for inter-religious dialogue in this country.

The issue of inclusiveness is important to the success of any aspects of interfaith dialogue. When some faiths are excluded from an interfaith dialogue process, it becomes one sided and, some interested scholars in these studies could select the kind of people or groups with whom to enter into a dialogue. The question of “for what and with whom” according to Farid Esack (2004) is religio-cultural dialogue to be pursued? Esack appears perturbed by the self-protectionist stance with which various religions in Africa approach the issue of interfaith dialogue. He suggests that religious people could remain committed to their respective teachings while at the same time recognizing the value that lies in the teachings of other religions. Esack concludes his remarks by urging all religions and cultures to talk to each other and consider common agenda which foster globalization.

The idea that pluralism does not only lead to changes in value systems which is implied in Esack’s views strengthens them. Interfaith dialogue should operate within a broader scope to include the aspect of culture. This call for layers within this
process not to be selective in deciding who to engage with matters of religio-cultural dialogue. Esack’s work is based on the South African situation, but his views are relevant to the Kenyan situation and they provide important insights to this study. This is because, interfaith and inter-cultural dialogue initiatives in Kenya, particularly between very diverse groups such as Christians and Hindus, have often been a subject of suspicion.

Another challenge for interfaith dialogue in Kenya is the level of commitment. Zablon Nthamburi (2000) argues that there is lack of commitment on the parties involved something that dampens the atmosphere for interfaith dialogue in this country. He further asserts that dialogue presupposes a commitment to consensus building which should not be interpreted as a compromise to one’s faith or an attempt to “evangelize without formally stating the intention” (Nthamburi, 2000:11). Dialogue should be viewed as an opportunity for the participants to “bring out (their) deepest convictions and be prepared to attentively listen to those of (the other party)” (Nthamburi, 2009:7). Although Nthamburi’s views dwell on Christian-Muslim relations, his work along with that of the other scholars mentioned above, is an essential source material for this study.

The necessity of interfaith dialogue in Kenya is a subject that many scholars have commented upon. Newton K Maina, (2003) asserts that inter-faith dialogue is necessary in this pluralistic society. The strain and tension that exists between different faiths in Kenya according to Nthamburi (2000: 12), could be reduced if the process of dialogue is initiated. Interfaith dialogue for Mary Getui (2009:183), is key to collaboration among Kenyan women. In a Similar way, Catherine Nasina Machyo (2009: 204) notes that interfaith dialogue can serve as an ideal model for solving problems facing the youth, especially in institutions of higher learning. Kathleen Warambo (2009) likewise asserts that various faith-related tensions and disputes that arise within a family and which are a big threat to the stability of this basic human institution in present-day Kenya could be overcome through interfaith dialogue. She observes that the family is or ought to be the cradle for interfaith dialogue. In other words, interfaith dialogue could only be appreciated at the national or communal level if it is first appreciated at the family level.
1.7.5 Afro-Hindu Relations

An examination of the contributions of various scholars on Afro-Hindu relations reveals that there exists a close cultural affinity between African and Hindu spirituality. The similarity between African and Indian cultures according to Leena Rastogi (1996) lies especially in the area of philosophical concepts. In an article “African Culture as Reflected in Oral Literature of Africa and its Similarity with Indian Culture”, she expresses the conviction that the concepts of God, immortality of the soul, blessings and curses as well as ritualistic practices (such as pouring of libation) have a lot in common between these two groups of people (Rastogi, 1996:84). As a result of this close cultural affinity between Indians and Africans, one would expect these two sides to relate very closely but this is not the case in Kenya. It is important to note that Rastogi’s comments are only meant to highlight the areas of common interest between Indians and Africans. She for instance did not point out the numerous areas of cultural divergence between these two groups such as the practice of the caste system in Indian mentality while Africans emphasize a sense of brotherhood and communal solidarity where all people are equal players.

Borawar (1996) presents a series of interconnected propositions to support his conviction that there possibly existed some cultural or commercial intercourse between African and Indian peoples in the pre-modern era. His arguments which are only the hypothetical focus on the pre-modern era provide some useful insights for this study, particularly on the subject of Afro-Hindu relations (Borawar, 1996:155).

Borawar’s observations are reflected in the works of J Pundit (1961) and J. S. Mangat (1969) and Shripped K. Chiraley (1996), who argue that India, from time immemorial, has had links with its neighbours to the far west –the Africans. The two authors attempt to disprove the popular view among some scholars that India lived in isolation as a result of which there was no exchange of ideas, culture or social interaction between India and the neighbouring African communities. They assert that the people of these two continents have traded and established other links with each other for many centuries.

Pratap Kumar (2000:1) described a grim picture of Afro-Hindu relations in Africa. He portrays the Indian immigrant community as an abstract entity that just came and
planted itself in the heart of the African soil. These foreigners according to him appear to make little effort to reach out and open up social interaction with the local African people, in whose midst they have settled. The relationship that emerges between these two groups of people is characterized by tolerance. Each group is ready to co-exist with the other as long as there is no mutual interference with each other’s affair. Kumar’s views are based on the situation in South Africa although his observations are also true of most other African countries where Indians have settled and Kenya in particular.

Cynthia Salvadori (1989) reiterates that intermarriage between an Asian and an African Kenya is a very rare phenomenon. She attributes this dispensation to the fact that most Asian communities in Kenya are endogamous. Most Kenyan Africans however, interpret this as “a calculated racial insult” (Salvadori, 1989:12). The idea that the poor social relations between Africans and Asians may be as a result of imaginary mutual suspicions is implied in Salvadori’s sentiments. He downplayed the role of the Hindu caste system, but, it is fair to carry out a systematic investigation to get to the real cause, something that this research has underscored.

Prabba Prabbakar Bhardwaj (1994) believes that the poor relationship between the Hindu and Africans in Kenya is due to the colonial legacy. He recounts that under the British rule, the Kenyan society was classified on the basis of colour into; whites (Europeans and Americans), browns (Asians) and blacks (Africans). Hindus, who formed the majority among the brown coloured peoples, were well educated and served as good traders and professionals. The whites, who felt threatened by the sheer presence of the Hindus, devised a scheme to drive a segregate them from the blacks, in order to keep them under subjugation”.

There was a common consciousness according to Mayana Trivedi (1996) that was shared by the African and Indian population due to the colonial rule. In her article, “Common Consciousness shared by African and Hindu Populations”, Trivedi analyses the history of colonialism as well as the struggle against the white rule both in India and in Africa. She draws the conclusion that the colonial legacy has only helped to pull these two groups of people closer.
Trivedi’s (1996) ideas appear to be confirmed by Pratap Kumar (2000) who asserts that the fight against the British colonial rule both in India and Africa had its roots within the African continent. As Africans were agitating for the recovery of their land, the Asians were agitating for fair treatment (both as indentured labourers and as ‘free-passenger’ merchants) in the hands of the British colonial masters.

The arguments by Salvadori (1989), Trivedi (1996), Bhardwaj (1994) and Kumar (2000), provide key insights on the relationship between Indians (of whom Hindus are part) and Africans, and their ideas form a basis for comparative analysis.

1.7.6 Religious Identity
Various scholars have given different and sometimes mutually antagonistic views on religious identity. Roland Robertson (1990) for example, views on religious identity is based on the attitudes directed towards the Supreme Being, (whom Christians call God and Hindus call Brahman). Religious identity for him, incorporates only those attitudes and symbols –and values derived from them–that relate to the distinction between the empirical and super-empirical aspects of reality.

Mugambi J.N.K. (1989) states that religion is closely linked to culture. This is exemplified in the title of his tenth chapter that reads, ‘African Cultural and Religious Heritage: Continued presence and Influence’. Here, he enumerates the components of culture but gives none for religion. Mugambi concludes the chapter with the sub-heading ‘presence and influence of African cultural heritage in Kenya today’, but says nothing on religious heritage. This implies that religion and culture are synonymous.

Nthamburi Z. (1989) notes that culture is an act and attainment of humankind which is not outside the realm of “divine omnipotence”. Religion is furthermore an important aspect of culture. In the African thought, they are basically inseparable (J. S. Mbiti’s 1992:9, Nthamburi Z.(200:8). Anthropologists distinguish between the material and non-material aspects of culture. Religion and morality are classified under non-material aspect of culture. In the traditional African set up, religion
permeates into all aspects of culture making it difficult to draw a distinction between religion and other forms of culture.

Aylward Shorter (1987) explains that religious identity is a sub-set of a people’s general cultural heritage. In his endeavor to articulate the need for inculturation in African Christianity, Shorter examines two extreme positions, which are unpalatable for the Christian faith in this region. The first is acculturation, second is ‘culturalism’. Acculturation denotes a situation whereby (in the context of inter-cultural encounter – and subsequent conflict) the triumphant culture seeks to impose its will upon the vanquished culture. This was the case when Christianity first entered Africa as the western missionaries equated Christianity with European culture and sought to convert Africans to western civilization rather than to the Christian faith. This fallacy according to Nthamburi (1989) continues to affect even some modern-day missionaries.

‘Culturalism’ which is sometimes referred to as ‘syncretism’ depicts a situation whereby the essential meaning of the Christian faith is subjected to radical changes when confronted by a non-Christian culture.

1.8 Theoretical Framework
This study is guided by three social relationship theories: the Relational Development Model (RDM), the Social Exchange Theory and the Social Identity Theory.

1.8.1 The Relationship Development Model
Mark L Knapp (1984) in articulating this theory explains the key characteristics of interpersonal relationships, especially the various stages involved in the process of developing such social relationships. This research is concerned about social relationships between Hindus and Christians in Kenya. Although Krapp focuses on interpersonal relationships, his model offers key principles which have a social orientation that is applicable at any level of human relationships.
In his Model, Krapp argues that environmental factors could play an important role in the success or failure of any social relationship. In the context of this study, the post-independent era in Kenya serves as the social environment for the Hindu-Christian relationship. The study establishes whether there exists a cause-effect relationship between the prevailing environment and the state of Hindu-Christian relations within the post-colonial era in Kenya.

Krapp explains that interpersonal relationships comprise five different stages. He is however emphatic, that the sole purpose for this stage categorization in relationship development enables a better understanding on what makes relationships to work or fail. It is necessary to examine each stage of development and explain its role in the movement from one stage to another as the relationship progresses or falls apart. One should note that this transition is not necessarily progressive because it is possible to jump between the different stages.

The main focus in this research is the Hindu-Christian relationship within the post-independent era in Kenya. This period has been characterized by various activities and events which, in one way or another have influenced the pattern of life adopted by Kenyans, particularly in regard to inter-personal and inter-communal interaction. This is why it is necessary to examine these events with regard to their effect on interpersonal and inter communal relationships between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya.

The first stage in Relationship Development Model is the initiation stage where people acquaint themselves with the first impressions of two people involved in the relationship are made upon the initial encounter. Emphasis is laid on physical appearance because people often portray themselves positively as they try to examine each other’s attractiveness and likeability in relation to Hindu-Christian relations. This stage takes place at the point of initial contact between members of the two communities. Here, people engage in light conversation so as to a closer personal relationship with the other person.

Next is the experimental stage where two people attempt to find some common ground between each other’s lives such as common interests and hobbies. This is
also referred to as the “probing stage”, because each person tries to get information that would allow them to further the social connection between them. The areas of common interest that may attract Hindus and Christians to explore possibilities of starting a long-term relationship include business partnership, schooling, hobbies, entertainment, sports and professional and residential associations. At this stage many relationships are terminated or become mere acquaintance.

The next stage is the “intensifying level” where people test the potential of the relationship with varying degrees of self disclosure to see if that will be reciprocated and to test the impressions one is making. In this stage relationships grow and through self-disclosure become more apparent and entrenched. People find many different ways to foster their relationships in order to stimulate relational development. The methods of adoption include; giving gifts, asking for some form of relationship commitment or expressing affection both verbally and nonverbally. There are no set guidelines in the intensifying stage and every relationship possesses unique characteristics that make it difficult for the Relationship Development Model to accurately predict if efforts to further the relationship will succeed or fail. Partners in some relationships may experiment to see if particular advances are welcomed or ignored. These "secret" tests are intended to examine the intensity of a relationship.

The fourth stage makes a relationship grow and get integrated when for example two people merge and their status as partners is confirmed. During this period, individuals meet and create friendships leading to intimate relationship and deepest levels of self-disclosure. After getting integrated, an individual is boned into the community and the relationship is extended to the rest of the world. This is the level of bonding, in which, the commitment of the relationship is communicated to the rest of the world. This, from a legal perspective could be called marriage which is not however, necessary in the bonding stage where many intimate and romantic relationships remain indefinite, until divorce, death, or otherwise occurs. The key points in maintaining a relationship at this stage include; equitable sharing of power emphasizing positive and constructive communication patterns, and making frequent connections with one another.
Krapp’s relationship development model is fashioned around marriage. The Hindu-Christian relationships in Kenya, however, bear characteristics that are reflected in Krapp’s model and generate essential insights useful to this study. A good example is the encounter between Indians and Africans during the construction of the Uganda Railway.

1.8.2 The Social Exchange Theory

This theory which is closely related to the relationship development model as discussed above is an economic social theory that explains social change and stability as a process of negotiated exchanges between parties. In the context of this study, the negotiated exchanges involve members of the Hindu and Christian communities in Kenya. The social, economic and political stability of the Kenyan nation is an important issue which is expressed in various policy documents. It is one of the driving forces for the realization of the Kenya Vision 2030. Stability at the national level, however, cannot be possible unless it starts at the inter-communal level. This level is, similarly, not possible without stability at the inter-personal level. This is why the study has examined trends in the Hindu-Christian relationships and factors that motivate such trends (or negotiated exchanges).

The Social Exchange theory posits that all human relationships are formed on the basis of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives. The theory assumes that human relationships are based on rational choice and cost-benefit analyses. If one partner's costs begin to outweigh his or her benefits, that person may leave the relationship, especially if there are good alternatives available (Cook and Emerson, 1978). This theory is useful in analyzing the nature and scope of Hindu-Christian relations, and inter-faith dialogue initiatives in the Kenyan society.

John Dhibaut and Harold Kelley (1959) added another dimension to the theory of social exchange when they proposed various factors which make people engage in a social exchange. These include: expected gain in reputation and influence on others, altruism and perception of efficacy as well as direct reward. This hypothesis
generated useful information that served as a comparative analysis for the Hindu Christian relations in post independent Kenya which was the subject of this study.

The social exchange theory is significant for this study because it provided useful insights relevant for the interpretation of interpersonal relationships between members of the Hindu and Christian communities in Kenya. The theory however, tends to reduce human interaction to a purely rational process that arises from economic theory. Furthermore, there appears to be a general tendency among exponents of this theory to assume that the ultimate goal of a relationship is intimacy when this might not always be the case.

1.8.3 Social Identity Theory
This theory that was developed by Henri Tajfel and John Turner (1979) focuses on processes of inter-personal and inter-group social interactions. One’s membership in social groups and categories, according to this theory, forms an important part of his or her self concept. When an individual interacts with another person, they will not act as single individuals but each as a representative of a whole group or category of people. Even during a single conversation, an individual may interact with another person both at a personal level and as a member of a particular group.

The social identity theory explains inter-personal and inter-group relationships among the Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya. It determines the role of religious identity in guiding the interaction between Hindus and Christians in this country. This theory focuses on psychological and sociological aspects of group behaviour which is a key theme for this research. People inevitably acquire religious identity largely due to the group into which they are born. This circumstantial religious identity, however, affects the way an individual relates with those from outside his or her group.

The social identity theory underscores the existence of three fundamental psychological mechanisms which include the process of ‘categorization’ that denotes the process whereby objects, events and people are classified basing on the similarities of members in the same group and the differences between those in another group.
The second psychological process is ‘social comparison’ which refers to the process of comparing one’s own social group with those of others. In this context, some social groups are viewed as having more power, prestige or status than others. As a result, members of a group will compare their own groups with others and determine the relative status of their own group. Such group comparisons and determination of relative status according to this theory result in the tendency for members of a particular group to refrain from seeking membership in a group which does not share the same beliefs and ideas as those of their own group. They instead tended to cling more to the beliefs and ideas of their own social group.

The third psychological process relates to ‘the tendency for people to use group membership as a source of positive self esteem which is positive self esteem is a basic motivation for humans. But, if a group does not compare favourably with others, we may seek to leave the group or distance ourselves from it. In the case where the option of leaving the group is nonexistent, then people may seek alternative strategies such as comparing their own group to a group of a lower status.

In formulating this theory, Tajfel and Turner (1979) were guided by the desire to explain communal awareness ‘group identity’ as the cementing factor that holds together a society and the individual. The social identity focuses on how people tend to categorize themselves and others into endogamous and exogamous groups respectively. Individuals develop a sense of social belonging or identification where one’s own group is positively compared with others, and forms the basis for mutual exclusion.

If we take Kenya as a bigger social entity, Hinduism and Christianity, together, form only a small part of that bigger reality. The quality of relationship between members of these groups may, however, affect the wellbeing of the bigger social entity (the Kenyan society). If the relationship is in any way unsatisfactory, then it could create tension between the parties involved and by extension the wider Kenyan society. The social identity theory helps us interpret the processes involved in social interaction with a view to understanding the Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya.
1.9 Hypotheses
The following assumptions are made for this study:

(i) The social environment in post-independent Kenya has, to some extent influenced Hindu-Christian relationship in this country,
(ii) Adherence to the Hindu caste system affects the nature and extent of Hindu social integration in post-independent Kenya,
(iii) Hindu-Christian Interfaith dialogue initiatives in post-independent Kenya have been affected by the prevailing social environment,
(iv) The challenges currently facing Hindu-Christian relations are multidimensional in nature.

1.10 Methodology
This section examines the research design, target population, sampling procedures, methods and procedures of data collection, analysis and presentation.

1.10.1 Research Design
This study adopted a survey research design. Orodho (2005) noted that surveys are suitable means for obtaining information that is needed to describe people’s thoughts, feelings and opinions. Borg and Gall (1989) asserted that a survey design is suitable where the population under study is relatively large. The study employed this design because the population under study was large.

1.10.2 The Context of the Study
The choice of Nairobi County as the study area was purposive because this city has a significant population of Hindus and Christians. Most Christian Churches and Hindu religious organizations are based in either one or the other part of this city.

1.10.3 Target Population
The target population for this study comprised the Hindu and Christians who live in Nairobi. It is estimated that the total population of Indian Hindus living in Nairobi ranges between 11 000 to 20 000 while that of African Christians is estimated at 2 million people (CBS, 2010).
1.10.4 Sample Size and Sampling Technique

The sample size included 503 Hindus and 1217 Christians from selected Churches and Temples in Nairobi County. In identifying the actual study subjects, the researcher applied purposive sampling, cluster random sampling, stratified random sampling, simple random sampling and snowballing.

This research was concerned with members of the Hindu and Christian religions who form the target population for this study. The sampling frame comprised various sub-categories within the two main groups. In selecting the prospective respondents, the researcher used Churches and temples as entry points. Where applicable, the workplace (for working respondents) and learning institutions (for schooling respondents) were also visited. Table 1 contains details of the sampling frame.

Table 1: Sampling Frame

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Respondent Category</th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Sample size</th>
<th>Total per category</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hindu</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Hare Krishna Isckon</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>503</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAPS Shri Swaminarayan</td>
<td>140</td>
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<td>Shri Swaminarayan Mandir</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sri Sathya Sai Centre</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arya Samaj Temple</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Christians</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N P C Westlands</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>1821</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist Church, Parklands</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>210</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francis Xavier R. C Parklands</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIC Church Kileleshwa</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St Mark, ACK Westlands</td>
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<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi Chapel</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jesus Is Alive Ministries</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>132</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nairobi Lighthouse Church</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>196</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher, 2009
1.10.5 Data Collection Instruments and Procedures

The data collection instruments for this research included interview schedules, Focus Group checklists and observation checklists. Interview schedules were used to extract information from would-be interviews and were formulated in advance. Focus Group Checklists were also prepared in order to ensure the right and adequate information was generated. A set of questions were similarly formulated to assist in extracting relevant information from observation occasions.

The key informants were initially selected through stratified random sampling, while subsequent cases were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The data collection techniques included: oral interviews, Focus Group discussions, participant observation, review of records and official data and questionnaires.

a) Oral Interviews

This involved collection of data through face-to-face or telephone interaction between the interviewer (researcher) and the interviewee. The researcher drafted introductory letters to key informants, explained the purpose of the study and requested them to set interview dates. This method enabled the researcher gather in-depth information where sixty-60 interviewees were initially projected to participate. They comprised twenty- 20 Hindus, twenty- 20 independent respondents and twenty- 20 Christians of whom ten- 10 were Africans and the other ten-10 were Indians. The actual participants were increased to 40 due to difficulties in arranging interview appointments, since a smaller number was easier to manage. The participants were selected employing purposive sampling basing on their availability, accessibility and ability to generate useful information.

The method of recording information included: note-writing, tape-recording, photography and sketch mapping. Oral interviews were held at the respondent’s home, church/temple, workplace or a restaurant. The interviewee’s permission was sought before undertaking any of these forms of recording. Confidentiality was maintained for those respondents who wished to conceal their identity. And, any tape-recorded information was destroyed at the completion of the research exercise.
The major problem faced was the unavailability of prospective interviewees, especially the Hindu respondents. In some cases, the researcher rescheduled the interview session several times before it could happen. This delayed the progress of the research work. The researcher also used key informants who helped in easing accessibility to prospective interviewees. The key informants who are listed in the table below made it easier for the researcher to locate targeted respondents.

Table 2: List of Key Informants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SN</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Organization</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Govinda-Prema Dasa</td>
<td>Hare Krishna Isckon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Acahrya Shree K Maharaj</td>
<td>Shri Swaminarayan Mandir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>R.Venkatraman</td>
<td>Sri Sathya Sai Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Rohit Bhudia</td>
<td>Arya Samaj Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mike Muthengi</td>
<td>N P C –CITAM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Ptr Gebre Kahsai</td>
<td>Baptist Church, Parklands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Shastri Mwangi</td>
<td>Priest, Arya Schools, Nairobi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Harsh Gudka</td>
<td>International Leadership University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Rev. Danson Kanga</td>
<td>Jesus Is Alive Ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ev. John Magangi</td>
<td>Nairobi Lighthouse Church Shrine,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Sister Bratipha</td>
<td>The Brahma Kumaris</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Janet Kwasi, Secretary</td>
<td>East African Union, SDA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Brother Hardip Singh Sura</td>
<td>Sri Sathya Sai Centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Zahid Rajan</td>
<td>Awaaz, magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Yashwant Rai Vyas</td>
<td>Faculty of Law, UoN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Prof Porkharyal</td>
<td>Department of Mathematics, UoN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Emil Chandran</td>
<td>ASCKEN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Researcher, 2010

b) **Participant Observation**

Apart from oral interviews, the researcher made observations on various aspects focusing on inter-religious interactions between Hindus and Christians. This involved participation in activities deemed to provide relevant information for the
study. The participant observation approach enabled the researcher to examine events as they occurred.

Among the events attended include worship services both in selected Christian Churches and Hindu temples, Christian and Hindu meetings and Hindu cultural events. These occasions involved activities which generated information that was useful for this study.

a) Literary Method
The information gathered from primary sources was supplemented by secondary information which was obtained from books, journals, policy documents, Website articles and organizational reports. Most of this literary search and review was undertaken in various universities, colleges and religious based libraries. These included: Jomo Kenyatta Memorial Library (University of Nairobi), Kenyatta University Library, Catholic University Library, Hekima College Library (Nairobi), Baraton University Library, Kenya Methodist University Library, Daystar University Library, Moi University Library, HCK Library, NCCK Library, Maseno University Library, Egerton University Library (Kisii and Chuka Campuses) and Kenya National Library (Meru).

The documents were reviewed to elicit better understanding and increased knowledge in the existing relationship between Hindus and Christians in Kenya. In addition, electronic publications were sought from the Internet.

b) Questionnaires
An all-inclusive questionnaire was designed and distributed to three categories of respondents comprising; five hundred and three -503 questionnaires to the Hindu and one thousand eight hundred and twenty one -1821 Christians (comprising of mainstream and non-mainstream denominations). The word mainstream was specifically used here for purposes of distinguishing between Churches that have an elaborate network of congregations and those that operate as single-congregation entities.

In conducting this exercise, the researcher was assisted by three field assistants in administering questionnaires to respondents. They allowed them two days to
complete the exercise before collecting them back. A total number of two thousand, three hundred and twenty four - 2324 respondents participated in the exercise. The initial respondents were selected by employing the cluster random sampling technique to select separate between Hindu and Christian respondents. This was followed by a stratified random sampling technique in order to segregate the mainstream from the non-mainstream subjects. Subsequent respondents were selected either through purposive sampling snowball samplin. This technique was used in hidden populations which were fairly difficult for researchers to access.

1.10.6 Data Analysis and Presentation
This exercise involved the interpretation of data or information from fieldwork which was analyzed through descriptive and qualitative methods as outlined below. The data collected was edited for; accuracy, uniformity, consistency and completeness. The coded and tabulated data was analyzed employing descriptive statistics. Data was analyzed through thematic discussions of qualitative information (Manfield 1997).

1.11 Conclusion
This chapter focused on the introduction to the study, background to the study, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, justification of the study, area and scope of the study, operational definition of terms, the literature review and the methodology of the study. The next chapter focuses on the historical background of Hinduism and Christianity in Kenya.
CHAPTER TWO

THE HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF HINDUISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN KENYA

2.1 Introduction
This chapter contains an overview of the historical background of Kenyan Hindu and Christian communities. It focuses on the advent of colonial rule, the struggle for independence and the coming of Hinduism and Christianity into this country.

2.2 The Advent of European Rule in East Africa
The background of European settlement in Kenya is traced to the 1884-5 Berlin Conference which was concluded with no specific declaration as to which imperial power was to occupy which part of East Africa. This region was at that time under the influence of the Sultan of Zanzibar. Political and military strategic maneuvers, however, played a key role in bringing this region under the influence of Britain and Germany. After enacting the bi-lateral treaty (the Anglo-Germany Territorial Treaty) in 1886, Germany took jurisdiction over what was then Tanganyika. Britain was assigned areas in what was later to become the current two nations of Uganda and Kenya (Kapila, 2009).

By 1888, the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) which was initially based in Bombay India, but later moved to Mombasa was given the mandate to administer the British East Africa region. This effectively paved the way for the company era in East Africa. After failing to make a significant impact, IBEAC’s mandate was revoked, in 1895, through a concessionary agreement between the company and the British government (Salvadori, 1989; Patel, 2002).

The British Government, due to its vast interests in the interior of East Africa, decided to construct a railway line from Mombasa to Kisumu which was named the Uganda Railway. The intentions of the British government were to open up the interior all the way to Uganda in order to facilitate its administrative and commercial interests (Sabar, 2003).
In 1902, the British East Africa was divided into seven provinces; Seyidie, Tanaland, Kamba, Jubaland, Kenya, Naivasha and Kisumu. By this time, Nairobi fell under Kamba Province (Kapila, 2009). This territorial demarcation was done without the input of the native Africans that were already occupying various parts of the country (Ogot, 1976).

The construction of the Uganda Railway began in 1896 in Mombasa and reached its completion in Kisumu in 1901. Due to lack of sufficient labour force locally, the British Government was compelled to import labourers from India. Among those who were recruited in this manner were Hindus mainly from Gujarat and Punjab states in India. It is also important to note that World War I (1914-18) played an important role in triggering the emergence of African nationalism that eventually drove this country to political independence in 1963.

### 2.3 The Colonial Era in Kenya 1920-1963

Kenya became a colony in 1920 and the colonial rule which was established paved way for racial hostilities. By this time, more European settlers came into the colony and invested in the farming sector. This made the colonial powers to enact land legislation that favoured the interests of white settlers (Kapila, 2011). The most affected group of people, of course, was the native Africans whose large parcels of their most productive land were seized and they were rendered landless only to be confined in reserved areas. The 'white highlands' policy that was promulgated by the colonial government restricted the ownership of the best farming land to Europeans (Kapila, 2011).

A significant number of Indians (Hindus included) opted to remain in the country after the completion of the Uganda railway and were later joined by new migrants who took advantage of the economic opportunities that were quickly springing up in this region. This led to the gradual expansion of the Indian community in Kenya which took a noticeable position in the political scene that was rapidly developing. Indians were, however, not allowed to own land in the designated ‘White Highlands’. This exclusive rule triggered anti-colonial sentiments among the Indians that characterized the early years of colonial administration.
In 1919, the white settlers were allowed to elect members to the legislative council, thus excluding the African and Indian communities. This move did not please both the African and Indian communities and reflected the discriminative and paternalistic nature of the colonial administration. Anchored by their relative economic power, the Indians were the first to react and demand for their civil rights. This provided an important impetus to the native Africans who also joined the fray in asserting for equal and proportionate political representation.

2.4 The Struggle for Political Independence
The struggle for independence in Kenya was triggered by various factors, key among them was the colonial oppression, the 1923 Devonshire White Paper, the post-world war period and the Mau Mau Uprising.

2.4.1 Colonial Oppression
As the political tensions intensified in the country, the African and Indian communities rose to protest against unfair treatment in the hands of European colonizers. Two Indian activists; Alibhai Mulla Jevanjee (a muslim) and Manilal Ambalal Desai (a Hindu) played an important role in initiating changes within the political arena of the colonial administration. Their appeal for equal rights to people living in the colony led to enacting the Devonshire Declaration of 1922. Somjee (2000) reports that:

“Although Asian Africans were still not able to secure equal rights, the move contributed to the prevention of a fully blown racial segregation situation, as was the case in South Africa and Zimbabwe”

Through the East African Indian Congress party, (which has since been dissolved and its records transferred to the National Archives), the Indian community was able to champion its interests and concerns, although most of them were never granted.

2.4.2 The 1923 Devonshire White Paper
As a result of concerted efforts by both Africans and Indians, the British government made some concessions in regard to the treatment of non-Europeans in Kenya. This led to the development of the Devonshire White Paper which outlined three key
principles upon which the British colony of Kenya was to be governed. These included:

1. Responsible government was out of the question for the foreseeable future,
2. The Indian population should have elected representation,
3. The interests of the Africans in Kenya must be paramount, and if African interests conflicted with the interests of the immigrant communities, then the interests of Africans should take precedence,

At face value, the principles outlined in the Devonshire White Paper appeared favourable to both African and Indian communities in Kenya although, the conditions remained largely unchanged.

Indians, for example, soon discovered that their representative was to come through communal voting and not by a common roll system. This meant that their political power was still limited. They were, furthermore, only entitled to three representatives, although this later increased to five seats. There was a widespread concern among the Indians that their political power, as granted in the provisions of the Devonshire White Paper, was not commensurate with their economic and numerical strength.

The third principle, on the part of the Africans, which focused on their interests, was never truly implemented. An attempt was made by the Labour Government of 1924-25 to accelerate its implementation through the Passfield Declaration. This was however thwarted when a new government came into power in 1925. Meanwhile, the white settlers made demands, most of which were rejected by the Labour government through the Passfield Declaration. The situation was later changed when the white settlers found a way of working their way around the system to push their agenda.

Thus, the principle that African interests should be safeguarded at all times was—in subsequent years—very inconsistently applied. Most of the officials serving in the colonial government were still strongly influenced by the settlers because they socialized and belonged to the same clubs. When posted to Kenya, the governors often came with little experience and were frequently changed. This made them vulnerable and ready to unquestioningly accept the opinions of settlers (who
considered themselves knowledgeable about what was required and how Africans should be treated).

The Devonshire White Paper was, however, instrumental in preventing the passing of political control to white settlers in this decisive period just after World War I and the entire inter-war period.

2.4.3 The Post World War Period

The Second World War which was concluded in 1945 recruited Africans and Indians who supported the British to fight against the fierce German forces in East Africa. The war experience exposed African and Indian soldiers to issues of human rights and the importance of autonomous rule. Hence, when the ex-fighters returned to their homeland Kenya, they started agitating for equal rights within the colony. They even sought for restoration of their grabbed land and soon a wave of African nationalism swept across the political landscape in Kenya. The demands for a government of majority rule and total political emancipation intensified. A number of Indians, including some Hindus, supported the Africans’ bid for self-governance. Thus, both Indians and Africans were united in demanding for political rights to be extended to all people regardless of their racial status.

The white settlers however made it impossible for other races to enjoy similar rights and privileges as themselves. This resulted in Africans waging a guerrilla war against the British rule; through the Mau Mau fighters.

The Mau Mau uprising created a period of great suffering among the Africans. Whereas it is estimated that about 100 Europeans lost their lives, the main victims of the guerrilla war were members of the African communities who lost about 10000 of their men and women during the uprising. Africans were targeted both by the British fighters and the Mau Mau fighters who turned their wrath on anyone who refused to support the Mau Mau cause. They were branded collaborators and faced the death penalty was death. Some Indians supported the Mau Mau fighters while others rallied their support behind the British government in order to protect their business interests.
2.4.4 The Mau Mau Uprising
The Mau Mau revolt continued to rage on until it was forcefully subdued in 1956, through the capture and subsequent execution of its lead commander, Field Marshal Dedan Kimathi. By the time it ended, the uprising had caused both Africans and Indians immense loses. The Africans lost their land, had their property of even livestock confiscated for allegedly supporting the Mau. This communal punishment was a veiled attempt at coercing the Mau Mau militants into downing their weapons and surrendering unconditionally. As a result of the Mau Mau rebellion, a conference was organized in London in 1960 deliberate on the grievances voiced by the native communities. At this conference, it was resolved to allocate the majority of seats in the legislative council to Africans. Consequently, Kenya's first African parties were formed to take part in the new emerging political dispensation.

Jomo Kenyatta who, alongside 180 other suspected Mau Mau leaders, was arrested and detained in 1952 remained in prison until 1961. He was elected in 1960, while in detention, to serve as president of the newly formed political party Kenya African National Union (KANU). In 1962, he led Kenya's delegation to London in the negotiations for independence.

Elections were held in Kenya in May 1963 and KANU won the majority of the seats leading to Independence in December 1963. Jomo Kenyatta was declared the country’s first prime minister and the independent nation of Kenya included the coastal strip which until this time had been leased from the sultan of Zanzibar.

2.5 The Origins and Settlement of Hindus in Kenya
The majority of Hindus living in Nairobi have their origins in the Indian states of Gujarat, South India, Western India, Central India, Buhar and Uttar Pradesh (Kapila, 2009). It is however not possible to exhaustively list all the states in India from which Hindus in Kenya originated due to difficulties in obtaining such information (arising largely out of the fact that most of the independent migrants did not have to register their personal details with any central authorities. This is why their areas of origin remain unaccounted for.

The Hindus, who migrated from India generally, fall into two broad categories, based on their method of migration. The first category is made up of indentured labourers popularly known as Indian coolies migrated into the country by the direct expense of the East African Imperial Company which was responsible for the building of the Uganda Railway. The indentured labourers were brought in to provide a much-needed cheap labour in construction of the Railway.

The second category comprised the Rockets who migrated at their own risk and cost so as to take advantage of and exploit the numerous business opportunities that were rapidly emerging as a result of the completion of the Uganda Railway.

Critical analyses of the Hindu migration reveals two broad categories of the push and pull factors. The push factors are related to the situation in India by the closing decades of the Nineteenth Century and the opening decades of the Twentieth Century ACE. These factors include adverse climatic conditions that led to prolonged famine and drought in most parts of India, a general sense of insecurity due to natural disasters such as earthquakes and volcanic eruptions that frequented the region, population explosion, the caste system and general unemployment that led to acute poverty. Hence, when an opportunity presented itself to move away from the region for better prospects, many of the impoverished masses were more than willing to embrace the change.

The pull factors focus on the prevailing conditions in East Africa at that time. Among these include: the construction of the Uganda Railway line, the stable and predictable geological conditions and conducive climate available in East Africa which favoured agriculture, the availability of large tracts of land for commercial
farming in East Africa, and the numerous business opportunities that were opening up in the region.

They were joined by hundreds of independent immigrants (mainly Indian Gujarats and a few Goans) who arrived as shopkeepers, artisans and professionals. Asians as well as Arabs were already in the region well before Europeans arrived. They were involved in business along the coast and also enabled the European explorers and missionaries to make their way inside the continent (Nazareth, 1981).

Upon the completion of the Uganda Railway in December 1901, most of the indentured labourers opted to return to India. Some of the labourers chose to remain in Kenya. As opportunities for self-advancement became obvious in rapidly transforming the East African region, more Hindus joined other similar-minded Asians to migrate to Kenya for business and job prospects. It is estimated that over 30 000 Indian coolies were engaged by the British during the entire period of construction work for the railway. This number was slightly reduced, upon completion of the railway line as some of the indentured Indians returned to their countries of origin. More Indians, however, continued to come into the country and have engaged in commerce. The number of Indians in the country continued to soar and by the eve of independence, the total population of Indians in Kenya was approximately 100 000, comprising Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs as well as members of several other faiths. It is however difficult to determine the exact number of Hindus at the time since most of the earlier census did not factor in the issue of religion among Asians. It is only recently that religion became a variable in census, analysis. It was 1999 that for the first time the Kenyan National Census results indicate that the Hindus were, and have always been the majority group within the Asian immigrant community in Kenya (Heizig, 2006).

The construction of the Railway line continued progressively until it reached Nairobi (derived from the term Enorobi, a Maasai word for ‘place of many waters’). This native community who lived in the attractive terrain prompted the Imperial British East African Company (IBEAC) to move its headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi. The colonial government, which came into effect in 1898, was quick to relocate its headquarters from Machakos to Nairobi. It was quickly sprouting into a
vibrant town and welcomed many Hindus who had migrated to Kenya independently. After settling here, the independent (or rocket) Hindus started operating dukas (shops) – which initially consisted of some shanty structures. These were later transformed into high-rise concrete buildings that currently characterize Nairobi. Some of them are still owned by Hindus either singly or in partnership.

As the railway reached completion, some of the Indian labourers who had opted to stay in Nairobi rather than travel back to India. More Indians later came from India and took part in the economic activities that were being unveiled by newly built railway. The colonial government instituted laws which ensured that only people of European origin had access to the fertile and productive land in the country. Hindus, just like the rest of their fellow Asians found themselves restricted on which areas to settle. The rural and hinterland areas were clearly out of bounds for them, except only the non-productive areas. Hence, they were forced to become urban dwellers and most of them chose Nairobi as their preferred residence.

2.6 Communal Diversity within the Hindu Community in Kenya

The Hindu community in Kenya is not a homogenous community, but is rather, divided into various sectarian and sub-ethnic groups, some of whom are mutually exclusive. The Hindu community in Kenya is subdivided first depending on their area of origin in India. Most of them came from Gujarat, South India, Western India, Punjab and Central India. Second, the Hindus are categorized linguistically as Punjabi, Hindi, Konkani, Gujarati and Kumar.

Third, the major Hindu sub ethnic groups include: Lohana, Luhars, Bhatias, Bhaic Rajs, Gujarati, among others. The Gujarati who are the majority are a dominant ethnic group in South-Eastern India where the majority of Kenyan Hindus also originated.

Fourth, most Hindus in Kenya are identified along the predominant trade, profession or occupation according their family lineage. The Patels, whose roots are traced to the Vaishya caste are mainly farmers or have ventured into farming-related industry such as food processing enterprises. But when they moved to Kenya, they initially
lodged themselves in the farming sector – with interests in Sisal, Tea, Coffee and Sugar Cane plantations. A combination of factors, however, later pushed them out of farming into other occupations.

The way in which Hindus relate with their fellow Kenyans of African ethnicity has been to a great degree influenced by various socio-political, economic and religio-cultural events in post-colonial Kenya.

2.7 The Origins and Development of Christianity in Kenya

The commercial links between India and the east coast of Africa was in place long before the coming of the Europeans to this region. It is also believed that Christianity was introduced in India by St. Thomas the Apostle. The Mathoma Church in India claims to have been in existence since the first century ACE. If this is true, then it may be possible that among those Indians who conducted commercial activities across the Indian Ocean at the East coast of Africa comprised some Christians. Christian evangelization in Kenya, however, took place in two phases. The first consists of the largely unsuccessful attempt by Portuguese missionaries to plant Christianity at the East Coast of Africa in the 15th-18th centuries ACE led by Vasco da Gama who arrived in Mombasa in the first half of 1498. He sailed from Portugal and navigated his way around the west coast of Africa, through the Cape of Good Hope in southern Africa before finally landing in Mombasa. This town was under the control of Arabs and was predominantly Muslim oriented.

At this time Europe was fighting the Muslim moors who were proving difficult to defeat in a face-to-face confrontation. The best way to overcome the moors was to fight them from the rear. Vasco da Gama’s mission was to explore an alternative route to India so as to attack them from the rear. Vasco da Gama working under the direction of King Henry the Navigator wanted to find an African ruler who was willing to become an ally in this struggle against Muslims. The king also wanted to spread the Christian faith privately in Africa (Nthamburi, 1991).
The arrival of Francis Xavier in Mombasa early in the sixteenth century boosted Christian evangelization in this area. These efforts were, however, greatly hampered by the low morals displayed by the Portuguese residents.

In 1499, Vasco da Gama sent a report indicating that the Church in Mombasa was nearing its completion and that evangelization was gaining momentum -being spearheaded mainly by the Augustinians (who were responsible for missionary outreach). The Augustinian fathers reported that 600 people had been converted to Christianity in addition to the Misericordia community which was offering care to the widows and orphans who had been converted to Christianity. But, in 1729, the Portuguese lost control of Mombasa and the entire East coast of Africa signaling the end to the first phase of Christian evangelization efforts in this region (Nthamburi, 1991).

The second phase of Christian evangelization in Kenya took place during the modern missionary era. This was a more effective bid at planting Christianity in Africa through proliferation of mission societies in Europe during the 18th and 19th century. Although some scholars have suggested imperial and commercial motives to have been the major driving force behind Christian missionary interest in Africa as a whole, it is also possible that the missionaries were purely motivated by zeal to spread the gospel. In an effort not to downplay the possibility of the missionaries being driven by factors other than the missionary zeal (Nthamburi, 1991) observes that imperial and commercial interests could have served merely as the modus operandi for missionary activity rather than an end in themselves.

During the modern missionary enterprise, both Roman Catholic and Protestant mission societies participated in bringing the Christian message to the native African communities. The Church Missionary Society (CMS), was the first group to evangelize Kenya through the efforts of Johan Ludwig Krapf who arrived in Mombasa in 1844 beginning a new era for Christianity in East Africa (Nthamburi, 1991). The previous attempt by Portuguese missionaries had failed to leave behind a lasting mark of Christian presence in this town, except the construction of Fort Jesus and some remnants of the buildings that had been erected by the Portuguese, (Barret et al., 1973:21).
Krapf settled at Rabai and was joined two years later by Johan Rebman who then concentrated on learning local African dialects such as Kinyika (Kiduruma), Kiswahili, Kigiriama and later Kikamba. They then translated the Bible, into these languages. In 1849, Krapf and Rebmann were joined by Erhardt but they were unable to penetrate the interior and spread the gospel among the communities they interacted with.

Krapf left Kenya in 1853, and went back to Europe, with very little to show for his efforts in Mombasa. Zablon Nthamburi (1991) notes that:

“Apart from his linguistic work, he (Krapf) could not boast of any other success. He had been able to baptize only one person, a dying, crippled man named Mringe. There was another Giriama outcast, Abbe Gunja, who remained (Krapf’s) faithful disciple” (Nthamburi, 1991).

While in Europe, Krapf’s experience in Africa was popularized in a book he wrote, *Travels, Researches and Missionary Labours*, More missionary societies expressed interest in coming to East Africa after reading this book and soon Krapf found himself back in Mombasa, this time under the auspices of the Methodist Missionary society (MMS). His return to Africa was motivated by the need to evangelise the Galla -present-day Orma people and the vision to establish a chain of missions between East and West Africa. He believed that the sheer numerical strength of the warlike Galla community was an asset that the Church could use to strategically position itself in Eastern Africa. Krapf believed that it was necessary for the Church to penetrate into the interior of the continent and established a chain of missions from east to west.

In 1862, Krapf, accompanied by the MMS team – with Thomas Wakefield as their lead missionary, established a mission station at Ribe in 1862. But Wakefield’s companion, James Woolner, was forced to leave due to poor health. The Methodist missionaries were however able to open other mission stations in Ganjoni (Mazeras), Jomvu, and Chonyi.

It was also during the later part of 1860s, that the fight against slave trade, which had already gained momentum in West Africa, was also introduced in East Africa. This was enhanced by the British naval ships which patrolled the Indian Ocean and
capturing slave ships and releasing all slaves therein. As a result, both the CMS and
the Methodists found themselves preoccupied with efforts to settle the rescued
slaves. Sir Battle Frere, Britain’s special envoy to Zanzibar, encouraged Christian
missions to concentrate on the settlement of freed slaves. A large settlement for
freed slaves was established at Freretown, in the Kisauni area of Mombasa where
most of the former slaves were brought in by British warships. The prevailing
atmosphere that ensued, however, provided sufficient motivation for slaves around
Mombasa to aspire for freedom. As time went by, most of these local slaves escaped
from their masters and sought refuge in the resettlement camps. This placed the
missionaries in an antagonistic position with the local Arab residents.

Prior to the establishment of Frere town, as a home for freed slaves, the rescued
slaves were sent to India where they underwent some elementary training in basic
industrial skills, such as carpentry, weaving, tin smithry and agriculture. Some
former slaves deserted the camp and went to live with other African communities in
the surrounding area, or traced their way back to their original homes. This was due
to the hostile conditions that they were subjected to in the camps. Soon, Freetown
ran the risk of closure for lack of occupants.

At this time, Frere encouraged the transfer from Bombay, India, of the ex-slaves
who had earlier been sent there and who were willing to return to Africa. Among
these were George David, Ishmael Semler, William Jones, John Mombira, Thomas
Mazera, and Stephen Kerri, who were very instrumental in the subsequent success of
Christian evangelization in Kenya.

A Methodist missionary, W. H. During managed to get to the Galla people, in 1883,
and discovered that Krapf’s obsession about these people was little unfounded. They
were not many as Krapf had always imagined. Initially, he had estimated them to
number between six to eight million, yet they were far less than even one million.
Two events accelerated Christian evangelization in Kenya. First was the
partitioning of Africa by the 1884/85 Berlin Conference. It was the conclusion of
this conference that bore implications on the future pattern for missionary work in
Africa. Missionary societies tended to respect their nation of origin, as they
perceived the need to have maximum protection (Nthamburi, 1991). Kenya had
become a British protectorate and for ease of administration, the Royal Charter was granted to the Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEAC). In 1888 Sir William Mackinnon, the company's director, encouraged the protestant missions to extend their work into the interior, particularly in areas where the company had already established administrative posts because, their security could be guaranteed. Being a Scotsman, Mackinnon encouraged the establishment of the East African Scottish Mission (EASM).

On September 19, 1891 Steward, the EASM lead missionary, left for the interior with a party of seven missionaries and 273 porters. Unable to reach their original target of Kikuyu land, the party settled at Kibwezi. And, by 1898, Rev. Thomas Watson successfully led the Scottish Mission to Kikuyu and in the following year, founded a mission station at Thogoto. It became the first mission society to move to the proximity of Nairobi.

The second event that accelerated Christian evangelization in Kenya was the building of the Uganda Railway, which was started in Mombasa in 1895, reached Nairobi in 1899 and Kisumu in 1901. This railway provided an impetus for other missions to venture into the interior because it provided a cheap and safe route across the savannah and thorn-shrub country inhabited by the warlike Wakamba and Wamaasai.

The CMS established themselves in Taveta by 1890 which was an important Arab Swahili trading center, as well as a supply station for caravans who were about to cross Masailand (Strayer, 1978:34).

When the CMS moved inwards from Taveta, they relocated to Kabete and spread to other parts of central province. The Scottish mission and the CMS became the most popular denominations in central Kenya. Nairobi grew into prominence as a major urban centre. It attracted the African elites who were in search of salaried employment, because more Churches were opened in Nairobi to cater for the spiritual needs of their members Strayer (1978:35).

Other protestant mission Churches that moved to Nairobi included; the Africa Inland Mission, which had started in Ukambani and later reached Kijabe in 1901; the
Church of God, which had started in western Kenya, in 1905; the Pentecostal Assemblies of Canada; the Southern Baptists who began their work in Kenya in 1956; the German Seventh Day Adventists, who moved to Kenya around 1906, and the Salvation Army, who came to Kenya in 1921 (Barrett et al, 1973).

Kenya therefore became a reputed and preferred destination for mission work and Nairobi became the haven for missionary work. The proliferation of missionary activity in this area was spearheaded by both local and foreign missionaries and evangelists who cherished their mandate to preach the gospel. A few of them have been criticized for their unorthodox beliefs and practices. There are also para-church organizations such as the African Evangelistic Enterprise, World Vision, Campus Crusade, the Navigators, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A that are based in Nairobi. These organizations which are inter-denominational supplement the efforts of churches in the propagation of the gospel.

Apart from the establishment of protestant missions being in Kenya, the Roman Catholic missionary activity in East Africa was initiated by the French Congregation of the Holy Ghost Fathers who arrived in Nairobi in 1899 soon after the railway line reached there. The St. Austin Mission was established, and further developed the first large plantation of Arabica coffee in Kenya. Other congregations that started mission stations in various parts of Kenya included the Consolata Society of Turin, who arrived in 1902; and the Mill Hill congregation, which was the only British society working in Kenya.

In addition, numerous orders of sisters assisted in mission work in Kenya. The first to arrive were the Daughters of St. Vincent, in 1903. In 1918, the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters was formed as an African congregation and was elevated to the status of a religious congregation in 1927. Consequently, the first African Mother superior, sister Giulia Wambui, was elected in 1946. The Franciscan Sisters of St. Mary, meanwhile, worked alongside the Mill Hill congregation and witnessed an increasing number of congregations of sisters who have played an important role in the establishment of new churches and other related social services.
One of the greatest strengths for the Roman Catholic Church has been its strategic investments in farmland and in service oriented institutions. In Nairobi for example, the Church owns huge parcels of land across the county. It also has numerous Churches within predominantly Asian residential areas, and therefore in close proximity to Hindu Temple locations. Good examples include St Peter Claver and Francis Xavier Catholic Churches which are surrounded by numerous Hindu temples (Barrett et al, 1973).

A part from the protestant and the Roman Catholic Missions, the phenomenon of African Indigenous Churches is a subject that has attracted great interest among African scholars. Nthamburi (1991), influenced by David B. Barrett’s continent-wide survey of the indigenous Church movement, notes the following as among the factors that are responsible for the emergence of these churches. These include African traditional culture, African religion, missionary paternalism, the colonial legacy, and the conditions of modern society. The African initiated Churches, according to Nthamburi (1991), are growing much faster than the historic or mission-founded Churches.

The first indigenous Church in Kenya, the Nomiya Church was founded in 1914 by Johana Owalo, who was initially a Roman Catholic seminarian, before joining the CMS mission. It is from the CMS mission that he broke away to form the Nomiya Luo Mission, the precursor of the Nomiya Church. Two years later, Alfayo Odongo started the Roho movement, which later became the Roho Musanda Church. Another movement broke away from the Friends Mission to form the Dini ya Roho, or the Church of the Holy Spirit (Nthamburi, 1991).

In 1953, through the efforts of a Luo prophetess Gaudencia Aoko, the Legio Maria Church was founded. Other indigenous Churches that sprang during the colonial period include; the Church of Christ in Africa, the Johera movement, the Africa Israel Church Nineveh, the Africa Independent Pentecostal Church, the African Greek Orthodox Church, African Christian Church, the African Brotherhood Church, the "Dini ya Kaggia" or Arata a Roho Mutheru (Friends of the Holy Spirit) Church, the Apostolic Faith of Africa and the Holy Church of Evangelistic Apostles Faith.
2.8 Kenya as a Multi-religious Society

In the previous sections of this chapter, it was indicated that Christianity and Hinduism are deep-rooted within the Kenyan society. There are, however, several other religious systems operating in Kenya. These include Sikhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Judaism, Islam and African Traditional religion. This means that in Kenya, there is variety of religious expression. Religious pluralism in this country is founded within the national constitution – wherein freedom of religious expression is enshrined (Mbiti, 1975; Sabar, 2002).

2.8.1 The Concept of Religious Pluralism

Religious pluralism involves diversity of religious expression within a society. In a society which is pluralistic, the validity of its various religious systems is not questioned. There is, instead, an emphasis on mutual tolerance of the various religious views. Here, members of each religious system are allowed to affirm their faith but are not allowed to do so in a way that may sound offensive to members of other religions (Dupuis, 1997).

In Kenya, members of the various religions co-exist in a relatively peaceful manner. The views of other people’s religions are tolerated although there may be isolated instances of violent confrontation. Hindus and Christians have lived in mutually while respecting each other’s religious views.

The promulgation Kenya’s new constitution in 2010 has helped to enhance the freedom of religious expression as enshrined in the bill of eights which guarantees freedom of worship. The previous constitution was drafted in Lancaster, Great Britain by only a few people who represented the rest of the population.

The 2010 constitution was passed by popular vote and is considered as reflecting the will of the Kenyan people. The Bill of Rights contained therein is, a reflection of the willingness by most Kenyans to allow or, at least, tolerate religious pluralism.
The principle of religious pluralism according to Jacques Dupuis (1997) is based on the richness and diversity of God’s revelation to all of humanity. The following is a summary of what religious pluralism entails according to Dupuis (1997).

1. Although Jesus Christ is the savior of humankind, God also works in other religions.
2. In every authentic religious experience, the triune God of Christian revelation was present and operative.
3. Christian theology must adopt a global outlook that incorporates in its vision the entire religious experience of humanity.
4. This means that its horizon must be universal.
5. He maintains that religious faiths differ substantially from one another and thus it is not possible to have a universal theology.
6. We must acknowledge the “plurality and diversity of beliefs and the mutual acceptance of the others in their uniqueness.”
7. He proposes a model of “interpenetration and cross-fertilization” of the various religions in their diversities.
8. Commitment to one’s faith is compatible with openness to others.
9. The affirmation of one’s religion need not be confrontational with that of others.
10. Truth and grace in other religious are not just “stepping stones”; they represent additional benefits to humankind.

When the first World’s parliament of Religions, was held in Chicago in 1893, Swami Vivekananda was a participant representing the Hindu tradition. He was categorical that sectarianism, bigotry, religious fanatics, violence has caused death and loss of blood in human history.

Dupuis (1997) asserts the need for a paradigm shift in the debate over the theology of religions. The paradigm shift is at two levels. At the first level, it involves the paradigm shift in theological discourse from ecclcsiocentrism to Christocentricism. This means a radical “decentering” of the church that is at the centre of the Christian mystery of Christ. Regarding the theology of religions, this paradigm shift from exclusivism to inclusivism requires a distinction between the role of Jesus Christ and the church that cannot be on the same level in the order of salvation.

At the Secondary level, the shift is from Christocentrism to theocentrism. This means God alone stands at the centre.
The spirit “blow where he wills” (John 3:8); it has been universally present throughout history and remains active today inside and also outside of Christianity. The Spirit also inspires people in their own religious customs.

Karl Rahner bases his belief in the universality of divine revelation on an analysis of the existential condition of human existence, which he calls the “supernatural existential”.

A theology of religious plurality according to Dupuis, must express the universal presence of the Word and Spirit outside the Judeo-Christian tradition. Jesus is not just the founder of Christianity but the ‘refounder’ of the universal covenant.” The covenants relate to each other as diverse ways of God relating to his people—they are “Logophanies”, in which Logos breaks into history in the incarnation. In the light of the above, divine revelation is not limited to biblical history but extended to the entire history of salvation.

In the Vatican II document, Lumen Gentium, the church is identified with the reign of God both in its historical realization and its eschatological fulfillment. However, Dupuis notes that the reign of God in its historical reality extends beyond the Church to all people.
The kingdom of Christ is more comprehensive than the Church: Christ’s rule extends beyond the Church.

Karl Rahner argues that the church has only a provisional status as it advances in history towards the promised future. The followers of other religious traditions also belong to the Kingdom of God. Though they are not members of the church, they share in the fullness of the kingdom.

2.8.2 The concept of Interfaith Dialogue
Dialogue is understood as “a method and means of mutual knowledge and enrichment which “leads to inner purification and conversion”. It is not a question of converting the others to Christianity, but of the conversion of all towards God. In the Vatican document Dialogue and Proclamation, other religious traditions are given a positive role in the salvation of their adherents. The aim of interreligious
dialogue is “a deeper conversion of all towards God” and thus dialogue has its own validity.

The encounter and experience are ends in themselves because they enable the partners to be open to each other and to God, and finally to a deeper conversion of each to God.

Jacques Dupuis argues that Christian theology pluralism must be an interfaith theology. We must be truly committed to our faith while the same time taking a universal perspective and being open to all human experience of the absolute. Thus, a theology of religious pluralism must be able to hold in “constructive tension” the particularity of the historical Christ–event and the universal action of the Holy Spirit.

Who taught that the Spirit operates beyond the visible boundary of the church in the world’s cultures and religions? According to John Scott, it is presumptuous for Christian to speak of taking Christ to another situation. Christ is present everywhere, and when Christian missionaries take the Christian message to a new setting, they would find him there. He argues that dialogue between Christians and Hindus can only find meaning if it is based on mutual respect for each other’s religious beliefs (Scott, 1975:74-75). Scott implicitly appears to admit that interfaith dialogue between Christians and Hindus is often problematic. The problems arise when Christians approach Hindus with an attitude that their faith is superior to that of Hindus only to be confronted with a deeper spirituality from the Hindus (Scott, 1975:75).

2.9 Conclusion
The coming of Christianity to Kenya marked the beginning of a new era in this country. The missionaries were soon followed by the colonialists and for a long time, the two operated as one. The building and completion of the Uganda Railway was instrumental in the entry of Hindus as well as other Indians into this country. The bearers of Hinduism came into the country almost at the same time as the propagators of Christianity. Africans chose to get converted to Christianity rather than to Hinduism. A greater number of Africans, similarly, responded positively to Christian evangelization than did Indians, yet Africans like Indians–had their own religions. It is the conversion of most indigenous Africans into Christianity has
turned this religion into the most popular and numerically strong faith within this country. Hinduism, however, continues to be the most popular and numerically strong faith among Indians in Kenya. The next chapter examines the key features of Hinduism and how it compares or contrasts with Christianity within the context of post-independent Kenya.
CHAPTER THREE

IDENTIFICATION FEATURES OF KENYAN HINDUISM

3.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on the place of Hinduism in post-independent Kenya. It examines the universal connection of Kenyan Hinduism, the identification features of Kenyan Hinduism, major areas of similarity and difference between Hinduism and Christianity as well as the areas of common interest between Hindus and Christians in Kenya.

3.2 Universal Hinduism and Kenyan Hinduism
At the universal level, the history of Hinduism dates back to approximately 3,500 years ago (Osborne, 2005). It is rooted from the Vedic religion of Iron Age in India and has the largest following there. The followers of Hinduism worldwide are approximately 800 million. Historically, Hinduism comprises diverse traditions and has no single founder.

The origin of Hinduism is traced back to the Indus Valley region and is derived richly from the Indus People, the Vedic People, Dravidian cultures, folk religions and the foreign traditions of Mesopotamia, Greece, Arabia, China and central Russia" (Flood, 1996; Bhatt, 1976; Brown, 1989). Hindu philosophy and literature have, furthermore, become worldly influential even to those who do not follow this religion.

In Kenya, Hinduism has continued to thrive as one of the most significant minority religions in this country. Universal elements are those that bear a connection to the fundamental body of beliefs and practices within the Hindu religion.

The Hindus in Kenya, as with their counterparts in the rest of the world, rely on a wide range of texts for their spiritual guidance. These scriptures are classified as; Shruti (‘revealed’) and Smriti (‘remembered’) texts. Both collections of texts discuss
their theology, Philosophy and mythology, and provide information on the practice of dharma (religious living). Emphasis is laid upon the Vedas which are highly regarded in authority, importance and antiquity. The other Hindu scriptures include; the Upanishads, Puranas and the epics (Mahabharata and Ramayana). One other widely read book is the Bhagavad Gita, a syncretistic treatise from the Mahabharata that combines Vedanta, Yoga, and some Samkhya philosophy into its discussion of good conduct and life (Vaz, 2001).

It is in the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad that the transition of the rta to the modern idea of dharma is first implied. The Upanishads saw dharma as the “universal principle of law, order, harmony, all in all truth, that sprang first from Brahmam”. It acts as the regulatory moral principle of the Universe. It is sat (truth), a major tenet of Hinduism, which draws back to the conception of the Rig Veda that "Ekam Sat," (Truth Is One), and of the idea that Brahmam is "Sacchidananda" (Truth-Consciousness-Bliss). Dharma is not just law, or harmony, it is pure Reality. As the Brihadaranyaka puts it:

"Verily, that which is Dharma is truth. Therefore, a man who speaks the truth, "He speaks the Dharma," Or a man who speaks the Dharma, "He speaks the Truth.", Verily, both these things are the same." (Brh. Upanishad, 1.4.14)

In the Mahabharata, Krishna exclaims that,

"Dharma upholds both this-worldly and other-worldly affairs. (Mbh 12.110). The word Sanātana means perpetual embodiment (of dharma); signifying that dharma has neither beginning nor end" (Prabhupādā, Bhaktivedanta 1986).

Devotion to a deity involves attachment to a particular temple assigned to such deity and the support of priests thereof. Temples and priests continue to occupy a significant place in Hindu spirituality in Kenya. This may be as a result of the fact that most Hindus in Kenya come from the lower castes which traditionally embrace the way of devotion as the route to salvation or moksha. In a research to determine the prevailing trends in deity-based Indian devotion, Flood (1996) lists the following as the main divisions of Hinduism today;

(a) Vaishnavism

(b) Shaivism

(c) Smartism and Shaktism
Table 3: The Universal Elements within Kenyan Hinduism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Universal elements within Kenyan Hinduism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hindu scriptures</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>38.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharma</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>24.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership recruitment</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>14.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Importance of temples and priests</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in Table 3, 38.51% of the respondents picked Hindu scriptures as the most prevalent universal element within Kenyan Hinduism. Hindu scriptures do not come from a single book; but rather from many sacred writings, all of which have in some way contributed to its doctrines. The Vedas, Puranas, the Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Manu Smriti are the most important sources of religious authority (Flood, 1996:287). Most of these sacred texts, however, are written in Indian languages. The younger generation of Kenyan Hindus is not adequately familiar with these languages. Thus, the majority of Kenyan Hindus sometimes rely on recruiting language experts from India to teach or interpret the sacred books because such expertise is difficult to get locally.

Apart from upholding the scriptures, the Hindus observe the principle of dharma based on the idea that there is a "power" (ṛta) that lies behind nature and keeps everything in balance. 24.53% of the respondents identified dharma as one of the major aspects that Kenyan Hindus observe in line with other Hindus worldwide. The Hindus assert that ṛta ("power") became a natural forerunner to the idea of Dharma and its implicit attribution to the "ultimate reality" of the surrounding universe, in classical Vedic Hinduism (Vaz, 2001). An example of where ṛta is mentioned in Vedas is in the following verse taken from the Rig-Veda: “O Indra, lead us on the path of ṛta, on the right path over all evils.” (rv 10.133.6).

It is not possible, however, to determine the exact number of adherents for each of these divisions in Kenya. It was also difficult to determine whether all these have
followers in Kenya. As is the case in other parts of the world, Hindus in Kenya recognize numerous deities. Some of these are viewed as subordinate to the Supreme Being (Brahman) or as lower manifestations of it (Flood 1996:14). They also believe in the power of these deities to circumvent reincarnation through the principle of karma - personal actions.

Fourteen point four six percent (14.46%) of the respondents indicated that Hinduism in Kenya has remained a non-missionary religion, particularly the orthodox section of the religion. This implies that the majority of Hindus in Kenya were introduced to Hinduism by their parents since childhood. This case, however, applies mainly to orthodox Hinduism because there are numerous new religious movements in Hinduism that actively seek for converts to their religion. Such examples include; the Arya Samaj’s International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISCKON) and the Brahma Samaj. For this reason, a few African Kenyan adherents indicated that they converted to Hinduism in adulthood. A good example is Sri Shastri Mwangi, a Hindu of African ethnicity who is the Hindu Chaplain in charge of the Arya Schools complex in Ngara, Nairobi.

Table 4: Identification Features of Kenyan Hinduism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Features of identification for Kenyan Hinduism</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South Indian ancestry</td>
<td>712</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyan heritage</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Indian cultural system</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious practices</td>
<td>612</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses on the key distinguishing features of identification for Kenyan Hinduism include: South Indian ancestry, Kenyan heritage, Afro-Indian cultural system and religious practices.

Kenyan Hindus are conscious of the fact that they originated from south India, particularly in the states of Gujarat and Marwar. This is what has given them a
special identity within Kenya. They are light skinned (except for the few Africans who have converted to the religion) and belong to a different race. They referred to as ‘Wahindi’ (the Kiswahili name for Indian), while the Sikhs are referred to in most African dialects, as ‘Makalasinga’. The emergence of African followers, however, may soon present a challenge to the applicability of such names in providing an all-inclusive description of Hindus. Although Sikhs are easily distinguished from the rest of Indians, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish a Hindu from a Muslim or a Jain. Hindus of Indian ethnicity consider themselves as bi-continental in identity and seek to encourage a similar understanding among fellow Kenyans.

One of the most difficult challenges facing Hindus of Indian ethnicity in Kenya is how to reconcile their double identity. They are conscious of their connection to the Indian sub-continent yet they find themselves in a strange land with diverse religio-cultural systems in a country they to call home, since that is where they have been reared (Patel, 2010). This crisis affects other members of the Asian immigrant community in Kenya. This double identity issue according to Sultan Somjee (2000) has presented the Hindus with a crisis situation which needs to be addressed. The conviction among some Hindus, however, is that they should be called Afro-Indians, Kenyan Indians or even Kenindians (Somjee, 2000). Some of them prefer to be referred to as South Indians in Diaspora. There are also suggestions that to help Hindus – as well as other Asians in general, to effectively become socially integrated into the Kenyan society, they should be regarded as an ethnic group and be listed alongside other ethnic groups in the country (Isahakia, 2001).

Although it is true that every individual is rooted in a particular culture, it is not easy for a person to completely abandon the culture in which they have been brought up (Patel, 2000). The Hindus in Kenya have been able to preserve the Indian cultural system and continue with its practice here in Kenya. They have largely retained their various vernacular languages and have remained largely unchanged in terms of clothing and diet, architecture, art, music, dance, various aesthetical and social aspects. Isahakia (2001) identifies these aspects of Indian culture as being the key tenets in determining Indian heritage in Kenya. Hindus of Indian ethnicity are thus aware of their unique cultural heritage which they have endeavoured to preserve and transmit to the new generation of Hindus in Kenya.
Hindu adherents in Kenya have remained loyal to Hindu teachings and no group is known yet that has drastically broken away from Hindu teachings or that has challenged such teachings and whose origin can be traced purely to Kenya. The Kenyan Hindus, however, are aware that they live in a different and unique context and therefore must apply their religious beliefs with a great sense of responsibility. In essence, Hindu religious system is based upon the following principles and concepts:

(a) Concept of God
(b) Dharma (ethics/duties)
(c) Samsara (The continuing cycle of birth, life, death and rebirth)
(d) Karma (action and subsequent reaction)
(e) Moksha (liberation from the cycle of rebirth)
(f) The various Yogas (paths or practices).
(g) Inclusiveness of religious perspective (which underlines the validity of all religious beliefs)

This is confirmed by Brodd (2003) who describes the above as being the cardinal beliefs in Hinduism globally. Since, Brodd (2003) does not emphasize inclusiveness as a religious perspective, more studies need to be undertaken to ascertain whether this is a global characteristic among the Hindus.

The majority of Hindus living in Kenya expressed the view that these key elements form the basic themes in Hindu belief system and indicated that these elements do invariably exert an influence on their daily life, both as individuals and as a community. The caste system was not listed, perhaps indicative of the fact that Hindus in Kenya do not like to openly associate themselves with this ancient Hindu tradition which remains a major factor in social stratification in modern India (Brodd, 2003).

**3.3 Similarity between Hinduism and Christianity in Kenya**

It is not easy to offer an adequate comparison between Christianity and Hinduism. This is because these two religions differ in terms in ideology, belief and practice.
At the general level, Hinduism contains certain elements that are also basic to Christianity.

Hinduism and Christianity according to various scholars (Scott, 1975; Hart & Adhikari, 1989; Dupuis, 1997) are different in their specific beliefs, but fundamentally they are similar. The stories, teachings and means to their goals may radically differ, but the goals themselves, such as the concepts of afterlife, heaven, and sanctity of human life, are alike (Hart & Adhikari, 989: 2-3). Spiritual perfection is found in Hinduism's nirvana (a state of endless bliss) and Christianity's Heaven. Hinduism teaches Karma and Christianity upholds Jesus Christ's teachings of love as a means to happiness (Dupuis, 1997: 72). Both Hinduism and Christianity focus on water to edify cleanliness of the soul. Hinduism believes in the role of its many gods in everyday life. "Most Hindus hold that all gods and goddesses are part of the Ultimate Reality or Absolute Reality called Brahman" (Brown, 1989). Christianity also believes in the active role of God in the everyday life of an individual.

Christians view God as a trinity; One God in three distinct persons characterized as God as the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In Hinduism, there is also a similar teaching, particularly through the philosophers of the Upanishads, that Brahman exists in three forms (Hart & Adhikari, 1989: 2); God as the creator, sustainer and destroyer. Hinduism may thus manifest itself as a polytheistic religion, but for the philosophers of the Upanishads, Hinduism is monotheistic. The one true force, who is supreme over all beings, is Brahman, the absolute reality. Some scholars have however attributed the Hindu monotheistic claim as having been influenced largely by Islamic, Jewish, Sikh and Christian teachings (Burkely 2004, Burnett, 1992; Brown, 1989). Based on the reasons discussed above, it could be said that Christianity and Hinduism, despite their superficial variation, are related in conceptualizing their core values.

A comparison between Christianity and Hinduism also reveals similarity in their ancient practices. In Hinduism, the idea of sins reparation to an enraged Deity is expressed through sacrifices. In Hinduism and Judaism, this sacrifice is as epitomized in an animal sacrifice. This is why, in both theologies, a divine commandment of righteousness is the failure to comply which requires a penalty.
(Brown, 1989). This ancient practice of reparation for wrong doings suggests that the passage from Romans 2:14-15 is true:

"Indeed, when Gentiles, who do not have the law, do by nature things required by the law, they show that the requirements of the law are written on their hearts. Their consciences also bear witness, and their thoughts now accusing, now even defend them."

The culmination of these sacrifices in reference to sin is also found in Christianity. Hinduism and Christianity preach a divine commandment of perfect righteousness and that all human beings are held accountable for their actions (Hart & Adhikari, 1989: 5-6). To become a Christian is to accept the ultimate sacrifice to avoid the ultimate penalty. This is why, in Christianity the penalty for sin is considered to have already been paid through the death of Jesus Christ on the cross. Hinduism in contrary urges the performance of sacrifice as a means to reparation of sin (Burnett 1992).

3.4 Differences between Hinduism and Christianity: A Kenyan perspective

Hinduism embraces Christianity as a valid religion whereas Christianity does not recognize Hinduism in equal measure (Burkely, 2004). As a religion Hinduism advocates tolerance and teaches that all religions are different paths leading to one goal (Hart & Adhikari, 1989). All religions are thus, different means to one end. Hinduism is not exclusive and accepts all religions as being valid. Christianity, however, teaches that Christ is the only way to God. This is exemplified in John 14:6 when "Jesus answered, 'I am the way and the truth and the life. No one comes to the Father except through me.'"

This is one example of the irreconcilable aspects in the belief systems of both religions. Philosophically, it is impossible for religions with mutually-exclusive doctrines to be equally valid. Where there is a contradiction, there must also be an error. For, either Christ was wrong or He was right when He claimed to be the only path to God. But a further complication here arises from the fact that most Hindus are willing to embrace the teachings of Jesus Christ, but only see him as one of their many deities (Brown, 1989).
3.5 Socio-economic and Political Development

While much is known about Asian Africans as labourers and shrewd business people, little is known of their contribution in politics and law in Kenya. Yet over the years, there has been notable contribution from people such as Joseph Murumbi, Kenya's second Vice-president, who was in the forefront of the struggle for independence during the emergency period. He was a member of the Kenya African Union (KAU), from which he represented, and sought support for, the views of oppressed colonized people in India and later in Britain, together with Mbiyu Koinange. Another prominent politician Indian ethnicity is Pio Gama Pinto, who was detained during the struggle for independence and whose assassination in 1965 remains a mystery (although Kisilu Mutua was convicted for his murder) (Rajan, 2011).

Other political activists of Asian descent who are highly respected within the Hindu tradition for their remarkable contributions include Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee –who was also the Editor of the East African Standard and donated Jeevanjee Gardens in Nairobi’s city centre as a public utility and Manilal A. Desai, who spearheaded the fight for equal rights for all people living in the Kenyan colony (Patel, 2000). The activities of these Asians led to the Devonshire Declaration of 1923. Although Asian Africans were still not able to secure equal rights, the move contributed to the prevention of a fully blown racial segregation situation, as was the case in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia-now Zimbabwe (Somjee, 2000).

In the beginning of the twentieth century, the Asian African community raised concern about representation in the country's Legislative Council. This concern was raised against the backdrop of the 1923 Devonshire White Paper that gave greater recognition to the interests of the indigenous African communities than to any other group within the colony. The White settlers still enjoyed political power and were reluctant to relinquish much of this power, either to Africans or Asians. Upon independence in 1963, the Asians had to realign their political orientation to suit the situation. The Kenya Indian Congress Party –that had been formed prior to independence to fight for Asians’ political interests – became dissolved and its records were handed to the National Archives because the community considered that political activity should be based on nationality and not racial origin. The big
issue at stake was Africanization versus loyalty to one's ancestral home. This was a
time of great soul searching for the Asian community, which had to choose their
citizenship. Those who opted for Kenya as their country did so as a deliberate and
conscious choice. The first Asian African Member of Parliament for Parklands
constituency was Satish Gautama, who was elected by a large majority in 1964
(Kapila, 2009; Nazareth, 1981; Somjee, 2000).

The National Museum of Kenya organized, in the year 2000, an exhibition
highlighting the history and heritage of Asians in Kenya (Karl, 2000; Somjee, 2000).
At this exhibition, various aspects of the Asian history and heritage in Kenya were
displayed to an estimated 1500 guests. Among the various displays were drawings
that conveyed significant information in regard to the Asian participation in the
construction of the Uganda railway –which Asians perceive as a crucial part of their
history and heritage in Kenya (Karl, 2000: 21).

The exhibition also highlighted the Asian African contribution to agriculture. There
were pictures of the 'Punjab Farm' owned and run by Kaherchand Kent who had
initially bought a farm in Limuru, but on realization by the colonial authorities that
he was an Asian, the sale was revoked (Asians, just like the native Africans, were
not allowed to settle in the "White Highlands"). Consequently, the “Punjab Farm"
was relocated to Dandora, and then in Ukambani province, which was not found
suitable for white settlement. The exhibit also displayed various pictures of Asian
African shops with various goods that were typically found in them. According to
Zarina Patel (2000) shop keeping (dhukawalla) was one of the occupations that was
dominated by the early Indian immigrants. Many of the original shops have since
disappeared, but their many architectural features can still be seen on Nairobi's
streets today. A good example is the Bulls Café located on River Road and the
Diamond Building on Moi Avenue.

The photographs in the exhibition indicated the unique nature of Asian African
culture through clothing, weddings, prayers, family lives, and households. They also
illustrated how the community has maintained, respected and protected their
colourful traditions over the decades (Karl, 2000).
In as much as Kenya's Asians are seen to be secluded, the community has over the years responded to the needs of the Kenyan society and has made notable contributions in education, health, literature and sports. Through the Social League, in the health sector, the Hindus have made various contributions aimed at addressing the health needs of Kenyans in general. The Social League is run by volunteer doctors to provide health care for the needy members of society. In terms of literature, Indians (Hindus included) have made a significant contribution in Kenya. There are over 300 books written by Kenyan Indians on different subjects, ranging from science to creative writing. In sports, the name of Shekhar Mehta is still remembered in the motor rallying sports fraternity. The Asian African community is commendably tackling the question of who they are and what their identity is in a homeland where they are visibly different from its other citizens. They are not pure Africans, as their traditions derive from the Indian sub-continent; yet they are not pure Asians, as many generations know Africa as their only home (Patel, 2007).

Farming was one of the key factors that made this region of Africa a target for European exploration, exploitation and colonisation in the 19th Century. It was not just the Europeans, however, who came here but Asians as well, according to Nandin Patel (2007). Most Asians, both Hindus and Muslims, travelled from India, in the early days of British colonial rule. A lot of them arrived in dhows (traditional Arab sailing vessels) with a passenger capacity of about 350 men (Salvadori, 1991). Asians as well as Arabs were already in the region well before the Europeans, and doing business along the coast. It was they who enabled the European explorers and missionaries to make their way inside the continent (Cable, 1969).

3.6 Conclusion
In this chapter, it has been shown that Kenyan Hinduism has features that identify it with universal Hinduism. The all-inclusive religious perspective, the devotional worship at the temple, the office of the priest as well as belief in Samsara (the cycle of rebirth) and the vedic sources, remain the central pillars of Hinduism in Kenya as they are for followers of this religion elsewhere in the world. It was also shown that in Kenyan Hinduism, there are also features that are distinctive to the Kenyan
context. These include the Afro-Indian identity, the Kenyan heritage and the South-Indian ancestry. It was also indicated that Kenyan Christianity and Kenyan Hinduism have many things in common but they also have many differences. It is as a result of these differences that the two religions are viewed as mutually exclusive. The followers of these religions have co-existed peacefully throughout the post-independence period despite these differences. The chapter, finally, focused on the Hindu heritage in Kenya where it was indicated that Hindus in Kenya have five major strands of heritage: –labour, intellectual, socio-political, economic and religio-cultural. The discussions contained in this chapter show that there are various potential opportunities available for enhancing Hindus-Christians relationships but which opportunities lie largely unutilised. The following chapter examines the factors affecting the Hindu-Christian relationships in post-independent Kenya.
CHAPTER FOUR

FACTORS AFFECTING HINDU-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN POST-INDEPENDENT KENYA

4.1 Introduction
This chapter is based on responses contained in the questionnaires where respondents were requested to select from a list provided; factors that they believe have had an effect on the relationship between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya. The respondents were required to select one factor from the provided list, which they considered to be the most affecting factor. A space was provided to fill in their preferred choice as shown in table 5.

Table 5: Factors Affecting Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factors Affecting Hindu-Christian Relations in Kenya</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007/8 post-election violence</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>7.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adoption of one-party political system</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amin’s expulsion of Asians from Uganda</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>10.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assasination of Pio Gama Pinto</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>7.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attainment of Kenya’s Independence</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>9.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic factors</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenyatta’s Africanization policy</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>14.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moi succession</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyerere’s nationalization policy</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religio-cultural background</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>7.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reversion to multi-party democracy</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The 1982 coup de tat attempt</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 4.2 Attainment of Kenya’s independence in 1963

As shown in Table 5 two hundred and twenty respondents picked Kenya’s attainment of independence in 1963 to be a major factor affecting the Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya citing various reasons as discussed below.

#### 4.2.1 Perpetuation of Colonial Paternalistic Mentality

into three distinct groups on the basis of race. The people of Kenya, during the oppressive British colonial rule, had been divided into three groups, consisting of the British settlers, the Indians and the Africans. The White community was considered to be the highest ranked people, followed by Indians and Africans in that order. The Africans, who were the natives and by far the majority, were always considered to be the lowest class in society. This kind of categorization was reflected in terms of accessibility to certain socio-economic and political opportunities or services. For example, Africans were excluded from certain public places such as schools and Churches. They were always assigned the lowest positions at the workplace and, for those who were lucky to secure a superior rank, they were remunerated differentially from colleagues belonging to the other races. Indians on the other hand were often treated more kindly by the colonial government, obviously as a veiled tactic to create hostility between Africans and Indians so as to make it easier for the colonialists to perpetuate their oppressive regime.

When independence was declared in December, 1963, the hostility that rested among some African communities turned into envy as they saw some Indians taking up opportunities that came with the attainment of independence. Some Africans were aware that Asians had received preferential treatment during the colonial era. The fact that some Asians had worked alongside the colonialists and even supported the British army against Mau Mau during the struggle for independence, also made some Africans develop a non-accommodating attitude towards Indians in general. On their part, most Asians were not sure of what the new political dispensation heralded for them and therefore chose to leave the country. It is possible that some of the Indians also continued to consider Africans as belonging to a lower social stratum and hence made no effort to establish a more enriching relationship with them.
4.2.2 Jomo Kenyatta’s Presidency

In 1964, Jomo Kenyatta was elected as the first president of Kenya raising doubts to many white and Asian communities that almost unrestricted power was now in the hands of a politician widely held responsible for Mau Mau violence which seemed unbearable. They feared that Jomo Kenyatta would embark on a revenge mission, targeting the two alien communities.

Contrary to this widely held belief, he surprised his critics by making his rule to be even-handed in relation to the African, Asian and European communities. In this approach he involved all Kenyans in the government regardless of their ethnicity or race. Some Asians were among the highly ranked officers that were appointed to serve in his government. Jomo Kenyatta also developed a successful free-market economy which was open to foreign investment a move that endeared him to the Indian community. The Kenyan constitution was furthermore favourable to the Hindu spiritual interests because it guaranteed freedom of worship.

4.2.3 Adoption of the Single party Political System

At independence in 1963, the Kenyan constitution allowed for multi-party democracy and at the dawn of independence, there were two leading parties; Kenya African National Union (KANU) and Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU). By 1964, however, Kenya became a one-party state, when opposition leaders from (KADU) agreed to end multi-party factionalism and collaborate with KANU.

Out of the 2324 respondents who returned their filled questionnaires, 120 of them stated that the one-party political system contributed to further deterioration of Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya. The following reasons were advanced for this choice. The single-party politics began during Kenyatta’s reign, and the system had its worst effect on Kenyans during Moi’s rule. It placed immense powers on the office of the president, encouraged the repression of opposition politics and any attempt to openly challenge or criticize the president was met with dire consequences. As a result of this, there was a lot of misrule and soon the country started experiencing economic hardships. This was largely due to the widespread corruption and embezzlement of public resources by government officers and other public officials serving during both Kenyatta’s and Moi’s regimes.
It was because of this economic decline, that most Kenyans were reduced to abject poverty. Despite this apparent state of general economic decline, the Indians appeared to flourish in their business entrepreneurship. This created the impression among Africans, that Asians were either directly benefiting from the government of the day -in return for politically-motivated favours, or were merely gaining from the confusion and infighting that was the norm of the one-party political system to irregularly amass wealth for themselves. The Hindu community was deemed to be silent on the political oppression that was being perpetuated by the single-party politics, particularly during Moi’s era –when anti-government protests reached their climax. There was still some suspicion among anti-government forces that some Asian tycoons were using their immense wealth to endear support to Moi’s regime so as to protect their business interests. Some prominent Hindu followers were also suspected of engaging in corrupt dealings that made the government to lose a lot of money. Such individuals operated with a lot of protection from powerful people within Moi’s government.

There appears, however, to be a general trend of non-involvement that is characteristic of Hindu (and indeed generally speaking, of Asian) response to political issues. Hindus are slow to speak out on issues they deem might be divisive in nature, and politics is one such an issue. It may hence, be unfair to conclude that by failing to comment on the political ills that face the Kenyan society, the Hindus are guilty of abating oppression in this country. This silence may be a tactical move meant to safeguard their business interests.

4.3 The death of Pio Gama Pinto

Pio Gama Pinto was a prominent politician and a leading KANU party official who had been one of the leading voices in the anti-colonialism struggle in Kenya and was one of the political leaders rounded up and imprisoned during the famous Operation Anvil of 1954. He was arrested alongside Jomo Kenyatta and other vocal anti-colonialism crusaders. At independence, Pinto started working for KANU. As a trained journalist he helped to set up KANU’s newspaper Sauti ya KANU. In 1963, he became an elected member of the legislative council and a year later was nominated as a specially elected member of the House of Representatives, a position
he held until his death. 180 of the respondents selected the death of Pio Gama Pinto in 1965, at the hands of an assassin, as among the contributing factors that have negatively impacted on the relationship between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya. When his assassination was reported in 1965, the whole country was in shock. For, he was shot in the driveway to his compound as he waited for the gate to be opened. He was in the company of one of his daughters at the time of his death. Up to date, mystery surrounds his killing, nor the person who executed the killing. Though a Goan, Pinto’s death sent shock waves within the Asian community in general, most of whom were left wondering what to make of the whole scenario.

Hindus did not perceive this incident as being targeted at members of their larger (Asian) community; It, nevertheless, served to create an atmosphere of suspicion and discontent among most Hindus in regard to relations with Africans. This is particularly so because the late Pinto worked closely with the African establishment which created the impression that his killers were from within that establishment. The arrest of Kisilu Mutua as the key suspect and his subsequent prosecution and imprisonment further gave credence to the idea that an African was involved. Hindus, being part of the larger Asian community, could not merely ignore the fact that the person who had fallen was an Asian. This created the impression that the Asian community was vulnerable, since they are an immigrant community, and they approached the relationship with Africans with great precaution.

4.4 Jomo Kenyatta’s Africanisation Policy
In 1968, the government issued a ban on dual citizenship and declared that everyone who was in Kenya by the eve of independence in 1963 was a *bona vide* Kenyan citizen and was free to seek and be granted the said citizenship. This may have appeared an easy declaration, but for most Hindus, it came at a time when it was completely unwelcome. Most Hindu immigrants at that time were still holding Indian citizenship although a few maintained British citizenship. This declaration required them to choose between retaining Indian (or British) citizenship and forfeiting their Kenyan citizenship. Those holding non-Kenyan citizenship but wished to become Kenyan citizens were issued with a deadline. They were required to surrender their other citizenry and take up the Kenyan one. This was a trying
moment for them because they preferred to retain their current citizenship (Indian or British), than taking up the Kenyan citizenship. This is why most of them acquired either the Indian or British citizenship (Nazareth, 1981).

In 1969, President Jomo Kenyatta’s regime promulgated the Trade Licensing Act in which trading licences of most Non-citizen Hindu traders were revoked. According to the Act, all non-citizen business operators were not allowed to operate in rural towns and centres. Since most Hindus held either the Indian or British citizenship the Kenyatta’s government encouraged the development of indigenous African entrepreneurship and pursued a policy of 'Africanization'. As a result, many Hindus were compelled to sell their businesses to Africans.

This led to massive exodus of Hindus, as well as other Asians, to the United Kingdom (UK). Some Hindus, however, remained in Kenya after managing to find African partners; others gave up their British citizenship in order to remain in the country and ensured their businesses flourished. Three hundred and forty respondents picked Kenyatta’s Africanisation policy as a major factor affecting Hindu-Christian relationships in post-independent Kenya. According to the explanation given, the Africanisation policy had two contrasting effects on the Hindu-Christian relations in this country. First, it generated a sense of deep loss for those Hindus who had sold off their business and left the country. Even those who had sought for a local partner to keep their business afloat did so under compulsion rather than their own volition. The majority of Hindus shared the fear that the Africanisation policy was targeted at driving them out of Kenya. They thus, rebelled against the idea of cultivating close relationships with the Africans, a move that brought them into contact with the beneficiaries of what they considered to be an unjust policy.

Some Hindus who read good intentions into the act, decided to work within its confines and sought partnership with Africans, some of whom were Christians. Thus, the Africanisation policy acted as a vehicle through which the Hindu-Christian relationship became entrenched. But this is only as far as business interactions are concerned, since there are no indications that such partnerships ever went beyond
the business interests into the social life of the involved parties. In most cases, such business partnerships and alliances were only designed for the Asians’ convenience.

4.5 Expulsion of Asians from Uganda under the reign of Idd Amin Dada

During the colonial period, many Asians were brought to Uganda and employed in various occupations such as tailoring, clothing and banking. In line with the colonial racial balkanisation policy, some Asians perceived themselves to be from a more advanced culture than the Africans, a view that the Africans did not like. This created some animosity between Asians and Africans in Uganda. This took root during the colonial times, and was widespread under the presidency of Milton Obote (Nazareth, 1981). In 1968, Uganda’s committee on 'Africanisation' in commerce and industry appointed by President Milton Obote, proposed the introduction of work permits and trade licences, a move which was aimed at restricting the role of the Indians in economic and professional activities. As a consequence, they were segregated and discriminated against.

In 1971, General Idi Amin Dada overthrew Obote's government, went on to exploit these divisions, and spread the propaganda against the Indians. Amin embarked on a campaign of 'de-Indianisation' and eventually, in 1972, issued a decree for the immediate expulsion of all Asians from Uganda. The Asians, most of who were of Gujarati origin were given 90 days within which to leave Uganda or risk facing arrest and imprisonment. Even though long before this expulsion order had been issued, Ugandan soldiers were often engaged in theft and violence against the Asian population. Many of the Asians obeyed the order and departed from the country, leaving behind their businesses and property. Most of them migrated to the United Kingdom. As shown on Table 5, 174 respondents identified the expulsion of Indians from Uganda in 1972 as a major factor that negatively affected the relationship between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya. Hindus were, indeed, not the only Asians expelled from Uganda under Amin’s De-Indianisation programme, but they formed a significant percentage of the expellees.

The businesses that were abandoned by the departing Asians were seized by Amin’s administration and handed over to Africans, most of whom were Amin's henchmen. For some of the Asians who were born in Uganda, they knew no other place to call
home other than this East African nation. This group of Asians (Hindus included) decided to remain behind and risk their own lives. After the expiry of the 90-day ultimatum, these remnants were rounded up and sent to the countryside. Most of them could not, however, withstand such mistreatment and decided to travel across the border and settle in Kenya, or migrate to the United Kingdom.

The expulsion of Asians from Uganda had a significant but negative impact on Hindu-Christian relations in this country. Most of the Hindus, just as was the case with other Kenyan Indians, interpreted the action by Amin’s administration as signalling similar or worse actions that lay in waiting among the other East African countries. Although there was a quiet dislike for African leadership that gradually developed among East African Hindus who henceforth treated Africans with great suspicion, this did little to ease the racial tension that was already building up within the country and provided a favourable atmosphere for establishing a mutually enriching relationship between Christians and Hindus.

The expulsion of Hindus from Uganda, however, was deemed by some respondents to have had a positive effect on Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya. Because most of the Hindus who were expelled from Uganda, moved to Kenya where they found a more welcoming atmosphere. And, as they settled here, the Ugandan Hindus largely put an effort to cultivate good relations with their African counterparts to avoid or forestall a repeat of the Uganda episode. This attitude was reinforced by the action taken by Yoweri Museveni to reinstate all the land and property previously seized from Indians, a move that has –in recent years– seen some Hindu businessmen and women return to Uganda.

4.6 Nyerere’s Ujamaa Policy

National politics sometimes played a key role in shaping the direction for Hindu-Christian relationships in both Uganda and Kenya. Jomo Kenyatta’s regime in Kenya and Idi Amin’s administration in Uganda also deliberately developed policies geared towards minimizing the participation of Hindus (and indeed the larger Asian community) in the economic activities of these two East African countries. Meanwhile, in neighbouring Tanzania the situation was not any much different for Hindus. Historically, Tanganyika received its independence on 9th December, 1961
and three years later it merged with the island of Zanzibar to make up the republic of Tanzania.

On 5th February, 1967, Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere announced his wish to make the republic of Tanzania a socialist state –modelled on African socialism. He outlined what he considered to be the key principles to develop the country's economy. Through what came to be known as the ‘Arusha Declaration’, Nyerere called for an overhaul of the economic system through the adoption of socialist principles, and a drive towards self-reliance in the villages. This was the genesis of the Ujamaa policy, which began to be implemented from 1973 – 1976.

This programme lost credibility and proved to be both politically and socially unpopular. By 1974, the government of Tanzania had accumulated much debt, causing a crisis in the balance of payments. All this was blamed on Nyerere’s vilagisation policy which went side by side with the nationalisation policy, of the economy. Asians were the most affected by this policy as many of their businesses became nationalised and they migrated to other countries, including Kenya. The action taken by the Tanzanian government was received by the Hindu community in Kenya with dismay. For them, the business atmosphere in the East African region was becoming increasingly unfriendly for Indian participation creating the impression that there was a calculated move within the east African countries to exclude Indian participation in the region’s economic activities. This may be the reason why most Hindus became detached from political and social activities within the region. This revolved into a tactical move aimed at safeguarding the little opportunity still available to them in the economic arena.

Some respondents expressed the view that the Ujamaa policy positively affected the Hindu-Christian relations because it has helped to destroy racial or tribal barriers that was placed in the path to economic advancement. The success of the Ujamaa model in creating a cohesive society in Tanzania is often referred to in Kenya and forms a basis for its aspiration to create a similar society.
4.7 The 1982 attempted coup de tat in Kenya

At midnight on 1 August, 1982 a group of men from the Kenya Air Force under the command of Hezekiah Ochuka took control of the Voice of Kenya, which at the time was the only broadcasting station in the country. They went on to announce over the national radio station that they had overthrown President Moi’s government. This state of affairs lasted for only a few hours because the forces loyal to the president fought back the coup plotters. For a few days, the country was turned into a state of chaos and uncertainty. President Moi later announced over the television that the renegade soldiers had been overcome and that his government was still in full control of the country. A state of uncertainty had, however, been witnessed throughout the country because there was widespread looting of Asian shops, businesses and houses, particularly in the city of Nairobi. There were also reports about some Asian women having been sexually assaulted by African men in their homes. It is estimated that almost 500 shops, including 50 African ones, were looted. By the time President Moi regained full charge over the country, a lot of damage had already been done.

Out of the 2324 respondents as shown in Table 5, 300 respondents were convinced that the foiled coup was one of the major factors that negatively affected Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya.

Some respondents opined that, this incident demonstrated the kind of resentment for members of the Asian community that resides within the hearts of many Africans. The deep loss to which the Asians, some of whom were Hindus, were subjected further damaged the already weakened relationship between Hindus and Christians within the country. It also assisted in fostering an attitude of suspicion towards Africans among the Hindu immigrants.

4.8 Reversion to Multi-party Democracy

By the early 1990s, the struggle for the restoration of multi-party democracy in Kenya reached its climax when Pro-democracy politicians exerted much pressure on President Moi to allow a repeal of the constitution and allow the reinstatement of the
multi-party political system. This eventually happened in 1991 and the country held its first multi-party elections in December 1992.

One hundred and forty of the respondents identified the restoration of multi-party democracy in Kenya as one of the factors that has contributed to the positive state of Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya.

Among the reasons advanced include the fact that in the 1990s, the Kenyan economy registered a drastic decline thus subjecting many Kenyans to severe poverty. Competition for scarce resources became a common feature as evidenced by the frequent outbreak of inter-ethnic violence, particularly after the 1992 and 1997 general elections. Although corruption was rampant amid all this hardship, the Indian business people were still prosperous. A few of the Asians had also suffered from the economic decline, but the majority of them were still thriving. This gave some politicians an opportunity to start a campaign aimed at arousing hostile perceptions towards the Asian community among the Africans. The fact that this did not succeed is evidence that Hindu-Christian relations have a basis for operation. The fact that Kenyans of African ethnicity were not lured by the anti-Asian crusaders is clear evidence that both Africans and Asians are willing to work together in the development of this country. It also presupposes the willingness on the part of both parties to cultivate a favourable atmosphere for peaceful co-existence, mutual respect and inter-religious tolerance.

4.9 The 2007/8 Post-election Violence in Kenya

The 2007 elections in Kenya were precipitated by the outbreak of violence, the magnitude of which had never been witnessed in the country. Even the global community was shocked at the mere scale of that violence. People lost their lives, property and many suffered great physical and psychological pain through fighting and rape. Some Asians, fearing for their lives, were forced to leave the country. Some of them crossed the border back into Uganda and Tanzania and lived with friends and relatives. Others moved to India, and to the United Kingdom.

One hundred and sixty four (164) of the respondents identified this as a major factor affecting Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya which brought to the
fore the deep ethnically-instigated divisions within the Kenyan society, thus portraying Kenya as a non-cohesive society. The purported violence served to drive the various communities further apart and negatively affected the Hindu-Christian relations. The 164 respondents, however, also, advanced the view that the violence provided a suitable opportunity for Kenyans to work towards achieving national cohesion. This served as a living example of what can happen when people live in an antagonistic relationship. Such an experience has motivated various groups of people to engage in meaningful negotiations aimed at creating greater understanding and tolerance among their members.

Not all Asian businesses were exclusively targeted in the 2007/8 post-election violence in Kenya. A few of them suffered losses merely because they were Hindus or happened to be on the firing line of the perpetrators of the violence, just as was the case with other non-Asian victims. There is no evidence yet to suggest that Asians who were affected by the violence were singled out simply because they happened to be members of a particular community.

4.10 Economic Factors
One hundred and seventy respondents selected economic factors as a major contributing force to the nature and state of Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya. When the Indians migrated from India to Kenya, the motivating factor was a desire to exploit the economic opportunities that were rapidly opening up in the region as a result of the building of Uganda Railway. The initial immigrants according to Zahid Rajan (2011), were poor and were trying to make use of their skills in their quest for economic self-advancement. Driven by the strong urge to transform their economic status, the Indian community—though a minority group—quickly acquired wealth and became prosperous. They soon became economically powerful, a trait they maintain even at present.

The thriving Indians soon founded businesses, made considerable profits and set the pace for entrepreneurship in this country. And, as their businesses flourished, they hired Kenyans of African ethnicity. Many of them resent persons of Asian descent for their affluence, reluctance to employ blacks, particularly in management positions. But those who are employed in Asian shops and factories often complain
of suffering from mistreatment, poor working conditions and meagre wages at the hands of some Asian business operators. Some African Kenyans claim that Asians have taken up their jobs and commercial opportunities - an issue that often comes up during hard economic times.

The involvement of some Asians in corrupt practices with government officials further fuels popular resentment. Politicians sometimes take advantage of these popular prejudices by attacking Asian citizens, accusing them of exploiting and usurping the natural inheritance of African citizens.

This scenario provides an environment that does not encourage the establishment of cordial relationships between Hindus and Christians.

The mere fact that Asians are employers, business partners or professional colleagues with African citizens is, however, an indicator of the enormous but hitherto unexploited opportunities for Hindus and Christians to engage in inter-faith dialogue and cultivate mutually enriching relationships.

4.11 Religio-cultural Factors
One hundred and seventy -170 respondents identified religio-cultural background as among the key factors affecting Hindu-Christian relations in this country. Among the religio-cultural factors that were stated included religious and cultural traditions of both groups. Some respondents opined that the religious traditions of both Hinduism and Christianity have various differences while some also indicated that the two religions have many aspects they share in common especially their cultural traditions.

A few African Kenyans resent persons of Asian descent for their reluctance to assimilate African culture, despite their closer affinity and African cultural proximity. Today, the community in Kenya is perceived as culturally seclusive but, their African critics often express dismay at the apparent lack of engagement, among the Asians, given the many challenges in Kenya.
4.12 Conclusion
This chapter has focused on the various factors that have influenced the Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya. These include: the attainment of Kenya’s independence, the economic system, the religio-cultural background, the 1982 coup attempt, the 2007/8 post-election violence as well as anti-Asian policies promulgated by the three East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. These factors were shown to have adversely affected the Hindu-Christian relations during the post-independence period in Kenya. They have also played a significant role in creating an environment in which, on the one hand, Hindus became disillusioned about their African identity, while on the other, Christians (particularly those of African ethnicity) developed a hostile attitude towards the Hindus and other Asians in general. Despite their negative impact on Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya, the above mentioned factors also served as platforms through which Hindu-Christian relations became mutually enriching. The question that arises is whether Hindus of Indian ethnicity have been able, despite these various challenges that came their way, to appreciate their Kenyan African identity so as to perceive themselves as an integral part of the Kenyan society. The next chapter examines the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society.
CHAPTER FIVE

THE INTEGRATION OF HINDUS INTO KENYAN SOCIETY

5.1 Introduction
This chapter focuses on the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society as well as the factors that affect this process of integration. The discussion is based on three questions posed to respondents, namely; the nature of Hindu integration, the benefits of such integration and the factors affecting the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society.

5.2 The Nature of Hindu Integration into the Kenyan Society
Integration according to Biles, Burstein and Frideres (2008), is a broad and multifaceted process that involves; the civic, cultural, economic, political and social dimensions within a community. Guided by this broad definition for integration, the research established the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society whose results are shown in table 6.

Table 6: Nature of Hindu Integration into the Kenyan Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Hindu Integration into the Kenyan Society</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Civic</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>8.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>25.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>41.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>8.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>387</td>
<td>16.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.1 Civic integration of Hindus in Kenya
As indicated in table 6, one hundred and ninety four- 194 respondents indicated that Hindu integration in Kenya has a civic dimension which implies that only a small
minority of the respondents stated that Hindus have been integrated fully as Kenyan citizens. There are, however, low civic awareness levels, low civic participation, by the Hindus, especially in public festivals and celebrations, public debates and public meetings. This could be due to the fact that only a few of the Hindus are holders of sole Kenyan citizenship. Most of the Hindus own dual citizenship and therefore may direct their civic allegiance elsewhere (Keniyan Desi, O. I. 7/6/2011).

This can only be said at the general level since some Hindus exhibit high levels of civic awareness and participation. Among the indigenous communities, there are, in some cases, proportionately low levels of civic awareness and participation.

The majority of Kenyan Hindus are Kenyan born citizens. A growing number of the young generation, however, are leaving the country in pursuit of better education opportunities, employment and business (Sarvaiya, 2012). Among those who still remain in Kenya some of them also hold the citizenship of Canada, United Kingdom, United States of America and the Netherlands. Others are citizens of India, Australia and Pakistan (Nazareth, 1981).

In demonstrating the level of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society, some respondents indicated that some Hindus are registered voters, and are aware of their civic responsibilities and obligations. A few of them contest for elective positions even though they always emerge as losers. Some also participate in National census and support various civic programmes (Ravinder Jandu Chandi Trivedi O. I. 9/7/2011).

It was noted, however, that the mere registration as voters does not indicate the Asians’ level of civic integration. Most important is the consideration that a good number of such registered voters that actually cast their votes. In this regard, various respondents noted that most Asians do not register as voters and those who register, only a few of them take part in the actual polling since most Asians prefer to travel abroad to escape any possible post-election violence.

Hindu participation in civic activities is sometimes hindered, according to some respondents, by the tight business schedules which allow Hindus very little time to engage in civic activities because the majority of Kenyan Hindus are business
people, who travel widely within the region and beyond in search of business deals. The Hindus of Asian descent encounter an identity crisis and do not understand where they fall within the Kenyan ethnocentric national set-up. They are aware of being Kenyan nationals just by virtue of being born in this country or having lived here long enough to warrant such recognition. Yet, their natural attachment to Indian culture and nationalism makes it difficult for them to fully participate in civic activities. It is for example impossible to find an Indian –Kenyan citizen being appointed a chief even in areas where the majority of the residents are Indians. This is attributed to their perceived lack of sufficient knowledge of civic matters (Suresh Bindra, O. I. 24/01/2012).

There are also cases of unfair treatment or outright discrimination meted out against Asians that makes them reluctant to participate in civic activities. They operate under many restrictions and hence find it difficult to exercise their civic rights. They for example, do not seek for jobs in the public service nor do they even apply for public business tenders or contracts. Furthermore, the process of applying for the national identity cards for them is strenuous because they are always treated with some aspect of suspicion (Chaturvedi, O. I. 21/01/2012).

Despite these challenges, most Hindus consider their community as being aware of their civic responsibilities and argue that they are law abiding citizens and are rarely accused of civil crimes, such as wife-beating, negligence or assault, as compared to other communities within the country. They have a high regard for the Kenyan law and always attempt to operate, in all aspects of their lives, and also act within the confines of the law. Despite such attempts to justify their level of patriotism, there are a few of them -who do not strictly adhere to this general perspective, and engage in unlawful conduct and often end up as subjects of criminal proceedings. It is also important to note that Hindus, as part of the larger Indian community in Kenya, are largely criticised for their ‘arms-length’ and ‘hands-off’ approach in regard to African culture. Shiva Naipaul, a renowned author, once observed that the Indians in Kenya are only focussed so intensely on their family and community life and hence, for the indigenous African population, the Indians would remain the “eternally ‘other’” (Karl, 2000). In other words, it may be impossible for Kenyans of African
ethnicity to regard Indians as their fellow Kenyans, and not as Asian immigrants, unless the Indians change their attitudes towards their African identity.

5.2.2 Cultural Integration

As indicated in table 6, five hundred and eighty one-581 respondents selected the cultural aspect as one area in which Hindu integration in Kenya has taken place. The reason for this relatively high rating is due to the fact that Hindus are mainly identified through their cultural beliefs and practices. Since, religion is a key source of their cultural identity the Hindus are readily identifiable through their network of temples that are scattered across the city of Nairobi. The density of Hindu temple distribution in Nairobi is higher in Pangani, Nairobi West, Westland and Parklands, which are residential areas dominated by Hindu followers.

The Hindu temples are designed to meet the spiritual needs of the believers in this country. Some adherents choose the temple of their preferred deity and regularly visit it for devotion and support the serving priest. Most priests are hired from India because it is difficult to get locally the requisite expertise of Hindu priests who are well versed in the various religious rituals and practices as well as with the Sanskrit language. Most of the sacred books are written in Sanskrit or Indian languages, hence the need to recruit expatriate Hindu priests from India who are able to read and interpret these scriptures. Although there is an increasing number of African Hindu priests, especially in the Hare Krishna movement but they are sent to India for further training before they can be allowed to serve. Hindus have established strong and well-grounded systems of religious observance and practice because Kenya as a secular state guarantees its citizens the freedom of worship under the constitution.

Hindu temples and other buildings linked to the Indian sub-continent are characterized by archs, domes and pillars. A key feature in the design of Hindu temples is the inclusion of a mantapa (hall) within the temple complex. Most temples have an adjoined hall and a shrine–Jagati (platform). Since every temple is dedicated to a particular deity, statues and sculptures –depicting various aspects of the resident deity or his/her consort avatars (reincarnations), are also placed at
strategic positions in the temple. These icons inspire a sense of awe and reverence among the devotees who visit the temple regularly for worship (Makar, 2006).

The cultural integration of Hindus in Kenya can also be viewed in terms of their garment. Hindus wear the dhoti wrap, sari, gaghra choli, lehanga, pattu pavadai, muslin, khadi, sash, and bindi (a facial ornamental decoration worn by women on the area between the eyebrows). Sari is a strip of unstitched garment that is draped over the body in various styles (Patel, 2007; Kumar, 2000).

The Sari (see Appendix H) is considered by Hindu women as the most elegant cloth and popular dress. Other common cloths worn by Hindu women include: sherwani (see Appendix H), khara duparta, dupatta, kurta, gamcha, mundum nerivathum and churidar. Before attaining puberty girls usually wear a langa (a long skirt) and a choli (short blouse). Popular garments among unmarried ladies include, salwar kameez (see Appendix H), gara choli and langa odhani (Salvadori 1989).

The type, colour, shape and style of Hindu dress is governed by the inherent climate, ethnicity, social status or class, and occasion. One outstanding difference between Hindu and Christian view to clothing is the colour of their clothing. For the Hindus, white represents mourning while in Christianity it is worn during weddings (Salvadori, 2000).

In the modern times, the Hindu clothing has witnessed diversification with majority of urban dwellers adopting western-styled fashions. This is why jeans and shirts (see Appendix H) are a common feature as other formal clothes such as suits. Hence, in the modern context, the guiding principle for choice of attire depends on the suitability and comfort of the garment. Some cloth designers have even blended designs which combine aspects of both the western and Indian cultures, thus causing a paradigm shift in design preference from traditional to the modern. African designs such as kitenge are also gaining some popularity among a section of Hindus but, generally, Hindus have no particular flair for African clothing (Aruna Nathari Desai, O. I. 7/6/2011).

Division of labour is another cultural aspect of Hindu culture in Kenya for they have no clear role within society based on social class or even gender. Traditional Indian
culture according to Makar (2008: 58), is defined by a relatively strict social hierarchy. From an early age, children are reminded of their roles and place in society. Males spend much of their time outdoors eking out a livelihood for the family. And, women on the other hand take care of the children and perform household chores. Young males are, gradually, introduced into the family business through apprenticeship.

In the traditional, male members are viewed as leaders of the family and maintain a hierarchy or chain of command from the oldest to the youngest. Women however, do not play significant roles in the leadership structure of the family. In some Hindu shops the father’s name appears first followed by the words ‘... and sons’ (Aruna Nathari Desai, O. I. 7/6/2011). This appears to exclude daughters from the family’s inheritance plan leading to a misconception that male children are more valued than the female ones in Hindu culture. For the Hindus, the role allocation fairly ensures that every member of society fits well into the wider structure of human productivity (Makar, 2008:9).

The cultural orientation of Hinduism according to Nancy Lockwood (2009) is portrayed as having undergone significant changes in the social set-up of Hindu culture during the last few decades. This has resulted into large-scale transformation within their religion. Many Indian families have opted to give equal education opportunities to girls; accepted women work outside their home, pursue a career, and open the possibility for women to occupy managerial roles in corporate organizations. Lockwood claims that changes are slow, but are culturally significant. In India, where her research was conducted and where 80% of the population belongs to Hinduism, Lockwood reports there is a significant shift in the traditional view of gender-based division of labour within the society. For instance, by the year 2009, India had 397 million workers of whom 124 million were women (Lockwood, 2009).

The current trends in India with regard to women empowerment are similar to those in Kenya. There is an increase in the legislative requirement for women to be involved in all sectors of human activity. This transformation in favour of women’s empowerment is made even more inevitable given Kenya’s current preoccupation with the drive towards actualization of Vision 2030. Emphasis is laid on the
participation of all people regardless of gender, race, class or religious affiliation. Hence, more Asian women are now venturing out and taking responsible positions in various fields within the Kenyan economy (Patel, 2007).

Most Hindus adore the ancient written language Sanskrit. Some of the Hindu sacred literature was initially written in this language and even today, some temples embrace the knowledge of Sanskrit as being part of the requirements for the recruitment of priests. This is the reason why Hindus turn to India to recruit temple priests with the right knowledge of religion and its language that is not easily available in Kenya. And, most of the younger generation of Hindus in Kenya has adapted either English or Kiswahili as modes of communication because they are not fluent in various Hindu languages. In spite of this development, the Hindus have retained their various languages and continue to use them here in Kenya. Although the number of Indian languages spoken among the Kenyan Hindus can run into the hundreds (depending on the different ethnic –based affiliations which are equally numerous), the most commonly spoken dialects are: Hindi, Gujarati, Bengali, Marathi, Punjabi and Urdu which are rooted in the Sanskrit language.

In India, there are 24 constitutionally recognized official languages, where Hindi and Gujarati are included. Some Hindus, who still maintain strong attachments to India, find it challenging to switch to another dialect when they settle in Kenya. There are some Hindus, however –particularly the dhukawallas (those engaged in retail business –who have learnt how to communicate in some basic Kiswahili. Among the Hindus, especially the young people, who have grown up in Kenya, there are some who speak fluent Kiswahili and English –the two official languages. Such youthful members of the Hindu community unfortunately, end up migrating outside the country. Besides, most Indians, Hindus included, prefer sending their children to Indian schools from Kindergarten to High School. This leaves little chance for such children to meet and interact with children from the indigenous African communities. Hence, most Hindu Children who pass through Indian schools do not communicate with ease in Kiswahili, because it is not taught in such schools. Communication between Hindus and the rest of Kenyans is still a big challenge because most of the older Hindus, who are often left behind when the younger generation leaves the country, have not adequately mastered any of the two national
official Kenyan languages. This is indeed, one of the major factors limiting social interaction between Hindus and other non-Asian members of the Kenyan society. In fact, the issue of language emerged as one of the problems faced during the collection of data as getting Indian respondents who can communicate effectively in either English or Kiswahili was difficult. Besides, those who communicate in English and Kiswahili may not be as sufficiently knowledgeable as those who do not understand either of these two languages (Shikha Rakar, O. I. 7/6/2011).

Hindu culture is rich in performing arts, music, dance and drama. When the Hindus migrated to Kenya, they continued to propagate their songs which became powerful tools for transmission of Hindu culture, particularly among the younger generation (most of whom were born in Kenya and did not have first-hand experience of life in India). Various festivals are usually organized where these arts are presented for entertainment and education of the Hindus in Kenya. The significance of drama, dance and music is emphasized in the following quotation taken from an ancient Indian literature.

“Let drama and dance … be the fifth Vedic scripture. Combined with an epic story, tending to virtue, wealth, joy and spiritual freedom, it must contain the significance of every scripture, and forward every art.” (Chapter One of Natyasastra, 200BC –200AD)

The Vedic literature which comprised four books of ancient sacred material forms the basis for Hindu spirituality and philosophy. The arts are considered the fifth Veda, of Vedic literature and are accorded great religious significance (Kumar, 2000).

The Indian dances express inner beauty and divine humanity. Some aspects of Indian dance contain mythological teachings (Devi, 2001) and the Asian immigrants in Kenya have attempted to maintain a link with their traditional forms of dance and music, despite the onslaught of globalization which has resulted in some changes in their tastes. In recent years, there has been an increasing tendency among the Kenyan Indians towards the adoption of international dance patterns which eroded some characteristics of Indian art. The blending of traditional styles with modern tastes has, however, enriched the Indian art of dancing (Salvadori, 21989; Patel, 2007).
Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK), has facilitated construction of public halls and centres for the perpetuation of their cultural norms. Through song and dance, Hindu culture is preserved and passed on from one generation to the next. In some cases, Hindu artists are invited from India to perform within the country, thus maintaining a close link between Kenyan and Hindu customs. Various radio stations such as East FM are used to air programmes which benefit the Indian Diaspora audience in Kenya. Various periodicals such as Awaaz (voices) that features various aspects of Indian culture is one such a magazine. This magazine also sponsors an intercultural festival called SAMOSA (South Asian Mosaic of Society and the Arts), that is held on annually.

The SAMOSA festival has two major objectives. First, to assist the Asians living in Kenya find their rightful place within the Kenyan society by emphasising the Asian heritage in this country. In other words, the festival strives to demonstrate to the Asian Diaspora in this country that they belong to the Kenyan society and should regard it as their homeland over and above any other nation with which they may have some affiliations, that they belong here and have no other place to call home. The relationship between Asians and Africans is generally affected by what is described as xenophobia- the fear of strangers and foreigners (Thiong’o, website, 9/7/13). Through the SAMOSA festivals, the interaction between Asians and Africans is enhanced, thus creating a conducive environment for countering xenophobia. Secondly, the SAMOSA festivals link the Asian to the African cultural systems and create greater understanding between members of these groups. This cultural festival creates mutual respect and tolerance among members of both communities.

Although Hindus in Kenya have managed to retain much of their traditional cultural practices, some critics have pointed to this very aspect as a clear indicator of their (Hindus’) reluctance to adapt their culture to the African cultural environment within which they live. For example, when Shiva Naipaul visited Kenya in the 1970s (Karl, 2000), she was quick to observe the detached nature of Indians’ engagement with native Kenyans. In Trinidad, her home country, Asians -upon emigrating and settling there – made an effort to be assimilated to the dominant culture of that country (Karl, 2000).
5.2.3 Economic Integration

Hindus are respected all over the country for their business acumen. Currently, these members own businesses in almost every sector of the economy and serve as professionals in various fields. Some of them are key players in the national, regional and even continental economy. They are hard-working prudent savers and shrewd investors who are quick to detect and seize opportunity for business. This is what has largely contributed to their rapid economic success and prosperity in Kenya. Although they form small minority in Kenya, Hindu wield immense economic power.

Some Hindus are industrialists who own various multi-national manufacturing firms. An example is Manu Chandaria, a respected Industrialist who has business interests in numerous countries worldwide. The Hindus are prominent Lawyers, doctors, engineers and bankers in Kenya.

A majority of Hindu men and women in Kenya, however, operate shops and general stores across the city of Nairobi. Their relative economic prowess has won them both admiration and envy from other communities within the country, sometimes with suspicion resulting into violent actions during moments of crisis.

During the foiled 1982 coup attempt, in Kenya, Hindu businessmen lost a substantial amount of their investments in Nairobi due to looting and plundering of their property. Again, in the 2007 post-election violence, Hindu businesses suffered some loses due to vandalism by marauding crowds.

The economic success of Hindus has often evoked envy from other communities who associate their business success to tightly guarded ethnic resources and community networks that lock out the rest of Kenyans from active participation (Thiong’o, 2012).

Some prominent Hindu personalities are however associated with various economic malpractices that have in some cases led to massive loss or misuse of public funds through fraudulent deals. Examples of these include Kamlesh Pattni and Ketan Somaia who are currently facing charges on economic crimes in the Kenyan courts.
Hindu participation in the economic development of this country has a long history. After arriving in Kenya towards the end of the nineteenth century, the Hindu followers were quick in identifying and harnessing business opportunities that were rapidly opening up in Kenya (Oonk, 2013, 2009). Their success, however, in entrepreneurship is sometimes attributed to the favourable social-economic position they occupied at the time they entered East Africa.

Upon arrival in Kenya, Asians were able to produce account books in their own languages. Their ability to read, write and hence communicate gave them a head start over African traders. They were therefore used by the Arabs and the British to avail credit and trading facilities in the East African region (Oonk, 2013; Herzig, 2006).

After independence, Hindus settled in various parts of the country, with the majority settling in Nairobi. They formed social groups or associations based on occupation, ethnicity, geographical background and languages. These associations and social groups were also used as investment vehicles for Hindu penetration into the various sectors of the Kenyan economy. A good example of these associations is the M P Shah hospital in Nairobi.

The relative economic power of Indians in Kenya is apparently one of the causes for African resentment directed towards them. As Muasa puts it;

"In this country, most of the businesses are owned by them (Hindus). They dominate and control commerce and trade activities, the ones who own some of the biggest companies, in Kenya." (Muasa Festus, O. I. 21/01/2001).

He criticizes the way Indians exercise their relative economic power because some of the rich Indian employers act as colonialists in the way they pay their African employees (Muasa Festus, O. I. 21/01/2003).

Sultan Somjee agrees that Asians are a complex minority group in Kenya who are viewed by non-Asians as leading a self-centred lifestyle. He says;

“Unable to rely on either British colonialists or post-independence governments for protection, the subgroups of the Indian community--Sikh, Ismaili, Goan, Hindu—turned self-reliant, building welfare organizations that all Kenyans have come to depend on.” (Somjee, cited in Karl, 2000).
Somjee is aware of the anger and resentment among the majority of African communities directed towards the Asian community but adds that this relative economic power came through sheer hard work as well as self-sacrifice on the part of Indians. He notes that Asians in Kenya appear to suffer from a misconception similar to that of the Jews in Germany during the time of Adolf Hitler (Somjee, cited in Karl, 2000).

5.2.4 Political Integration

During the struggle for independence, some Hindus played a key role, particularly in supporting the Mau Mau movement which was a predominantly black-white struggle. Some Hindus—alongside other members of the Asian community—played a pivotal role in Kenya’s liberation struggle. This was mainly done by rendering support in kind or cash. Some Hindu lawyers represented the trial of the Kapenguria six (Jomo Kenyatta, Paul Ngei, James Kubai, Achieng Oneko, Kung’u Kalumba and Bildad Kaggia) in court. Appa Saheb Pant, who at the time was serving as India’s high commissioner to Kenya, and other prominent anti-colonialism Asians like J M Jevanjee, Manilal Desai, Makhan Singh and Pio Gama Pinto gave strategic and material support to the movement.

Hindus have not been actively involved in Kenya’s national politics ever since Kenya gained her independence. This characteristic feature has continued in most of post-independent Kenya. The reluctance to participate in politics could be attributed to lack of an enabling environment or xenophobia. Perhaps the Hindu indifference to Kenyan politics is a calculated move to protect their business interests. The involvement in politics may unnecessarily expose them to hostility from non-Asian communities and make them targets for politically instigated racial suppression by powerful and well-connected individuals. By adopting a non-political stance, the Hindu community has managed to concentrate on expanding their business interests in the country.

Their political ambivalence is, however, often interpreted with suspicion by the indigenous communities. During the single party era in Kenya, it was believed that wealthy Asians were the major supporters and financiers of unpopular political leadership. The association of some Asian tycoons (such as Kamlesh Patni) with the
corrupt practices of the KANU era has created the need for Hindus in Kenya to be cautious in expressing their political interests. But this does not mean they are completely detached from the governance of this country. Hindus have been lobbying the Government to create a good environment for them to participate in governance and trade. With the new constitutional dispensation which advocates for cabinet secretaries to be selected from outside parliament, the future presidents could identify one of their own and appoint him or her to key Ministerial positions. It may, however, be useful for the Hindus to become actively involved in competitive politics, by encouraging some of them to vie for elective positions.

5.2.5 Social Integration

Through social integration people interact, connect and validate each other within a community. The general aim is to foster societies that are stable, safe, just, tolerant, respect diversity, equality of opportunity and participation of all people (Jeannotte, 2008). This is supported by the Social integration theory which developed by the French Sociologist Emile Durkheim towards the end of the 19th century. The theory suggests that improper social integration can lead to negative consequences at the individual, family, community and societal level. Durkheim further demonstrates that proper social interaction positively impacts on isolated groups of society by actively engaging them in social roles that helped people to build self-esteem, physical wellness and their sense of commitment to the community around them.

While conducting this study, the respondents were requested to state their opinion on the state of social integration of Hindus in Kenya and the results were tabulated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether the social integration of Hindus in Kenya is satisfactory</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>930</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>1162</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One thousand, one hundred and Sixty-two respondents-1162 conceded that social integration of Hindus in Kenya is unsatisfactory, while 930 of them felt that the integration is satisfactory while 232 of them did not know what to say.

Those who responded that the social integration of Hindus in Kenya is satisfactory gave various reasons to support their position. They pointed out the fact that Asians have lived peacefully with their Christian and other fellow Kenyans ever since independence. Some also cited that most Hindus born in Kenya have therefore embraced the Kenyan culture. They speak Kiswahili, the national language and are involved in establishing various social amenities that are used by all people irrespective of race or religion. Examples include the Nairobi Gymkhana –a sports recreational facility in the city of Nairobi. The Arya Schools complex in Nairobi’s Ngara area is a Hindu sponsored school which admits not only Hindu children but also those from other communities. Hindus also participate in various charitable activities aimed at alleviating human suffering in all parts of the country.

Through the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK), Hindus play a key role in alleviating the suffering of post-election internally displaced persons (IDPs). The council donated food, clothes and medicine through the Kenya Red Cross which coordinates the relief efforts.

Those respondents, who answered in the negative, gave various reasons for their answers, which included the exclusive and isolative lifestyle of the Asians. They stated that Hindus in Kenya are unable to mingle with the rest of Kenyans, perhaps because of their divided loyalty. Most Hindus do not demonstrate a strong patriotic attachment to this country and that their allegiance is with outside countries such as Canada, Australia and Britain. They do not view Africans as equal partners or fellow countrymen. The Hindus are perceived as a people too difficult to understand (Somjee, 2000; Herzig, 2006).

Most Hindus experience language problems when interacting with non-Asian communities. This is so because the majority of them Hindus have been brought up
in India where some Hindu languages are recognized as official and national languages. When they came to Kenya, they found that such Indian languages are not popular among Kenyans whereby they have learnt either Kiswahili or English. This is challenging for most women, who spend much time at home and rarely interact with non-Asians.

5.3 Factors affecting the Hindu Integration into the Kenyan Society
Table 8 explains the factors affecting Hindu integration into the Kenyan society which are categorized as religious, cultural, economic, political and social.

Table 8: Factors affecting the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan Society

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Factors affecting Hindu integration into the Kenyan society</th>
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<td>8.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic</td>
<td>968</td>
<td>41.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.3.1 Cultural Factors
It is challenging for a Hindu to interact with a non-Hindu or non-Asian because of the cultural differences involved. Hindus have unique traditions, which are different as compared to those of other communities countrywide. They have different food preference and cooking styles. For example, Hindus are prohibited from eating food prepared by a person belonging to a lower caste. Whereas Africans may eat food prepared by an Asian; Asians cannot eat food prepared by Africans, who are considered to belong to a lower caste.

Cultural differences between Asians and Africans and by extension between Hindus and Christians in Kenya are evident in modes of clothing. The dressing style is really not a big issue in determining the level and extent of Hindu integration into...
the Kenyan society. Diversity in modes of dress tends to enrich aesthetic structure within society. The modes of dressing among the Hindus, even in cases where these are different from those of indigenous communities, have a positive effect on Hindu integration into the Kenyan society. Dressing style, however, also has some negative effect. Indians (Hindus included) have a unique clothing style which makes them easily identifiable. Some of their fashion tastes are unattractive to potential African companions who consider them no presentable.

Gender regulatory guidelines within the Hindu community determine the direction of an individual’s social interaction. Gender-based role allocation among the Hindus has unique features which correspond to the unique character of Hindu religious and cultural traditions. Hindu women shun public exposure. Thus, it is only Hindu men who often come into contact with the non-Asian people in Kenya. Yet women are more likely to develop social relations with other people than men.

The fact that the majority of Kenyan Hindus are not fluent in English and Kiswahili is another limiting factor in their cross-cultural relationships. Most Hindus in Kenya can only communicate adequately in their vernacular languages, which vary according to the different sub-groups that constitute the Hindu community. Some languages like Hindi, which is the most widely spoken dialect in India –where it holds a national official language status is, however, also more commonly spoken among the Kenyan Hindus, in addition to Gujarati. In India, there are twenty-four languages that are recognized as the country’s official national languages. Among these; Hindi, Gujarati and Punjabi are included, and are widely spoken among the Kenyan Hindus. Indians are free to master either one of these languages but also retain their ancestral mother tongue.

5.3.2 Social factors
The social environment in Kenya is mainly influenced by African traditional and western values. In African traditional society, people cherished a communal way of life (Mbiti, 1969). And within this context, social relations were anchored on a strong sense of communal responsibility – where the actions of each individual were considered to affect the welfare of other members within the community. Each member derived their identity from the community and individuals were conscious
of the need for mutual cooperation. For this reason, every member carefully weighed the consequences before taking any action. There was a general understanding that the interests of the community was larger than that of the individual and that pursuits based on selfish ambition could result on destruction not only of the individual but also of the entire community.

Communal solidarity was reinforced by an intricate system of kinship networks in which the individual belonged first to a family, then to a clan and finally to a community. Marriage patterns were based on stipulated guidelines whereby intermarriage between sister clans was anathema. Role allocation was based on gender and age. Each individual understood that their existence depended on the existence of others within society and therefore every effort was made to sustain and preserve the life of the community. Within this social framework, each individual was aware of their obligations towards other members within the community and there was an elaborate system upon which in-group and out group relationships operated. Strangers were treated with suspicion but were also subjected to scrutiny to determine the nobility of their mission before being accepted –which acceptance happened only if the newcomer’s intentions were congruent to the goals and values of the host community, such people would be accepted and welcomed into the community and would even be assimilated into the community.

African communities were ethnocentric in their conception of outsiders, and this is the basis for ethnically-instigated hostility that is sometimes witnessed within the country. When the Indians arrived in Kenya, they were received with suspicion owing to ethnically-motivated biases. The mutually exclusive social tendencies between Indians and Africans is one factor that has slowed down the process of integrating Hindus into the Kenyan society (Chartuvedi, O.I.21/01/2012; Omukonyi, O. I. 7/12/2012). Some of these differences include the marriage code, particularly as relates payment of dowry. Dowry, among the African communities, is given by the bridegroom’s family to the family of the bride. In Hindu practice, the bridegroom’s family receives dowry from the family of the bride.

In modern society, the influence of western culture, which stresses on individualism, has seen the erosion of some of these traditional values. Some of the values,
however, are still in operation thus rendering the modern Kenyan social environment largely a hybrid system (consisting of traditional African and western values). One of the most important effects of modern ideology on the African way of life is the introduction of a multi-social outlook on life. African communities have become increasingly aware of the inter-relatedness of all communities and the inter-dependence of all human beings – despite racial, religious and political differences. With such a relativist approach to social relations, Hindus find it more welcoming to operate within the modern African social system – where interpersonal barriers such as race, religion, politics and ethnicity are becoming less prevalent due to globalization.

5.3.3 Political Factors
Hindus have generally kept a low profile in political issues and quietly watch the emerging trends in Kenyan politics. The past experience (such as Amin’s action to expel Indians from Uganda) has taught them that any slight change in a country’s political will can have disastrous effects on their wellbeing. Most Hindus, who are wealthy, prefer to travel out of the country during the time of general elections in Kenya. The Hindus choose to keep a low profile politically in order to protect their business interests in this country (Kepha Muindi, O. I. 24/1/97).

Some prominent Hindus have funded political parties during the general elections, and only one Hindu has vied for an elective post in post-independent Kenya and won, that is Setish Gautama – a former MP for Parklands Constituency. This constituency has since been renamed Westlands Constituency. It is the only constituency with a proportionately high concentration of Hindu residents in Nairobi. (Chaturvedi, O. I. 21/01/2012).

With the promulgation (October, 2010) of the new constitution in Kenya, Hindus are likely to play a more significant role in Kenyan politics. This because the new constitution not only prohibits the political marginalization of minority groups, but also allows provisions to ensure their inclusion.
5.3.4 Religious factors

Most Hindus consider their religious belief systems as a stumbling block in their quest to interact with other communities in Kenya, particularly Christians. They say whenever an attempt is made to establish a social relationship with members of the Christian community, this is often interpreted erroneously as a warming up towards Christianity and an expression of intention to convert to this religion (Rajesh Pandey, O. I. 9/7/2011). They view Christians as suffering from a superiority complex, downgrade other religions and feel that unless one converts to Christianity, they (Christians) have no business dealing with him or her (Ravi Jandu Chaturvedi, O. I. 21/01/2012).

Some Hindus believe that their religious system does not discriminate against the religious beliefs and practices of any other people. Their religion indeed encourages respect and equality of all human beings. Orthodox Hinduism, however, is not a missionary religion and does not seek converts from other religions. Christianity on the other hand –as a missionary religion– is rooted in a convert-seeking culture or tradition that spans across its entire history (Ravi Jandu Chaturvedi, O.I. 21/01/2012).

5.3.5 Economic Factors

In order to understand the economic environment within post-independent Kenya, it is important to recognize the traditional-modern continuum in African values and evaluate its effects on the modern Kenyan society. Given the communal approach to life that prevailed in the traditional African social set-up, some factors of production such as land were communally owned. Although individual members of the society were free to individually engage in private income generating activities, the overall production system was largely influenced by an underlying notion that the interests of the community superseded that of the individual. Care for the welfare of the larger community was the major driving force behind the actions of individual members. Influenced by such a social perspective, Africans were slow in embracing modern production systems that encourage individual effort in wealth creation. For this reason, most Africans are languishing in poverty as the natural resources increasingly become scarce as a result of population explosion. Hindus embraced the
modern system of production and engaged in various entrepreneurial activities that paid off and has made them economically well-off. This apparent economic power and affluent lifestyle of Hindus has sometimes attracted sentiments of distaste from members of indigenous African communities. This can be said to have had two contradicting effects of the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society. On the one hand, the anti-Indian sentiments have created an environment that inhibits the process of Hindus’ integration into the Kenyan society. Hindus are wary of the safety of their investments in Kenya and so opt to carry out their business activities in a detached manner. But on the other hand, the fact that Hindus have made great success in business has made them develop a sense of belonging to the Kenyan society since they are ranked highly in the social realm due to their relative economic well-being.

5.4 The Caste system in Kenya
The caste system involves a social organization based on social descent. A person does not choose which caste to belong to but rather acquires automatic membership to a particular caste by virtue of birth. In Kenya, the caste system is practiced not only by Hindus but also by some indigenous African communities, especially the Borana of Eastern Province. Among the Hindus, the caste system is based on the social organization guidelines as contained in the Code of Manu, which is part of the Hindu sacred texts which stipulates that the human society is to be divided into four classes. The Brahmin ranked as the highest consists of priests or the noble (Natha Sing Kahal, O. I. 7/6/2011). The Kshatriya is the second ranked class which comprises warriors. The third is the Vaishya which is made up of farmers and merchants, who provide the means upon which the society operates. At the lowest level in this social ladder are the Sudras, composed of the illiterate masses who engage in manual labour. According to the Code of Manu, this social classification adds a religious quality since the first three classes consist of individuals who are twice born, while the lowest caste, that is sudra, is made up of once born individuals who just starting their ascent on the ladder of life dictated by samsara (the cycle of rebirth) (Ravi Jandu Chaturvedi, O. I. 21/01/2012).

5.4.1 Presence of Caste system among Hindus in Kenya
The Brahmins form only a minority group within the Hindu community in Kenya. Most of them migrated from Uttah Pradesh, a state in central India dominated by Brahmins. They arrived in Kenya mainly as professionals to work in the government or private sector (Natha Singh Kahal, O. I. 2011). Members of the Brahmin caste did not migrate to Kenya in big numbers. This is attributed to the fact that the Brahmins occupied a privileged position within the Hindu community and were therefore emotionally unprepared to come to Kenya at the time when the Uganda railway construction work was underway. Only people from the lower castes such as the Vaishyas and sudras expressed interest in coming to Kenya since they perceived the offer – to come and work as indentured labourers for the construction of the Uganda railway –as an opportunity to escape from the socio-economic problems to which they were subjected by virtue of their caste background.

The Vaishyas are the most dominant group among the Hindus who migrated to Kenya (Salvadori, 1989). They comprise farmers, traders and artisans. This group includes the Luhars, the Bhatias, the Bhoi, the Dhobis, the Lokhanas, the Patels, the Wnzas and the Sindhis. The small Rajput Community claims to be the only true Kshatriya caste represented in Kenya (Salvadori, 1989:111). Some of the vaishya groups, however, also lay claim to Rajput ancestry (Patel, 2007).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether the caste system is practiced among Kenyan Hindus</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1549</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>775</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.4.2 The practice of the Hindu caste system in Kenya as compared to India
Some writers (such as Salvadori 1989, Patel 2007, Bhatt 1972 and Patel 2011) have variously identified the rigid caste practice in India as one of the factors that pushed the Hindus to come to Kenya. The caste system is, however, gradually losing its influence in social organization globally. Even in India, the caste-based social organization system is gradually weakening due to the onslaught of globalization.
and the universalization of the principles of individual freedom. None the less, there are some parts of India where the system is still practiced (Marmphill, 2012).

In Kenya the situation is slightly different since the Hindu immigrants are all united by a common interest as “strangers in a strange land” (Salvadori 1989). Being a minority ethnic group, the Hindus consider such caste-based social segmentation to be a self-defeatist strategy. Thus, the caste system is not conspicuously applied in Kenya. Some studies, however, suggest that most Hindus in Kenya are still influenced by the caste mentality in their overall perception of social identity. Mbiti (1969), for example, notes that the caste system is evident – albeit subconsciously – among the Hindu community and may be the major reason why Hindus have been slow in seeking and recruiting converts from among the African communities. And, as shown in table 9, out of the 2324 respondents who took part in this research, 1529 of them indicated that the caste system is practiced among the Hindus in Kenya while 775 were of the contrary opinion.

The majority of Hindu immigrants were from the lower castes, particularly the Vaishya and the Sudra. They came mainly to work as indentured labourers for the construction of the Uganda Railway. Upon completion of the railway, most of the labourers chose to settle in Kenya so as to take advantage of the business opportunities that were rapidly opening up within the country.

The pursuit for economic advancement became a common bond that united the Hindu settlers into a socially homogenous community devoid of class distinction. The caste mentality, however, still influenced the minds of Hindu immigrants and determined the direction of Hindu relations with non-Hindu and non-Indian members. It is for this reason that inter-racial marriages between Asian Hindus and non-Asian communities, particularly Africans, are still rare.

Most Hindus downplay the contribution of the Caste system to this state of affairs, saying the rareness of inter-racial marriages is basically as a result of cultural differences rather than the influence of caste-related considerations. This may, however, be something that needs critical analysis since cultural difference on its own cannot be a limiting factor for inter-racial marriages. Hindus in Kenya
according to Mbiti (1975) are generally affected by the caste mentality. For example, all Hindus can eat food prepared by a Brahmin but they cannot eat food prepared by someone from a lower caste.

5.4.3 Caste-based discrimination among the Kenyan Hindus

Seven hundred and forty respondents indicated that caste discrimination among the Kenyan Hindus is a reality. Ever since they migrated into Kenya, most Indians are yet to experience the sense of belonging to the larger Kenyan society. The fact that most Hindus are strangers in this country has camouflaged the caste-based discrimination within the community. The Kenyan Hindus, being a small community gangs up together so as to strengthen their collective bargaining strategies. Hence, the caste discrimination can easily escape the attention of a passive onlooker (Adam, 2002).

Table 10: Awareness of Caste-based discrimination among Hindus in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Whether caste discrimination exists among Kenyan Hindus</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1784</td>
<td>76.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>24.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some Asians deny the existence of the caste system in Kenya by claiming that when the Asians migrated to Kenya, they came from various castes, but on arriving in Kenya settled in various occupations for purposes of self-advancement. In the process of this pursuit, members of different castes found themselves in the same profession. In Kenya, there exist no caste-based occupational prohibitions as is the case in India. Despite this defense, there are indications that caste discrimination in Kenya is still going on despite the various efforts being made to promote enjoyment of the fundamental human rights by all people in the world.

The problem of the Hindu Caste system is that “the discrimination seems to be so much hidden as to defy detection (Adam, 2002)”. Adam 2002 further reports that
most Hindus are relatively well endowed economically, a fact that sometimes helps to conceal the caste-based discrimination existing within this community.

The Hindu Caste system has been identified internationally as a discriminatory system that abuses the fundamental human rights of the people from the lower castes (Azonnanon, 2002:27).

Out of the 2324 respondents, 76.76% of them indicated that they were not aware of any caste-based discrimination within the Hindu community in Kenya, while 24.24% stated that they were aware that it exists. Those who stated that it exists indicated that caste-based discrimination can be noted in Hindus’ areas of occupation and significantly affects their occupations or economic lifestyles. There is no provision for intermarriages between the castes and upward mobility from one caste to another is almost impossible. The Brahmins, for example belong to the higher caste, and have dominated the food industry in Kenya. This is so because according to the code of manu, members of a lower caste can eat food prepared by a member of a higher caste, while the reverse is not permitted. This clearly translates to the fact that anyone can eat food prepared by a Brahmin. Although they are few in number, they maintain very strict membership to their caste including social clubs operated by the Brahmins that are open to non-Brahmins.

5.4.4 The Hindu caste system and Hindu integration into the Kenyan society
Although most Hindus hesitate to admit that the caste system exists in Kenya, observers tend to think that the caste system is still operational and affects the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society. The Hindus moreover, have problems interacting with people from outside their specific caste-based communities.

The Hindus are reluctant to mingle freely with non-Asian Kenyans, particularly the Africans who form the majority of Kenya’s population. They prefer to live in exclusive residential places.
Hinduism is not a missionary religion; hence not many Africans are attracted to it. Most Asians in this country send their children abroad for further studies and those
who belong to the upper class join exclusive social clubs leaving little avenue for interaction between Africans and Asians, on one hand and Christians and Hindus on the other.

5.5 Measures taken to enhance Hindu integration into the Kenyan society
Various efforts have been made to ensure the full and proper integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society, as discussed below.

5.5.1 Encouraging inter-party social activities among Hindu and Christian faithful
The social interaction between Hindus and Christians would be enhanced through interfamily and inter communal meetings between Hindus and Christians. Such forums will help reduce the knowledge gap about the traditions and beliefs of each group so as to enhance mutual trust between the two groups.

5.5.2 Enhancement of national cohesion and reconciliation efforts
Through this forum, which was enforced by an act of parliament in 2003, Hindus and Christians can open up to each other about perceived injustices and differences so as to secure an atmosphere for peaceful co-existence. The National Cohesion and Integration Commission is responsible for, among other things, checking against the spread of hate speech including inter-ethnic or inter-racial derogative utterances.

5.5.3 Encouraging inter-racial marriages
If members of both Hinduism and Christianity took conscious and deliberate steps to encourage their young people to intermarry, this would assist in bringing the two groups closer together and enhance social integration among the Hindu fraternity.

5.6 Social integration among Hindus
Any aspect of social integration involves an interaction between two cultures, the newcomer’s culture (the guest culture) and the culture of the natives (the host culture), hence, when a person moves from one location to settle in another, he or she comes along with the inherent culture. The encounter between two persons is thus, by extension an encounter between two cultures –that is the culture of the
newcomer and the culture of the native (or the host). The newcomer is therefore a prospective candidate for social integration, and the host can influence the pace at which this integration takes place. But the newcomer also plays an important role in the integration process; he or she must be willing to embrace the social system of his or host community.

In the context of this study, both the Hindu and Christian cultures are guests within the Kenyan society. The Christian culture, however, has been embraced by Africans whose culture is the host culture within the Kenyan context. Thus, the process of integrating the Christian culture has the potential to influence the African Christian view of Hinduism and the process of social integration for Hindus in Kenya.

At the level of individual persons, the Hindu followers become subjects of social integration by virtue of belonging to a guest culture. Christians being predominantly African (the natives), and therefore belonging to the host culture have an important role to play in the social integration of Kenyan Hindus. They must create a favourable attitude towards members of the Hindu community. This calls for a paradigm shift in the orientation of the Christian faith so as to move away from the ‘victim mentality’ which according to Mageto (2004), is the attitude whereby Christians view the life of non-Christians as beset with suffering as a result of their unwillingness to accept God’s call for conversion into Christianity. Christians need to devise more effective methods in establishing inter-communal relations with members of the Hindu community. This can be done by participating in joint activities, encouraging business partnerships and holding inter-family exchange visits.

5.7 Benefits of Hindu Integration for the Kenyan society

The following table shows various responses to the question whether Hindu integration has any benefits for the Kenyan society.
Table 11: Benefits of Hindus’ Integration into the Kenyan Society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Is the integration of Hindus beneficial to the Kenyan society?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1646</td>
<td>70.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>20.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doesn’t know</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One thousand, six hundred and forty-six out of the 2324 respondents expressed the view that the social integration of Hindus is beneficiary to the Kenyan society. 484 of them felt it does not, while 194 did not know whether or not it does.

Some of the reasons advanced for the affirmative answer include promotion of national identity, enhancement of social inclusion, enhancement of economic development, enrichment of cultural variety and promotion of national cohesion.

The integration of Hindus would economically enhance Kenya’s economic development process. This is because Hindu participation in the economic sector would be enhanced. Their sense of belonging to the nation would be boosted through the integration process. This means that their sense of belonging to this nation would be strengthened, thus enhancing their loyalty and commitment to the national values that guide this nation. As a result of this increased loyalty and commitment, the Hindu followers would commit more of their resources to this country and increase their participation in local investment and wealth creation activities.

Hindu integration into the Kenyan society in regard to cultural variety implies the expansion of cultural diversity. Every nation considers it a great blessing to have cultural diversity within its borders. Cultural diversity enriches a country’s international orientation. Cultural pluralism can boost a country’s international competitive advantage which is a significant ingredient in economic development.

The integration of Hindus would enhance the Hindu-Christian relations and reinforce national integration and cohesion through the acceptance and appreciation of the principle of unity in diversity. This is the consciousness of a common identity...
among people of this country that they are all one, despite their differences in religious, ideological, gender, ethnic racial or political affiliations. This kind of integration is crucial in building a stable and prosperous society within the country.

5.8 The National integration of Hindus in Kenya

In recent years, a lot of effort has been made to ensure the realization of national cohesion and integration in this country. These efforts are motivated by the quest for the realization of Vision 2030. It has been observed that without national cohesion and integration, it would be difficult to improve economic growth, realize equitable development in a clean secure environment and to progress towards people-centred, issue-based and accountable politics in this country.

Efforts were made to achieve national cohesion immediately after this country became independent in 1963. The founding fathers outlined their wish to encourage national integration. A declaration was made that all the people who were in the country on the eve of independence were legible for Kenyan citizenship (Salvadori, 1989). National integration was, however, not identified as a priority area since the fight against illiteracy, poverty and disease were considered paramount. President Jomo Kenyatta initiated the harambee motto which was intended to remind Kenyans of the need for and importance of pulling together as a nation. Kenyatta’s (1968) promulgation of the Africanisation policy greatly damaged any gains that had been made in creating a united and all-inclusive nation. Previously, the spirit of nationhood had been expressed through the country’s national flag and national anthem. Peace love and unity became rallying calls for national mobilization during Kenyatta’s and Moi’s presidential terms. During Kibaki’s reign, various commissions were put in place to tackle the issue of national cohesion and integration. These commissions include; the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC) and the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). Kibaki’s approach towards national cohesion was generally guided by the principle of equal distribution of resources, particularly through infrastructure development.
Although every effort has been made to encourage the national integration of Hindus in this country, there is still a long way to go in realizing this goal. It is clear that most Hindus have not reached a point whereby they can consider Kenya their preferred home country. For instance, only a small proportion of Hindus possess sole Kenyan citizenship (Salvadori, 1989; Herzig, 2000). It is also notable that only a few Hindu followers register as voters in general elections and of those who register, only a few of them remain in the country during polling to cast their vote (Salvadori, 1989). National integration of Hindus in Kenya would ensure their full inclusion in national matters, thus boosting their participation in the socio-economic development of this country.

The following table indicates the responses from respondents in regard to the key areas of focus in the integration process for Kenyan Hindus.

Table 12: Approaches for the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What are the approaches used to enhance the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society?</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spatial</td>
<td>1246</td>
<td>54.61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relational</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>46.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As indicated in table 12, the following were identified the key approaches for the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society.

5.8.1 **Spatial Integration**

The spatial aspect or approach focuses on public spaces such as schools, hospitals, places of worship, and recreational facilities. It covers private spaces such as residential areas, clubs businesses, as well as Physical location –Including geographic political and economic proximity or distance.

There are various platforms upon which the spatial distance between Hindus and Christians can be narrowed. In schools and colleges, students from both communities often meet and interact in classrooms. This is evident in both public
and private schools because during certain school functions, parents interact freely. In workplaces, Christians and Hindus carry out duties as colleagues or partners. Business and professional associations often bring members of both communities to a common forum.

Members of both communities often interact closely in sports activities. Whenever Hindus and Christians meet either as sportsmen and women or as spectators cheering various teams in motor rallies, cricket, hockey and swimming, some interaction between them takes place. The two groups therefore, are able to observe each other’s behaviour at a closer range thus reducing the social distance between each other.

5.8.2 Relational Integration
This includes social distance and emotional connectedness as well as recognition and solidarity whereby members of both communities are presented with various opportunities to interact and foster the rapid integration of Hindus within the Kenyan society. One area that this happens is through inter-religious marriages. Another is through inter-ethnic forums such as sports activities, inter-ethnic cultural events, inter-ethnic visits and come-together functions between Christians of African ethnicity and Hindus of Indian ethnicity.

5.9 Conclusion
National integration enhances cohesion where efforts have been put in place to foster national cohesion. The establishment of the National Cohesion and Integration Commission has come as a welcome move in combating the problem of inter-ethnic and inter-racial animosity. This commission aims at fostering peace-building activities through strengthening of conflict prevention, peace-building and social cohesion capacities both at the national and community levels in order to address potential risk factors and promote greater citizen and community participation in peace-building, as well as to mainstream conflict-sensitive development processes in Kenya (NCIC, 2012).
Some of the measures taken to enhance national cohesion include:
1. Cultivation of a sense of belonging because isolation or marginalization is deemed to militate against national cohesion.

2. Enhancement of inclusion. Some people feel excluded from the mainstream system of the nation, and engage in activities that hinder the attainment of national cohesion.

3. The promotion of a participatory approach to people’s involvement, because when people are accorded opportunities to participate in decision making processes, their sense of belonging is boosted and this enhances social cohesion.

4. Recognition is also an important ingredient of social integration. When a community’s right to citizenship, for example, is rejected, that community is most likely to act in a manner that militates against the realization of national cohesion.

Hindu integration into the Kenyan society is a multi-dimensional process which is on-going and effort needs to be made by the various stakeholders to ensure that this process takes the proper direction. It is also important to note that, although the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society has occurred at various dimensions, there still exists a wide social gap between the members of these two groups. In the context of contemporary society where inter-ethnic, inter-racial and inter-religious conflicts are becoming rampant, it requires Hindu and Christian followers to provide an opportunity that will enable them to learn and appreciate each other. This measure would not only enhance inter-religious tolerance between members of these two groups but will also inspire and strengthen the sense of belonging among the Hindus. The following chapter focuses on Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives in Kenya.
CHAPTER SIX

HINDU-CHRISTIAN INTER-FAITH DIALOGUE INITIATIVES IN POST-INDEPENDENT KENYA

6.1 Introduction
This chapter covers the nature and extent of Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue initiatives in Kenya, the factors affecting such initiatives and steps that can be taken to further strengthen such initiatives.

The discussion is based on responses from interviewees who were asked to state the nature of inter-faith dialogue initiatives between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya, the factors affecting such a relationship and the steps that can be taken to further enhance or strengthen such initiatives. The responses are presented in table 13 below.

Table 13: Nature and Extent of Hindu-Christian Interfaith Dialogue initiatives in post-independent Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Hindu-Christian Interfaith Dialogue initiatives in Kenya</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Formal</td>
<td>465</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal</td>
<td>1588</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Does/do not know</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.2.1 Formal Level
Formal initiatives follow a systematic process and are as a result of conscious efforts at either the individual or group level. They usually arise out of an identified need and sometimes result from lobbying by interested parties.
Inter-faith activities between the Hindu and Christian communities in Kenya are limited to collaborative work as philanthropic activities (Kamau John Peter, O. I. 24/1/1997).

Sometimes they are motivated by the need for both religions to come together and take a joint position or stand on certain issues affecting society. An example is during the preparation of the Hindu and Christian Religious Education syllabus for schools by both curriculum development teams.

In times of crisis, leaders from both religions join together with those from other religions, and hold joint meetings which are geared towards assisting Kenyans cope up with the crises. For instance, the country has witnessed tragic events during the past few decades that include the tragic Kenya Airways carrier plane crash in Cameroon in 2010, the bombing of the USA embassy in Nairobi in 1998, the various tragic fire and road accidents witnessed in the country, the various periods of drought and famine witnessed in the country between 2007 and 2011. Last are the post-election skirmishes that rocked the country in the wake of 2008. They have occasionally organized joint national prayer events during such occasions. Most of these meetings, however, are reactive in nature and it is hoped that in future such events should also take place proactively. Rather than wait until a calamity strikes before holding such meetings, the leaders should have regular meetings to pray for the welfare of the country. Even when there exists no visible threat to national security, such meetings should be intensified during the pre-election period or when the country is about to engage in an important exercise either nationally or internationally (Julius Lolo, O.I. 7/12/2012). Natural or human related disasters may of course continue to occur whether or not Hindu and Christian leaders publicly accept each other. This public acceptance, however, would have a mitigating effect whenever such disasters occur.

The religious leaders could also come together and respond to humanitarian needs. A good example are the joint philanthropic activities organized, in response to tragedies like the Mukuru Kwanjenga fire episode of 2011 that left so many people dead, others lost their property, many were left homeless and orphaned. These people camped in a public hall at Kariokor awaiting philanthropic assistance. Both
Hindu and Christian leaders came to rescue the victims. Again, during the 1997 USA embassy bomb-blast, many Kenyans lost their relatives while others were injured. And it was the religious leaders who mobilized teams to participate in the general rescue efforts that were being spearheaded by philanthropic organizations, especially the Red Cross and Red Crescent organizations.

Similar joint rescue mission efforts by Hindus and Christians were mounted after the 2007 post-election violence as well as during the fierce drought and famine periods that occurred between 2007 and 2011 in Kenya.

Despite the existence of various collaborative efforts between the Hindu and Christian religious leaders, there is lack of a favourable atmosphere for initiating mutually enriching inter-faith dialogue programmes or events between Hindus and Christians in this country. The collaborative work that has taken place so far is largely sporadic and not systematic or planned in nature as far as interfaith dialogue is concerned. This is, however, a general problem that is not necessarily limited to Hindu-Christian relations but also affects dialogue initiatives among other combinations of religions. This tends to slow down or even frustrate efforts to bring the two communities closer together. There is a causal relationship between the state of Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue and the nature and extent of Hindu-Christian interactions in this country. Because of limited interfaith dialogue initiatives between members of these two groups, there is little or no social interaction between their members. And due to the poor social interaction between members of the two communities, there is limited opportunity for initiating interfaith dialogue contacts involving members of the two groups. This trend tends to affect the pace and quality of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society.

Other factors, however, are also at play and these further affect the interaction between Hindus and Christians in this country. As it was earlier noted, there are numerous differences between the Hindu and Christian religions. Some of these differences, particularly at the spiritual level, are irreconcilable. In the process of social interaction, Hindus and Christians normally consider what they are likely to gain from a relationship. If the benefits of such a relationship are less than the costs, then one is less likely to engage in such a relationship. This confirms the social
exchange theory. The Hindus, for instance, do not intermarry with Africans who form the majority among Kenyan Christians. They also prefer living in isolated estates in urban areas, such as Westlands, Parklands, South B and Pangani in Nairobi, and thus have less opportunity to share with the majority of native African city dwellers who live in different locations within the city. In this case, spatial differences hinder the chances for Hindu-Christian interactions.

At a general level, most respondents indicated an awareness of inter-faith dialogue initiatives between various religions particularly at the global level. As a result of the awareness derived from such an international level, both Hindus and Christians consider the need to live in harmony with members of other religions. Besides, more Christians are getting interested in oriental religions and have conducted research on these religions with the aim of helping their fellow Christians get a deeper and more accurate understanding of these eastern religions. These studies have helped to reduce the mutual suspicion between Christians and Hindus.

More Christians have developed an interest in Hinduism and sought to read widely and discover its belief system. In doing so, these Christians have developed a more respectful approach towards members of this religion. Hindus in Kenya are also frequently invited to participate in Christian activities, such as inter-denominational prayers and Christian festivals, like Easter and Christmas. It is worth noting that the Hindu perspective towards Christianity has always been friendly to Christian followers because they consider Jesus Christ as a divine being. While Christians adore Jesus Christ, the Hindus adore dharma (Burnett, 1992).

The major stakeholders in the formal Hindu-Christian Inter-faith dialogue initiatives are the Hindu and Christian religious leaders, community leaders and interfaith dialogue lobby groups.

6.2.1.1 Religious leaders

Religious organizations in Kenya are organized around leadership hierarchies. Each religion, and sometimes denominations within each religion, has a unique organizational and leadership structure – with a clearly stipulated chain of command. Christian denominations have leadership structures that are tailor-made to
suit the key doctrines of the respective Church. There are, however, two major types of religious leaders; the lay leaders and the clergy.

There are, in some cases, cross-denominational variations in relation to the classification of leaders. In some cases Inter-denominational ‘cross-pollination’ of leadership structures is also occurs. The group that falls under lay leaders in one denomination may thus, be classified under the clergy in another. For example, among the Anglicans, the position of Deacon or Deaconess is classified under the clergy. On the other hand, in the Methodist Church, the steward—which is an equivalent of a Deacon, is classified under non-ordained (lay) ministry. Despite this slight difference, most churches recognize that lay leaders are necessary and play a significant role in Church administration. In most ecclesial structures, the local Church or congregation, as the lowest administrative unit, comprises the Chairperson, Secretary and treasurer as well as group leaders.

The Church executive at the local congregation level is usually made up of the Chairperson, the Secretary and the Treasurer. These people are charged with the responsibility of running the affairs of the local congregation and are elected democratically. There is also consensus among most denominations that the clergy is made up of pastors (or ministers) and priests. These positions serve as the basic ranks within the hierarchy of ordained ministry and those who occupy them are usually referred to as Reverends. After serving for some time, these officers can rise through the ranks to become bishops, archbishops, and cardinals, depending on their performance. The ordained ministers are often charged with the responsibility of providing direction to the physical and spiritual growth of the Church.

In the Hindu system, the same structure is followed whereby the ordained and lay leadership are integrated within the administration of the religious community. In Kenya, the lay leaders have more power in the general governance structure than the ordained priests. Perhaps this is due to the Hindu practice of recruiting their priests from India who are not very familiar with local issues. Thus, the general governance of the community rests upon democratically elected lay leaders with the priest confined only to spiritual matters. Each temple is managed by a committee comprising the Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and a few committee members.
The priest only serves as a spiritual guide and each temple has its own priest who operates independently from those of other temples. So far, there is no institution in Kenya that trains Hindu priests. The temple priests usually serve under the leadership of the local temple Committee. And, the committees are linked together through the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) which is led by democratically elected leaders under the Chairperson. It is such a Chairperson who serves as the overall leader of the Hindu community in Kenya.

Religious leaders play an important role in the inter-faith dialogue process. They plan and organize inter-faith dialogue activities at the formal level and some mount inter-faith dialogue awareness programmes within their congregations or communities. This serves as a catalyst to stimulate inter-faith dialogue initiatives at the lower levels within the religious community – for instance at the inter-family or inter-personal level.

### 6.2.1.2 Community leaders

This class of people comprises lay leaders who are democratically elected and are in charge of the administration of their groups at congregational, regional or national level. They oversee the general welfare of the group and its members and have a significant role to play in the interfaith dialogue process because they can influence such a process. Since they are expected to cater for the welfare of their members, these leaders can be used to ensure that the interests of their community are protected during the interfaith dialogue process. They could also assist in creating awareness among their members on interfaith dialogue.

Most Hindu and Christian communities in Kenya are also organized under umbrella bodies. Whereas the membership of these bodies may not be representative of all the groups that belong to each religion, they, however, play a significant role in determining the general direction to be taken within their respective religions. Examples of these bodies are as discussed below.

#### 1. National Council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK)

The National Council of Churches of Kenya is a family of Christian communions and organizations that was established in 1913, with a view to bringing together Christian organizations. It seeks to promote a unified approach in Christian
fellowship and witnessing in this country. Currently, NCCK has 26 member churches and 17 para church organizations.

Guided by her motto, *For Wananchi* (For Citizens), the Council works for the holistic development of all persons. Her vision is, ‘One Church; United in faith and mission witnessing to Jesus Christ’. Her mission is to facilitate the united mission of the Christian Church in Kenya. To achieve this, the Council undertakes to promote fellowship and ecumenism, nurture a common understanding of the Christian faith and mission, build the capacities of the membership, enhance the creation of a just and sustainable society, and uphold corporate health, identity, heritage and sustainability.

The council is governed by a general assembly and, administratively, its top organ is the governing council. The day to day activities within the council are managed by the executive council, led by the General Secretary, who is democratically elected – through a delegate system – from among the member associations. The membership is divided into three broad categories; full membership, associate membership and fraternal membership. To become a full member, one has to serve a probationary period of one year during which the council members seek to understand and be acquainted with the new applicant and for the applicant to learn and appreciate the functions of the council and the responsibilities of membership. Full membership is open to all Churches dully constituted in Kenya. Currently, there are 27 full members. Associate membership is open to all locally constituted Christian organizations, fellowships or groups organized to promote some definite Christian activities not directly under any church. Currently, the council has 11 Associate members. Fraternal membership is accorded to those groups which for various reasons do not desire or are unable to accept the basis of membership of the NCCK but nevertheless would like to have fraternal relationship with it. The Council agrees to admit such groups which do not involve membership of the Council, but which allows them access to the services of the Council.

The council is guided by the following core values: integrity through accountability and transparency; stewardship through sound resource management; professionalism through competence and efficiency; partnership by collaborating with others and Servant-hood through fair and humble service.
The council’s manifesto encourages the establishment of mutually enriching relationships between members of various religions. Most of its services are targeted at all persons regardless of their religious affiliation. It does not have a strong inter-faith dialogue desk that seeks to proactively engage the non-Christian religions in dialogue. The council, nonetheless, embraces the spirit of inter-faith dialogue, and has initiated various inter-faith dialogue initiatives targeting Muslims and Hindus. So far, inter-faith dialogue initiatives between NCCK and Hindu organizations have been at the level of collaborative work such as philanthropic activities.

2. Hindu Council of Kenya

The Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) was founded in 1972, following the infamous expulsion of Asian nationals from Uganda, under the regime of Idd Amin Dada. The council was started as a way of giving the Asian immigrant community in Kenya, a collective voice to air their grievances to the government (Sarvaiya, 2012).

The council acts as an umbrella body that oversees the activities of about 150 Hindu organizations and communities in Kenya. Sixty-five of these organizations are based in Nairobi. The council has branches in various towns within the country, mainly in areas with a significant Hindu presence. These include Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, Nyeri, Embu, Meru and Nanyuki.

Under HCK’s direction, its various member groups have constructed social halls and community centres throughout the country, and particularly in areas where the Hindus have a significant population. These facilities serve as venues of performing arts, as well as centres for numerous other social, religious and cultural activities. These activities are designed to enhance the unity of the Hindu community and also to act as a vehicle for preserving Hindu traditions. Through the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK) and its member institutions, Asians have over 100 years of legacy in various institutions and sectors of the Kenyan society.

The HCK leadership is aware of the existing suspicions and misconceptions about the Hindu community in Kenya. For this reason, various efforts have been instituted to foster greater interaction between members of the Hindu community and the rest of Kenyans. The council has also initiated religious and cultural training programmes which are open even to non-Asians.
As an umbrella body that brings together all Hindu institutions in this country, the HCK operates from its newly established headquarters off Kusi-Lane in Parklands, Nairobi. Hindu Council of Kenya participates in various local and international forums important to the country’s social development. It is represented or works with, among others, Ufungamano—Joint Forum of Religious Leaders, National Anti-Corruption Plan Steering Committee, Fast Tracking East Africa Federation, National Aids Control Council, Inter-Religious Council of Kenya, Hindu Council of Africa and African Council of Religious leaders.

The Hindu community, besides working with NGOs, is among the largest donors to charities through social and religious institutions of the Council. The major avenues through which it fulfills this philanthropic obligation include; feeding programmes, medical camps, and bursaries for students as well as the distribution of learning material to needy and deserving students.

The member institutions give donations to deserving charities regularly. Jalaram Satsang Mandal (situated along Murang’a Road) and Hare Krishna Temple (in Parklands) feed hundreds of poor people every day. In the medical field, Shah free eye and Ear Nose and Throat (ENT) camps are held every year. The camps facilitate hundreds of operations and distribution of spectacles.

HCK is receptive to any efforts aimed at cultivating good relations between members of diverse religious affiliations in Kenya. It is willing to participate in initiatives that are aimed at creating or promoting mutual understanding and respect among people of various religious backgrounds (Sarvaiya, 2012). On its own accord, it has not, however, initiated any specific programme aimed at this. The programmes it has initiated so far are aimed at helping members of the non-Hindu communities to understand and appreciate Hindu religio-cultural system. There is no forum, however, where both Hindu and Christians come together and freely discuss the ways to work together in spite of their differences. Yet, with the enormous resources at its disposal, it is the view of this researcher that the Hindu Council of Kenya could take a more proactive approach in initiating Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue activities (Aruna Nathari Desai, O. I. 7/6/2011).
6.2.1.3 Lobby groups

These are organizations that have taken it as their primary duty the responsibility to pursue a peaceful co-existence between people of various religious groups. These groups operate independently of any religious institution and include;

1. African Council for Religious Leaders

Its aim is, among other things, to create and enhance interfaith relations and non-violence. While promoting awareness on social justice and human rights, this organization seeks to provide humanitarian support to those in need, and reveal the humanity and interdependence of those from various faith traditions, as well as ensuring the realization of peace and peaceful coexistence between members of diverse religious affiliation.

Whereas the organization is yet to mount specific interfaith dialogue programmes, its leaders are keen to promote multi-religious cooperation as a means to achieving mutual understanding and respect among members of diverse religious traditions. It is hoped that these efforts will finally lead to the creation of a society that espouses the culture of peace and inter-religious tolerance.

The council is aware of the importance of security for the socio-economic prosperity of a nation. Thus, in promoting the notion of shared security and undertaking to create space for constructive engagement in pursuance of peaceful resolution of conflicts, the council envisions the creation of a socially just and inclusive society through constructive engagement of all stakeholders. The council, for instance runs youth leadership development and capacity building programmes aimed at equipping the young people to enhance their ability in promoting inter-religious harmony and peaceful co-existence among members of diverse religious background. To achieve this, the council mounts occasional advocacy, lobbying and mobilization campaigns targeting the engagement of youth through common action, communication and information exchange.

The council members encourage religious leaders to create platforms for dialogue, information, experience sharing and learning. Dialogue sessions between religious leaders and other policy makers are part of the long-term objectives of this venture.
It is through such an approach that council members anticipate in harnessing religious assets and moral values for the common action.

There is need, however, for the council to engage in a more aggressive promotion of its services and ensure it engages members at the grassroots level so as to enhance its effectiveness and success. It may be useful if the council opened centres across the country so as to take its services closer to the people. Through such centres, the local community members could be involved in the process of inter-faith dialogue right at grass-roots level. This will strengthen the movement as more people would become enlightened on the importance of inter-faith dialogue initiatives.

2. The Institute of Kenyan South Asians History and Culture

This is an organization that works to promote greater interaction between people of various races within Kenya. The organization also seeks to advance inclusion of South Asian history and culture into the mainstream and national discourse as well as develop a consciousness of nationhood through respect of human rights and social justice, (Awaaz, 2012).

The institute's core activity is the publication of a tri-annual magazine named Awaaz (voices). The Institute of Kenyan South Asians History and Culture (IKSAH) also conducts other activities that are aimed at achieving their objective of promoting mutual understanding between Kenyan Asians and members of other communities residing in the country. To achieve this goal, IKSAH organizes forums to foster inter-communal interaction. The aim of such cross-cultural events is to encourage members of the Asian community encounter and interact with members from the non-Asian communities. This is one way through which inter-religious and inter-cultural bonding –as envisioned by IKSAH–may ultimately be achieved.

The cross-cultural events are organized annually through the platform of South Asian Mosaic of Society and the Arts (SAMOSA) festivals under the banner of Awaaz and that it brings the Asian and African communities together to create bonds of friendship and trust.

It is projected that through such functions, members of the non-Asian communities will get a chance to interact closely with the Asians. In so doing, they get to
understand and appreciate the Asians better, thus dispelling distrust and suspicion which exists between the two communities.

The SAMOSA festival is not a Hindu project *per se* but Hindus participate in it and targets the Asian community in general because their concerns as a community are often identical, regardless of religious affiliation. Among their major concerns are the country’s security and economic stability.

The *Awaaz* (voices) magazine started in 2002 and sponsored by Institute of Kenyan South Asians History and Culture (IKSAH) targets mainly Kenyan Asians. It provides a broad platform for debate and reflection on contemporary and historical issues. Initially it focused on the role of the South Asian community in the historical, political and socio-economic spheres of Kenya. Later, it evolved and expanded its coverage to include debates on selected topical issues such as diversity, democracy, human rights and social Justice.

IKSAH also collaborates to a Social Justice and Philanthropy Programme “Akiba Uhaki Foundation” which extends financial assistance to deserving Kenyans regardless of their racial or religious background. This Foundation collaborated with IKSAH in 2009 by supporting the development, design and publication of two issues of the Awaaz Magazine that featured a documentary on ‘Bombay Africans’ which focused on slavery and non-violence for change. This publication also profiled the important role Asians have played in the various sectors of the Kenyan economy. Those works also discuss issues of inter-racial and inter-communal harmony, minority concerns, good governance, social justice and human rights.

In the long-term, Akiba Uhaki and IKSAH share the view that by promoting and fostering better understanding, demystifying the various stereotypes and prejudices Africans and South Asians (and by extension other races in the country) hold about each other, then the country will undergo a paradigm shift in inter communal perceptions. In the past, these perceptions have been based on mutual suspicion, stereotyping and prejudices. By dismantling these barriers, Kenyans would create an opportunity to constructively engage in inter-faith and inter-cultural dialogue and foster greater inter-communal interaction. This dialogue will help in the opening up
of democratic space to allow equal participation of all Kenyans irrespective of racial or ethnic backgrounds in political and economic governance.

6.2.2 Informal initiatives
Hindus have lived alongside their indigenous African neighbours for a long time. They are business colleagues, partners or workmates.
At the informal level, inter-faith dialogue initiatives take place spontaneously, while dialogical interaction takes place in schools, professional bodies and associations, workplaces, political functions, sports activities and recreational sites.

Schools are major sources of interaction between Hindus and Christians in this country. In Nairobi, in residential areas dominated by Asians students are drawn from both communities. Asians and Africans have suffered a similar fate during colonialism when their children were not allowed to attend school in some exclusively European related educational facilities as perpetuated by the colonial government. As a result of this discrimination, Asians and Africans constructed their own mutually exclusive schools. But upon independence, the colour-based discrimination towards education was abolished and all schools (especially those run by the government) were opened for enrolment regardless of colour or creed (Lilian Michael, O. I. 7/6/2011).

The pupils interacted and learned together these cultural practices. The African students also got the chance to interact with their Asian counterparts and get to learn about the cultural practices within the Asian community. This interracial interaction at school level encourages the cultivation of mutual understanding and respect among the culturally diverse student fraternity. Moreover, during school events such as prize-giving Parents Day or Annual General Meetings, the parents in attendance get the chance to interact across the racial divide (Lilian Michael, O. I. 7/6/2011).

In relation to the work place, the situation is not any different as members from both religions are, in some cases, office or workmates on the same assignment. Still some are brought together as business partners or colleagues. In the field of business, sometimes, the interaction is not cordial, particularly in situations involving Hindu employers and African workers. In such situations, the African employees accuse
their Indian employers of harassment, poor working conditions and poor wages. Those who work especially in the industrial area of Nairobi testify to the poor conditions under which they work at the hands of their Indian employers. There, however, exist industrial dispute arbitration mechanisms through which such worker grievances are channeled for resolution. It is also to be noted that the issue of worker-employer relations is never an easy affair and Asian employers are not the only culprits when it comes to mistreatment of employees. Even Christian employers who engage fellow Africans could turn out to be a bad employer. Indeed such cases are also common in the country ((Aruna Nathari Desai, O. I. 7/6/2011)).

Hindus are known for their prowess in swimming, Hockey, Squash, Cricket, Motor-rallying and Chess. All these sports are also popular among the indigenous communities. Members of the two communities, through participation in these sports -either as players or spectators- sometimes share a common platform. As they interact with one another, the level of mutual understanding and respect is increased (Julius Lolo, O. I. 7/12/2012).

Similar interaction is witnessed in recreational facilities where members of both communities come converge. Kenya is a beautiful country with various sites where its citizens can visit to enjoy themselves and admire natural sceneries. National parks are found in various parts of the country. In Nairobi, recreational centres are widely spread, but include public parks such as Nairobi National park, Nairobi Arboretum, City Park, Uhuru Park, Uhuru Gardens as well as the numerous private entertainment places. Some hotels are also engaged in organizing community-based cultural nights where the cultural aspects of participating communities are highlighted. When such events are organized, people from communities other than the participating one are also welcome to attend. In all these occasions, participating Hindus and Christians get a chance to interact with one another. Even though such encounters are only brief and may not lead to the establishment of long-lasting relationships, they nonetheless serve to narrow the social gap between these two communities. Again, not many Hindus flock to these sites for various reasons, prime of which is security concerns. Even those who attend, chances are that they will flock together with participants of their own community and may not open up to outsiders – of course this is a natural instinct (Aruna Nathari Desai, O. I. 7/6/2011).
Inter-family come-together events between Hindus and Christians are rare. And when they happen, they involve families that have known each other on a close range for a long time. It is not easy to determine the frequency of such events as they happen spontaneously and in no particular regulation. But when they happen, participants get the chance to learn about each other’s cultural systems. Inter-family events are likely to result into greater inter-faith and inter-cultural exchange than any other initiative and should therefore be encouraged. There lacks, however, a framework for regulating such events, since such inter-family visits are purely voluntary and cannot be controlled by any other agency apart from the affected families (Lavi Jandu Churvedi, O. I. 21/1/2012).

6.3 Factors affecting Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue in Kenya

The reason for limited engagement between these two groups is cited as lack of interest for inter-religions engagement, perceived mutual adversarial attitudes, Exclusivist tendencies, incompatibility of religious claims and the all-inclusive nature of Hinduism.

Table 14: Factors affecting Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue initiatives in Kenya

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answer</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of interest/incentive</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>30.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exclusivist tendencies</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perceived mutual adversarial attitudes</td>
<td>627</td>
<td>26.98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incompatibility of religious claims</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>29.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the factors attributed to current state of Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives is lack of interest due to low incentive. As outlined in the social exchange theory, interpersonal relationships are based on a cost-benefit analysis. Consequently, members of each religion have no motivation to engage in inter-faith dialogue initiatives as this is likely to achieve little or no benefits at all. Christians consider that Hindus are a closed community and cannot offer a promising mission field. For Hindus, the Christian community already belongs to a religion of their
own and any contact with them on an inter-religious basis may not yield much benefits. For this reason, members of both sides consider it valuable to respect each other’s religious orientation guided by the principle of mutual tolerance. There are many areas, still, where the two groups could engage in joint activities for the benefit not only of their members but of the entire Kenyan society as a whole. These include environmental conservation efforts, philanthropic activities, development of social amenities such as schools, hospitals and sports grounds, among others.

The perceived adversarial attitudes could also be a major cause for lack of enthusiasm in Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives. Such attitudes are often based on stereotypes, where Hindus –being part of the larger community of Asian immigrants – are viewed as foreigners and non-patriotic. Their slowness or unwillingness to adapt to the African cultural system is among the reasons for anti-Asian sentiments among members of the indigenous communities. On their part, Hindus consider members of indigenous African communities (Christians included) as strangers. Anti-Asian sentiments that are sometimes publicly or privately uttered against their lot also contribute to their exclusive lifestyle.

In terms of religious practice, the two religions are largely endogenously focused. This is to be expected, since the two groups hold to particular beliefs and practices that are specific to their respective religions. There are occasions, however, that can be utilized for members of both groups to engage each other in inter-faith dialogue activities. These include religious festivals such as Diwali Christmas and Easter.

Another reason cited for this state of affairs, is the incompatibility of religious teachings between these two groups. Hinduism, for instance, is polytheistic while Christianity is monotheistic, Hinduism has a caste system while Christianity ideally advocates for a classless society, Christians believe in the final judgment when the current state of nature will be destroyed and a new era, called the Kingdom of God shall be launched, while Hindus have no such belief since for them time is virtually endless. These marked differences at the spiritual level make it difficult to engage one another in inter-faith activities. Socially, Hindus are given to flock with their own kindred, which is more driven by natural forces than deliberate intention to avoid members of the African communities. Most Hindus just like the rest of the
Indians in Kenya are wealthy and belong to the upper social class within society. On the other hand, only a few Christians are well-to-do which makes it difficult for members of the two communities to interact with each other as often as possible. They each live in different worlds.

6.4 Ways in which Hindu-Christian interfaith Dialogue initiatives affect the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society

As shown on table 15, one thousand six hundred and twenty seven-1627 respondents held the view that Hindu-Christian interfaith Dialogue initiatives affect the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society while 697 respondents thought it does not affect the process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who answered in the affirmative cited the connection between interfaith dialogue and increased mutual understanding between the two sides. When there is inter-faith dialogue, members of each religion get a chance to learn more about one another, thus creating bonds with each other. This process can ultimately lead to the enhancement of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society. This is achieved through the following:

1. Stimulates interest in each other’s religious beliefs and practices,
2. Leads to greater levels of mutual understanding between Hindus and Christians,
3. With an increased level of mutual understanding, members of both sides learn to appreciate each other,
4. This can enhance tolerance of each other’s religious and cultural systems.

The respondents who answered in the negative expressed the view that the integration of Hindus into the Kenyan society does not depend on the level and
extent of inter-faith dialogue initiatives. This is so because Kenya is a secular state and all religions are legally allowed to operate without any interference whatsoever. It is for this reason; Hindus can undergo the integration process quite independently of the inter-faith dialogue initiatives. Moreover, the mutual understanding that may arise out of an inter-faith dialogue initiative is not a guarantee for Hindus’ enhanced integration into the Kenyan society. Experiences from the 2007 post-election violence, could be clearly witnessed even among Christians themselves where levels of mutual understanding are assumed to be high, the violence broke out. In most cases, the violence was meted out by Christians on fellow Christian. This is obviously an indication that there is more to the integration of an immigrant community than just the level of mutual understanding.

6.5 Measures that can be taken to strengthen Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya

The respondents expressed the view that mutual trust, religio-cultural tolerance, socio-economic partnerships and alliances as well as political inclusiveness are the main measures that can be taken to improve and further strengthen the Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures that can be taken to improve Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Socio-economic partnerships/alliances</td>
<td>895</td>
<td>38.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultivation of Mutual trust</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>24.53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political inclusiveness</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>14.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religio-cultural tolerance</td>
<td>523</td>
<td>22.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2324</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.5.1 Socio-economic partnerships and alliances

In the economic field business partnerships between members of both groups could be encouraged. Hindus have expertise in business matters and can be a source of inspiration as partners to African Christian business operators. There is also need to encourage joint social events such as celebration of selected festivals for cultivation
of mutual trust. These festivals include the Christian festivals of Easter and Christmas as well as the Hindu festivals of Diwali.

6.5.2 Political inclusiveness
There is need for the creation of a conducive atmosphere for Hindus to participate in the political process. Some of them are good in certain professional areas and can make a significant impact if appointed to hold office in such key areas. These areas may include health, Justice and constitutional affairs, Public works, Commerce, Tourism and Education. In all these areas, there are numerous Hindus who have made distinguished achievements and contributions. Such participation must, however, be proportionately considerate to the interests of the majority.

6.5.3 Religio-cultural tolerance
One important aspect to consider in regard to Hindu-Christian relationship is the existence of irreconcilable differences in terms of religion and culture. In such situations, the best approach is to encourage religious and cultural tolerance. Fortunately in Kenya, this is a guaranteed freedom. Everyone is at liberty to belong to whichever religion or culture they wish. The world is, however, increasingly becoming a multi-religious society and there is need for new and innovative approaches in addressing religious differences.

6.6 Benefits of Hindu-Christian Inter-Faith Dialogue Initiatives
The following table contains responses to the question what are the benefits of Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives for the Kenyan society?

Table 17: Whether Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue initiatives has any benefits for the Kenyan society

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>1627</td>
<td>70.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>30.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2324</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in table 17 above, 1627 respondents indicated that the Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives in Kenya can benefit this country. 697 respondents,
however, believed that it does not portend any benefits for this country. The benefits that accrue from the initiation of interfaith dialogue between Hindus and Christians in Kenya, according to those who gave an affirmative response are as discussed below.

1. Inter-faith dialogue creates a forum through which inter-faith understanding and respect can be nurtured. When people are encouraged to talk and interact with one another through dialogue, they gain useful insights about each other. These insights can help in drawing members of the two groups closer together. It also encourages the development of a cooperative spirit among the diverse groups. As Hindus and Christians share through a dialogue process, they both get to identify areas where they can work together for the good of the society. Indeed, both groups have joined hands to develop various public facilities and in provision of philanthropic services.

2. Interfaith dialogue leads to narrowing of the social gap between Hindus and Christians. As the two sides engage in dialogue, they learn to appreciate one another and thus become more willing to share with one another.

3. It can also help in dispelling mutual suspicion and create a greater tendency to seek comradeship among members of both sides.

4. Interfaith dialogue can enhance inter-racial tolerance. This is as a result of the mutual understanding that it fosters.

6.7 Conclusion

It is important to note that various initiatives have been taken by the Hindu and Christians towards inter-faith dialogue. Such efforts are both at a formal and informal level. Indeed, there has been concerted effort by the leaders from both religions through the Hindu Council of Kenya and the National Christian Council of Churches of Kenya to engage in a dialogue on matters affecting their adherents. These endeavours have been also emphasized by various lobby groups and institutes of cultural affairs. This has enabled many African Christians to partner with Hindus in business enterprises. And, in this way, mutual trust has been established in both communities leading to religio-cultural tolerance in Kenya.
CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary
This study covered the post-colonial period of Kenya’s history and examined the Hindu-Christian relations during this period –which happens to coincide with the first Jubilee of Kenya’s independence. The research sought to demonstrate that the post-colonial socio-economic, religio-cultural and political environment greatly influenced the nature and extent of Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya.

Certain events which occurred during this period and which, in one way or another influenced Hindu-Christian relationship during this time, were identified and discussed. They include the attainment of independence, the enactment of the single party political system, the assassination of Pio Gama Pinto, Kenyatta’s Africanisation policy, the enactment of the trade licensing policy, the failed 1982 coup, the re-introduction of multi-party democracy and the 2007 post-election violence. Other events that influenced the Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya include Amin’s expulsion of Indians from Uganda and Tanzania’s nationalization policy.

Kenya’s political independence in 1963 was largely won after a prolonged freedom struggle against the colonial government which was spearheaded by the Mau Mau fighters. Moreover, the Mau Mau uprising was inspired and sustained by a wave of African nationalism that was sweeping across the African continent at this time.

There were some Hindus who supported Kenya’s struggle for political independence although African consciousness, however, played a dominant role in determining the direction of Kenyan politics the independent period.
A large number of Hindus are believed to have left the country between 1968 and 1972 due to unfavourable conditions created by Kenyatta’s Africanisation policy (1968) and the enactment of the trade restriction act (1969). Hindus, just like the larger Asian community in the country, interpreted these two actions by the Kenya government as a calculated move to drive them out of business in this country. As a result many of them left the country for more favourable destinations. Those Hindus who remained in Kenya, however, explored more opportunities for doing business which has made them to prosper.

Hindu precedence in this country runs parallel to that of Christianity because, the two religions were introduced to Kenya at virtually the same time. During this long history of co-existence in this country, leaders of the two religions have done little to engage one another in inter-faith dialogue, preferring instead to encourage a spirit of mutual tolerance among their followers.

In Kenya, members of the native African communities embraced Christianity in big numbers while Hindu Asians have remained largely committed to their indigenous religion. Whereas Hinduism has not endeared itself to members of indigenous African communities as did Christianity, the form of Christianity inherited by Africans is mainly mission-founded and continues to bear the marks of the western culture from which it originated. For example, denominationalism is a major source of divisivism within Kenyan Christianity and greatly affects the realization of a unified Christian approach to people of other religions (Nthamburi, 2000).

Hinduism and Christianity have a lot in common, although they also exhibit differences. African culture is in many ways akin to that of the Indians many of whom are Hindus. The exists a common ground upon which members of these two groups could base inter-faith dialogue initiatives. Kenya is also a secular state in which religious freedom is guaranteed in its constitution. There are, however, various groups that have assumed the responsibility to promote inter-faith dialogue initiatives among various religions in this country. They include: religious leaders, religious bodies – such as the National council of Churches of Kenya (NCCK) and the Hindu Council of Kenya (HCK), as well as lobby groups –such as Inter-Religious Council of Kenya (IRCK), African Council for Religious Leaders (ACRL)
and the Institute of Kenyan South Asians History and Culture (IKSAH). And as Z. Nthamburi (2000) observes, one of the key challenges facing interfaith dialogue in Kenya is the level of commitment.

7.2 Conclusion

This study has shown that the history of Christianity in Kenya has its roots between the 15th Century ACE and the 19th Century ACE. Hindu presence in Kenya can also be traced back to as far as the early part of the first millennium. And, just as Christian missionary work in Kenya intensified during the late 19th and early 20th Centuries ACE, so did the arrival and settlement of Hindus in Kenya intensify during the same period. The Christians who came for missionary work in Kenya were mostly young people who could not secure gainful employment back in their countries of origin, and were therefore driven largely by their state of economic need to accept taking missionary assignments in such far afield regions as Kenya (Ogutu, 1989). The Hindus who migrated to and settled in Kenya were mainly people from the lower castes, who were driven into taking this action by harsh economic conditions and the rigidity of the caste system that prevailed in India in the late 19th and early 20th centuries ACE (Salvadori, 1989). Both Christianity and Hinduism have some common characteristics in regard to their history in Kenya.

Whereas people from the indigenous African communities were receptive of the Christian message and converted en mass to Christianity by abandoning their traditional religious systems in the process, the Hindu immigrants remained committed to their traditional Hindu religious system. For this reason, Christianity in post-independent Kenya has been and continues to be dominated by members from the indigenous African communities while Hinduism continues to be dominated by people of Indian origin. It was sometimes difficult to clearly distinguish the subject of this study – the relationship between Hindus and Christians, from that of the Africans and Indians in Kenya. All Hindus in Kenya are Indians but not all Christians in Kenya are non-Indians.

It is important to note the significant role played by the construction of the Uganda Railway in the migration of Hindus into Kenya. The construction of the Railway
was a difficult task and both Indians and African laborers worked under harsh conditions. For this reason, many laborers, both Indian and African died in the process of working on the construction. It is estimated that a total of 2500 workers died during the construction of the railway that is about four workers for every mile of track laid. After the completion of the Railway, most of Hindu laborers opted to remain in Kenya rather than return to India, their country of origin. They settled in various parts of Nairobi and are mainly the pioneers in business entrepreneurship within this area and Kenya as a whole (Patel, 2011; Salvadori, 1989; Patel, 2007).

During the colonial rule, Hindus and Africans suffered similar fate under the discriminative and oppressive rule of the European colonialists. Members of these two communities could not own land in the White Highlands, which were preserved for the white settlers alone. Both communities were barred from sending representatives to the Legislative Council or hold key managerial positions in the public service. There were schools established exclusively for European children where African and Indian children were barred from enrolling. It can thus, be concluded that, both Africans and Indians (of whom Hindus are part), suffered similar fate under the discriminative regime of the colonial government. Africans, however, suffered more than the Indians due to their relatively lower economic and political power.

In the struggle against colonialism, some Asians joined Africans in resisting the colonial government. Some, however, joined the colonial side and were used to suppress the nascent African nationalism (Salvadori, 1989). The foregoing discussions make it possible to conclude that both Africans (of whom majority are Christians) and Indians (of whom majority are Hindus) in Kenya have shared characteristics which can be used as a basis to bring both Christians and Hindus closer together. The paternalistic mentality that sometimes keeps members of these two communities from cultivating closer and more mutually enriching relationships are based on the colonial legacy of racial discrimination and denominational rivalry among the European missionaries. Given this background, and remembering that both Indian and African cultures are akin in their emphasis on communal solidarity, it is possible for both Christians of African ethnicity and Hindus of Indian origin to overcome their differences and, thus, engage in a joint effort to advance social
interaction between their groups. This argument is further supported by the fact that both Christianity and Hinduism lay a lot of emphasis on virtuous living that is grounded on the principle of love.

It has been discussed in this study that Kenyan Hinduism has certain features that give it a fraternal connection with universal Hinduism. These features include the all-inclusive religious perspective, the devotional worship at the temple, the office of the priest, the belief in reincarnation and the vedic sources, all of which remain the central pillars for Kenyan Hindus as they are for followers of this religion elsewhere in the world. It was also indicated that in Kenyan Hinduism, there are some features that are distinctive to the Kenyan context, which include the Afro-Indian identity, the Kenyan heritage and the South-Indian ancestry.

It was also indicated that Kenyan Christianity and Kenyan Hinduism have many things in common but they also have many differences. It is as a result of these differences that the two religions are often viewed as mutually exclusive (Burnett, 1992). Despite these differences the followers of these religions have co-existed peacefully in Kenya, particularly during the post-independence period. The study also indicated that Hindus in Kenya have five major strands of heritage which include labour, intellectual, socio-political, economic and religio-cultural. It was argued that despite the various opportunities available for Hindus of Indian ethnicity and Christians of African ethnicity to cultivate closer and more mutually enriching relationships, these two groups have continued to live far apart, socially.

The study also revealed that there are various factors which have greatly affected Hindu-Christian relationship since post-independent Kenya. These factors include attainment of Kenya’s independence in 1963, the death of Pio Gama Pinto in 1965, Kenyatta’s Africanisation policy of 1969, expulsion of Asians from Uganda by Amin’s regime in 1972, Nyerere’s Ujamaa policy, the attempted coup in 1982, the restoration of Multi-party Democracy in 1991, the 2007/8 Post-election violence, economic factors as well as religio-cultural factors.

It was evident that these factors have adversely affected the Hindu-Christian relations during the post-independence period in Kenya. The factors have variously
acted and reacted upon one another to create an environment in which, on the one hand, Hindus became disillusioned about their African identity while on the other hand, Christians (particularly those of African ethnicity) developed a hostile attitude towards the Hindus and other Asians in general. It was also noted that the above-mentioned factors, despite their negative impact on Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya, also served as platforms through which Hindus and Christians could enter into mutually enriching relationships with each other. This study thus, advances the view that Hindus and Christians may be faced with serious challenges in their quest to cultivate a warmer relationship between each other, but these same challenges could be turned into opportunities to serve the interests of such a noble course.

The integration of Hindu immigrants into the Kenyan society as well as the factors that affect this process was also examined. The research revealed that the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society is still unsatisfactory.

Finally, the study examined the Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue initiatives. It was noted that these efforts both at the formal and at the informal level are very sporadic in nature. There is need for a systematic approach in regard to these efforts so as to popularise and strengthen the Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue initiatives.

7.3 Recommendations
Based on the findings discussed in the foregoing chapters, this study makes the following recommendations:

Religious bodies should exercise their spiritual mandate to promote inter-personal and inter-communal harmony in this country.

The internal systems of each religion should undergo realignment to support inter-personal and inter-communal harmony and tolerance.

It is necessary to involve religious bodies in the quest for national cohesion due to the large captive audience they command.
Hindu and Christian religious leaders could reinforce inter-religious tolerance between their members by emphasizing on themes that are common to both religions.

The successful realization of the Kenya Vision 2030 as well as the Millennium Development Goals could be boosted by encouraging inter-religious dialogue awareness among all the faith communities.

Hindu and Christian religious leaders should be more actively involved in promoting inter-faith dialogue awareness among their followers at the grass-roots (congregational) level.

The government and other public bodies should institute mechanisms aimed at promoting inter-religious tolerance among the Kenyan people.

The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) should be utilized to curb inter-religious hate speech and related social crimes.

Interfaith dialogue awareness lessons should be introduced in learning institutions.

The development of all-inclusive national symbols in Kenya should be encouraged.

Existing symbols of national heritage should undergo constant review to render them relevant to the current situation.

It is also necessary to re-interpret the meaning of the national flag –particularly in relation to the symbolic importance of the various colors – so as to make it more nationalistic and all-inclusive in appeal.

There is need to enhance the frequency of Hindu-Christian inter-faith activities in order for members of these two groups to gain greater understanding of each other’s religious traditions.
The culture of co-operation in addressing issues of national concern should be encouraged among members of both religions.

The Hindus in Kenya could experience greater fulfillment as Kenyans if they assimilate certain aspects of the Kenya African culture.

The Hindu-Christian relations could also be enhanced by promoting the level of involvement for women and the youth in all inter-religious initiatives.

The participation in inter-faith dialogue initiatives among individual members could be increased through the modelling of alternative inter-faith dialogue leadership structures,

The leaders from both religions should lobby for the establishment of a multi-religious organisation that is adequately resourced to spearhead inter-faith dialogue initiatives in this country.

7.4 Suggested areas for further research
The following areas are recommended for further research:

1. the relationship between Hindus and Muslims in Kenya,
2. Hindu-Sikh relations in Kenya,
3. The Hare Krishna movement in Kenya,
4. Relationship patterns between individual Hindu sects (e.g., Arya Samaj and Hare Krishna Consciousness) and
5. Whether uniformity of religious affiliation enhances inter-racial social interaction in Kenya.

7.5 Efforts towards the cultivation of an interfaith conscious knowledge-based society
Due to globalization, communication has become easy. Thus, every religion and culture can spread worldwide within a short period of time. This trend towards globalization is also reinforced by an increasing role of secularization, particularly in
the configuration of national and community frameworks of operation. As a result of this, people are free to belong to any religious or ideological system of their choice. Too much of such freedom may sometimes lead to various problems. Such freedom, however, allows people to move and settle anywhere in the world, thus paving the way for what Kenichi Ohmae (1998) would call a ‘borderless world (citizenship)’. Hence the world has become truly multi-religious and multicultural.

Since religion plays an important role in molding and reinforcing adherence to societal mores, both at individual and communal level, it is necessary to constantly restructure religious content so as to render it contextually relevant. This is particularly the case in African and Indian traditional cultures, which formed the basis for this research. It is also crucial to note that religious pluralism, in this technological age, is an inevitable reality, and that throughout the world, a truly multi-religious society, both at local and global level, is rapidly emerging. Religious content should, of necessity, be constantly undergo some realignment so as to boost its adequacy in responding to the challenges of today’s pluralistic society.

7.5.1 Understanding the Knowledge-based Society

Every society depends on production (of goods and services) for its survival. The term production denotes the process by which certain raw materials are converted into different finished products (goods or services) that satisfy various consumer needs. Using the analogy of a manufacturing factory, the production process usually involves the subjection of unfinished materials (mainly of extractive nature) into a refining process so as to produce an end-product that is suitable for consumption. It may also involve the assembling of various components so as to come up with a finished article. Hence in a production process, the key components include raw materials and the refinery or assembling lines (also called the processing walk-path). Raw materials may be tangible items (such as iron ore or mango fruits) or intangible items (such as information or ideas).

The efficiency and effectiveness of a production process, in the context of a manufacturing factory, is dependent largely on the quality of each of the major ingredients, that is capital (the raw materials as well as the machinery and equipment
used along the production line) and labour (the personnel manning the various production stations or stages). And, as a popular saying goes, the quality of a product is as good as its (production) process. In a knowledge-based society, production systems tend to emphasize value addition, rather than a mere routine churning of goods and services. For this reason, information becomes an important ingredient in a knowledge-based society.

In such a society, knowledge is the primary production resource instead of capital and labour. Industrial organization (with its emphasis on capital and labour) becomes replaced by knowledge as the major driving force for increased productivity.

The term knowledge-based society denotes the way in which a certain society utilizes information. In a knowledge-based society, knowledge is created, shared and used with the aim of bringing prosperity and well-being to all its members (Evers, 2000).

Knowledge is different from information. Whereas information is the codified result of observation, knowledge entails the capacity to take action (Burch, 2006). Information is, however, one of the building blocks of knowledge.

The concept of knowledge-based society encompasses the social, cultural, economic, political, and institutional transformation dimensions of reality. It is based on a pluralistic and developmental perspective. Knowledge is the principal force of the social, political, cultural and institutional dimensions of development and acts as a springboard for the operationalization of human rights provisions (UNESCO, 2005).

The development of a knowledge-based society has been triggered largely by changing patterns in communication technology and the effects of globalization. In particular, developing countries (of which Kenya is part) need knowledge-based production so as to build more efficient domestic economies, and to take advantage of economic opportunities beyond their own borders.
In the social sphere, the knowledge-based society brings greater access to information and new forms of social interaction and cultural expression. Individuals therefore have more opportunities to participate in and influence the development of their societies.

The characteristics of a knowledge-based society, according to Evers (2000), are as listed below:

1. Its members have attained a higher average standard of education in comparison to other societies,
2. A growing proportion of its labour force are employed as knowledge workers i.e. researchers, scientists, information specialists, knowledge managers and related workers,
3. Its industry produces products with integrated artificial intelligence,
4. Its organizations – private, government and civil society – are transformed into intelligent, learning organizations,
5. There is increased organized knowledge in the form of digitized expertise, stored in data banks, expert systems, organizational plans, and other media,
6. There are multiple centres of expertise,
7. There is a poly-centric production of knowledge,
8. There is a distinct epistemic culture of knowledge production,
9. There is enhanced preference and capacity for knowledge utilization.

A knowledge-based society is one where growth, development, and innovation are driven by optimal use of information and information products. Therefore, the following conditions are expected to prevail in knowledge-based society (Burch, 2006):

1. The agricultural and manufacturing sectors become less significant, in favour of service and knowledge-based industries,
2. Individual opportunity is greatly increased, with mobility being significantly determined by education,
3. Competition is greater, with enterprises being exposed to global competition and global markets and
4. Cooperation is an important strategy for organizations and enterprises, in markets and societies with high levels of integration and interdependence.
7.5.2 Inter-faith dialogue as a tool for effective inter-religious communication in a knowledge-based society

In order to strengthen Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya (or indeed those between various other combinations of religious communities) cannot be achieved unless inter-faith dialogue efforts are similarly reinforced. This calls for the design and development of an appropriate inter-faith dialogue approach that can be used to enhance social interaction between people of different religious backgrounds.

The problem that faces inter-faith dialogue initiatives in this country, and perhaps in many other parts of the world, is that the approach used by interested parties is often a self-generated and therefore ego-centric one. Christians approach Hindus or Muslims from a standpoint of self-protectionism – that is from within the framework of an inter-faith dialogue approach that is unilaterally modulated or formulated and that, therefore seeks (either through intentional or no intentional design) to protect Christian interests.

The members of a projected dialogue partner are rarely involved in the design of an appropriate inter-faith dialogue programme so as to ensure an all-inclusive process. This self-centred approach in inter-faith dialogue initiatives -common among all religions–tends to frustrate rather than foster the process. Hence, interfaith dialogue is largely rendered only a lip service by most of the religious leaders. Whereas religious leaders from across the religious divide acknowledge and appreciate the importance of inter-faith dialogue, not many of them are willing to make significant sacrifices to sustain the dialogue process. For this reason, most dialogue initiatives are unfruitful. It is the opinion of this researcher that for inter-faith dialogue to be successful, an objective and all-inclusive dialogue strategy must be designed through an multi-party process –preferably by a team of experts drawn from all the stakeholders. There is need, perhaps, to establish an independent research body that draws experts from all the religious systems represented in this country.

This research institute would be charged with the mandate of designing an all-encompassing mutual beneficial inter-faith dialogue strategy through an impartial analysis and determination of religious policy. There is need to repackage the concept of inter-faith dialogue to render it equally attractive to all stakeholders. This
approach should begin from the point of view that none of the religious systems can be ‘an island to itself’. Members of various religious backgrounds need to appreciate each other more proactively. They should desist from behaving as if religions were items that can be ranked on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is the worst and 10 is the best – with the latter always deemed to hold true only for their own religion. This type of ranking is judgemental and therefore militates against the spirit of co-operation and tolerance which the inter-faith dialogue process attempts to uphold.

If well designed, an Inter-faith dialogue approach to social integration would provide broad guidelines that can inform the process of inter-faith interactions. It is on this basis (that is the need for an effective inter-faith dialogue model) that this research recommends the following to be the key elements of any inter-faith dialogue programme:

1) **Expressive or emotive qualities**

   They express and evoke certain modes of action or response. For example phrases like “together we stand and divided we perish” are useful in encouraging harmony and collective or cooperative action. It should also contain appropriate slogans that tend to inspire the culture of inter-religious tolerance. This calls for an honest approach to the issues touching on inter-religious relations so as to counter the negative effect of ego-centric stereotyping of out groups.

2) **Pragmatic qualities**

   The strategy should provide direction on how to modulate and facilitate certain kinds of behavior. This can be achieved by modeling key figures believed to have exhibited exemplary character – such as Jesus Christ or St Paul and Mahatma Gandhi or Swami Vivekenanda.

3) **Performative qualities**

   An effective inter-faith dialogue approach would outline specific activities that could be undertaken in order to realize the goal of inter-faith dialogue. In other words, it must come up with modalities of translating the theory of inter-faith dialogue into an action-plan. It must seek to serve as a source for community empowerment.
4) Cognitive qualities
Whereas this approach must rise above intra-religious dogmas and prejudices, it must however take into consideration the particular interests of all the stakeholders in order to encourage participation and commitment.

7.5.3 Interfaith dialogue, knowledge-based society and national transformation
Towards justice and social inclusion for all
The application of interfaith dialogue in this country has implications for the process of development that is currently being pursued by the government and other stakeholders. In essence, to build a knowledge-based society is a complex undertaking. It involves the establishment of knowledge acquisition support facilities such as schools, research institutions, information communication technology, expansion of political democratic space, enhancement of security and judicial services, among others.

The inter-faith dialogue approach could play a key role not only in creating interfaith dialogue awareness – that is learning to appreciate, operate within and participate in the interfaith dialogue parameters – but also about building interactional competences, such as knowing and understanding what it means to live in a multi-faith and globally networked society. It also serves as a guide on the application of inter-faith dialogue ideals in the everyday life situations.

The idea of higher-order skills is to be understood in the context of transcendent reality. By transcendent reality denotes the acknowledgement and respect for above-self perception of inter-personal and inter-communal relationships. In other words, the individual becomes willing to accept the fact that there exists a higher good, that the interest of the nation or community should take precedence over and above personal interests. This includes understanding how interfaith dialogue processes and initiatives operate, as well as knowing where to search for certain information on interfaith dialogue, how to process and evaluate this information, and how to assess the reliability and trustworthiness of the sources of interfaith-related information. The use of online sources has made work much easier but offline
search for such information is still useful since in Africa, most information is yet to be availed online.

It is especially important, when dealing with religious content, to be able to assess the quality and reliability of inter-faith related knowledge and to contextualize it effectively. In addition, there is a need for networking skills related to building, maintaining, and developing social interaction among various faith communities using interfaith dialogue techniques. Thus, effective religious education in a knowledge-based society would also deal with sharing information, knowledge, and other resources (UNESCO, 2005). Religion is valuable only as a means to achieve a genuine knowledge-based society. The growth of ICT networks alone will not build a knowledge-based society.

Religion is, thus, a facilitating tool for major education and development reforms, but not a sufficient condition. If the Kenyan society is to effectively harness its national resources in order to build knowledge-based communities, the implications are that there will be changing skills requirements for religious laity, as well as changing roles for religious educators and practitioners. This requires education institutions to develop and establish methods for teaching and evaluating religious content at all levels of learning.

It also requires religious organizations to continue to engage in training, mentoring, and professional development of individuals so as to instill inter-faith dialogue skills within the context of the workplace. As learners acquire the skills of using inter-religious dialogue techniques within the education set-up, the professional role of accomplished researchers as mentors and role models –capable of imparting the wisdom that only experience can generate – will grow in importance.

The inter-faith dialogue approach could become one of the major ways in which to configure government service delivery systems so as to entrench the principles of transparency and self-responsibility. Within the private sector, inter-faith dialogue approach could similarly cause major paradigm shifts and pedagogical realignments (as was indeed envisioned by the likes of Ali Mazrui and Chinua Achebe) thus
giving rise to expanding capacity for productivity and the eventual realization of competitive advantage -through a social-economic revolution.
APPENDIX A

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APPENDIX B

TRANSMITAL LETTER

Charles Kinanga Moywaywa  
P.O. Box 439, Meru

To the respondent  
RE: QUESTIONNAIRE ON HINDU-CHRISTIAN RELATIONS IN POST–INDEPENDENT KENYA: THE CASE OF NAIROBI COUNTY

The undersigned is a Ph.D student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a research on the above.

This is to request your co-operation in answering the attached questionnaire. The information required will assist in making important observation about the study.

The research findings will form an important database for future reference on Hindu–Christian interfaith relations in Kenya.

Information gathered will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you in advance.

Yours Faithfully,

Charles Kinanga Moywaywa
APPENDIX C

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Personal Details

Full Name: (OPTIONAL) ........................................................................................................
Postal Address: ..................................................................................................................
Telephone: Landline......................... Mobile.............
E-mail: ..............................................................................................................................
Age: .................................................................................................................................
Gender:  Male □  Female □ (Tick ✓ as appropriate)
Citizenship: Kenyan (other) Specify .................................................................
Nationality:  African □ Indian □ (Tick ✓ as appropriate)
Profession/Occupation...........................................................
Religious Affiliation: Christian □ Hindu □
Others □ Specify-----------------------–(Tick ✓ as appropriate)
Residence: Name of Estate/Village/Division............................
            Name of Town/District..............................
            Name of Province.................................
Marital Status: Married □ Single □ Widow □
             Widower □ Divorced □ Separated □
Length of stay in Kenya:  Born in Kenya □
             Less than 10 years □
             More than 10 years □
             Year migrated to Kenya .................
Country of origin .........................

Subject Data

A) Religious Grounding

1. For how long have you practiced this religion your religion?
   Less than 10 years □ More than 10 years □

2. How were you introduced to this religion?
   a) By my parents since birth □
   b) By my parents at post-infancy stage □
c) Through Personal choice at youth (less than 18 years)  
   ☐

d) Through Personal choice at adulthood (more than 18 years)  
   ☐

e) Others (please indicate) …………………

3. The key elements to my religious identity include:
   i) …………………………………………………………………
   ii) …………………………………………………………………
   iii) …………………………………………………………………
   iv) …………………………………………………………………

4. Ways in which religious identity affects lifestyle are:
   i) …………………………………………………………
   ii) ………………………………………………………
   iii) ………………………………………………………

5. The major features of religion that have shaped my personal character include:
   (Please (✓) tick as appropriate).
   i) Love for God
   ii) Devotion to deity
   iii) Love for neighbour
   iv) Love for self
   v) Love for the country
   vi) Others (please specify)

6. How often do you visit your pastor/priest/religious leader?
   a) Every day ☐  b) Once a week ☐  c) As need arises ☐  d) others (specify)

7. How often do you visit the place of worship?
   a) Every day  b) Once a week  c) I do not visit at all  d) other (specify)

8. The other religious activities I engage in include:
   a) Communal Prayer ☐
   b) Communal Meal ☐
   c) Come-together fellowship ☐
   d) Charitable activities ☐
9. Specify the leadership structure of your Church/ Temple, starting from the least to the highest………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………………
10. A religious leader, (pastor/priest) in my religious community is appointed to office by: Please tick (✓) the selected option.
   a) Election then ordination   □
   b) Appointment by centralized organ then ordination   □
   c) Self-appointed/Charismatic leader   □
   d) Others specify
11. The qualities of a religious leader include: Tick (✓) as appropriate.
   a) Anyone within the congregation   □
   b) Any Member   □
   c) Male adult who has undergone relevant training   □
   d) Either male or female adult who has undergone relevant training   □
   e) Specially dedicated male adult   □
   f) Specially dedicated female adult.   □
12. The membership composition of the congregation comprises: (Where applicable)
   a) Mixed races (Africans and Asians)   □
   b) Only Africans   □
   c) Only Asians   □
   d) Others (specify………………………………………………………………………………
   B) Factors Affecting Hindu-Christian Relations in Post-independent Kenya

1. The state of Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya is; (Tick (✓) as appropriate).
   Satisfactory□  Not satisfactory□
2. From the list provided, select reason(s) that has/have contributed to the relationship indicated in (1) above (Tick (✓) as appropriate).
   a) Attainment of political independence in 1963 □
   b) Assassination of Pio Gama Pinto□
   c) One-party political system □
   d) Kenyatta’s Africanisation policy □
   e) Amin’s expulsion policy □
   f) Nyerere’s nationalization policy □
   g) the 1982 coup attempt in Kenya □
h) the 1998 bomb blast □

i) Moi succession □

j) 2007/8 post-election violence □

k) Economic factors □

l) Religio-cultural factors □

m) Others________________________

3. Give reasons for your choice in 2 (above)____________________________________________________________

4. What steps could be taken to improve or strengthen this relationship?----------------- 

---------------------------------------------------

C) Nature of Hindu integration into the Kenyan Society

1. Are you satisfied with the nature and extent of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society? (Tick (√) as appropriate). Satisfied □  Not satisfied□

3. State three factors that have contributed to the nature of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society as selected (above)-----------------------------------------------

4. Name three factors that contribute to Hindu integration into the Kenyan society as selected in 2 (above)-----------------------------------------------

D) Hindu-Christian inter-faith Dialogue

1. Are there any inter-religious activities between the Hindu and Christian communities in your area? (Tick (√) as appropriate). Yes □  No□

2. Explain your response…………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………

3. How/often does your congregation organize inter-religious events?

   a) Once a month □

   b) Quarterly        □

   c) Half-year        □

   d) Annually         □

   e) Bi – annually □

   f) Others (specify) ……………………………………………

4. Are there any interfaith dialogue initiatives between Hindus and Christians in your locality?
5. What is your opinion on the current state of Hindu–Christian relations in Kenya today?

---

**D) Hindu Integration and the Caste System**

1. Have the Hindus been adequately integrated into the Kenyan society? (Tick (✓) as appropriate). Yes □  No □

Give reasons for your answer..............................................................

2. Does the Hindu caste system affect the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society? (Tick (✓) as appropriate). Yes □  No □

3. Does the caste system affect the relationship between Indians and the African who have been converted into the Hindu religion? (Tick (✓) as appropriate). Yes □  No □

Give reasons for your answer..............................................................

4. In what way or ways does the Hindu caste system affect Hindu integration into the Kenyan society?..............................................................

........................................................................................................

5. Name two other factors that contribute to the current state of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society: ..............................................................

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

6. List three ways that could be done to improve Hindu integration into the Kenyan society:

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................

........................................................................................................
E) Effects of Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives on efforts to integrate Hindu followers into the Kenyan society

1. State any three interfaith dialogue initiatives between Hindus and Christians that you are aware of in Kenya………………………………………………………………

2. Is the local community involved in these initiatives? (Tick (✓) as appropriate). Yes □ No □

3. In what way is the local community involved?

4. Does the Hindu-Christian interfaith dialogue affect the process of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society? (Tick (✓) as appropriate). Yes □ No □
   If yes, in what ways does it affect? ..................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

5. In what three ways have the initiatives you listed in 1 (above) benefited the relationship between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya? ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

6. Are there any cases of conflict between Hindus and Christians in post-independent Kenya? Yes □ No □
   Explain your answer ...........................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................
   ........................................................................................................................................

7. What steps could be taken to improve the inter-faith relations between Hindus and Christians in present-day Kenya? ..................................................
APPENDIX D

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS CHECKLIST

a) List of Participants
1. Hindu I
2. John Mwangi
3. Henry Sigei
4. Kurmar Pandya
5. Hilani Bukta
6. Jeremiah Genga
7. Askah Leo

b) Representation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
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<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
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<td>100</td>
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</table>

c. Guiding Questions
1. What is the state of Hindu-Christian relations in post-independent Kenya?
2. What factors can be attributed for this kind of relationship?
3. What is the nature of Hindu integration into the Kenyan society?
4. Who are the major stakeholders in the integration process for Hindus in Kenya?
5. To what extent have the Hindus been integrated into the Kenyan society?
6. What are the costs and benefits from the integration of Hindus into Kenyan society?
7. To what extent is the Hindu caste system practiced in Kenya as compared to India?
8. How does the Hindu caste system affect Hindu integration into Kenyan society?
9. What initiatives are being undertaken to engage Hindus and Christians in an inter-faith dialogue process?
10. How do Hindu-Christian inter-faith dialogue initiatives affect Hindu integration into Kenyan society?
11. What can be done to improve or strengthen Hindu-Christian relations in Kenya?
## APPENDIX E

### LIST OF KENYA’S INDIGENOUS ETHNIC GROUPS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>%</th>
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<th>Area</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Area</th>
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APPENDIX F

A GLOSSARY OF ASIAN TERMS

Avatar - Religious leader with extra ordinary (often salvific) powers.

Gurdwaran – Punjabi name for 'Sikh Temple.


Jivan-Morkti – One who has attained Nirvana while still living in this world.

Karma – the law of retribution within Hindu tradition – the view that one’s actions in the previous form of existence have a bearing on the next form of life into which he or she will be reborn the cycle of rebirth.

Kshatriya – One of the four major castes within the Indian tradition who are warriors.

Mandir – Temple or a place of worship for followers of Hinduism, a Temple.

Morksha – Release (or salvation) from the cycle of re-birth.

Nirvana – A state of endless bliss. comparable to the Christian heaven.

Samsaram – The cycle of re-birth.

Shrimati – (abbreviated as Smt) – a title used to refer to married women, which is an equivalent of Mrs in English.

Sri or Shree - also transliterated as Shri, is a Sanskrit word which is used in the Indian subcontinent as a polite form of address equivalent to the English "Mr." in written and spoken language, or as a title of veneration for deities (usually translated as "Lord").

Sudras – One of the four major castes within the Indian tradition which comprises the class of casual labourers.

Sushri - used for women who are independent of marital status; Ms in English.

Swami – In Hindu belief system, it means teacher or master; an equivalent of Rabbi. In Hebrew Swami (Sw.) is primarily a Hindu honorific title, for either males or females.
Upanishads – A collection of reflective literature based on the Vedas.

Vaishya – One of the four major castes within Indian tradition, which comprises the farmers.

Vedas – A collection of sacred literature in the Hindu religion.
APPENDIX G

LIST OF ORAL INTERVIEW INFORMANTS

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<td>M</td>
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An estimated 34,000 Indians participated in building the Uganda Railway. Some rail-road builders were killed by lions. 2,500 workers died during the construction of the Mombasa-Kampala railway. The railway was notoriously difficult to build. Note the man at the front wearing a pancha.
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.

A drawing showing a woman dressed in fully embroidered ghagra choli also known as lehenga choli
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.
Some Indian men wearing mundu

A picture showing an Indian lady dressed in a silk sari.
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.

Salwar Kameez
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.
Gandhi Cap, popularized by Mahatma Gandhi is usually won by politicians and socialist activists.
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.

Pattu Pavadai is usually won by girls.
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.

This painting depicts a Woman wearing Mundum Neriyathum – a type of sari covering only the lower part of the body.
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.
A group of Hindu girls clad in gagra choli

This is a Mundu, or white lungi. Lungis are won by men the
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online.
An Indian artist clad in a Sherwani
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online

Punjabi woman dressed traditionally for a festival
Source: Ruth Evans, BBC News Online