

Towards National Integration in Kenya: Beyond Ethno-Centricism and Class Conflict

Betty Jebiwott Kemboi

School of Arts and Social Sciences, Department of Social Studies, Political Science and Public Administration
Section, Maasai Mara University-Kenya, P.O. Box, 861 - 20500 Narok, Kenya

As long as we use ethnicity as a tool of political mobilization, forget about Unity!
Betty J. Kemboi

Abstract

This paper presents a vital view of a contemporary perspective on dealing with historical challenges to national integration in Kenya. It bases its discussions behind three ideas emanating from the backdrop of both a historical ethno-political society and globalization pull-factors with emphasis on social media. There are three key objectives herein each of which is resultant on a domestic society to harness national cohesion and reconciliation in Kenya. These are; examine the relevance of inter-ethnic marriages; assess the contributions of the youth and social media in promoting unity; and examine the contribution of a university environment in promoting political socialization in transforming future political culture in Kenya. This study works on the finding that the contemporary political intolerance in Kenya is based on an underlying ideology of ethnic nationalism unconsciously or consciously promoted by 'the politician' therefore the persistence of both social-economic conflicts along ethnic factions. The working methodology is primarily from a qualitative angle that looked at existing literature topical issues as; national integration, cohesion, ethnic conflict and peace transformation in national politics from relevant secondary sources. The analysis emanates from a theoretical framework that triangulates the Marxist and Wallersteinian class conflicts as a conceptualization and contextual interpretation of the case in point. The paper gives two recommendations to relevant stakeholders in harnessing unity and cohesion in Kenya. It suggests on the importance of putting emphasis on the positive utilization of the social media by youth as well as building capacity on youth transformation by embracing the culture of inter-ethnic marriages as a way to demystify ethnocentric hegemony.

Keywords: National Integration, Ethnicity, Class, Conflict and Politics

1. Introduction

Class and ethnocentrism are among key political motivators in contemporary politics that have continued to negatively impact on national cohesion and integration. The political elite use these concepts contextually to affect their self interests and gain support from the masses in national events like voting and policy options. We are ethnocentric when we use our cultural norms to make generalizations about other people's cultures and customs. At times this is done consciously or unconsciously. When used consciously it depicts a tendency of hatred towards those we compare ourselves with and can be a way of misjudging other people or cultures/ethnic communities or groups.

National integration is an emotional attachment to a nation (Etzimi, 1965). It is a condition and process (Ghurye, 1968). Ghurye emphasizes that it consists of two elements: political integration and social integration. The result is maintaining of harmonious and lively relationship between the various structural components of a nation. As Jega, (2002) says, citizens in such a scenario increasingly see themselves as one people, bound by shared historical experiences and common values, and imbued by the spirit of patriotism and unity, which transcends traditional, primordial diverse tendencies.

Ethnocentrism has commonly been referred as the belief in the superiority of one's own ethnic group. The tendency to believe that one's ethnic or cultural group is centrally important and all other groups are measured in relation to one's own. According to Neuliep and McCroskey, (1997), it has been described as an individual psychological disposition which has both positive and negative outcome. They note that on one hand, it serves as an antecedent towards "patriotism and willingness to sacrifice for one's central group" and as Chen and Starosta (2004) adds, it also helps in constructing and maintaining one's cultural identity. On the other hand, ethnocentrism leads to misunderstandings (Neuliep & McCroskey, 1997) and conflicts. This is as a result of negative use of ethnicity as an aspect of ethnocentrism.

Ethnocentrism brings about three other ideas in it, ethnicity, centric and ego. For the latter, it refers to the image of "self" or "self-worth". Centric alludes to terms as; focus, core or at the heart of. The definition of ethnicity as a concept "applies to the consciousness of belonging to, identifying with and being loyal to a social group distinguished by shared cultural traditions, a common language, in group sentiment and self-identity"(Otite,1990). But as Osaghae, (1995) emphasizes, it is also "the employment or mobilization of ethnic identity and difference to gain advantage in situations of competition, conflict or cooperation". Osaghae's

connotation is what is implied here and lays out the possible relationship between ethnocentricism and class conflict as a result of fight for power. Examples of ethnocentric scenarios include, European colonial dominance that tried to portray their continental, national and racial supremacy on their colonies as they “brought them up to speed” with modern technologies and cultures of a developed world. Another example is that of Nazi Germany Adolf Hitler and the slaughter of Jewish race. Rwanda’s Hutu’s and Tutsis, Serbs and Croats in Old Yugoslavia, are indicative of the universal capacity of ethnicity to generate conflicts and destruction. Also, as observed by Otiite, (1990) “the ethnic virus has been one of the most important causes of social crises and political instability of Nigeria; and ethnicity has been perceived in general as a major obstacle to the overall politico-economic development of the country.”

As such many researchers have shown that, ethnicity has the capacity of being manipulated to becoming quite disintegrative, destabilizing and destructive, especially in terms of the ways that various groups interact with themselves. They note that, there is nothing inherently destructive like negative ethnicity. Otiite, (1990) note that, “Most of the works that have examined the place of ethnicity in the nations’ evolution, have emphasized the way it has negatively impacted on the nations’ development, and many still believe that the ethnicity factor remains a portent force that could and still works against peace and reconciliation”. Brubaker *et al*, (2004) comment that, the mere existence of ethnic groups identified along the lines of cultural forms, values and practices, does not automatically guarantee conflict in a nation, rather it is the way these groups see themselves, relate and compete for power, and other resources of state, that has the capacity of creating crisis, this is exactly what has happened in many African countries, Kenya included. In the age of growing inequality, class struggle between the political elite, an emerging middle class and the masses coupled with a culturally heterogeneous society, is what needs to be focused on, if the process and initiatives for national integration mean something to building Kenya.

Class and class conflict discourses have given the meanings that surround majorly political and social environments that have divided the abstract system into hierarchies of power dominance at high levels and little or none at the lowest level. In Karl Marx’s words, class conflict, normally synonymated to class warfare or struggle is the antagonism that occurs between the proletariat (the largest population in society, working class who must sell their labour) and the bourgeoisie (capitalists who own the means of production). Herein class denotes the haves (political elite) verses have nots (especially emerging middle class and the poor masses who are manipulated by the haves for personal gain). Omu, (1998) notes that, “political competition and rivalry seems to be the most inflammable instrument of ethnic aggression”. On the other hand, according to Brass, (1991), the cultural forms, values, and practices of ethnic groups become political resources for elite in competition for political power and economic advantage. It is in light of the fact that ethnicity has the potential of being manipulated to the level that it generates conflicts within society that, some commentators on Nigeria’s political history seem to have come to the conclusion that ethnicity is “an all pervading evil which must necessarily be obliterated from society, if social progress and political stability are to be achieved” (Ajayi, 1998). This paper echoes this sentiment.

2. Kenya in Context

Kenya has one of the unequal societies that exist in the contemporary international system. As Hutnik (1991) argues, in an increasing multi-ethnic society, concerted effort needs to be made, not merely to accept or tolerate cultural heterogeneity but to appreciate and affirm it while always maintaining a sense of essential unity among people of various ethnicities. According to Norbu (1992), nationhood- one way of dealing with the above- refers to the ever-sharpening of social self-hood embedded in the superstructure of a particular society that differentiates in most significant ways one nationality from generalized others of the same social category.

Every citizen belongs to a specific ethnic group in Kenya. This is except for those who originally came from other nationalities and few who have taken the route to inter-ethnic or inter-ethnic racial marriages. The dynamics of disintegration is high where ethnocentric politics has been tolerated for years. Kenya is a multiethnic state with a population of more than 40 thousand that is characterized by a general estimate of more than 40 ethnic groups of varying sizes and cohesiveness. Before Kenya became a British colony, ethnic groups remained largely separate each focusing on their internal matters but barter trade existed between and among some. The most dominant ethnic communities in this multi-ethnic landscape are the Kikuyu, the Luyha, the Luo, the Kalenjin, the Kamba, and the Kisii. There are however many other smaller ethnic communities in Kenya. The fact remains that since the onset of colonialism, power in Kenya has been associated with a particular ethnic group.

Decalo, (1998) states, from self-rule in 1963 until the death of the first president Jomo Kenyatta in 1978, political and economic power was increasingly vested in his trusted circle of fellow Kikuyu. He adds that, during the second presidential regime, political power became concentrated in the hands of Kalenjin élites. In all the different regimes then and after, the ruling group sought to use the resources of the state for the special benefit of its own ethnic community and its allies. Human Rights Watch (1999) report that, as new political

parties emerged, a clear enduring pattern of ethno-regional interests appeared and the violence in Kenya appeared to be an ethnicized expression of political conflict. Ethnicity in this case, was the medium of political violence rather than the cause. As Ndegwa (1997) writes, the system once in place, became self-perpetuating and increased the likelihood of future conflict by sharpening ethnic identity and chauvinism, as well as promoting the doctrine that specific region of the country “belonged” to the groups that “originally” occupied them.

3. Accomplishing the Dream of National Integration in Kenya

This study worked on the premise that to reach the national goal of national integration and cohesion, there is need to move beyond negative ideas of ethnocentrism and power struggles that emanate as a result of class conflict. It is based on the justification that intra and inter class struggle among factions of Kenyan elites have manifested in the manipulation of ethnicity as a tool to advance parochial and sectarian interests of the dominant ruling class. It is under this background in mind that is the key objective of this paper; suggesting possible ways of rising above ethnocentrism and class conflict towards national cohesion and integration by looking at the following subject areas.

3.1 Role and Relevance of Inter-ethnic Marriages

One way of dealing with ethnocentrism is encouraging inter-ethnic marriages. The unity that exists in the country is founded upon many others, cultural tolerance. According to Arisi, (2011), unity can be achieved through a process of socialization such as among others, the same system of education, using the same language, inter- marriage and practicing the national ideology. Some researchers have shown that the tendency of an ethnic group waging war on that of the in-laws is forgotten. What should be nurtured is national consciousness and not ethnic consciousness, because if ethnic consciousness is still strong then national consciousness will remain weak. Chen and Starosta, (2000) also observes that, cultural awareness provides the foundation for intercultural communication sensitivity, which in turn, leads to intercultural communication competence. Intercultural communication, to the meaning of this study encourages appreciation of other people’s cultures and therefore enhancing the tendency for marriages across tribes or ethnic groups.

Research suggests that individuals with higher intercultural communication sensitivity tend to do well in intercultural communication settings (Peng, 2006). Bennett (1993) proposed a Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS), which suggests that individuals with intercultural sensitivity tend to transform themselves from the ethnocentric stage to the ethno-relative stage. This model includes six developmental stages (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). The first three stages of denial, defense and minimization are viewed as “ethnocentric.” Individuals view their own culture as central to reality, and individuals act by “avoiding cultural differences through denying its existence, raising defense against the differences and minimizing its importance” (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). The next three stages; acceptance, adaptation, and integration are viewed as “ethno-relative.” During these stages, people experience the culture in the context of other cultures, and can be construed as “seeking cultural difference through accepting its importance, adapting a perspective to take it into account, or by integrating the whole concept into a definition of identity” (Bennett & Bennett, 2004). As such cultural relativism, could be promoted as a way of uniting different ethnicities and enhance intermarriages as demonstrable appreciation and coexistence of cultures.

According to research done by Mehmet Nuri Gültekin (2012), *Debates On Inter-Ethnic Marriages: Assimilation Or Integration? The Turkish Perspective*, men, who have greater access to education facilities, inevitably begin to be alienated from their traditional structure. These men gain new or modern social status and economic power as result of destroying their traditional or tribal values. It is these educated men in an urban social environment who marry Turkish or non-Kurdish women. Conversely, marriages between Turkish men and Kurdish women, the latter of whom are imprisoned by traditional social structure, are prevented from increasing. These women cannot access the educational and modern opportunities men are able to. Thus they encounter more marriages between Kurdish husbands and Turkish wives. As Jovic, (2001); Kalmijn, (1998) and Song, (2009) assess, integration requires tolerance of the existence of the other”.

3.2 Globalization, Social Media and Role of the Youth

The collapse of the Soviet Union Bloc, the fall of the Berlin wall and the end of cold war meant the demise of the socialist ideals and the rising dominance of the capitalist ideology and therefore the beginning of an interdependent and liberalized international system, commonly termed as globalization era. According to Edoho (1997), this has resulted in "the shrinkage of international space and the flow of trade, services, people, values, ideas and technologies across borders with relative ease. At the political front, free and fair multiparty elections are now widely regarded as the test of a government's legitimacy (Ellis, 1996). African countries were forced to adopt the democratic ideals that came with it including the idea of multi-partism that Kenya experienced in the early 1990's but as Hameso (1997) puts it, it is important to add that the experience with multiparty politics has so far not been encouraging; while few governments have been willing to be voted out of power, many

incumbent regimes have remained in office by using all means at their disposal.

According to Wilcox (1974), in 1974 over 70 percent of all the newspapers that were printed in Africa were government-owned. Bourgault (1995) however mentions that in the changing socio-economic climate, a state monopoly of the mass media in many Sub-Saharan African countries is now a thing of the past; for instance, youth today are using web-based technologies and social media at record rates. Effective youth development strategies are grounded in ecological theory, a belief that youth are greatly impacted by various systems in their lives (Bronfenbrenner, 1986). Eccles and Gootman, (2002) add that, a community that works together in an effort to provide positive opportunities is optimal for the development of young people. This is a goal by previous and current regimes in Kenya.

In today's world, youth utilize technology in nearly every facet of their lives (Lenhart, Madden, & Hitlin, 2005). The Pew Research Center (PEW) reports that 92% of young adults in the 18-29 year old age group who are online use some form of social media on a daily basis. In the 12-17 year old age group, 80% are social media users (Brenner, 2012). It is advisable therefore that to reach the hearts of the youth in promoting their interests and building capacity, the government should know the youth better. Eccles and Gootman, (2002) note, in fact, it is the roles of a youth development professional to help youth navigate systems for optimum outcomes. In order to best serve their clients, youth serving professionals must know how to navigate the world of web-based technology (Russell, Bebell, O'Dwyer, & O'Connor, 2003). Therefore the fact remains that in the 21st century technology and specifically social media, has great implications for the field of youth development. This means that laying the foundations, by national governments, to not only support them but affirm and recognize their relevance in promoting national integration through the social media is paramount.

According to DeBell and Chapman, (2006) and Greenhow, (2011), social media is defined as web-based technologies that promote the creation and sharing of user-generated content. Occasionally referred to as Web 2.0, these technologies can be further categorized as content generation and sharing tools such as YouTube and Flickr; social bookmarking tools such as Delicious and Pinterest; collaborative publishing tools such as wikis, blogs, and microblogs; or social networking tools such as Twitter, Facebook, or LinkedIn (Greenhow, 2011). In many ways, youth today are more engaged in their interpersonal relationships than ever before, and as a result, they often have wider and deeper friendship networks (Rolfe and Gilbert, 2006).

DeGennaro, (2008) observe, that although the digital methods youth use to engage with one another may not seem ideal or even familiar to adults in their lives, today's youth are building and deepening relationships with their peers through interactional technologies such as instant messaging, text messaging, and often through social networking applications. In fact, it is estimated that youth ages 18-24 send and receive over 100 texts each day, or approximately 3,200 per month (Smith, 2011). Demographically being the largest in Kenyan age bracket population and considered the leaders of "tomorrow", don't you think these are the best people to foster integration in their own way? It should also be remembered that technology is not just about interaction but also knowledge building by sharing ideas. Mesch, (2012) explains that these advances are expanding the world of today's youth in ways that have yet to be fully understood. Studies shows that youth learn differently with social media and online technology tools, and as a result, the need for more flexible education and online interaction has become critical (DeGennaro, 2008; Ghorbani and Heidari, 2011). According to Fairclough (2011), the modern world is swept by change as new technologies emerge constantly.

3.3 University Environment and Education

It is a fact that national integration is a matter of attitude and value. Thus it requires input at cognitive and affective level which can be achieved through education and not by law enforcement. Right attitudes and values can not only be easily developed at an early age but also at the university level where it is characterized by dynamic society, and multicultural/ethnic setting full of vibrant youth.

There are many different suggestions of promoting Kenya's national integration through education: restructuring curriculum/syllabus, learning of many languages, visiting of places/states for direct contact with people of different states, promoting diversity in universities in terms of enrolling a certain percentage of students from different regions/ethnic backgrounds and celebrations of festivals of different regions, posters photographs of great men and women of different regions, inviting eminent members of different communities to talk about their specific cultures in university environment, sensitizing students about the suffering of people of other states at the time of natural calamities of communal violence as well as traditional dress day in universities. In addition to these, this paper proposes an 'integration day' in Kenya originating from a university level. The educational system is a part of a political, social, and economic framework. Shiundu and Omulando, (1992) note that, Any change in cultural activities, way of life, resources or means of production, has implications for the curriculum, which must change in order to accommodate novel situations or circumstances.

According to Rizvi and Lingard (2010) education is a deliberate, purposeful activity directed at the achievement of a range of ends which could potentially include the development of knowledgeable individuals who are able to think rationally, the formation of a sustainable community, and the realization of economic goals

benefiting both individuals and their communities. Ndaloh et al, (2009) emphasize that, it is a total process by which human abilities and behaviors are developed. Education is a purposeful activity (Bishop, 1995). This means that in the making of an academic curriculum, at the back of our minds we have a goal that will be achieved when all is done. As such, Nasibi, (2003) reminds us that, a country formulates its educational goals from its general aims in relation to its social, economic and political context. Omulando (1992) argues that goals address the needs and aspirations of a nation because they specify what qualities or values are thought desirable to develop among the citizens of that country. The provision of a meaningful and adequate education is fundamental to Kenya's overall development strategy (MOEST, 2004).

Educational environments especially in a university context, can help in promoting at the first instance individual process of integration through emotional integration that emanates from learning and appreciating other cultures that are not "ours". Various studies provide that, emotional integration is the intellectual integration which education can accomplish. An emotionally integrated community gives the people the feeling of espousing a common cause and gives up loyalty to ethnic groups. It gives the progressive realization that there can be similarities among differences. For instance, Edewor, (1993) and; Elbadawi and Sambanis, (2002) note, 'acceptance of cultural identity within national identity prevents stifling of social relationships and promotes dynamic interactions, creativity, critical thinking and acceptance of history as a shared legacy and the future as shared aspirations'. Roy (1989) states that, integration, as a subjective and individual process involves attitudinal changes and the removal of fears, hatreds, suspicions, stereotypes and superstitions. This is a way of promoting individual integration.

4. Radical Conceptualizations

Marxian theory on social class struggle and Wallerstein's World Systems Theory conceptualization of the inherent "conflict within" and "conflict between" the core, periphery and semi-periphery better interpret the analogy herein. This is based on the premise underlying the issue of class conflict coupled with manipulations on the ethnic trait to achieve political selfish-class ends.

To paraphrase, Karl Marx posits that the world is characterized by a social structure that is dominated by the capitalist mode of production. That the structure is made of two classes, those that control the means of production (Bourgeoisie) and those that provide labor as means of production (proletariat). His argument is that bourgeoisie- herein referring to the power/political elite, or individuals or groups of individuals that own the most lucrative businesses in the society exploit or manipulate the social characteristic of those that are working class/proletariat (masses) due to their mandatory need to work, for their sustainability and survival. For Wallerstein, his view diverges slightly. He argues that the world system is one that is subdivided into the core (rich countries), semi-periphery (Middle income) and periphery (poor or with little or no income). He explains of the conflict within each of these classes and between them. For Kenya's multiethnic stature, it is of importance to understand the nature of the state, the relationship of various classes to it, and the intersection between class and ethnicity.

The philosopher Karl Marx's and sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein's theoretical underpinnings on inherent class conflicts in their conceptualization of how the society (international and domestic) has been structured in a way to depict class differences and struggles therein for power and wealth is what beautifully brings out an analysis for the core concepts in this discussion. Given the historical experience, it is most realistic to theoretically approach inter-ethnic relations in terms of unequal access to resources – be it economic, political or cultural resources by ethnic groups. The change in the inter-ethnic relations is usually identical to the change in the stratification of society due to the change in the access of ethnic groups to various resources, controlled by the "elite"-politician. In a society wrecked by conflict, state institutions are fashioned to meet the needs of the ruling elite and not the people. Citizens lose trust in institutions that should guarantee their rights. Such situations build the politics of ethnicities exploited by those in power. Though not in substance, yet in form, the struggle of the proletariat with the bourgeoisie is at first a national struggle and as Marx and Engels (2012) emphasize, the proletariat of each country must, of course, first of all settle matters with its own bourgeoisie.

The state is both a resource in itself and a distributor of resources. However, while analyzing the class and power asymmetries in a multi-ethnic society, it becomes useful to treat both of these types as elements of a common aggregation. In a plural society (Glazer & Moynihan, 1970), competitive politics are founded on ethnic politics based on who gets what, when, and how (Udogu, 1990). The different ethnic groups in Kenya do not however, have an identical class composition. Therefore, the various elements of Kenya's ruling class have a disproportionate representation of the various ethnic groups in society. This situation represents a case, not of cross cutting cleavages, but of overlapping of class and ethnicity to a large extent.

5. Findings

As noted from the above discussions, ethnocentrism is viewed as lacking acceptance of cultural diversity and intolerance for out-groups (Berry & Kalin, 1995). Different researches have concluded that, this lack of

acceptance of cultural diversity has a strong tendency to lead to negative stereotypes toward other cultural/ethnic groups, negative prejudice and negative behaviors against these group members. Research has shown that ethnocentrism tends to be negatively correlated with inter-ethnic and intercultural relations due to the 'ego'. In order to explore ways to overcome ethnocentrism and class conflict, this paper has provided three major objectives. First, it examined the role of inter-ethnic marriages, Secondly, interrogated the role of University environment, and thirdly, it examined the role the youth can play in promoting national integration through social media. The findings demonstrated that:

First, ethnocentrism and class conflicts are major obstacles to achieving national integration in Kenya. Secondly, many initiatives and programmes have been put in place to deal with negative ethnicity including; setting of a common history curriculum in secondary schools to promote a culture of learning histories and cultures of different ethnic communities, formation of commissions and ministry mandated with promoting national cohesion, healing and reconciliation, establishment of grand coalitions, promotion of multi-partism and constitutional reforms that provides for devolution (decentralization of powers) as well as acts of parliament. Thirdly, it demonstrated that there is an interface between ethnicity, class struggle and national integration. That absence of the negative aspects of the former two means achievement of national integration and the contrary is true. It points out the near absence of "cross cutting cleavages" which tends to turn the class and power conflicts into ethnic conflicts. In conclusion, the paper, argues that people seem to owe at least as much, if not more, obligation to the ethnic groups members than to the national group members. This leads to ethnicity undermining nationhood as a point of identity for Kenyans. There is a tendency for ethnicity and nationhood to conflict with each other. The most important aspect is that the literature was unexhaustive in enumerating factors or ways of at least reducing the influence of both ethnocentrism and class conflicts. Many studies focused on how ethnicity and class negate the search for national integration and failed to look for solutions.

6. Discussion

There are a range of issues herein that demand an in-depth discussion emanating from the literature relating the relationship between ethnocentrism, politics of class, vis a vis emancipation through education, youth activism in social media as well as the idea of inter-ethnic marriages in Kenya and by extension the African continent that is prone to ethnic related conflicts and wars.

The issues of education and intermarriages are not complicated. Education reduces ethnocentrism and accommodates xenocentric ideas. It is a well known historical fact that through the ages, and across times positive inter group relations have been fostered through inter-group marriages. Hence inter-ethnic marriages amongst the diverse groups in Kenya should be echoed as a national integration's vision mission. The surest way to achieve this is the mainstreaming of youth ideas on promoting nationhood through its crowded membership participation in social media networks. The question remains: why should the government care about social media? The answer is simple, because it is used mainly by the largest faction of its society: the youth. This paper views that it is the youth that will help in fostering transformative peace and nation building with state-support through social media. Young people are often key actors in powerful social movements that transform the course of human history. It however calls for legal mechanisms to avoid abuse of social media by the youth.

The focus should be placed on mass media and social media, because the establishment of a constant dialogue between multiethnic characteristic youthful community and other groups in society is essential for the process of integration. Just like mass media, this should ease social divides, promote the acceptance of cultural differences in the public opinion and contribute national integration. In order to facilitate this process, the inclusion of cultural and ethnic diversity is necessary. The media can only promote integration if mutual communication between majority and minority cultures is established. Young people can be powerful agents of social change, and the language their peers understand, speaks volumes than from a political class mainly because their movements always operate outside formal channels of political participation and youth movements are increasingly transnational. Therefore their recognition as important tools for promoting national integration must be realized by government. What better way to know how to attract their positive attention than to engage them through what they enjoy the most?

7. Conclusion and Suggestions

This was an attempt to bring to afore certain salient issues pertaining to national integration in Kenya within the dictates and exigencies of time and space presenting endlessly to us new contexts within which to situate the our goals and aspirations for "one Nation" "many nations".

Conclusively therefore, the reality of ethnic centralized perceptions and politics normally defined in terms of power and class antagonism amid the search for national integration in an culturally heterogeneous country is, in the opinion of this paper, the only major obstacle barricaded between the idea of a "national integration" and "nation building". As such this paper has demonstrated that it is important to learn to be

xenocentric -preferring ideas and things from other cultures over ideas and things from one's own culture. This does not however mean that groups should shun their beautiful cultures that demonstrate the diversities that interest societal progress. The manipulative and prejudicial aspects of it, is what drives the survival of the ruling class and the elite for their selfish interests in contrast to collective ones. Three ways of doing this in the context of this research is firstly through inter-ethnic marriages. Contrary to ethnocentrism, at the heart of xenocentrism, is the assumption that other cultures are superior to your own. Secondly, embrace the idea of not only a university national curriculum that is based on the rationale and specification of promoting national cohesion and integration but also a national day of 'national integration' with the opportunity to showcase, embrace and celebrate not only diversity but the "similarities in those differences". Lastly, and in relation to the first two points, recognize the simple fact that within a globalised village and rapid technologies are the dominant elements of the youthful population that is vibrant and hands-on with the dynamic world. Youth are often dismissed for a lack of civic engagement, or attacked for being disruptive. Yet disruption of oppressive laws, norms, and practices is a crucial aspect of all liberatory movements. The government should consider a practice of capacity building and youth involvement in fostering positive use of the social media to promote cohesion in multicultural/ethnic web-network users. With youth's love for entrepreneurial ideas and building a "name" for themselves coupled with government recognition through awards and other incentives, it will go a long way in moving beyond the culture of negative ethnicity and by extension the proletariat's dependence over the bourgeoisie class and encourage positive developmental revolution towards nation building.

The efforts towards national healing and reconciliation and the promotion of political dialogue initiatives in Kenya are so far in the opinion of this study, great, but they have not been proactive in designing and implementing home-grown initiatives that enrich and support the social repair processes, hence, stakeholders party to national integration initiatives are encouraged to merge their existing efforts with the three ideas provided in this paper as a positive input in this important journey to "unity in diversity".

8. References

- Ajayi, S.O.(1998), "Ethnic Pluralism and Political Instability in Nigeria. Preliminary Remarks towards Unmaking the Ethnicity Myth", *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*, Volume 2 Nos. 1 & 2 : 39-52.
- Arisi,O.R,(2011). "Social Studies Education as a Means to National Integration and Unity in Nigeria", in *European Journal of Educational Studies* 3(3), 2011
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). "Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers". *The Qualitative Report*, 13, 544-559.
- Bennett, J. M., & Bennett, M. J. (2004). "Developing intercultural sensitivity: An Integrative approach to global and domestic diversity". In D. Landis, J. M. Bennett, & M. J. Bennett (Eds.), *Handbook of intercultural training* (pp. 147-165). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Berry, J. W., & Kalin, R. (1995). "Multicultural and ethnic attitudes in Canada: An Overview of the 1991 national survey", *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*, 27, 301-320.
- Bishop G. (1995), *Curriculum Development: A Text Book for Students*. London. Macmillan
- Bourgault, M. (1995). *Media in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Brenner, J. (September, 2012). *PEW Internet: Social Networking*
- Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). "Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives". *Developmental Psychology*, 22(6), 723-742.
- Chen, G., M., & Starosta, W. J. (2004). "Communication among cultural diversities: A Dialogue", *International and Intercultural Communication Annual*, 27, 3-16
- Decalo, Samuel. (1993). "The Stable Minority: Civilian Rule in Africa, 1960 –1990". *Human Rights Watch*, 1993.
- DeGennaro, D. (2008). "Learning designs: An analysis of youth-initiated technology use", *Journal of Research on Technology in Education*. 41(1), 1-20.
- Eccles, J., & Gootman, J.A. (Eds.). *Community programs to promote youth development*. Washington: The National Academies Press.
- Edoho, M (ed.) (1997). *Globalization and the new world order Promises, problems and prospects for Africa in the twenty-first century*. Westport: Praeger Publishers
- Eliis, S (1996) "Africa after the Cold War: New patterns of government and politics", *Development and Change* 27, I: 1-27
- Etzion, Amitai, (1965). *Political Unification*. New York: Rinehart C Winston
- Doshi, (1968) *Process of Tribal Unification and integration Concept*. India: Delhi Publishing Company
- Fairclough, N (2011), *Critical Discourse Analysis in Researching Language in the New Capitalism: Over Determination, Trans-disciplinarity and Textual Analysis*. Lancaster: Lancaster University.
- Ghorbani, N. R., & Heidari, R. N. (2011). "Effects of information and communication technology on youth's health knowledge". *Asia Pacific Journal of Public Health*,

- Ghurye, G. S., 1968. *Social Tension in India*. Bombay: Popular Prakasha
- Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. (1970). *Beyond the melting pot: the Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italian and Irish of New York City*. Cambridge: MIT Press,
- Greenhow, C. (2011). "Youth, learning and social media". *Journal of Educational Computing and Research*, 45(2), 139-146
- Hameso, S, (1997) "The language of education in Africa: The key issues", *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 10, 1: 1-13.
- HRW ,(1993). *State-Sponsored Ethnic Violence in Kenya*. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Hutnik, N. 1991 *Ethnic minority identity A social psychological perspective*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Jega, A. M. (2002) "Education, democracy and national integration in Nigeria in the 21st century" *The African Symposium: An Online Educational Research Journal*.
- Jovic, Dejan (2001). "The Disintegration of Yugoslavia: A Critical Review of Explanatory Approaches". *European Journal of Social Theory*, 4 (1), 101-120.
- Kalmijn, Matthijs (1998). "Intermarriage and Homogamy: Causes, Patterns, Trends" *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24, 395-421.
- Marx, Karl & Friedrich Engels, (2012). *The Communist Manifesto: A Modern Edition*. London: Verso.
- Mesch, G. S. (2012). "Technology and youth". *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2012
- MoEST (2004), *Development of Education in Kenya*. Nairobi: Ministry of Education ,Science and Technology,.
- Nasibi W.M. (2003), *Instructional Methods: Teaching Across the Curriculum*. Kenya: Strongwall Africa,
- Ndaloh A.M., et.,al. (2009), *Primary Teacher Education: Education*. Nairobi: Jomo Kenyatta Foundation.
- Ndegwa, Stephen (1997). "Citizenship and Ethnicity: An examination of two transition moments in Kenyan politics", *American Political Science Review* 91, 3
- Neuliep, J. W. & McCroskey, J. C. (1997). *Development of a US and generalized ethnocentrism*. Gainesville and London: Florida Academic Press.
- Norbu, D. 1992 *Culture and the politics of the Third World nationalism* .London and NewYork Rout ledge.
- Omu, F.I.A.(1998) "Ethnicity, nationalism and Federalism in Nigeria, An Interactive Trinity of Relationships", *Benin Journal of Historical Studies*. Vol. 2 No. 1 & 2
- Brass. P.R(1991). *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Theory and Comparison*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Osaghae E (1995). *Structural adjustment and ethnicity in Nigeria*.Upsalla: Nordiska Inst.
- Otite, Onigu (1990) *Ethnic Pluralism and Ethnicity in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Shaneson Ltd.
- Rolfe, J., & Gilbert, N, (2006). "Youth, New Media, Technology and Communication", *Young Consumers: Insight and Ideas for Responsible Marketers*, 7(3), 15-21.
- Russell, M., et., al. (2003). "Examining teacher technology use: Implications for pre-service and in service teacher preparation", *Journal of Teacher Education* 54(4), 297-310
- Shiundu, J.S. & Omulando, S.J. (1992), *Curriculum: Theory and Practice in Kenya*. London: Oxford University Press.
- Smith, A. (2011). "How Americans use text messaging". Retrieved from *Pew Internet and American Life Project web site*:
- Song, Miri (2009). "Is Intermarriage a Good Indicator of Integration?" *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 35 (2), 331-348.
- Udogu, E. I (1990). "National integration attempts in Nigerian politics 1979-1984" in *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, 17(1-2), 157-175
- Wilcox (1974), *Mass media in Black Africa Philosophy and control*. New York: Praeger

The IISTE is a pioneer in the Open-Access hosting service and academic event management. The aim of the firm is Accelerating Global Knowledge Sharing.

More information about the firm can be found on the homepage:

<http://www.iiste.org>

CALL FOR JOURNAL PAPERS

There are more than 30 peer-reviewed academic journals hosted under the hosting platform.

Prospective authors of journals can find the submission instruction on the following page: <http://www.iiste.org/journals/> All the journals articles are available online to the readers all over the world without financial, legal, or technical barriers other than those inseparable from gaining access to the internet itself. Paper version of the journals is also available upon request of readers and authors.

MORE RESOURCES

Book publication information: <http://www.iiste.org/book/>

Academic conference: <http://www.iiste.org/conference/upcoming-conferences-call-for-paper/>

IISTE Knowledge Sharing Partners

EBSCO, Index Copernicus, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory, JournalTOCS, PKP Open Archives Harvester, Bielefeld Academic Search Engine, Elektronische Zeitschriftenbibliothek EZB, Open J-Gate, OCLC WorldCat, Universe Digital Library, NewJour, Google Scholar

