ROLE OF DIASPORA IN PROMOTING PAN-AFRICANISM: A
CASE OF KENYANS IN AUSTRALIA

BY

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DECLARATION
I, undersigned, declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college, or university other than the United States International University- Africa for academic credit.

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This thesis has been presented for examination with my approval as the appointed supervisor

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ABSTRACT

The research examines role of diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism while using Australia as a case. It also examines the different political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia and to determine the extent to which pan-Africanism influences the political, social and economic activities of Kenyans in Australia. This study is appropriately prompted given the increased relevance of diaspora to Africa. Additionally, the researcher’s interactions with Kenyans in Australia have demonstrated an affinity towards pan-African renaissance. The study examines diaspora activity in Australia. Firstly, Australia remains an established destination for Kenyan emigrants growing at a faster rate than to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development member states. A significant number of diaspora researches are cased in European countries and United States of America. Secondly, all African states have at least one citizen living in Australia.

The study employed a case study research design. The research used both primary and secondary data collection methods. Secondary data was collected using content analysis which involves reviewing literature relevant to pan-Africanism, Kenyan and African diaspora. Primary data was collected by conducting individual interviews using semi-structured questionnaires. The respondents are individuals constituting the Kenya diaspora in Australia. They are selected through multi-stage sampling.

The study finds that the Kenyan diaspora promote socio-economic aspects of pan-Africanism. They do this by citizen diplomacy, supporting economic development of Kenyans while building business eco-systems with other African nationals, establishing social structures and safety nets that increase likelihood of success of new arrivals and promote public participation and good governance. Kenyans in Australia are primarily students, skilled workers and business owners. The research finds that pan-Africanism has considerable influence among Kenyan diaspora. Pan-Africanism is a means through which Africans in Australia are able to secure their cultures and identities; a feature of long-distance nationalism. The diaspora community has, however, failed to politically organise. The community is also yet to establish sustainable means of skills and capital transfers. These challenges are attributable to lack of information by diaspora and lapse of political will by relevant authorities.

In light of these findings, the research recommends policy design less reliant on remittances flows by the African Union and the Kenya government. Instead these authorities should focus on establishing channels for skills transfer and investments. The research also recommends more commitment towards deeper political integration with the diaspora through as presented in Kenya Constitution (2010), Kenya Diaspora Policy (2014) and Agenda 2063.
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DEDICATION

This research is dedicated to the Kenyan community in Australia that inspired the research and made it possible. Family and friends are greatly commended for their patience and support during this very humble undertaking.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Australia is home to 19,390 people of Kenyan birth as at 2016 (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017). This is an increase of 40.18 per cent since the 2011 Australian census. At the same time, there are 432,930 people living in Australia whose place of birth is Africa. This has come to be with the dissolution of white Australia policy following the ratification of the Racial Discrimination Act in 1975 (Hugo, 2009). The only migrants from Africa to Australia before then were white Africans from South Africa and Zimbabwe.

Kenyan diaspora exist within a historical context of African migration and diaspora. African diaspora is categorized in several diaspora streams. Firstly, ancient migrations out of Africa established through dating of available fossils; Secondly, trading diasporas created by African merchants, slaves, and soldiers in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia from about the fifth century BCE. Thirdly, the Atlantic Slave Trade to the Americas and Europe. Fourthly, the contemporary migration streams which began after the end of slavery and picked up in the colonial and post-colonial periods (Adebayo, 2011). This study considers diaspora who form part of the fourth stream. The broad definition of African diaspora, however, incorporates all peoples of African descent living outside the continent (Adebayo, 2011). This means that people may be considered as diaspora even if they do not consider themselves to be.

This migration stream has been the focus of several African diaspora studies in Australia. While pan-Africanism has received little academic attention, other relevant issues within the Kenyan and African diaspora have been tackled. For example, Australia immigrant labor market has significantly increased since the 1970s given its segmentation; immigrants have dominated
certain sectors such as healthcare (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2006). Some studies have shown racialized identity is found to be among black Africans (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2017). Others studies show Africans to volunteer time for charity relative to peoples of other nationalities (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017). Africans have also demonstrated strong community ties reinforced with religious organization and spiritual belief (Hiruy & Mwanri, 2013).

The interests of Kenyans in diaspora in Australia are catered for by the directorate of Asia, Australasia and Pacific Islands. The Ministry of Affairs defines Kenya’s relationship with Australia in neo-liberal and realist terms highlighting economic and strategic value of Australia and the role of cooperation in advancing Kenya’s interest (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2018). Australia similarly analyses the relationship in terms of trade. Kenya’s exports to Australia rank 43rd among its export destinations with imports from Australia ranking 42nd (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018). Exports to Australia are valued at Australian Dollars 112 million while imports are worth Australian Dollars 298.6 million. Australia's investment in Kenya is estimated at Australian Dollars 15 million while Kenyan investment in Australia is worth Australian Dollars 19 million (Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, 2018).

This research examines the role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia. Pan-Africanism is a historically layered process and product. It was initially promoted by diaspora of trans-Atlantic slavery who identified with Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Since then, it has been promoted by different actors in different circumstances for different reasons. Generally, however, pan-Africanism is a perception by people of African origins and descent that they have shared experiences and common interests. Diaspora, meanwhile, refers to communities of people who reside outside their shared ancestral home. The diaspora has received renewed
attention from the Africa Renaissance project of the African Union (African Union Commission, 2013). Diaspora is also critical to the Kenyan development and nation building plans (Government of Kenya, 2014). The International Organisation of Migration identifies diaspora as sources of financial capital and entrepreneurship. Diaspora are also identified as ambassadors for people they represent at home.

All 54 African states have at least one citizen residing in Australia. (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017). Pan-Africanism is primarily championed by the African Union and contemporarily framed through African Union plans such as Agenda 2063 (African Union Commission, 2013). The African Union’s goal is to make African diaspora a cornerstone of African integration and development. Diaspora in Australia suggest they can promote African renaissance through establishing and strengthening partnerships with the Australian government, civil society and private groups, promoting good governance, democracy and rule of law and skills transfer (Udah, 2015). This contribution aims to go beyond monetary contributions by promoting accountability and active partnerships. It should be noted that establishing a pan African identity and cooperation in Australia is a slow process that involves antagonism and distrust among Africans. For example, some migrants view new migrants as competition for jobs in a segmented labor market and state resources (Zwangobani, 2008).

The researcher’s interactions with Kenyans in Australia have demonstrated an affinity towards pan-African renaissance. This is observable through congregations of Kenyans and other Africans through food, music, fashion, business and club associations.

Australia is a relevant case to examine the role of diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism. For over 30 years, it has being a destination for Kenyan workers and students (Department of
immigration and border protection, 2017). Australia is also a popular destination for other Africans hence potential for pan-Africanism (Zwangobani, 2008).

1.2 Statement of the problem

The researcher’s interactions with Kenyans in Australia have demonstrated an affinity towards pan-African renaissance. This is observable through congregations of Kenyans and other Africans through food, music, fashion, business and club associations. The role of Kenyans in promoting pan-Africanism has, however, received little academic attention. Significant research has focussed on remittances, motivations for migration, identity, cultural differences and culture shock, brain drain and gain and other social, political and economic themes. This study aims to add to the body of knowledge by exploring the role played by Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia.

The study examines diaspora activities in Australia. Firstly, Australia remains an established destination for Kenyan emigrants growing at a faster rate than to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development member states. A significant number of diaspora researches are cased in European countries and United States of America. Secondly, all African states have at least one citizen living in Australia (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017).

1.3 Justification of the study

As a social study based on constructivism, the paper examines the contemporary manifestation of pan-Africanism. The study of diaspora in Australia is a unique perspective providing a basis for similar case studies in other migration destinations.

Since independence, the state’s role in promoting pan-Africanism has been of critical focus. However, pan-Africanism built on assumptions of nation states remains one of its biggest
weaknesses. This is because of the failure of the state system in many African states to deliver on post-independence goals such as nation building, poverty alleviation and greater representation of African people in the highest echelons of global power. It is argued that pan-Africanism is stalled due to the slow pace of unification of Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. Various milestones of political unification such as African Continental Free Trade Area are yet to be operationalized. This reality has led to a reexamination of pan-Africanism from the lens of non-state actors such as diaspora.

As previously stated, little academic effort has been directed towards identifying the unique and particular ways in which diaspora promote their ideas of pan-Africanism. This study, therefore, provides a foundation through which interactions with diaspora may be further developed and improved by all stakeholders. As an International Relations research, the paper draws attention to contemporary promotion of pan-Africanism by the continent’s diaspora. This is an examination of the relevance of pan-Africanist ideology and its impact on the global system.

The study has implications on efficacy of efforts of the African Union and the Kenya government in improving relationships with the Kenya diaspora community and as champions of pan-Africanism. The diaspora is a cornerstone to the Africa Renaissance project of the African Union (African Union Commission, 2013). Diaspora is also critical to the Kenyan development and nation building (Government of Kenya, 2014). As such, the research findings have policy implications for the relevant policy makers.
1.4 Main objective of the study

1. To explore the role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

1. To examine the different political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia.

2. To determine the extent to which pan-Africanism influences the political, social and economic activities of Kenyans in Australia.

1.5 Outline of the research

The research is divided into five chapters. The introduction includes the background of the study, statement of the problem, and justification of the study, main and specific objectives. The second chapter includes the literature review and conceptual framework. The third chapter is the methodology. The chapter is divided into research design, data collection method, population and sampling method, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the research. The fourth chapter provides a presentation of the research findings. The findings are presented as per the research objectives. The fifth chapter discusses the data findings, concludes and provides recommendations for policy and future studies.
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter interrogates discourse on African diaspora and pan-Africanism. The sections of the chapter examine the following: African diaspora in Australia and a general demographic of Kenyan diaspora. It then reviews literature on Kenyan diaspora in Australia. It should be noted that there has been little research in that specific field. The chapter then provides a history of pan-Africanism and examines the relationship between African diaspora and pan-Africanism.

The conceptual framework is developed after review of existing literature.

2.2 African diaspora in Australia

There are 432,930 people living in Australia whose place of birth is Africa according to the Australia census report 2016. Members of African states are well represented in the continent where all 54 states have nationals living in Australia. Australia, therefore, presents an opportunity of studying and understanding the nature of pan-Africanism and how it influences the pursuits of African diaspora. African migration to Australia significantly increased with dissolution of white Australia policy in the 1980s and 1990s (Hugo, 2009).

The Kenyan diaspora exist within a historical context of African migration and diaspora. African diaspora is categorized in several diaspora streams. Firstly, the ancient migrations out of Africa. These are established through dating of available fossils. Secondly, trading diaspora created by African merchants, slaves, and soldiers in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia from about the fifth century BCE. Thirdly, the Atlantic Slave Trade to the Americas and Europe. Fourthly, the contemporary migration streams which began after the end of slavery and picked up steam in the colonial and post-colonial periods (Adebayo, 2011). Africans in Australia considered for study form part of the fourth stream.
With the exemption of English, several African languages are marked as the fastest growing by the Australia Census 2016. They include: Seychelles Creole, Mauritian Creole, Shona, Ndebele and Swahili. This is due to the increase in the number of Africans migrating to Australia. These Africans speak African languages, English, Arabic and other European languages.

Socially, Africans in Australia have a high propensity to participate in voluntary activities. Kenyans have a participation rate of 23.9 per cent and ranked fifth. Tanzanians and Ugandans rank third and fourth respectively. Eight African countries feature in the top 20 list of volunteer activity by country of origin. African migrant philanthropy in the United States, for example, is structured around churches, mosques and other social institutions (Copeland-Carson, 2007). Broader goals of these institutions include policy reform and socio-culturally specific charities. The study attributes Kenyan diaspora philanthropy to religious and cultural practices. Charity and sharing have been politically declared as national traits when President Jomo Kenyatta used Harambee which means pulling together as a party and national rallying call. In the United States of America, Kenya Community Abroad, the Kenya Diaspora Network, the Kenya Development Network Consortium, and the Kenyan Professional Association as well as a variety of university-based student associations organize significant philanthropic activities. Kenya Community Abroad serves as a network for Kenyans in United States of America and five other countries among them Australia.

Other studies show afro-communitarian ethics in Australian health care, particularly, end of life health care (Hiruy & Mwanri, 2013). Using examples of Ugandans and Ethiopians in Australia, Africans generally take more care of their elderly at home compared to the national average. This is also influenced by other factors such as lower rates of home ownership which is a precondition to accessing aged care home services (Hiruy & Mwanri, 2013). The afro-communitarian ethics discussed in the paper reflect Ubuntu and Africanized Christianity morals. Ubuntu is a culture that
gives primacy to human relationships in social, political and economic activities. Ubuntu is explained in the saying *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*. This translates to a person is a person because of others. It essentially means humanity is a shared experience and no one can be self-sufficient; interdependence is, therefore a reality for all (Nussbaum, 2013).

Some studies contend that racial structures are very much present in Australia (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). Using a self-reflexive narrative as a methodology, the study finds that dark skinned African migrants experience racialized treatment in subtle ways owing to their melanin content. This is despite variation in other characteristics such as country of origin, social class, political affiliation, education or income. Using migrant focus groups, racialized identity is socially constructed around otherness and juxtaposition (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2017). The study argues that there is agency in forging black identity through a process that involves reflecting on experiences, interpretations and reinterpretations of the world.

Significant number of studies about new African diaspora adopts an identity based paradigm. Identity as a concept has grown in stature since nations organised themselves as states from the Westphalian Treaty (Anderson, 1992). Identity in these discourses uses the following principles: the emergence principle views identity as a socially constructed emerging product. The positionality principle argues that identity encompasses macro-level demographics and local cultural positions. According to the indexicality principle, identity emerges through interactions structured along indices. The relationality principle argues that identities are constructed through overlapping relations. The partiality principle presents identity as an outcome of multiple partial processes: habit, intent, negotiations, outside perceptions, ideological processes and interactions with the material world (Hatoss, 2012).
These principles offer explanatory and predictive power in the wider field of identity construction. Positionality principle is best tailored to explain pan-Africanism given its history. Pan-Africanism encompasses specific local cultures, that is, micro-nations. These local positions exist within a wider framework of state systems and macro geopolitical space of Africa. Positioning theory has been used to analyse experiences of Sudanese migrants in Australia. According to the author, it allows the subjects to position themselves within the context they find themselves in (Hatoss, 2012). The respondents showed pride in being Nuer, Dinka, Sudanese and African. They cite struggle, loneliness and success as some of the feelings they share with fellow Africans in Australia. It should be noted that the respondents were refugees in Kenya before moving to Australia.

Creating a youthful pan African identity in Australia is a slow process that involves antagonism and distrust among Africans. For example, some migrants view new migrants as competition for jobs in a segmented labor market and state resources (Zwangobani, 2008).

2.3 Kenyan diaspora
The emigration of Kenyans increased in the late 1980s when social and economic opportunities declined. Before then, a growing economy which took in labour and high emigration costs limited outside movement especially outside Africa (Ghai, 2004). The number of Kenyans abroad increased steadily from 59,275 in 1960 to 149,445 in 1990 before increasing exponentially to 1,063,036 by 2007 (Nzioka, Ogongo, Lorete, Masinjila, & Kimani, 2015). Others studies record similar spikes in emigration following the 1990s (Odipo, Olungah, & Omia, 2015).

Migration from Kenya may be categorized into four waves (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012). The first wave migrated between the 1950s and 1960s. As the anti-
colonial sentiment swept the world, a small number of Kenyans emigrated to the United Kingdom, the United States, Cuba, the Soviet Union and East Germany to acquire specific skills through academic scholarships. These groups included politicians and technocrats who would participate in the formation of a post-independence government (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012). The second wave of migration between 1970s and 1980s initially featured state sponsored migration for the purpose of economic development. India emerged as a popular destination for students who did not access government sponsored education and medical treatment. Migration towards the end of the 1980s was initiated by political and economic unrest caused by a mix of domestic and international influences. Specifically, politically oppressive policies by the regime of H.E. Daniel Moi and structural adjusted policies pushed Kenyans towards emigration (Ghai, 2004).

Emigration during the 1990s and early 2000s forms the third wave of migration. This group consists of low, middle and highly skilled Kenyans to migrate to mostly African countries that offered them better opportunities (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012). The Middle East during this period emerged as a popular destination for various professionals and technocrats. The fourth and present wave has seen significant migration of professionals especially in the medical sector and academia in addition to those from previous waves. Student migration during this period has also increased. An analysis of the four migrations streams suggests that Kenyans emigrate for the following reasons: political instability and mismanagement, medical treatment, urban poverty, climate change, family reunification, educational opportunities, higher wages and living standards (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012).
More recent studies on emigration reveal that most emigrants are from Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru and Kiambu counties. Nairobi and Kiambu counties account for 26.93 per cent of total emigration (Odipo, Olungah, & Omia, 2015). This distribution has implications for counties, Kenya and destination countries. The diaspora community, therefore, consists of a mostly urban group. An analysis of emigration by age reveals most migrant begin migrating from the age of 20 in search of higher education and employment (Odipo, Olungah, & Omia, 2015).

Kenyan diaspora are categorised into two groups in the Kenya Diaspora Policy: People of Kenya Origin (PKOs) and Non-resident Kenyans (NRKs) residing outside the country (Government of Kenya, 2014). PKOs are foreign citizens of Kenyan origin or descent while NRKs refer to Kenyan citizens holding a Kenyan passport and/or having dual citizenship and residing outside the country whether for employment, business, vocation, education or any other purpose. The report serves to define the ideal relationship between the government and diaspora. It maintains that diaspora continue to benefit and participate in developmental goals such Vision 2030 primarily through remittances. However, their participation is limited by inadequate budgetary allocation and personnel at the diplomatic missions abroad to offer effective and efficient consular services to Kenyans abroad. This has prevented the government from building data bases to account for and plan with diaspora. The report advocates for incorporating diaspora into national development blueprints such as Vision 2030 through synchronizing the efforts of diaspora with those of continental Kenyans. This is consistent with development culture projected by many global south countries especially in Africa through domestic and foreign policy (Mkandawire, 2011).

The relationship between Kenya and diaspora was strengthened with the passing of the Constitution of Kenya (2010) which provided for dual citizenship of Kenyans naturalized in
other polities. Dual citizenship had long been advocated for by diaspora. The issue arose in the 1990s but the regime of H.E. Daniel Moi viewed diaspora as possibly opposition. The instability of the H.E. Mwai Kibaki government after 2005 severely diminished its ability to pass dual citizenship law through acts of parliament (Whitaker, 2011). Dual citizenship expands choices which shape possible activities that diaspora can undertake in host and home countries. Sending countries argue that dual citizenship helps maintain economic ties with the home country. African economies more dependent on remittances are more likely to allow for dual citizenship. It is difficult to determine causality at least in the Kenyan case. This is because remittances had increased significantly even before dual citizenship was implemented. Other studies, however, show that remittances increase after ratification of dual citizenship laws. Dual citizenship in the continent is also correlated to democratic practices within African countries (Whitaker, 2011). Governments are, therefore, cautious of political implications of ties created by dual citizenship (Whitaker, 2011). Some of the delay in fulfilling the promise of dual citizenship made in 2002 is attributed to fear of competition from diaspora for political offices by the study. Tanzanian diaspora have faced similar treatment from members of parliament in Tanzania. Kenya’s policy on the same has shifted from caution in the 1990s and inaction in the 2000s to realization of the economic benefits of diaspora (Whitaker, 2011). This history may be explained from the broader perspective of political and economic liberalization during those periods.

Critics of dual citizenship suggest that it reduces integration and engagement of the individual with the host country. So far, dual citizenship has contributed to repatriation of funds back home. 29 other African countries provide for dual citizenship for their citizens naturalized abroad (Whitaker, 2011). Dual citizenship has proliferated over the last 30 years due to increased transnational migration increasing the number of claims to nationality by individuals. Some
gender equality means that citizenship of an individual is determined by nationalities of both parents necessitating dual citizenship where appropriate.

It should be noted that these challenges are not unique to Kenya. Diaspora communities of Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt and Ethiopia have for decades tried to push for their political participation in their respective countries through electoral participation (Adebayo, 2011).

2.4 Kenyan diaspora in Australia

In Australia, the age of Kenyan emigrants has steadily declined from 39.30 years in 1996 to 32.98 years in 2010 before marginally increasing to 34.62 years in 2016. This age is indicative of the reasons persons leave Kenya for Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development member states such as Australia. This age group represents skilled labour looking for opportunities to express and practise their various skills. Available data shows that the diaspora community is significantly made up of young urban migrants. Migrants to Australia also pursue higher education even at advanced ages (Nzioka, Ogongo, Lorete, Masinjila, & Kimani, 2015). Australia received 1,191 students from Kenya in 2013 making it the third highest foreign destination.

Kenya has a skilled emigration rate of about 35 per cent. Between 2005 and 2010, for example, Kenya exported about 6 per cent of its 41,367 nurses. 137 of those nurses went to Australia to practice nursing (Nzioka, Ogongo, Lorete, Masinjila, & Kimani, 2015). Migration to Australia is aided by a relatively simple skills transfers processes. There are 19,390 people of Kenyan birth residing in Australia as at 2016 according to the Australia Census report. This is an increase of 40.18 per cent since the 2011 census.

Long distance nationalism manifests in different ways in Australia. The desire to access indigenous knowledge has prompted study on use of digital technologies to transmit such
knowledge (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). A key motivation for this according to the same study is the interest among Kenyans to interact with Kenyan cultures and material amid exposure to multiple cultures. Kenyan diaspora, according to the same study, express themselves by speaking their ethnic languages and Swahili, attending Kenyan social events and promoting Kenyan meals, fashion and culture.

2.5 Introduction and history of pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a historically layered process and product. It was initially promoted by diaspora of trans-Atlantic slavery who identified with Africa in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nineteenth century pan-Africanists include: John B. Russwurm, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Theophilus E. S. Scholes, John Jacob Thomas, Samuel Celestine-Edwards, and John Albert Thorne (Hill, 2015). Those of the latter century include: Marcus Garvey, Cyril Valentine Briggs, Antenor Firmin, Jean Price-Mars, C. L. R. James, Richard B. Moore, George Padmore, Aimé Césaire, and Frantz Fanon. (Hill, 2015). Marcus Garvey, for example, wanted a united Africa with diaspora moving to Africa in a trans-Atlantic exodus (Jacques-Garvey, 2009). His views of pan-Africanism were influenced by racialized environment created after the slave trade. He advocated for pride instead of shame in the black identity bestowed upon them by their former masters (Jacques-Garvey, 2009).

Since then, it has been promoted by different actors in different circumstances for different reasons. Generally, however, pan-Africanism is a perception by people of African origins and descent that they have shared experiences and common interests. New and old diaspora of Africa are differentiated by period of independence of African states where new diaspora consist of post-independence migrants (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003).
Old diaspora such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusé Mohamed Ali, Marcus Garvey and other pan-Africanist diaspora living in Europe and the Caribbean advocated for equal labor and political rights among all people regardless of color (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003). W.E.B. Du Bois’ pan-Africanism was concerned with shared racial, historical, and economic bonds, commitment to gaining economic and political sovereignty among people of color (Kendhammer, 2007). In the fourth pan-African congress, W.E.B. Du Bois called for an end to colonization of Africa and other lands and development of Africa for Africans (Kendhammer, 2007). He was one of the earlier contributors to pan-Africanism having attended the first pan-African congress in 1900 organized by Henry Sylvester Williams (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003). He then went on to organize the first, second and third pan-African congresses. Such engagements created fora for exchange of ideas and meetings for pan-Africanists from the continent and the diaspora. The fifth pan-African congress for example brought together Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and Hastings Banda (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003).

Like Du Bois, Nkrumah’s pan-Africanism is consistent with long-distance nationalism where people of African descent are connected to the land of Africa. Realizing a black consciousness among African diaspora was a strong motivation and goal for many significant African nationalists and pan-Africanists such as Edward Wilmot Blyden (Mudimbe, 1988). This was consistent with the racialized world view at the time. Pan-Africanism, in general, ignored old diaspora who migrated through the east coast of Africa and Mediterranean to Arabia and India. Pan-Africanism primarily resonated with descendants of trans-Atlantic slaves in Europe and the Americas (Zeleza, 2005).

Independence of black African states such as Ghana put focus of pan-Africanism on Africa. This is despite much earlier independences of Egypt in 1922 and Libya in 1956. Pan-Africanism is
significantly credited for decolonization of many African states and ending apartheid in South Africa. Pan-Africanism then, was identified with Kwame Nkrumah. Amilcar Cabral, Gamal Nasser, Thomas Sankara and Julius Nyerere. Julius Nyerere was of the opinion that boundaries placed were relevant to the extent that they marked out administrative units of a much larger land mass. He viewed boundaries as sources of disagreement (Chacha, 2002). Nyerere is credited with implementing Ujamaa, a Tanzanian socialism model and promoting Kiswahili as a unifying language. This was consistent with anti-neocolonial posture of pan-Africanism. More significantly, Kiswahili as an ethnic neutral language unified Tanzanians linguistically and culturally (Chacha, 2002). Like Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah was introduced to pan-Africanism from interacting with African diaspora abroad. Nkrumah viewed Africa’s political destiny as connected when he said that Ghana would be fully independent when every other country followed suit (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005). In December 1958, Nkrumah invited the diaspora and leaders of liberation movements in Africa to the first All-African Peoples Conference. The conferences eventually led to the formation of the Organization for African Unity (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005). In the 1980s, Thomas Sankara pursued a socialist model for Burkina Faso like Julius Nyerere. At the United Nations General Assembly, Thomas Sankara declared to the world leaders that the condition of Africa was attributable to the world order. This situation could only be overturned through efforts by conscious Africans (Sankara, 1988).

The formation of the Organization of African Unity was pan-African in ideology. Politically, pan-Africanist rhetoric was anti-western imperialism. Pan-Africanism, therefore, found an ally in communism (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003). Pan-Africanism has historically advocated for various forms of unity among those with roots on the continent. During the formation of the Organisation for African Unity, there was disagreement on the political format Africans should unify in
pursuit of pan-Africanism. The Casablanca group which included political leaders of Ghana, Egypt, Algeria, Guinea and Mali wanted a union government for Africa like that of the United States of America or former Soviet Union. The Monrovia-Brazzaville group which included Cameroon, Gabon, Central Africa Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, Senegal, Chad, Mauritania and former Upper Volta wanted a conservative unification with state sovereignty (Mangwende, 1985). The result was compromise by the federalists hence establishment of the Organisation for African Unity.

Pan-Africanism in the early twenty first Century is motivated by development based on self-reliance and self-determination of African people, with democratic and people-centered governance (African Union Commission, 2013). That is associated with the African Renaissance. This is realized through political unity of Africans including diaspora. Africa aims to be an equal player in the world with an equal share of public commons, which are land, air, water and space. This will mean equal participation in the global governance system.

Institutionally, African states form the primary building blocks of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism built on assumptions of nation states remains one of its biggest weaknesses. This is because of the failure of the state system in many African states to deliver on post-independence goals such as poverty alleviation and greater representation of African people in the highest echelons of global power. Pan-Africanism has had few political and economic achievements since the independence of South Africa. Various milestones of political unification pursued by Union members such as Africa Continental Free Trade Area are yet to be operationalized.

Pan-Africanism by the African Union also means a cultural renaissance among African people driven by strong ethics and pan-African ideals. This understanding has come from studies on popular African culture expressed in social media, motion pictures and music. Nollywood for
example has succeeded in achieving a massive following in the continent and abroad (McCall, 2007). The industry is responsible for stimulating discourse on the meaning of being African. This is due to how well the movies relate to everyday experiences of many rural and urban African people regardless of religion or social class.

Pan-Africanism is, therefore, a process with various desired political, social and economic outcomes dependent on the actors and their historical and immediate contexts.

2.6 Diaspora and pan-Africanism

Diaspora refers to communities of people who reside outside their shared ancestral home (Skrbis, 1999). The International Organisation of Migration identifies diaspora as sources of financial capital and entrepreneurship. Diaspora are also identified as ambassadors for people they represent at home.

The history of pan-Africanism shows that the ideology was developed among Africa’s diaspora communities living in the Americas and Europe in the struggle for equal rights in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pan-Africanism’s focus was put on the continent following independence of Ghana (Hill, 2015). Pan-Africanism yet again returned to the diaspora following migration of African scholars and artists from several African countries to Europe and North America in the 1970s. These group of people promoted pan-Africanism by challenging the process of knowledge production on Africa (Mudimbe, 1988). African diaspora such Ali Mazrui, V. Y. Mudimbe, and Ngugi wa Thiong’o challenged Eurocentric discourse in literature, philosophy, international relations and post-coloniality. Ngugi wa Thiong’o argues that African languages need to speak to each other across boundaries by putting in place language policies that nurture already stigmatized local languages (Thiong'o, 1997). This require reversing language policies put in place by colonial governments and maintained by successive regimes.
that have stunted the growth of local languages (Thiong'o, 1997). Migration during that period was incentivized by political repression and economic recession created by structural adjustment programs (Zeleza, 2005).

In contemporary international relations, diaspora diplomacy broadly aims to enhance and maintain the linkages between members of the diaspora and citizens in their home states. The African Union’s goal in this diplomacy is to make African diaspora a cornerstone of African integration and development (Mwagiru, 2012). African diaspora is described as the sixth development region of the continent. The Union’s emphasis on economic function of diaspora has been accused of being reductionist and potentially excluding those without means of contributing to the Union financially (Omeje, 2007). None the less, the focus on diaspora diplomacy may contribute to division of labour. States, for example, may focus on remittances while the African Union may go for regional agreements and partnerships such as with the Caribbean Community.

Remittances are one of the visible benefits of emigration from Africa. Its impact is particularly clear and important in augmenting private consumption and alleviating short-term poverty in receiving countries. Remittances have received attention because they are increasingly important source of external financing and the bulk of international remittances do not accrue to the poorest economies (Kapur, 2003). The same study finds that Africa receives the least amount of remittances relative to other regions. It should be noted that the impact of remittances on structural poverty and long term development is unconfirmed (Kapur, 2003). Therefore, it is critical to diversify the importance of diaspora to both continent and country. Remittances, however, have potential to be more manageable than other foreign flows such as foreign direct investments. Remittances, unlike foreign direct investments, are more consistent due to non-
commercial attachment. These flows will continue to enjoy the attention of academia and governments due to the failure of other development and economic models. The remittance model is attractive because of its communitarian approach and it exemplifies the principle of African solutions to African problems. Remittances also do not face the bureaucratic challenges of accountability that other foreign flows such as foreign aid and debt face (Kapur, 2003). Remittances, therefore, have the ability to develop parallel industries.

Regionally, remittance flows increased with the development of mobile money transfer services such as M-pesa. Alternative money transfer services reduced the cost of sending and receiving money by disrupting oligopolies of Western Union and commercial banks. International money transfers finance consumption, real estate purchases, philanthropy and social insurance in both home and diaspora countries (Kapur, 2003). Somali diaspora, within and outside the continent, through transfer services, such as Al Barakaat, increased their participation in Somali economy. In the absence of a strong central government and banking system, the Somalis developed a monetary system where diaspora were a key pillar.

Kenya government through the Ministry of Foreign affairs has placed diaspora as one of its pillars through diaspora diplomacy. The directorate of diaspora affairs aims to improve relations with the diaspora as well as fit the community into the national agenda (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012).

Diaspora in Australia promote African renaissance through establishing and strengthening partnerships with the Australian government, civil society and private groups, promoting good governance, democracy and rule of law and skills transfer (Udah, 2015). This contribution aims to go beyond the monetary contributions by promoting accountability and active partnership. The desire by African diaspora to contribute to the progress of Africa by returning is not new. Pan-
Africanists such as Marcus Garvey and Rastafari community expressed desire to return to Africa (Palmer, 2018). This history of remigration in Liberia, for example, shows the complexity in reintegrating diaspora back to African communities especially in large numbers. Meanwhile, small pockets of Rastafari communities have managed to successfully settle in Shashamane in Ethiopia and integrate with the communities there (Palmer, 2018).

Research on African diaspora contends that pan-African diaspora have significantly shaped the world beyond the Americas, Europe and Africa (Patterson & Kelley, 2000). While referring to trans-Atlantic African diaspora, linkages to pan-Africa must be articulated, nurtured and emphasised. This is because they do not exist independently (Patterson & Kelley, 2000).

African diaspora significantly shape global labor. It has been estimated that the share of skilled workers in all migrants in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development members from sub-Saharan Africa is 42.6 per cent (Oyelere, 2010). This is an indication of the continent’s ability to train skilled workers. However, the lack of functional purpose of the skills attained sends people abroad. This has implications on education and economic systems of Kenya and other African counties in the long-run. Kenya in particular is consistently in the top five African countries with diaspora workers in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development members such as Australia (Oyelere, 2010).

Studies have considered the extent to which pan-Africanism influences first and second generation African diaspora in the United States. Second generation refers to diaspora born in the host country to one or more immigrant parents or those who arrived before age seven or eight (Waite & Cook, 2011). Second generation diaspora are able to identify with multiple identities among them their ethnicities and dual nationalities (Clark, 2008). It should be noted that the United States of America is a different case study given the different racial histories. New
African diaspora are compared to old African diaspora. Such a comparison cannot be made in Australia.

An examination of belonging among African diaspora communities in the United Kingdom concludes that pan-Africanism mark public diasporic associational life in important ways for the first and second generation diaspora (Waite & Cook, 2011). The research conducts interviews for data collection. The respondents are Kenyan, Somali, Zimbabwean and Sudanese nationals. First generation respondents expressed themselves in terms of African culture and values especially when convenient. Some second generation respondents wanted to return to their respective countries in the future as workers, entrepreneurs and tourists (Waite & Cook, 2011). Islam is also a strong source of unity among Somali diaspora in the United Kingdom. Islam is one of the core ingredients in the make-up of Africa along Western culture and indigenous culture. This has been proposed by Ali Mazrui as the triple heritage and much earlier by Edward Blyden (Mudimbe, 1988).

Other studies find that the new African diaspora are significantly influenced by pan-Africanism in their new environments (Magu, 2014). The research suggests that diaspora are likely to become less tribal with other African nationals. While certain cultural practices are maintained, diaspora in the long term contribute to a post tribal pan-Africa (Magu, 2014). This means that diaspora have the potential to provide a blue print for construction of multi-ethnic nation states which may improve the social and political experience for their communities. According to the study, this is partly influenced by post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography of their home continent.

The next section is the conceptual framework.
2.7 Conceptual Framework

The research utilises pan-Africanism and long-distance nationalism for ideological structure. This section highlights the key arguments of the concepts, major proponents of the concepts and ideologies, assumptions and relationship to the subject matter.

2.7.1 Pan-Africanism

Pan-Africanism is a historically layered process and product. It was initially promoted by diaspora of trans-Atlantic slavery who identified with Africa in nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Early contributors to pan-Africanism include: John B. Russwurm, Edward Wilmot Blyden, Theophilus E. S. Scholes, John Jacob Thomas, Samuel Celestine-Edwards, John Albert, Marcus Garvey, Cyril Valentine Briggs, Antenor Firmin, Jean Price-Mars, C. L. R. James, Richard B. Moore, George Padmore, Aimé Césaire, and Frantz Fanon (Hill, 2015). Marcus Garvey for example wanted a united Africa with diaspora moving to Africa in a trans-Atlantic exodus (Jacques-Garvey, 2009). Marcus Garvey established the Back to Africa movement to facilitate remigration. His views of pan-Africanism were influenced by racialized environment created after the slave trade. He advocated for pride instead of shame in the black identity bestowed upon them by their former masters (Jacques-Garvey, 2009). Since then it has been promoted by different actors in different circumstances for different reasons. Generally, pan-Africanism is a perception by people of African origins and descent that they have shared experiences and common interests. Using independence of African states as a reference point, African diaspora have been categorized into old diaspora and new diaspora (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003).

In the 1930s, foremost pan-Africanists identified with African diaspora such as Henry Sylvester Williams, W.E.B. Du Bois, Dusé Mohamed Ali and Marcus Garvey. W.E.B. Du Bois’ pan-Africanism was concerned with shared racial, historical, and economic bonds, commitment to
gaining economic and political sovereignty among people of color (Kendhammer, 2007). Pan-Africanists then were diaspora living in the Caribbean, Americas, Britain and France (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003). Many of them advocated for equal labor and political rights among all people regardless of color, Independence of African states such as Ghana put Africa in the focus of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism then, was identified with politicians such as Kwame Nkrumah. Amilcar Cabral, Gamal Nasser, Thomas Sankara and Julius Nyerere.

Julius Nyerere was of the opinion that boundaries placed were relevant to the extent that they marked out administrative units of a much larger land mass. He viewed boundaries as sources of disagreement (Chacha, 2002). Nyerere is credited with implementing Ujamaa, a Tanzanian socialism model and promoting Kiswahili as a unifying language. This was consistent with anti-neocolonial posture of pan-Africanism. More significantly, Kiswahili as an ethnic neutral language unified Tanzanians linguistically and culturally (Chacha, 2002). Kiswahili was a used as a medium to promote the arts in Tanzania through Swahili poem and literature festivals. Leopold Senghor promoted African arts, music and opera through hosting pan-African cultural festivals (Mazrui A. , 2005). Like Nyerere, Kwame Nkrumah was introduced to pan-Africanism from interacting with African diaspora abroad. Nkrumah viewed Africa’s political destiny as connected when he said that Ghana would be fully independent when every other country followed suit (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005). Nkrumah invited the diaspora and leaders of liberation movements in Africa to the first All-African Peoples Conference. The conferences eventually led to the formation of the Organization for African Unity (Botwe-Asamoah, 2005).

Thomas Sankara pursued a socialist model for Burkina Faso like Julius Nyerere. At the United Nations General Assembly, Thomas Sankara declared to the world leaders that the condition of Africa was attributable to the world order. This situation could only be overturned through
efforts by conscious Africans (Sankara, 1988). The political and economic goals of pan-Africanism were eradication of neo-colonialism and promotion of indigenous and egalitarian development. Pan-Africanism is significantly credited for decolonization of many African states including ending the apartheid regime in South Africa. The formation of the Organization of African Unity was pan-African in ideology. Pan-African rhetoric then demonstrated anti-western imperialism hence drew support from communism (Abdi & Sherwood, 2003).

The trans-Atlantic history of pan-Africanism means that pan-Africanism carries both conservative and liberal ideas that have roots in European and American politics. Jomo Kenyatta, widely regarded as a pan-Africanist is an example of conservative approach to pan-Africanism (Nyangena, 2003). This was influenced by his anthropological studies in England, adoption of Christianity and English life and orientation with Britain’s approach to a negotiated end to colonialism (Nyangena, 2003). W.E.B Du Bois criticized colonial governments for their rhetoric on democracy and colonial practices. He, therefore, pressured governments to live up to their liberal and democratic ideals (Kendhammer, 2007). The variation within pan-Africanism is further demonstrated by Du Bois Marxist views alongside the likes of Thomas Sankara and Julius Nyerere borrowed from Cuba and the Soviet Union (Kendhammer, 2007).

It should be noted that pan-Africanism did not resonated with pre-colonial African migrants through the east coast of Africa and Mediterranean to Arabia and India (Zeleza, 2005). There is however increasing literature on cultural significance of African diaspora in Spain, Sri Lanka, Turkey, Iran, Yemen and India (Zeleza, 2005).

Pan-Africanism has consistently pursued unification of African people as a means and goal. Political leaders have differed at various points as to the approach to unification. During the formation of the Organisation for African Unity, there was disagreement on the political format.
Africans should unify in pursuit of pan-Africanism. The Casablanca group which included political leaders of Ghana, Egypt, Algeria, Guinea and Mali wanted a union government for Africa like that of the United States of America or former Soviet Union. The Monrovia-Brazzaville group which included Cameroon, Gabon, Central Africa Republic, Cote d’Ivoire, Senegal, Chad, Mauritania and former Upper Volta wanted a conservative unification with state sovereignty (Mangwende, 1985). The result was compromise by the federalist hence formation of the Organisation of African Unity.

After decolonization, pan-Africanism in the early twenty first century is motivated by development based on self-reliance and self-determination of African people, with democratic and people-centered governance (African Union Commission, 2013). Pan-Africanism is associated with the African Renaissance. Diaspora are called to participate in this renaissance. Pan-Africanism wants Africa to be an equal player in the world with an equal share of public commons, which are land, air, water and space. This will mean equal participation in the global governance system.

Pan-Africanist rhetoric by the African Union is consistent with many liberal values such as human rights and democratic governance. The move to a neo-liberal outlook by the African Union was pushed by Thabo Mbeki to change Africa’s image and foreign policy from populist and socialist to neo-liberal (Tieku, 2004). This was consistent with the international system following the collapse of the Soviet Union. In its new regional security role, the Africa Union restrained state sovereignty in the cases of crimes against humanity, genocide and unconstitutional change of government (Aning, 2008). The Obasanjo regime had resolved to have a continental body that served as the primary organ for conflict management and resolution
following regional instability emanating from Sierra Leone and Liberia in the 1990s (Tieku, 2004). This was also consistent with the neo-liberal view on institutionalized regional security.

Pan-Africanism in the twenty-first century means a cultural renaissance among African people. This understanding has come from studies on popular African culture expressed in social media, motion pictures and music. Nollywood for example has succeeded in achieving a massive following in the continent and abroad (McCall, 2007). The industry is responsible for stimulating discourse on the meaning of being African. This is due to how well the movies relate to everyday experiences of many rural and urban African people regardless of religion or social class.

Politically, African states form the primary building blocks of pan-Africanism. Pan-Africanism built on assumptions of nation states remains one of its biggest weaknesses. This is because of the failure of the state system in many African states to deliver on post-independence goals such as poverty alleviation and greater representation of African people in the highest echelons of global power. It is argued that pan-Africanism has stalled due to the slow pace of unification of Africans on the continent and in the diaspora. Various milestones of political unification such as Africa Continental Free Trade Area are yet to be operationalized. This reality has led to a reexamination of pan-Africanism from the lens of non-state actors such as Nollywood and diaspora.

In Kenya, for example, nationalism has evolved with the various socio-political and economic regimes since independence. The relationship between diaspora and Kenya has similarly changed with the various political and economic conditions within the country. Nationalism is significantly influenced by ethnicity and its many effects. Ethnicity, for example, plays a much wider role in Kenyan societies than in organizing the government and other state institutions (Maathai, 2009). Ethnic groups play active roles in assimilating both domestic and international
immigrants (Odipo, Olungah, & Omia, 2015). This means that ethnic ties remain strong beyond the rural or ancestral origin as they are centuries of strong relationships and kinships.

The diaspora experience is, however, likely to present a different perspective of nationalism from continental Kenyans. Examining new diaspora in the United States of America, studies find that pan-Africanism is likely to be developed on account of experiencing a state constructed differently from the post-colonial African states (Magu, 2014). The research suggests that diaspora are likely to become less tribal with other African nationals. While cultural practices may be maintained, diaspora in the long term contribute to post tribal pan-Africa. The African diaspora in this case are molded by the constraints and opportunities presented by their new environments. Using respondents from the United States of America, new African diaspora are able to have multiple identities among them their ethnicities and dual nationalities (Clark, 2008). This means that diaspora have the potential to provide a blue print for construction for multi-ethnic nation states which may improve the social and political experience for their communities.

It should be noted that diaspora are singled out as agents of development by pan-Africanism. This is due to knowledge, skills and incomes that diaspora are expected to have and potentially distribute. This is keen to political and economic culture of development in Africa, Kenya and communities (Mkandawire, 2011).

In conclusion, pan-Africanism successfully brought an end to colonialism of the African continent by European state actors. Since then, there has been little traction towards political unity of Africans on and off the continent. This is attributable to the lack of a cause since colonialism that unites the diverse interests and experiences of Africans.
2.7.2 Long distance nationalism

Diaspora studies that focus on domestic attachment refer to long distance nationalism as a set of identity claims that connect people living in various geographies to a particular land (Schiller, 2002). In the context of the study, land may mean Africa, Kenya and/or immediate home community. The term itself was coined by Benedict Anderson. Long distance nationalism is inspired by a strong desire to protect identity and the owner of identity (Jaffrelot & Therwath, 2007). At inception, long distance nationalism was concerned with attachment to nation states (Anderson, 1992). This was based on its Eurocentric state based perspective. At that point, long-distance nationalism was legitimized by ideas of race and blood ties. Since then the theory has been developed to include various non-state identity claims such as ethnicity, religion, ethno-religion and territory. Since the creation of nation-states and mass migration, there are tens of millions of long-distance nationals (Schiller, 2002). The theory argues that the population of a nation given time will extend beyond the territorial boundaries of its ancestral land.

Long distance nationalism is made possible due to mass migration and modern media. The theory further assumes that long distance nationalism is made possible by global capitalist forces. These forces are responsible for the social political organization known as the modern state system as well as human migration driven by colonial and post-colonial movement of global capital (Anderson, 1992). Movement of capital from poor to rich countries triggers movement of skilled migration in a similar direction. Identity politics prominently features within long-distance nationalism discourse. The practice of identity politics is the tendency for people of particular social groups based on religion, race, and social background to form exclusive political alliances. Identity politics is rife within the continent of Africa. These assumptions provide conditions for both pan Africanism and long distance nationalism to coexist. The theory proposes
that diaspora communities organize around identity politics. The theory, however, does not provide sufficient conditions that facilitate such mobilization despite available tools such as the internet that have proven effective in mobilizing people of similar nationalities (Schiller, 2002).

Long-distance nationalists are sometimes engaged in subtle political projects mostly directed towards their homeland (Schiller, 2002). Diaspora adopt the following political positions towards their home land: anti-colonialism, separatism, regime change and participation. These positions are mutually dependent where more than one position may be taken by diaspora communities. They are also subject to change given the social and political realities at home and in the host country (Schiller, 2002).

Anti-colonial struggle in India was significantly supported from diaspora communities in South Africa. Mahatma Gandhi, for example, encouraged Indians in South Africa to support the anti-colonial struggle in India despite the physical separation which was an outcome of colonialism and capitalism (Schiller, 2002). Eritreans living abroad developed tax regimes to fund both armed and armed struggle against Ethiopia in the lead up to independence in 1991 (Schiller, 2002).

Long-distance nationals have also pushed for regime change. This political position, like anti-colonial struggle, is concerned with changing individuals and institutions that project political power within their ancestral land (Schiller, 2002). Various diaspora groups of Cuba, Haiti, Iraq and Philippines have wanted to remove regimes of Fidel Castro, Duvalier, Saddam Hussein and Ferdinand Marcos respectively at different points. These groups have sort state and non-state allies in their pursuit of regime change (Schiller, 2002). This form of involvement strains the relationship between the home state and diaspora and the state hosting the diaspora.
Kenyan diaspora mostly look to participate in the affairs of their ancestral land. Participation means combinations of: monetary contribution, socializing, monitoring domestic affairs, lobbying and voting (Schiller, 2002).

Long distance nationalism has been studied among diaspora of Ethiopia, Somalia, Sierra Leone, South Sudan and Eritrea in the United States of America and Europe (Mohamoud, 2006). The Sierra Leonean diaspora is a well-documented case of diaspora political participation (Wai, 2008). The study has identified diaspora as agents of sustainable peace and development (Zack-Williams, 2012). Internet discussion fora like Leonenet, Salone Discussion Forum and Cocorioko were used to create a virtual nation where dispersion rendered physical mobilization difficult. Discourse and actions from the fora were aimed at rebuilding, binding, and maintaining a nation (Wai, 2008). The fora gradually opened up to accommodate Sierra Leones living at home. Through this engagement, the Sierra Leone diaspora has been able to intervene in debates and discussions about elections, democracy and development in Sierra Leone. The significant role played by diaspora especially in the 2007 elections catapulted all major political parties to set up offices in the diaspora (Wai, 2008).

Long distance nationalism among Croats and Slovenes in Australia has been studied (Skrbis, 1999). The research finds that the phenomenon is a function of identity based violence and globalization forces at home and abroad. The experiences of Croats and Slovenes are comparable to some African refugee migrants driven away from home by conflict.

Devesh Kapur, a proponent of long distance nationalism, has examined the possible benefits of having a pool of skilled emigrant workers abroad on the countries of origin. India, for example, considers diaspora in formulation of trade and foreign investment policy. India has more trade and investment with countries which have historically hosted its diaspora. Long term, India may
position itself as a source of critical labor in the wake of aging populations in Europe, North America and Japan (Kapur, 2003).

A holistic examination of long-distance nationalism demonstrates how diaspora communities arrive to long-distance nationalism. In some cases, diaspora communities experience subtle forms of discrimination in host countries. In these examples, long-distance nationalisms collectively uplifts members when forced into lower social stratum in the host nations. Studies on diaspora groups from Central and South America in the United States to demonstrate such a phenomenon. Law and policy may also contribute towards long-distance nationalism. For example, political exiles and refugees as per international law are required to present themselves in those legal terms. This compels large numbers of people to consciously consider their presence in a new country from a nationalist perspective (Schiller, 2002).

The various engagements of diaspora has created debate as to the legitimacy of long-distance nationalism in particular regime change. In such cases, states have gone to distance themselves from the diaspora community. Such transnational behavior has opened debate on state sovereignty especially where third party state actors are involved. These engagements are influenced by the history of diaspora and the home country (Schiller, 2002). For examples, the level of diaspora political activity is directly proportional to the number of political exiles (Skrbis, 1999). This means that politicized migration increases participation. The research posits that political organization is reached with achievement of a critical mass of political diaspora. Recent migration of Kenyans in particular to Australia is less politicized. It is at this point that the theory fails to provide conditions for mobilization.
Long distance nationalism is consistent with pan-Africanism given that pan-Africanism is promoted through nation-state building. Therefore, patriotism and other expressions of nationalism are in fact supportive of pan-Africanism.

Significant numbers of studies about new African diaspora adopt an identity based paradigm. Identity as a concept has grown in stature since European feudal nations organised as states from the Westphalian Treaty (Anderson, 1992). Identity is one of the claims to both pan-Africanism and long-distance nationalism. An examination of belonging among African diaspora communities in the United Kingdom concludes that long-distance nationalisms mark public diasporic associational life in important ways for the first generation; for the second, these identifications are present but often less intensively experienced (Waite & Cook, 2011). The respondents are Kenyan, Somali, Zimbabwean and Sudanese nationals.
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section is divided into the following: research design, data collection method, population and sampling method, data analysis, ethical considerations and limitations of the study.

3.2 Research design

The study employed a case study research design. Qualitative research studies people in their natural environment while attempting to make sense of meanings participants ascribe to elements in their surroundings (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The specific context chosen is Australia making the research a case study. Case studies have the potential for generalisation when the same parameters are studied across multiple cases (Creswell, 2013). Review of literature demonstrates potency of case studies in contextualising various diaspora issues. Case study framework benefits this research by focussing on the particular problem (Creswell, 2013). Australia is rich with information to address the problem. The case study is an explanatory one because it seeks to explain the presumed causal links of pan-Africanism in real-life experiences (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

Australia is a relevant case to examine the role of diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism because for over 30 years it has been a destination for Kenyan workers and students (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017). Australia is also a popular destination for other African nationals hence fertile for research on pan-Africanism (Zwangobani, 2008).
3.3 Data collection method

The research used both primary and secondary data collection methods. Firstly, the research reviews literature relevant to pan-Africanism, Kenyan and African diaspora for secondary data. Content analysis is a data collection technique used to make inferences by interpreting, analysing and coding textual material (Creswell, 2013). The research conducted interviews by administering individual semi-structured questionnaires for primary data collection. The openness of the questionnaire provided the respondent with room for flexibility. The questionnaire collected demographical information, migration history and migrant status. The questionnaire sought to collect responses, when analysed through processes of induction and deduction, will provide answers to the research questions. It collected data on registered and unregistered social and investment clubs and memberships in religious, non-governmental organisations and political parties. The respondent was then tasked to share their views on African and Australian socio-political organisations based on their experience as African diaspora and the relevance of pan-Africanism to Kenyans in Australia. The questionnaire concluded by collecting data on future prospects of Africa and African diaspora in Australia.

The questions were broad to allow the respondents to construct meaning within their contexts of pan-Africanism. The questions focussed on the specific contexts in which participants live and work in order to understand their social, political and cultural settings (Creswell, 2007). The researcher issued follow up questions where additional information was required.
3.4 Population and sampling method

A purposive sampling strategy was deployed in collection of secondary data, that is, relevant textual data sources were pursued for content analysis.

The study adopted a multi-stage sampling strategy in collecting primary data. This technique fit the goals of the study because a specific population of respondents was required. This population consists of Kenyan diaspora residing in Australia. The researcher identified the following territories in Australia: New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia, Tasmania, Northern Territory and Australian Capital Territory. There is a Kenyan association representing Kenyans in each of these territories. The associations are: Kenyan Community in Western Australia (KCWA), Kenyans in New South Wales (KENSW), Kenyans in Queensland (KIQ), Kenyan Association of South Australia (KASA), East African Community of Canberra (EACA), Kenyan Community in Victoria, Kenyan Community in Newcastle and Kenyan Community in Wagga Wagga (Kenya High Commission, 2018). The associations served as the first sample round. Respondents were further sampled from within those clusters (Creswell, 2013).

The study targeted 10 respondents from each association, therefore, a total of 80 respondents.

3.5 Data analysis

In analysing the questionnaire data and literature, the researcher employed an inductive and deductive coding scheme and conducted a thematic analysis to identify both common and unique narratives of diaspora experiences with pan-Africanism. Inductive analysis means combing through data until the various roles of diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism are identified. Deductive analysis, which came after, means examining data using the identified roles with the aim of further supporting core ideas of pan-Africanism and its relevance. This analysis was
performed for both primary and secondary data sets. Pertinent to constructivist research, the researcher recognized that their own experiences shape their interpretation. The researcher’s position within the research was, therefore, acknowledged (Creswell, 2007).

3.6 Ethical considerations
The researcher was committed to ensuring confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents as such some names of the respondents have been withheld as per their requests in the subsequent chapter. Additionally, respondents were adequately informed of the specific use of information provided hence promoting informed consent. The data was collected to specifically address the research objectives detailed above. The information was also used to formulate policy recommendations and suggest areas for further study.

3.7 Limitations of the study
The findings of this research have to be viewed in light of the following limitations. The study was limited by a combination of unfavourable response rate and longitudinal effects. The study had targeted 80 responses from Kenyans in Australia. However, the research utilised 19 responses. To minimise the adverse effects of unresponsiveness, the study also used secondary data to cater for any shortfall of information. Additionally, follow up discussions with respondents increased the quality of responses.

The second limitation was time constraints. This was especially relevant to collection of primary data and analysis given the submission deadlines. As a consequence, late responses were not considered for analysis. This contributed to the initial challenge of an unfavourable response rate.
CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

The study primarily aimed to explore the role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia. The research also aimed to examine the different political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia and to determine the extent to which pan-Africanism influences those activities. The study reviewed relevant literature to collect secondary data. Primary data was collected by conducting 19 individual interviews using semi-structured questionnaires. The interviews varied in length from 10 minutes to 3 hours. The respondents are individuals constituting the Kenya diaspora in Australia; they were selected through multi-stage sampling.

The section below presents the results of the research. This section distinguishes results derived from primary data and secondary data before providing a summary in the section thereafter.

4.2 Findings from secondary data

4.2.1 The role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism

The role of diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism has significantly changed over the years. Early pan-Africanism was primarily concerned with equal rights among African diaspora and slave masters in the Americas and an end to colonization of African peoples (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002). Since independence, pan-African diaspora have concerned themselves with development of the continent. The voluntary nature of post-independence migration is a development strategy of remittances and perhaps eventual skills transfer upon returning back home (Mohan & Zack-Williams, 2002). The study finds that in many cases individuals, families and communities as opposed to governments and large corporations take advantage of globalisation to pursue employment and business opportunities in a global labour and capital market. This has led to
extensive research on the development role played by Kenyan diaspora. The area has yielded critical debate on the sustainability of remittances and transformation of brain drain to brain gain (Ghai, 2004). This role converges with pan-Africanism as touted by the African Union and its various member states.

Research into the field reveals that academia has sparsely addressed how Kenyan diaspora promote pan-Africanism in Australia, at least, explicitly. However some academic research by Africans in Australia suggests that African diaspora especially professionals and entrepreneurs have a role to play in the renaissance of Africa (Udah, 2015). The paper argues that pan-Africanism should not be monopolised by policy makers rather it should be defined by Africa’s diaspora’s living in Australia. African diaspora in Australia through remittances have so far supported families and communities at home. However, the writer suggests there is work to be done by diaspora on promoting good governance, capacity building and skills and knowledge transfer. Skills transfer is one of the forms of reparations proposed by African scholars in pursuing justice following colonialism (Mazrui, 1994). The researcher proposes that number of Africans migrating to Australia is significant enough to use as agents of citizen diplomacy. This contributes to improving Africa’s image and standing among other global players which is a goal of African renaissance (Udah, 2015).

Pan-Africanism as experienced by Kenyan diaspora has been offered as a collective identity that can improve the political culture characterised by neo-patrimony (Aseka, 2007). The paper finds that diaspora have a critical role in creating a national consciousness of inclusivity rather than exclusion. The author’s premise is that viewing the nation-state system in its post-colonial historical context demonstrates that the conflicts and struggles experienced by some Africans today are similar in many ways. Pan-Africanism in the diaspora is, therefore, a socialisation tool for those with similar experiences and common interests (Aseka, 2007).
Diaspora experience in Australia may serve as a blue print for construction of a multi-ethnic nation state which may improve the social and political experience of Kenyans. This is based on studies among new diaspora in the United States of America. Diaspora are, for example, likely to become less ethnic with other African nationals as they would at home (Magu, 2014). According to the study, this is partly influenced by a collective post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography of their home continent. Diaspora experiences within a different state may be used as a framework to improve social political domestic relations.

Kenyans in Australia promote pan-Africanism by practising of Kenyan knowledge while in Australia (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). The study finds that Kenyans in Australia cook Kenyan foods often and are eager to share their Kenyan culture with other populations. This is aided by most Kenyans’ willingness to assimilate in Australia (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). Kenyans keep up with national and local news on Kenya, speak national and local languages and incorporate cultural practises during birth, academic graduations, weddings and other social events. The study finds that connections to Kenya are maintained through active use of the internet to watch Kenyan based documentaries on language, cooking and other relevant subjects. Kenyans in Australia also establish centres that teach local languages and also serve as congregation points for diaspora (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). The Australian leg of the annual World Sevens tournament has over the years drawn many Kenyans living in Australasia. Kenyans use social media and other online platforms to advertise the event in shows of patriotism and Africanism on a global stage (Oucho, Odipo, & Oucho, 2012).

4.2.2 Political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia
Kenyans in Australia promote pan-Africanism by practising of Kenyan knowledge while in Australia (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). The study finds that Kenyans in Australia cook Kenyan foods often and are eager to share their Kenyan culture with other populations. This is aided by most Kenyans’ willingness to assimilate in Australia (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). Kenyans keep up with national and local news on Kenya, speak national and local languages and incorporate cultural practises during birth, academic graduations, weddings and other social events. The study finds that connections to Kenya are maintained through active use of the internet to watch Kenyan based documentaries on language, cooking and other relevant subjects. Kenyans in Australia also establish centres that teach local languages and also serve as congregation points for diaspora (Kagonya, Vetere, & Smith, 2015). The Australian leg of the annual World Sevens tournament has over the years drawn many Kenyans living in Australasia. Kenyans use social media and other online platforms to advertise the event in shows of patriotism and Africanism on a global stage (Oucho, Odipo, & Oucho, 2012).
practice nursing (Nzioka, Ogongo, Lorete, Masinjila, & Kimani, 2015). Migration to Australia is aided by a relatively simple skills transfers processes. There are 19,390 people of Kenyan birth residing in Australia as at 2016. In Australia, the age of Kenyan emigrants has steadily declined from 39.3 years in 1996 to 32.98 years in 2010 before slightly increasing to 34.62 years in 2016. This group mainly consists of skilled labourers looking for opportunities to express themselves and practise their various skills. The data portrays that the diaspora community is significantly made up of young urban migrants. Migrants to Australia also pursue higher education even at advanced ages (Nzioka, Ogongo, Lorete, Masinjila, & Kimani, 2015). Australia received 1,191 students from Kenya in 2013 making it the third highest foreign destination.

Kenyan migration to Australia peaked during the fourth and fifth waves of migration (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012). Various studies have suggested that most Kenyans migrate to the island to pursue higher education or some profession. Long term goals, however, differ as some study and eventually get jobs and start businesses. In such cases, permanent residence may lead to citizenship (Department of immigration and border protection, 2017). Other migrants may return after graduation while others actively maintain links in both Kenya and Australia. Religion plays a significant role among Kenyans living in Australia (Parsitau & Mwaura, 2010). The study finds that churches help migrants adapt to the new environment and serve as a base for various philanthropic activities.

4.2.3 The extent to which pan-Africanism influences activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia

African diaspora living in Australia are progressively defining themselves as a community (Zwangobani, 2008). This manifests through various cultural expressions and political persuasions. African perceptions of Australia are influenced by the history of colonisation of Aboriginal land by European settlers. This history resonates with many Africans which forms a basis for their political
affiliations, at least, rhetorically. Using interviews, the study finds that creating a diaspora community is a slow process and Africans have divergent views on issues such as immigration (Zwangobani, 2008).

Dark skin continues to converge the experiences of many Africans in the diaspora, Australia is not unique in being a racialized environment (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013). The island’s racist regime began with colonisation of Aboriginal country by white European settlers. The study views identity construction based on skin colour as burdensome and limiting. This is aggravated when melanin content is associated with stereotypes such as violence. Blanket treatment of dark skinned individuals in Australia is an impediment to pan-Africanism in that it results in different experiences amongst the different skin tones of African people (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2013).

4.3 Findings from primary data

4.3.1 Introduction

The following section provides a description of the finding of research questions using primary data. Some of the respondent names have been altered to maintain anonymity as per respondents’ requests when cited.

4.3.2 The role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia.

The study finds that Kenyans in Australia promote pan-Africanism in a variety of ways. Firstly, Kenyan diaspora eagerly promote Kenyan cultures while in Australia. This is achieved through communal celebration of national holidays and other prominent life moments such as births, academic graduations, marriages and deaths, preparing and sharing Kenyan foods and wearing African inspired fashion. Joy, born in South Australia, has been learning Kiswahili together with Congolese and Zimbabweans. She suggests that speaking a Kenyan and African language is an
additional skill that will allow her to relate better when she eventually relocates to Kenya to practise and develop her skills.

Secondly, the community has maintained business communities that serve to promote financial independence. For example, Kenyan residents of Adelaide mostly use the same barber shops and salons. The most popular barbershop among Kenyans is owned by an Ethiopian while the most popular salon is owned by a Kenyan lady according to Njuguna, a permanent resident of 10 years. Kenyans also regularly patron African themed restaurants operated by Kenyans and other Africans such as Nigerians. While looking for a job, Otieno started cooking food in his house and delivering to mostly busy Kenyan professionals living in his area. The income allowed Otieno to settle and make ends meet. Eventually, Otieno stopped looking for a job and focussed on food preparation and delivery. Kenyans recommend migration to other potential migrants through Kenyan agents. This is especially the case for international students looking to travel to Australia. The community crucially provides safety nets for its members. Three of the respondents confirmed that people pool resources together during celebrations and bereavement. Transportation costs for the body and at least one person to accompany the body are catered for by the community. These safety nets are particularly important for non-permanent residents who lack access to public insurance and limited in terms of work opportunities.

Thirdly, diaspora promote pan-Africanism through diplomacy. Senator Lucy Gichuhi of the ruling Liberal party suggests that while she is a public servant of South Australia and non-Kenyan citizen, she is also a representative of her African cultures. Tabitha, a healthcare professional, points out that Kenyans and Africans in general are very visible in certain parts of Australia. This means that, regardless, the greater public will scrutinise their actions. According
to ‘Wamiti’, pan-Africanism is therefore an opportunity to demonstrate the respect for other people in a cultural diverse Australia through everyday expressions.

4.3.2 Political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia

The respondents have majorly pursued income generating activities within the last six months. These activities include professional services, business ownerships and investments. Three respondents were in the health industry as administrators and nurses. Two of the respondents have careers in Australian politics. The Senator of South Australia required to renounce Kenyan citizenship to further her career. Half of the respondents have pursued some formal education in the last six months. This is consistent with research that shows Kenyans abroad pursue formal education even at advanced ages.

Socially, the respondents attend church fairly regularly on Sundays. Five of the respondents are part of social and investment clubs known as *chamas*. All the respondents are members of Kenyan diaspora associations based in Australia that generally purpose to integrate new Kenyan migrants, promote Kenyan culture, and provide fora for socialising and networking. All but five respondents suggested that they have not participated in any voluntary activity in the last six months. One of the respondents is a pro-bono board member of charitable organisation founded by Kenyans. The voluntary activities pursued Kenyans in Australia include: supporting Kenyan families in difficult economic times, integrating new migrant students, rehabilitating disabled people in local hospitals and church based voluntary activity.
4.3.3 The extent to which pan-Africanism influences activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia

Pan-Africanism has considerable influence on Kenyans in Australia. The respondents cite similar experiences shared by Kenyans and Africans in Australia. Unlike literature, the respondents do not give example of racialized experiences. ‘Patrick’ points out that pan-Africanism shapes how Africans see themselves in Australia. ‘Kamande’ suggests that it is a means through which African migrants retain their cultures and identities. This is consistent with the links between diaspora and their ancestral homes as put forward by long distance nationalism.

Respondents highlight that many Africans experience loneliness and other challenges of migration, success and failure and optimism for the future. Responses from Njuguna and Caroline show that optimism for the future translates to innovative businesses run by Africans and more Africans holding political offices in the future. These shared experiences foster feelings of togetherness. This is significantly influenced by the reasons for migration which are primarily pursuit of education and work. The personal, financial and professional successes of other Africans in the Australia is a precursor for a brighter future on the continent. Success, according to ‘Kiriga’, means securing permanent resident status which grants the holder certain freedoms and benefits while in Australia. This in turn expands their individual opportunities and those of their family members where appropriate. Benefits include access to healthcare, vehicle ownership and less restricted international travel.

Joy, born and raised in Australia, points that a duality exists between her experiences with Kenyan family and friends and experiences with other Australians in school and other public spaces. The respondents were of the opinion that pan-Africanism serves as a counter culture to a culture of individualism in Australia. Response from Tabitha suggested that the collective nature of pan-African cultures is important for mental health in a sometimes stressful environment.
Finally, respondents with surplus incomes preferred to invest in Kenya. One of the respondents suggested that attachment to home improves savings and investment habit despite certain challenges. This is facilitated by *chamas* and mobile transfer technology.

The extent to which pan-Africanism influences Kenyans in Australia is curtailed by lack of information. Several respondents implicitly agreed that they were unaware of opportunities to invest and apply their skills in Kenya. One of the respondents suggested that unreliable internet access necessitated use of expensive voice call services to her rural home. This severely strains the relationship with Kenya. Tabitha and ‘Amina’ are, for example, hesitant to invest in Kenya from a distance due to a perceived lack of accountability and transparency.

Finally, the respondents view pan-Africanism as being young in Australia. A resident of South Australia suggests that while relations between Kenyan, Ugandan, Congolese and Zimbabwean communities in the region are warm, more needs to be done to foster more meaningful interactions. Kelvin also suggests that there is solidarity and collaboration across different African nationalities in Melbourne.

Pan-Africanism is significantly able to influence the economic and social spaces of the Kenyan diaspora in Australia. However, there is very little political organisation within the Kenyan communities as well as with the broader African communities residing in Australia.

### 4.4 Summary of results

The section below provide a summary of the findings from both sources of data. Kenyan diaspora promote pan-Africanism through supporting economic development of Africans on either side of the Indian Ocean. They do this through remittances, skills and capital transfers. The study finds that these transfers are carried out by individual immigrants and small diaspora organisations. Skills transfers are performed when migrants return to Kenya having
acquired an education or engaged in some profession for a considerable time. Diaspora, however, give less significance to remittances in comparison to academia, the African Union and the Government of Kenya. The diaspora community has also developed and managed insurance safety nets that support community members in difficult times. The Kenyan diaspora has also engineered social structures that integrate new migrants increasing their likelihood of success in Australia.

The Kenyan community is an agent of Africa hence diplomats. This is agreed upon by both sets of data sources. This role comes to be due to the collective association of African nationalities following their post-colonial histories. Citizen diplomacy is also realised through practice of Kenyan cultures in public spaces. The Kenyan community has also established business ecosystems with other African nationals through similar interests in food, fashion and accessories. These systems are maintained through business patronage. This has strengthened social and economic aspects of pan-Africanism in Australia. They have also developed and maintained systems that facilitate financial independence among its members.

The diaspora community also promote pan-Africanism through promotion of good governance which is a pan-African ideal. This comes from the experience Kenyans diaspora gain by living in a state with a different post-colonial history. African diaspora in Australia all experience the Commonwealth of Australia. Australia is a significantly different social political construction from the Republic of Kenya. Post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography of their home continent creates common experiences for Africans among them Kenyans. This significantly increases the reach of pan-Africanism in Australia. Diaspora are, for example, likely to become less ethnic with other African nationals as they would at home. This
means that diaspora may also share this experience with Kenyans hence potentially improving the social political experience of Kenyans.

Kenyans in Australia are students and workers engaged in various professional services such as nursing for income. They are also owners of online retail businesses, migration agencies and restaurants. These everyday activities are determined by their individual and collective reasons for migration. In addition to search for education and work opportunities, Kenyans also migrate for adventure. Two respondents, for example, migrated 22 years and 20 years ago looking for adventure and have since become citizens. Few Kenyan diaspora in Australia actively engage in either Australian or Kenyan politics. Senator Lucy Gichuhi is, however, Senator of South Australia as part of the ruling Liberal Party. Kenyans in Australia are members of religious organisations, social and investment clubs. These fora form platform for voluntary activities, cultural promotion and socialising.

The study finds that pan-Africanism in Australia is historically young. While relations across various nationalities are cordial, more deliberate effort by the relevant actors is required to enhance cooperation and organisation.

Pan-Africanism gains it strength from the shared experiences of Africans in Australia. Existing literature based in Australia focuses on racialized experiences. The respondents were however keen on discussing common feelings of failure and success in expanding their opportunities and those of their families while in Australia. Cultural practices are also a common experience for many Africans in Australia. Pan-Africanism is a means through which cultures are expressed and preserved. Post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography of their home continent creates common experiences for Africans living in Australia. This significantly increases the reach of pan-Africanism in Australia. Less ethicized association and more
identification as African increases the extent to which pan-Africanism influences Kenyans in the diaspora. Diaspora are likely to become less tribal with other African nationals as they would at home.

Pan-Africanism is, therefore, significantly able to influence the economic and social spaces of the Kenyan diaspora in Australia. However, there is very little political organisation within the Kenyan communities as well as with the broader African communities residing in Australia.

The next section discusses the key findings of the study, provides conclusion, policy recommendations and suggestions for future studies.
5.1 Summary of key findings

The section below provides a summary of the key findings from both sources of data. Kenyan diaspora promote pan-Africanism through positive economic contribution to the continent. They do this through remittances, skills and capital transfers. The study finds that these transfers are carried out by individual immigrants and small organisations. Skills transfers are performed when migrants return to Kenya having acquired an education or engaged in some profession or business. Diaspora, however, give less significance to remittances in comparison to academia and other relevant authorities. The diaspora community has also developed and managed insurance safety nets that support community members in difficult times. The Kenyan diaspora has also constructed social structures that integrate new migrants increasing overall likelihood of success of the community. The Kenyan community has also established business eco-systems with other African nationals based similar social-cultural interests such as fashion. These systems are maintained through business patronage. This has strengthened social and economic aspects of pan-Africanism in Australia.

The Kenyan community is an arm of Africa’s public and citizen diplomacy. This is agreed upon by both sets of data sources. This role comes to be due to the collective association of African nationalities following post-colonial histories. Citizen diplomacy is also realised through practice of Kenyan cultures in public spaces.

The diaspora community also promote pan-Africanism through promotion of good governance; a pan-African ideal. This comes from the experience Kenyans diaspora gain by living in a state with a different post-colonial history. African diaspora in Australia all experience the Commonwealth of Australia. Australia is a significantly different social political construction
from the Republic of Kenya. Collective post-colonial association of African nationalities by geography of their home continent creates common experiences for Africans among them Kenyans. This significantly increases the reach of pan-Africanism in Australia. Diaspora are likely to become less ethnic with other African nationals given the available opportunities and constraints in their environments. This means that diaspora may share this experience with Kenyans hence potentially improving the social political experience of Kenyans.

Kenyans in Australia are students and workers engaged in various professional services such as nursing. They are also owners of online retail businesses, migration agencies and restaurants. These everyday activities are determined by reasons for migration. In addition to search for education and work opportunities, Kenyans also migrate for adventure. Few Kenyan diaspora in Australia actively engage in either Australian or Kenyan politics. Senator Lucy Gichuhi is, however, Senator of South Australia as part of the ruling Liberal Party. Kenyans in Australia are members of religious organisations, social and investment clubs. These fora form platform for voluntary activities, cultural promotion and socialising.

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Pan-Africanism gains its strength from the shared experiences of Africans in Australia. Existing literature based in Australia focuses on racialized experiences. The respondents were however keen on discussing common feelings of failure and success in pursuit of expanding their opportunities and those of their families while in Australia. Cultural practices remain a common source of similar experience and relations for many Africans in Australia. Pan-Africanism is a means through which a multitude of cultures are expressed and preserved. Less ethicized
associations and more identification as African increases the extent to which pan-Africanism influences Kenyans in the diaspora.

Pan-Africanism is, therefore, significantly able to influence the economic and social spaces of the Kenyan diaspora in Australia. However, there is very little political organisation within the Kenyan communities as well as with the broader African communities residing in Australia.

Certain ways through which pan-Africanism may be promoted have proven to be difficult to operationalize. For example, actualisation of skills transfer and diaspora direct investments remains difficult for Kenyan diaspora. This study proposes that the lack of information by the diaspora community and lapses in political will by relevant authorities in the continent significantly contributes to these challenges. None the less, Kenyans in Australia promote pan-Africanism through every day expressions.

The following section discusses pertinent issues emerging from the research.

5.2 Discussion of key findings
Pan-Africanism, according to this research, is the perception by people of African descent and origin that they have shared experiences and interests. This prompts various actors to mobilise energy and resources towards various goals expressed in social, political and economic terms. Pan-Africanism arose from the experiences of slave trade and thereafter colonialism of communities and kingdoms based in the continent. Critically, slave traders and colonialists were aided by members of those polities either willingly or under duress (Mudimbe, 1988). From this perspective, pan-Africanism developed to foster trust and unity amongst family members, communities, kingdoms and states on the continent and in the diaspora. This was a response to
slave trade and colonialism. Over time, it has developed to accommodate the various interests of people of African descent and institutions.

The research finds that the Kenya government and the African Union envision that Kenyan diaspora primarily promote pan-Africanism through remittances. This is because Kenyans significantly migrate to Australia to seek long-run higher incomes and opportunities sometimes unavailable domestically given relatively high unemployment. Unemployment rate in Kenya is presently 29.40 per cent (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2018). Diaspora, therefore, exploit international labour opportunities to further develop themselves and their communities. This is consistent with the role of global capital within long distance nationalism theory where migration is influenced by the flow of global capital. Kenyans also migrate to pursue tertiary education. Tertiary education is one of the means used to become a professional and earn higher incomes. Higher employment is both a development and pan-African goal. According to the African Union, the diaspora community is an extension of Africa. This pan-Africanist view means that while these citizens are outside the physical space, they are very much a part of Africa. This analysis means that pan-Africanism promotes migration for the purposes of employment, education and development. Sustainable development through skills acquisition is consistent with the first aspiration of Agenda 2063.

In this case of Australia, Kenyans fail to mention remittances as a sustainable contribution to pan-Africanism. The pursuit of remittances from diaspora may in fact compound feelings of stress and loneliness mentioned by the respondents.

This research however suggests that Kenyans in Australia have a larger role to play in promotion of pan-Africanism. Diaspora specifically have a role in improving governance in Kenya and citizen diplomacy for Africa,
The social and political experience in many parts of Africa has significantly being influenced by neo-patrimonial state structures (Omeje, 2008). In the case of Kenya, the government is constructed through competitive ethnicity politics which polarises ethnic communities. The politics of Australia is organised around different principles which creates different challenges and opportunities. The diaspora of Kenya, based on this experience, have knowledge on state-citizenry relationships that can significantly improve the social political atmosphere in Kenya.

Kenyans in diaspora are representatives of Kenya and Africa at large. This is created by collective post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography. Attainment of permanent residency by Kenyan diaspora significantly improves social capital through enhanced opportunities and benefits accorded by the state. Kenyans, have over their short history in Australia, significantly improved their social capital to the point that a migrant is now a parliament representative. There is, therefore, significant potential for Kenyans in Australia.

The above roles however lie in dormancy due to lack of information and lapses in political will. Kenyan diaspora are ignorant of the opportunities to contribute. Kenyans in Australia are keen to transfer their skills and capital back to Kenya. They, however, seem unaware of the channels available to perform the same. For example, channels are available for investment in various financial asset classes present in Kenya. However, investing in land, a preferred asset class, remains risky due to a perceived lack of accountability and transparency in the relevant government agencies.

Skills transfer in most contexts means relocation to Kenya having acquired some professional or academic goals. While many diaspora return to Kenya, there is a significant challenge in accommodating them especially in similar functions they performed in Australia. Without deliberate effort by diaspora, government and other relevant actors to establish institutions that
manage this process, it will be difficult to realise the benefits of skills transfer. Mass relocation of diaspora back to Africa has challenges considering the colonial legacy of remigration of slaves to Liberia. There, are, however more successful examples of resettling African diaspora in small numbers such as establishment of Rastafari communities in Ethiopia. Skills transfer in the information age need not even mean physical movement. Today, significant amounts of work is done transnationally and online. There are, therefore, opportunities to transfer skills in both physical and virtual spaces.

The absence of full political participation in Kenyan matters by Kenyan citizens in Australia is a challenge to the spirit of pan-Africanism. This is an undemocratic practice because a significant portion of the population consistently fails to participate in decision making. This research attributes this phenomenon to lapses in political will by successive Kenyan governments in establishing successful channels for public participation.

Diaspora have so far managed to establish business ecosystems with other African nationalities, informal social welfares and other social economic institutions. Kenyans in Australia promote the practice of indigenous knowledge and share this knowledge amongst themselves and with other nationals in Australia. This is aided by use of digital information technology in Kenya and Australia. Knowledge transference and its practice creates a multicultural diaspora community in Australia given the willingness of Kenyans to assimilate. This adds another dimension to the nature of pan-Africanism. It should be noted that this has been done with minimal government support.

It is evident that pan-Africanism in Australia is alive in social and economic terms. However, Kenyans in Australia are yet to politically organise as a Kenyan community or integrate with any other African communities based in Australia. Lack of mobilisation and formal organisation in
the absence of established informal structures is a challenge to pan-Africanism. Identity politics is an assumption of long-distance nationalism. Identity politics is also a feature of political organisation in Kenya. Thus far, diaspora have failed to politically organise around any particular ethnicity. This is evidence, using the long-distance nationalism framework, that a single African identity is non-existent. Identity politics have been found to support neo-patrimonial structures in Africa. The lack of political organisation around ethnic identity in Australia is also indicative of the impracticality of ethnic identity politics. The challenge of pan-Africanism is to be inclusive enough to accommodate the wide diversity of Africans in favour of political organisation.

Pan-Africanism has historically organised around issues that have affected those of African descent in large numbers. The lack of political organisation is attributable to absence of a cause that necessitates such mobilisation. There has been increased debate over immigration in high income countries such as Australia over the last few years (Markus, 2014). Pan-Africanism may become politically relevant in Australia should African immigration become a subject of public debate. While it is evident that Kenyans consider themselves to be part of a broader pan-African diaspora. This study finds that creating a pan-African community is a slow and deliberate process (Zwangobani, 2008). Similar experiences among Africans on the island are likely to support the cause for pan-Africanism.

Perhaps, pan-African consciousness among African diaspora is influenced by being in a racialized space (Mapedzahama & Kwansah-Aidoo, 2017). Black and other racial characteristics are summarily given to dark skinned Africans residing in Australia. The study finds that this treatment has the potential to hamper the experiences and potential of Africans in Australia due to the artificial boundaries created by race. While the experiences of respondents do not support this, the history of
Australia cannot be ignored. Colonisation of Aboriginal people and their land by white immigrants from Europe established a racist regime that up to the 1980s maintained the White Australia policy. This history has an impact on Australia’s perception of Africa’s geopolitics. In fact the 2016 Australian census categorises Egypt, Tunisia, Morocco and Libya as North Africa and Middle East with sub-Saharan being a separate entity. This attests to the racialized understanding of African as black in Australia. Black consciousness is, however, not new to pan-Africanism. Many pan-Africanists identified as black throughout the twentieth Century (Mudimbe, 1988). This was consistent with the juxtaposition of black and white created during the slave trade across the Atlantic.

The Kenyan community in Australia promote pan-Africanism through every day actions. At the same time, these actions are tied to a sense of belonging and togetherness in long distance nationalism. Nationalism for the diaspora community is tied to ethnic micro nations, Kenya and Africa. Desire to participate in Kenyan affairs is an expression of diaspora wanting to be part of the collective from a far. The desire to connect with fellow nationals inspires establishment of networks and institutions to facilitate exchange of knowledge and ideas. This process is, however, not spontaneous as it requires nurturing by actors within the network.

5.3 Conclusion
The research explored the role of Kenyan diaspora in promoting pan-Africanism in Australia. The paper also examined the different political, social and economic activities undertaken by Kenyan diaspora in Australia and determined the extent to which pan-Africanism influences the political, social and economic activities of Kenyans in Australia. These research objectives were informed by the researcher’s interactions with Kenyans in Australia which demonstrated an affinity towards pan-African renaissance. The role of Kenyans in promoting pan-Africanism has, however,
received little academic attention despite the growing importance of diaspora in realising an African renaissance. The study chose to examine diaspora activity in Australia. Firstly, Australia remains an established destination for Kenyan emigrants growing at a faster rate than to other Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development member states. A significant number of diaspora researches are case in European countries and United States of America. Secondly, all African states have at least one citizen living in Australia.

This research positions itself within International Relations theory. It examines the transnational actions of a non-state actor. As such, it examines the relevance of pan-Africanism in the twentieth century as promoted by the new African diaspora. The findings have policy implications for both the Government of Kenya and the African Union given their roles as the primary policy makers in this case. Implementation of Kenya Diaspora Policy and Agenda 2063 are, for example, dependent on cooperation with the diaspora. The relevance of pan-Africanism influences the parameters around which policies are to be designed.

Kenyan diaspora promote pan-Africanism through economic development of the continent. They do this through remittances, skills and capital transfers. The study finds that these transfers are carried out by individual immigrants and small organisations. Skills transfers are performed when migrants return to Kenya having acquired an education or engaged in some profession or business for a considerable time. Primary data, however, gives less significance to remittances in comparison to academia and relevant authorities. The diaspora community has also developed and managed insurance safety nets that support community members in difficult times. The Kenyan diaspora has also developed social structures that integrate new migrants increasing overall likelihood of success of the community.
The Kenyan diaspora promotes pan-Africanism through citizen diplomacy. This is agreed upon by both sets of data sources. This role comes to be due to the collective association of African nationalities following post-colonial histories. Citizen diplomacy is also realised through practice of Kenyan cultures in public spaces. The Kenyan community has also established business ecosystems with other African nationals bound by similar social and commercial interests such as fashion. These systems are maintained through business patronage. This has strengthened social and economic aspects of pan-Africanism in Australia. They have also developed and maintained systems that facilitate financial independence among its members.

The diaspora community also promote pan-Africanism through promotion of pan-African and neo-liberal ideals such as good governance. This comes from the experience Kenyans diaspora gain by living in a state with a different post-colonial history. African diaspora in Australia all experience the Commonwealth of Australia. Australia is a significantly different social political construction from the Republic of Kenya. The collective post-colonial association of African nationalities primarily by geography of their home continent creates common experiences for Africans, among them Kenyans. This significantly increases the reach of pan-Africanism in Australia. Diaspora are likely to become less ethnic with other African nationals given available opportunities and constraints This means that diaspora may also share this experience with Kenyans hence potentially improving the social political experience of Kenyans.

Pan-Africanism is significantly able to influence the economic and social spaces of the Kenyan diaspora in Australia. However, there is very little political organisation within the Kenyan communities as well as with the broader African communities residing in Australia.
5.3.1 Policy recommendations

The study makes policy based on existing policies being pursued and recommendations from the diaspora community in Australia.

During the General Election of 2017, diaspora were able register as voters in Bujumbura, Arusha, Dar es Salaam, Kigali, Kampala and Pretoria (Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, 2019). While most Kenyan migrants are based in Africa, the result was only 1,521 Kenyan diaspora were registered as voters. This statistic is an indication of the small extent to which diaspora participate in the political process that ultimately goes to define them in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. This is contrary to democratic practice and the spirit of pan-Africanism. The research, therefore, recommends increased public participation such as voting by diaspora. It should be noted that the same has been highlighted in the Constitution of Kenya (2010) and Kenya Diaspora Policy (2014). Implementation is therefore, a matter of political will.

The inclusion of diaspora to this extent shall contribute towards deeper integration of the diaspora community with Kenya. This research recommends taking advantage of already present structures such as internet technologies, Embassy in Australia and the various diaspora associations to facilitate the same.

The study also recommends to the African Union and the Government of Kenya to design policy less reliant on remittances and more geared towards skills and capital transfers. This will require consultation with diaspora to construct sustainable channels that facilitate these transfers. Skills and capital transfer will enjoy the economies of scale given the large numbers of Africans in Australia and other places. There is, however, need to increase government transparency and accountability to realise these fruits. Ultimately, the African Union will be required to coordinate the activities of the various African diaspora, relevant governments and other institutions.
designed to promote pan-Africanism. This research acknowledges the challenges in relocating large numbers of people back to Africa for the sake of skills transfer. This has been an ambition of many pan-Africanist such as Marcus Garvey. This paper recommends casing successful remigration such as Rastafari communities’ resettlement in Shashamane, Ethiopia. The success, at the very least, requires close collaboration between government and diaspora. Where physical relocation is unnecessary, skills transfer may be done using the internet. Significant amount of work is today done through online platforms across transnational boundaries. This can significantly ease the burden of relocation and also maintain the benefits of being in the diaspora.

This research acknowledges the efforts of Kenyan diaspora and their associations in promoting pan-Africanism thus far. This study recommends that diaspora continue to pool resources in their efforts to transfer skills and capital. Pooling resources reduces the costs of accessing information which reduces information asymmetry during transactions. This will increase transparency and accountability especially when dealing with government agencies. Kenyan diaspora in Australia should be aware that the challenges with interactions with their home state are not unique to them. Diaspora communities of Nigeria, Ghana, Egypt and Ethiopia have for decades tried to push for their political participation in their respective countries. These similarities, at least, provide incentive for further integration among African diaspora communities.

These policy recommendations require further research in their respective field. Such research can be carried out through collaborations by universities, civil society actors, the African Union and governments.
5.3.2 Suggestions for further study

This study finds pan-Africanism is alive in Australia in the twenty first century courtesy of African diaspora. Given the lack of pan-African political organisation among Kenyan diaspora in Australia, this research recommends future endeavours to examine the historical drivers of political organisation among African diaspora in an attempt to build the new diaspora as key pillars of pan-Africanism. Long-distance nationalism is a tool through which African diaspora communities may be studied. This research recommends an interrogation of the sufficient conditions that facilitate political organisation using long-distance nationalism theory beyond political exile. This is prompted by the apparent lack of identity based political organisation by Kenyans in Australia despite its persistence in Kenya. Such studies may examine the ability of pan-Africanism to effectively and politically represent the many identity claims in Africa. Political organisation has the potential to synchronise activities of African diaspora all over the world with their home continent. Such studies will improve policy design given their inclusion of diaspora in the process. These policies should also take advantage of existing institutions and networks developed by the diaspora during their time in Australia.

This research also recommends an examination of the relevance of pan-Africanism in the face of growing nationalism in the United States of America, Europe and Brazil for example. This is relevant given the debate is centred on immigration in some cases immigration of Africans. So far, Australia remains most open to immigration among high income western countries (Markus, 2014). It, therefore, provide conditions to study the progression of pan-Africanism when contrasted against countries less open to immigration.

Extensive studies have been done on the African trans-Atlantic diaspora with little attention directed towards Mediterranean, Indian Ocean and Arabian diaspora (Zeleza, 2005). When
considered, research has focused on old diaspora despite presence of new diaspora in those areas particularly in the Middle East (African Migration and Development Policy Centre, 2012). Contemporary research on pan-Africanism has also confined the ideology and its effects to the continent of Africa. This study recommends future studies to stretch the boundaries of pan-Africanism by accommodating the new diaspora into the field.
REFERENCES


### RESPONDENT QUESTIONNAIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Questionnaire Number</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1. Respondent name (optional)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2. Respondent age</td>
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<td>3. How long have you lived in Australia?</td>
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<td>4. What were the reason(s) for your migration?</td>
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<td>5. What is your legal status in Australia?</td>
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<td>6. Consent to share information</td>
<td>(Y / N)</td>
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<td>7. Please describe any volunteer activities, time, and money etc.,</td>
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<td>pursued within the last 6 months.</td>
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<td>8. Please describe any income generating activities pursued within the</td>
<td></td>
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<td>last 6 months.</td>
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<td>9. What is the role of <em>chamas</em>, religious, social and investment</td>
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<td>Question</td>
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<tr>
<td>clubs with friends and family etc. in your life in Australia?</td>
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<td>10. Please share your views on the role of political party, or non-</td>
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<td>governmental organisation membership(s) to your life in Australia.</td>
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<td>11. Kindly describe any personal experiences that may be described as</td>
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<td>shared by other African diaspora.</td>
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<td>12. How does being an African diaspora influence your views of Kenyan</td>
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<td>social political and economic organisation?</td>
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<td>13. Please share your thoughts on the relevance of pan-Africanism to the</td>
<td></td>
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<td>experiences of Kenyans in Australia.</td>
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<td>14. In your own words, what is the overall nature of your interaction</td>
<td></td>
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<td>with Kenya and how could that interaction improve?</td>
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<td>15. What are the future prospects for Africa and African diaspora in</td>
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<tr>
<td>Australia?</td>
<td>16. Kindly feel free to expound on any question or other relevant issue(s) that may or may have not been captured in the questionnaire.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thank you for participating</td>
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</table>
January 16, 2019

To Whom It May Concern:

I am writing this letter to verify that STEPHEN KINYUA (student ID 651008) is a student in the Department of International Relations at the United States International University-Africa. He is in the MA program. As part of his program, he must collect data for this thesis. His thesis requires him to conduct interviews and he has chosen to do this by using an e-questionnaire.

If you have any questions concerning the Department or his thesis please contact me at 0791 717 543.

Sincerely yours,

Cassandra K. Verhey, PhD
Professor and Chair
Department of International Relations
## TIME FRAME

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th>COMMENTS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 2018 – July 2018</td>
<td>During this period, the researcher formulated a topic, background, justification and objectives. Thereafter chapter 2 and 3 were written. This was done in consultation with the supervisor.</td>
<td>The thesis was not completed for several reasons. Competing interests in the life of the researcher and lack of research instinct.</td>
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<tr>
<td>August 2018 – September 2018</td>
<td>The researcher refined the thesis chapters and submitted after approval by supervisor.</td>
<td>During this period, the researcher was more certain and confident.</td>
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<tr>
<td>October 2018 – December 2018</td>
<td>The thesis was successfully defended with minor corrections. Corrections were made after consultation with assigned reader. Invitations for interviews were made in December.</td>
<td>Nil</td>
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<td>January 2019 – February 2019</td>
<td>Data collection and analysis.</td>
<td>The process was back and forth due to the irregular rate of responding. This section was also the most expensive due to dependence on high speed internet for conducting interviews with individuals in Australia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 2019</td>
<td>Writing of chapters 4 and 5 and submission.</td>
<td>Late responses were not considered in order to meet submission deadlines.</td>
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</table>
