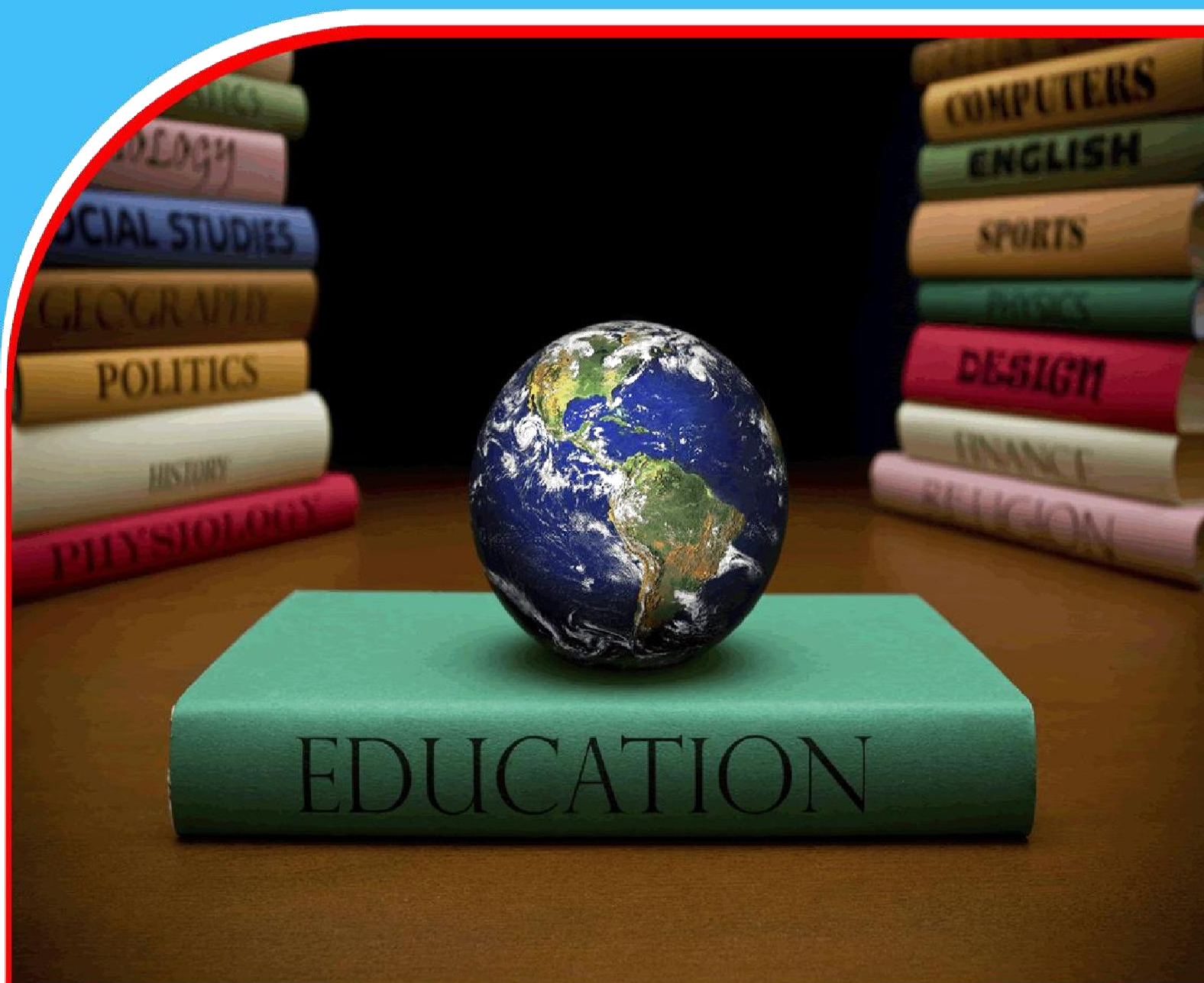


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CURRENT KENYA REGIME AND REGIONAL INTERGRATION

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Purpose: Head of state has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration. The general objective of the study was to examine current Kenya regime and regional integration.

Methodology: The paper used a desk study review methodology where relevant empirical literature was reviewed to identify main themes and to extract knowledge gaps.

Findings: The study concludes that Kenya head of state has a crucial role to play with regard to fulfilling regional commitments touching on integration as well as establishing linkages between different regional policies and strategies. Finally, the study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is a will to plough in more resources which will go a long way in creating a friendly environment for trade and movement for all their citizens.

Recommendations: The study recommends that there is need for Kenya government to come out strongly to ensure that when promoting interests, it is prudent to give priority to those interests that cut across member states of EAC since they are geared towards achieving integration and therefore beneficial to the entire region. In addition, the East Africa Community members should be guided on the need to conform to the regional integration laws, for instance, on set tariffs there is need to maintain standard in terms of levies to be charged for both exported and imported goods and services hence promoting trade and boosting security in these nations

Keywords: *current, Kenya regime, regional, integration*

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Background of the Study

A political regime is a fundamental form state institutions take that regulates the operations of a government and its interactions with the outside world. It can either be a democracy, republic, monarchy, communism or dictatorial. The role any head of government in any form of regime plays is very critical in that their operations and dictate to a greater extent how his/her government will relate with others. Cuba for instance, has had a principle of a democratic centralist political system since 1959 and has been under the rule of dictators and Marxists. After assuming power in 1959, the late former Cuban president Fidel Castro is hailed for having played a critical role in bringing the small Caribbean Island to the center of the world politics and since then, Cuba has been in a position to exert an undeniable amount of pressure on the international stage. Fidel Castro was at the forefront of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americans (ALBA) that emerged in 2000. He also was at the forefront of the Pink-tide (a struggle against neo-liberal hegemony) which swept through Latin America, bringing left-wing governments to power. An expansive foreign policy has been achieved in the face of US aggression. Cuba's foreign policy has been scaled back and re-directed as a result of economic hardship after the collapse of the Soviet bloc. There being no massive soviet subsidies and its primary trading partner, in the 1990's Cuba spent some time in isolation (Mwengi,2011).

However, as time went by, there was a deeper realization of the need to relate and get into agreements with other nations and/or states and thereafter in the late 90s, the country got into bi-lateral co-operation with a number of South American countries like Venezuela and Bolivia. According to Karl (1990), the crucial aspect of regional integration has become the focal point for intense global interest and a serious debate over the past decades in diverse parts of the world. After the Second World War, European countries were seeking to attain peace and stability and were convinced that it would be attainable through unity and integration among themselves. In 1947, the Marshall Plan (initially the European Recovery Programme- ERP) was established as an American initiative to aid Western Europe to re-build its economies. The U.S.A which gave \$12 billion had an intention of doing away with trade barriers, upgrade industries and improve European prosperity. The then US president Harry Truman appointed George Marshall and through this, the ERP was conceived. From 1948 to 1952 European economies grew at quite an alarming rate with trade relations resulting to the formation of the North Atlantic Alliances. The early European community started with only six countries, as some, like the Soviet Union and its allies rejected the idea of integration, in order to save their sovereignty. In 1957, the Rome Treaty was signed to create the European Economic Community (EEC) which saw the establishment of the European Common Market.

The period between 1950s and 1970s witnessed significant progress in integration as countries like Belgium, France, Italy, Netherlands and Germany joined EEC whose objective was free movement of labour and capital and also abolition of trusts and cartels. In Asia, an organization like Asia-Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) is playing a crucial role in fostering transnational networks. In the 1990s hopes were raised that economic and political integration would help Asia to develop its own identity by overcoming the legacy of colonialism. The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 was a chance to foster integration process as the Asian leaders realised that absence of

transparency and accountability in the integration procedure led to this crisis. On regime change, a country like Myanmar in East Asia had over several years experienced authoritarian rule coupled with civil wars but as the country got into a new phase under a democratically elected government in 2016, it was reported in *The Asian Weekly* (Ngari, 2016) that the new government's only option was to forge ways of stepping up the peace process and especially the process of re-balancing external relations with China, her largest trading partner (Odhiambo, 2011). Among other reasons that led to the two countries' strained relations was the decision by Myanmar's former president to suspend the Myitsone dam project in 2011, one of China's flagship projects in Myanmar. This took Beijing, a close ally of China, by surprise hence launching a charm offensive. The current head of Myanmar government Aung San Suu had prioritized the need to see an end to these issues as reported in *The Diplomat* (10th July, 2018).

In fact, under the new government it was reported that Myanmar was being considered to be an alleviant to the rising tension between some ASEAN member states and China over territorial claims in the South China Sea since Myanmar has no competing claim to the dispute. Narrowing down to the African continent, it has been argued that Africa lags behind in development, and one of the reasons raised is the ineffectiveness of regional agreements in existence (Saitoti, 1988). Calls have been made for an African economic and political union with leaders foreseeing a scenario where African countries completely eliminate all forms of trade barriers both qualitative and quantitative, set unified external tariffs, use common currency, have a single monetary authority and even harmonise their macro-economic, industrial and development politics. From the early years of colonialism, around the 1960s, when Africans began to occupy responsible political positions, African states have focused on developing new patterns of continental and regional co-operative arrangements. At first, their efforts involved dealing with the existing colonial arrangements in what they referred to as 'a creative destruction' in order to meet African needs and operations. Therefore, with the inspiration of how successful the EU has proven to be and encouraged by the UN-sponsored Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the first generation of African leaders focused on creating regional entities that hopefully had the capability of promoting regional co-operation and integration (Ojoo, 1985).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

For significant growth and development of countries both politically and social-economically, the need for regional integration cannot be ignored. As a result of regional integration, most 6 countries have emerged to become global economic and political giants with their impact being felt across the world. Countries like Japan and Mauritius have grown to bigger economies thanks to regional integration (Wales & Wild, 2012). He goes further to state that most of these countries have benefited from open trade where trade barriers are reduced. However, despite the advantage that comes with regional integration, most of the regional integration blocs are yet to fully achieve their set goals, more so, the EAC which despite lessons learnt from its earlier collapse due to reasons like unequal distribution of resources and prioritization of national interests, its current member states are yet to fully focus on its integration (Odhiambo, 2011; Shivji, 2009; and World Bank, 2012). What partly contributes to this is the fact that member states have been operating contrary to the revival treaty of the bloc which states that the implementation of the policies is to be pushed forward by the council of ministers responsible for EAC affairs. Cooksey (2014) did a study on the relationship between regional integration and regime change among Arab Maghreb Union

(AMU) countries which include Algeria and Libya among others. During the reign of King Idris of Libya (1951-1969), Libya suffered the western sphere of influence, becoming the recipient of western expertise and aid and by the end of 1959 she joined OPEC. While king Idris had travelled out of Libya in September 1969, he faced a coup d'état by Muammar Gaddafi. During colonel Gaddafi's tenure, it was decided that the presidency of AMU becomes rotational and transferred on a yearly basis but when the time came for the same to move from Algeria to a different AMU member country, Gaddafi decided that it was time to put the union in "a freezer" meaning that he would henceforth handle AMU matters with a lot of negativities. Between 1969 and 2011, Libya's foreign relations suffered a lot of instability and severe tension. It is thus critical to question the influence that change of regime has on Kenya regional integration

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to examine current Kenya regime and regional intergration

1.4 Justification and Significance of the Study

Several impediments have been cited on why Kenya attempts of realizing full integration have so far not yielded satisfactory success; some of the reasons are ideological differences and fear of losing sovereignty among others. A lot has also focused on policies that are inclined towards regional integration. This research narrowed its focus on examining individual willingness or unwillingness of the current Head of state towards achieving regional integration. The state and policy-makers are bound to benefit from this study.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Theoretical review

Two theories were found to be relevant in examining diplomatic relations between Britain and Kenya. The theories that were found to best inform the research constructs are the realist theory (Morgenthau, 1978) and participation in elections theory (Feddersen, 2006).

2.1.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory

George Modelski (1987) proposed the Hegemonic Stability theory. Hegemonic Stability theory (HST), a theory of international relations which states that the international system is likely to remain stable when only one nation-state, also known as a hegemony, is the dominant world power. Consequently, when an existing hegemony falls, the stability of the international system lessens thus resulting to disorder. The theory further impresses that when a hegemony exercises leadership either through coercion, persuasion or diplomacy, it is indeed deploying its "preponderance of power" that is, its superiority in influence. The key feature of a hegemony therefore, is to single-handedly dominate the laid down rules and arrangements of international political and economic relations. Exercising allegiance to a system which is considered as mutually beneficial to the major states, is a way through which a state would be a hegemony. Capability rests upon a large, growing economy, dominance in a leading technological or economic sector and a political power backed up by projective military power. Wanyama (2013), points out that Kenya is the regional hub for trade and finance for EAC. In addition he says, Kenya has a comparatively strong economy with her role as the region's financial nucleus and her infrastructural advantage making her the East Africa regional hegemony. In relation to the HST therefore, Kenya should take the initiative to

enforce the implementation of the EAC integration policies in all member states and as a hegemony, also have the will to do so, on the same policies on her part. However, this theory alone is inadequate since it's not always obvious that the hegemony will impose ideas and principles using power since EAC member states joined the bloc out of their own will, thus many are the times it is assumed that the hegemony's interests coincide with those of members states. They therefore are left to implement policies at their own pace but with a hope that each member state works towards meeting the set deadlines. However, since the current study is not focused on developing hegemonies instead, promoting oneness for mutual benefit, a second theory was adopted.

2.1.2 Structural Functionalism Theory

Émile Durkheim (1967) proposed the the structural functionalism theory. The structural functionalism theory envisions society as a complex system whose individual parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. Social structures shape us and our surroundings. Each social structure, according to Herbert Spencer, has respective social functions or consequences that impact on the general public. Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent components; namely norms, customs and organizations. A common analogy, advanced by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work towards the proper functioning of the "body" as a whole (Holmwood, 2005). It is noted that the ultimate goal is to achieve satisfaction both in the shortterm and long-term for productivity to occur, as per Trottier, et al. (2008) in Cresswell (2009). In order for physical integration to be realized, co-ordination and harmonization of standards across the countries are paramount so as to reap the benefits of regional agglomeration (Gordon, 1996). This theory (structural functionalism theory) mainly focuses on the structures that make a leadership system successful which is a clear definition of the regime – the main aspect of the study.

2.2 Empirical Review

Mbithi, (2020) conducted a study aimed at unearthing the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. The study has explored the steps so far taken towards East Africa integration and the precise objectives of the study are; to analyze the role(s) that the different Heads of state in Kenya have played to ensure East Africa integration, to examine the effects of Heads of state transition in Kenya on regional integration in East Africa, to establish what the current Kenyan regime can do to speed up the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region. In this study, the Hegemonic Stability theory that is based on the presence of a hegemony that ensures stability of the international system and the Structural Functionalism theory which factors in a society as a complex system that is constitutes of segments that work together with an intent of achieving a set goal will be used. Descriptive research design was used in the study. The target population for the study was the Ministry of East African Community, Labor and Social protection, Political scientists, retired and serving ambassadors. Stratified random sampling was used to obtain a sample size of 130 respondents. The data was collected by use of self-structured questionnaires which were directly administered to the respondents, as well as individual interview schedules. Analysis of the qualitative data was done by use of both the framework analysis and the thematic analysis approaches while the quantitative data was analyzed through theme coding. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role

towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration. In addition, it was revealed through this study that, although the head of state holds meetings to discuss regional integration little has been done with regard to formulation of new policies as well as establishing a concrete legal frame-work to safeguard the issues concerning regional integration. The study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is the will to put in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among member states, hence resulting to mutual benefit of these states in terms of creating opportunities for their citizens.

Njeru (2019), conducted a study to examine the relations between the Italians and African communities in Malindi region of Kilifi County. The study sets out to achieve three objectives. First, to examine the social, economic and political organization of the people of Malindi before the settlement of the Italians in 1963. Secondly, it investigates the social-cultural and economic relations between the Africans and Italians in Malindi during the early independent period from 1963 to 1990. Finally, it analyzes the Afro-Italian social-cultural and economic relations in Malindi during the post-cold war period from 1990-2007. The study was carried out in Malindi Sub-County of Kilifi County. The study covers the period 1963–2007. This study is significant since it provides new knowledge on the dynamics of the socio-cultural and economic relations between the Africans and the Italians to enhance future interracial relations and cohesion. Theoretically, the study uses two variants of the post-colonial theory, that is, Plurality and Hybridity to interrogate the relations between the Italians and African communities in Malindi region of Kilifi County. In this study, a qualitative research design and historical approach was used. Purposive sampling was also adopted while both oral and secondary data were collected and corroborated with archival sources for authenticity and validity. The study concluded that the Italian community has been in Kenya for decades and have been residing particularly within Malindi region of Kilifi County at the Kenyan coast.

Kimencu, (2018) conducted a study on to examine the impact of the reports to the Kenya's image. This study applied agenda setting theory of media which posits that media may not tell you what to think but it could tell you what to think about, and realism theory of international relations which argued that states relate with other states for their own selfish interests. This research relied entirely on secondary literature and adopted qualitative data collection method. The study used the explorative research design to explore media websites, review of documents, and use of audio-visual materials. It used critical discourse analysis and content analysis design to analyze various media content about Kenya. The findings of this study were of relevance to the policy makers in the country on the most prudent method of engaging with the international media. Among other recommendations, the study highlighted the need for Kenya and by extension Africa to establish a giant media channel with a global command, at the level of CNN and BBC, which will be able to adequately present both negative and positive issues about the African state.

Oduor, (2015) conducted a study on representations of the postcolonial state in the childhood metaphor in selected postcolonial texts. Chapter One, titled On the Background, tracks the origins of the pathway of this study. In so doing, it provides a response to the first research objective and question on how childhood is an analytic concept in *Beneath the Lion's Gaze*, *The God of Small Things*, and *Nervous Conditions* as postcolonial literary texts. This is carried out in the preliminary

information about this inquiry. Consequently, this chapter then proceeds to the construction of the conceptual framework. Through the conceptual framework there is an illustration of how childhood is used as a metaphor in the post colony. Chapter Two is titled Conceptual Framework and the Literature Review. It arose out of the need to have a detailed review of literature that touches on the key elements of this study; postcoloniality, childhood and metaphor. As well it contains a literature review on the selected literary texts. It is centered on the literature review and the methodology employed in this research. The information derived from the literature review is then utilized in propping up the conceptual framework further. It also contains the limitations and scope of this inquiry. Chapter Three offers an analysis of the post-colony with recourse to the effect of childhood in the representation of the postcolonial state. Specific attention is paid in establishing to what consequence childhood has been engaged as a metaphor in *Beneath the Lion's Gaze*, *The God of Small Things*, and *Nervous Conditions*.

The chapter also qualifies further the precolonial condition of Ethiopia within postcoloniality. In addition, the chapter has a section which deals with the (in) effectiveness of the metaphor of childhood in representation of the postcolonial state. Chapter Four, *Dialectics of Globalization and Postcoloniality*, offers an analysis of the metaphor of childhood as a representation of the postcolonial state with recourse to the effect of childhood in the representation of the postcolonial state. It interrogates the dialectics of postcoloniality in global interactions while exercising the metaphor of childhood with respect to the selected literary texts. This Chapter also supplies further information on the (in) effectiveness of the childhood metaphor as a representation of the postcolonial state. As well, the consequence of childhood as a metaphor in representation of postcoloniality is scrutinized. Chapter Five is Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations. It is a concluding section which recapitulates the findings of this research. The Chapter is a general wrap-up of the various arguments advanced in this thesis. It also suggests proposals for further studies.

Mutunga, (2015) conducted an investigation on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films. The movies selected are those produced, directed, and acted by Kenyan people in Kenya. Three Kenyan movies were analysed; *Zeinabu Rudi Nyumbani* (2008) by Billy Mbilikimo, *Chasing Moses* (2009) by Alexander Konstantaras and *The Village Cassanova* (2010) by Simon Nduti. In order to establish the parameters under which Kenyan drama films could be critiqued, the study sought to analyse dramatic aspects of the selected drama films, establish the peculiarities of its aesthetics and investigate the socio-cultural aspects embedded in the selected drama films. Two theories were used in this study. The formalist film theory popularly advocated by the Russian formalists like Tynyanov emphasises on the aesthetic value of film and argues that the meaning of a film can be deciphered from the aesthetic elements employed by the film maker.

The postmodernism theory emphasises the reworking of existing ideas and styles as typified by the techniques of pastiche and intertextuality. In this respect, the styles in the films may not necessarily be complete innovations of the directors but rather a reworking of existing film styles to suit their own artistic expression depending on the intent of the films they produce. The methodology that was used for research is the descriptive case study design where selected films were analysed after watching them. The films provided the primary data to be used in the analysis while secondary data was attained from the internet, journals and books. This study involved an analysis of the specific films' aesthetic elements after which a conclusion of the findings was done to ascertain the fact that Kenyan drama films have their own aesthetics which characterise them. It was clear that the various filmmaking techniques employed by the filmmakers created dramatic effect and worked together to make the films communicate and

appeal to the audience in a particular way. The various social cultural aspects embedded in the films reflect the society's beliefs and values in relation to religion, family, wealth, morality and alcohol

Njagi, (2014) conducted a study to examine the nature and rationale of the evolution of Kenya-British military relations in the independence period, to evaluate their impacts on Kenya's foreign policy relations with other states and third, examine the impacts of these relations on Kenya's national security in the independence period. The study employs the realist school of thought in tracing the continuous British military presence in Kenya while igniting debate on Kenya's decolonization experience. For the investigative aim of this thesis, the study focuses on the colonial legacy in Kenya-British military relations within the independence period regimes of Kenyatta (1963-1978) Moi (1978-2002) and Kibaki (2002- up to 2005). Nevertheless, the three regimes simply provide in terms of their institutional transition an attempt by the study, a modest evaluation of the present Kenya-British military relations. Primary and secondary sources of data were used in this study. Secondary sources included mainly written sources. The study found out that the British Army in spite of being an 'enemy' military during the Mau Mau War of independence and the ongoing Mau Mau atrocities cases against the British government, the same army continues to use the Kenyan hinterlands as military training areas long after Kenya's independence thereby shaping Kenya's military relations with its former colonial master.

The study concludes that in spite of negative civil-military relations at the local level, the relations at national level have proved beneficial to both countries. More so the study informs that military relations between states have largely played a major role in determining the subsequent trajectory of economic, trade, diplomatic and political relations between the co-operating nations. It thus affirms the argument advanced by the study that the trajectory of development in Kenya continues to be determined and shaped not only by the conjuncture of precolonial, colonial and post-colonial socio-political and economic structures but also by the military linkage

2.3 Research gaps

Geographical gap is a knowledge gap that considers, the untapped potential or missing/limited research literature, in the geographical area that has not yet been explored or is under-explored. For instance, Mbithi, (2020) conducted a study aimed at unearthing the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. Descriptive research design was used in the study. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration. The studies presented a geographical gap as they were conducted in East African while our current study focus on examining current Kenya regime and regional intergration.

Methodological gap is the gap that is presented as a result in limitations in the methods and techniques used in the research (explains the situation as it is, avoids bias, positivism, etc.). Kimencu, (2018) conducted a study on to examine the impact of the reports to the Kenya's image. The study used the explorative research design to explore media websites, review of documents, and use of audio-visual materials. The findings of this study were of relevance to the policy makers in the country on the most prudent method of engaging with the international media. The studies

presented a methodological gap as it used explorative research design while our current study adopted a desktop literature review method

Conceptual gap arises because of some difference between the user's mental model of the application and how the application actually works. Mutunga, (2015) conducted an investigation on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films. The methodology that was used for research is the descriptive case study design where selected films were analyzed after watching them. The study found out that the various social cultural aspects embedded in the films reflect the society's beliefs and values in relation to religion, family, wealth, morality and alcohol. The study focused on the aesthetics of selected Kenyan drama films, while the current study examining current Kenya regime and regional integration

3.0 METHODOLOGY

The study adopted a desktop literature review method (desk study). This involved an in-depth review of studies related to current Kenya regime and regional integration. Three sorting stages were implemented on the subject under study in order to determine the viability of the subject for research. This is the first stage that comprised the initial identification of all articles that were based on current Kenya regime and regional integration from various data bases. The search was done generally by searching the articles in the article title, abstract, keywords. A second search involved fully available publications on the subject on current Kenya regime and regional integration. The third step involved the selection of fully accessible publications. Reduction of the literature to only fully accessible publications yielded specificity and allowed the researcher to focus on the articles that related to current Kenya regime and regional integration which was split into top key words. After an in-depth search into the top key words (current, Kenya regime, regional, integration), the researcher arrived at 6 articles that were suitable for analysis. The 6 articles were findings from Mbithi, (2020) conducted a study aimed at unearthing the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. Descriptive research design was used in the study. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration.

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4.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND POLICY IMPLICATION FOR FURTHER STUDY

4.1 Summary

Government should embrace common goals with those of other member states, 83% of respondents strongly agreed and others agreed. 14.2% represented those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed on the same while 2.8% were undecided. Asked whether allocation of enough funds to implement regional integration strategies would make an impact, 84.8% represented both those who strongly agreed and who agreed. Those who strongly disagreed and those who simply agreed to the statement were represented by 14.1% and the undecided was 2.8%. The statement on the regime to fully participate in the integration activities and strategies, 94.9% represented both those who strongly agreed and those who agreed, 11.3% for those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed while the undecided were represented by 1.9%.

4.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that Kenya head of state has a crucial role to play with regard to fulfilling regional commitments touching on integration as well as establishing linkages between different regional policies and strategies. Finally, the study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is a will to plough in more resources which will go a long way in creating a friendly environment for trade and movement for all their citizens.

4.3 Recommendations

The study recommends that there is need for Kenya government to come out strongly to ensure that when promoting interests, it is prudent to give priority to those interests that cut across member states of EAC since they are geared towards achieving integration and therefore beneficial to the

entire region. In addition, the East Africa Community members should be guided on the need to conform to the regional integration laws, for instance, on set tariffs there is need to maintain standard in terms of levies to be charged for both exported and imported goods and services hence promoting trade and boosting security in these nations

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