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INFLUENCE OF GLOBALIZATION ON KENYA'S PUBLIC POLICY

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DECLARATION

This research study is my original work and has not been presented to any other examination body. No part of this research should be reproduced without my consent or that of the University of Nairobi.

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The project has been submitted with my approval as university supervisor.

Name…………………………**S.ga J ^ * * *   Da.e**

MR. IKIARA GERRISHON

DEDICATION

This research work is dedicated to my late parents, who were also my early mentors. May their souls rest in peace.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this research was to determine the influence of globalization on Kenya's public policy. The study begins by looking at the evolution of globalization. The thesis and hypotheses are clearly outlined and discussed in chapter 1 of the study. The study seeks to explore more on the processes of public policy making in Kenya and trying to find out how the forces of globalization affect these processes and its outcomes.

The literature review was done with a wealth of extractions from well known authors and a rich source of publications to re-emphasize the fact that their ideologies were in line with the study objectives. This strengthened the study. The literature review focused a lot on the research questions and objectives. Thus, the areas largely explored in the literature review were economic internationalism, intergovernmental organizations and trans-border data flow.

The study also explores in detail, the act of policy making, steps and outcomes in Kenya. In addition, the chapter seeks to further enhance the reader's understanding of globalization by exploring different forms of globalization. It gives a deeper introduction to globalization, taking the readers through the growth of globalization. Also, it explores the agents of globalization in detail including issues like economic internationalism, trans-border data flow, and intergovernmental organizations.

The researcher then presents data analysis, presentation of data and interpretation of the collected data. This is done in form of graphs, tables and charts ,that clearly show correlation between the variables. This is accompanied by brief notes to explain each figure and chart, to further enhance the understanding of the data. Finally, the study gives the recommendation and conclusion. In this part, it is clear that Kenya's policy makers have to strengthen policies that encourage and foster manufacturing in the country so as to strengthen its position in the international market. Of course innovation and creativity will be instrumental in doing this. Also, in the conclusion, the study discusses the importance of peace and stability in Kenya's journey towards vision 2030.However, peace and stability cannot be achieved without good governance, yet human rights is obviously a prerequisite for good governance. In achieving all these, the international community through the agents of globalization have played a very significant role in the efforts to transform Kenya from a one party authoritarian state to a democracy. And even though the democratic institutions are still weak and need a lot more stronger policies to strengthen and enhance them, we can say so far the country is in the right path towards achieving~internal

democracy. A lot of institutional reforms have been put in place in the last four years that still aim at making Kenya a more peaceful and stable nation and fostering good governance. Indeed, even in these reforms, the international community has played a significant role, more so through the Koffi Anan led panel of African Imminent Personalities.

As a result of the study, it was recommended that public policy formulation and its outcomes should consider the process of globalization and its outcomes. This is because, as found out by the study, globalization and its forces significantly affect the lifestyle of the Kenyan citizens making it a force to reckon with while formulating public policies.

 The recommendations were drawn from the data collected from a total of 83 respondents. The study took a downward-upwards approach as opposed to vice versa by interviewing the ordinary Kenyans and a few experts on issues to do with public policy. The researcher thought the opinions of the ordinary Kenyans were of utmost importance, since public policy is aimed at improving their lives. Therefore, there was need to gather their views on what they think is important for them, and what they think would enrich their lives. These views were later consolidated and classified as recommendations and will be important for policy makers as they formulate the policies.

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ABBREVIATION

WTO   World Trade Organization

COMESA   Common Market for East and South Africa.

UNCTAD   United Nations Conference on Trade and Development

IMF   International Monetary Fund

OPEC   Oil Producing and Processing countries

APIPRM   African Panel of Imminent Personalities Review Mechanism

EAC   East African Community.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Research Problem

In the mind of a contemporary citizen, politics is seen no more than the struggle for power within a given state's confines. Usually, politics is viewed as the struggle by local political parties to ascend to power and form the next government. This struggle, in the third world countries has always been characterised by widespread violence in several occasions as those contending seem not to stop at anything to gain power. Usually, ascending to the highest office in the state is seen as a way of gaining power, influence and wealth.

In the context of the above 'struggle for power within a state by different actors in the state', the state is usually viewed by many as the main political organ, which carries on its shoulders the main responsibility of providing certain basic necessities to its citizens. These basic necessities range from security to food, health amenities, social facilities such as education and housing,

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ensuring economic stability and growth, e.t.c. Indeed, many people regard the political parties as the main political organs while the local politicians are largely viewed as the major political actors. In the third world again, politics is usually characterised by certain elements of heredity i.e where a leader passes on the leadership mantle to his closest family member or ally. In some cases, the leaders simply decide to hold on to power until they are forced out of it.

However, today things are changing very fast, especially with globalization and with the advance in technology and telecommunications. The world has simply become a "global village" as McLuhan puts it. We can no longer ignore the fact that what happens in a far away country

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today, has a lot more impact on our daily lives than it used to just a decade ago. Therefore, a decade ago, it was not unusual to hear people give such sentiments like "why bother with what happens in Russia or Greece?" A study of political views of first year university students in America (which at that time, could be generalized to represent the views of many African University students at the same level) found that only 27 per cent of students, in 2002 said they thought "keeping up with international political affairs is important to them".[1]

Today, many people have acknowledged the fact that world politics affect all of us and touch on our daily lives very significantly both as nations and as individuals living in such nations. Indeed, if the above survey was carried out today, the result would be a reverse or even less than 27 per cent would think that international events is not important to them. It is now clear more than ever, for example that most countries' economies are intertwined while interdependency in world trade is not anything to doubt anymore. The institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF play important role in making these economies interdependent. However, the same institutions have greatly influenced the domestic policies of many countries, especially the Sub-Saharan countries to which they give aid but with certain conditional ties which they say must be agreed to and implemented. Also politically, we have witnessed the international community continuously disregard the notion of state sovereignty and invade a country, whether to restore democracy or overthrow an oppressive regime. Perhaps, a more pronounced example is the recent intervention in Libya where the NATO led by the coalition forces of US, Britain and France spearheaded the downfall of Colonel Muammar Gadhafi, one of the most feared leaders in Africa for his "iron-fist" rule. Indeed, almost the same time, the world witnessed another intervention in Ivory Coast where the UN forces, led by the French troops saw the capture of

[1] Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7.h Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA. 1992:2

Laurent Gbagbo, after several months of his refusal to relinquish power and hand over to the new president-elect, Alasaine Ouattara. Economically, many Kenyans, just like many people from other countries, live and work abroad. The crisis in Libya for example, led to the return of many Kenyans back home. This indeed, pushed unemployment rate high in Kenya. In addition, the oil prices went up, contributing to the high prices of food both locally and internationally, coupled with souring inflation. Indeed, this affected every household individually as everyone felt the impact of inflation with soaring prices in basic commodities. Another economic example of how the world's economies are intertwined is best pictured by looking at how an earthquake in Japan would affect Kenya's automobile industry, as was witnessed in the recent past. Indeed, Kenya largely imports Japanese Toyota vehicles, so far the largest number of private and public vehicles used by Kenyans. Thus, anything that will hinder or lower the production of vehicles in Japan will no doubt have an immense impact on the Kenyan transport sector. A lot of capital and expertise is also imported by Kenya from Europe, China, USA, e.t.c. Most Kenyans also live and work in these countries abroad, leading to Kenya's big earnings in foreign exchange. As a result of all these factors, Kenya as a country, just like all the other countries has to formulate its domestic policies in line with the prevailing conditions internationally. This is to say, that as much as a country like Kenya may want to protect its own interests in the international scene and still wish to hold on to the dying notion of state-sovereignty, it has very little choice other than, to formulate its domestic policies according to the dictates of the international community. Indeed, just recently, Kenya failed in its bid to have cases facing some of its top government officials at the International Court of Justice based at The Hague in Netherlands, be referred for hearing back at home, or at least to be deferred. This stumbling block was laid in Kenya's way by USA, UK and France. The three veto powers used their veto at the United Nation's Security

Council to block Kenya's bid for either a deferral or a referral of the cases facing these Kenyans. **Therefore,** it is quite open now that "International politics can affect... the quality of air you **breathe, the** water you drink, and many other aspects of the globe you inhibit..." .

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

The statement of the research problem investigates the influence of globalization on Kenya's public policy. Does globalization have any impact on the formulation of Kenya's public policy and the policy outcomes? If yes, how does it impact and to what extent? Above are the basic questions that this study will be pegged upon.

Globalization is described as the integration of states through increasing contact, communication and trade.interdependence is considered to be the epicentre of globalization. Public policy, on the other hand refers to the laws, decisions and programs made by the government which are directly related to issues in the country. Public policy is thus defined as a set of laws and regulations that a government establishes within a nation's borders. Domestic policy or public policy covers a wide range of areas including business, education, energy, healthcare, law enforcement, money and taxes, natural resources, social welfare, and personal rights and freedoms.[4]

Usually, Kenyan citizens don't really seem to bother about public policy making processes, and **even its** outcomes, despite knowing that such policies have a direct impact on their lives. Most

* Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7[.h] Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA. 1992:7
   Korwa,et al.(ed).GIobalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy:A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa.University Press of America,New York.2007:2.
   Joshua S.Goldstein(5th ed).International Relations.Longman Publishers,New York.2004:155

people tend to view public policy as only an instrument for fixing a problem by the government, **whenever** a government is faced with a crisis. Most citizens also believe that they have no or very little role to play in shaping their country's domestic policies. And above all, many people tend to believe that what happens in another country only has an insignificant or totally no impact on Kenya's domestic policies. Indeed, according to many, domestic policy formulation is entirely a country's internal affair which is not subject to any external forces' influences.

But despite this belief, currently, many of Kenya's domestic affairs are so much influenced by the external forces. Looking at the above examples of the four prominent Kenyans who stand to be tried at The Hague in Netherlands, and how Japanese earthquake may affect Kenya's transport industry, it is quite clear that external forces may have immense effects on a country's internal affairs. Also, given the level of economic interdependence, we can no longer wish away the fact that a recession in Europe will largely affect our domestic coffee industry and eventually the overall economy. This internationalization of domestic affairs has been made possible by

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globalization. As it is today, the world is becoming more and more globalized, and any one event in any part of the world may end up affecting the entire universe. Although the impact may be felt differently with some nations feeling the impact strongly than other nations, but one thing is clear; the entire universe may be affected in one way or another. The impact may be economic, political, and social or may take other forms. This leaves the big question: Does globalization have an impact on Kenya's domestic policies? And if it does, to what extent?

Thus, this study seeks to answer the question: What is the influence of globalization on Kenya's public policy?

1.3. Objectives of the Research

1.3.1. General Objective

To find out the influence of globalization on Kenya's domestic policies.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

i) To determine the relationship between economic globalization and Kenya's domestic economic policies.

ii) To investigate the influence of intergovernmental organizations on Kenya's political ideology.

iii) To examine the influence of trans-border data flow on Kenya's domestic culture.

1.3.3. Research Questions

i) To what extent does economic globalization affect Kenya's domestic economic policies?

ii) **How do** Intergovernmental organizations affect Kenya's political ideology?

iii) What influence does trans-border data flow have on Kenya's domestic culture?

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1.4. Significance of the Study

Research **on** public policy has tended to emphasize visible events of internal aspects of **governance like** democratic politics, constitutional reforms, economic reforms, social reforms **much to the negligence** of even mundane processes that make up well-functioning governance. **My research aims** at shifting the focus of public policy making from such perennially used **factors to those** factors that are mostly ignored, but which if also put into focus, may contribute **significantly** to the development of good public policies. Thus, through my research, I intend to **show case that** globalization, a factor usually ignored by many public policy makers and analysts

has a strong influence in shaping a public policy, an influence that can no longer be ignored. I hope through this research, to show that the globalization is a force to reckon with in public policy making, not only in Kenya but almost in the entire world. And if globalization will be allowed to play a central role in the making of domestic policies, then we may as well achieve the dreams of our fore fathers like Nkrumah who agitated for Pan-africanism. The whole aim was to unite Africa into one possible political confederation, something that can easily be achieved by allowing the forces of Globalization to determine our public policies. Indeed, not only Africa would achieve such a dream, but the gains would be replicated to the world over.

The Kenyan public, no doubt would like to know how the country's domestic policies are formulated. So far, policy making has always remained in the hands of the decision makers, with only a few senior government officials having the privilege of understanding the recipe of Kenya's public policy. Information about policy formulation and all that go into this process hardly trickle down to the citizens. This study seeks to demystify public policy formulation and educate Kenyans on how the process of globalization affects their country's public policies.

Finally, Non-governmental Organizations such as the fourth estate and the civil society need to understand how public policy is formulated and what influences the decision-making process. Through this study, the civil society which is also seen as the main pressure groups in good governance, and the strongest force to keep the government in checks will also come face to face with the negative influences of globalization on Kenya, as well as its positive influences. This will strongly inform their decisions, even as they play their role of "pressure groups".

1.5. Limitation of the Study

1.5.1 Confidentiality

The researcher would not gather a lot more information as expected. This was contributed to by the fact that some of the information is considered as top government secret which could not be easily relayed to the public.

1.5.2 Accessibility

Both the top management and the general staff had limited time during their working hours. This almost made it impossible to get their full attention. The researcher at one point had to drop the questionnaires and come back to collect them later.

Due to their busy schedule, also, the researcher could not gather the data to the extent that he wished. Thus, he had to work with only a small sample size.

1.6. Scope of the Study

This study focuses on Kenya's public policies. The research was carried out within Nairobi town. The researcher narrowed down to Nairobi town since it is the capital city of Kenya and is currently the hub of all activities in Kenya. Even though, Kenya's new constitution is moving the country towards a federal government, this has not been achieved yet, and therefore, all the important matters in the country such as policy formulation are still centralized in Nairobi.

Also, most government ministries, key to this study, such as the ministries of foreign affairs, youth, culture and heritage, tourism, and so on all have their headquarters in Nairobi. Lastly, the

currently resides in Nairobi, making it cost-effective for him in terms of travel and time management.

1.7. Theoretical Framework

There has been a single paradigm that has been used since around 1948 to explain international politics. This paradigm has since portrayed the world as anarchical, full of political fragmentation with no central authority to organize political, economic, social and other relationships among nations. This paradigm has over the years offered explanation as to why and how states go to war, how they conduct diplomacy and also how they construct institutions and norms that lead to peace. It has also been used to explain how states organize power in pursuits of their interests. Major political thinkers like Thomas Hobbes have developed their works based on this paradigm. This paradigm is called the Nation-state or the Classical paradigm. In modern world, the classical thinkers are represented by a class of thinkers called **Realists.** Realism as one of the major theories in international relations argue that the political struggle among humans is inevitable because people have an inherent dark side. Indeed, this theory borrows a lot from the works of Thomas Hobbes who believed that humans posses an inherent urge to dominate, an animus domandi.[5] Hobbes argued that if any two men desired the same thing, which they both can't enjoy, they become enemies and endeavour to destroy or subdue one another. Thus, for the realists, states often resort to force to achieve their security interests and defend their national interests, especially in the international scene. Since Realists believe that power determines which country or policies prevail, they also hold that politics is all about increasing power, keeping power or demonstrating power.[6]This is to say, 'the possession of power in a greater

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[5] **Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7th Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.1992.pg.16-Rourke,ibid.pg.l7**

degree makes a king superior to another, in a lesser degree, inferior; and in equal degree equal to other kings. Hence, a king shall always endeavour to augment his own power.' With this kind of realpolitik and balance-of-power attitude, it leaves no doubt that Realists are pessimists when it comes to the prospects of International cooperation among nations and the influence of international cooperation on state policies. They largely believe in state sovereignty which gives states no higher authority than their national governments.

This paradigm mainly presents the argument that the international system is composed of a multitude of independent states of unequal capabilities, each pursuing its perceived national interests and often engaging in war, despite the differences in their capabilities. And with regards to this paper, this theory assumes that states have the final say in the way they formulate their own policies. This is not the case today, as we have increasingly seen states "coerced" by the international community to behave in certain ways, or develop certain policies.

Thus, in modern times, classical theory is increasingly loosing grounds. Modern theories have come up that better explain the world today, the increasing international interconnectedness and globalization.

The Idealists on their part reject the notion that all or most humans are inherently political predators. Instead, Idealists believe that humans and their countries are capable of achieving more cooperative, less conflictive relations. The neo-idealists take this belief even a notch higher, when they argue that humans can cooperate to achieve mutual benefits. The idealists tend to move away from state sovereignty, and instead argue that it is imperative to find new

organizational paths to cooperation. Idealists are convinced that the spread of nuclear weapons, the increase in economic interdependence among countries, the decline of world resources, the daunting gap between the rich and poor all point towards the inevitable cooperation among nations. Furthermore, idealists have always been uncomfortable with the notion of state sovereignty.[7]

Based on these idealists' ideas, the supranational organizations have played a significant role in fostering cooperation among nations. However, it is not only the forces of supranational ism that has seen the growing interconnectedness among nations. The world today, as it is, we cannot talk of connectedness without mentioning trade. Trade has also contributed significantly towards international interconnectedness. However, one may also argue that even trade itself is driven by the forces of globalization such as Intergovernmental organizations like the IMF,World Bank, World Trade Organization, EAC,COMESA, and so on. Also trade is driven by improved transport and communication system, economic interdependence, and so on. Also, the increased state border permeability and advance in technology has resulted into trans-border data flow, cultural influences and most importantly, significant reduction in state sovereignty.

This paper will therefore use idealism as its theoretical basis upon which inferences, discussions and conclusions may be drawn. Therefore, Idealism shall be used as the main theory to help s understand the relationship between our key pillars of globalization: Economic internationalism, Intergovernmental Organization, and Trans-border data flow and Kenya's public policy making and outcomes.

1.8. Thesis and Hypotheses

National interests tend to dominate policy making and its end results to the extent that Kenya's public policy is to a large extent a reflection of the interests of those who wield power nationally. This has, for a long time, made policy making one of the instruments used by those who wield power to perpetuate political loyalty. Most policies are many at times designed to reward local political cronies or loyalists, and even at its worse, to reward certain communities that are seen to be loyal to those in power and punish those who oppose the regimes. This, as will be discussed later in the literature review section, was largely practised during the Moi's 24 year old rule in Kenya. Legislators wield tremendous economic and political power which is conducive to patronage. In addition, the legislators, especially the pro-government legislators who had the backing of the government and its machinery tended to favour their own clans and those that were their political allies. Therefore, with only the the national interests as the consideration in the making of public policy, there is high propensity for favouritism and bias in public policy making in Kenya as opposed to putting in place policies that will be viable for the country's national development. In addition, in the past, public policy formulation process in Kenya has been marred by cases of corruption, regionalism and ethnicity.

My main thesis is that Kenyans' lives and living styles are today more influenced and affected by what might be called the forces of globalization. Therefore, the role of the national government or best put, 'sovereign government' in determining a country's public policy is fast diminishing. My main thesis therefore is that globalization has an influence on Kenya's public policy.

^joininp <u>the Independent Variable</u>

The independent variable is globalization and what the researcher refers to as forces of globalization. The main interest of this research is to try and find out how these affect the processes of public policy making in Kenya, and the outcomes of these processes. In the modern world, where states are fast moving towards supra-nationalism, as opposed to nationalism, it is becoming hard to ignore the role that may be played by regional integrations, economic globalization, immigration and emigration, e.t.c on the lives of a nation's citizens. Thus, allowing the international forces to play a significant role in the making of public policies or even playing a supervisory role will reduce significantly, the ability of the leaders to manipulate policy making processes for their own political good.

I therefore advance the following hypotheses.

<u>Hypothesis 1</u>: Economic internationalism has a bearing on Kenya's domestic economic policies. My research question is also about how to synchronize the economic internationalism with local economies. To deal with this question, I support this hypothesis:

<u>Hypothesis 2</u>: Intergovernmental organizations like UN,OAU,EAC have an influence on Kenya's political ideology. *With the increasing role played by the intergovernmental organizations in determining political futures of most countries if the recent events like in Libya or even Kenyan Defence Forces' incursion into Somalia are anything to go by, it is getting more clearer that the role of IGOs is not anything to be ignored again by national governments. Therefore, this paper will also try to find out whether national sovereignty is key in the formulation of public policies.*

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1.9. Literature Review

1.9.1. Economic Internationalism

Economic internationalism is largely viewed as increasing economic interdependence of national economies across the world through cross-border movement of goods, service, technology and **capital.**[8] It is the process of increasing economic integration between countries leading to the **emergence** of a global world market, hence the term economic globalization.

Economic globalization is defined as the mechanisms by which the national economy is linked to global economic activities. Political geographers have applied geopolitical analyses to understand the contemporary world order. In particular, their most important contributions to understanding geopolitical change are in their theories about the spatial effects of the rapid changes unfolding in the world economic and political system. Political geographers have disputed the idea of a 'borderless world' purported by some international business and international relations scholars. Instead, they have re-centred the new world order debate by emphasising fragmentation over homogeneity through the varying territorial dimensions of global geopolitics and the real variations in political phenomena at all scales.[9] More recent approaches to geopolitics emphasise the growing significance of economic factors in defining patterns **of** world order. Some now consider geo-economics (the struggle for national economic or industrial supremacy) as a replacement for traditional geopolitics which was largely based on power politics. Power in the geo-economic world is measured in terms of global market share **rather than** military capabilities or acquired territorial space and punitive conquests. Political

58o' R l c h a r d E c o n o m i c Globalisation:Politics and trade policy in Ghana and Kenya.Routledge,England.2012

Grant ,ibid.pg.50

geographers have even gone beyond separating political and economic realms, and researchers from the emerging school of critical geopolitics have linked the globalization of political spaces to the economic world of connections and flows.[10] In particular, they note that both territorial states and non-state actors now operate in a world in which state boundaries have become permeable to decisions and flows emanating from networks of power not captured by singularly territorial representations of space. This has led to a shrinking of the world and a tighter linkage of states and societies in global networks and systems of interaction. The spatial consequences are evident in the more complex and messy appearance of political and economic life, where the foreign and the domestic are no longer neatly separated as distinct analytical categories. Political geographers also emphasise that hegemony is no longer based on any single nation-state, but is being replaced by a new ideology of the market (and of market access) which is being embedded in, and reproduced by, a powerful constituency of liberal states and international institutions. This ideology of 'transnational liberalism' is introduced by structural adjustment policies (SAPs), especially via trade-liberalisation policies." The pre-eminence of trade liberalisation is revealed by statistics showing that more than 60 per cent of structural adjustment loans have gone for trade related reforms in Africa.[12] Trade liberalisation includes the removal of tariff restrictions, the rationalisation of tariff structures, and the establishment of export-promotion measures, such as the removal of export taxes and the creation of export processing zones. Trade liberalisation results in reconfigurations of state-local relations and new political geographies. As the national economy is 'depoliticised' new opportunities are available for political groups to capture

C. Fitzpatrick and J. Weiss, Trade policy reforms and performance in Africa in the 1980s *'Journal of Modern African Studies* 33 (1995) p.286.

p g ⁰ᵀᴹ ˒ ᴿˏᶜˏˡᵃʳ⁽*ˏ ᴱᶜᵒⁿᵒᵐˏᶜ Globalisation: Politics and trade policy in Ghana and Kenya.Routledge,England.2012

C. Fitzpatrick and J. Weiss, 'Trade policy reforms and performance in Africa in the 1980s', *Journal of Modern AJncan Studies* 33 (1995) p.286.

economic rewards. In Kenya, the journey towards economic internationalism or best **globalization** has been one of intrigues with the government at certain points showing strong **commitment** to the process and at times showing laxity which cannot be ignored. This made **Kenya be** known internationally for "its patchy and intermittent commitments" to reform as well **as its** flagrant abuses of human rights throughout the 1980s-1990s. However, the introduction of **trade** liberalisation overturned the crony state capitalism" and the extensive government **intervention that** had characterised Kenya's economies following independence. This brought to **an end the** various state-led development efforts that had been represented as inefficient, market **distorting** and 'anti-trade' oriented.[13] The signing of SAP agreements with international financial **institutions** (IFIs) committed African governments, Kenya included to market reforms that in **theory** promised more global economic engagement.

1.9.1.1. The Journey to Economic Globalization and Trade Liberalization in Kenya

Kenya became a member of GATT in 1964 and adhered to many free-trade principles until the early 1970s. Average tariff rates reached their lowest levels to date in 1974 at 22 per cent. The 1973 oil shock was the first in a series of severe balance of payments crises that forced the government to shift toward protectionism. The end of the 1977-78 coffee price boom intensified Kenya's financial crisis. High world prices for coffee had encouraged the government to borrow and spend at levels that required coffee prices to remain high. The 1980s brought about a decline in commodity prices, and coffee prices plummeted. Faced with a fiscal crisis the government decided to raise more taxes by entertaining protectionism and increased the average tariff rate to 30 per cent. Moreover, use of protectionism became more irregular over time: tariff rates became highly discretionary and varied widely by commodity (for example, tobacco at 138 per cent,

J- Sender and J. Smith, *The Development of Capitalism in Africa* **(London: Methuen 1986).**

garments at 100 per cent and books at zero per cent). Levels of protection became more a function of politics (that is, the ability of economic interest groups to persuade the government to designate a sector as 'strategic') than of economics. Government involvement in trade also extended to exports, and a licensing arrangement was introduced for agricultural exports. An export tax was initiated for unprocessed products in an effort to increase processing content and improve the balance of payments.

Table 1.Average import tariff rates in Kenya (Percentages)

Product Category	1980-83	1987-90	1994-97
Raw Materials "	40.0	37.3	30.0
Capital Goods	40.0	30.2	20.0
Consumer Goods	n/a	51.2	40.0
Luxury Goods	n/a	53.6	50.0
Average tariff '	30.0	38.5	34.0

Source: Grant Richard. Economic Globalisation: Politics and trade policy in Ghana and Kenya.pg 64

Prior to the introduction of SAP, the Kenyan government highly linked trade and manufacturing policies with import-substitution policies. For instance, importers were required to obtain a 'no-objection certificate' from the local manufacturers before importing any product made domestically. High duties were therefore levied on processed imports that were seen as a direct

competition to domestic industries whereas tariffs on raw materials, intermediate products and capital goods were lower.[14]

The Kenyan government first attempted to implement structural adjustment in 1980 when it shifted from import-substitution to export-oriented trade. To promote manufacturing exports, a compensation scheme was instituted whereby; manufacturing exporters could claim a refund of 20% of duty paid on components. In addition, a guarantee scheme provided insurance against the risk of non-payment. However, as early as January 1981, the government reversed its trade-liberalization policy: all textile imports were banned, and all imports henceforth required a license. The government's commitment to trade liberalization was thus a past tense by 1982.[15]

During this time, Kenya's policy making was largely controlled by the president. For example, the president took some important policy making decisions without consulting the finance and trade ministries, such as favoring and promoting wheat growing in Kalenjin, the president's home province, at the expense of the Kikuyu region, comparatively advantaged in agriculture.

Also, during the second experiment with trade liberalization (1987-97), Moi's strategy was to shatter potential political opponents' power bases through the sponsorship of rival competitive groups and regional areas. Disruptions to businesses became commonplace. For instance, Unga limited, the main milling company at that time, was forced to stop production uncountable number of times because its owners refused to cede a share of control to the government.

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Pg 66™   ard_Economic Globalisation:Politics and trade policy in Ghana and Kenya.Routledge,England.2012
[15] Ibid:69

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Parastatal appointments were used as a tool for promoting high ranking officials from within Moi's constituencies, and civil service retrenchment was employed to remove opposition supporters, most of them being Kikuyu. In particular, the Kikuyu group was targeted for the harshest government treatment in an effort to curtail their economic participation. For example, the government reorganized the Kenya Tea Development Authority and various coffee cooperatives, which translated into higher prices and higher quotas for small holder farmers in the Rift Valley and Western Provinces at the expense of the Kikuyu in the Central Province. The government single-mindedly introduced these policies, even though they resulted in declining tea exports and significantly eroded Kenya's international market share for its principal exports. Furthermore, state budgets became political instruments, with the largest allocations set aside for 'special projects' in Moi's areas of support.[16] The government's interference in Kenya's economy and public policy formulation went as far as the president promoting the economy of his own home town (Eldoret), which was seen as a manufacturing center that rivaled Nairobi(the capital city)in terms of African owned-firms. And in 1995, Moi went ahead to propose an international airport for Eldoret town. In addition, the Kikuyu power'in government was also eliminated. After 1989, no Kikuyu was granted a cabinet position. The government's heavy-handed interference in the running of Kenya's economy and domestic economic policy made global factors be of lesser importance in shaping national economic development. Opposition to state policies has escalated ethnic tension and engendered an 'ethnic terror'. It is estimated that 1,060 Kikuyu have been killed and another 250,000 driven out of the Rift Valley or pressured to sell their land to Kalenjin at low prices. Other ethnic groups have also been alienated from politics and the economy. For

eu°37 ^Y'994)   ^ e a v e r anc* M. Ford, 'The structural development of Kenya's political economy', *African Studies*

example, the government's policy of redistributing trade rewards excludes Luo participation.[17]

~~Large-scale~~ demonstrations of public disaffection with government policies have occurred across the country, especially among the Kikuyu people. Wrong sums up the current Kenyan economy as being caught in 'a destructive downward spiral' brought about 'by government sleaze and economic irrationality'.[18] One of the unintended consequences of state trade policies has been to encourage Kenyan Indian and Kikuyu involvement in other nongovernment-controlled sectors, such as horticulture. This area differs from most Kenyan trade in that it is dominated by private **enterprises.** Horticultural exports have become the most dynamic export sector and since 1992 have been consistently among the top three exports (along with tea and coffee) as well as a major **employer** (two million workers were employed in this sector in 1998).[19] The fiscal problems for the state have been intensified by the government's authoritarianism in the economy, which has resulted in the state capturing fewer rewards from trade. For instance, in 1990, trade taxes amounted to 16.8 per cent of total taxes collected, compared to 38.1 per cent in Ghana. Also, IFIs decided in August 1997 to cut off structural adjustment assistance, which was subsequently followed **by** the systematic withholding of all bilateral aid. It is now estimated that the fiscal crisis is so extreme that 95 per cent of government expenditure is spent on wages and debt repayments, leaving only five per cent for national economic development. Because of Kenya's deplorable record in maintaining political and economic freedom, political conditionality is increasingly attached to loans; it has become an African test case for the linking of economic and

M. Lofchie, 'Trading places: Economic policy in Kenya and Tanzania', in T. Callaghy and J. Ravenhill (eds.), *Hemmed In: Responses to Africa's Economic Decline* (New York:Columbia University Press 1993) pp.52

M. Wrong, 'Kenya's economy, hit by sleaze, debt and El Nino, is caught in a destructivespiral', *Financial Times* (22 April 1998) p.4.

S. Jaffee and P. Gordon, *Exporting High-Value Food Commodities. Success Stories from Developing Countries.* 2o orld Bank Discussion Paper 19 (Washington DC: World Bankl993); Economist Intelligence Unit (note 58) p.29.

' Wrong, 'Kenya's economy, hit by sleaze, debt and El Nino, is caught in a destructivespiral', *Financial Times* (22 April 1998) p.5.

political freedoms. Conditions are expected to worsen in Kenya before improving, and most analysts do not expect IFIs to have returned there before 2000. Kenya has backtracked several times on trade liberalization and has terminated liberalization on two occasions: the first time, the state ended its experiment; the second time, the international community halted its support.[21]In terms of numerical indicators, it has abruptly raised and then gradually liberalized tariffs. The government's approach to the economy is based more on a struggle of power, succession, and personality than on long term policy goals. In Kenya, the whole process of implementation has been subverted by the need to meet immediate political demands. In many ways, the prominence of domestic political struggles and ethnicity in Kenya over national economic development and global engagement has contributed to irrationality in the economic sphere. The whole deliberation of trade policy is limited to the president and a few close associates, and there is no room for trade and other governmental institutions to influence policy.

1.9.1.2. Economic Globalization?

The impacts of the international business community on local economic policies have become something that one cannot wish away. Kenya particularly has been coerced if not influenced in many ways to conform to the requirements of the international business community and to formulate domestic economic policies that somewhat are in line with the aspirations of the so called "forces of globalization". For instance, the international businesses' designation of a country as an "emerging market" will no doubt facilitate trade, investment and stock market investments. Alternatively, international businesses' labeling of a country as "non-conducive for business" will encourage global disengagement and lead to decline in FDIs.

ioo?[ʳᵈ ᴮᵃⁿᵏ' **Adjustment in Africa. Reforms, Results, and the Road Ahead (New York:Oxford University Press**

After several decades of mixed reactions about trade liberalization policies, Kenya seemed to have finally been convinced that economic globalization and internalization is the way to go. The liberalization intellectual current drew much inspiration (rightfully or not) from the upward economic mobility (up to recently) of the so called newly industrializing countries(NICs), particularly those of East Asia, such as the South Korea and Malaysia. Officials in Kenya made future projections about globalization of their new economies. At one point, President Moi himself admitted that, 'Kenya is now ready for the next stage of global economic transformation along the path taken by South Korea, Taiwan...'[22]

The table below shows the immediate impacts that analysts found out as a result of Kenya's turn towards economic internationalization.

Table 2. Kenya's turn towards economic internationalization.

Indicator	Pre-reform period	1987-90	1994-97
Number of MNCs	25	24	7
Business travellers(1000s)	n/a	66 '	96
Foreign investments ($)	26	43	7
Number of trading partners	73	57	51
Trade outside Africa(%)	88	90	83
Stock-market listings	20	56	58(20)
Tourist Receipts($)	n/a	56	58(20)

Note: The number of MNC affiliates refers only to affiliates of the largest 450 MNCs in the North and underestimates the total number of MNCs operating in both countries.

Source: Grant Richardpg. 76

• **Economist Intelligence Unit,** *Kenya, Country Profile* **(London: EIU 1995) p. 10.**

1 9 2. Intergovernmental Organizations

The **origin** of the International organizations can be traced from the League of Nations, being the **first organization** of such kind. However, this does not mean that the notion of international **organizations** is as recent as the formulation of the League of Nations. Way before modern **times,** we had heard of monarchs making binding treaties that bound together one or more **kingdoms,** chiefdoms or territories and spelling out certain terms and rules of engagements **among** them. The only different between these loosely defined treaties and modern **Intergovernmental** organizations is that the latter are more formalised, with greater membership **and** subscription, and also more permanent.

The League of Nations is often spoken of as being the brainchild of the American President Wilson Woodrow, after the famous 'Woodrow's Fourteen Points' speech. Even though the League of Nations was viewed by many world leaders as a step towards Globalization of world politics. However, this was never to be as the League, from the very first day suffered major woes, especially after the US refused to sign in as its member after rejecting the treaty of Versailles. The absence of the USA itself meant that the League was deprived of a powerful member whose presence would have been a great boost both psychologically and financially.[23]The dream of the proponents of the League of nations were shattered with the outbreak of World War II. Indeed, this war clearly demonstrated that the League was not strong enough an Intergovernmental Organization to ensure global collective security.

In the post World War II world the term Intergovernmental Organization or International Organization has become somewhat synonymous with the United Nations. There are many more

Lowe Norman.3rd Ed.Mastering Modern World History.Palgrave, Great Britain, 1997.pg51

however. These Intergovernmental Organizations can be divided geographically, into global or regional organizations or grouped into general or specialized international organizations. **Whatever** their categories may be, all IGOs share one characteristic that is, their membership consists of national governments. The truth is that, almost all IGOs that we know of today, were **formed in** the last 50 years or so. This makes IGOs a rather recent phenomenon. Three main root systems have nourished the faster growth of the IGOs: the belief in a community of humankind, **big** power peace keeping, and functional cooperation.[24] The first force that led to the conceptualization of the idea of formation of IGOs was the belief that all humans share a **common** bond and the universal urge to **improve** the condition of humanity. This, coupled with the need to ensure human security all over the globe, led to the formation of the League of Nations which was mainly intended as a peacekeeping organization, although it did have some elements aimed at promoting social and economic cooperation among nations. However, i spite of the great hopes that the League promised during its formation, it could not survive some of its organizational inadequacies, the seemingly troubled post WWI peace, the Great depression, and the rise of militant fascism in Europe. And after only 'two decades of frustrated existence, the League died in the rubble **of** WWII.[25] The United Nations is the latest, and most advanced developmental stage **of** universal concern with the human condition. Like the League of Nations, the United Nations was established mainly to maintain peace. The United Nations, being the main IGO has also played significantly the role of peace-keeping. As a matter of fact, when the united nations succeeded the League of nations, the special status and responsibilities of the big

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powers in the League's council were transferred to the UNSC .like the League, the UNSC is the main peacekeeping organ and includes permanent memberships for five major powers (China,

[24] Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7th Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.1992.pg2J-7
Rourke, Ibid.pg218

France, Great Britain, Russia and the United States of America). However, despite the growth of **iGOs,** states are still considered the major actors in the international scene. This is view is **largely held** by the state level analysts who believe that states are relatively free to decide what **policies** to follow, whether political, economic, social or even cultural. On the other hand, the **system level** analysts believe that the International community pressures states to behave in **certain** ways.

The idea that the state has full and exclusive control over its destiny is increasingly questionable. The state as it is today is presented with many challenges. These challenges range from porous borders to being vulnerable to both external pressures and also from people within their boundaries.[26]Today, the IGOs are increasingly becoming more proactive, some even imposing conditions of good governance on many states, especially developing states. This continually put pressure on the type of governance that such states will pursue. The power of sovereign states to control their internal affairs and external relations has no doubt eroded significantly. "Today's' wars", U.N Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali warned in 1996, "occur mainly within, not across, state borders," and "the forces of fragmentation" are causing states to, "fail, leaving its people without a government to protect them from the chaos."[27]As anarchy within states has continued to arise, doubt also continue about the capacity of the states to exercise control over behaviour within their territory. The very concept of governmental authority is being challenged by public opinion, which no longer accepts the leaders' opinions as the legitimate truth. In this tug of war between the state and the people, there is usually left a vacuum which in many cases is tilled by the IGOs. This was particularly witnessed in Kenya, when the African Union stepped

y ^ ' e y W . Charles and Wittkopf Eugene.6th Ed. World Politics:Trends and Transformation.St.Martins Press, New York, 1997.pg 174
  Kegley ibid.pg523

in during the 2008 post election crisis that saw Kenya almost go down on its knees. After several attempts of brokering peace, the international community, led by former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan, eventually settled on a coalition government for Kenya. This example, depicts the fact that in the apart from the internal challenges that the state faces today, in the realm of foreign relations, the political underpinnings of the past legal and political system of independent states are being undermined by the forces of globalization. Indeed, the lightening speed with which information, capital, and trade move across borders, alongside the accelerating spread of technological innovation internationally and the growing interdependence of states are creating pressures with which states are not very well positioned to cope with. The globalization process

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has noticeably tamed the states' old feelings of confident independence.

1.9.3. Trans-border Data Flow

Explosion in information exchange and rapid growth in computer-mediated and networked communications can shrink distances and facilitate information exchange among people of different backgrounds. The evolution of an amalgamated'global culture inevitable include a great deal of McDonald's, basketball, rock music, e-mail, and other such aspects of pop culture as well **as** commentary about more overtly political transnational phenomena such as the global reach of CNN, BBC, etc.[29]

More importantly, there's a long line of political theory that proposes that the world will come together through myriad micro interactions rather than through such macro forces of political integration as the United Nations. This school of thought believes that political communities are

^ **Kegley ibid.pg.523.**
   Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7.h Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.1992.pg217

<center>26</center>

built by social communities and that those social communities come together through a process **of** interaction, familiarization and amalgamation of diverse existing cultures. Scholars who examine this bottom-up process look for evidence in such factors as the flow of e-mail between countries, the spread across borders of styles of dress, and growing similarities in what people eat.[30]Indeed, there is a significant evidence of cultural amalgamation in the world. A decade ago, it was a very rare phenomenon to walk in the street and hear someone talk like a Nigerian. However, today, the Nigerian accent has taken over the Kenyan household with almost everyone trying to identify themselves with the increasingly "oga-ooh" culture. This is not only exhibited in the way people talk, but also even how they dress. More and more, Kenyans are embracing the Nigerian dressing styles. Also, American foods, games are very popular among Kenyans. Most importantly, the "hip hop culture and the "gangsta 'hustle' lifestyle" is currently the song sung **by** many Kenyan youths.

Globalization is defined as the intensification of economic, political, social and cultural relations across borders. The cultural aspect of globalization has been driven more so by the trans-border data flow. The flow of communication between one country and another has been further boosted by common languages. Perhaps, language is one of the most important aspects of converging culture. English has become a common language of business, diplomacy, communications and even cultural exchange itself. Consumer products are another major factor in narrowing cultural gaps.[3]its true that American movies are very popular in Kenya today. Indeed, some of our local television programmes try to emulate the soap operas of South America. In all these cultural amalgamation, the internet and the mobile phone has played a very

[31] **Rourke,ibid.pgl79**
   Korwa,et al.(ed).Globalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy:A Comparative Perspective of astern Africa.University Press of America,New York.2007:272

significant role over the last decade. The rapid growth in popularity of cellular phones is one element of a larger revolution in telecommunications that continuously shrink the world. While computers and the internet are the strongest symbols of globalization, they are also the most potent agents of cultural globalization.[32]Today, no area of the world, and no arena of politics is free from the pervasive impact of the computer technology. Individuals routinely "surf' the -Net" without constrains, creating a global electronic web of people, ideas, and interactions- a cyberspace-unencumbered by the borders of geopolitical world.[13]

In the cultural globalization, there has been increased interconnectedness among various world cultures which both weakens the uniqueness of national ways of living and local cultures but also encourages a convergence of communication and style among diverse people throughout the world. The process of cultural globalization preferred by the international elite is one that incorporates the world community as consumers of goods and services produced, developed, and distributed by transnational corporations - that is, consumerism of the western model is the dominant process of cultural globalization. Indeed, wifh this process of cultural globalization, a country like Kenya cannot escape the impacts of globalization. The impacts may be positive or negative. The process of acculturation and multiculturalism also promote peace and understanding between people such as sporting events like the FIFA world cup or Commonwealth games. Positive impacts of acculturation include such issues as cultural exchange programmes, promotion of peace through sporting events, exchange of information of vital data over the internet and boosting technology. However, certain negative effects of cultural globalization like porn films, cultural erosions, etc must be dealt with. This pegs the

Kegiey W. Charles and Wittkopf Eugene^"[1] Ed.World Politics:Trends and Transformation.St.Martins Press, New York, 1997.pg250
Kegiey Ibid.pg251

does cultural globalization affect how Kenya will formulate its public policy with to its culture?

1 lO.Research Design and Methodology

In this section, the researcher will discuss the design of the study in gathering the information, study population, sampling design, data collection instruments, reliability and validity of data and data analysis.

1.10.1 Research Design

The researcher will use descriptive research design. The aim of such to identify the various ways through which trade negotiations has fostered regional integration not only in the East African region but also in different regions of the world as well. The survey will be carried out at ministries of foreign affairs, trade, immigration, and that of East African Community. In addition, the researcher shall enlist the use of secondary data such as journals, books by different authors, and other relevant literature for the purposes of comparison so as to get the most accurate data possible. Also, the general public shall be engaged in data collection through random sampling, which will enable the researcher to get indiscriminate the overall population response desired.

1.10.2 Target Population

The target population of this study was the staff at ministries of foreign affairs, trade, immigration, and that of East African Community and some private corporations, notably Safaricom Limited. About 300 respondents are targeted. However, 100 were interviewed and

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uestionnaires administered successfully. Of the 100 questionnaires, 83 were returned by the respondents while 17 were not returned. The researcher also targeted some legislators but due to time constrains, they could not be reached.

Table 3: Target Population

Population Category	Population frequency	Percentage (%)
Min.of Immigration	60	20
Min.of EAC	80	27
Min.of F. A	60	20
Min.of Trade	50	16.5
Private sector	50	16.5
Total	300	100

Source: Author (2012)

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1.10.3 Sample Design

A stratified sampling method was used to draw up the sample size , an equivalent of **10%** of the total number of employees at each of the ministries concerned. The government officials and the public were divided into stratum according to the categories they belong to.

1.10.4 Data Collection

The main tool for primary data collection was the questionnaire which had both open and closed-ended questions. Respondents to the questionnaires were the target population. The questionnaire was structured in three parts as follows: Part A: General information; Part B:

focused on objectives which was to establish how globalization and its forces influence Kenya's **public** policy and Part C will focus on objectives 1-3 which aims at finding out other key forces **that** may also play a role in shaping public policy, the benefits of globalization and additional **opinions** of the respondents. Drop- and- pick- later method was used to administer the **questionnaire** since it is deemed cheaper and convenient, especially for those top government **officials** who found it hard to afford time to sit down with the researcher. The researcher was **also present** physically to clarify any issues that the respondents, especially those of low level of **education** may encounter.

Thus, questionnaires were the main tool of primary data collection for the researcher. Oral interviews were also used to supplement the questionnaires as was considered necessary by the researcher.

Use of secondary data was also be important in this study. These were extracted from journals touching on different lifestyles of Kenyans, Lifestyle magazines, relevant books and the internet.

1.10.S Data Analysis and Presentation

After the field work and before analysis, checking for reliability and verification of all the questionnaires was done; the data was analyzed using descriptive statistics using tables, charts and percentages. In addition, quantitative data also contributed significantly to the drawing of conclusions and inferences.

1.11. Chapter Review

Chapter I

Defines the Problem, the Research Questions, the Dependent Variables, the Thesis, and Hypothesis and the Methodology. This chapter introduces our research study first by setting the broad context of our research study. It gives the statement of the problem, justification of the study, theoretical framework, literature review, hypotheses plus the methodology of study.

Literature Review on the effects on globalization on Kenya's domestic policies.

In this chapter too, we shall examine the extent to which policy making in Kenya is influenced by globalization.

Chapter II

In this chapter, we shall look at public policy making in Kenya in depth. It will also look at the extent to which the principles of globalization are observed during policy making in Kenya.

Chapter III

Will analyse the data collected in the light of the hypotheses and theoretical frameworks already stated.

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Chapter IV

Shall provide the conclusions of the study, recommendations and suggestions on areas for further study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 PUBLIC POLICY AND GLOBALIZATION

2.1. Public Policy

This section of chapter two presents an insight of the process of public policy making in Kenya, which generally is almost the same procedure that is commonly followed by the rest of the East African countries.

2.1.1 Public Policy Making in Kenya

The earlier belief so held by, not only African themselves but people from all over the world was that public policy of African states, just like foreign policy begins and ends with the desires of the African leaders. What became known as the "Big Man" syndrome of African policies became very popular due to the tendency of the first generation of African leaders to create highly centralized authoritarian regimes that suppressed other centres of power capable of challenging the policy supremacy of the institution of the presidency and its cronies. It was therefore common to identify the African state and its domestic policies with the personal whims of the African president in power, as best captured by an amusing play on words of a famous French phrase to describe the nature of Kenyan politics under president Daniel arap Moi: "L'Etat, c'est Moi!" which can be translated to mean, "the state is Moi".[34]

Policies are laid down principles on how certain objectives will be achieved. National policies help governments move away from an ad hoc manner of doing things to a more planned and stable way of tackling issues. Policy formulation is the act of making new policies, while policy

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[34] Korwa,et al.(ed).Globalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy: A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa. University Press of America, New York.2007:pg.l

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analysis is a way of finding out how a particular policy will impact on an institution, government, etc both positively and negatively.

2.1.2. Importance of Public Policy Making in Kenya

1. Policy enables the government to avoid ambiguities in decision making. It also reduces the dangers and risks of making uncoordinated decisions which could lead to unplanned actions and eventual jeopardy of government operations.

2. Policies are instrumental in planning the future, thus instrumental in avoidance of future pitfalls, disasters and unplanned for emergencies.

3. Policies act as stabilising factor due to consistent review of national policies. In addition, policies are also important as tools for international negotiations since the negotiators negotiate from a point of knowledge and can easily refer back in case of uncertainty. In addition, they make negotiations and decisions that arise from these negotiations professional. This is because, with policies, negotiations are not done haphazardly.

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2.1.3. Stages of Public Policy Making in Kenya

Generally, policy making process in every part of the world should follow a given format. The stages that are followed when developing policies include:

1. Identification of the Issue: What are the events or circumstances that make the policy a necessity? In this stage the government identifies an issue of concern that may require certain laid down guidelines on how to tackle and resolve the issue. This necessitates policy-making.

2. Selection of policy makers: This is usually a group of experts and should be multi disciplinary ^•d multi-dimensional. The policy makers are the one charged with the overall responsibility of

developing the policy and should be drawn from all the related departments and institutions, policy makers could be government officials or private contractors.

3.Data Collection and research: In this stage, the policy makers are given time to go out to the field and collect data on the issue at hand, gathering public opinion on the issue so as to come up with conclusive data about the problem and how best to tackle it. It is important to involve a wide variety of stakeholders, such as the public, the civil rights activists, the media and so on so as to make the policy making process all-inclusive. In addition, any slight feeling of being sidelined in the process may lead to certain groups rejecting the policy in its future stages of implementation. This would just be a waste of funds because, it would then imply that the process be started afresh.

4. Data Analysis and Report writing: At this stage, the data that was collected in stage 3 (above) is analysed and a report is written by the team of experts about the problem and how best to tackle it.

5. Adoption of the report: This is where the draft report is presented in plenary sessions and recommendations discussed. This stage should involve as many stakeholders as possible who make various changes, adaptations, alterations and so on depending on how they feel the issue should be better handled.

6. Implementation of the Recommendations: This is the stage where the recommendations are implemented or put to action. It is the practical try-out of the solutions laid out in the report by the policy makers. Implementation is important because without this stage, then it means everything shall remain unchanged.

Monitoring and Evaluation: These are activities aimed at ensuring that the implementation Process is on course and everything is done according to the policy being implemented.

In East African countries, Kenya included, policy making process is rather still weak and mostly done in an ad hoc manner without going through the necessary policy-making stages or using the relevant instruments. In some countries, there are no clear policy departments, although this is slowly changing. This is usually because of the expenses involved and lack of experts in public policy. Also, the database is weak and the culture of keeping data and analysing it is not so well developed.

2.2. Globalization

2.2.1. Introduction

This section of chapter two presents an insight of the process of globalization. This chapter will also present a critical analysis of the agents of globalization discussed in this paper.

2.2.2 Introduction to Globalization

This paper is concerned with how the process of globalization-the integration of states through increasing contacts, communication and trade- is influencing changes in African governance and particularly African public policy making processes at the national level, with Kenya as the main focus of study. The African state is facing a variety of both internal and external challenges to governance due to the combined impacts of the end of Cold War and the process of globalization, as most notably demonstrated by the spread of the "third wave" of democratization to the African continent from the 1990s.These processes have altered not only the interplay of domestic politics, such as the reintroduction of multiparty politics in individual African countries, but most importantly the very nature and structure of African public policy establishment as well.

The rising influence of a variety of actors on the formulation and implementation of African public policies cannot be over-estimated. African leaders and governments are facing domestic challengers ranging from resurgent state actors, such as vocal African parliaments, to increasingly critical public opinion and activist portions of civil society, such as labour organizations, church groups and opposition political parties many of which enjoy external linkages and support. In many respects, these forces of change and influence represent largely the advance of Western neo-liberal ideals, with positive implications for participatory democracy and good governance. In Kenya's case, pressure mounted in the 1990s by pro-democracy and human rights forces with the support of the northern industrialized democracies forced the Moi regime to introduce multiparty politics.

Globalization is described as the integration of states through increasing contact, communication and trade.[35]Globalization is a very wide aspect of study. In this paper, however, we shall examine three major aspects of globalization: the globalization of politics, economic globalization and cultural globalization. In all these, our main aim is to demonstrate how these aspects of globalization directly or indirectly influence public policy making in Kenya and its outcomes.

This paper is driven by the fact that a few decades ago, what was important for citizens of a given country was how power was exercised at state levels. This was so because the actions taken by the national governments were basically the only face that determined their welfare. The word politics was essentially synonymous to national politics as stated before. Today, the

[5]Korwa,et al.(ed).Globalization and Emerging Trends in African Foreign Policy:A Comparative Perspective of Eastern Africa.University Press of America,New York.2007:2.

continued shrinkage of the world has basically destroyed the importance of national governments j_n shaping and determining the welfare of its citizens. Therefore, the welfare of ordinary men and women no longer depend primarily on the actions of their own governments. It depends far more on the actions and decisions reached, far beyond the frontiers of their own state, by other governments, or more importantly by the Intergovernmental organizations taking decisions collectively. Thus, political activity devoted to determining which political leader or which political party rules their own state becomes increasingly irrelevant. In some cases even, the international forces play a significant role in determining who takes over power in a given country.

Some of the most important decisions made within the state usually relate to economic affairs. The emergence of a single, closely interrelated international economy means that it is no longer the way their own local economy is managed by their own government which determines the people's economic welfare. Whether the country suffers from depression or inflation, unemployment or high interest rates will depend not on the actions of any single national government but on the actions and decisions made by a large number of other governments around the world or the decisions of international bodies such as the IMF. Examples include exchange rates, inflation, monetary policy, the level of credit and other matters. Whether the price of oil, coffee or milk goes up or comes down will be determined not by national governments but by groups of governments elsewhere reaching decisions together in OPEC, International Coffee Agreement, the EEC, COMESA, EAC, or several other economic blocs. It •s the future of the international economy and not of any single national economy that matters. And it is the decisions that influence this that are important to individuals in every state. In all

these control game played by globalization forces, the great majority of the world's population ₩ho live in poorer and smaller countries are the most self-evidently dependent on actions taken by other states. Whether there will be a market for the exports they manufacture, what kind of price will be paid for them, the terms on which their debts will be repaid, whether their nations can secure inward investments or managerial skills or transfers of technology, all depend primarily on decisions reached elsewhere. But the inhabitants of medium-sized states too are deeply affected by external events-whether the US economy booms or declines, stock markets in Hong Kong or London go up or declines all depend on the happenings in the other parts of the world. And even the inhabitants of the most powerful state on earth, US, are dependent on decisions taken in other countries: decisions on the price of oil, reached by the governments of oil-producing countries, etc. Therefore, decisions abroad now become more important than decisions made at home. The important political developments are now not national but global.

But it is not only in the economic field that the power over events has slipped beyond the control of any national state. In the field of security, equally, the significant decisions are reached beyond the boundaries of any single nation. Only a few decades ago, each nation provided individually for its own defence. Today, no state can, by its own decisions alone, safeguard the lives of its citizens. Developments in military technology, the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, and the capacity to deliver them around the globe in almost a few minutes, mean that no country can any longer, unaided, defend itself and its population. This is the sole reason why for example, currently, while Kenya is facing s lot of terrorism threats, we hear many government leaders reach out to the international community, claiming that war on terror should ^ an international responsibility.

however, the journey towards internationalism and globalization of state issues hasn't been an easy one. The belief that some central international institution was required to transform relationships among states and by extension help safeguard the rights of citizens in individual states goes back many years. In the Middle Ages, the Frenchman Father Dubois, conceived of a council of Christian sovereigns who would renounce war and agree to settle their disputes by arbitration, recognizing the authority of the Pope as the final arbiter. Several other propositions were to be put forward in the subsequent centuries to help curb animosity between states and at the same time, ensure that state met its moral obligations towards its citizens. But the notion of state sovereignty has always been a stumbling block for any attempt to constitute an International Organization that may in any way be seen to interfering with the sovereignty of individual states. It was only with the establishment of the League of Nations in 1919 that a more comprehensive institution was established. But even then, the spirit of national sovereignty was jealously safeguarded by most national governments. And so, this was just like a loose association of states coming together for their mutual benefits. What was to transpire was that the authority of the League became insufficient to influence a state which was set on national aggrandizement.[36]

The weaknesses and failures of the League of Nations eventually led to the collapse of the organization and the world went back to the same old way of preserving national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs. This of course came with so many chaos, that saw the world eventually plunge into another World War. After WW II, a new organization was formed which was intended to avoid some of the weaknesses displayed by the League. Greater constraints were

    Luard Evan. The Globalization of Politics. The changed focus of political action in the modern World. Macmillan, London. 1990. pg 165.

on National sovereignty. The new organization was to be called the United Nations **Organization.** The Article 1 **of** the United **Nations** Charter states its objectives as:

- Maintain international peace and security.

- Develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self determination of peoples;

- Achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all;

- Functions as a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends.

In its attempt to achieve the above objectives, the United Nations has found itself many times "meddling" in not only the external affairs of states, but also the internal affairs. Of course, there are so many other Intergovernmental organizations such as the African union, COMESA, IGAD, etc. But in many cases, the UN has stood out as the main IGO, mainly because of its unique characteristics such as its membership number which is almost global. Thus, the UN, as com[pared to other IGOs, tend to be global in nature, and its influence is also strongly felt, virtually in every corner of the globe. The United Nations, thus at times finds itself playing the role of a watchdog in internal state affairs. This has been so conspicuous in its role of ensuring the respect for human rights by states.

2.2.3 Agents of Globalization

2-2.3-1- Economic Internationalism

Economic globalization, better known as economic internationalism largely refers to the **integration** of national economies into one global economy through trade, technology and foreign direct investment.[37] In this context, globalization may also be viewed as the process through which national borders (geographical, legal, physical and psychological) is reduced, whether consciously or not. Thus, almost all the economies of the world are today integrated into one. This is not just one of the many theoretical argumentations, as it was clearly illustrated by the collapse of the Wall Street Stock Market in the USA during the early 19th C, which led to the collapse of almost all the economies the world over.

According to the capitalist theories, a completely liberalized global market is the most efficient way to foster growth all over the world, since each country will specialize in producing goods and services in which it has the comparative advantage. The highest gains from trade result from comparative advantage, which arises whenever there are considerable differences in the opportunity costs of production.[38]Therefore all countries are encouraged to pursue open economies as opposed to closed economies in order to enjoy the benefits that accrue from economic globalization. In today's world, no economy is autarky. As a result, most governments formulate their domestic policies in line with their commercial policies.

Economic internalization traces its roots from the Bretton Woods Conference, which was convened by the leaders of the major powers that emerged victorious in the Second World War.

Rourke, T.John.International Politics on the World Stage(7th Ed.).Dushkin/McGraw-Hill, USA.1992:1Z9
Chrystal and Lipsey(l 1th Ed.).Economics.Oxford University Press,2007. pg.611

The major aim of the conference was to lay groundwork for economic cooperation among **nations** to avoid economic disasters that had been experienced before such as the Great **Depression** of the 1920s and the hyperinflation experienced in Germany. As such, the Bretton **woods** conference is largely seen as the foundation of modern economic internationalism. This **conference** led to the establishment of various tools of economic internationalism, notably the **International** Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, **later** renamed the World Trade Organization, and the International Bank for Reconstruction and development, one **of** the institutions under the World bank Group. Fundamentally, the Bretton Woods Conference largely brought on **its** knees the era of economic nationalism and opened a new era in world **economics** and interdependence, that of economic internationalism.

2.2.3.2. Trans-Border Data Flow

The current developments in technology have perhaps found its biggest impact in flow of information from one country to another. The internet has no doubt had a big impact on people's culture. So far, the internet contributes the largest percentage of data flow, with the US viewed as the largest exporter of culture. The internet has broken down cultural boundaries across the world by enabling easy, near-instantaneous communication between people anywhere in the world. In fact, as Mc Luhan puts it, the world has simply been reduced to a "global village" because of technology.[39]

Culture is what people eat, how they dress, the beliefs they hold, and the social activities they engage in. Globalization has joined different cultures and moulded them into one global culture.

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[39] ᵉn.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marshall_McLuhan.Document accessed on 12 May,2012 at 10.39am.

Globalization has resulted in the growth of cross-cultural contacts; advent of new categories of **consciousness** and identities which embodies cultural diffusion. This has been driven by the **desire** to **increase** one's standard of living and enjoy foreign products and ideas, adopt new **technology** and practices, and participate in a "world culture".

The Internet allows interaction and communication between people with very different lifestyles and from very different cultures; e.g. Photo sharing websites allow interaction, even where language would otherwise be a barrier; YouTube, Facebook, and MySpace; all of which are accessible to those who have Internet or Television connections.

Others view globalized cultures as multiculturalism that promotes peace and understanding between people, e.g. through worldwide sporting events such as FIFA World Cup and the Olympic Games.

Cultural globalization seems to be no longer dbminated by Western civilization. A 2005 UNESCO report showed that Cultural exchanges are becoming more frequent from Eastern Asia. Thus, whereas Western Countries are still the main exporters of cultural goods, in 2002, China was the third largest exporter of cultural goods, after the UK and US.[40]

IT has however ignited the Development of a Global Information System, global telecommunications infrastructure and greater trans-border data flows, using such technologies as the Internet, communication satellites, submarine fibre optic cables, and wireless telephones.

2,2.3.3. Intergovernmental Organizations

Globalization, and the need to form a world government to ensure safety of citizens all over the world, led the world leaders after the First World War to form the League of Nations to act as that world government. However, it seemed like it was not yet an idea that governments were prepared for at that time. The outbreak of Second World War made the leaders regret the collapse of the League of Nations, and made them realize just how important it was to form a body in which governments would subscribe memberships to and in turn, act as a "government" of the world. This promptly led to the signing of the UN charter, which created the United Nations. Today, the United Nations boasts of a membership of over 192 countries and plays the role of promoting good governance, apart from other side functions it plays through its many tentacles.

The creation of the International Criminal Court and International Justice Movements and Global Crime-fighting efforts are further a manifestation to this the extent to which the international community may influence domestic political'ideologies and policies.

3#0 DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

3.1 Introduction

fhis chapter presents a summary of the findings collected from the target audience. The data was obtained through the use of questionnaires which were the main tools for data collection **used** in the study. The data was interpreted in light of research questions and objectives. The questionnaires were distributed to the target audience i.e. the Kenyan public servants employed in the ministries of Foreign Affairs, Trade, East African Community, Immigration, and the private sector enterprises. The data provided information that formed the basis for discussions and the interpretation of the results.

3.1.1 Response Rate

The questionnaires were distributed to a total of 100 respondents. Out of 100 questionnaires distributed, the researcher managed to get back 83% (83) of the total questionnaires distributed whereas 17% (17) were not returned.

3.1.2. Data Analysis

SECTION A: BIODATA

83 out of a possible 100 questionnaires were filled by respondents and returned to the researcher. Of all the 83 questionnaires returned by respondents, 52 were from male respondents while 31 were from the female respondents from various ministries, and a cross section of the private sector. This was a representative of 62.7% and 37.3% respectively. The middle aged seems to have responded a lot more than any other age bracket. The young respondents comprised 7.2%

while the youthful respondents comprised 32.5%.The majority of respondents were middle age with 42.2% while advanced age and senior age stood at 15.7% and 2.4% respectively. Grouped according to their level of education, 77.1% of the total respondents had a University degree and above. This was followed by Tertiary education at 13.3% and secondary education at 9.6%.This js in agreement with the assumption that the higher the level of education, the higher the knowledge about Public Policy making. Also, it shows that the number of employees in both the public service and private sector increase with the level of education. From the above result, one can easily conclude that the most people employed in the public service could be graduate.

SECTION B: QUESTIONS ON DATA FLOW AND CULTURE

Statistics

CONSUMPTION OF EXOTIC

FOOD

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 4: Consumption of Exotic Food

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	72	86.7	86.7	86.7
	NO	11	13.3	13.3	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012,
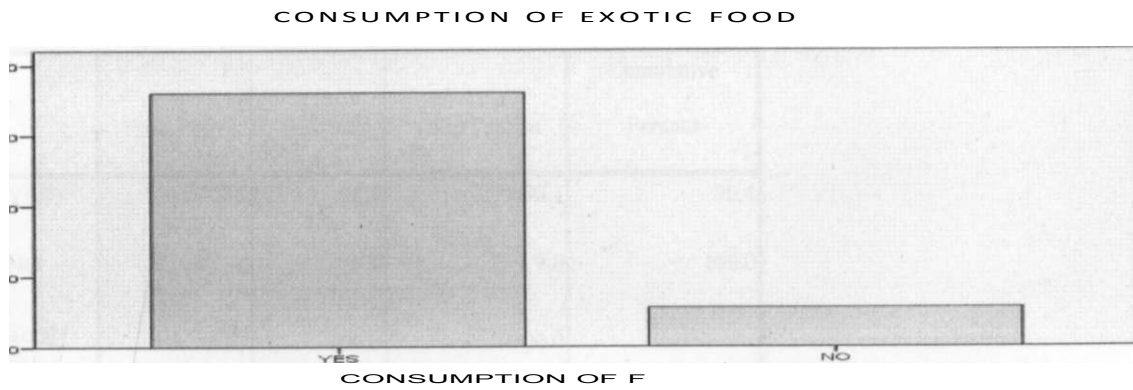
Fig: 1: **Consumption of Exotic Food**

Source: survey data (2012).

On consumption of exotic food, it clearly shows that a large percentage of Kenyan Citizens consume exotic food. 86.7% as compared to 13.3% of Kenyans consume exotic food on almost a daily basis. This is quite a big percentage, making it hard to ignore the fact that exotic culture has infiltrated the local culture.

Statistics

COMSUMPTION OF EXOTIC

CLOTHES

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

fable 5: Consumption of Exotic Clothes

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	75	90.4	90.4	90.4
	NO	8	9.6	9.6	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

COMSUMPTION OF EXOTIC CLOTHES

COMSUMPTION OF EXOTIC CLOTHES
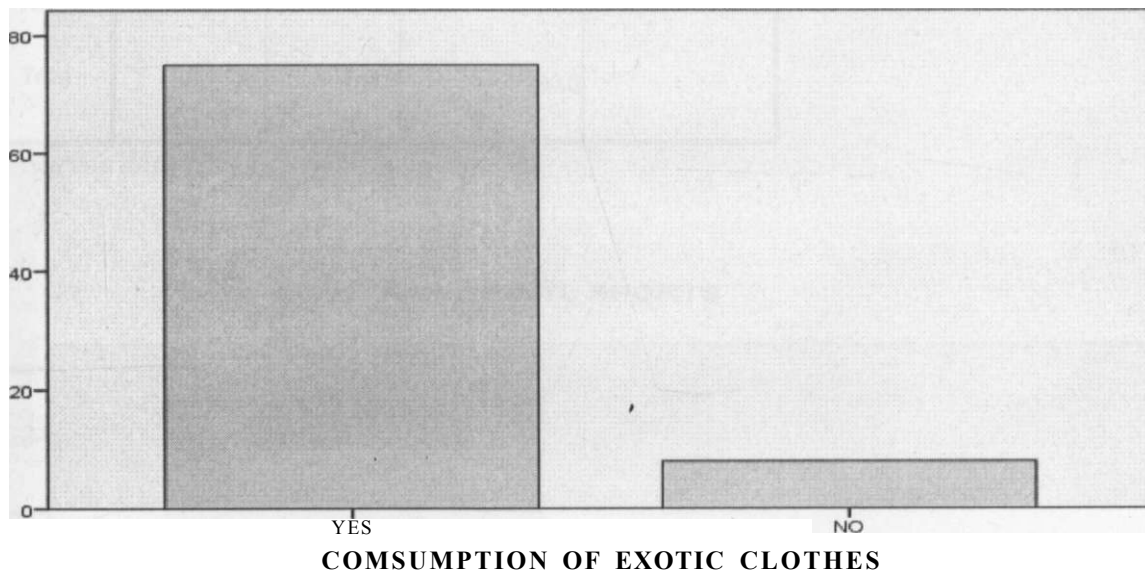
Fig. 2 Consumption of Exotic Clothes

Source: survey data (2012).

On exotic clothing, 90.4% of the respondents admitted that they actively use exotic clothing almost on a daily basis. Only 9.6% said they don't consume exotic clothing.

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 6: Fan of Intl Sports

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	57	68.7	68.7	68.7
	NO	26	31.3	31.3	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

FAN OF INTL SPORTS
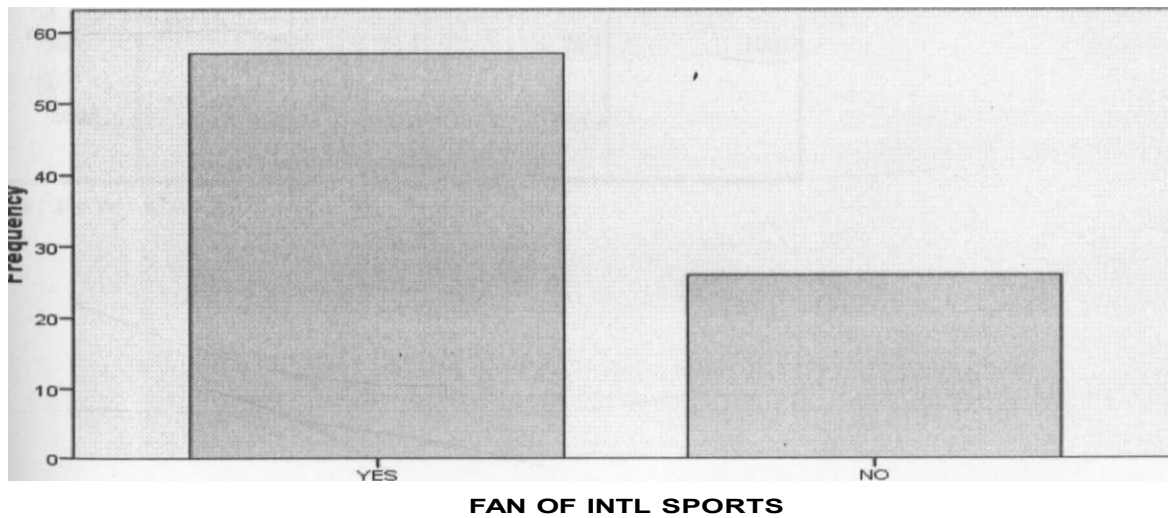
FAN OF INTL SPORTS

% 3 **Fan of Intl Sports**

Source: *survey data (2012).*

50

On being fan of international sports, there's a slight variation, but still a significant pointer towards the confirmation of our hypothesis that globalization has an influence on Kenya's domestic lifestyle and culture. Indeed 68.7% say they are active fans of international sports while 31.3% say they don't.

Statistics

USE OF EXOTIC FURNITURE

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 7: Use of Exotic Furniture

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	63	75.9	75.9	75.9
	NO	20	24.1	24.1	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).
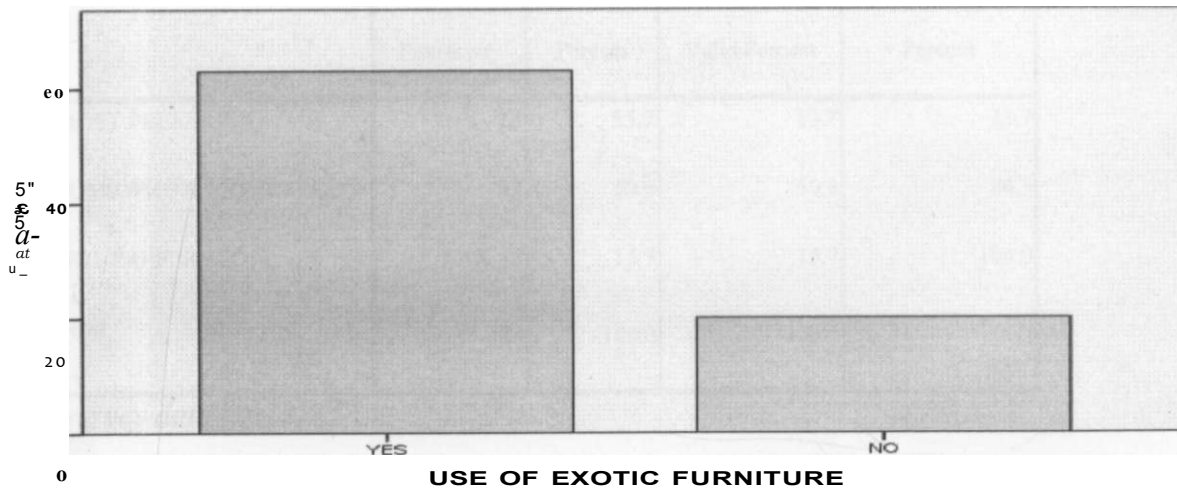
Fig: 4 **Use of Exotic Furniture**

Source: survey data (2012).

On the use of exotic household items, furniture in this case, 75.9% of those interviewed said they own and prefer exotic furniture to those made locally. This shows the frequency to which the use of exotic furniture is widely spread especially among the middle class in Kenya, who also make the bulk of employees in the Kenyan Public Service and many of the private enterprises.

Statistics

FOOD PREFERENCE

Valid	83
Missing	0

fable 8: Food Preference

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
MOST PREFERRED	28	33.7	33.7	33.7
SOMEWHOW PREFERRED	42	50.6	50.6	84.3
NOT PREFERRED	13	15.7	15.7	100.0
Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).
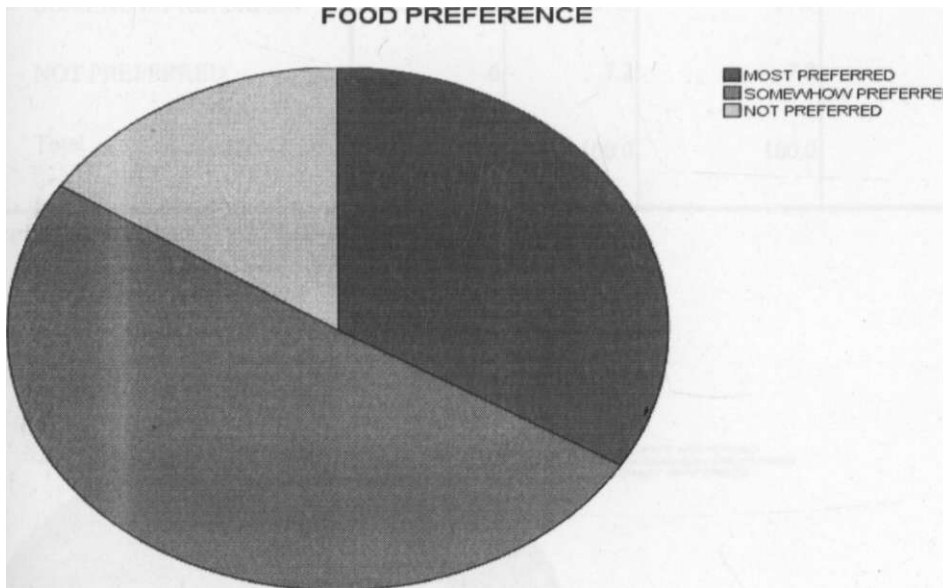
Fig: 5 **Food Preference**

Source: survey data (2012).

On food, there was an interesting trend, a slight but still significant variation. Those who

Preferred exotic food turned out to be 33.7% while 50.65 and 15.7% said they somehow

Preferred and do not prefer the exotic food respectively.

ₒLOTH PREFERENCE

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 9: Cloth Preference

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MOST PREFERRED	46	55.4	55.4	55.4
	SOMEHOW PREFERRED	31	37.3	37.3	92.8
	NOT PREFERRED	6	7.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).
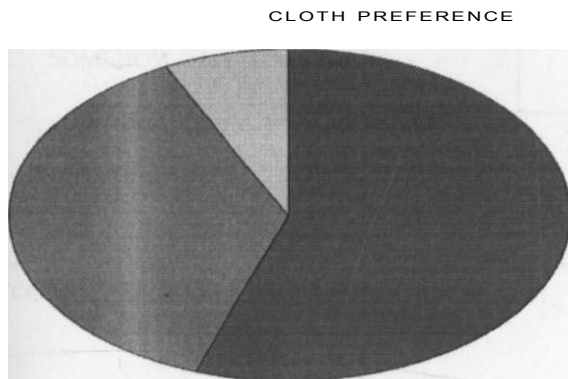
CLOTH PREFERENCE

Fig: 6 **Cloth Preference**

Source: *survey data (2012).*

On clothing, there was no doubt, the level to which globalization affects the domestic Kenyan market. Indeed a larger percentage of 55.4% admitted to having preference and consumption of exotic clothing as compared to the 37.3% and 7.2% respectively who said they somehow preferred and don't prefer at all the exotic clothing. This was also in line with their view when asked about the consumption of those exotic clothing.

Statistics

SPORTS PREFERENCE

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 10: Sports Preference

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MOST PREFERRED	13	15.7	15.7	15.7
	SOMEHOW PREFERRED	37	44.6	44.6	60.2
	NOT PREFERRED	33	39.8	39.8	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

On the preference of exotic or what may be referred to in this context as the Western sports, compared to local or African sports, a large percentage showed that they somehow preferred exotic sports. Exotic sports are for example golf, cricket, football, cycling, tennis, baseball, surfing and many others. On the other hand, sports activities that may be classified as African in

i

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origin include athletics, wrestling, and so on. Although only 15.7% admitted to having most preference on exotic sporting activities, 44.6% saying they somehow prefer exotic sports while **39.8%** says they don't prefer exotic sports, the truth is most Kenyan citizens consume exotic sports on almost a daily basis, while sporting activities that maybe seen as having an African origin are slowly being forgotten. However, it is also true the other way round, by saying that **African** culture has significantly infiltrated the West. It is true that the West also have sporting activities that may trace their origin from African continent. They actively engage in wrestling sporting activities, such as the World Wrestling Federation that that employ and train wrestlers from all over the world.

This statistic is further illustrated by the chart as below:
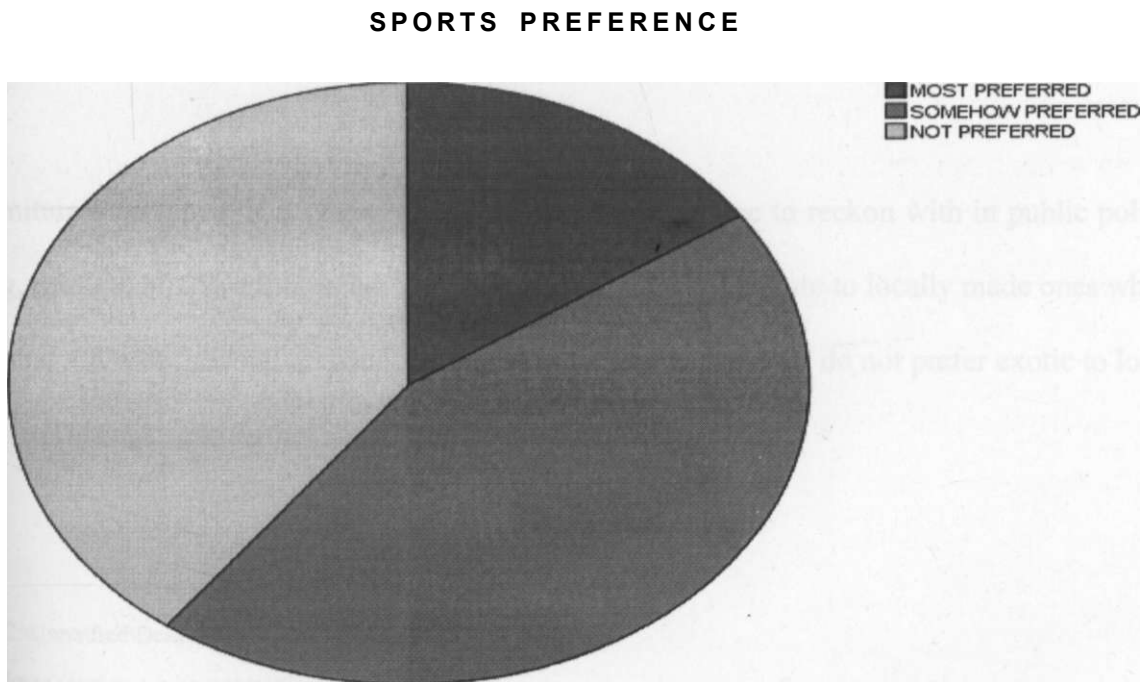
SPORTS PREFERENCE

Fig-' 7 **Sports Preference**

Source: survey data (2012).

FURNITURE PREFERENCE

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 11: Furniture Preference

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	MOST PREFERRED	67	80.7	80.7	80.7
	SOMEHOW PREFERRED	12	14.5	14.5	95.2
	NOT PREFERRED	4	4.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

On furniture preference, it is clearer that globalization is a force to reckon with in public policy making. Straight 80.7% admit to having preference of exotic furniture to locally made ones while 14.5% and 4.8% of the total respondents say they somehow prefer or do not prefer exotic to local furniture. This again, is further illustrated by the chart below.

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DATASETNAME DataSetO WINDOW=FRONT.

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=SOCIALMEDIA

 /BARCHART FREQ

 /ORDER=ANALYSIS.

Statistics

USE FREQUENCY

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 12: Use of the Social Media

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY OFTEN	70	84.3	84.3	84.3
	OFTEN	9	10.8	10.8	95.2
	LESS OFTEN	4	4.8	4.8	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The research also sought to find out how frequent the local Kenyan citizens use the social media and whether the social media influence in any way their decisions on certain matters. A whopping 84.3 percent said they use the social media more often than note and most of the ideas that are shared via the social media are an important consideration when they make certain decisions. 10.8% said they often use the social media while only 4.8% admitted that they use the internet less often. The social media that are currently mostly on use in Kenya are facebook, twitter, google plus, netlog, you tube, plus many others. According to information collected from Safaricom Limited, the use of internet has tremendously increased among its subscribers over the last one year. And according to the Communications Commission of Kenya, "Kenya is ranked

second in Africa in the use of Twitter after South Africa, and seventh in Facebook use with an estimated two million users. Egypt leads in Facebook use by 9.5 million users, followed by South Africa, Nigeria, Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia.'This shows how Kenyans, especially the middle class are actively engaged in use of social media.

The Communications Commission of Kenya also reports that," As at 30th June 2012, there were 7.7million Internet subscriptions up from 6.4 million subscriptions recorded in the previous quarter. This represents an increase of 19.2 percent during the quarter under review. Annual subscription rose by 81.7 percent in the FY 2011/12 recorded at 7.7million from 4.2 million subscriptions posted in the FY 2010/11. The mobile data/Internet subscriptions category contributed 98.9 percent of the total subscriptions. "41

This data is further represented by the chart that follows:

USE FREQUENCY

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VERY OFTEN   OFTEN   LESS OFTEN

USE FREQUENCY
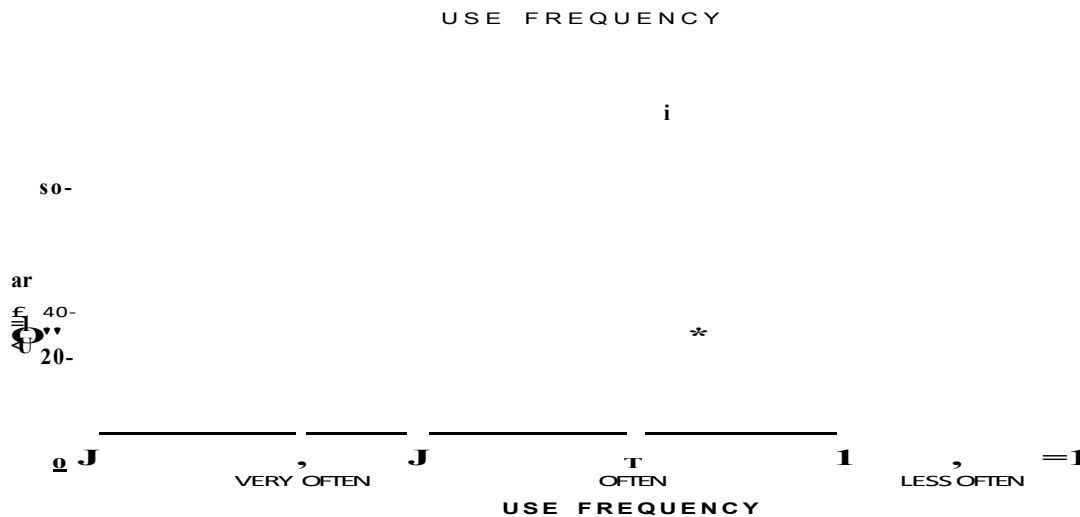
8 **Use of the Social Media**

Source: survey data (2012).

^ journal of the communications Commision of Kenya: QUARTERLY SECTOR STATISTICS REPORT FOURTH QUARTER OF THE FINANCIAL YEAR 2011/12(APRIL-JUNE 2012).pg.20

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=TV

/BARCHART FREQ

/ORDER=ANALYSIS.

Statistics

USE FREQUENCY

Valid	83
Missing	0

Table 13: Use of Television

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY OFTEN	47	56.6	56.6	56.6
	OFTEN	28	33.7	33.7	90.4
	LESS OFTEN	8	9.6	9.6	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	1 100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This research also sought to find out how watching TV programmes help influence local decisions and cultures.56.6% of the respondents admitted to the fact that watching TV, especially the western programs actively influence their behavior and decision making on certain issues. While 33.7% and 9.6% respectively said they are often and less often watch TV and are 'nfluenced by the western programs they watch when making their decisions. This is also ^{re}Presented in the graph below:

Fig: 9 **Use of Television**

Source: survey data (2012).

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=LOCALNEWSPAPERS

/BARCHART FREQ

/ORDER=ANALYSIS.

Statistics

USE FREQUENCY

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 14: Use of Local Newspapers

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY OFTEN	14	16.9	16.9	16.9
	OFTEN	41	49.4	49.4	66.3
	LESS OFTEN	28	33.7	33.7	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The use of local newspapers to obtain information about western culture is not so widespread as can be seen from the data above. Although 16.9% of the respondents agree that Newspapers are very important source of information to them and can influence their decision making at times, 49.4% are important while 33.7% say they are less important to them as a source of information. This is further represented in the graph below:
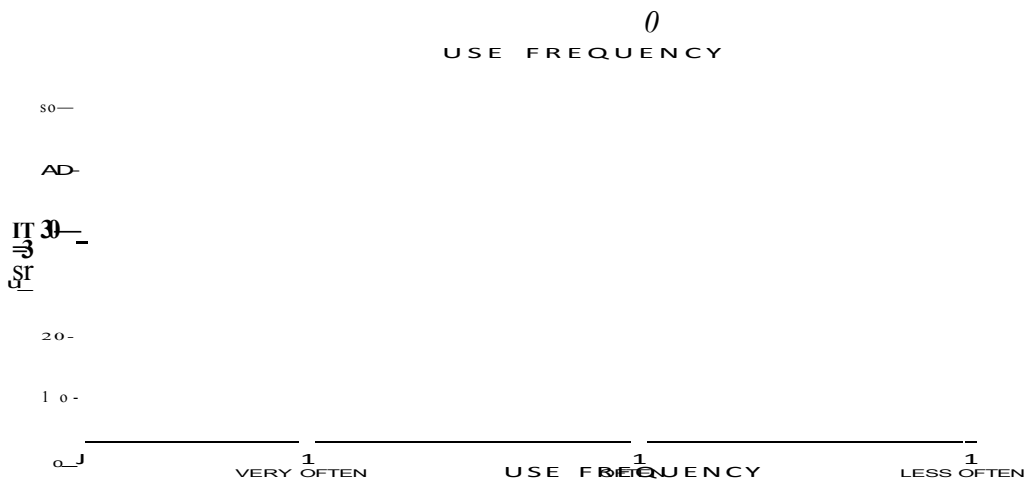
^g: 10 **Use of Local Newspapers**

Source: survey data (2012).

62

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=RADIO

/BARCHART FREQ

/ORDER=ANALYSIS.

Statistics

USE FREQUENCY

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 15: Use of Radio

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY OFTEN	7	8.4	8.4	8.4
	OFTEN	44	53.0	53.0	61.4
	LESS OFTEN	32	38.6	38.6	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The use of radio to obtain information takes almost the same trend as the TV. Only 8.4% believes that the Radio is a very important tool for obtaining information and that Radio can influence their decisions on certain issues.53.0% say radio is important while 38.6% believe radio is less important as a source of information to them.

^ is an interesting observation because it seems that the preference of electronic and print media as sources of information is slowly declining while the internet is getting more preference. This [ls] reinforced by the data on use of social media as compared to the print and electronic-media.

The data on radio is further illustrated on the chart below:
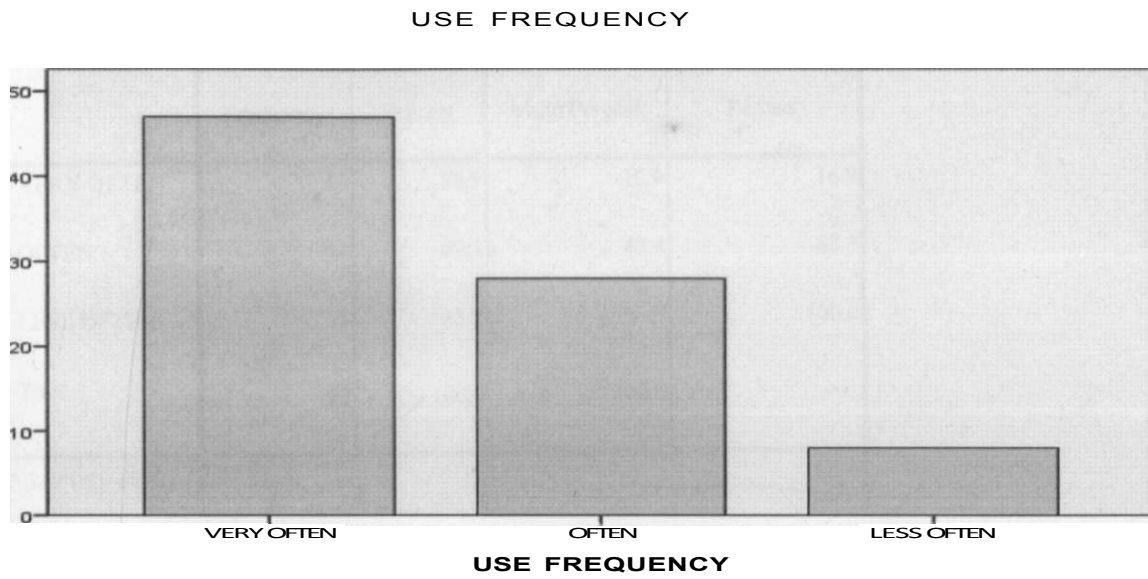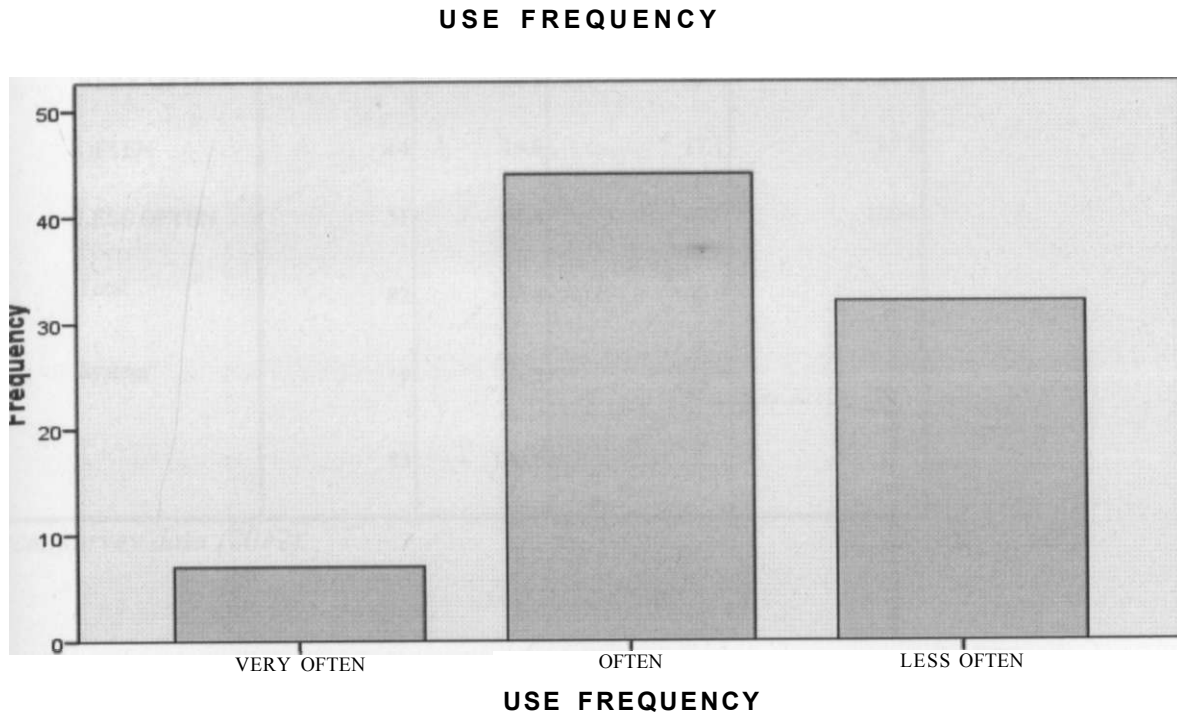
USE FREQUENCY

Fig: 11 **Use of Radio**

Source: survey data (2012).

FREQUENCIES VARIABLES=RELATIVESABROAD

/BARCHART FREQ

/ORDER=ANALYSIS.

Statistics

USE FREQUENCY

N	Valid	82
	Missing	I

Table 16: Use of Relatives Abroad

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY OFTEN	17	20.5	20.7	20.7
	OFTEN	14	16.9	17.1	37.8
	LESS OFTEN	51	61.4	62.2	100.0
	Total	82	98.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.2		
Total		83	100.0		

Source: survey data (2012).

20.5% of respondents say they very often rely on their relatives abroad on information about the west, and admit that such information may, to a large extent shape their perception on the Western culture and way of life or even influence their decisions on certain issues. 16.9% of the respondents say they often rely on relatives abroad fbr information while 51% say the relatives abroad are less important as a source of information to them.

This data is also represented in the chart as below:
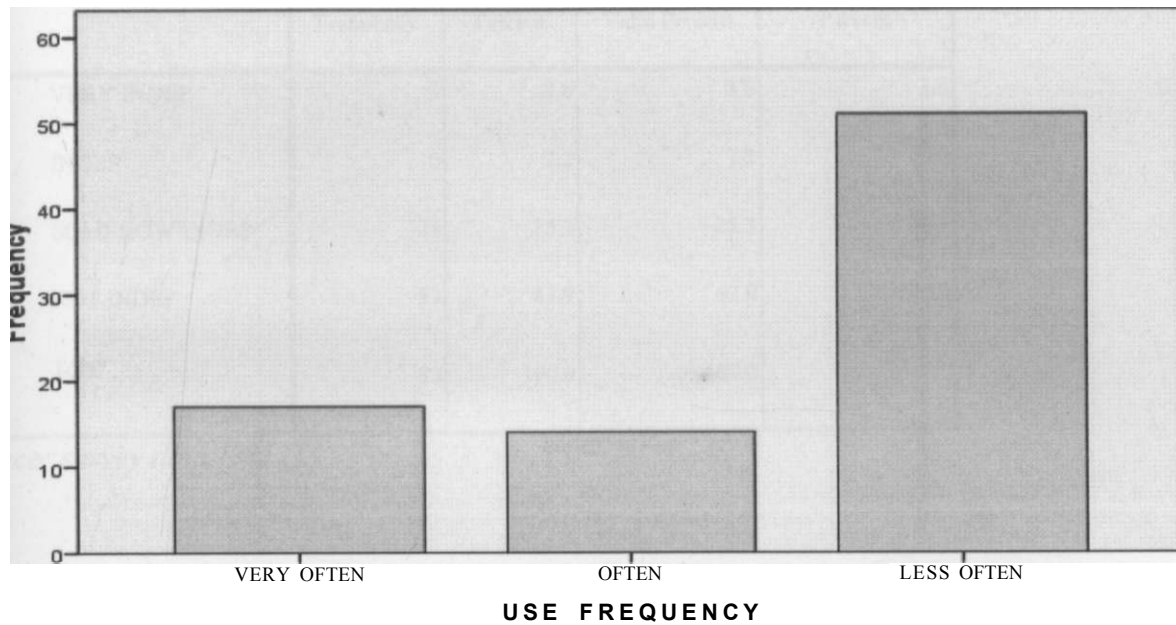
Fig: 12 **Use of Relatives Abroad**

Source: survey data (2012).

SECTION C: QUESTION ON ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND KENYA'S

DOMESTIC ECONOMIC POLICIES

Statistics

EXPORT PRICE DECISION

INDEP

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

fable 17: Independence of the Kenyan Govt In Setting Up Export Prices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	VERY INDEP	3	3.6	3.6	3.6
	INDEP	6	7.2	7.2	10.8
	SOMEHOW INDEP	21	25.3	25.3	36.1
	NOT INDEP	53	63.9	63.9	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This research also sought to find out the extent to which the Kenyan government exercises independence of decision making when it comes to setting up the prices for it's export produce such as tea and coffee.3.6% of the respondents felt the government makes the decision very independently and that external factors do not at all affect the prices fetched by the Kenyan commodities in the international market. This percentage may as well represent those who believe in state sovereignty where the same views are held that national governments are in control even on their trade with international partners.7.2% believe the national government is independent while 25.3% says the Kenyan government is somehow independent when it comes to the setting of prices of its exports internationally. However, a bigger percentage of 63.9% concur that the Kenyan government is not independent at all, and that international prices of the country's exports are largely determined by the forces of the International trade markets and forces of globalization. These respondents also recognize the fact that intergovernmental organizations such as the EAC, ECOWAS, World trade organization, COMESA and so on, play

_a vital role when it comes to determining the prices that member countries would fetch for its exports internationally.

This is further illustrated by the chart below:

EXPORT PRICE DECISION INDEP
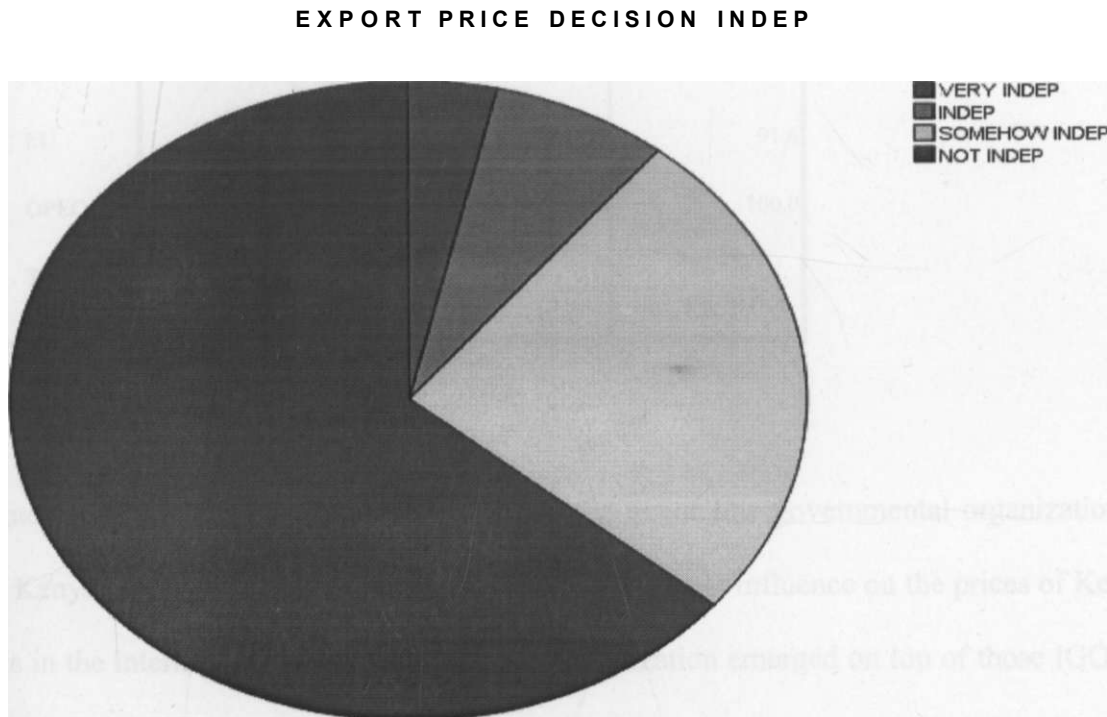
Fig: 13 **Independence of the Kenyan Govt In Setting Up Export Prices**

Source: survey data (2012).

Statistics

IGO INFLUENCE ON EXPORT

PRICES

Valid	**83**
Missing	**0**

Table 18: IGO Influence on Export Prices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	EAC	20	24.1	24.1	24.1
	NEPAD	8	9.6	9.6	33.7
	WTO	41	49.4	49.4	83.1
	EU	7	8.4	8.4	91.6
	OPEC	7	8.4	8.4	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The study also sought to find out which among the major Intergovernmental organizations, to which Kenya is an active trading partner may have the largest influence on the prices of Kenya's exports in the international scene. World Trade Organization emerged on top of those IGOs that the respondents felt have an influence over Kenya's export prices internationally with 49.4%

followed by EAC with 24.1% while NEPAD had 9.6%.EU and OPEC both had 8.4%.

This information is also represented on the following graph as follows:

- EAC
- NEPAD
- WTO
- eu
- OPEC

Fig: 14 **IGO Influence on Export Prices**

Source: survey data (2012).

SECTION D: Question on Intergovernmental Orgs on Kenya's Political ideology

Statistics

GOVT CONCERN ON

IMPUNITY

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

fable 19: Govt Concern on Impunity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	58	69.9	69.9	69.9
	DISAGREE	25	30.1	30.1	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The study also sought to find out how the current cases of the four Kenyan ICC suspects has changed the government's stand on impunity and whether the cases have impacted on any way on Kenya's governance.69.9% of the total respondents held the view that the cases have improved governance in Kenya, with impunity reducing in most public offices and among government officials. However 30.1% held the view that the ICC cases have not affected in any way the government stance on impunity in Kenya, neither have they changed Kenya's way of governance in any way.

This information is represented in a graph as follows:

•AGREE

•

•DISAGREE

Fig: 15 **Govt Concern on Impunity**

Source: survey data (2012).

Statistics

GOVT CONCERN ON CAH

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 20: Govt Stance On Crimes Against Humanity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	42	50.6	50.6	50.6
	DISAGREE	41	49.4	49.4	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This question tested the impact of the Kenyan's ICC cases on the government's stance on crimes against humanity. 50.6% of the respondents held the view that the ICC cases have made the government take seriously activities or statements that could lead to crime against humanity. However, 49.4% held a different view.

This is also represented in the graph below.

GOVT CONCERN ON CAH

t

• A G R E E
• D I S A G R E E

% 16 **Govt Stance On Crimes Against Humanity**

Source: survey data (2012).

NOTHING HAS CHANGED

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 21: Deviation from the Past Ways of Handling Injustices

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	27	32.5	32.5	32.5
	DISAGREE	56	67.5	67.5	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This study also sought to establish whether there's any change that on how the government used to handle injustices, and the way it handles injustices today, as a result of the Kenyan ICC cases.32.5% of the respondents thought there's a change, in that the Kenya's judicial system has improved on the way it handles cases of injustices, as compared to the way it was before the Kenyan ICC cases. However, 67.5% of the respondents thought nothing has changed. These cited the fact that even those who were supposed to be tried locally, apart from the four facing trial at the Hague, haven't been brought to justice.

The same information is also represented by the following chart:

•**AGREE**

• •**DISAGREE**

*Fig: 1*7 **Deviation from the Past Ways of Handling Injustices**

Source: survey data (2012).

Statistics

TERRORIST THREATS

Valid	**83**
Missing	**0**

Table 22: Terrorist Threats

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	77	92.8	92.8	92.8
	DISAGREE	6	7.2	7.2	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This section sought to find out if the government of Kenya considers terrorism threats from Somalia as **a** priority security issue in view of African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in which the Kenyan government and the Kenyan Defence Forces is a significant player.92.8% of the respondents concurred that terrorism threats from Somalia are real and the Kenyan government treats it as a high priority security issue. However, 7.2% thought otherwise.

This information is represented on a chart as follows:
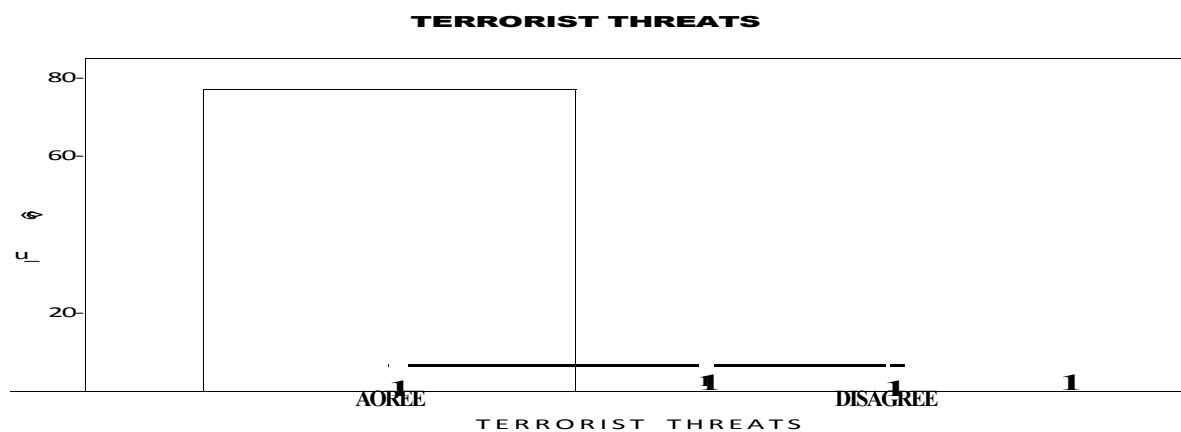
% 18 **Terrorist Threats**

Source: survey data (2012).

PEACEFUL NEIGHBORS

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 23: Prioritizing Peace Among Neighbours

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	44	53.0	53.0	53.0
	DISAGREE	39	47.0	47.0	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

The research also sought to find out if the government of Kenya believes and prioritizes peace among neighbors as an important factor in its own developmental prosperity.53.0% said they think the government of Kenya believes and prioritizes peace among neighbors as an important factor in its own developmental prosperity. However, 47.0% of the total respondents held an opposing view.

The same results are also represented on a chart as below:

77

50'

Frequency

30-

20-

10-

0-

AGREE   DISAGREE

P E A C E F U L   N E I G H B O R S

Fig: 19 **Prioritizing Peace Among Neighbours**

Source: survey data (2012).

»

The following section sought to find out the impacts of African Panel of Imminent Persons Review Mechanism, led by Kofi Anan on the government of Kenya and Kenya's political landscape in general.

Statistics

INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE

TO REFORM

N	**Valid**	83
	Missing	0

Table 24: Succumbing to International Pressure to Reforms

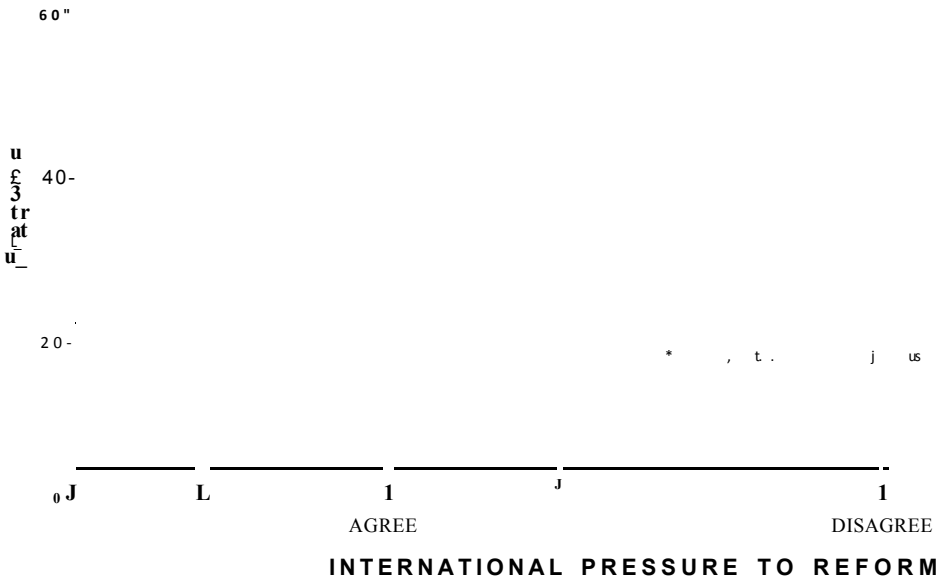|		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	64	77.1	77.1	77.1
	DISAGREE	19	22.9	22.9	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE TO REFORM

Fig: 20 **Succumbing to International Pressure to Reforms**

Source: survey data (2012).

The researcher also wanted to find out if the government of Kenya has in any way succumbed to international pressures to reform its governance. This was in light of the efforts by the African Panel of Imminent Persons Review Mechanism, led by Kofi Anan and the international community such as the US, UK, Germany and France which has constantly put pressure on Kenya to implement certain reforms in governance. 77.1% of the total respondents said they agree that the Kenyan government has to a larger extent succumbed to external pressures to reform some of its operations, while *22.9%* had an opposing opinion.

Statistics

OPENNESS TO PEERS

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 25: Openness to Peers

		Frequency	Percent	*f* Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	73	88.0	88.0	88.0
	DISAGREE	10	12.0	12.0	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

OPENNESS TO PEERS
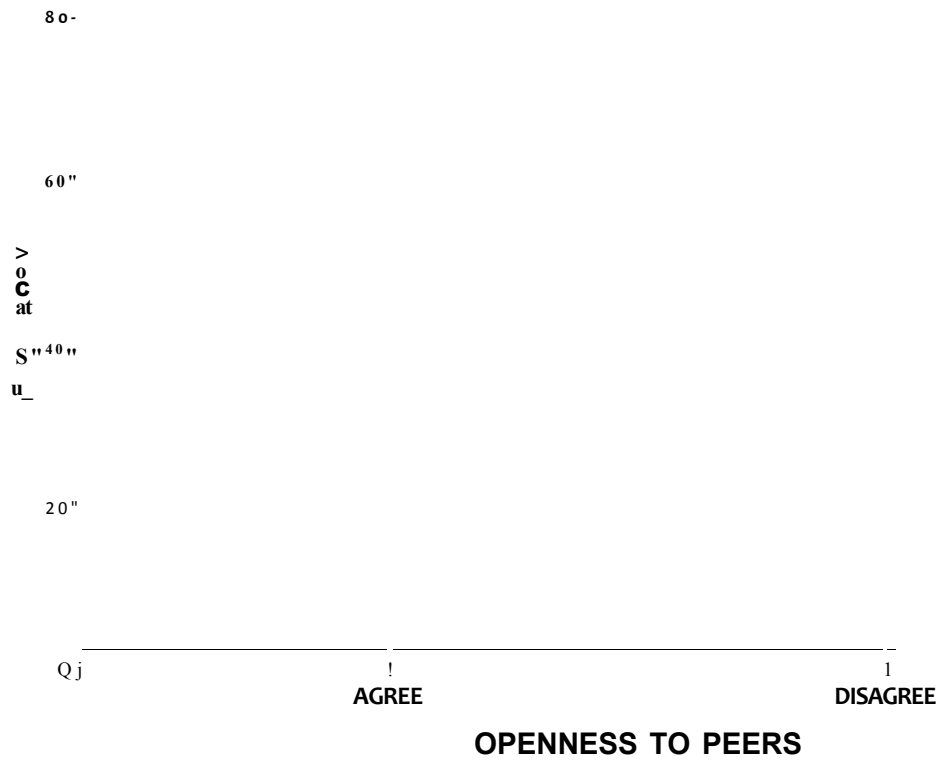
Fig: 21 **Openness to Peers**

Source: survey data (2012).

The study also sought to find out if the government of Kenya is open to scrutiny by external forces, notably by IGOs such as Amnesty international, Transparency International, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, and so on.88.0% of total respondents agreed that the operations of the Kenyan government are open to scrutiny by the external agents, while 12.0% said they don't agree.

Statistics

CONCERNS TO APIPRM

N	Valid	83
	Missing	0

Table 26. Concerns to Apiprm

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	13	15.7	15.7	15.7
	DISAGREE	70	84.3	84.3	100.0
	Total	83	100.0	100.0	

Source: survey data (2012).

This research also sought to find out if the Kenyan government only values the role of the Kofi Anan led Panel of Imminent African Personalities when it is only convenient for the government to do so. 15.7% of the total respondents agreed that the Kenyan government does not value the role played by the Panel of Imminent African Personalities and only plays its fiddle when it's convenient to do so. However, 84.3% said they believe the government can no longer devalue the role played by the panel in advocating good governance in the country.

fable 27.Military Spending

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	AGREE	50	60.2	61.0	61.0
	DISAGREE	32	38.6	39.0	100.0
	Total	82	98.8	100.0	
Missing	System	1	1.2		
Total		83	100.0		

Source: survey data (2012).

Histogram
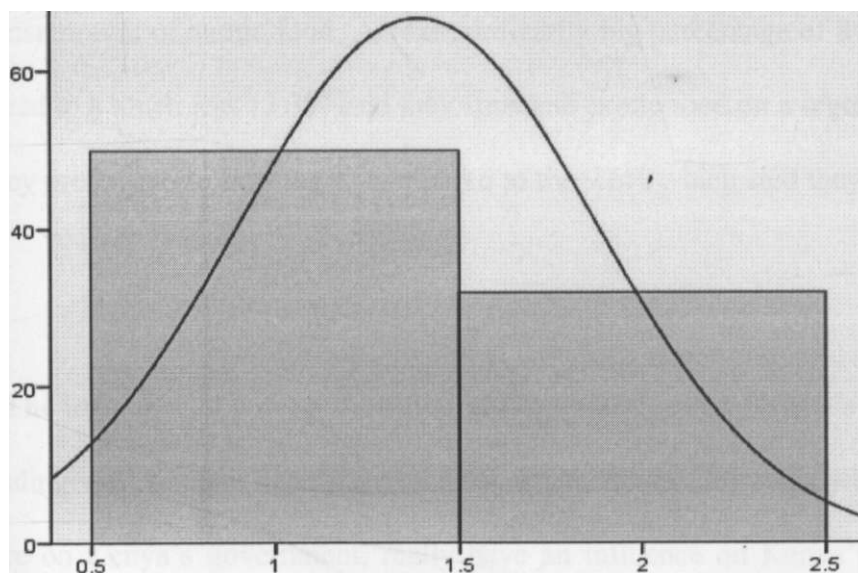
Mean -1.39
Std. Dev. =0.491
N -82

MILITARY SPENDING

Fig: **23Military Spending**

Source: survey data (2012).

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CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to investigate the influence globalization on Kenya's public policy. This chapter presents the summary of the major findings, answers to research questions, **conclusions** and recommendations of the study. It also presents proposed future studies.

4.2 General Information

4.2.1. The influence of Trans-Border Data Flow on Kenya's Domestic Culture

From the above data, it clearly shows that trans-border data flow has an effect on Kenya's domestic culture. Indeed, a large percentage of the respondents admit that they have been culturally influenced by the data flow. This was measured in terms of the lifestyle, the furniture used, sporting activities and consumption of exotic food. An extraordinarily big percentage of 86.7% of the total respondents compared to a much less 13.3% said they consume exotic food on a regular basis. On clothing, 90.4% said they prefer exotic clothing as compared to the 9.6%-which said they prefer clothes manufactured locally.

4.2.2. The influence of Intergovernmental Organizations on Kenya's Political Ideology

On finding out whether Intergovernmental organizations, through which the external forces put pressure on Kenya's government, really have an influence on Kenya's politics and governance in general, the study sought to find out whether the Kenyan ICC cases have changed Kenya's politics in any way. Although a slight but still significant margin, 50.6% of the total respondents agreed that the

Kenyan ICC cases in a way have changed the Kenyan government's stance on Crimes against humanity, and respect for human rights in a positive way.

The study also sought to find out whether Kenya has so far succumbed to the International pressure for the reforms on good governance and democratic processes. This was done by finding out the impacts of the Kofi Annan led team of African Panel of Imminent Persons on governance reforms in the country. 77.1% of the total respondents said they agree that the Kenyan government has to a larger extent succumbed to external pressures to reform some of its operations, while 22.9% had an opposing opinion.

4.2.3. Influence of Economic Globalization on Kenya's Economic Policies

In this part, the study sought to establish the independence of Kenyan government in setting up the prices of its exports.63.9% of the total respondents felt the Kenyan government lacks independence in this and that the prices of Kenya's export produce is largely determined by the international forces that operate in the international markets. However, 25.3% said they feel Kenya is somehow independent while 7.2% and 3.6% respectively said the government is independent and very independent. In addition, World Trade organization was listed as the most influential Intergovernmental Organization on the prices fetched by the Kenyan produce in the international market. This was followed by East African Community with 24.1%, while NEPAD came in third with 9.6%.Both European Union and OPEC had 8.4% of the respondents rating them as the most influential on Kenya's export prices.

4.3 Answers to Research Questions

This section presents answers to research questions as outlined in chapter one. The answers are based on the responses obtained from the respondents who took part in the study.

4.3.1. What Influence Does Trans-Border Data Flow Have On Kenya's Domestic Culture?

The questions on culture touched on various aspects of culture. Indeed culture encompasses a man's way of life. This includes the food we eat, the dressing, religion, lifestyle, and so on. On consumption of exotic food, 86.7% of all the respondents said they consume the exotic food on almost a daily basis, while 13.3% said no. Indeed, this is quite a big percentage, making it hard to ignore the fact that exotic culture has infiltrated the local culture. On clothing, 90.4% of the total respondents admitted to having preference on exotic/imported clothing over locally manufactured clothing. Only 9.6% say they would rather stick to the locally made clothes. Also, on sports and leisure, 68.7% say they are active fans of international sports while only 31.3% say they don't. The trend remains more or less the same on use of exotic furniture, with a majority of 75.9% of those interviewed said they own and prefer exotic furniture to those made locally. This shows the frequency to which the use of exotic furniture is widely spread especially among the middle class in Kenya, who also make the bulk of employees in the Kenyan Public Service and many of the private enterprises.

On furniture preference, it is clearer that globalization is a force to reckon with in public policy making. Straight 80.7% admit to having preference of exotic furniture to locally made ones while 14.5% and 4.8% of the total respondents say they somehow prefer or do not prefer exotic to local furniture.

In addition to finding out the influence of data flow on Kenya's domestic culture, this study sought to find out from among the sources of data flow, which one has the most influence on the Kenyan public. The study sought to find out the most preferred source of information. It emerged that 84.3% of Kenyans rely on the internet and social media as a source of information about latest trends and clothing, which then infiltrate the local public. 56.6% say they get information about the West from the Television, while 16.9% say they rely on local newspapers as their preferred source of information. 8.4% rely on the radio for information about the happenings of the West, and still 20.5% rely on relatives abroad.

4.3.2. How Do Intergovernmental Organizations Affect Kenya's Political Ideology?

To answer this question, this study sought to find out how the current cases of the four Kenyan ICC suspects has changed the government's stand on impunity and whether the cases have impacted in any way on Kenya's governance. 69.9% of the total respondents held the view that the cases have improved governance in Kenya and largely affected Kenya's politics, with impunity reducing in most public offices and among government officials, and politicians. Majority of those interviewed had a feeling that the seriousness with which the Kenyan cases have been treated at the International Court of Justice has in a way made politicians take seriously democratic principles which should form the basis of governance in a modern society. However 30.1% held the view that the ICC cases have not affected in any way the government stance on impunity in Kenya, neither have they changed Kenya's way of governance in any way. However, only 32.5% agreed that there is a change on the way the Kenyan government used to handle cases of injustices in the past and today. At the same time 77.1% of the total respondents

said they agree that the Kenyan government has to a larger extent succumbed to external pressures to reform some of its operations, while 22.9% had an opposing opinion.

4.3.3. To What Extent Does Economic Globalization Affect Kenya's Domestic Economic Policies?

To answer this question, the study sought to find out the extent to which the Kenyan government can exercise independence when setting the prices for its exports.63.9% of the total respondents concur that the Kenyan government doesn't exercise independence at all, although some experts agree that the government may influence to some extent the prices through government agencies such as the commercial attaches. 25.3% said the government is somehow independent while 7.2% said the Kenyan export prices are independent of international market forces. Also, 3.6% said the Kenyan government is very independent in setting its exports' prices.

The study also sought to find out among five IGOs-EAC, NEPAD, WTO, EU and COMESA, which could be the most influential on Kenya's export products prices. World Trade organization emerged on top with 49.4% followed by EAC with 20%, NEPAD with 8% while EU and COMESA had 7% each.

4.4 Recommendations and Conclusion

From the above data, it is clear that the government of Kenya cannot claim independence from external forces. As such, public policy formulation in Kenya should consider more the effects of international pressures. It is true that the forces of globalization are to certain extent considered by policy makers, but according to this study, globalization is emerging as a major force in

public policy. As such, it should be treated with a lot more significance. Economically, the domestic policies should take into account the forces of economic globalization and the government should continue to formulate policies that foster good international relations and trade as opposed to those which perpetuate national independence, like protectionism. Since globalization is phenomenon that is fast getting beyond the control of any national government, the Kenyan government should continue with its effort to form regional organizations as has been witnessed in the last decade. Regional organizations provide a more practical approach to better bargains in the international market and even when policies are formulated in the international platform like in the United Nations. It is also an open fact that cultural influence plays an enormous role in shaping the culture of Kenyans, especially among the youth and the middle aged. Thus, it would be so naive of the government of Kenya to assume this.

All the above factors point out to one thing: that Globalization has a big influence on Kenya's public policies and hence, forces of globalization should not be ignored or underestimated while formulating these policies.   »

4.4.1 Policy Recommendation for Kenya's Economic Policy

The Kenyan economy is inarguably agriculture based. Agriculture, according to Shiribwa Mwamzali, accounts for about 24.2% of the total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and 60% of earnings from the merchandise exports, while manufacturing and trade contribute 10.5% and 10.8% to GDP respectively. Besides, Kenya looks forward to becoming and industrial nation by the year 2030 as proposed by the vision 2030 initiative. This can only be achieved by serious investment in the manufacturing sector. Indeed, from the data above, it is clear that most Kenyan

citizens don't consume locally manufactured products, from food to household furniture and to clothing. This indicates that people don't either trust the quality of locally manufactured products, or the products are considered substandard. It is therefore imperative that the policy makers need to come up with policies that aim at not only encouraging agriculture but also strengthening the manufacturing industry and nurture this industry to become a competitive one worldwide. A lot of people interviewed also concur that Kenya cannot exercise independence in setting its export prices in the international market, despite the fact that it can use other platforms available internationally such as the regional organizations and commercial attaches to enhance her bargaining power. However, this lack of independence has largely been blamed on Kenya being only a producer of primarily agricultural products. This creates a feeling that if Kenya strengthens her manufacturing sector and begins exporting secondary products, its bargaining power for its exports may go up a notch higher. Therefore, in formulating Kenya's domestic economic policies, this study strongly recommends that the manufacturing sector be strengthened even to enhance the achievement of the vision 2030.Apart from just giving Kenya a raised bargaining platform for its exports, a strong manufacturing sector will also create jobs, hence curbing other problems that are associated with unemployment such as crime, it will stimulate economic growth and will also provide the all time valuable market for Kenya's agricultural economy. It is true that in the last decade we have had a strong demonstration of innovativeness and creativity among the citizens. We have for example, had of some students in Eldoret Polytechnic try to come up with car alarms remotely monitored by mobile phones, we have had some people try to assemble what could be the first aero planes in Kenya, but all these efforts towards creativity and innovation go down the drain because of lack of a clear policy to encourage, enhance, identify and train them. The policy makers not only should focus on the

import of machinery but should also try to encourage such innovation. As it is now, there is inadequate appropriate manufacturing and industrial training especially at the small and medium level entrepreneurs despite all these demonstrated creativity and innovativeness in so many parts of the country. The following are some of the steps that policy makers should take to encourage local competitive manufacturing:

- Encouraging technology acquisition and transfer. This could be done by sending some of the budding innovators and creative minds to learn some of the manufacturing techniques in the developed countries. For example, sending that person from Muranga who is trying to give Kenya the first locally assembled plane to an aero plane manufacturer in Germany to learn more about planes will go a long way in motivating people with same dreams and enhance their technical know-how.

- Market access: Manufacturing will not work if the market is not available for the products. Thus our economic domestic policy, much as should encourage free trade, should so much encourage the citizens to provide ready market for the locally produced goods. In addition, the public policy makers can liaise with international promotion agencies to secure market for the locally produced goods. This will encourage local production.

- Giving incentives: There should be low levels of incentives for both small and medium scale entrepreneurs to respond and match the existing demand for locally manufactured products.

- Necessary equipment and machinery for growth of manufacturing sector should be done duty free to encourage in-flow of technology.

- Proper technical support.

- Business Friendly Regulatory reforms e.g access to capital as well as harmonizing internal taxes.

4.4.2 Public Policy and Political Ideology

Domestic policy not only should focus on economic growth but also on governance and stability. There can be no economic growth or investment and manufacturing without a stable government in place that will enhance peaceful coexistence and environment. This is the sole reason as to why this study also undertook to find out as one of its objectives, the influence of globalization on Kenya's politics and political ideology.

Based on the response received from the respondents, it is imperative that forces of globalization, represented in the case of this study by the panel of imminent African personalities and the International Court of Justice have an influence, albeit not a very strong one but that which seems to be growing in strength as each day passes and as more and more Kenyans begin to realize the seriousness with which the Kenyan cases at the ICC have been treated.

In Kenya, the main challenges to good governance include ethnicity and ethnic violence, institutional weaknesses and impunity and democratic deficits. The poor are most of the times the victims of bad governance. Their human dignity and physical integrity are brutalized, when impunity becomes the official oath and by fact an official policy and when

state institutions and systems prove inadequate or lack will to provide redress for individuals. Democracy is undermined by exclusion, discrimination and weak institutions.

As has been illustrated by this study, in today's world, there are no real borders between nations. Thus, no physical or geographical barriers can separate humanitarian or human rights crises in one part of the world from national security crises in another. This was clearly illustrated in Kenya by the post electoral violence that marred the country in 2008.The international community couldn't help but to come in knowing very well that had they left Kenya to sink in the deep waters of dirty politics, even their own interests would be gravely affected. Thus in a way, they had to come in and help avert the crises. Of course, without the international community, Kenya would be a different story today.

Kenya is a post-authoritarian state, making it a big challenge to entrench the values of a strong democracy. But it has a starting point, having enacted a progressive democratic constitution that provides a prerequisite framework for reconstruction and that which has given the policy makers a second chance at a fresh start. Democratic laws and institutions are the surest way to protect individual rights, and fight ethnicity. They are also the surest ways to encourage foreign investments, achieve a stable economy that could drive Kenya towards the vision 2030.

In achieving the necessary democratic political ideologies that will ensure a stable Kenya is of utmost priority to the public policy makers. However, this can be made possible by ensuring:

- Enacting policies that will ensure that the rule of law is upheld and enhance accountability, especially in public offices.

- Focusing on policies that will ensure equitable distribution of resources and development efforts to all parts of the country. This will help in nipping in the bud, potential recurrence of conflicts fuelled mainly by perceived marginalization by certain groups of individuals such as the Mombasa republican council. This will also contribute largely towards building sustainable peace.

- Fostering momentum on building democratic inclusive and legitimate institutions and governance systems flowing from the constitution since its difficult to achieve long term stability without respect for human rights.

- Inclusive political participation and economic freedom for all citizens.

- Working towards policies that will guarantee credible, democratic and secure general elections truly reflecting the will of the people and not imposed outcome.

A new Kenya will be defined by a new, more profound, awareness of the sanctity and dignity of every human being. This is only possible if the country is able to build legitimate democratic institutions that provide citizens with guarantee of justice, security and improved livelihoods of individual and communities. When a state undermines the rule of law and violates the rights of its individual citizens, it become a menace not only to its own people, but also to its neighbours, and indeed threats the world.

4.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The researcher recommends that further research should be conducted to further establish how globalization may affect a country's foreign policies. This study focused more on public policy. However, since public policy and foreign policy go hand in hand for a country to develop wholesomely, there is need to find out the relationship between globalization and foreign policy too.

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Research Questionnaire

1. Name of respondent

(Optional)

2. Sex: Male

              Female

4. Age: 20-30   31-40

           41-50   51-60

              Above 60

Date

5. Educational Level

Primary School   ☐
Secondary School   ☐
Tertiary College   ☐
University Graduate ☐

3. Ministry/Government Department(if private sector, please specify)

Questions on Data Flow and Culture

1. Do you consume/use/own/ watch the following

    Imported Food   Yes   No

    Exotic Clothes   Yes   No

    International Sports   Yes   No

    Living Room Furniture/Appliances   Yes   No

2. For the above categories chose your preference level below

Category/Level	Most Preferred	Somehow Preferred	Not Preferred
Imported Food			
Exotic Clothes			
International Sports			
Living Room Furniture/Appliances			

3. Please chose from the categories below where you obtain information on the above most often

Source/Frequency	Very Often	Often	Less Often
Social media (e.g. Youtube, Facebook, Twitter,)			
TV Programs			

Local Newspapers			
Radio			
Relatives Abroad			

Question on Economic Globalization and Kenya's Domestic Economic Policies

In your assessment, to what extent does the government independently set up prices for its exports?

Category	Yes	No
Very Independent		
Independent		
Somehow Independent		
Not Independent at All		

2. Using numbers 1-5, rank the following organizations in order of how much you think they influence how the Kenyan government sets its export prices

Organization	Rank
East African Community (EAC)	
New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD)	
World Trade Organization (WTO)	
European Union (EU)	
Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC)	

In your observation as government bureaucrat, considering the recent Wall Street crash (Sept 2008) and current Eurozone crisis, describe how it has impacted on:

a) Government Public Spending

b) Government's Foreign Aid Inflows

Question on Intergovernmental Orgs on Kenya's Political ideology

1. In view of the recent events surrounding Kenya and the ICC select one of the following options which best describes your opinion in your capacity as a government official.

View	Agree	Don't Agree
The government is today more committed to eradicating impunity		
The government is at least concerned with activities that could lead to crime against humanity		
Nothing much has changed on how the government used to handle injustices		

2. In view of African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) in which the Kenyan government is a significant player, select one of the following which best describes your opinion in your capacity as a government official.

View	Agree	Disagree
The government of Kenya considers terrorism threats from Somalia as a priority security issue		
The government of Kenya believes in military investments as a measure to protect borders		
The government of Kenya is believes and prioritizes peace among neighbors as an important factor in its own developmental prosperity		

3. From the following options, select the best one which describes your evaluation of impacts of African Peer Review Mechanism on the government of Kenya.

View	Agree	Disagree
The Kenyan government feels the pressure and concerns of failing to fit.		**1**
The Kenyan government is open to scrutiny by peers which at times defeats traditional sovereignty notions		
The Kenyan government only worries about APRM when it is convenient to do so		