



DEPARTMENT OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**EFFECT OF AFRICAN UNION ACTIVITIES ON POLITICAL AND
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES: A CASE STUDY OF
KENYA**

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been submitted for any degree to any other university.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my heavenly father for giving me the strength and resources to pursue this master's degree. I also dedicate it to my sons and daughter for their encouragement during my study. My beloved mom who always encouraged me to pursue my studies.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AfCFTA	Africa Free Trade Area
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AU	African Union
BRICS	Break, Reinvent, Impact and Change
CEN -SAD	Community of Sahel–Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OAU	Organization of African Union
PEV	Post-Election Violence
RECS	Regional Economic
SADC	Southern African Development Community
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

Amid raving political and economic forecasts that Africa will be a peaceful and big emerging market in the globe, fight for power as well as chronic food shortages remain the major problems in implementation of the same. The AU is much aware of all this and the weak links thus have been leading to poor economic growth and at some point its coming up with mechanisms to convince its member states to boost its economic stability. Creation of free trade area as well as getting rid of trade barriers are some of the mechanisms being employed. Territorial disputes associated with the treasures along the territories have led to disputes among neighboring countries and poor mutual relationship. The study focuses on the activities African Union has so far taken in relation to political and economic stability in African. It explains on the impact and the effects the established activities have so far enabled to creation of a stable continent. Kenya being one of the members of the African union has also being among the countries facing political and economic instability and all this has been caused majorly by the poor leadership and governance in the continent. The AU has factored in the Africa's Agenda 2063, implementation of free trade area within Africa whereby African states within the AU umbrella shall trade freely within the continent. This shall ensure a tremendous growth in the global market and its competitive trend in the global market shall increase. Amid growth, challenges have been encountered in ensuring the economy of the members is stable. This paper explains how political stability has led to good relationship between Kenya and other regions in the continent and also around the globe. It shall explain on trade and economic growth in Kenya and the challenges Kenya is facing in ensuring economic stability.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This study examined and analyzed the impact of African union activities in ensuring economic development in Africa both politically and economically and shall give a case study of Kenya which is a member of the AU. The study explored factors behind the success of African union in ensuring that Kenya is politically and economically stable. It also aimed at finding out the contributions attributed by AU in Kenya's economic growth through trade liberalization and also get to find out the challenges Kenya is facing in the implementation of the Africa's agenda 2063 which it is a member. This chapter provides the argument on research objectives, problem statement, and also the question on research. The chapter also provides the literature review, literature gap, the justification of the study, theoretical framework, methodology research scope limitation as well as the chapter's outline.

1.1 Background of the study

The African Union heads of states and the government of the AU government met in Libya, Sirte on September 1999 declared the establishment of the current African Union. The agenda of AU together with other views was to accelerate the continents integration so as to handle the political, economic and social problems globally.

Among the many integrated continents in the world, Africa is said to be one of them with the main objective of integration being to boost trade and be able to reach the global standards. The bilateral and multilateral agreements exist in Africa whereby at every African country participate in at least one regional trade agreement as a member state.

AU's entrance to neighborhood information and its status as an African establishment gives authenticity on its peace promotion endeavors. In addition, its dedication to give 'Africa answers for African issues and the measures it has taken to do as such, give foundation to its contribution in residential issues. Being a pan African organization, the AU main agenda has been to propel security as well as peace between its 54 Member states. The political and economic stability of its members has also been addressed in the AU service charter and has shown committed uncommon consideration regarding the issues of contention counteractive action, administration

and determination inside the mainland, and has always been occupied with interventions and different measures to keep the flare-up of contentions.

The AU convention on peace built up under the African Peace and Security Commission gives enter instruments in the territory of refereeing. Article 14 of the Protocol characterizes its parts which incorporate reclamation of the rule of law, foundation and improvement of fair organizations and the arrangement, association and supervision of decisions, combination of the peace understandings, demilitarization, deactivation, building up political, social and monetary, society and Government establishments, resettlement and reintegration of evacuees and inside uprooted people among others¹.

African Unions intervention in Kenya's December 2007 Presidential elections disputes has explained much on the impact of the union's willingness to achieve the charter objectives. The pattern of violence and population displacement revealed many underlying causes of conflict, and stopped only after global intervention by the AU, drove by the Panel of Eminent Personalities. John Kufuor, Ghana's President and by then Chair of the AU made prompt move to guarantee that the savagery in Kenya stopped and this has led to a big win of the African Union.

The AU has been developing continental frameworks and projects whose main aim is to reduce and remove trade barriers allowing free movement of goods, adding value to African commodities as well as create a market which shall be able to accommodate goods and services from the African population said to be over a billion. In relation to trade and liberalization ,the AU has put initiatives and induced investments to pool African resources in with a view of enhancing structural transformation and also developing chains of regional value, this initiatives aim at boosting employment opportunities as well as an increase in food security by reducing or removing barriers of trade on agriculture produces and also harness economies of scale of a continental market by increasing the competitiveness of its industrial market². Within this context of trade and exportation of agricultural products ,Kenya is seen to benefit from such flagships since its known to exports quality products. Kenya through diversification of her economy and

¹ Orebiyi, T., Orebiyi, A.O. and Fogbonjaiye, S.S. (2013) Preventive peace building and supportable improvement in Africa Journal of Business Administration and Management Sciences Research, 2:8, 178-186

² Keohane, R. O. (1984), *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*. Princeton University Press.

strengthening of her economic market, its effort in the achievement of the blue economy strategy and also the realization of its vision 2030.

African countries integration is seen as a fundamental growth for Africa and its development and especially because of its weak economy as well as political instability in the region which has been experienced in many countries since independence. Small markets and fragmented economies have led to increased integrations and some countries end up joining many RECS which at the end do not meet their targets. This increased integrations in African continent and one member joining many RECS has made the performance poor in terms of business. All these RECs have presented a great chance to the continent in giving an address on the challenges facing globalization and also are able to work on intra-African trade. Through the reduction of trade barriers physically, politically and economically, the RECs are working as the building blocks towards the formation of an African Economy which is united in order to compete in the world market³.

Through integration, countries across the globe have been able to seek for ways to boost international trade through cooperation, integration as well as creation of economic blocs. The reasons why countries come together vary from social, economic, political to environmental issues. Countries bordering each other have come together to form RECs which helps in promoting trade and cooperation among themselves. This cooperation has led to improved relationship among countries and border security thus ensuring ease and the movement of goods be free as well as safety at the borders. The East African community (EAC) is an example of the cooperation associated with the formation of RECs. Kenya has been experiencing peaceful interaction with its EAC member states and increased trade among them has led to improved economic growth in east Africa. The addition of DRC into the EAC community will put the community in a good place in putting together its resources and be able to develop jointly the much-needed infrastructure, mainly transiting corridors which run from the west to the east.

1.2 Statement of the problem

Being a territorial establishment, the African union is commanded to inter-alia, advance peace among its member states, improve intra-African trade and also to upgrade the position of

³ Buthelezi, S. (2006). *Regional integration in Africa*. East London: Ikhwezi Africa Publishers.

Africa's on trade in the world. The AU's involvement in to Kenya's political crisis has not been investigated adequately even though Kenya is one of the African countries which acknowledged the powers of the AU in settling political disputes in the continent. For many years African continent has been associated with power disputes and especially during general elections political violence have led to leaders' failure to recognize AU or even the UN in dispute settlements and this has led to deaths and loss of properties caused by the conflicts. Ethnicity and poor electoral processes in Africa's elections have led to political instability in the continent. Kenya PEV of 2007/2008 is a good example of the AU involvement in ensuring peace and stability to its member states and since this issue was not addressed well, the same problem of PEV has been experienced in other African countries during and after their elections.

There has been little attention paid to the threat posed by ethnic conflicts to human security and state security in general and especially in the African continent. Assumption that a state can prosper economically and diversify in trade as well as its individuals can enjoy peace if there is no external aggression. This is simplistic understanding of security. State security is threatened by human insecurity and the state cannot be secure unless its human is guaranteed of their security.

Corruption and poor governance has been a major threat of Kenya's economy as well as other African countries and this has undermined the continents economic growth and security. Heated debates from Kenyan economists as well as other nations on the way Kenya is relying on debts from western countries and if such debts will bring sustainable development or not has been an outcry from the Kenyan people. This overreliance of foreign debts in Kenya and other countries of Africa have been brought about by corruption. The AU is much aware of how corruption has been on the rise in Kenya but little or no actions have been taken to the corrupt individuals. Corrupt foreign investors around the globe have taken the advantage of the situation in Kenya and have tried to invest in 'ghost' projects in the country and thus end up being paid for projects that do not exist or if they are there, then do not meet the standards of the amount spent on them. In many areas the borrowed money has been utilized in other areas other than the purposes unto which he loan where borrowed for and therefore the intended projects are not done. Imports of cheap commodities in the country and especially from the western countries like china have led to an uniform competition among the local producers and thereby local companies are ending up being shut down. The closures of the local companies in return lead to the laying off of workers

and laborers of such companies and thus increasing the level of unemployment. Devolution of Kenya's county government has been the gateway to corruption whereby county heads are not able to account for funds given to them for development. Though this was considered as to be one of the major achievement in Kenya's vision 2030 meant to improve livelihoods of Kenya's people shall not be achieved due to corruption and embezzlement of public funds.

In this 21st Century the emphasis has been on state security and economic development with countries formulating development blue prints which concentrate on revamping economic sectors. Trade restrictions and discrimination based on nationality in Africa has led to poor growth of the continents economy. Tariffs at the borders as well as frustrations by the officers manning the borders have been a threat to the business people. Female business people have not been able to carry out their business due to the threats and the frustrations they get at the borders. This is thus correct to say that unstable politics in the continent as well as poverty or lack of financial resources and poor governance has been the key barrier to economic growth in Africa. The AU need to address this issues among its member states to enable the continent achieve its set objectives in the AU Charter.

1.3 Research question

This current study was guided by the under listed research questions;

- i) What is the role of Africa union in ensuring political and economic stability in Kenya?
- ii) What is the contribution of African union on the political and economic growth of Kenya?
- iii) What are the challenges facing Kenya in the implementation of the AU agenda 2063?

1.4 Objective of the study

Main objective of the study was to analyze on the impact of African union activities in political and economic development in Africa.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

The under listed are the specific objectives of this study;

- (i) Establish the role of African union in ensuring political and economic stability in Kenya.
- (ii) Explore the contribution of African union on the economic growth of Kenya.
- (iii) Evaluate the challenges faced by Kenya in implementing the AU's agenda 2063.

1.5 Literature Review

This research attempted a literature review in analyzing the impact of African union activities in the political and economic development of its member countries. The literature review analyzed debate arguments and thoughts propounded by different scholars.

1.5.0 Theoretical review

1.5.1 Economic integration

In order for integration to be advanced, different stages of economic integration have to be fulfilled. These stages include; a common market, custom union as a well as monetary union. In a common market, members need to agree and implement harmonized taxation as a well as common external tariff. Customs union has shown expansion of companies in the unions which the countries are members of. A good example is the East Africa Community (EAC) Customs Union whereby companies have shown expansions and increase in their businesses through the customs union. It aims at deepening integration process of its member states through liberalizing and promoting intra-regional trade which is beneficial to all partner states, promotion of efficiency in production, trade across borders and investment as well as promotion of industries' diversification as well as economic development. The monetary union just as in the case of the European union whereby the euro is used as the common currency because the monetary union becomes a relieve to countries whose currency has lost value and incase of economic recessions smaller or undeveloped countries can get economic relief.

Political economy professor Bella Balassa has argued that economic integration leads to a lasting economic thought. Economic integration has been seen as a process or a state of affairs activity. Great Debates on economic integration are informed by WTO rules as well as the negotiations such as the Doha Round of Negotiations. Balassa further argues that total economic integration necessitates the establishment of a supra national authority to enforce decisions, thus alluding to political union.

Economic integration has recognized non-state actors such as the multi-national corporations, cross border traders and in this the liberalists have done well in including the non-state players in economic integration.

To sum up, the political economy will be seeking as to the reasons as to why the AU has been in the fore front in solving issues in relation to economic growth and expansion. It has emphasized more on the values and the need for institutions such as the AU in the African continent.

1.5.2 Empirical literature review

In this topic the researcher concentrated on the activities carried out by AU to its member states in terms of political and economic development.

1.5.2.1 Political Activities

1.5.2.2 The AU and Peace building

Herbst and Mills have explained that the marking and endorsement by 50 presidents and AU Constitutive Act which occurred in capital city of Zambia changed the OAU into the mainland AU⁴. The constitutional demonstration of the AU licenses for obstruction in the inside issues of part nations in instances of illegal governments changes, genocide, and clashes that debilitate local strength. What's more, the Act additionally gives an Economic and Cultural Commission, the support of African common society performing artists, and sets up a Pan-African Parliament. The AU has been mandated by its member states to deploy election experts to observe general elections to its member states .This experts does a follow-ups on the country's preparedness to the general elections, assess political dynamics and competitiveness and also check on the electoral campaigns to ensure that no utterances from the political leaders which can cause conflicts among the candidates groups. On the case of Kenya's politics whereby the general elections are expected to be held in the month of august, 2022, the AU, COMESA and the EAC have deployed a group of AUS observers whose work is to assess the ongoing campaigns, smooth flow of activities at the polling stations and also give a report to the world on how the general elections in the country have been conducted. This joint commission shall continue being in the country and assessing the ongoing electoral processes until the general elections are held, democratically and without any conflicts. This deployment of election experts in Kenya has conformed to the 2007 African charter which talks about democracy, peaceful elections and good governance and the 2002 OAU/AU declaration which gives

⁴ Herbst, J and Mills, G *The fate of Africa: another request in sight*(2003)? Oxford/New York. Adelphi Paper 361

guidelines which govern general elections in the African continent. All this has been formed because Africa's general elections have been associated with electoral violence's whereby leaders refuse to acknowledge free and credible election

Kimokoti et al.⁵clarifies that the AU works on PCRDR which was created in 2006 and it's an apparatus produced for the combination of peace and counteractive action of backslide of brutality, tending to the main drivers of contention, the optimizing of arranging and execution of remaking exercises, and the improvement of coordination between different on-screen characters occupied with PCRDR forms. The Management of the mainland's vicious clashes effectively, was the fundamental purpose behind setting up the AU. The PSC, which is made pretty much along the UN Security Council model, is in charge of undertaking peace-production and peace building capacities for the determination of contentions.⁶

1.5.2.3 Good governance

The constitutive act of AU has called for the respect of human life as well as condemn the issue of impunity, increased deaths on political grounds and also terrorism activities so as to promote human rights and good governance⁷.countries enjoying good governance in the continent have had their countries develop and encourage investors in partnerships in order to carry out business. The Au is playing an important role in ensuring good governance of its member states by involving its organs in political and economic activities being carried out in the countries of its members. It has observed keenly in the general elections of its member countries and given sanctions in disputing parties in case they refuse to enter in to negotiations. Currently in the continent there has been a decreased conflict and fights after the general elections and instead disputing parties opt to seek clarity in the courts of law.

On matters of management of natural resource wealth the AU has been involved and more so in ensuring that its member countries to sign international protocols which are able to deal with corrupt practices. In 2014 summit, The AU broadly addressed issues of corruption; money

⁵ Kimokoti Susan N., Matanga Frank, and Ododa Harry (2014) A Review of the Integrated Post-Conflict Management Strategies in Kenya' *International Journal of Managerial Studies and Research (IJMSR)* Volume 2, Issue 4, May, PP 68-75

⁶ United Nations (2000): Human Security and Peace building in Africa: the requirement for a comprehensive approach,United Nations

⁷ African Union. 'Protocol on Amendment to the Constitutive Act of the African Union' *Article 4 op. cit.*

laundering, human trafficking and terrorism and therefore leaders made an amended on the protocol of the African Court on Justice and Human Rights, thus authority was given to it over the same⁸.

So as to protect human rights, the AU is able to intervene on country's sovereign affairs and especially if a country seeks AU intervention so as to provide peace and security to a country's territory a good example is the intervention by AU in Kenya-Somali border.

Good governance is attributed by a democratic and a country that upholds rule of law are some of the principles AU have been advocating for from its members in order to acquire good governance. Respect of institutions from to undertake certain activities shall make the institutions be working towards offering services to its citizens.

In all his the African continent leaders have been associated with corruption and poor governance. The AU has not shown any serious measures being taken to the mentioned corrupt leaders and therefore his rule of law justice and good governance are far from being associated in the continent.

1.5.2.4 Gender equality and human rights

Women in power and politics has for many years been undermined by African men and especially those in top leadership in the continent. Elective seats have been for many years been associated with the men and the African women and girls have not been given the opportunity to vie for elective seats. The issue of education to African women was not taken seriously by the society instead women were and have even been subjected to marriage and home cares even in this 21st century. Women have been seen as people who should not engage themselves in politics and this led to the abuse of the women gender for many decades in Africa. The AU has been effective in ensuring women involvement in Africa's govern ship and has respect of the rights of women. The encouragement of Africa's women in acquiring top positions in leadership both on elected and appointed positions has been a great achievement of African women. African women in top leadership positions have demonstrated their skills in ensuring Africa's prosperity. Women rights have been their main agenda and since then the girl child rights and been respected as also the education of African ladies was initiated making African women progress in life.

⁸ Allison, S. 2014. "*Think Again: In Defense of the African Union.*" Institute for Security Studies, September 9. <http://www.issafrika.org/isstoday/think-again-in-defence-of-the-africanunion>.

In some parts of Africa women have been fought by the society whenever they engaged themselves in active politics. Some communities have even gone to an extent practicing early marriages to young girls in order to have them stop their education. Gender equality has been a great problem in Africa because the male counterparts have seen women as threat to their positions and this has for some time pulled Africa much behind.

1.5.3 Economic Activities

1.5.3.1 Economic Integration

The Africa union (AU) has the responsibility to promoting solidarity and unity among its member states which an important role towards Africa's development and its people. Regardless of the massive challenges in Africa like poverty, poor governance, corruption the AU has been trying to put in place mechanisms that shall help Africa in realizing its longest ambition of regional economic integration, political stability and good governance. Although the AU has the power to achieve it missions and visions more stakeholders are needed to overcome such problems. Some of the problems faced by bad governance, national sovereignty, and penetration of globalization and the rush of natural resources by foreign rivals⁹.

Political instability affects the lives of a nation leading to economic breakdown, displacement of people and even loss of life. However, if political instability may lead to lack of reconciliation among the conflicting parties, then it calls for international assistance from other nations, reconciling bodies like the AU, EU and UN among many others. Through the implementation of peace building programs, then a country is able to secure its political stability which then provides a conducive environment for its economic development. Political stability of a country leads to the willingness of international countries to engage in business and this usually creates a mutual relationship among the countries leading to improved economy of such country as it is being experienced in EAC where Kenya is a member.

1.5.3.2 Economic Growth and Development

The economic growth of a region is related to the capacity of an economy in improving welfare of the population and the manufacturing of products and services. According to Feldman (1993),

⁹ Candles, E., and N. Tschirgi (2010), strategic plan for Accountability', *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, vol. 5,

sustained growth results from an increase in productivity and factors of manufacturing¹⁰. These variables include the relative dominance stance of the worldwide economy, quality of infrastructure, quality of the economic system, stability of the macroeconomic system, economic quality and innovation in technology. The AU has introduced policy initiatives like the NEPAD which has been associated with the alleviation of poverty and empowering women among many others even though implementing these initiatives has been a major problem. The formulation of ‘Africa 2063’ whose strategy is to guide the continent’s development in the next 50 years through the formation of AfCFTA and the removal of trade barriers within the continent is seen to boost business among nations

1.5.4 Regional integration

Regional integration promotes sustainable growth in this respect by enhancing trade among the members. Furthermore, none of the financial variables is regarded essential to economic growth, allowing production factors to develop sustainably. Increasing globalization around the world and the need for economic development and growth has led to regional economic integration initiatives. Regional integration has been identified as a major influence in economic growth for the regions of Europe, Latin America and Asia.¹¹ This growth and development should be seen from the perspective of influential business initiatives, and especially if practiced in a political field for trade liberalization. Business environments whose business enterprises have free entry and exit must support trade liberalization in order to realize the efficiencies resulting from increased competition and increased specialization. Through increased regional specialization a whole economic region can be pushed to a productive efficiencies and allow specialization on the production of a commodity with which it has a comparative advantage above other regions. The European Union (EU) has used this secret to acquire an enormous development over the previous couple of years. The AU is also expected to encourage continent’s regional integration efforts which shall ensure viable regional integration units, to be able to serve as a mechanism for engagement in investment and ensure that they provide infrastructure together with managing the environment thus leading to growth and development.

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ African Union. 2000. *The Constitutive Act of the African Union*. Addis Ababa: AU.
http://www.au.int/en/about/constitutive_act.

1.6 Literature gap

A gap exists in defining the role played by AU in ensuring political stability of its member states in a continent whereby political conflicts are being realized in every general elections of majority of its member states. Corruption and poor governance has not been addressed by many researchers especially on Kenya's economy. The importance of regional integration as explained by certain authors is not being felt in many integrated countries in Africa.

1.7 Justification of the study

1.7.1 Policy justification

Policy makers will benefit from this study because they will assess on how integration process in Africa has affected respective economies and particularly Kenya's economy and what can be done to hasten the process and also be able to understand the major threats that have led to poor economic growth within the country. Potential African business men will also rely on the research findings so as to evaluate threats that have led to slow economic growth in the continent and work on them to improve their trade. This research will be of importance in giving proof of going forward, how the African Union will address future conflicts in Africa. The study will also benefit the local unions for instance the AU to understand the conditions under which peace-building programs works in domestic situations and better solve its member states conflicts and especially during the state's general elections. .

1.7.2 Academic Justification

The study contributes to theory building in African Union involvement on the stability of its member states .it also provides a more reliable approach of preventing and managing political and economic instability.

1.8 Hypothesis

The findings of this study have been able to establish gaps in the literature which needs more investigation. It proposes the following hypotheses:

H0i: There are governing factors behind the success of the African Union in ensuring political and economic development in Kenya

H0ii: The AU has contributed much on the Kenya's economic growth through the efforts in attaining Africa Free Trade Area and mobility of persons.

H0iii: The implementation and realization of addenda 2063 is not taken seriously.

1.9 Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework gives an explanation of a phenomenon by stating constructs and laws that inter-relate these constructs to each other (Mugenda 2008)¹². Theories applied to this research included political economic theory, functionalism and liberalism institutionalism theory which explain the issue of analyzing external behavior, issue events and processes of and about Africa.

1.9.1 Political Economy Theory (Marxian approach)

In the real world, the Political Economy Approach either by the Marxist, capitalists or the communists has argued on how inter-disciplinary sections have focused on interrelationships among the government and the individuals or the citizens. Marxian approach has argued that inequality is not good on economic nationalism and therefore the theorists believe it is the state that has the powers to ensure economic development. Ideologists believe that it is the duty of the government to take control of its own resources and the individuals are left ignorance on the economic development. This theory gives emphasis on economic determinism hence the primacy of material conditions in human society¹³. Karl Marx and his friend argued that it is the economy of a country which is able to shape and reshape its politics and thus socio-political events are in many a times been determined by the substructure or economic underpinnings. The interests of an economy or the material factors are usually main determinants of the character of politics as well as other issues on politics.

Political economic theory has given a clear knowhow of how a country and its citizens are able to manage and govern its political and economic factors are associated with.

Karl Marx criticized political economy of Adam Smith and he held that free market economy is being wealthy to view (capitalists) and poor to many. He recommended capitalist mode be

¹² Mugenda, O., & Mugenda, A. (2008). *Social Science Research: Theory and Principles*. Nairobi: ACTS Press.

¹³ Ake C. (1995). *The New World Order: The View from Africa*. In Hans-Henrik Holm and George Sorensen (eds) *Whose World Order: Uneven Globalization and the End of the Cold War* London: West View Press

replaced with communist mode of production. It is only the political systems that can tackle various economic problems finding solutions on the way it can deliver security and stability of its population.

According to Marx the economic factors shapes a country's politics. He believed that private property and true democracy cannot go together. Economic determinism is understood has not only the process of production, distribution and existing of goods and services but also the way in which human beings responded to the material challenges of their existence.

1.9.2 Functionalism theory

David Mitrany's a political theorist and his concept of functionalism notes that when Mitrany D (1966) gets role in the global arena, they do not always drive countries.¹⁴ Functionalism indicates a progressive method of inclusion. Their main focus has been on the common interests which has been shared among the states and the non-state actors in ensuring global integration which has been led by the deterioration of the sovereignty of state. Functionalism proposes the creation of a functional and needs-based authority that brings together authority with needs, technology, expertise as well as scientific knowledge and therefore creates a concept of supranational authority.

This research concentrates on the well-being of individuals through economic growth and development. Mitrany, who regarded economics dominance in international studies and inclusion research, established the concept of functionalism. This hypothesis was not originally intended to tackle regional integration invariants like neo-functionalism. These are focused, however, on the initial accounts. As regional organizations are deemed probable to lead in inter-regional dispute, Mitrany regarded national sovereignty to be a main issue for efforts at inclusion, and thus runs counter to the idea of a worldwide non-territorial organization.¹⁵

¹⁴ Economic Aspects of Regional Integration, *FAO Corporate Document Repository*, accessed from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/004/y4793e/y4793e05.htm>

¹⁵ Economic Aspects of Regional Integration, *FAO Corporate Document Repository*, accessed from <http://www.fao.org/docrep/004/y4793e/y4793e05.htm>

1.10 Research methodology

This section gives a detailed account of the methodological approach used to evaluate the impact of African union activities on political and economic development in Kenya (both opportunities and challenges). The study considered a system analytical approach and determines the process, by which the sample selected, gathered, analyzed and interpretation of data allows significant conclusion drawn from the study. The chapter gives an account of how the study was conducted indicating the different techniques of data collection.

1.10.2 Research design

The researcher intended to identify Kenya's economic and political development through the involvement of African Union. Kothari¹⁶ notes that descriptive research is used to determine and report things as they are and attempts to illustrate things for instance possible behavior, values, attitudes and characteristics the use of analytical research design to evaluate the data collected from different sources and categories of people under the study based on the results of interviews and documents. The study was designed to collect and analyze the information that is necessary to attain and at minimum cost meet the objectives. Qualitative research is the research design to be applied in this study.

1.10.3 The population study

According to research methodology, a population is a group of objects, events or individuals with the same similar characteristics interested in studying, according to Mouton (1996). For a study, the population is the group we want to draw conclusions about. In this study, the population refers to all relevant ministries of government dealing with African Union and trade issues as well as other institutions related to trade.

1.10.4 Sample size

Key informants were purposefully sampled from relevant government ministries dealing with AU and trade issues and other trading institutions. The large population was people living within

¹⁶ Kothari, C. R. (2007) *Research Methodology – Methods and Techniques* (New Delhi India: New Age International Publishers

Nairobi CBD and therefore random method of choosing target population was applied. Nairobi has a population of 5,119,000 people and therefore small number was required for the study¹⁷. The study shall targeted 200 people mostly working with the Ministry of trade, foreign affairs and also information in Kenya's archives and internet. Staff working at the Aus office in Nairobi gave relevant information to the researcher. Therefore, a sample was chosen to represent the whole set of units.

1.10.5 Sample size determination

Yamane formula shall be used to compute sample size;

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(e)^2}$$

whereby;

n=sample size

N=population size e= margin of error in case of miscalculations

At a confidence level of 95%, margin of error is 5%

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N(0.05)^2}$$

$$\frac{400}{1 + 400(0.0025)}$$

$$= \frac{400}{2} = 200$$

Table 1.1 Sample size and population

Target population	sample	Sampling technique
Kenyan citizens	70	Simple random
EU officers	15	Convenient
Government officials	45	Convenient
Businessmen & women	70	convenient
TOTAL	200	

¹⁷ https://www.citypopulation.de/en/kenya/admin/nairobi/47__nairobi/

1.10.6 Data collection

The study has used Questionnaires and interview administered to respondents in carrying out primary data. It too used secondary and primary data to gather information. The secondary source of data includes documents, academic papers, conference proceedings, theses and dissertations, journals and books.

1.10.7 Ethical consideration

The use of primary and secondary data is considered to be highly ethical simply because it exploits on the value of an investment in data collection. It decreased the respondent's burden and guaranteed reliability of thesis findings with transparency of research actions and integrity of research work. To acquire the interviews held at the Ministry of Foreign affairs, as a researcher, i applied for a work permit from NACOSTI. I uploaded an introduction letter from the University which gives my relevant details and the topic of my thesis to NACOSTI and requested for a permission to carry out research in Nairobi.. An authorization letter from the National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation from the republic of Kenya that gives one the authority to conduct research in any county was issued. Finally, an introduction letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. All these documents are attached as appendices to give proof of the utmost ethical considerations

1.10.8 Scope and limitations of study

This study was carried out in the city of Nairobi and specifically in areas working with trade and business as well as international affairs. African Union offices in Kenya as well as the ministry of Trade, tourism and the foreign affairs shall be the researchers main areas of research.. It involved employees of different departments in the institutions. Some of the limitations experienced included: access to the third parties involved in peace reconciliation but this was mitigated by reports written by the third parties involved who are able to access through the websites and the institutions libraries.

During data collection there was a probability that some respondents did not give factual data and this was a limitation because it affected variables of this study. The researcher depended on help from opinion leaders in the organization to sensitize the respondents on the significance of

giving factual data to the researcher. Limited scope was expected by the researcher in presenting the collected data¹⁸.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter one consists of the Introduction and Background Information to the Research problem, Statement of the Research Problem, Research Objectives, Justification of the Research Problem, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Hypothesis, Methodology of the Research, Scope and Limitations of the Research, and Chapter Outline.

Chapter two discusses deeply on the activities and the role of AU in regard to Kenya's political and economic stability. This chapter discussed about Kenya's post violence election in 2007/2008 and how African union contributed to the end of the violence, promulgation of Kenya's constitution and the presence of the AU in same.

Chapter three explored on the contributions the AU has invested in Kenya's trade with other African countries and globally and the liberalization in Kenya's economic growth whereas chapter four shall discussed the challenges Kenya is facing in the implementation of its big four agenda which is a realization of the Agenda 2063 of the AU.

Chapter five gives the summary of the findings, conclusion and proposed recommendations by this study for reforms on economic and political stability of African continent.

¹⁸ Cooper,D.R.,& Schindler ,P.S.2003. *business research methods*(8th edition).USA:Mc Graw-Hill

CHAPTER TWO

THE ROLE OF AFRICAN UNION IN ENSURING POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY IN KENYA.

2.1 Introduction

This chapter shall deal with the first research question and thereby, dwell on the first specific objective. It shall in this regard give a description of the role played by AU in ensuring political as well as economic growth and stability in Kenya. In this chapter part of the research carried out in the field in regard to demographic characteristics shall also be explained here in details.

2.2 Nexus between Kenya's economic growth and political instability.

Since colonial era Kenya's economic growth has been affected by tribal conflicts and mostly from the arid and semi-arid regions. These regions mainly include the north of Kenya as well as the far southern of the coastal region. Political instability in northern Kenya has led to clashes between neighboring communities like the Pokot and the Marsabit people. The clashes going on in the region has been experienced for many years in the area and the government has not yet come up with lasting solutions to end such fights. In kapendo area which borders Baringo and Turkana has been the most deadly area in the northern Kenya. In 2014, bandits in kapendo area led to the killing of 21 policemen who had been deployed in the area to bring peace and stability in the region. The availability of rich fuels and struggle for power in the area has caused border disputes in the whole of northern Kenya. Therefore the wealth available in northern Kenya cannot be easily accessed by investors due to ongoing border disputes and instability in the area. Economic development hasn't been carried out in the regions for fear of attacks from bandits in the area. Schools, hospitals and even other development activities have been affected by the current attacks experienced in the areas.

Terrorism has also been felt in Kenya's soil for the past couple of years and all this attacks are politically associated. The attack of university schools in Garissa and other institutions have left investors with no option other than to keep off from investing in those areas. These acts of terrorism has been extended from northern Kenya to other parts of the country for example the west gate attack in Westland's area, Nairobi Kenya whereby the attacks were found to have hidden in the northern part of the country before finding their way to the city. And because of this instability and clashes in the area, the area is currently the worst hit by hunger in the country

with the majority of people and animals that are dying of hunger in the country as compared to other regions. Well-wishers and even the Kenya Red Cross find it difficult to access the area due to insecurity and poor infrastructure.

2.2.1 Study demographic characteristics

Hauser and Duncan in defining demography argued that demography as the size, territorial distribution and change therein as well as the components o such changes. The researcher was in need of this information since it was of important in describing the components of the populations in terms of gender, age and the activities they carry in daily life. The information is gathered in order to assess how African union activities have contributed in Kenya’s economic as well as political development. The research is meant to show how different organizations have been able to address the issues of political and economic stability within Kenya and Africa at large.

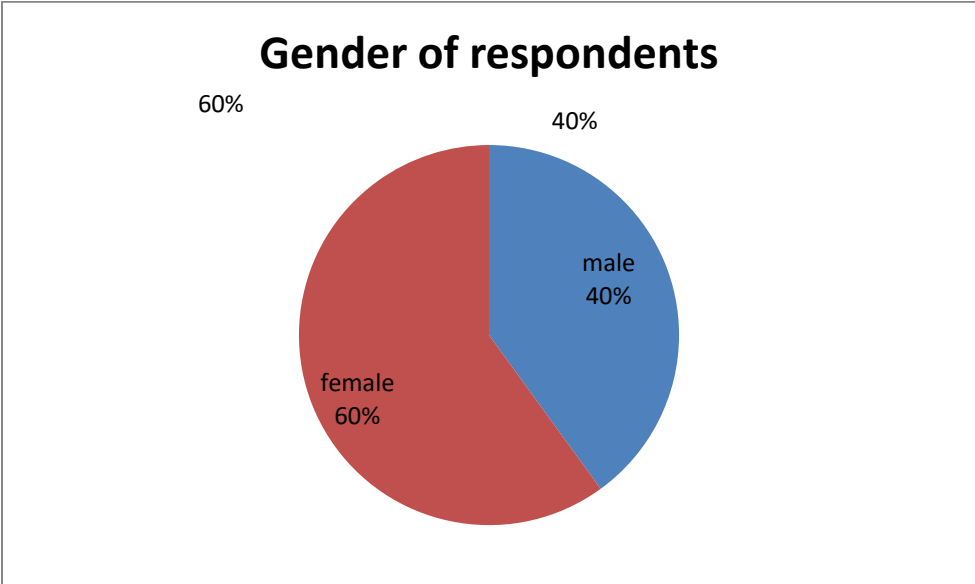


Figure 2.1: Gender

Source: Field data 2022

Both female and male respondents participated in filling the questionnaire throughout the data collection process. The Researcher was able to understand how both genders are affected and were also affected by economic as well as political instability. It was observed through the

respondents that, women are majorly affected when it comes to instabilities within the country and was so willing to share their grievances and ask for solutions incase such crisis occur. With the ongoing economic instability due to the covid-19 pandemic as well as the high cost of living in the country, the women are so much crying for solutions to such problems.

The male gender which is lower than the women seems to be more concerned on the solutions that will bring trade and business between Kenya and other parts of the country more friendly in the sense that they are requesting for friendly environment to trade within the continent. The increased trade tariffs and the border issues seem to be affecting the trade among African countries. Men were so much concerned on how AU shall be able to introduce the AfCFTA which is a plan to ensure free trade within African countries and especially those in the AU bracket.

After data analysis, the researcher discovered how different groups within African union have engaged in Kenya's political and economic stability. From the above data tabulation, the PSC has shown much concern on Kenya's political stability at 28%. This is captured in their engagement in Kenya's 2007 PEV, the 2010 amendment of constitution and also its influence in Kenya's 2012, 2017 and the last august 2022 general election. The EAC has also show much concern on Kenya's political as well as economic stability with 30%.The EU as well as the COMESA groups have shown interest in Kenya's stability but not with large margins like the PSC and the EAC. The PSC has shown much concern than any other organization because of its involvement in Kenya's politics and transition of power. This is after the Kenya's general elections in the year 2007 which made the county's democracy destroyed within a short period of time after the announcement by then presidential election chairman late Mr.kivuitu showing that his Excellency the late Mwai Kibaki has won the election yet data showed Raila Amollo lead in many counties.

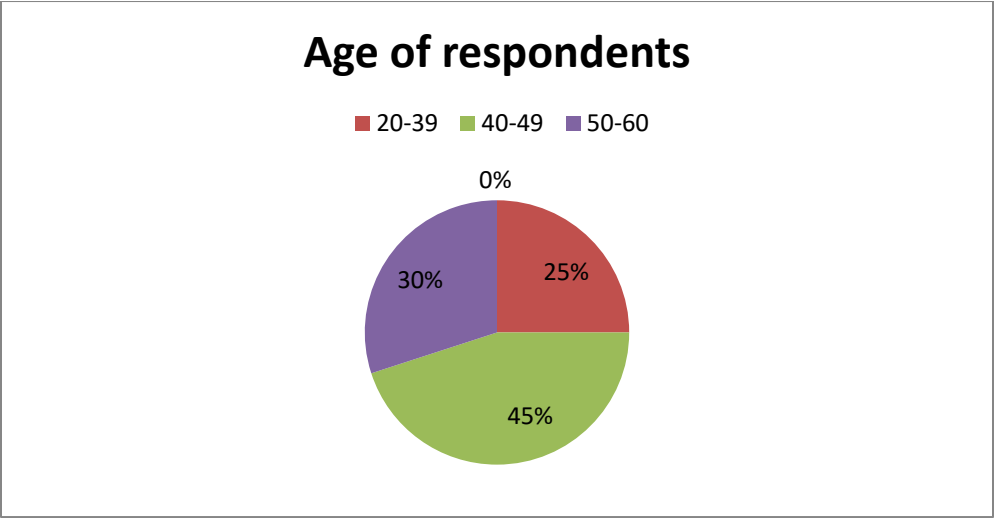
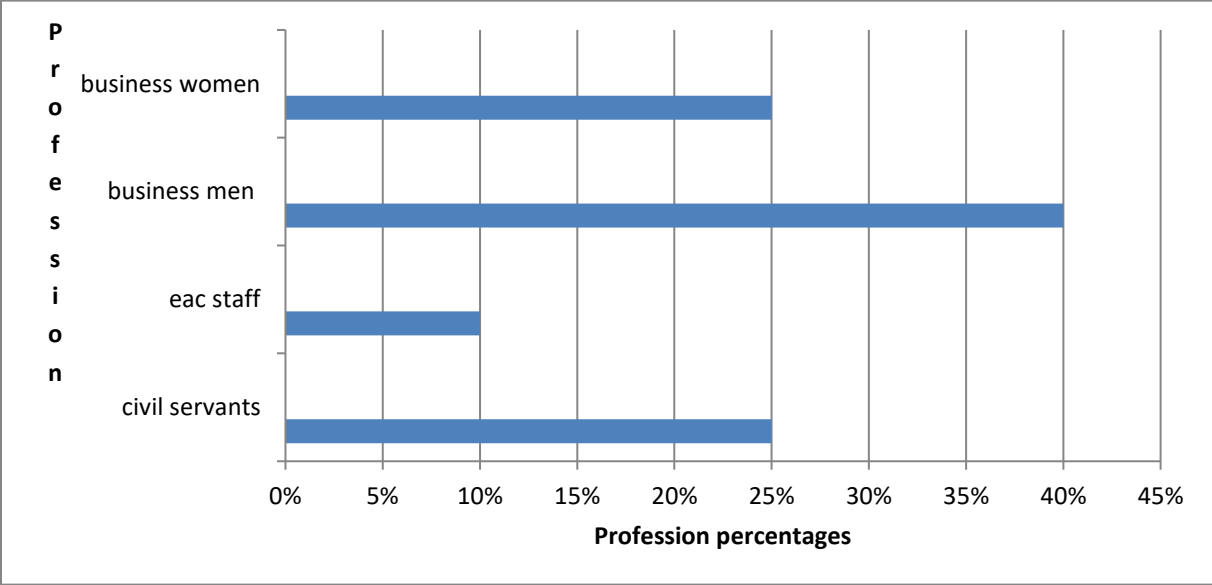


Figure 2.2: Age of respondents

Source: Researcher 2022

In the above figure, the respondent’s age varied. Kenyans aged 20-39 years were 25 %, 40-49 years were 45% whereas respondents aged 50-60 years were 30% of the respondents. According to the research active Kenyans at the middle age were active in taking part of the survey.



2.3 AU and Kenya’s politics.

From the results achieved in the study carried out, the respondent agreed that AU’s engagement in Kenya’s politics has shown an improvement in ensuring Kenya conducts credible, free and

fair elections. When the PSC, the eminent personalities and the panel of wise came in during the elections disputes in Kenya, peace was achieved through mediation. The involvement of AU groups since 2007 up to date on Kenya's election as well as in the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010; Kenyan leaders have been able to avoid anything that could bring conflicts among the citizens. The leaders who feel aggrieved have been able to go to court and get assistance from there. The respondents felt that more should be done to ensure credible elections are achieved without going through the Supreme Court in Kenya. The AU representatives are more concerned on the observation of the voting exercise. What happens in the counting and announcing of the general elections is left to Kenyan electoral body and therefore there has been an accusation that the elections have been ringed. This was experienced in Kenya's 2013 general elections whereby the opposition leader right honorable Raila Odinga took to the supreme claims of elections not being free and therefore the elections were nullified. Just like countries in the western, African union should come up with mechanisms that when the citizens elect their leaders, the people's will is respected by announcing the leader who has won the elections and no disputes should arise.

2.4 African Union Peace and Security Council (PSC) and Kenya's Conflicts.

AU's PSC is an African organization whose main mandate is prevent, manage and resolve conflicts within the continent¹⁹this conflicts can either be caused by disputed elections, fight for natural resources within borders or in a country and also terror attracts from neighboring countries. Brief meetings and consultations within the organ is carried out in order to deliberate on the ongoing conflicts within the continent either caused by political, territorial or ethnic conflict and after such meetings policy decisions in regard on the settlement of the conflicts are achieved. These resolutions could either be through mediations, sanction regimes or peace operations. s and security council .The Kenya's 2007 disputed general elections was a good example of the involvement of the AU in its members affairs. The then competing presidential candidates refused to come to agreement when the general elections were announced in a manner which caused tension and thereby conflicts among groups of the opponents emerged which led to the death of over one thousand Kenyan people inclusive of young children and women. President

¹⁹ (Protocol Establishing the PSC, 2002: 4).

John Kufuor of Ghana by then who was the AU’s Chairman met with Mwai Kibaki and Raila Odinga the two presidential aspirants and upon agreeing to a AU-led mediation which brought peace back to the country. Even though the violence did not last for a long period but the damage was great and many Kenyans became even displaced from their own homes. Tribal clashes began among ethnicities which had lived peacefully in same area and peace of land since independence. Kenya’s economy deteriorated greatly because investors in the country had to shut down their businesses in the country in fear of fights and destruction of their properties.. It is through the intervention of AU that Kenya was able to go back to its normalcy²⁰.

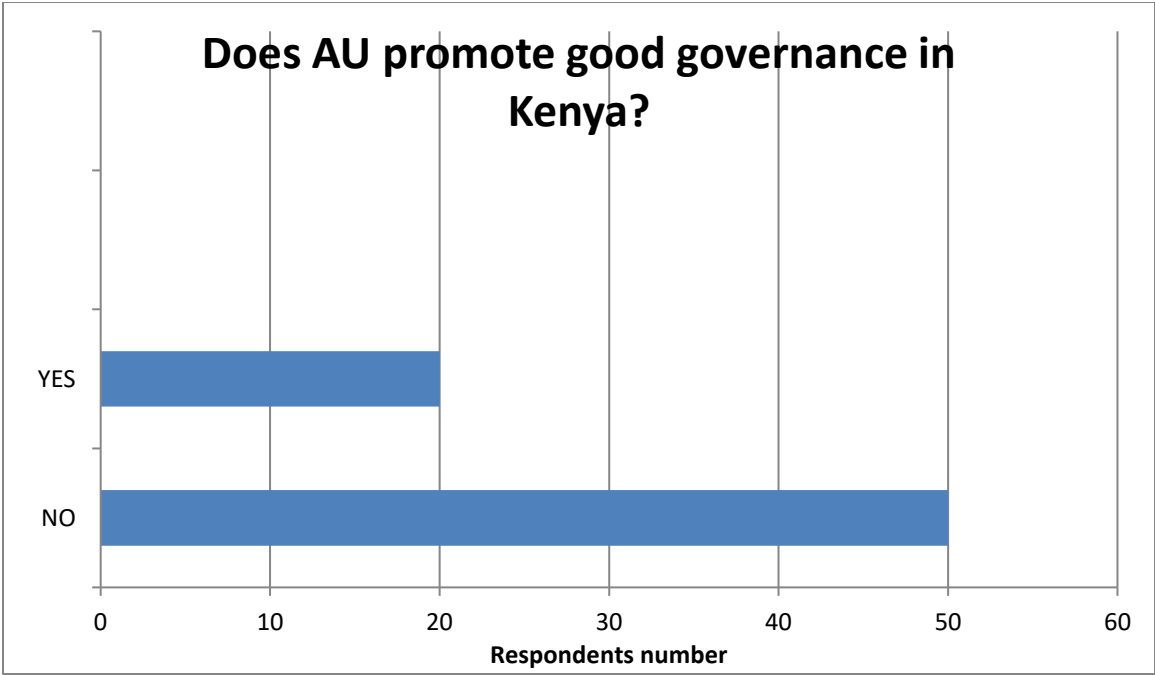


Figure 2.3: Does AU promote good governance in Kenya?

Source: Researcher 2022

As indicated in figure 2.2 majority of the respondents agreed that the African union has not promoted Kenyans good governance. They said that they do not believe that the African union has played any role in ensuring Kenyan leaders uphold the rule of law and respect for human rights. Though the African charter maintains that African citizens shall be included and

²⁰ .Ying Xia, “Chinese Agricultural and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: a Scoping Study.” *Chinese Africa Research Initiative*, Aug. 2019,

participate in social, economic and political development all this has not been achieved in Kenya. Democratic values have not been exercised in Kenya's political development since only the rich and the people who have been in politics for long time are the same people that comes back after elections. The rights of Kenyan women have not been exercised yet the Kenya's constitution clearly interprets their right in politics and economic development. The former and the current Kenyan government has not been able to achieve the one third gender rule on women in power and no actions has been taken by any organization o question the same.

Good governance and especially in the developed world has been the lead to economic growth and political stability. Countries whose leaders have been associated with poor governance have remained behind in terms of economic growth and stability. As from the end of the cold war African states are seen to be led by leaders whose leadership skills are questionable and in this case states have resulted to intra conflicts which are majorly caused by electoral malpractices as well as corruption. Many African leaders have refused to engage in peaceful elections and therefore conflicts arise from the opposition side leading to unwanted fights and deaths.

The AU has been mandated by its member states to ensure good governance and therefore came up with Africa peer review mechanism of 2003.its main agenda was to set and provide standards in political and economic governance. This mechanism has lacked legal binding and therefore its role has been turned obsolete. Africa governance architecture which is another mechanism that was introduced by AU has been seen to be much better and has been able to provide strong relations of the governance tools across Africa²¹.

Poor governance, lack of Peace and security in African continent has led to poor growth of Africa's economy and especially countries like Kenya. Poor governance has led to increased corruption both in the public and the private sectors in Kenya. Political leaders have associated themselves with corruption cases because the law as provided that a person s found quilt of corruption if convicted .for their influence in the government ledres have their corruption cases not heard for many years and this has led to the same corrupt leaders elected back to the offices even with pending corrupt cases. Poor governance has deteriorated Kenya's economy to an extend the country cannot provide enough food for its citizens.

²¹ Nagar D2016,center for conflict resolution .retrieved 25-02-2020,from www.ccr.org.oz

Political disbound which is associated with the continent has for many occasions reduced the possibility of AU facilitating its mandate²². Raw materials as well as cheap labor are much available in Africa but poverty thus lack of capital has been the problems in Africa's economy. International investors have failed to invest their resources in some countries of Africa even with the presence of raw materials as well as the labor due to political tensions as well as wars experienced in such countries.

The AU has being advocating for good governance as wells peaceful settlement of disputes within the continent so as to create friendly environment for the investments. Many investors have accused the Kenya's government for making the environment unfit for them to invest in the country. This has been caused by poor structures for an investor to establish his or her business in Kenya.

Initiatives like the creation of institutions for mediation, political dialogue as well as early warning systems have led to peace and security within the continent. In 2007/2008 PEV in Kenya the AU through former UN chairperson Koffi Annan and other prominent personalities of AU, led a mediation process of the then conflicting parties which later led to the end of the post-election violence in Kenya and thus stabilizing peace in the country. There was the end of violence and destruction of properties and also businesses were able to go back to normal thus enabling Kenyans continue with their businesses as usual. The promulgation of the Kenya's new constitution which the AU spearheaded also went on smoothly with Kenya transiting to economic growth as well as political stability and rule of law. Since then through the help of the AU Kenya and other member states of the Union have embarked on peaceful methods of conflict resolution like the mediation process.

Corruption in Africa has been the major cause of poor economic growth in Africa. The continent has been left to depend on donor funded projects due to poor governance and corruption. In this case the millennium development goals are not even achievable because funds released by donors to facilitate the growth of certain projects are channeled to different non existing projects by corrupt leaders.

²² Adenyi et al 2016.*afican union and challenges of development*. Journal of African union studies.5(2),67-68

2.5 Gender parity

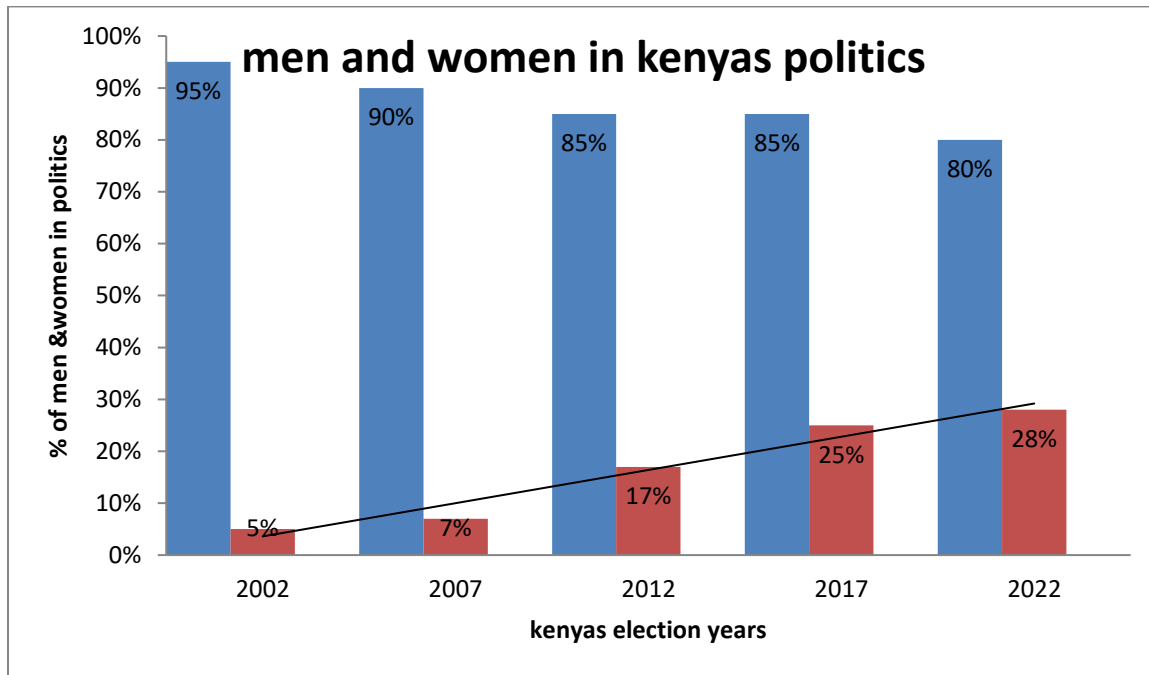


Figure 2.4: Kenyan men and women in politics

Source: Field 2022

As illustrated in the chart above, Kenyan women have showed a slight increase in elective position. The respondents agreed that politics in Kenya are still dominated by the men regardless of the Kenya's constitution providing one third of the elective seats to Kenyan women. In 2002, 5% of Kenyan women were elected in different position, 7% were elected in 2007 showing a slight increase, 17% of women were elected in 2012, the number again increased slightly in 2017 to 25% and another slight increase in 2022 to 28%. This figures do not add up to one third of the positions provided for in the Kenya's constitution.

African continent has for many decades failed to recognize African women as people who can hold elective or even higher positions in the land. Since colonialism African men have seen women as weak people whose position is just in the house. Many learned women and girls in the continent have been denied positions dominated by men in the continent and thereby lowering the self-esteem of the African girl child. Women who engaged themselves in African politics were even threatened by the men and rules could be passed in the parliaments that did not favor the women. The issues of passing law through the consensus method has been applied in many

African parliaments and if the rule was in favor of women then the two-thirds rule is applied and since the women do not have enough quorum they end up losing. Threats by their male counterparts have made educated and skilled women fear in taking higher positions in Africa.

The principle in the AU charter on promotion of gender equality has made African women even go for the highest positions in the land. Representation and participation of women in the national politics has been on the rise unlike in the past years where women were not even allowed to vote. Though few women leaders were seen engaging in politics before the formation of the AU, the inclusion of gender equality in the AU charter has led to a gradual increase of African women in power. Kenya like any other African countries since then has advocated for women to take positions in leadership positions both elective and appointive posts. The constitution of Kenya has allowed for a third gender rule of the elected members of parliament. The AU has ensured Kenyans follow up its constitution and rule of law. The appointment of Justice Mwili as a deputy Chief Justice in 2013 has encouraged the Kenyan women to participate in positions that were once dominated by men. In 2021 again the executive and the judiciary appointed Justice Martha Koome to be the chief justice of Kenya who took over after CJ Maraga. There has also been an increase in elected female members of parliament as well as the senate house. This implies that the Kenyan women have decided to take their positions in the community and join the male counterparts in campaigning for various [positions in the country.

Sir Mayom Bandara from Sri Lanka was the first woman to engage in national politics and became the prime minister of Sri Lanka in 1960. Since then African women have tried positions in national politics and have succeeded as the women's representation in politics has grown by fivefold to 22% between the 1980s and 2021. Sylvie Kinigi became the first female president in Africa at an acting capacity after the assassination of the then Burundi's president Melchior Ndadaye on October 1993. She also served as the prime minister of Burundi. Joyce Hilda Banda of Malawi also took office after the death of president Bingu wa Mutharika. She also served as the first female president in Africa and the second head of state. Forbes termed her as the world's 40th most powerful woman and the most powerful woman in Africa in 2014.

Ellen Johnson Sirleaf of Liberia also became the first elected female president in Africa in 2006-2018 after winning two consecutive elections. She was referred to internationally as the iron lady after fighting and securing the presidential position, a post that was seen as a men-dominated position. During her tenure she advocated for women's rights and full participation of women in

democratic processes, social and economic development, Kenyan woman Wangari Maathai also a political and environmental activist won the Nobel Prize because of her efforts in promoting women rights as well as conservation of the environment.

Many other African women have worked as deputy presidents and took offices after either the death or resignation of the presidents like Catherine Samba –Panza who acted as the president of Central African Republic after the resignation of president Michel Djotodia and current Tanzanian president Samia suluhu who worked as deputy president and later became the president of Tanzania after the death of president Pombe Magufuli.

Kenya's constitution has advocated for a one third gender rule of women government positions and this has been realized through the increased number of women who have been elected in various positions in Kenya politics. In the former governments of former presidents the late president Moi and the late president Kibaki, women though not many were appointed in various positions in the Kenyan government but in the current government the president his Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta has appointed over ten women in the positions of cabinet secretaries and even principal secretaries. In these 2021 political campaigns the right honorable Raila Odinga has appointed senior counsel Martha Karua as her running mate in the August 2022 presidential general election something that has led to increased willingness of the Kenyan women to vote in the coming elections.

African women have spearheaded on the efforts to feed the continent by producing more than 80% of the African food consumed in the continent. The African women have played a significant role in the agriculture sector and besides all this efforts, there still exists unsettled disparities to support women agricultural project compared to male projects. African men have been associated in decision making on African agriculture yet it is the women who do the farming. Women productivity in Africa is lower than that of men because they have limited access to resources required in farming ²³. African leaders through the 2003 Maputo declaration, have pledged to help women in farming. Proper trainings as well as conducive markets for women have been the major reasons why many women have not been able to venture well in the agricultural sectors. In this regard the gender parity should be addressed not only in Kenya but also across African society. Investing in both women and men shall help much in the realization of Africa's development Agenda. African women should be empowered and also protected from

²³ Marion Davis –*Transforming Gender Relations In Agriculture In Sub-Saharan Africa*.

all form of violence by creation of laws on gender equality and equity. During Data collection the researcher was keen to understand why African women are so few in the leadership position and according to the data carried out the report showed out that the major problem of this is socio-cultural. African traditions defined men as the leaders both in politics and in business.

Kenyan women have shown increased interests in positions that were earlier dominated by men like the member of assembly, senatorial and gubernatorial positions. Kenyan women have showed increase in number whereby 29 elective positions have been occupied by women in the just concluded GE of August 2022. although the radical increase is too slow much has to be done to encourage women on the benefits of being in the leadership positions and how competing with fellow men shall ensure that the Kenya's constitution is upheld. Fatuma Dullo the first female senator to be elected in Isiolo County together with other elected women came together to and discussed on the reasons why Kenyan women are not able to increase in politics and also discussed the barriers preventing women in Kenya from taking leadership seats²⁴. Gender analysis of the 2017 Kenya general election²⁵ got to the roots on the general elections results and argued that cultural, economic, and political factors to be the major reasons why Kenyan women don't participate in general elections to be elected as members. Majority of political parties are formed and led by men in Kenya and therefore women have in many occasions being denied chances in the political primaries and if given the enhance hen men refuse to support them. Gender stereotypes, lack of funds have also led to poor participation of women in elective positions.

Data collected by observers from the NDI's about violence against women in election showed that intimidation, sexual harassment and also physical violence from male counterparts as the main reasons why women fear from contesting on elective seats and this has shown the intervention of the AU in ensuring women in the political arena are protected by the women rights document even by the UN too.

The AU has also focused much on Africa's women in the AfCFTA strategy. Sensitization of Kenya's women both in the urban and in the rural areas is captured in this strategy. Gender

²⁴ . <https://www.ndi.org/our-stories/record-number-women-elected-kenya-s-2017-general-elections-women-s-representation>

²⁵ <https://www.ndi.org/publications/gender-analysis-2017-kenya-general-elections>

focused business opportunities supporting women of trade facilitations as well as facilitating measures to safeguard women in the trade sectors has been captured in this strategy.

AfCFTA has engaged Kenyan women on B2B, B2G and B2C meetings for women entrepreneurs in and outside the country. Through women groups and 'chamas', Pan African Women Business Associations (PABWA) Kenyan women have benefitted in engaging business and advancing Africa's culture through the FTA. Educating Kenyan girl child has been advocated for by many groups in the country. Formal education has been used as an important tool in engaging both in local and foreign business and due to lack of education, majority of African women have been left behind in leadership positions.

The future for Africa's young women and girls seems morally obligated and thus the SDG5 has called for the African leaders to ensure the achievement of gender equality and empower women and girls in every society.

Increase in women in political arena has encouraged the women and girls in the country and many have opted to wake up and vie for better positions in all sectors of the continent. The increased percentage of women in politics in the constitution of Kenya has led to increased number of women in businesses too who have taken bigger positions like the CEO's, MD's and also chief officers of big companies as well as the engineering sectors.

2.6 Territorial Integrity

The AU has been mandated by its member states to ensure protection of its territories. African countries have for the past decade being faced by territorial disputes among neighboring countries. Marine and land territorial disputes has been on the rise in the continent because of the rich products associated in the disputing areas. For example the marine dispute between Kenya and Somalia has led to poor mutual relation between the two countries and conflicts have been felt between the two nations. It is the duty of the AU to ensure territorial jurisdiction of its member states and although the Kenya's-Somalia maritime dispute were taken to the ICJ the African union has for many a times held talks with the presidents of countries with territorial disputes in order to find a solution to the disputes. United Nations as well as African union has led to the peaceful settlements of disputes between south and southern Sudan.

2.7 AU activities on Kenya's economic development.

In 50 years of independence, Kenya has shown a tremendous growth in its economy. The country has been ranked number two in economic development in the eastern region. It has accounted for 19 percent of the regions output. It is ranked the fourth largest in the sub-Saharan Africa and all this has being brought about by its engagement in agriculture and manufacturer which leads the economic prosperity of the country. The country's GDP projected an increased in 2017 and 2018 too therefore building business confidence within the EAC and other countries of the world²⁶.

2.7.1 Kenya's Big 4 Agenda

Kenya's Big 4 Agenda is a strategy which was started by retired president his Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta in view of reforming Kenya's programs. This program was to be achieved in 5 years term during the presidents last term in office as the chief of staff and the president of the republic of Kenya.

²⁶ Thomas Shipley, "Integrity Risks for International Business in Kenya." *Transparency International*, Transparency International Kenya, 20 Dec. 2018, knowledgehub.transparency.org/helpdesk/integrity-risks-forinternational-businesses-in-kenya.

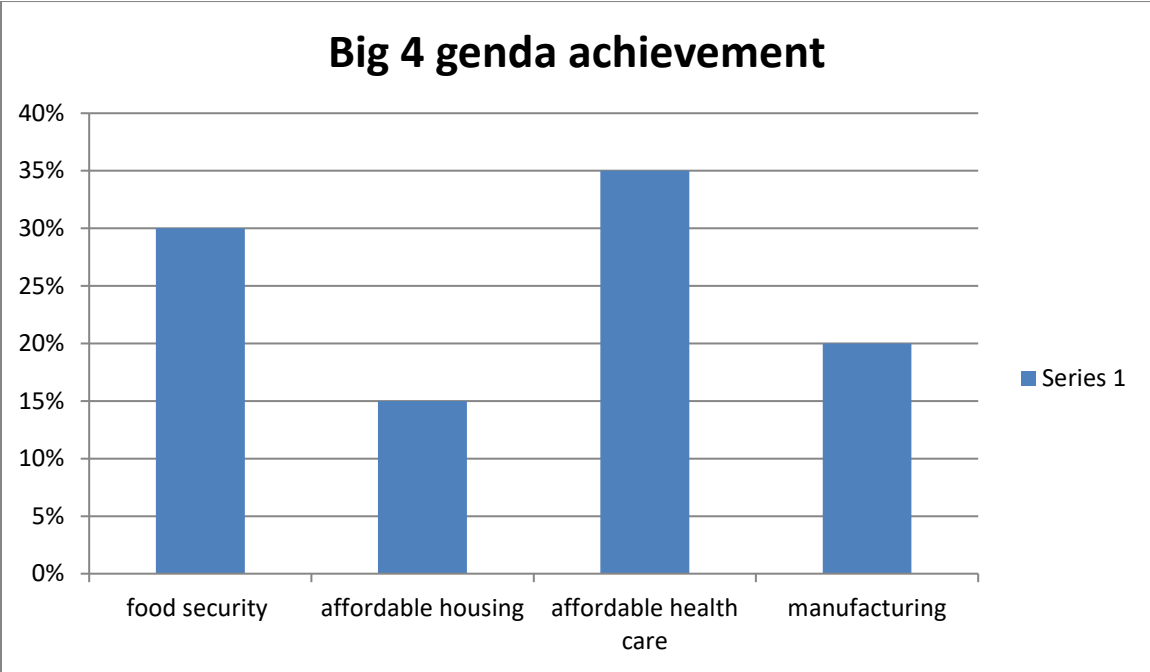


Figure 2.5 Kenya’s big 4 Agenda

Source: Field Data 2022

According to the respondents, very few of the reforms has been achieved in the four agendas since its launch in 2018 up to date .35 % of the respondents where majority are female respondents agreed that the president had done some improvement in the health sector since some could access maternity treatments for free from government hospitals.30% agreed that the president had neglected the food sector and therefore increased hunger was felt during his tenure. Many Kenyans who carry out large scale farming in the country and who controls food security uses irrigation has their means of doing farming and therefore the increase in diesel and petrol saw many farmers stop farming and this led to increased hunger in the country. Increased prices in fertilizers were said to be other reasons why many farmers didn’t carry out extensive farming in the country.

25 % of the respondents agreed that the government has done some work in the manufacturing sector and this is through the reviving of the Mumias sugar plant and the encouragement of cotton growing in the country whereas 15 % agreed that the government has done work in ensuring affordable houses are made available to all Kenyans. According to this research very few of the big 4 agenda has been achieved since its launch. All this is because the government diverted funds made for these activities to other areas which were not planned for. For example

the construction of the Kenya's express way was not in the government agenda though being captured in the country's vision 2030. This mismanagement and poor planning led to Kenya's economy deteriorated and very few activities being achieved. Although the whole world was affected by the covid-19 pandemic and financial resources redirected to curb the pandemic, this should not be associated as the major reasons why the government should not implement its action plan.

other key players critical in achievement of the Big Four Agenda and the interventions needed for achievement of Big Four Agenda Secondary data was obtained for the paper. Findings of the paper show that little progress has been achieved with regards to implementation of the Big Four Development Agenda. This has been attributed to low resource allocation, inadequate planning for execution of the projects, shifted focus towards dealing with effects of COVID-19 Pandemic where significant financial resources have been directed for the exercise, among others. Sin

2.7.2 Trade and Investment

Africa has been said to be a vast and diverse continent and it has embraced integration has a tool for sustainable growth and poverty reduction. The African continent is said to be the largest producer and exporter of raw material to the west countries and Asian. Kenya has signed bilateral agreements with many countries in Africa like Morocco, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi and has also strengthened its relationships like the current bilateral agreement with South Africa whereby Kenyans going to South Africa shall be issued visa on arrival. All this bilateral agreements and relations have been for the country to be able to increase its trade and business with such countries. Trade relations with the European countries have made Kenya be able to export its raw products for processing to such countries and also get financial aid from the European community. From the research carried out many respondents have not taken these bilateral relations as of much important to Kenya because of the current big loan with the Chinese government. Many thought that Kenya should stop borrowing funds from the European nations and the Asian countries because of the increased wage bill. Although the Chinese loans are seen by some to have assisted the country in infrastructure especially road and rail mean of transport but the loans seems to be exaggerated therefore to be of no much help to Kenya people but a few of the corrupt leaders.

European nations imports raw materials from Kenya and after processing, the finished products are then exported back to the country at a very high cost. Therefore the since inception the current dispensation of African Union there has been accelerated efforts to ensure a better trade and economic synergies among Africa countries. African Union's head of states and governments in the 18th ordinary session held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in January 2012, agreed to establish an African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) starting 2018. This free trade area which includes all fifty-four (54) African countries and a big population of over a billion people and a combined gross domestic product (GDP) of more than \$3.4 trillion. Signed agreement which establishes AfCFTA in Kigali, Rwanda, in 21st March, 2018 is a key milestone for Africa's trade Agenda. Kenya has being a participant in regional economic integration initiatives and in promoting Pan-Africanism and its values. Kenya has shown its commitment through participation in the regional agenda and portraying good leadership as well as strong performance in ensuring that its meets its commitment under the different positions in different Pan-African integration frameworks. AfCFTA is seeing as a key engine in ensuring economic growth and industrialization for sustainable development. The Agreement shall enable a country specialize on a position of its best in production thus enjoying economies of scale²⁷.

Kenya is in the lead with a strong economy unlike other countries in east and central Africa with well-developed business infrastructure. This has attracted multinational companies both in the continent and outside world where some have established their headquarters in the country of Kenya. It is a country whose possibilities are unlimited therefore being ranked 4th largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa with a GDP of over USD 63Billion(2008)²⁸.It has improved much in the infrastructure with the recent electrified trains connecting Kenya's city with the busy port of Mombasa which also connect Kenya with outside countries in terms of trade. This electrified train ensures fast and easy transportation of goods from the ship docks to the other parts of the country making business move fast.

The Kenyan government has come up with a strategy in the clothing sector whereby the president is encouraging Kenyans to promote the local industries through the purchase of Kenyan products other than the dependent of imported products. The buy Kenya build Kenya is a

²⁷ Kenya's National AfCFTA Implementation Strategy 2022 - 2027

²⁸ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. 2017. Foreign Investment Survey 2016 Report. <https://www.knbs.or.ke/foreign-investmentsurvey-2016-report>

slogan by the Kenyans whereby people are encouraged to buy commodities that are locally made than importing. The rich fertile land and conducive climate for agriculture have made agricultural be the backbone of the country's economy and therefore the domestic economy relies on agriculture for sustainability. Agriculture has accounted for a quarter of the country gross domestic product directly and has also accounted indirectly in to other sectors of growth in the country. Horticulture, livestock, fisheries, and crop production have been the major activities in agriculture thus attracting foreign investors in the sector.²⁹.

2.8 Regional economic integration

Since the end of colonization African continent has embarked on uniting its people and bring solidarity through regional economic integration. Different programs to ensure political stability, peace and security, good governance and respect to human rights together with the rule of law have been formed which a major intention of sustaining development among member states. This programs consists of the new partnership for af4ricas development (NEPAD), Minimal integration programme (MIP), Comprehensive Africa agriculture development program me (CAADP) and many more. Some of these programs have been in existence and others have failed because they are not human- centered.

Since independence, Kenya presidents together with other African leaders have embraced regional integration in development strategies thus concluding big number of regional integration arrangements, which are usually neighborhood arrangements. Current African integration arrangements if divided in to two, can fit in the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) adopted in April1980, and the others which came about outside the LPA (African Union Commission2013).
Integration among

African countries have not been able to establish effectively on what to do. Effective in what they were established to do. Though integration efforts are characterized by ambitious targets, they have a dismally poor implementation record³⁰. African regional integration arrangements are generally ambitious schemes with unrealistic time frames towards deeper integration and in

²⁹ Ying Xia, "Chinese Agricultural and Manufacturing Investment in Kenya: a Scoping Study." *Chinese Africa Research Initiative*, Aug. 2019, www.static1.squarespace.com/static/5652847de4b033f56d2bdc29/t/5d657c6d44756300019e37ad/1566932078004/

WP 30 Xia Chinese Investment Kenya.pdf

³⁰ Hartzenberg (2011), Regional integration in Africa. Staff Working Paper ERS-2011-14

some cases even political union .poor Governance lack of finances have hindered the needed progress in the societies. The African Union’s plan to achieve its Millennium Development Goals (MDG’s) has been associated with its successes and failures³¹. Regional communities that have embedded in integration have led to Peace, security and prosperity of AU nations and economic development has been achieved since integration embraces globalization as a real phenomenon of great influence in development. And through regional integration, Africa nations have been reactive to the challenges in the world such as alliances and conflicts.

There are several trade agreements that have been established in Africa and the rest of te world and here Kenya has benefitted in trade promotions schemes. Such trade agreement includes; African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA), World Trade Organization and EAC-EU trade agreement, the East African Community (EAC) Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) an South African Development Cooperation (SADC) regional bloc which is tripartite Free Trade Area (FTA) and has created a potential market for millions of African business people.

Kenya has a significant exportable goods and services including vast opportunities. Different countries have held EXPO occasions here in Kenya and this has enabled Kenya diversify its market as well as enhance its production .Kenya has been able to establish new distribution channels of its products and ensured that its products access foreign markets easily.

2.9 Climate change

Climate change is a global problem that calls for a global solution and therefore is an active member in ensuring international efforts to combat climate change. Responses to climate change internationally are based on United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. Africa accounts for less than 4% of the global total of carbon emissions but the continent is the most vulnerable in terms of the impact of climate change.³² One of the most affected regions is the Sahel that periodically experiences enormous sand storms that interfere with climate in ways that are unknown. The region yet lacks any decent weather measurement equipment and relies on global partners to provide data on how this monsoon altering weather patterns that are attributed

³¹

³² United Nations Fact sheet on climate change-

https://unfccc.int/files/press/backgrounders/application/pdf/factsheet_africa.pdf

to western industrial aerosol pollution are affecting the region. Currently climate change is the talking point for most global gatherings and discussions on the environment. With rising temperatures and human activities that directly influence this; the issue of climate change has continued to dominate discussions for some time to come. Rising temperatures together with unlawful human practices like burning of fossil fuels, natural gases and oils are the rapid and fast drivers of global warming and increased climate change which has very harmful effects to the health of people and the environment as a whole. Food security has been threatened by climate change and this predicts serious droughts which will lead to increase in poverty. Climate changes like high temperatures and reduced water levels as well as supplies together with other factors like biodiversity and economic degradation have affected the agriculture sector in many parts of the country. And due to this changes countries have been experiencing social unrest because of the increase in food prices and this unrests usually leads to violence and even deaths. The UN Environmental Programme (UNEP) which is the body responsible for the promotion of sustainable use of environment has issued a report that indeed Africa's production of its staple food shall go down by bigger margin and therefore the African agricultural system has to be prepared to respond to such incidences.

2.10 Effects of climate change in Kenya and its economy

2.10.1 Social impact.

In Kenya climate change has been on increase and this has brought to the change of weather patterns thereby leading to social, economic and environmental impact in the country. On social impact; Climate change has caused increased floods in the country since 2018 and the floods have led to serious impacts like loss of lives and displacement of people an especially those leaving in low and wet areas of the country. The increased floods have also led to disease related outbreaks like cholera, malaria which are mosquito borne. At the coastal regions of Kenya the residents are at a risk of coastal flooding due to the rise of water levels brought about by the climate change. The coastal area is the largest sea port in east Africa and this is feared to affect trade and business within the east African region since it supports tourism and fishing industries both all the countries. Increased drought has been experienced in the country and this has led to the decrease in food production in the country thereby leading to a high cost of leaving.2014-

2018 the government declared drought as a national disaster whereby millions of Kenya were at risk of lacking food and water and especially in the arid and semiarid areas of the country.

2.10.2 Environmental impact.

The international disaster database reported that Kenya had experienced ten droughts in between 2009- 2015. rains have been able to start late and end early in the country so the farmers are not able to plant and harvest their products since they cannot mature due to low rains. Rising temperatures in the Indian Ocean have influenced the coastal conditions associated with Kenya. Fisheries in the sea are likely to get negative impact because of the increased water temperatures which causes coral bleaching and the mortality of coral reefs systems.

Kenya together with other African countries within the AU have come up together to form treaties that shall help the union in combating the effects of climate change which majorly has been caused by globalization. Being global threat African countries have joined their hands in curbing the effect of climate change. The constitution of Kenya (2010) has laid foundations and set institutions and frameworks for climate change. The climate change act 2016, is the main law which guides Kenya's climate change response through the mainstream of climate change into sector functions and also the legal foundation of NCCAP(2013-2017). Also the Kenya constitution has set out other sectors plans across the country which addresses the aspects of climate change. His Excellency Uhuru Kenyatta the Kenya's president has been on the fore front in educating and encouraging Kenya industries and manufactures as well as farmers to adopt better methods which do not produce the fossil fuels that causes effect on the climate change. Measures have been put in place by the ministry of environment and natural resources so as to ensure river banks and also major Kenyan rivers are not polluted either by throwing dirty and poisonous substances in them. The government has been encouraging Kenyans on the use of bio friendly methods of producing heat other than dependency on charcoal for fire production. Kenya's vision 2030 as well as Africa's agenda 2063 has guaranteed food and nutritional security for its people and therefore for the two agendas to be achieved Africa states must work on infrastructure challenges that are making it difficult for traders to access market of their products across countries and regions. The need to support agricultural sectors should be addressed and also ensure agricultural production is boosted through the use of modern methods of production and also guarantee farmers protection from foreign invasion of markets and more

so those that are from outside Africa. Value addition and enhancing national food storage and preservation facilities should be provided to farmers to ensure safe storage of their products as they await for better markets.

2.11 Chapter summary

This chapter has captured in-depth an assessment on the AU's role in Kenya's economy both politically and economically. Agriculture which accounts for one third of the country's Gross Domestic Product and which dominates Kenyan economy has been discussed in-depth among regional countries in east and central Africa and mechanisms to increase food security within the country has been among the Kenya's four main agendas whose main aim is to realize the country's vision 2030 and also achieve the agenda 2063 of the AU Plan. The country has encouraged medium and large scale enterprises whereby 200 are of foreign nationals and this has lowered the country's unemployment.

African continent has been termed as a continent whose political as well as economic growth is slow. It is worth to note that poor governance, ethical clashes and the emergence of armed groups against the government has been the major cause of poor growth in the continent. Many African leaders have refused to embrace change and this has led to poor technological growth even though the western countries has embraced the use of new technologies like the computers, internet, instagram face book and other computer related methods as means of carrying their daily routines.

Corruption on the other side which is caused by poor governance is also another element which has led to poor economic growth. Corrupt leaders in Kenya and Africa at large have decided to misuse the countries funds through the importation of goods and services from the western world even when much available within Africa. The chapter concludes that Kenya under the AU umbrella should embrace the mentioned factors and factor in the development of the country. Women should be given same opportunities as men. Girl child education should be advocated for and also be incorporated in the countries affairs.

CHAPTER THREE

AU'S CONTRIBUTION ON KENYAS ECONOMIC GROWTH

3.0 Introduction

Kenya is considered a potential and a successful country in the developing world and in Africa too³³. It has been able to achieve impressive economic development since independence and has been associated with political stability as well as social tranquility. The mitigated economic gains per capita due to the increased population have not affected the economic stability and therefore growing economy has been able to ensure good living standards and social welfare of its citizens. This chapter shall explain much on the social, economic, political and demographic trends in Kenya since its independence and how the African Union has accelerated towards the growth of the country's economy.

Although Africa is seen in economic forecasts to be the next emerging market, severe food shortages, climate change and also political instability in the continent remains the biggest problem in achieving this³⁴. The AU has encouraged its member states to try and boost agricultural investments and also come up with strategies to be able to curb with the increasing diversities. 2014, Africa was declared a food secure continent and agriculture seemed to increase in the same year and all this was because the AU was and its even emphasizing on agriculture has the backbone of Africa's economic development³⁵.

3.1 Kenya's economic growth

Since post-colonial era, Kenya has risen to be one of the largest and increased economy in the East African region, and has accounted for 19% of the EAC output³⁶. Being the fourth largest economy in sub-Saharan Africa it has shown a lead in its agricultural, manufacturing as well as the real estate sectors thus leading to the rise in the country's GDP as illustrated in the World Bank report comparing with other developed countries in Africa.³⁷ The country's GDP has projected a tremendous growth and this has been attributed much by the increased use of

³³ World Bank, 1963, 1975; Pankhurst, 1970; Hazelwood, 1979; Killick, 1981.

³⁴ African Development Bank. 2018 African Economic Outlook: Kenya

³⁵ Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. 2017. Foreign Investment Survey 2016 Report.
<https://www.knbs.or.ke/foreign-investmentsurvey-2016-report>

³⁶ African Development Bank. 2018 African Economic Outlook: Kenya.

https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/GenericDocuments/country_notes/Kenya_country_note.pdf

technology and especially on the service rendering firms like Safaricom, Telkom and also the banking sector too³⁸. The country was assessed after morocco to be the most attractive destination in Africa in 2017, thus attracting more tourists in the tourism field and also more investors in the hotel sector too. Many more foreign investors have been attracted by Kenyans infrastructure to invest in businesses like in the banking sectors, insurances and also the Information and technology communications department³⁹.

Horticulture, invention of oil and gas in the northern part of Kenya have all attracted significant investment from foreign companies⁴⁰.

Kenya's economy is largely driven by the informal sector popularly called 'juakali'. This is a Swahili word which means hot sun. It was meant to characterize the less educated Kenyans but nowadays even the well-educated Kenyans and especially the youth have dominated the industry. Majority of Kenya youth have joined colleges and undertaken the T-VET courses which have helped them venture in the Jua-Kali sector. This industry consists of artisans, plumbers, welder, and auto-repairs and also wood curving. Due to the growth of the industry in the country, the government has provided finances to the people working in the sector and has also encouraged them to participate in country as well as regional trade shows and workshops whereby Kenyans have secured first positions in the shows. Other informal sectors which have led to the development of the country include farming, food vendors and also manufacturers. Kenyan government through the Kenya's vision 2030 has been in the fore front in transforming the country's agriculture to being a profitable sector and is oriented commercially so as to compete with other countries internationally and regionally⁴¹. Both informal sectors have provided gainful employment opportunities to Kenyans. Natives have embraced digital methods of farming which leads to conservation of land resource through the use of irrigation and natural and organic manure in their farming. Farming has been encouraged much in the country by the government with the recent initiative of lowering down the price of fertilizers in the country.

³⁸ African Development Bank. 2018 African Economic Outlook: Kenya.
https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/GenericDocuments/country_notes/Kenya_country_note.pdf

³⁹ *ibid*

⁴⁰ *ibid*

⁴¹ Informal Enterprises in Kenya, Jan, 2016, World Bank

Development. The horticultural farming and the good market of Kenyan product in the global market has seen many Kenyans grow exporting products to the outside market.

The major agricultural products in Kenya are the cash crop goods and are said to be the foreign exchange earners since majority of them are exported to outside market. Tea, coffee horticultural products from Kenya are said to be highly competitive in the global market than the same products from other countries in the region like Uganda and Tanzania. This has made the country secure confidence in the global market⁴².

Tourism sector being the contributor in Kenya GDP after agriculture and horticulture is being faced by many challenges since the country was hit by the pandemic and seems to have lost the confidence of being the leading foreign exchange earner.

The tourism sector in Kenya has recorded phenomenal growth over the recent past. Although currently the sector was largely affected by the covid-19 pandemic it has campaigned much and came up with strategies to encourage local tourism in order to keep the market growing. Aggressive market recovery campaigns have been started and more efforts are being put to ensure that the growth is realized at an even larger scale to meet expectations placed by the industry and the new national socio-economic blueprint which is the Kenya's vision 2030. The industry has benefited much on the attractions site available in the country and has also impacted much on the service industries such as the hotel services, restaurants, local clubs and many more.

The ministry of tourism in collaboration with the industry has established appropriate policies and structures in order to ensure a chapter of perpetuity in success of the tourism industry. The Sector has also advanced its operations in the country by promoting and encouraging games like the safari rallies whereby international drivers are encouraged to participate and compete with the local drivers in the country. Through his games the hotel industry has grown due to the increase in visitors coming to cheer up the events.

The Private sector too has also encouraged the use of computers and online services in carrying out daily activities and this has increased the country's production as well as reducing of much human errors. Local banks have encouraged the use of digital money transaction and thereby reducing slow movement of funds. Communication has improved a lot in the country since the implementation of the use of mobile phones in passing information. The improvement

⁴² Carol Newman and John Page. "Manufacturing Transformation: Comparative Studies of Industrial Development in Africa and Emerging Asia." *Oxford Scholarship Online*, Aug. 2016

in such services has also led to the use of mobile money transfers which can be easily accessed by any person in and out of the country.

3.2 Kenya and Africa's Trade

African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) is a part of the vision of future Pan-Africanism. This is a framework that will be used to create a single continent-wide market for goods and services and to promote free movement of capital and natural persons.⁴³ However, there is still a lot of streamlining to be done by individual States considering their sizes, economic development and diversification significantly vary. AfCFTA has garnered a considerable amount of political support but without following the necessary steps, nationally and regionally through RECs, it is bound to fail like other ambitious projects that the AU had once put forth. AfCFTA is meant to take over and simplify the process of intra-African trade that is now heavily concentrated within RECs. The only milestones achieved presently are negotiations. AfCFTA is an ambitious project that if pursued correctly will be the epitome of Pan-Africanism.

Although Africa has tried to ensure that there is food security in the continent, still make Africans have been dying of hunger and many others remain poor. Sub-Saharan Africa host twenty countries with lowest human development and with this in mind AU shall have difficulties in attaining its aspirations until something is done to change this attitude in Africa. Trade is identified as the main too in ensuring economic growth and development in order to ensure Africa's renaissance in the 21st Century. Economic integration schemes in Africa have suffered a lot of setbacks in the global market and also the overlapping membership of countries within the same region has made the institutions weak. Because of lack of strength in decision making at the regional level, trade and business has not taken a strong stand in the global market thus making African goods lack competition in the market. And because of this Africa has been marginalized when it comes to trade and business.

Kenya has joined other African countries and has created bilateral agreements and relations which have led to the improvement of business in the country. The improvement of

⁴³ Hartzenberg, Trudi. "The African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement – what is expected of LDCs in terms of trade liberalisation?" UNITED NATIONS, LDC Portal. <https://www.un.org/ldcportal/afcfta-what-is-expected-of-ldcs-in-terms-of-trade-liberalisation-by-trudi-hartzenberg/>

infrastructure, friendly business regulations to investors, availability of labor and easy access to market has improved the countries business with other countries regionally and internationally.

3.2.1 Market Access

Regional and international markets trading with Kenya have benefitted a lot from the Kenyan products. Kenya is a member of the EAC which has a great population of millions of people. The Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) where Kenya is also a member has an estimated population of 300 people and all this engage in Kenya's trade. The Kenyan government through diplomatic ties and mission has ensured that investors are able to access Kenyan market easily. The links between Ministry of Agriculture and the Export promotion council, traders, diplomatic missions, clients to Kenya's products' and other competitors from other countries have been part of the Kenyan market strategy and all this will be achieved by providing friendly market function by the concerned institutions. Kenya has been able to export her [products to the European markets, markets with the COMESA community, Japan and also countries in the Middle East.

3.2.2 Guarantees to Investors

The Kenya constitution has guaranteed its investors against expropriating their private property unless it's for purposes of public use or security. Capital, profits and interests attained by investors have been guaranteed on repatriation through the removal of exchange controls. Through this foreign investors have invested much of their money in Kenya due to the security of their products which s covered by this body. Africa Trade Insurance Agency (ATIA) insures foreign investors against political risks and therefore Kenya is a member therefore offering guaranteed security to investors. Foreigners' have been guaranteed of capital repatriation and remittance of dividend and interests through the Foreign Investment Protection Act (FIPA).

3.2.3 Infrastructure & Support

Kenya is ranked as one of the East Africa countries which have the busiest international and domestic airports. JKIA which is Kenya's international airport has linked many African countries with the rest of the world and therefore making Kenya to be a busy country in terms of trade. The coastal region of Kenya which has the Mombasa port has also linked other EAC in

terms of businesses and the passage of cargo thereby enabling investors have interest in carrying out business with Kenya because of the good infrastructures. Mombasa port connects the land locked countries bordering Kenya and is also one of the modern ports in Africa. Modern roads have also encouraged business in Kenya and the rest of Africa since all major commercial centers in the country are connected by paved roads. Kenya and its neighboring countries like Burundi, Rwanda, Kigali, and even Sudan have established northern corridor transport agreement facilitating transport of goods from the port of Mombasa. The recently constructed expressway has led to the reduction of traffic jam caused by big vehicles exporting products to other countries via Kenyan soil.

Railway means of transport in Kenya has also been improved. Single railway line from Mombasa through Nairobi to Uganda and also Tanzania has improved Kenya's trade with such countries. The introduction of electric railway gauge linking the city of Nairobi with the port of Mombasa has led to fast transport of goods and commodities from Mombasa port to the rest of the countries like Uganda and Malawi which rely on the port of Mombasa to import and export their products.

The recent unveiling of the Naivasha Inland container depot has caught the eye of many investors who have had a big interest of investing in Kenya. The dry port, which is sometimes called an inland port, has connected directly the sea port in Mombasa with the dry port by the use of rail and here in Kenya the standard railway gauge and is also a collection centre for the investors and local businessmen who brings together their products to be transported to the sea port of Mombasa. This dry port shall ease congestion at the seaport therefore creating space for more consignment to get in. Sorting and processing will be done at the dry port and also storage of products will also be created at the dry port. Through all this improved structures, trade shall be increased in the country.

With the above improved infrastructure which is one of the Kenya's big 4 agenda and through the support of the AU Kenya has been able to attract many investors in the country thus improving the country economic stability. Mombasa port is meant to be the destination of many ships transporting their cargo in Kenya and other countries in Africa which are land locked.

3.2.4 Horticulture

Agriculture plays an important role in the Kenyan economy as well as the exportation to other countries. It is termed as the back bone of the country and therefore increases in agricultural production in Kenya leads to an increase in its economic stability. Kenyan people have embraced horticulture as one of the major areas in agriculture since Kenya is known in exporting perishable products which are much accepted in the global market because of the conducive agricultural climate. Horticulture is said to be a significant contributor in Kenya's GDP. Employment creation has advanced in Kenya's horticultural fields and this has led to reduction in poverty to the natives around such farms. Also foreign investors have established their horticultural farms in Kenya agriculture being one of the Kenya's Big 4 agenda have shown improved economic development. In the African market Kenya is ranked has the greatest exporter of horticultural products in EAC and also Ethiopia, Somalia and South Africa.

3.2.5 Human resource

Kenya has a highly trained people and especially youth who have shown interest to venture in to business locally and internationally. Majority have trained on technological fields and also art and craft skills .human resource. Because of this spirit of development different countries have established their companies in Kenya so as to have the young skilled Kenya's explore their potential.AU has encouraged Kenyan young entrepreneurs to engage in global market and pursue their passion. The removal of trade barriers and tariffs together with fair business relations at the border of Kenya's has encouraged business entrepreneurship in Kenya and the rest of the Africa.

3.2.6 Natural Resources

Kenya is said to be a potential land for cash crops and the government has made agreement and partnerships with stakeholders from other countries to invest in the potential lands .a good example is the Nigerians billionaire who has shown interest in opening a cement factory here in Kenya. This has been achieved through the good trade relations between Kenya and the rest of Africa. The EU and world vision together with other UN activities have shown a support in digging ground water for irrigation projects and also cleans water for human consumption in the

arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya. It is through these partnerships whereby Kenyans are able to benefit from the resources and technologies which come about with the business partners and improve their skills as well learn more skills.

3.2.7 Kenya Trading Partners

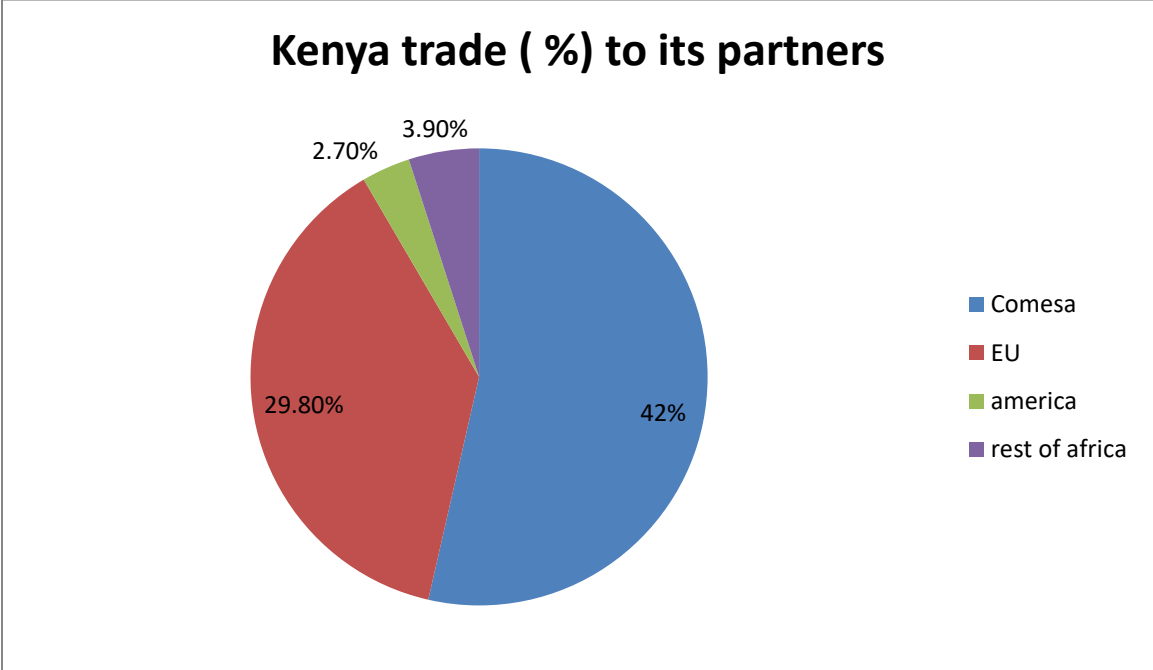


Figure 3.1 Kenya Trade (%) to its partners

Source: <https://www.statista.com/statistics/1135528/main-export-partners-from-kenya>

In the figure above Kenya has shown increased partnership with other stakeholders around the globe. The country has been able to benefit from the trading partners and has also been able to find market for its products. Globalization is encouraged and thereby countries enjoy economies of scale through large production and also through increased also there as making big profits. The country has also been able to enjoy good reputation to other countries which also engage us in business and also the government is also able to acquire financial support to be able to improve and increase productivity.

Besides all the benefits Kenya has enjoyed with the help of the African union, there has been also some areas where by the union has shown its assistance to the country. Kenya just like any other country in Africa has gone through serious problems and the AU has shown less or no assistance to its members.

3.3 Africa and hunger.

There is a harsh paradox of suffering amidst plenty; of a country with rich, arable land but unable to feed its citizens. Hunger and malnutrition has remained to be a major challenge in the northern part of Kenya especially Turkana, Marsabit, Kajiado and other parts of the northern country. Kenya has the knowledge, the technology and the means to end hunger and insecurity but all this has not been achieved because of lack of funds to implement the technology of agribusiness. This is said to be one of the areas the AU is not concentrating much in assisting its members.

During the Kenya's elections and campaign period the AU show its full potential support to Kenyans but at this time when majority of Kenyan needs its support, the union is not available. Kenya is experiencing famine whereby people and animals are dying daily but the AU has neglected the situation. This has been one of the areas whereby the AU has failed.

In the above figure, Kenyans citizens from the northern side of the country are sited helplessly without food and even water. International organization as well as donors have shown no or minimal support to such people therefore leading to loss of people and animals.

3.4 Field research findings.

From the research findings carried by researcher, it is evident that Kenya's economic growth has improved since independence due to its bilateral relations with other countries in the region and internationally. Kenya being a member of the EAC community has led to increased and improved production in the country since the market for the products is wide. Kenya's confidence with the other countries has ensured an increase in trading partners with the country. The country is able to achieve loans from its investors and trading partners so as to improve the country's infrastructure and increase agricultural productivity.

3.5 Chapter summary

African union contribution of Kenya's economic growth is not much felt as compared to politics. Not too much has been achieved in ensuring that Kenya realizes its vision 2030 which is under

the African agenda of 2063. intergration in the East African region has shown an improvement in Kenya's development but a lot has to be done since the region politics is not stable and this is a major cause of poor economic growth. During and after elections period Kenya's has been faced with poor economic growth since countries partnering with her don't show much engagement in business with it .all this is brought about by the 2007/2008 PEV which means that investors have not built confidence in Kenyan people. The African union should engage in Kenya's development and assist it built its confidence to the outside world. Legal actions should be taken on corrupt leaders in the country to avoid more losses of public funds. The AU should give a limit of Kenya's borrowing from the west since this has contributed much to the economies deterioration due to corruption.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACED BY KENYA IN IMPLEMENTING THE AU'S AGENDA 2063.

4.1 Overview of the Africa's Agenda 2063

Africa is emerged, risen, and began to forge a more positive outlook ahead in order to create and build a future Africa “the Africa we want”. To achieve this heads of governments and the government heads came up together and launched the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063. This agenda main vision is to bring change in Africa through development plans, increased productivity, and improved participation in the global market in the next 50 years. Agenda 2063' aims to ensure peaceful, prosperous and integrated Africa. Its main aim is to ensure that Africa is driven by Africans themselves without consultation or asking assistance from the western countries. All this has to be built form the past initiatives since its formation and also current initiatives are also incorporated. In the document, the African countries have committed themselves to pursue and achieve the following aspirations by 2063:

Aspiration 1: prosperous Africa being based on inclusive growth and sustainable development—Africa will by 2063 be a continent of shared prosperity, which finances and manages its own growth and transformation Agenda 2063 The AFRICA We Want

Aspiration 2: An integrated continent which I united politically and base their ideas on apn-africanism. Its main agenda is to ensure Africa emerges united and strong, independent and be a sovereign continent with the power to realize its full economic and political integration.

Aspiration 3: By 2063, African continents want to be a continent which upholds Good governance, democracy, and respect for human rights, justice and the rule of law.

Aspiration 4: the member states wants to ensure peace and security in African continent is achieved and therefore no conflicts among communities or neighbor states.

Aspiration 5:Strong cultural identity ,values and ethics be achieved by 2063.Africa is known for its rich cultural dynamics ,common heritage and therefore the agenda wants to ensure Africa re-emergence strong in the global market with high values and ethics.

Aspiration 6: development involving all genders, youth, PWD and care of its children. By 2063, Africa will be continent which shall involve its entire people in decision making in all aspects of life. All people shall be incorporated in political, economic, social and environmental activities.

Aspiration 7: Africa shall be a united influential global player in all activities both trade, athletics and shall partner with international organization to build its strong relations.

All the above mentioned challenges have been facing different challenges in implementing them and Kenya has not been able to implement all or partially its activities which are meant to ensure the implementation of the agenda 2063.kenyas development goals which are envisioned in the agenda 2063 has been linked to economic, political environmental as well as social impacts have slowed down the processes of achieving its objectives in the vision 2030 together with the big 4 agenda which are subsections of the Africa's agenda 2063.

4.2 Challenges faced by Kenya in implementing agenda 2063.

4.2.1 Poor Agricultural environment/mechanisms.

Aspiration 1 of the agenda 2063 talks about making Africa a prosperous continent in terms of production, manufacture, agriculture and processing of food. Global data shows that Africa holds a big percentage of arable land which is not cultivated yet the continent relies on imported food every year.

Kenya is one of the countries in Africa being faced by such challenges since the large part of the country is semi-arid with less or no rains during rainy seasons. In Africa, farming is largely characterized by subsistence farming and this is brought about by lack of technology in carrying out extensive farming in Africa.

For the last decades and even currently, Kenya is facing drought and hunger due to the poor rains that have been faced in the country. The country being an agricultural country which is characterized by the planting of commercial products like tea, coffee, pyrethrum has been largely affected in its production. This has reduced the country's GDP and also increasing unemployment .Also poor value chain from the farmer to the consumer is another element which has made the country not to achieve its goals. Middle men and brokers have made farmers products be of no value since they buy the products at low prices from farmers thus exploiting them. Micro financing facilities which can boosts farmers in offering loans to be able to buy agricultural products like seeds and fertilizers have also been offering their support at higher interests and this has made many farmers lack to opportunity to access such funds Kenya has helped its farmers to increase exports but has not been able to contribute tto its food security. This is the reason the country has been able to produce but sell all its products to outside countries and thereafter rely on imported food for survival. Local markets

have been undermined in such a way that foods and other substances are of no value in the local market.

The manufacturing in Kenya is being projected as the most promising route to transform the country. In the just concluded national elections campaigns period all presidential aspirants were talking on how they shall ensure that Kenya manufactures majority of its products. All this have been promises even in the other years of the past presidents but none has ever implemented his agenda. Africa given its continental growth demographic divide, it is a continent which can feed its population without any outside support. 2010 McKinsey Report says that by 2030 Africa will have more than one billion people of working age in the continent. A recent African Development Bank Report reviled that the youth who are at the age of fifteen and below add up to 40 percent of Africa's population yet they are unemployed. All this has led to social unrest an even illegal immigration to other countries outside the continent.

At the third India-Africa Forum Summit in New Delhi in 2015, Namibian President Hage Geingob gave remarks saying that Africa's big problem is that it produces what it does not consume and consumes what it does not produce⁴⁴.

Therefore for the continent to achieve Aspiration (1), it has to change its behavior. All promising trends with the continent in the manufacturing sector like Ethiopia, Tanzania, Kenya and Senegal should be formulated by countries like Kenya so as to reduce this issue of relying on western countries in any development even those that the country's youth can afford. Local markets have been subjected to exploitation because the government is acquiring technocrats from outside world like china. All this is because the western world has shifted his manufacturing industries in Kenya because of the rising labor costs in their country and tends to offer services at low costs that the local manufacturing industries. Kenya and other countries in Africa have lacked proper storage of their products' and this has led to the country being associated with poisonous products brought about by poor storage. The Ministry of Agriculture has wanted to promote proper post harvests and handling of produce through the use of proper storage structures so as to ensure food security in the country but due to corruption and poor planned methods the harvests end up being wasted. A study was carried out by World Bank of

⁴⁴ Address by Namibian President, Hage Geingob at the Third India-Africa Forum Summit, New Delhi. Oct 26-29, 2015.

More than 5,000 firms from 29 countries in Africa and was compared to other countries out of Africa like Bangladesh for production costs, labor costs and efficiency in manufacturing. The results obtained showed Africa as an expensive continent to do business. All this has been attributed by poor infrastructure, lack or expensive electricity, corruption and low labor productivity.

4.2.2. Integration and pan-Africanism

Aspiration (2) of the Africa's agenda talks of Sub regional and regional integration which is seeing as the key to Africa's resurgence. Politically, this has been backdated to the ideals of pan-Africanism and collective self-reliance. Following the decolonization of African States, two major factions, inspired by the Pan-Africanism ideology started to emerge. They include the radicals Casablanca Group and the moderate Monrovia Group. Deliberations between these two groups led to the introduction of the Charter-System of African politics which led to the birth of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). Its objective was to free the African continent from colonization and apartheid and also defend member's sovereignties well as promoting cooperation with foreign countries.⁴⁵

The political unity in Africa shall be the source of integration by Africa's countries and shall ensure free and ease movement of people and also establishing continental institutions which will lead to full economic integration.

Kenya which is a member of the East Africa Community represents the modern-day challenges to Regional integration in Africa and the obstacles to Pan-Africanism. These challenges have often led to strained relations among member states and hence affected their ability to negotiate or bargain as a bloc.⁴⁶ Other challenges like underfunding have rendered the bloc ineffective. Two key organs of the organization; the East African Court and Standby Force are some of the organs that are non-functional due to lack of funding. Member states on some occasions also delay ratifying some of the key protocols that are meant to further the integration program.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ <https://www.nti.org/learn/treaties-and-regimes/african-union-au/>

⁴⁶ Seth, R., et al., *The East African Community: It's Time for Business to Take Notice*. (Grail Research. 2012)

⁴⁷ Mariel Reiss, *Political Integration in the East African Community: Vision or Reality?*

Customs Union: EAC partner states adopted the protocol for the establishment of East African Community Customs Union.⁴⁸ The partner states aimed at unifying their customs through establishing free trade on goods and services amongst themselves. The unification provided that imports from countries outside the East African zone would be subjected to the same tariff when sold to any partner state.⁴⁹

The sectors that exist under customs union include agriculture and food policy, customs and health. The community has tried to unify the customs in accordance with the principles of pan Africanism, however, they have not been able to achieve total unification due to sovereignty of the partner states and mistrust among member states.

Monetary Union: Monetary Union protocol was signed on the 30th of November 2013.⁵⁰ This protocol lays the foundation for realization of monetary union in the community within a timeframe of 10 years from the date of signing. The community aims to harmonize monetary and financial policies that would culminate in establishment of the East African Central Bank. However, up to date there is very minimal effort that is being put in place to achieve this goal of the community.

Common market: Partner states aimed at achieving a common market through offering various freedoms and rights to its citizens. According to the treaty, the citizens of the partner states would enjoy freedom of movement of goods and services and also right to residence. The partner states tried to implement freedom of movement through relaxing regulations of movement across borders when they agreed that an identification card would be sufficient to move across borders.

The community has made gains in relation to achieving the common market; however, there have been huge hindrances in the realization of this goal due to factors such as discrimination from citizens of individual states. During the Covid-19 pandemic we have witnessed increased cases of discrimination from partner states such as Tanzania and Uganda, where truck drivers from Kenya were openly discriminated and denied services because they were suspected of having contracted the virus.

There is mistrust among the member states. This mostly arises from competition or dispute among the member states. For instance, the tussle over Misingo Island between Kenya and

⁴⁸ Customs Union in the EAC, Available at <https://www.eac.int/integration-pillars> Accessed on 25th March 2021

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Monetary Union in the EAC, Available at <https://www.eac.int/integration-pillars> Accessed on 25th March 2021

Tanzania and the cow and chicken political saga in December 2017 between Kenya and Tanzania.

4.2.3 Poor governance

Good governance, democracy, human rights and the rule of law is Aspiration (3), and is critical for the continent as its record in these aspects has largely been dismal. However, for the last decade there has been increased conflict in African continent. Because of poor governance, Kenya's external relations have deteriorated in the year 90's and this has led to reduced inflows from external assistance. It has been mention by the global market as a country whose rate of corruption is on the rise. This has been caused by poor governance from the leaders. "Recourse curse" a paradox in development economics is when many countries with abundant natural resources, have a reduced growth performance. The 'resource curse' is most common in Sub-Saharan Africa. These poor performances are caused by corrupt government officials who ask for bribes from the importers of products at the border areas from business men so that they can smuggle in their products without paying taxes. It is at this point that illegal goods like fire arms find their entry in the country. All this is done by individuals who are looking for self-enrichment and don't mind about the economy of the country.

Kenya has fallen a victim of this resource curse whereby officers working at the borders of the country have encouraged smuggling of goods in the country through corruption. Many illegal products have dominated the market and this has led to poor market of the country's products. Illegal items have found access to Kenya through smuggling and this has led to an increase in insecurity in the country because goons are able to acquire firearms easily⁵¹.the AU has not shown any measures it has taken to corrupt leaders within the Kenyan government despite Kenya being ranked as one of the corrupt countries in the world. Corrupt leaders have been seen moving freely and even leading the country's affairs yet AU has written in their charter that measures should be taken to leaders accused of corruption. The EAC court has not convicted corrupt leaders in Kenya. During the 2007/2008 Kenya's PEV the UA was fighting the Kenyan leaders involved in the conflicts to be freed from the International Court of Justice (ICJ) so that they can take up the matter in the AU courts.

⁵¹ ⁵¹ Pius Fischer, "rent-seeking institutions reforms- Theory and empirical evidence for Tanzania", Sep.2004

4.2.4 Lack of Peace and Security

Aspiration 4) of the Africa's agenda 2063 talks much about peaceful and secure continent, strengthening governance, accountability and transparency. Lack of security in Kenya has been on the limelight in regards to all the above mentioned. From ethnic clashes, religious difference to attacks by illegal groups from neighboring countries and increase theft and killings of investors in the country. Recently Pakistan nationalists and two business men of Indian origin have been killed in Kenya and this has contributed to increased insecurity in the country. The attacks of investors in the coastal region of Mombasa have also raised questions to the willingness of the government in protecting private investors. All this insecurities have led to the lack of trust by developers and foreign investors who are willing to invest in Kenya but fear their security and the security of their firms. The AU main aim is to Foster and maintain a conducive atmosphere that is a pre-requisite to social and economic development through co-operation and consultations on issues pertaining to peace and security of the Partner States.

Today's Islamic terrorism which nothing on existence in Africa since Africa got independence is now the biggest threat to peace and stability in the continent. Boko Haram of Nigeria, the Al-Shabab of Somalia and the Al Qaida of Islamic Maghreb with the JIHAD groups of west Africa have carried serious and deadly attacks in the continent and this has led to destruction of properties and deaths in the affected countries. The Al-Shabab of Somalia has been a big threat to Kenya's economy and development since it has carried out attacks to the country and therefore the government is funding much of its funds to protect the Kenya's territory instead of other profitable projects. With the advancement in technology, terrorism has also risen and this is a major setback to the affected countries. In 1998, Kenya US Embassy was bombed by the Al-Qaida terrorist targeting the European Nation sand this led to the destruction of infrastructures in the country as well the deaths of many prominent and aspiring Kenyan youth thereby causing economic deterioration in the country. The 2013 west gate mall attacks were hundreds of Kenyans were killed and properties destroyed has also affected Kenyans economic stability. All this terrorist attacks have been majorly associated with political influences. All this attacks of terrorism have led to psychological, social and economic impacts to the country. Kenya's confidence has gone down and especially on the tourist industry because many

tourists' will prefer visiting countries where their safety is guaranteed and this leads to economic setback⁵².

Africa's capacity to address the issue of security through the AU PSC and ASF groups have not been seen to be taken serious and especially by African leaders. Local have been fighting among themselves probably because of the presence of natural resources in one end of the country and the other end wants to be part of such resources. Natural resources found at the border of two or more countries have also led to territorial disputes like the dispute between Kenya and Somalia maritime borders. All this disputes have led to destruction of products being imported to the country or being exported too thus economic development affected. Border disputes between Kenya and Uganda fishermen have also leads to deaths of fishermen from both countries and also bring about poor relations among the two countries. African Standby Force (ASF) which was formed in January 2016 to bring peace in Africa and take disciplinary actions against conflicting countries and nations has not been effective due to lack of funds since AU provides 25 percent of their fund and the other percentages should come from outside organizations like UN, EU NATO and others⁵³.

Lack of lasting solutions to ensure peace and security in the region is the main challenge in ensuring that Africa achieves a peaceful and stable region. Conflicts in Africa have been caused by pre-existing conditions, catalysts and triggers and therefore African governments should work on the catalyst which accelerates the conflicts in the continent. Kenya has been neglecting the marginalized regions where ethnic violence and terrorism has been on the rise. Separatism in Mombasa Kenya is also a movement gaining support from political parties and this has been creating differences and gaps by the people living there and the other counties in Kenya⁵⁴.

4.2.5 Lack of unity among countries

Aspiration (7) of the agenda talks of "Africa as a strong, united and influential global player and partner". The terrorist attacks of neighboring countries and the intra-region attacks too has brought a big separation among Africans than unity. The increased ethnicity in the

⁵² Sandler, Todd, and Walter Enders. "Economic Consequences of Terrorism in Developed and ..." *Www.utdallers.edu*. Web. 16 Oct. 2015. <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/summary?doi=10.1.1.129.1037>

⁵³ Rvashi Aneja, "India's Response to State Fragility in Africa", *ORF Issue Brief*,

⁵⁴ Separatists on the march," *Africa Confidential*, December 15, 2017

continent Also an example that for the seventh aspiration to be realized then Africa shall has to go extra miles in uniting its member's states. Clashes and differences in Sudan and southern Sudan, Somalia and Somali land is an example that there is increased separation than the unity. Kenya recently with Tanzania had trade differences whereby Tanzanian government didn't want their goods and products are exported to Kenya .Also Kenyans leaving at the border of Kenya and Tanzania had big problems when their animals crossed at the border of Tanzania. This brought a trade conflict between the two nations. Tanzanian president ordered chicks exported to Tanzania be burnt to ashes has this brought a big business setback between the two nations.

Nowadays, critical issues that affect all countries globally such as climate change, global taxations, and rules on development should be decided in multilateral forums. Countries have come together to mitigate on actions that will reduce the emulsion of gases in the for example the ongoing meeting in Egypt but many countries have not been able to implement the rules and

4.3 Chapter Summary

African continent has not shown its powers in ensuring that the continent is committed in achieving the agendas set in the Agenda 2063 document. Poor mechanism to implement the plan has been adopted by many countries within the umbrella, corruption which has been the major setback in Kenya's economy has been taken as a usual thing even in the Kenyan courts and corrupt leaders are left to walk freely in the name that there is lack of evidence to convict them. In Kenya corrupt people are even seeing being elected in the country's general elections and given the powers to run the country's affairs with overseeing the country's finances. There has been lack of unity among African countries caused by disputes amongst themselves and these disputes have led to poor business and mutual relations. The continent shall not be able to acquire the seven aspirations set in the agenda if necessary actions are not taken by leaders of the countries within the AU.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.

5.0 Introduction

Chapter five shall give a summary of the objectives mentioned in chapter one of the study. The findings have been conceptualized in broad study of the African Union and how its political economic and social activities have impacted on the growth and development of African states and especially Kenya.

How countries which are member states have engaged in activities that will help AU achieve its agenda of 2063. The chapter shall also discuss some of the challenges Kenya has been facing in implementing Africa's agenda which also affect other countries within Africa. In this conclusion, the researcher shall give recommendations on how AU shall be able to achieve the seven aspirations mentioned in the agenda 2063 plan.

5.1 Summary of findings

Through detailed examinations and recommendations of the summary of findings, the study came up with the conclusions hereafter. Recommendations shall then be presented based on these findings.

5.1.1 The role of AU in ensuring political and economic stability in Kenya.

The first objective was to establish on the role played by AU in ensuring political and economic stability in Kenya. The finding shows that the African union has engaged much on Kenya's political stability. The AU and RECs have played a symbiotic role in maintaining peace and security in the Kenya. Being a continental body, it has provided legitimization of RECs interventions in resolving conflicts. In the aftermath of the PEV 2007/2008 in Kenya, AU members under its chairman came in and brought reconciliation in the conflicts that had arisen due to the general election. The AU chairman together with other prominent persons from the African continent and other Kenyan individuals brought together the disputing individuals and a solution was achieved. The African Union (AU), together with other prominent people in Africa participated in the just concluded August 2022, Kenya's general elections through the invitation by Kenyan government to be observers of the campaigns and the general elections and somehow promoted peaceful and democratic elections. Even though according to the opposition team the

elections were not credible free and fair. The AU representatives requested the opposition team to take legal action in order to avoid conflicts in the country. Election Observation Mission (EOM) members assessed the compliance of the general elections against national, regional and international commitments and obligations of Kenya for the conduct of democratic elections. Though the elections were highly competitive, they were more peaceful than any other. . Corruption, conflicts, territorial disputes has been associated with African countries and the AU is not taking any active measures in stopping such conflicts and disputes. Kenya's economy has declined since the Al-shabab started its attacks in many parts of the country. Kenyan troops who should be in the country ensuring security of Kenyans properties have been deployed in Somalia and the country has lost many of its soldiers through the illegal groups. In 2017, a Kenyan university in Garissa northern part of Kenya was attacked by the illegal group and many students lost their lives, the school was shut down for a while and also business in the areas were shut down too. The first bombing in Kenya which was carried out by the AL-Qaida group which left thousands of Kenyans and foreigners dead and many properties destroyed affected investors who had established their businesses in the country. Others who had plans to invest in the country also stopped in fear of their security together with the businesses safety.

5.1.2 Contribution of AU on the economic growth in Kenya.

Africa's Agenda 2063 and Kenya's Vision 2030 seeks to promote environmental rule of law with an aim to a sustain development in Africa. The AU through regional integration as well as pan-Africanism has engaged a lot in the economic growth of its member states. In Kenya and the rest of east and central Africa, there has been increased integration to improve their business relations and also reduce tariffs that has made business difficulty within the region.

The AU has helped Kenya in improving its political stability, good governance as well as reducing trade barriers and this has led to investors having the willingness to invest in the country. The AU has not shown much commitment in Kenya's economic growth as compared to the political stability of the country. Although Kenya through integration has come up with great agenda to be achieved by all members of the integrated groups, all this promised have not been achieved as expected by the people of Kenya. The country has been achieved with corrupt leaders who has led Kenya to a country full of international loans and the AU has not taken any

actions on such activities. AU has been accused of poor governance in all the agendas it has put through to ensure economic development to its member states.

5.1.3 Challenges faced by Kenya in implementing the AU Agenda 2063.

Africa has faced a lot of challenges in economic development compared to other continents I the globe. Kenya just like other countries in Africa has been having struggles in keeping its economy growing. Challenges brought about by economic, political and social instability have led to poor economic growth. The issue of poor development has been on the rise in Africa and this has been brought about by poor management of resources. Political instability has caused poor development since many investors have not been able to invest in areas of rich resources within Africa due to ethnical conflicts, poor infrastructure in terms of businesses. Through the formation of the Kenya's vision 2030, the country has been determined to realize Africa's agenda 2063 but the challenges faced in the country have slowed the implementation. The big four agenda which mainly is to ensure Kenya get connected to the other parts of the content has not been achieved fully due to the poor infrastructures in place in realizing the same. The seven aspirations mentioned in the agenda 2063 document have taken a slow movement to be realized and indeed Kenya has also not been able to realize the big four agenda which are much related to the vision 2030 plan . The countries infrastructure development has significantly contributed to the regional economic development and has lifted millions of business people from wastage of their products due to poor roads.

Corruption in Kenya has also been a menace in the implementation of the Africa's agenda. Corrupt business cartels and government officials have collided in misusing funds set aside for the work. Kenya's government through misuse of funds has been forced to borrow more than it can pay from foreign countries thus sinking the country to deep debts.

Lack of technical and formal education in Kenya has also led to poor development in Kenya. With the available resources in the country, Kenya has been forced to source technocrats from outside world so as to be able to complete its projects and this is all done at a big cost thus making the projects put Kenya at a big debt.

5.2 Conclusion

This paper has examined the positive and negative impacts of AU activities the Kenya economy. In general, it is clear that the African Union has been mandated by its member states to engage and solve conflicts as well as economic problems of Africa. The union should show its commitment in ensuring peace and security in the continent. Matters on economic development through good governance should be a key factor in the AU's umbrella. Self-reliance of the continent on matters of production, trade and business, manufacturing should be practiced so as to improve Africa's development. When conflicts arise in the member states, the AU is the first to look for ways to solve the conflicts in conjunction with other international bodies. Since the 2007/2008 Kenya's general elections which led to conflicts leading to death and destruction of properties in Kenya, the AU has always been in the forefront in ensuring that Kenya's elections are conducted peacefully.

Through good governance as well as political stability in the country, Kenya's economy has also taken a positive shift since investors around the globe have shown interest in carrying business with Kenya. The Chinese government has invested much in Kenya leading to improved infrastructure and good business relations.

Similarly the continent has not been able to achieve much of its objectives because of poor governance; conflicts in the continent have led to poor economic stability. Even after independence there are countries in Africa who still continue to have political disputes like Congo, Mali and this has led to poor growth in the areas. The African union should look into these matters and ensure that the stability of the countries is first achieved in order to be able to build their economy. Kenyan learnt a lesson from the disputed 2007/2008 PEV because the country's economy was destroyed due to conflicts of power among ethnics which had lived together for long. Killings, destruction of properties and even displacement occurred during that time and therefore Kenyan economy was affected. To avoid this in future the country adopted a law whereby in case of disputed elections, the opposing team goes to the supreme court in the country and all the disputed are solved. For this reasons the country has picked up in building its economy despite other factors that are being experienced in the county like the drought. Poor structure of integration. Overlapping has been the major reason why countries in one integrated region do not acquire results in their business. For this to be avoided the continent to ensure its activities in ensuring political as well as economic stability is realized. This has been achieved in

other countries which are under the European Union. The AU should support its member states in achieving their projects like here in Kenya the government launched the vision 2030 which shall see Kenya reach the position of competing with foreign countries by ensuring the it advance in technology to advance in its business and services delivery, adopt the blue economy and also improve its infrastructure.

5.3 Recommendations

Kenya's political stability is the first aspect for the government to achieve in order to ensure economic growth and stability. The country has shown improvement in encouraging the youth venture in to agribusiness and other sectors to reduce the rate of unemployment .this has ensured graduates and the technical educated youth venture into self-employment. With this motive from the youth, the government should encourage political stability and ensure Kenya's business re well protected. Tribal clashes should be discouraged to encouraged business men as well as inspiring entrepreneurs invest in any part of the country.

Gender parity should be encouraged in the country since it has been captured in the constitution. The Kenyan constitution 2010 ordered that Kenyan women should hold at least one third of the elective sits in the country. Therefore the government should ensure that the barriers that prevent women from vying for elective seats be discouraged. The education on leadership skills and entrepreneurial skills should be encouraged to the women and girls in order to make them take positions in both local and regional positions. Political parties should encourage women to take other positions n the Kenya's politics apart from the women representatives and encourage them by providing funds for their campaigns so as to compete with their fellow male counterparts in the elections.

Kenya has shown increased improvement in business and trade with the young generation showing interest in agribusiness and Juakali sectors and for these reason, the government should show financial support to the local investors so as to be able to have their products reach the standards that are needed in international market. Trade barriers like tariffs, corrupt immigration officers as well as levies should be removed to ensure the country's products both imports and exports are profitable to the traders.

African union, through the implementation of the AfCFTA, should ensure that the continents infrastructure in business is worth of competition with their fellow business men from the

European Union and other countries. The AfCFTA is considered to be the biggest free trade area than the EU and therefore AU should encourage its member states to show cooperation in ensuring implementation of the agreement. Security in the continent should be encouraged and especially to countries that still have political conflicts.

Good governance which eliminates corruption encourages human rights and upholds rule of law should be practiced in Africa for the continent to be able to achieve its objectives in 2050. Kenya has been found not to have achieved in Big four agenda as well as its MDG'S because of corruption and poor leadership. Therefore the institution set aside by the constitution to deal with corrupt leaders should take necessary action to such people for the country's economy to grow.

Increase in country's confidence to the investors should also be encouraged since many investors have lacked confidence with the country since 2020 due to pandemic and the last general elections. The poor growth of the tourism sector due to the effects of covid-19 should be encouraged to enable the sector achieve its objectives which has contributed much on the economic growth of the country.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Irene Mueni Kimeu a student of the University of Nairobi pursuing a Master's degree in Diplomacy and International Studies. It is toward fulfilling the requirements of the program carrying out a thesis on the impact of African union activities in Africa's political and economic development a case study of Kenya.

The findings of this study will be used to recommend appropriate initiatives and every piece of information shared will be used for academic purposes. The results will be made available through the publication of a thesis for dissemination of findings.

THANKYOU.

Part A; Demographic information

1. What is your gender? (please tick in the boxes provided)
 - a) Male
 - b) Female

2. Kindly tick the age bracket in which you fall.
20-39 years 40-49 years 50-60 years

3. What is your profession
.....

Part B; The role of AU in Kenya's politics

4. The African Union has played an important role in ensuring free fair and credible elections in Kenya.
Do you agree with the above statement, kindly reasons for your answer.....
.....
.....

5. Do you agree that Kenya's poor economic growth has being caused by political instability?
Totally agree

- Agree []
- Disagree []
- Neutral []

6. With the current political and economic crisis being experienced in Kenya, how will the current government be able to achieve its big four agenda as set in its manifesto. Give reasons.....

.....

7. In your own opinion do you think the African union has engaged Kenyan leaders in ensuring conducive economic environment for foreign investors?

.....

8. Has the African union taken any measures on corrupt African leaders who have been causing conflict during and after general elections? Yes/No. if yes gives examples of the measures taken.

.....

9. Kenya has been on the front in realization of the Big 4 Agenda which is captured in the Africa’s agenda 2063 strategy. Is this statement correct or not? Justify your answer

.....

10. Do you think that regional integration has helped Kenya in improving its economic growth?

- Strongly agree []

- Agree
- Disagree
- Neutral

11. Do you think that economic integration between Kenya and other countries in Africa has been of great importance to the country?

- Strongly agree
- Agree
- Disagree
- Neutral

12. For many years Kenya has been in frontline in ensuring stable economy through agriculture and prevention of imports of commodities from outside countries but this has not been realized.

Justify this by use of examples.....

13. With the measures being put in place by the Kenyan government to achieve the BIG 4 AGENDA initiative and the current situation of Kenya’s economy in relation to price hiking and lack of potential commodities in the country, do u believe that the government shall realize the same within the stipulated period. If so give reasons.....

.....

14. Gender parity has been mentioned in Kenya’s constitution that Kenyan women are required by law to get one third of elective and appointive positions in the government. Has this been achieved in Kenya’s politics?.....

.....

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