Globalisation of Social Structure and Politico-economic Development in Kenya

Octavian N. Gakuru

Abstract

This paper focuses on globalisation and its influence on the shared life experiences and preoccupations of the Kenyan society. Globalisation is looked at as a multidimensional concept incorporating the economic, cultural and political dimensions which constitute the elements of social structure. This is the conceptualisation applied to the analysis of such development in Kenya.

There is also an attempt to identify some societal factors which contribute to changing social structure and values. Some of the major factors discussed include modernisation, urbanisation, population growth, economic changes and related problems and challenges. The paper explores the possibility of globalisation from below but concludes that the Kenyan society has not managed to articulate a counter-discourse to resist globalisation from above.

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Introduction

This paper is about the shared life experiences and preoccupations of people of Kenya focussing on some of the important global social changes and their influence on the political and economic development. There is also an attempt to identify some of the factors that contribute to the changes in the social structures and values. It is common knowledge that everything is subject to change and also that change is inevitable. However, what is uncertain about change, whether planned or spontaneous, is its direction, rate and consequences (Preston, 1982).
The people of Kenya have experienced massive social changes that are associated with development in the modern world, cumulative and sometimes conflicting efforts in nation building and the individual and collective struggles for socio-cultural, political and economic survival. Historically, the people of Kenya belonged to formerly autonomous pre-colonial ethnic communities that did not fall under the authority of any one indigenous state.

The establishment of modern Kenya, first as a British colony and later as an independent nation, brought together diverse ethnic, rural and institutionalised racial labels and boundaries that continue to influence the political and economic life of the country. While there have been attempts to restructure the society, these have proved to be close to impossible. The society also experiences sectarianism, including regionalism, that often coincides with ethnicity, kinship, religious differences, social divisions between the rich and the poor, men and women, and level of education. However, there have also been concurrent developments and countervailing processes that challenge these dominant divisions in the society. These developments and processes include changing social structures and the related values, beliefs and practices which in turn contribute to the changes in the political and economic spheres.

In the late 1980s and early 1990, Kenya experienced another transformation which was the outcome of the demise of the Soviet Union. The Soviet influence exalted the political value of socialism as an alternative path of politico-economic development in many post-colonial countries, including Kenya. This process also paved the way for increasing interdependence of states and eroded the nation-state’s ability and confidence to solve specific political and economic issues alone. This process is commonly known as globalisation. The social structure in Kenya is not immune from this systematic influence. The main idea of the paper derives from this central premise. It is divided into four sections dealing with theories of globalisation that are relevant to the Kenyan context and describes the structural, economic and political dimensions of globalisation for Kenya. The conclusion attempts to develop an alternative: a humanist projection of globalisation (Amin, 1998: 5).

**Globalisation and National Social Structure: A Paradigm Shift?**

The emergence of globalisation as a paradigm and historic device emerged, more or less, during the collapse of the soviet type of society. This section elaborates on the concept and its theoretical underpinnings, focusing on Africa in general and the Kenyan context in particular. According to McGraw (1978), globalisation refers to:
The multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation-states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern social systems. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe (1978: 470).

In a global context, goods, capital, people, knowledge, images, communication, crime, culture, pollutants, drugs, fashions and beliefs do readily flow and erode traditional territorial boundaries. Every aspect of national social structure is impacted by this boundary crossing.

Within the literature on globalisation, Giddens and Harvey have made important contributions to the theory. (Giddens, 1990; Harvey, 1989). To Giddens, globalisation is the most visible consequence of modernity, and it involves intense re-ordering of time and space—a process Giddens identifies as “time-space distanciation” (Giddens, 1990: 14). He emphasises the development of global networks of communication and complex global systems of production and exchange that erode the grip of local circumstances over people’s lives. Harvey as well conceptualises globalisation as an expression of our changing experience of time and space, a phenomenon he identifies as “time-space compression” (Harvey, 1989: 240). He uses this expression to elaborate on the pressures of technological and economic change when space and time are continually collapsed and re-invented. To Harvey, the idea of a “global village” is not the by-product of some linear technological process but of a discontinuous historical process, a process associated with the periodic crises and restructuring of capitalism.

One thing emerges if globalisation is considered from a sociological perspective; that is, globalisation is a multi-dimensional concept incorporating economic, cultural and political dimensions. These three dimensions constitute the elements of social structure. The economic dimension of globalisation, includes production and consumption of goods and services at a global level. This process ultimately relates with capital mobility. A crucial factor for this mobility is that within the national boundary production is achieved through transnational corporations (TNCs). Continuous technological innovations for the past century have enabled TNCs to shift various phases of production and to spread them around the world. This economic role of TNCs is related to the ever increasing role of the Bretton Woods institutions like the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). In the third world, the institutional policy is privatisation and withdrawal of state subsidies from various programmes. This policy is known as structural adjustment programmes (SAPs). SAPs have had proven impact on various aspects of national social structure such as population, poverty and urbanisation.
The recent wave of democratisation is related to the question of the political dimension of globalisation. This is taking place in third world countries and beyond and concerns the trends for globalisation of social movement. According to this argument, the impact of globalising trends is to create polarised social division that transcends national frontiers (Sklair, 1991: 65) The emergence of global social movement, largely based on communication development, recognised the global nature of political issues and problems that in turn fostered the growth of transitional social movements and political campaigns concerned, for example, with the environment, human rights, the rights of indigenous ethnic minorities and women’s rights. According to Burbach et al. (1997: 146):

Although ... these multicultural struggles have their own particular agendas, there is a certain cross-cultural awareness, and even interaction, among many of them ... the Indian rebellion in Chiapas for example has reinvigorated the solidarity movement throughout the Americas and made people in diverse parts of the world aware that their own particular struggles against authoritarianism, racism and abusive state power are similar to what is happening in Chiapas.

Following Randall and Theobald (1998: 242), this trend could be identified as the rise of a global civil society, and closely connected to the economic and political dimensions of globalisation is the cultural dimension. The politics of new ethnicity in the global world has two dimensions: first is the re-emergence of an old ethnicity. The violence associated with this re-emergence is unparalleled. The Balkans in the early 1990s and Rwanda in 1994 are cases in point. Second is the demise of modernist cultural-ethnic identity that emphasises the absolute homogeneity and denies the notion of different ethnic boundaries. Globalisation, on the other hand, dismantles the concept of ethnic subjectivity and introduces a subject where ethnic boundaries are fluid and continuously in the making (Hall, 1996: 606). This is the outcome of global communication networks as well as flow of goods and people.
Globalisation of the Paradigm: Social Structural Dimension of Globalisation in Kenya

The generally preferred definition of social structure is the enduring, orderly and patterned relationships between elements of a society. These include social relationships between individuals, social groups and networks of social roles. Other elements of social structure include social systems and institutions such as the family which are seen as being necessary because they are functional requisites in society (Parsons, 1964) while values are part of culture which is a large organisation of customs, beliefs and norms (Levine, 1984).

There are many factors and sources that contribute to the changes that are taking place in the social structures in the Kenyan society. Some of the important factors include population growth, modernisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and the development of a capitalist society.

Population growth

The Kenyan population has increased out of proportion with the other aspects of society such as employment, wealth creation and the development of both social and physical infrastructure. As Table 1 shows, the total population has increased from 16.2 million in 1979 to an estimated 27.5 million in 1995 and is projected at 31.9 million by the year 2001. An important characteristic of the population is that the majority are in the dependent and youthful categories. Another important characteristic of the population is that it is increasingly becoming urbanised. As shown in Table 1, in 1979, 2.3 million people lived in urban areas increasing to 3.9 million in 1989 and projected to 7.4 million in 2001. In addition, it is likely that there is a similar number of people, if not higher, who live in the peri-urban areas. These are the people living in the communities bordering urban areas where changes have taken place which alter traditional social life and subsistence, especially with the advent of modern agriculture, christianity, trade and general commercialisation of services.

Table 1: Indicators of Kenya’s Population Structure and Projections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1979 census</th>
<th>1989 census</th>
<th>1995 census</th>
<th>2001 census</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total population (M)</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>23.2</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>31.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Growth rate % p.a.</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average pop. density per sq m</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>43.0</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban population (M)</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total fertility rate</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: GoK, 1997 latest census figures
There are many consequences of rapid population growth. First, there is the emergence of a large portion of the population which operates outside the direct control of the family and ethnic communities. These are the millions of people consisting of children, youth and adults who have moved into the new space that has been created by the modern society or nation. This is a multidimensional space with physical, socio-cultural, economic and political alternatives that are available beyond the family and ethnic community.

**Family and ethnic community**

Traditionally, the African family was at the centre of a wide network of relatives who had strong social and reciprocal relationships which were an expression of the dominant social values of mutual and collective responsibility and assistance among members in traditional societies. The family, clan and local community also had virtual control of its members since they were the custodians of the heritage of the community, including the control of the means of livelihood and cultural identity. They also controlled the territory and exercised authority and power through social relationships and groups such as the elders who were treated with great respect and also protected by strong cultural values and beliefs. For example, the elders had the sacred role of praying for the intervention of the supernatural powers during calamities and were protected and guaranteed support by superstitions and the fear of curse.

In addition, cultural identity was acquired by assimilation of the individual into the values, beliefs and practices of the group through social mechanisms such as the family, rituals and ceremonies. Inevitably, the cultural identity thus acquired only reflected the culture of that particular ethnic community.

These traditional social structures and related values, beliefs and practices have been greatly weakened and in many cases destroyed. For example, freedom from the control of family and informal social-cultural groups such as age-sets has greatly contributed to the creation of new social, political and economic subcultures with new values and role models. There is plenty of evidence that the majority of the people are placing personal interests before communal needs. It is therefore possible to argue that the majority of the people, particularly the youth are more realistic and rational in their response to contemporary political and economic challenges. They have also integrated with a global culture of music, dress and behaviour.

**Modernisation or globalisation from above**

The process of modernisation and the related experience with westernisation has been another major force in changing social structures and the system of values
and beliefs. The general direction of change has been the weakening if not total replacement of collective and communal values with individualistic values. Today, people's actions are increasingly being determined by personal considerations rather than the realisation of needs of others, be they relatives or neighbours.

Some of the most active agents and forces have been institutions such as the school, church, mass media, place of work and changing social and economic roles. For example, the school and the work place promote the culture of merit and other modern values and social practices while the church and the media stand for the freedom of worship and self-expression. These values and their manifestations continue to challenge the traditional systems of authority and offer more attractive alternative models of socio-cultural, political and economic life most likely because of their perceived potential in solving problems or the association with western civilisation. The majority of people have been exposed either directly or indirectly to modernising values and beliefs that are found in these institutions. For example, as shown in Table 2, about two-thirds of the employed population have also some level of formal education while slightly over a half of them have more than five years of schooling.

The global religions such as Christianity and Islam have provided an alternative to traditional religious ways thus further undermining the traditional basis of associational

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Level of Education</th>
<th>Kenya</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.1-4</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std.5-8</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>31.6</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 1-4</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>36.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Form 5-6</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Stated</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>8,558,880</td>
<td>7,096,656</td>
<td>1,462,224</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


life. The influence of these religions is seen in recent concerted attempts to sensitise their followers to participate in changing the political culture towards multiparty democracy and realisation of human rights. Similarly, the liberalisation of the mass media, particularly the print and electronic media, has equally had an important contribution in influencing socio-cultural and political values and practices.
Urbanisation

Urbanisation in Kenya predates colonisation of the territory by the British and was confined at the coast. Subsequently, more and larger urban centres emerged during the colonial and post-colonial periods. This has been a rapid development as demonstrated by the increasing numbers of people living in urban areas (Table 1). As already mentioned, these urban centres are part of the new space that has been created in the process of building a modern nation.

The urban areas have been associated not only with modern life but also with wage employment and recently with high crime rates, especially Nairobi and its environs. Socially, they also provide an alternative to rural life dominated by demands of ethnic and traditional communal life. As a result, millions of rural people particularly the young people have migrated to town and other urban centres where the basis of social life is voluntary and not controlled by ethnic and other ascriptive bonds.

Economic dimension of globalisation in Kenya

The Kenya economy is largely capitalist based on private ownership of property and pursuit of profit from investment. For instance, this has resulted in the privatisation of land ownership which originally belonged to the community. This economic development coupled with rapid population growth has forced many people to seek other alternative sources of livelihood and settlement away from family and clan land. These opportunities are mostly found in the urban and peri-urban areas as well as in the commercial activities and wage employment in rural areas.

Another important development has been rural-rural migration within and beyond ethnic boundaries and regions. This has been in the form of individual land purchases, group settlement schemes and squatter settlements (Mbithi and Barnes, 1975). The two processes of migration and settlement have brought together people from different ethnic and social backgrounds thus promoting inter-ethnic socio-cultural interactions in areas such as marriage, worship, education and work place.

The shift from the subsistence economy based on reciprocity and domestic labour to a market economy based on monetary exchange and paid labour has radically transformed social values and relationships in the society. As a result, it is now quite common among people, including even those in the rural areas, to perceive their relationships in terms of monetary gain instead of the traditional ascriptive ties or the general human values of mutual assistance. For example, farm labour that was offered freely by relatives is now available only at a monetary price.
There are many other examples showing how the value of money is fast replacing the traditional values of generosity, affective ties, locality and kinship. For example, during the last El Niño rains, many travellers in the rural areas, especially motorists, had to pay money to their relatives and neighbours for assistance to push their vehicles out of the mud. It is also a common practice these days for relatives and neighbours to sell and buy subsistence foods from each other; such items used to be shared freely according to need and availability. Similarly, the traditional practice of assisting sons and relatives with livestock for bride price has been replaced in many communities with monetary payment; bride price now also tends to be the sole responsibility of the bridegroom. The value of money is also being manifested in the widespread corruptive practices involving individuals who enrich themselves at the expense of other members of the society.

In addition, the pattern of economic development and differences in wealth in Kenya has created social class divisions in the society which have in turn introduced new social divisions in the local communities and the society at large. These new social groups not only differ in terms of material and financial wealth but also in the levels of social status and power. Consequently, social interaction and personal identity tend to be increasingly based on the newly emerged social class structure rather than the affective ties based on kinship and community. Furthermore, these changes have provided the possibility of organising political alliances and participation by individuals outside the traditional kinship and ethnic boundaries.

Foreign debt

It is evident from the literature that the foreign debt burden has curtailed socio-economic development in many third world countries, including those in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Bradshaw et al. (1993: 20) third world countries currently owe about US$1.3 trillion to financial institutions and governments in the developed world. Sub-Saharan Africa’s debt which stood at US$6 billion in 1970 rose to US$134 billion in 1988 (World Bank, 1989: 20). The World Bank reported that sub-Saharan debt “was about equal to its gross national product (GNP) and three and a half times its export earnings” (1989: 20). Evidence of Kenya indicates that the country spends not less than 25 per cent of her recurrent revenue to repay the foreign debt. This in turn translates into transferring resources away from meeting the needs of the poor and marginalised people to enriching the already wealthy lenders from the north.

Timberlake (1986) notes that Africa’s foreign debts have grown since 1972 faster than that of any other region in the third world. The debts have also shifted from soft loans with low or no interest and long payback periods towards commercial loans and other short-term credit facilities from supplies. The use of
debt for development has been criticised because most of the money borrowed during the boom years in the 1970s went to finance large public investments, many of which contributed little to economic growth or to generating foreign exchange to service the debt. More borrowing in subsequent years erupted with debt interest which created the current crisis hardly two decades after independence in most of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Foreign loans, which were seen as a panacea for development, quickly became the most serious problem of development in Africa. The transformation of foreign debt from a source of finance capital for investment to an economic problem was clearly articulated by Julius Nyerere early 1985: “Africa’s debt burden is now intolerable. We cannot pay. You know it and all our other creditors know it. It is not a rhetorical question when I ask, should we really let our people starve so that we can pay our debts?” (Timberlake, 1986: 34).

In Kenya, just as in other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, the debt burden has grown from bad to worse. Now it is not only an economic crisis of disastrous proportions, but it has become a source of political conflicts. The implications of foreign debt have been the adoption of economic austerity measures regularly referred to as structural adjustment policies (SAPs). SAPs have led to the reduction of welfare services, impoverishment of workers, destitution of marginalised groups, social problems of urbanisation and lack of surplus resources to channel to investment.

SAPs are the outcome of an increasing and unprecedented dependence on foreign aid. They were mooted by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and adopted by the Government of Kenya with the aim of reviewing the declining growth rates and achieving sustained high growth and efficiency with in various sectors of the economy. The argument was to achieve sustained high growth rates in the economy by increasing returns from labour and capital and increasing the quality of resources devoted to investment other than consumption. In Sessional Paper Number 1 of 1986, the government underscored the role of the private sector in the economy, stressed the effectiveness of free market forces in resource allocation for consumption and production and acknowledged the damaging impact of high budget deficits on the economy, especially their effects on the savings available for investment by the private sector. Further, the sessional paper stressed the need to correct the negative effects of restrictive foreign trade policies by exposing domestic industry to fair competition (GoK, 1986).

Structural adjustment reforms entailed restructuring strategic parastatals and selling non-strategic ones, public sector reforms, price de-controls, foreign trade liberalisation, health and education reforms (GoK, 1994a, b; GoK and UNICEF, 1992).
The implementation of SAPs by the Government of Kenya has been going on since the mid-1980s (Onyango et al., 2001). The adoption of structural adjustment policies was engineered by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund and adopted by the Government without due consultation with the beneficiaries and other stakeholders in development. Implementation of SAPs was abrupt; sufficient time was not given to relevant stakeholders to prepare and study their feasibility. Therefore, SAPS are seen as failing to achieve the intended goals, at least in the short run, and having adverse effects on some sectors of the economy, the population generally and specific groups in society. One such group adversely affected by SAPs is children. Children are very important members of the society and are affected by societal problems such as poverty and foreign debt. In third world countries such as Kenya, however, they are seen to suffer more due to their vulnerability. Indebtedness affects children's lives directly by denial of services which is tantamount to borrowing from the future and therefore mortgaging their childhood. The indebted countries of the third world, including Kenya, have adopted austerity policies of structural adjustments to facilitate debt repayment and hopefully increase economic efficiency. Some of the SAP measures, such as budget cuts, cost sharing and market liberalisation, have reduced funding for human development programmes in education and health as well as welfare services aimed at benefiting children. Bradshaw et al. (1993) agree with UNICEF (1989) that hundreds of thousands of the developing world's children have given their lives to pay their countries' debts, and millions are still paying the debt interest with their malnourished minds and bodies.

The impact of foreign debt has been felt through widespread and intense poverty that is affecting large proportions of African populations. There are also millions of marginalised, deprived, starving and malnourished children, including school dropouts and those out-of-school. There are also children who are in desperate need of medical and health care, street children, orphans, working children and children born to single and poor mothers (Gakuru et al., 2002).

**Globalisation and Political Development**

The majority of people are reasonably exposed to modern influences to adequately appreciate the value of the new social order based on development of the modern economy and society. In addition, the change in the values and demands of the new social environment has created fairly objective groups (urban youth, professionals, business community, political young Turks whose appearance symbolically marked a generational transition in politics, etc.) just as it has changed political thinking and decision making regarding choice of representatives in the Parliament, cooperative
societies and church councils. In other words, the population is sufficiently mobilised and quite aware of the problems which they find difficult to solve. Starting from the colonial time, the political elite has made itself indispensable in the process of development and provision of welfare, but always according to its own terms or in line with personal interests of a particular elite. Haugerud (1997) mentions that the weakness of the new third world economic and political elite or bourgeoisie manifests itself in conflicts which constantly threaten to engulf the rest of the society as individuals seek to enlist ethnic and regional interests. Some of them have become political entrepreneurs and merchants of civil strife, human suffering and threats to life (Gakuru, 1992).

Traditionally, the elite utilises the patron-client relationship with the electorate which is largely based on ascriptive ties of kinship, ethnic identity and local community to mobilise support while electioneering. However, the change in values has made it possible to broaden the political base to include monetary payment for support as well as shared interest and concerns that are outside the traditional boundaries. These multiple bases of social mobilisation and associational life might explain the composition of the eighth Parliament with a reasonably high proportion of relatively young and well educated members and popular women parliamentarians. On the whole, the baraza has been a very important political structure and busy arena where “some groups make contingent claims to shore up a social order, in response to attempts by others to dismantle it. Indeed rather than an order, or a structure, it is helpful to think in terms of part structures being built and torn down; a complex mix of order, anti-order, and non-order” (Haugerud, 1997: 50). Thus, individual orators at particular barazas can be seen to create as much as to enact, political structures and or part-structures. Some examples include the convenings to debate the merits and demerits of multiparty democracy in Kenya and mergers of political parties.

The fragile nature of macro institutions—particularly national, social and political structures—demands high moral and ethical standards from those who occupy positions of influence and power in the society. Also, nation building will not succeed in Kenya unless there is determined effort to develop a national culture that respects and protects all human rights, recognises the sanctity of human life and provides enough guarantees for the material and socio-cultural well-being of all members of society. Accordingly, debates and proposals on constitutional reforms should be nonpartisan and seen as part of clear commitment to nation building and not mere self-seeking or attempts to protect personal, kinship or ethnic interests or the interests of small cliques of the elite who are competing for power and national wealth. In Kenya, the entire nation seems to be one big baraza of all citizens—politicians and bureaucrats, rich and poor, literate and illiterate, women and men, old
and young, stranger and indigen—who experience negligible dialogue, if any. Such a situation threatens social cohesion which is absolutely vital for national survival and development.

**Task Ahead: Globalisation from Below?**

Falk (1993: 39) made a distinction between globalisation from above and from below, pointing out both aggressive and reactive aspects of the current globalisation process. At the same time, this distinction hints at the possibilities of challenging the negative aspects of globalisation. This type of globalisation reflects “the collaboration between leading states and the main agents of capital formation”; it also “disseminates a consumerist ethos and draws into its domain transitional business and political elites” (Falk, 1993:39). According to Pasha and Samatar, “It leaves behind a high degree of seemingly functional integration and, at face value, homogenizing habits that make all cultures submit to the persuasiveness of the west’s perception of the world and its conception of lived reality” (1996: 190).

Globalisation from above in capitalist hegemony means two things. First is the long-term extension of capitalism. The main side effects of this process are post-war incorporation of women in the work force. Since the 1980 a wave of de-nationalisation has presented a shift from state capitalism to a more pure market-regulated capitalism and finally, since 1989, the demise of socialism and its replacement with capitalist relations. In third world countries, it represents separation of direct producers from their pre-capitalist economy and their absorption into capitalist relations. Globalisation from above also entails an increase in the international interdependence of the world economic system. In globalisation from above, national economies are increasingly interlinked, the strength of one being considered to be conditional on the strength of others; worldwide consumption and production are increasingly interdependent and are integrated from the marketplace. The microeconomics definition is based not on national economy but on the context of transnational corporations (see Alam, forthcoming).

Globalisation from below points out the dysfunctional and degenerative consequences of globalisation from above (Falk, 1993: 39). Falk indicates the erosion of autonomy, individual and group efficacy, diminished ecological values and local cultural foundations. Most importantly, globalisation from below speaks of political mobilisation from below to reverse the process. According to Falk, globalisation from below consists of an array of transitional social forces animated by environmental concerns, human rights, hostility to patriarchy, and a vision of human community based on the unity of diverse cultures seeking an end to poverty,
oppression, humiliation, and collective violence. Instead of a New World Order, this type of globalisation inclines toward a one-world community, rests upon the strengthening over time of the institutional forms and activities associated with global civil society (1993: 39).

In other words, globalisation from below addresses the context of new social movement in an attempt to resist and reverse globalisation from above.

Samir Amin, on the other hand, calls for "an alternative humanist project of globalisation" (Amin, 1997: 5–6) which rests on continuous global and national dialectic. It entails global disarmament at appropriate levels, thus liberating humanity from the menace of nuclear and other holocausts and access to the planet's resources in an equitable manner. This would require global decision making with a valuation (ratification) of resources which would make waste reduction obligatory. The more equitable distribution of the value and income from these resources could also be the beginning of a globalised fiscal system. Negotiation of open, flexible economic relationships between the world's major regions would reduce technological and financial monopolies progressively. This would mean the liquidation of the institutions presently running the global market (the so-called World Bank, IMF, World Trade Organization) and the creation of other management systems. A humanist approach would further require negotiation for the correct management of a global-national dialectic in communication, culture and political policy. This implies the creation of political institutions which would represent social interests on a global scale—the beginning of a "world parliament" going beyond the inter-state mechanisms of the current United Nations system.

In the Kenya context, this clearly falls within the realm of alternative social movement and formulation of counter-political discourse. This is because neither the current government nor the opposition have managed to articulate a counter-discourse to resist globalisation from above. However, any attempts at globalisation-from-below should include various civil relations as they tend to maintain its autonomy as well as resist interference by the state or agents of corporate globalisation.

**Conclusion**

There is an inherent negative impact of the globalisation process (or globalisation from above) on the social structure in Kenya. The process of building a modern and prosperous nation has resulted in major changes in social structures, values and beliefs in society. Some of the factors that are associated with these changes are government policies, population growth, urbanisation, modernising institutions and
the development of a market economy. However, these changes are not taking place in isolation. They are the inevitable outcomes of globalising impulses and processes. Some would say that dealing in second-hand commodities has turned Kenya into a second-hand (mitumba) nation (Mghanga, 2001: 17). However, the Kenyan social structure has become part of the global social structure. With this we also witness the emergence of a new world economic order within the context of global capitalism. Like “old capitalism”, this “new capitalism” is highly stratified and uneven. This unevenness is characterised by nation-state stratification, meaning western capitalist countries are hegemonic and dictate the course or process of globalisation. Kenya, like other post-colonial sub-Saharan African countries, became a mitumba country. This needs to be addressed, but it would be unrealistic, utopian and could even be regarded as isolationist to withdraw from the global order. Far from advocating isolationism, it is suggested that ordinary Kenyans have a strategy to control the process. This falls within the domain of the political, and the ultimate goal of this domain is to formulate new political discourse on political subjects.

Bibliography


