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Business and Politics of Eastern Africa:

A Review of the Evolution of Economic Relations between Kenya and Uganda, 1962 to 2014

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Abstract

This article underscores a history of economic relations between Kenya and Uganda from 1962 to 2024. This is due to the fact that Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Sudan, Zaire, Somalia, Burundi, and Ethiopia are the most important business partners for Kenyan exports. The article reviews various literatures and a major gap has been identified. Theoretically, it adopts a bureaucratic theory, as was propounded by Max Weber in 1921. Methodologically, the article embraces a historical research design, as it helps in evaluating and relating the past occurrences in order to establish the causes, effects or trends of those occurrences with the aim of utilising the data to understand and explain the past, present and future anticipated events. In its findings, four eras of Kenya presidents are discussed. These includes: Jomo Kenyatta era, Daniel Arap Moi era, Mwai Kibaki era and finally Uhuru Kenyatta era. Based on the aforementioned eras, the article found out that; first the promise of democracy, a good life, and freedom was punctuated throughout the pronouncements that marked the formative years of the Kenyatta state. Secondly, this article discovered that, in 1990, when Moi was in power, the rhetoric of the KANU party suggested that African traditions were particularly well-suited to a one-party democracy environment. One of the traditions that were mentioned was the practice of making decisions through consensus rather than through competition. Lastly, during Kibaki era, Informal trade thrived due to bureaucratic hurdles and corruption at border points between Uganda and Kenya. In Conclusion, the rise of informal cross-border trade, particularly during times of political instability, has significantly influenced economic interactions between the two countries.

Keywords: Bureaucratic, Democracy, Economic, Environment and Relations

Introduction

The informal trade that still takes place along the border between Kenya and Uganda dates back to the pre-colonial the period. According to Ogutu (2010), individuals established barter exchanges without the necessity of obtaining formal

registration. Upon gaining their independence, a number of African states found themselves in possession of artificially fabricated borders, which led to an increase in both tax and non-tax obstacles (Ogotu, 2010). Therefore, this article observes that, because of this, there has been a disruption in the casual monetary interest. Trade took place not only within Kenya and Uganda but also with the countries that bordered them and the neighbouring countries.

According to the hypothesis put forth by Haji and Semboja (2009), the casual move to the outskirts of the city has become regularly associated with low-benefit working conditions. The level of interest in cross-border trade between Kenya and Uganda has been overwhelming; however, a lack of comprehension of its significance not only results in misleading figures in national cash owed, but it also hinders the process of establishing appropriate rules and procedures to take advantage of its potential impact. According to Gichuru (2010), Kenya's exports to the PTA locale structure constitute a significant portion of the country's total exports to different African countries. Whatever the case may be, the offer has been turned down, with the percentage falling from 95% in 1987 to 84% in 1991. Although the stocks decreased from 24% in 1988 to approximately 20% in 1991, the exports continue to constitute a significant portion of Kenya's overall exports. This is despite the fact that the stocks have decreased. Therefore, based on the preceding secondary finding, it emerged to this article, through the archival materials that:

The countries of Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Sudan, Zaire, Somalia, Burundi, and Ethiopia are the most important business sectors for Kenyan exports. In 1991, the percentage of exports to these business sectors increased to 89% from the previous year. Sixty-nine percent of the market was developed by Uganda (34%), Tanzania (17%), Rwanda (9%), and Sudan (9%). This demonstrates that there is a geological grouping of fares within the sub-territory, with Uganda being the destination of the majority of Kenya's exports (KNA RN/6/21).

Based on the above discussion, it emerged to the article that, large quantities of agricultural and commercial goods are traded between Kenya and Uganda as part of the informal cross-border exchange activities that take place between the two countries by the time of this article. Moreover, a number of different classes of transporters and couriers provide their services to a smaller organisation of business owners, while certain public officers continue to combine their legitimate obligations with active participation in the informal exchange (Freeman, 2018). Furthermore, it emerged to the researcher that, both large and small investors are encouraged to avoid transporting their goods through undesignated routes as a result of rent-seeking practices among public officials regarding the predominant border crossing factors and bulky import/export methods.

Max Weber's bureaucratic theory and interpretivism underscore the historical and socio-economic context of informal cross-border trade between Kenya and Uganda (Mbara, 2014). Dating back to pre-colonial times, this trade has persisted despite artificial borders imposed post-independence, leading to increased obstacles. Scholars like Haji and Semboja (2009) highlight the challenging working conditions associated with informal border trade. Understanding its significance is crucial for accurate economic data and effective policy formulation. Gichuru's (2013) analysis reveals the substantial portion of Kenya's exports directed to neighbouring countries, particularly Uganda. Informal trade involves various actors, from small-scale business owners to public officials, navigating complex border dynamics and rent-seeking practices.

Literature Review

The ways in which the two countries' diverse areas contributed differentially to the colonial economy are not well depicted. A portion of the image is present. Felix (2015) have already indicated that Uganda and Kenya are in opposition to the productive core of Uganda. Dramatically recounted is the turn of events that prevented pastoralists, who were confined to their prior freedoms due to prejudice and quarantine, from enjoying them. However, the image is not finished. Should one contend that colonialism incorporated numerous local economies into the global capitalist framework, they must demonstrate how the system's requirements for labour, produce, and taxes influenced the social and legal structure of each local economy (or tribal region), taking into account factors such as the area's fertility and climate, proximity to settler farms, and other factors. The writers make the case, but they don't use it to connect their regional examples (Hodgson, 2002).

Furthermore, the manner in which capitalist colonialism both destroyed an old economic dynamic and denied Africans equitable access to the new one is expressed by analytical confusion regarding the mechanisms underlying underdevelopment. Regarding the agents of destruction and denial, the authors appear to present, but ultimately do not choose, between an implicit dualism of two economic rationalities, the capitalist aggravating the pre-capitalist one only gradually, and the economically 'irrational' defence of white colonial settlers against African market competition. In the instance of Uganda, they mock the colonial stereotype of peasant conservatism while coming to the conclusion that, in contrast to Kenya, the primary cause of the relative lack of innovation in Ugandan peasant agriculture is that the country's peasantry possessed enough land to negate the need for such efforts (Vahabi, 2004 and Gartrell, 1983). Thus, a notable

deficiency in the current body of literature is the absence of a thorough, in-depth examination of the ways in which various regions of Kenya and Uganda both influenced and contributed to the colonial economy. Although certain researches address topics like the prosperous centre of Buganda in contrast to the overlooked edges of northern Uganda and Rwanda, these evaluations are still disjointed. Therefore, this article aims to paint a complete picture of how Kenya and Uganda have interrelated economically since 1962.

Theoretical Framework

This article embraced bureaucratic theory which was propounded by Max Weber in 1921 (Marianne, 2017). This is due to its main principles that concur with the article. That is, rationality, hierarchy, expertise, rules-based decision making, formalization, and specialization.

Bureaucratic Theory

The history of economic relations between Kenya and Uganda can be analysed through the lens of Max Weber's bureaucratic theory of management, particularly in terms of inter-agency cooperation and organizational structuring. Weber's theory (Mbara, 2014), which emphasizes hierarchical organization, clearly defined roles, and rules, offers a framework for understanding the evolution of economic cooperation between these two East African nations. Since gaining independence, Kenya and Uganda have worked towards strengthening their economic ties. Over the decades, both countries recognized the need to streamline their economic relations to enhance trade efficiency and cooperation. Max Weber's principles of bureaucracy are evident in the structuring of bilateral trade agreements and regional initiatives under the East African Community (EAC) (Ekutu, 2021).

The establishment of the EAC in 1967, and its subsequent revival in 2000, can be seen as an application of Weber's hierarchical organization and defined roles (Jonyo, 2012). The EAC created a structured framework for economic cooperation, with clear roles for member states and governing bodies. This structure aimed to prevent duplication of efforts and promote maximization of output, much like Weber's theory advocates for organizations. Weber's call for specialization and professionalism is also reflected in the development of border management systems between Kenya and Uganda. For example, the implementation of One-Stop Border Posts (OSBPs) at Busia and Malaba streamlined customs procedures and enhanced efficiency (Mutua and Kilonzi, 2023). These OSBPs operated under a unified command structure, with different agencies coordinating their activities under one authority. This operational reorganization aligns with Weber's principle of having a scalar chain of command and comprehensive standard operating procedures for routine tasks (Mutua and Kilonzi, 2023).

The inter-agency cooperation at the border posts embodies Weber's vision of an organization based on rational authority, aiming to be more efficient and adaptable. By functioning as a single unit rather than fragmented entities, the border authorities of Kenya and Uganda improved the flow of goods and services, reducing bureaucratic red tape and fostering economic integration. Weber's theory (Lemayan, 2018) further emphasizes the importance of a rational and impersonal approach to management. This principle has been applied in the economic relations between Kenya and Uganda through the development of policies and protocols that prioritize efficiency over individual interests. The joint infrastructure projects, such as the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) extension plans and the Northern Corridor road network, demonstrate a rational, coordinated approach to regional development. Therefore, this discussion can be understood through Max Weber's bureaucratic theory (Bagwandeem, 2010). The structured approach to trade agreements, regional cooperation frameworks, and border management systems reflects Weber's principles of hierarchy, specialization, and rational authority. These elements have contributed to the efficiency and effectiveness of economic cooperation between the two nations, facilitating growth and regional stability.

Methodology

The article adopted historical research design. This is to ensure that the data can be used to understand and explain past, present, and/or future anticipated events. Historical research design is a plan or strategy in which a researcher gathers data systematically and evaluates it by relating it to past occurrences in order to establish the causes, effects, or trends of those occurrences (Seaman, 2018). In the historical research design, the writings are basically descriptive. They begin with a narration of events in a time sequence, and the analysis addresses the questions of explanation, relationship, and consequences of events (Leedy and Jeanne, 2001). Giving a thorough account of what participants reported and saw in answer to the research questions was the primary goal here (Hans, 2001). The scope of the research article was around near Lake Victoria, the border with Busia, Malaba, Mount Elgon, and the boundary between Kenya and Uganda. Administrative directors, diplomats, immigration agents, security guards, traders, and certain homeowners with land near

the border were among the groups targeted. Since the article was qualitative in nature, it used the purposive and snowballing techniques to contact its respondents. Both primary and secondary data collection techniques were used in this article (Ngozwana, 2018). Observations, questionnaires, oral interviews, focus groups, and archival sources were the key instruments used in the primary data collection process (Ngozwana, 2018). The researcher used books, scholarly publications, the internet, reports, and newspapers to gather secondary data. Focus groups, interviews, and open-ended questionnaires were used to gather the data. The article analysed the collected data primarily using content analysis. This is true because content analysis is a research method used to find specific terms, topics, or ideas in texts that make up a given set of qualitative data.

Discussion of Findings

This section provides the findings from the time that Kenya gained independence in 1963 when Mzee Jomo Kenyatta became its first president. The four eras in relation to economic relationship has been brought forth in this discussion in breadth and in depth. These findings have been presented as follows:

The Kenyatta State, 1963 – 1978

From the works of Ogot and Ochieng (1995), Kenyatta was appointed Prime Minister upon the country's attainment of independence in 1963. By the end of 1964, he had transitioned into the role of executive president. As soon as Kenyatta took over as leader, he realized that power needed to be reorganized in order to accommodate a number of actual factors that contribute to advancement. From the archival data interrogated by the article, it emerged that:

His initiative aimed to eliminate disparities that had been acquired as a result of the colonial era, and the state made a commitment to guarantee equal opportunities to all residents, eliminate discrimination, and provide necessities such as education, social services, medical care, and retirement benefits that were backed by the government. However, the fundamental components of the Westminster system of governance were still present in the constitution even after elections were held in 1963. This system begins with the three branches of government, which are the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches, and then moves on to emphasise the rule of majority, which is under the majority party; the sanctity of the rule of law; and the acceptance of opposition parties (KNA reference KY/3/6: June 1969).

According to Kisiang'ani (2003), the State that President Kenyatta is a part of has made the decision to amass its resources in order to achieve a rapid pace of economic development in order to better serve the people. The recently introduced Kenya African National Union government planned to accomplish this expansive goal by promising to earnestly address certain essential issues including the sustaining of political vote based system, the advancement of common social and political duty, rearranging different types of property so no one would have an excessive amount of influence and guaranteeing that residents appreciate independence from need, infection and misuse lastly building up a reformist tax. Based on Kisiangani (2003) view, the article comes into a consensus that:

It is therefore evident that the promise of democracy, a good life, and freedom was punctuated throughout the pronouncements that marked the formative years of the Kenyatta state. Tom Mboya, who is considered to be one of Kenyatta's trusted allies, made the following statement: "Our African socialist system will guarantee every citizen full and equal political rights." It is imperative that wealth not be allowed to bestow special political concessions upon any individual (Kisiangani, 2003).

From Berman, the transformation of Kenya into a country that is considered to be developing was partially an unintended conjuncture and partially an intended outcome that emerged from the interaction between structural change and political struggle. Bermans (1990) discussion was expanded by a respondent, Bwire, who informed this article that; Almost immediately after that, Jomo Kenyatta began to target individuals who did not agree with him in an effort to intimidate and frustrate them. Beginning in 1963, he and James Gichuru, along with a number of other leaders, were transformed into black Europeans who represented Western hegemony in the country. When these leaders failed to remember the requirements of the dispossessed people whom they had previously represented, they became irrelevant. In a nutshell, the African leadership in Kenya was ruthless in its defence of Western modernity in Kenya after the country gained its independence (Muga Bwire, O. I in Munongo, 28/10/2023).

According to him, this was accomplished through the implementation of imperial administrative, social, and economic policies. Kisiang'ani (2003) makes the observation that the sudden transformation of the new African leadership into instruments of Western hegemonic leadership in Kenya resulted in the creation of a significant leadership gap among the ranks of the subalterns who were dispossessed. Furthermore, according to Kisiangani (2003), in order to fill this void, a group of leaders who had been involved in the independence movement but whose viewpoints could not be accommodated under the Kenyatta state started organising the oppressed peoples of Kenya into a new form of subaltern resistance against Western hegemony. Along with Oginga Odinga, Bildad Kaggia, and J.M. Kariuki, the emerging resistance movement also absorbed the scholars and artists who became the voices of subalternism in the new nation-state

(Kisiangani, 2003). This was in addition to the fact that it embraced these individuals. Kisiangani adds that, at the middle of 1965, Kenyatta made an effort to put an end to ideological debates by demanding that parliament reach a consensus on a single policy document.

The tenth sessional paper was titled "*African Socialism and its Application to Planning in Kenya*," and it was presented here. Kisiangani (2003) further holds that, the paper was rejected by the Odinga and Kaggia group, which stated that it did not have sufficient socialist elements, and Kenyatta started attacking Odinga for having foreign masters and influence. Odinga's position as Vice President of the party was eliminated at the subsequent Party Conference, and seven Vice Presidents were appointed to take his place according to Atieno Odhiambo's research from 1996. In Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965, 79, the government of the KANU presented an outline of its political and economic philosophies, which included a rejection of communism and capitalism. An oral interview (21 November 2023) with Walter Ochieng, informed this article that:

During the middle of the 1960s, the politics that took place within the party culminated in the exclusion of Odinga at the Limuru KANU Conference, which ultimately resulted in the establishment of the Kenya Peoples Union (KPU). Not only did the politics of the Kenyatta era, which lasted from 1966 to 1969, flow along cleavages of ideological difference, but they also flowed elsewhere. As the Kenyatta cult expanded, they also became more ethnically diverse. The Kikuyu people of Kiambu made a solemn vow that the presidency would not travel across the Chania River. Odinga received support from the Luo people after Tom Mboya was murdered (Walter Ochieng, O. I in Angurai, 2/11/2023).

Based on the above, Aseka, posits that the politics of identity and ethnicity began to take hold once Europeans were no longer a factor in the situation. As time went on, the Kenyatta state evolved into a state system that was mired in ideological conflict. He went ahead and explains that:

His leadership relied on the centralist and corporatist colonial tradition, as well as other authoritarian techniques, in order to maintain control over the state. As a result, the policy logic of the colonial administration was reproduced. The logic simply led to the formation of organisations that dominated their respective fields, with some of them operating independently and others relied on formal control structures. Kenyatta was elevated to a position of authority within this political framework, which resulted in a provision that undermined the accountability of the office of the President (Walter Ochieng, O. I in Angurai, 2/11/2023).

According to Kimenyi and Mbaku (1996), his competitors were not on an equal footing, and as a result, they were vulnerable. In fact, they were neutralised politically after his election. Kenyatta moved away from the agitation politics of the colonial era and became preoccupied with integrative politics, which was almost a complete reversal of his previous political approach. At the same time that he was working to ensure that members of his group were able to amass wealth, he was also working to bring together people of different cultural, ethnic, and economic backgrounds under the banner of nation building (Kimenyi and Mbaku, 1996). Because of this, the state institutions in Kenya that were established by Kenyatta became fragile, and as a result, they lacked the effectiveness and legitimacy necessary to mediate the conflict between competing groups in an impartial manner. As a result, the state became detached from society and distanced itself from it. Furthermore, it was unable to structure the relationships between social interests or act as a mediator between these interests and itself (Rothchild, 1995). Walter further informed this article that:

The government of Kenyatta was responsible for the dissemination of a wide variety of policy guidelines that looked extremely ambitious. It was a capitalist strategy that was encased in a socialist package that attempted to summarise the fundamental tenets of the ideology. These tenets included the promotion of political democracy, the cultivation of mutual social and political responsibility, universal freedom from poverty, the elimination of disease and exploitation, the provision of equal opportunities for advancement and the realisation of high growth per capita incomes, and the establishment of a system of progressive taxation needs (Walter Ochieng, O. I in Angurai, 2/11/2023).

Thus, according to Ochieng (1995), the government emphasised the importance of keeping a mixed economy and private enterprise in functioning order. In line with the preceding discussion, a respondent from Chepkube, Ong'ayo Fredrick, asserted to this article that:

In the meantime, several individuals became millionaires at the border between Kenya and Uganda as a result of coffee smuggling. It was referred to as "black Gold," and during the years 1974 and 1977, trucks that were overloaded with a large number of bags of illegally obtained coffee were transported through the narrow streets of Chepkube market while concealing their presence with a layer of obscurity. The coffee markets would typically open between the hours of twelve o'clock in the afternoon and eighty-one in the morning. Before dawn, it had been completed. An additional category of millionaires emerged in Kenya at the same time that the illegal exchange was exploding. It was a sigh of relief (Fredrick Ong'ayo, O. I in Chebukube, 21/10/2023).

According to the archival data, the article was informed by the records that:

Smugglers, who were a group consisting of senior legislators, directors, and brokers, were all drawn together by the excitement of printing money. The government of Kenya decided to pursue a strategy of monetary development that is

contingent on an assurance that it will maintain its existing ties with major industrial countries in the West, particularly Britain.

Development of the economy was prioritised over reorganisation as the primary focus of attention (KNA, RN/1/88).

In line with the above discussion, it emerged that, a fundamental political dynamic was brought about by the indigenous bourgeoisie, which exerted a significant amount of influence.

Moreover, while the article interrogated a respondent who witnessed the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta, Kevin Wesonga informed the article that:

In July of 1977, after Archbishop Janani Luwum had been put to death and all of the Americans who were living in Uganda had gathered together, Jimmy Carter, the President of the United States, forced an exchange ban on Uganda's annual coffee exchange with the United States, which was worth \$250 million. It gave the impression that Kenya was the market for Uganda's coffee goods. Uganda's difficulties were taken advantage of by Kenya's sophisticated world class and brokers firms. As a result of President Kenyatta's personal refusal to tax the earnings of smallholder coffee makers during the blast time frame, the new coffee millionaires were not subject to taxation. Instead, the bonus was given to the farmers. In his statement, the President of Kenya stated that the country is currently undergoing a period of transition that was initiated by the attainment of independence. From a subsistence economy to a money-based economy, from a monetary dependence on agriculture to a more adjusted development based on the advancement of natural assets to assist the people of Kenya, we are currently in the process of transitioning (Kevin Wesonga, O. I in Amairo, 5/11/2023).

Therefore, as per the Sessional Paper that the article interacted with, based on the preceding discussion, it emerged to the researcher that:

It is not possible to easily achieve the necessary advancement, and it is not possible to achieve it by going back to the conditions that existed before colonisation. For the purpose of achieving social equity, human poise, and financial government assistance for all, the best of Kenya's African social legacy and frontier financial heritage needs to be redesigned and assembled for a coordinated, deliberately arranged assault on neediness, sickness, and the absence of education (Sessional Paper no.10, 1965).

From the discussion above, Aseka (2005) writes that; Kenyatta's administration was responsible for a number of constitutional amendments that ultimately resulted in the presidency being strengthened to an alarming degree, which further alienated him from the people. In violation of the provisions of immunity that are in place within the legislature, Jean Marie Seroney and Joseph Martin Shikuku were taken into custody within the premises of the legislature. They were taken into custody because they had made objectionable remarks about KANU while they were in the parliament.

The Kenyatta regime, according to Raila Odinga, has maintained or revived draconian colonial laws and has resorted to highly authoritarian measures in order to silence and stifle all democratic dissent and opposition. He resorted to the excessive use of detention without trial and to changing and tampering with the constitution in order to protect his own personal interests rather than the interests of the nation (Keen, 2003).

Therefore, this article makes a conclusion in line with what Fanon (1980) once explained, when a native is confronted with the colonial order of things, he finds himself in a state of permanent tension. This is because the colonial order of things continues to exist. In the case of Kenyatta and the Kikuyu society that he leads, the reason for the emergence of such tension is very clear. Colonial enterprise among the Kikuyu and other colonised communities of the country, with its diverse social, political, and economic institutions, was a force that was disruptive rather than one that was positively creative, (Fanon, 1980). The Kenyatta had carved out for himself an image that was far beyond that of an ordinary human being by the time his legacy in the leadership of Kenya came to an end in 1978. This was due to the fact that his character was rich in ambiguity and complexities. In spite of the fact that he was a leader who displayed intriguing patterns of social discourse and a configuration of character, he disregarded the fundamental principles of constitutionalism and left behind a dictatorial state in which ethnic particularism posed the greatest obstacle to the process of national integration.

Max Weber's bureaucratic theory and interpretivism philosophy provide insights into the evolution of informal cross-border trade during the Kenyatta era (Marianne, 2017). As Kenya gained independence in 1963, Kenyatta aimed to reorganize power to address colonial disparities, promising equal opportunities and social services. However, political dynamics emerged, leading to ideological conflicts and the suppression of dissenting voices, such as Oginga Odinga's. Kenyatta's administration emphasized economic development, but wealth disparities and authoritarian measures fueled tensions. The regime's reliance on colonial-era laws and authoritarian tactics stifled democratic opposition. Ultimately, Kenyatta's leadership left a legacy of ambiguity, with ethnic divisions hindering national integration, echoing Weber's views on power, authority, and social order.

The Moi State, 1978– 2002

According to Njiro, Daniel Toroitich arap Moi was given the responsibility of inheriting a political structure that was based on strengthened provincial administrative practices (Njiro, 1980). These practices had been implemented by Kenyatta in an effort to defeat and bury the concept of "Majimbo," which is related to regionalism. Moi was going to make the

statement that the challenge of nation-building could be accomplished more easily if every Kenyan understood that they each had a specific role to play in solving the problem. He stated that it was impossible for all of us to simultaneously hold the position of Member of Parliament (Njiro, 1980). However, this did not imply that individuals who were not participating in the legislative process were unable to make a direct and significant contribution to the growth of the nation.

The construction of Moi's Nyayo state started as soon as Kenyatta was laid to rest, which followed immediately after. By demonstrating his allegiance to the Kenyatta government, Moi attempted to establish the legitimacy of his succession to the position of Kenyatta (Khapoya, 1980). This declaration of loyalty was the source of the significance of the word *Nyayo*, which literally translates to "footsteps," and it eventually became the emblematic term for Moi's regime. *Nitawatumikia Kikamilifu*, which translates to "I will serve you without reservation," was Moi's promise to the Kenyan people, and he reassured his anxious fellow Kenyans that he would follow in the footsteps of his predecessor to serve them without reservation. When he released Kenyatta's political detainees and pleaded for national reconciliation, he further endeared himself to the people of Kenya (Khapoya, 1980). Journalists started discussing new politics in Kenya, and even a new era of relatively free political discussion and political tolerance. In line with Khapoya, Dennis Edukit asserted that:

It was Moi's intention to transform Nyayo into a philosophical concept and political practice that embodied the virtues of love, peace, and unity as fundamental components. In spite of these admirable goals, the populism of this so-called philosophy led its adherents to obstruct the rights of other individuals to freedom of association and assembly, as well as the right to have their opinions freely expressed. Moreover, it led its architects to engage in manipulative behaviour and to demonise those who opposed them (Dennis Edukit, O. I in Omeri, 4/11/2023).

This article discovered that, in 1990, when Moi was in power, the rhetoric of the KANU party suggested that African traditions were particularly well-suited to a one-party democracy environment. One of the traditions that were mentioned was the practice of making decisions through consensus rather than through competition.

The fact that Moi was famous did not change the fact that he was not strong enough to even consider consolidating his power. Mwai Kibaki, the Vice President of Kenya, made the following statement for the sake of the new President: "There is no space for socialists in Kenya" (*Daily Nation*, December 4, 1992) Moi's administration had been a significant focus on anticommunism from the very beginning of its tenure. On August 1, 1982, lower-level Air Force personnel, led by Senior Private Grade I Hezekiah Ochuka and supported by college understudies, attempted to overthrow and remove Moi from his position.

After receiving instructions from Chief of General Staff Mahamoud Mohamed, the military and police powers immediately put an end to the putsch from the beginning (*Daily Nation*, December 4, 1992). From the beginning of time until the present day, it appears that the efforts of two independent groups to maintain their power have contributed to the dissatisfaction of both groups, with one group completing its endeavour somewhat earlier than the other two groups.

According to Ndege (1995), the economic hopelessness that people had experienced under the previous regime was now taking a turn for the worse and becoming more difficult to deal with. Moi took advantage of the opportunity to strengthen his power and gain political allies by accepting the open door. A respondent while responding to this discussion said that:

Through a protracted legal investigation that resulted in the identification of key Kenyatta men as dishonest, he was able to lessen the influence that Kenyatta's men had within the bureau. Not before they had established themselves as con artists in the eyes of the general public, Moi absolved them of any responsibility. The individuals who were responsible for the overthrow, including Ochuka, were found guilty and sentenced to death, which marked the conclusion of the legal executions in Kenya. As part of his efforts to establish a de jure single-party state, he appointed allies to key positions and altered the constitution (Sospeter Barasa, O. I in Alomodo, 5/11/2023).

In spite of this, the country had been functioning as a one-party state sufficiently since 1969.

According to Kihoro (2007), the revisions were sufficient in that they provided Moi with complete political power over the nation. This was not acknowledged by Kenya's academics and other scholarly individuals, and as a result, the country's colleges and universities became the starting point for movements that attempted to present changes to the majority rule. On the other hand, Kenyan secret police were able to infiltrate these gatherings, and a large number of individuals removed themselves from the area. From the archival sources interrogated by the article, it emerged that:

At this point in time, communism could not possibly be taught in Kenyan educational institutions. Mwakenya and Pambana are two examples of underground developments that were conceived of. During the middle of the 1980s, Mwakenya and Pambana were two underground organisations that caused the Nyayo regime to experience a significant amount of national headache. Mwakenya was an uncompromisingly heretical movement that was made illegal by the state because it violated the social conventions of civility that were prevalent during that time period (KNA: KY/3/6).

The movements were responsible for publishing seditious material regarding the Nyayo state. The regime of Moi was currently dealing with a deteriorating economy as a result of rising oil prices and falling prices for crops and other agricultural products. While this was going on, the archival sources revealed to the article that:

The West was not managing Kenya in the same way that it had in the past, when it was considered to be an important territorial station to protect itself from socialist influences coming from Ethiopia and Tanzania. Around that time, Kenya had received a great deal of unfamiliar guidance, and the nation was recognized as being represented by Moi as an authentic pioneer and as being firmly in control. Western partners intentionally disregarded the expanding level of political suppression, including the utilization of torment at the scandalous Nyayo House dungeons. In the long run, it was not until 2003, after Mwai Kibaki had been elected President, that a portion of the evidence of these dungeons was discovered (KNA: KY/3/6).

In responding and affirming the preceding discussion that the research obtained from the archival materials, a respondent informed this article that:

After the failed coup attempt, we were actually put through a period of hardship known as "*Enjala ya Moi*" (Moi's hunger period) in the early 1980s. I had just given birth, and the only white maize that could be used to make flour consisted of yellow corn that had been brought in as a form of assistance from the West. We, the Basamia, were fortunate enough to be able to trade our cotton for maize that was originated from the Basamia in Uganda. The informal trade across borders was at its height during that time period because we needed to make sure that our children and young people had access to nutritious food in order to survive (Miriam Namuwaya, O. I in Kakinei, 3/12/2023).

As a matter of fact, another speculation emerged among Western policymakers following the conclusion of the Cold War, and as Moi gradually became perceived as an autocrat.

The unfamiliar guide was kept in place in order to maintain consistency with the changes in the political and economic climate. From the archival sources to this article, it emerged that:

The reconstruction of a multi-party framework was one of the most important conditions that was imposed on his system. This condition was imposed in particular by the United States of America through the fiery representative Smith Hempstone. At the KANU meeting that took place in Kasarani in December 1991, Moi was able to figure out how to accomplish this despite the fierce opposition that was presented to him. He did this without any assistance from anyone else (KNA KY/3/6).

Moi was victorious in elections held in 1992 and 1997, but both of those elections were marred by political brutality on both sides. Moi skilfully abused Kenya's blend of ethnic strains in these challenges, particularly more modest clans' consistently present dread of mastery by the bigger clans. In the absence of a successful and well-coordinated resistance, Moi enjoyed no difficulty in achieving victory. As per Kohoro (2007), it emanated that, a partitioned resistance was the means by which he was able to achieve victory in both of the decisions. This is despite the fact that it is also presumed that 88 constituents may have been subjected to extortion.

Through a series of constitutional amendments, Moi transformed the authoritarian Kenyatta state into an autocratic regime that was characterized by detentions and severe press censorship (Kanyinga, 1998). This resulted in the sowing of seeds of discord and political instability, which was exacerbated by Moi's actions. Kenyatta's ruling elite amassed wealth, particularly land, through state clientelism, in which state resources, government jobs, and contracts were given to a growing Kikuyu bourgeoisie and technocracy. Moi's ruling elite, on the other hand, resorted to outright plundering of state resources (Kanyinga, 1998). The 'Nyayo' State's inability to communicate social administrations and its political constraint were the root causes of the dissatisfaction that people felt towards the state.

As a result of the union of the Nyayo authority, the space for common activism was reduced, political constraint was expanded, which flanked oppression, well-known cooperation in the political cycle was stifled, and debasement continued to be strengthened, (KNA RN/6/21). Kanyinga (1998) makes the observation that the reshaping and revival of KANU aimed to serve Moi's objectives and recover ground that the party had lost. This was done in order to strengthen the Nyayo hegemony, which was strengthened by a deepening system of authoritarianism and stasis. According to the Sunday Standard on March 11, 2001, politics was responsible for the conflicts that occurred in Kenya in the name of culture at the senior leadership level. Based on the foregoing discovery, therefore, it is possible that the ethnic question in Kenya could be resolved if a proper presidential leadership approach that was genuinely integrated endeavoured to do so.

Furthermore, the article discovered that; Kenyatta, on the other hand, frequently invoked Kikuyu symbolism while addressing the nation in his native Kikuyu language, which was a political mistake (Kisiang'ani, 2003). Kenyatta attempted to *Kikuyunize* Kenya, while Moi followed in his footsteps in an effort to *Kalenjinize* the country. Nyerere, on the other hand, was working towards detribalizing Tanzania. To ensure the success of Moi's *Kalenjinization*, it was necessary for him to first *dekikuyunize* the Kenyan state that he had inherited. Both Moi and his allies, particularly his tribesmen, had acquired thousands of acres of land across the country by the year 1987, according to Kisiang'ani (2003). Some of this land was designated for public utilities, such as forests, parks, and other social amenities. As a result of their association with the President, certain Kalenjin personalities, such as the late Nicholas Biwott, Henry Kosgey, and Joshua Kulei, who had been living in poverty in 1978, were already extremely wealthy.

According to Isabirye in an oral interview, the situation remained critical for the majority of people, including those who were impoverished and those who lived in urban and rural areas. Since things have turned out to be survival for the

fittest, an observer makes the observation that a typical man no longer sits down and worries about his misfortunes. Nelson Isabirye observed that:

If you are given the opportunity to steal, you should take advantage of it as long as you are not caught. A man should do everything in his power to ensure that he has enough food to eat. People are able to make ends meet and even develop the border towns as a result of the flourishing informal businesses that are located at the border (Nelson Isabirye, O. I in Manjanji, 5/12/2023).

The authors Kimenyi and Mbaku make the observation that the obstacles to economic reform in Kenya can be traced back to the presence of statism (Kimenyi and Mbaku, 1996). The majority of the outcomes that had been produced by the state's control of the majority of economic activities had become obstacles to development. It emerged therefore to the article from the duo discussion that, the bureaucrats were given the opportunity to manipulate distributional outcomes that benefited themselves, their families, and their supporters, which was a counterproductive practice. Statism, in which a significant amount of resources were put under the control of bureaucrats, had been counterproductive. The two individuals emphasised that Africa was plagued by political and bureaucratic corruption, as well as economic policies that were averse to the continent's needs and excessive government regulation of economic behaviours. Reform needs to be implemented in order to create an environment that is conducive to both economic and human development within the country (Kimenyi and Mbaku, 1996).

On the other hand, a great number of nations are confronted with significant challenges that they must surmount before they can successfully implement the reforms that are necessary to make their political and economic systems accessible to all relevant population groups (KNA: KY/3/6). Towards the beginning of the 1980s, it had become increasingly apparent that the economy of Kenya required a fundamental review and reform. This need was crystallised into the Sessional Paper No. 1 of 1986, which was titled "*On Economic Management for Renewed Growth.*" This paper served to establish the perspective of the country with regard to economic management and development. The reaffirmation of the effectiveness of market forces in the distribution of resources in production and consumption was the central tenet of this policy statement. One of the most important roles that the private sector plays in the economic arena was highlighted by this. The role of the government was to be reduced and restricted to the provision of policy guidelines and public services that the private sector was unable to provide in an efficient manner. These services included education, transportation infrastructure, and public administration.

The policy statement that was issued in 1986 outlined the necessity of price decontrols, marketing, liberation, foreign trade liberalisation, reform of the financial and capital markets, reform of the civil service, and the beginning of cost-sharing programmes. Aseka (2010) notes that in 1983, Anyang' Nyong'o, who had become a nominated Member of Parliament and is now a governor in Kisumu County, wrote from Mexico that Kenya is a country where resources (both natural and human) are wasted on a massive scale. Nyong'o is currently a governor in Kisumu County. There are a great number of people who possess a wide variety of skills but are not actively participating in the process of nation building. How come? Tribalism, nepotism, and political arrogance are all factors that contribute to the inability of those in positions of political power to comprehend that the process of building a nation requires the mobilisation of its citizens. In order to mobilise people, it is necessary to listen to all of their ideas in a democratic manner (Weekly Review, July 8, 1983).

Max Weber's (Marianne, 2017) bureaucratic theory and interpretivism philosophy shed light on the Moi era's informal cross-border trade dynamics. Moi inherited a political structure focused on centralized administration from Kenyatta, emphasizing national unity. His Nyayo regime sought legitimacy through allegiance to Kenyatta's legacy, promising reconciliation and espousing African traditions in governance (KNA RN/6/70, Gathogo 2020, Gathogo). However, Moi's rule was marked by political suppression, economic decline, and corruption. The emergence of underground movements like Mwakenya challenged his authority, highlighting dissatisfaction. Economic reform attempts aimed to reduce bureaucratic control and promote market forces. Yet, corruption and political favoritism hindered progress, reflecting Weber's concerns about power, authority, and societal dysfunction.

The Kibaki State, 2002– 2005

According to a respondent in Mawuko, the article was informed that, Mwai Kibaki, a financial expert and legislator, was given the green light to assume power in 2002. According to this respondent, the article was informed that:

This marked the beginning of his reign as the third leader of independent Kenya, putting an end to Daniel Arap Moi's rule that lasted for twenty-four years, and breaking the dominant hold that the Kenya African National Union had maintained over public governmental issues ever since Kenya gained its independence from Britain in 1963. In the same way that other countries in Sub-Saharan Africa have, unexpectedly, recently witnessed a handover of power through the voting station, the elections were hailed as a historic milestone, a "second freedom." This is similar to the situation that has occurred in other countries after independence. In any case, the re-visitation of multiparty majority rule government has not borne the fruits

of its guarantee, and this is also the case in a manner that is comparable to that of these nations (John Ariku, O. I in Mawuko, 7/12/2023).

As a result of the fact that administrative corruption was as unmanageable, Macharia posits that, as anyone could possibly imagine, occupations were scarce, and twenty million of the nation's thirty million people continued to live below the poverty line of one dollar per day in East Africa's largest economy, elation became an attitude that offered an approach to dissatisfaction during the administration of President Kibaki (Macharia and Ekaya, 2005). This was in agreement with what a respondent said by positing that:

A crackdown on debasement, rapid financial development and the production of 500,000 positions, constitutional change, and free primary education for all were the four central vows that Kibaki vowed to fulfill as part of his mission. By providing these assurances, Kibaki was able to capitalize on the desire for change and, in elections that were, to a large extent, freed from brutality, he was able to triumph on a rush of rapture, gaining 62.2% of the vote (Lilian Okiring, O. I in Lwakhakha, 7/10/2023).

From the preceding discussion, the article discovered that, due to an accident that occurred on the campaign field, Kibaki was unable to walk or use a wheelchair when he was inaugurated as president on December 30, 2002, three days after the election. '*Yote yawezekana bila Moi*' (Everything is possible without Moi) was the crusading motto of the National Alliance Rainbow Congress, and people were singing it (KNA KY/3/6). The atmosphere was joyful, clamorous, and full of confidence. It was only a week after Kibaki began his tenure as president that the new government made its most significant move, which was to initiate the Free Primary Education Policy. Moi had presented a nascent economy that was physically separated from the global network. Due to the pervasive corruption that exists in Kenya, the International Monetary Fund had, with the exception of a few months in the year 2000, ceased providing financial assistance to the country since 1997 (Macharia and Ekaya, 2005). Other multilateral and bilateral donors had also taken similar actions. According to the Kenya News Agency:

Kibaki's promise to turn around the economy included re-establishing financial specialist certainty and enabling the resumption of worldwide guide. This promise was personally connected to his vow to take corruption seriously (Paul Wakhungu, O. I in Akitesa, 19/10/2023).

Kibaki's extreme stance on corruption and constitutional change was cited as the reason why international donors continued to give and lend money towards the end of the year 2003. The amount that was recovered is comparable to the amount of \$198 million that was taken from the public coffers. Examinations led to the suspension of a number of appointed authorities and judges who were accused of receiving bribes and other offences related to the matter. A respondent informed this article that, indeed, as a voter, he had so many hopes in Kibaki and really advocated for him to be elected. He informed the article that:

Kibaki, who was selected on the basis of a command to eradicate corruption, bring about changes in the economy, and bring about constitutional reform, miraculously failed to bring about significant change despite the fact that he managed increased rates of economic development and an expansion of the space based on popularity. The failure and dissatisfaction of the Kenyan electorate, who in 2002 had such high expectations and desires of Kibaki, is the driving force behind the current widespread prevalence of corruption in high-ranking positions (Paul Wakhungu, O. I in Akitesa, 19/10/2023).

It thus emerged to the article that, in any case, Charles Onyango-Obbo, a Ugandan writer and editorial manager, argued for Open Democracy that "When the historical backdrop of Kenya is finally written in the years to come, Kibaki would most likely be made a decision about more well than recent developments recommend." A respondent, Wakhungu affirmed this stand by saying that:

This statement was made in support of the argument that "when the historical backdrop of Kenya is finally written." It is possible that Kibaki would be considered to have played a positive role for Kenya if he were to be evaluated in light of practical desires, as opposed to the assurances of another sunrise that would proclaim a complete break with the past (Paul Wakhungu, O. I in Akitesa, 19/10/2023).

In addition, the researcher notes that Kenya, along with the rest of East Africa, has traditions that are lengthy and cumbersome, which results in delays in the clearance of merchandise. The article further found that, according to Ugandan bureau of statistics,

The majority of the time, these kinds of delays can last anywhere between thirty and forty days, which results in significant losses for the business owners involved. As a result of this, as well as the fact that sophisticated administrative requirements are frequently muddled or even obscure to traders, a great number of traders are compelled to engage in unrecorded exchange. Without a doubt, casual exchange is not completely illegal. On the other hand, the corruption that thrives at the border points focuses has ensured that illegal activities such as under-invoicing or misspecification of ports of starting point continue to take place. Additionally, it seems that there is a certain degree of resilience in the casual exchange exercises that are carried out by the public authority. Individuals with disabilities, for instance, are able to cross the border with a group of wheelchairs that are obviously loaded down with merchandise at the Busia border point (Uganda Bureau of Statistics, 2008).

Based on the above findings, Leeman and Lesser (2009), put forward that, according to estimates, the typical proportion of casual area exchange in Africa accounts for 43 percent of the country's official GDP.

Conclusively, it emerged to the researcher that, this brings the area to a level that is almost identical to the correct area. As a result, its reality is a source of genuine arrangement problems, and nations are struggling to figure out how to deal with it. Whether the casual area ought to be smoothed out into the proper area or whether it ought to be encouraged to assume a correlative job is another aspect that is taken into consideration during the evaluation process.

Max Weber's bureaucratic theory and interpretivism philosophy offer insights into Kenya's informal cross-border trade during the Kibaki administration (Marianne, 2017). Kibaki's election in 2002 marked a shift from Moi's era, promising anti-corruption measures and economic reforms. However, despite initial optimism, challenges persisted, including administrative corruption and delays in trade clearance. Informal trade thrived due to bureaucratic hurdles and corruption at border points. The extent of informal trade posed significant challenges for economic planning and regulation. Scholars like Leeman and Lesser (2009) highlight the complexity of integrating informal sectors into formal economies, raising questions about how best to manage and regulate such activities.

The Uhuru Kenyatta Era, 2013 – 2022

During Uhuru Kenyatta's presidency from 2013 to 2022, Kenya and Uganda maintained strong economic relations characterized by cooperation in trade, infrastructure development, and regional integration. This period saw significant strides in enhancing economic ties, benefiting both nations and fostering regional stability (Jeremia, 2024). Trade between Kenya and Uganda flourished, with Kenya being one of Uganda's leading trading partners. Key exports from Kenya included petroleum products, manufactured goods, and machinery, while Uganda exported coffee, tea, maize, and fish to Kenya (Gordon, 2023). For instance, in 2017, Uganda's exports to Kenya were valued at approximately \$628 million, demonstrating the robustness of their trade relationship. The seamless flow of goods was facilitated by improved border infrastructure and harmonized customs procedures, exemplified by the establishment of One-Stop Border Posts (OSBPs) in Busia and Malaba (Jackson, 2021). These OSBPs reduced clearance times and enhanced efficiency, promoting smoother trade operations.

Infrastructure development played a pivotal role in strengthening economic relations. The construction of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) from Mombasa to Nairobi, although primarily a Kenyan project, had implications for Uganda. Plans to extend the SGR to Kampala aimed to boost regional connectivity, reduce transportation costs, and expedite the movement of goods (Evaristus and Owilla, 2020). Additionally, the completion of the Northern Corridor road network linked Kenya's port of Mombasa to Uganda, facilitating trade and enhancing economic integration. Regional integration initiatives under the East African Community (EAC) framework also bolstered Kenya-Uganda economic relations. Both countries participated actively in the EAC, working towards a common market and customs union.

Collaborative efforts in policy harmonization, infrastructural projects, and investment promotion enhanced economic cooperation. For instance, joint projects like the Lamu Port-South Sudan-Ethiopia Transport (LAPSSET) Corridor Program underscored their commitment to regional development (Gordon, 2023). Despite challenges such as trade disputes and non-tariff barriers, the economic relations between Kenya and Uganda during Uhuru Kenyatta's presidency remained resilient and progressive. These relations were driven by mutual interests, regional stability, and a shared vision for economic growth and development. The period was marked by substantial trade volumes, infrastructural advancements, and a commitment to regional integration, reinforcing the economic bonds between the two East African nations (Evaristus and Owilla, 2020).

Conclusion

The rise of informal cross-border trade, particularly during times of political instability, has significantly influenced economic interactions between the two countries. Ethnicity also emerges as a significant factor affecting economic relations, with ethnic affiliations influencing administrative decisions and trade patterns. The advancement of unlawful cross-border trade further complicates the economic landscape, prompting the need for bureaucratic classifications and regulatory measures. In addition to economic relations, the chapter examines security dynamics between Kenya and Uganda over several decades. From the early years of independence to the Idi Amin era, the post-Amin period, and recent developments, security relations have been shaped by various political, social, and economic factors. Bureaucratic mechanisms and coordination between security agencies play a crucial role in addressing cross-border threats and maintaining stability in the region.

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