# INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF WORLD BANK INTERVENTIONS IN KENYA

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# **ABSTRACT**

International organizations like the World Bank have been supporting reform initiatives in developing countries for decades now. Various authors have criticized this support, arguing that international organizations use their influence to impose common models of government on developing countries, infringing on the sovereignty of these nations and frustrating domestic processes of finding and fitting government structures to local contexts. Some suggest that a modern new public management model of government is being imposed on developing countries, whereas others asserted that developing countries are being forced to adopt a broad-brush neoliberal script. Kenya is emerging and transforming politically and economically after 50 years of independence marked by mixed political and economic performance. The initial period of rapid growth to the mid-1970s was followed by a period of stagnation until the turn of the millennium, and then modest growth over the last decade. While Kenya has the potential to be one of Africa's best-performing economies, the country has been following, not spearheading, Africa's growth momentum. The overarching challenge Kenya is facing today is to generate economic growth that is more inclusive in order to more effectively reduce poverty across the country. Despite persistent challenges, Kenya's prospects for success are promising: the country has the largest economy in East Africa, with a significant potential to further capitalize on regional markets and strengthen its position as the region's economic powerhouse.

Key words: Globalisation, International Organisations, Kenya, World Bank.

# Introduction

International organizations like the World Bank have been supporting reform initiatives in developing countries for decades. Various authors have criticized this support, arguing that international organizations use their influence to impose common models of government on developing countries, infringing on the sovereignty of these nations and frustrating domestic processes of finding and fitting government structures to local contexts. Some suggest that a modern new public management model of government is being imposed on developing countries, whereas others claim that developing countries are being forced to adopt a broad-brush neoliberal script (Andrews, 2013). External influence is wide spread across all countries and had been growing in numbers of projects and value of engagement. Organizations like the World Bank are increasingly shaping the ideas, opportunities, demand and supply of public sector reform in developing countries. Countries are commonly supported in creating governments that are market--friendly, disciplined, and modernized; with specific types of common interventions introducing reforms like privatization, civil service modernization, the creation of autonomous agencies, and more.

Theorists claim that different institutions create incentives for different behavior, leading to different outcomes. In shaping behavior, different institutions have different effects on economic progress. The key to development, as this argument suggests, is finding the right institutional framework or rules of

the game (Yeager, 1999). Governments have been the focus of such search in development. As a result, much government change is called public sector institutional reform and involves fundamental changes in governmental rules of the game towards those considered right for development.

In developing countries, such reform is frequently influenced by external entities like the World Bank, regional development banks and bilateral agencies (Andrews, 2009). This influence manifests in many ways. It comes through external identification of what the right rules are, as well as through financing, facilitation and sometimes even implementation of interventions intended to introduce such rules. Projects and loans are the primary vehicle organizations like the World Bank have to exercise such influence.

There are various kinds of externally influenced public sector institutional reforms in developing countries. These can be identified by looking at the themes or activities routinely carried out in World Bank projects. Most obvious are those activities reflected under the major theme, public sector governance. These include efforts to change administrative and civil service systems, public expenditure, financial management and procurement processes, and tax policy and administration mechanisms. They also include initiatives to decentralize and address corruption in governments. Under World Bank and IMF auspices, African governments were forced to reduce domestic spending and relinquish control over their expenditure priorities. Consequently, per capita income had declined by 25% in most sub-Saharan African countries (Colgan, 2002).

#### **Statement of Research Problem**

Kenya like other Third world countries has been suffering underdevelopment and dependency, which emanated from dominant exploitative character of the western economies directly or indirectly through organizations like World Bank. As the analysis goes further, we shall understand the reason for this dependency and economic setbacks and try to sort out possible strategies put in place to curb it. This leads to the following questions on which the research is based.

- 1. Has World Bank been able to play any positive role in the Republic of Kenya?
- 2. What strategies have been employed in the pursuance of development and can these strategies affect the citizens positively?
- 3. How has the government complemented the efforts of this international organization?

# **Literature Review**

# **Conceptualizing Development**

The exact meaning of development in the landscape of development studies has been overwhelmed with intense controversy as to what is development, for whom and by whom (Kutor, 2014). These controversies notwithstanding, there are lots of definitions propounded by various scholars to capture the meaning of development from their perspective and their ideological orientation. But in doing that, some misconceived development for growth, modernization, progress and westernization (Audu, 2013). Even though all these are necessary, they are not sufficient conditions for development. It is possible to have growth without development so also progress, modernization and westernization. While development is more than growth, progress, modernization and westernization, all these are sine qua non for development (Audu, 2013).

According to Okoli and Onah (2002), development involves progression, movement and advancement towards something better. Hence it is improvement on the material and non-material aspects of life involving actions, reactions and motions. Nnoli (1979) had asserted that, development refers to checklist of technical artifacts. To him, the availability of schools, hospitals, road networks, electricity, boreholes and other infrastructural faculties are indications of development. To Seers (1969), the questions to ask about a country's development are what have been happening to poverty, unemployment and inequality? If all these three questions have declined from high levels then beyond doubt this has been a period of development for the country concerned. If one or two of these central

problems have been growing worse, especially if all three have, it would be strange to call the result development, even if per capital income doubled.

According to Rodney (1972), development in human society is a many-sided process; at the level of individual it implies increased skills and capacity, greater freedom, creativity, self-discipline, responsibility and material wellbeing. To Remenyi (2004) "development is a process directed at outcomes encapsulating improved standards of living and greater capacity for self-reliance in economies that are technically more complex and more dependent on global integration than before". According to Todaro and Smith (2012), development must therefore be conceived of as a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality and the eradication of poverty.

Not even the major international financial institutions, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund today contemplate of development solely as growth, the World Bank in World Development Report (1991) believe that the concept of development has both economic, social and political attributes such as sustainable increase in living standards including consumption, education, health and environmental protection, equality of opportunity and liberties and political freedom.

# **Conceptualizing Globalization**

Despite the breadth with which the term has been applied, the meaning of 'globalization' remains elusive as to defy definition. Indeed, to suggest the concept is contested would indicate that there are at least some general schools of thought on the issue. A provisional examination of those using the term would suggest such a claim to be preliminary. The substance of its definition appears just as vague, rarely reaching beyond a laundry-list of subjects. So, what is globalization?

Globalization is a term in heavy current usage but one whose meaning remains obscure, often even among those who invoke it. Indeed, Jan (1996) states that "globalization stands out for quite a large public spread across the world as one of the defining terms of late twentieth century social consciousness.". The term is often distinguished more by what it is not, rather than what it is. James (1996) recognizes such a tendency when he states that

"globalization is not the same as globalism, which points to aspirations for an end state of affairs wherein values are shared by or pertinent to all the world's five billion people, their environment, their roles as citizens, consumers or producers with an interest in collective action designed to solve common problems. Nor is it universalism—values which embrace all humanity, hypothetically or actually".

Anthony (1990) is hardly the only example of this, nor the most egregious, when he states that globalization constitutes a:

"Multiplicity of linkages and interconnections that transcend the nation states (and by implication the societies) which make up the modern world is fragmented. It defines a process through which events, decisions and activities in one part of the world can come to have a significant consequence for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe".

Within the parameters of the foregoing, globalization could be defined from the institutional perspective as the spread of capitalism (MacEwan, 1990). Beyond this simplistic analysis of globalization in terms of capital inflows and trade investment, it is important to state that Charlick (2000) emphasized that, it has been of disastrous consequences to the governments and people of the African continent. Globalization according to Ohiorhenuan (1998), is the broadening and deepening linkages of national economies into a worldwide market for goods and services, especially capital. As Tandon (1998) once opined, globalization seeks to remove all national barriers to the free movement of international capital and this process is accelerated and facilitated by the supersonic transformation in information technology.

Globalization is a process of advancement and increase in interaction among the world's countries and peoples facilitated by progressive technological changes in locomotion, communication, political and military power, knowledge and skills, as well as interfacing of cultural and value systems and practices. Globalization

is not a value-free, innocent, self-determining process. It is an international socio-politico-economic and cultural permeation process facilitated by policies of governments, private corporations, international agencies and civil society organizations. It essentially seeks to enhance and deploy a country's (society's or organizations) economic, political, technological, ideological and military power and influence for competitive domination in the world (Apolo, 2001)

### **Effects of globalization**

It is important to note, optimistically, that globalization offers great opportunities. However, it is probably more important to be clear about the negative aspects of globalization and the fact that its benefits are very unevenly shared and its costs are unevenly distributed among, across and within countries. This is very true especially when seen in the light of African countries. Both in concept and in practice, for every positive aspect of globalization, there is negative side: "While globalization has positive, innovative, dynamic aspects, it also has negative, disruptive, marginalizing aspects" (United Nation Development Program, 1999).

The effect of globalization on third world is not only of an economic nature. The process and the outcome of globalization involve a lot more than economics. Globalization includes permeation of political ideas and practices across borders. It includes permeation of cultural and religious beliefs and practices, resulting in dilution of some cultures. It includes the permeation of administrative/managerial concepts and practices across borders and organizations. It includes the domination by some superpowers through military coercive means and the impositions that go with it. It involves internationalization of conflicts that would otherwise remain local. The state decision-making and policy-making process itself, and therefore the influence and power of the State, has been globalized and shared among the various world decision-making bodies. There are international courts, international human rights organizations, international military conventions, international laws, rules and regulations to which the State is subjected.

There are international and regional trade agreements, and powerful international lobby and pressure groups in various fields. There are universities and institutions of higher learning with all their power to impart knowledge, skills and attitudes that shift behaviors of societies and state leadership as well as followership. All this combine to reinforce the phenomenon of globalization and force the State to shift its behavior and the way it relates with both its citizens and its internal and external partners. Apolo (2001) highlight some of the effects of globalization on public administration in Africa:

- **Undermining the power of the State.** Most African governments are finding themselves in a situation of "fait accompli" when it comes to making certain policies and decisions. International agencies such as the World Bank, IMF, the United Nations World Trade Organization, etc. take decisions which are binding on countries. This could be looked at as eroding the sovereignty and power of the State. We must add that this is not only the case in Africa. The poorer the country, the more chance of power erosion for the State. This would be minimized if the voice of Africa's States was increased and strengthened in the world bodies. Stronger African regional bodies would also help in this respect, provided these bodies were represented in the world bodies at the same time.
- ❖ Undermining the democratization process. There is an ongoing democratization struggle in Africa. Some African countries began the process of democratizing their governments, political systems and societies sometime back. However, the international partners they are working with in this globalized world are hardly democratic. While the democratization process would require that the people of the country in question get involved in the taking of decisions and policies that concern them, some of the big decisions affecting Africa today are more or less imposed by the globalization players such as the World Bank, IMF, the World Trade Organization, etc. This has been the case, for example with the liberalization and privatization policies in Africa. This makes the people not trust the democratization rhetoric they hear from their leaders when they are confronted with this "fait accompli". There is a discrepancy between the rhetoric from these bodies concerning the need for democracy and the way the same bodies arrive at decisions of great consequences. It is not possible to be seen to be democratic by

the people you govern when they do not see or get involved in the process of making the decisions and policies you follow to govern them. This is a big dilemma for African leaders and Kenya in particular.

State and its forces of law and order were used to handle "traditional crimes". However, with globalization there has been an increase in crimes (drugs, pornography, international corruption etc.) that had been at lower magnitude. In addition, progress in information technology has facilitated the emergence and growth of computer-based crimes, especially fraud. For this the law and order forces have not been well prepared. The increase in these crimes across borders makes the forces of law and order look helpless, unhelpful and incapable. This tends to erode the confidence of the public in the State, thus weakening further its legitimacy. The strong challenge posed by the powerful criminals on the State creates an atmosphere of uncertainty and insecurity in the public, thus reducing the required confidence that would attract both local and foreign investment. There is need to strengthen the capacity of the forces of law and order, especially in the areas of detecting and handling sophisticated crime. If this does not happen, the sophisticated criminals will find ready-made comfortable hiding places in Africa. This will be a big insecurity problem for the rest of the world.

#### **World Bank**

IMF and World Bank both originated after World War II as a result of a UN Monetary and Financial Conference at Breton Woods, New Hampshire in 1944. The negotiations culminated into their existence in 1945 (Stiglitz, 2002). They were to save the world from future economic depressions following Europe's devastation after World War II. The difficult task though was assigned to the IMF of ensuring global economic stability while the World Bank was to give loans to developing countries for long term development (Ibid). The Bretton Woods agreement called for a third international economic organization a World Trade Organization (WTO) to govern international trade relations, a job similar to IMF governing of financial relations.

Today, The World Bank consists of two main bodies, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) and the International Development Association (IDA), established in 1960. The World Bank is part of the broader World Bank Group, which consists of five interrelated institutions: the IBRD; the IDA; the International Finance Corporation (IFC), which was established in 1956; the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA), which was established in 1988; and the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), which was established in 1966. These additional members of the World Bank Group have specific purposes as well. The IDA typically provides interest-free loans to countries with sovereign guarantees. The IFC provides loans, equity, risk-management tools, and structured finance. Its goal is to facilitate sustainable development by improving investments in the private sector. The MIGA focuses on improving the foreign direct investment of developing countries. The ICSID provides a means for dispute resolution between governments and private investors with the end goal of enhancing the flow of capital.

The current primary focus of the World Bank centers on six strategic themes:

- i. **The poorest countries.** Poverty reduction and sustainable growth in the poorest countries, especially in Africa.
- ii. **Post-conflict and fragile states.** Solutions to the special challenges of post-conflict countries and fragile states.
- iii. **Middle-income countries.** Development solutions with customized services as well as financing for middle-income countries.
- iv. **Global public goods.** Addressing regional and global issues that cross-national borders, such as climate change, infectious diseases, and trade.
- v. **The Arab world.** Greater development and opportunity in the Arab world.
- vi. Knowledge and learning. Leveraging the best global knowledge to support development.

#### **Theoretical Framework**

Knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. In every descriptive, there is a body of theories that provides the explanation for observable phenomena in that field. This section attempts to draw analogy between established theories and the problem being investigated, where such analogies drawn even support the importance of the study. The relevance for this study can be situated within the context of the fact that World Bank intervention in Kenya fortify a perfect relationship among other objectives between the people of Kenya and the developed world; thereby demonstrating in a big way, a miniature intervention that exist between the developed and the less developed economies. Since Dependency Theory lays emphasis on explaining this kind of relationship, it has become very relevant for this study. The theory arose as a reaction to modernization theory, an earlier theory of development which held that all societies progress through similar stages of development, that today's underdeveloped areas are thus in a similar situation to that of today's developed areas at some time in the past, and that therefore the task in helping the underdeveloped areas out of poverty is to accelerate them along this supposed common path of development, by various means such as investment, technology transfers, and closer integration into the world market (Bornschier & Chase, 1985). Dependency theories rejected this view, arguing that underdeveloped countries are not merely primitive versions of developed countries, but have unique features and structures of their own; and importantly, are in the situation of being the weaker members in a world market economy (Amin, 1967).

Dependency Theory was developed in the late 1950s under the guidance of the Director of the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America (UNECLA), Raul Prebisch. Prebisch and his colleagues were troubled by the fact that economic growth in the advanced industrialized countries did not necessarily lead to growth in the poorer countries. Indeed, their studies suggested that economic activity in the richer countries often led to serious economic problems in the poorer countries. Such a possibility was not predicted by neoclassical theory, which had assumed that economic growth was beneficial to all (Pareto optimal) even if the benefits were not always equally shared.

Dependency theory argues that resources flow from a "periphery" of poor and underdeveloped states to a "core" of wealthy states, enriching the latter at the expense of the former. It is a central contention of dependency theory that poor states are impoverished and rich ones enriched by the way poor states are integrated into the "world system" (Tausch & Fred1993). The poor nations including those in East Africa provide natural resources, cheap labor destination for obsolete technology and markets to the wealthy nations without which the latter would not have the high standard of living. This would further lead to exploitation of raw materials exported to the developed countries, hence leading to underdevelopment of developing economies. First world nations actively, but not necessarily, consciously, perpetuate a state of dependency through various policies and initiatives (Robert, 2000). The state of dependency is multifaceted, involving economies, media control, politics, banking and finance, education, sport and all aspects of Human Resource Development.

This is the case of Kenya whose economy is primarily involved in the production of raw materials for export to the developed countries. Dos Santos (2002) emphasizes the historical dimension of the dependency relationships in his definition when he wrote:

Dependency is...an historical condition which shapes a certain structure of the world economy such that it favours some countries to the detriment of others and limits the development possibilities of the subordinate economics...a situation in which the economy of a certain group of countries is conditioned by the development and expansion of another economy, to which their own is subjected

At this point dependency theory was viewed as a possible way of explaining the persistent poverty of the poorer countries. The traditional neoclassical approach said virtually nothing on this question except to assert that the poorer countries were late in coming to solid economic practices and that as soon as they learned the techniques of modern economics, then the poverty would begin to subside. However, Marxists theorists viewed the persistent poverty as a consequence of capitalist exploitation. And a new body of thought, called the world systems approach, argued that the poverty was a direct consequence

of the evolution of the international political economy into a fairly rigid division of labor, which favored the rich and penalized the poor.

# Methodology

The method used in the gathering of data is mainly secondary source of data collection. This research is a topical issue; the secondary method of sourcing data was adequate, this include gathering materials or information from textbooks, World Bank publications, bulletins, special annual reports, journals, magazines, newspapers, Internet material, seminars, debates and seminars publications.

# Historical overview of Kenya

Kenya is a country on the eastern coast of Africa, It lies between latitudes 5° N and 5° S and between longitudes 34° E and 42° E located right on the equator. It is a land of striking landscapes, ranging from snow-capped Mount Kenya to rich farmlands, barren deserts and tropical beaches. It is surrounded on the north by Sudan and Ethiopia, on the east by Somalia and the Indian Ocean, on the south by Tanzania, and on the west by Lake Victoria and Uganda. Kenya officially became a British colony in 1922, an event that in several ways determined the path of the country's development. A dual economy was a foreseeable result of the mixture of a British administration, a well-organized, white-settler commune, and a very efficient South Asian business community. Until independence, both these communities lobbied, attained significant privileges, and set up a variety of institutions that endorsed their goals.

The British first occupied Kenya due to their necessity to provide for the strategically valuable Uganda. Once occupied, they were under persistent pressure to develop the resources of the colony if only to make it self-sufficient. Since the country was meagerly populated and lacking evident mineral resources, a sequence of British governors persuaded immigrant European families to settle in the highlands in hopes that these people would in due course turn into the engine of economic growth. Nonetheless, it is important to note that Kenya's colonial history was never influenced by any vision or grand plan. At the same time, it is lucid that no cohesive colonial policy transpired in Kenya, it would be a blunder to overstate the disarray and dissection within the European power elites, their administrators, or settlers. In spite of their struggles for preeminence and their habitually changeable views of the shape Kenya should undertake, they shared extensive ambits of agreement. Therefore, Kenya's colonial history was exemplified by recurrent, forceful clashes between different colonial groups as each sought to exalt its own powers at the cost of the others (Tignor 1976).

# **Economy of Kenya**

The economy of Kenya has continued to be the largest in the East African region and third largest in Sub-Saharan Africa after Nigeria and South Africa respectively. It is well situated geographically and strategically than most of its neighbors. At present Kenya is one of the most highly literate countries in sub-Saharan Africa. Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing (including coffee and tea cultivation) is the largest sector of the economy and accounts for about 22%. Manufacturing is the second largest sector and represents around 11% of the GDP. Other major sectors include: Real Estate (about 8% of total GDP), Wholesale and Retail Trade (around 7%), Transport and Storage (around 7%), Education (about 7%), Financial and Insurance Activity (around 6%) and Construction (around 5%). About 79% of populations of Kenya live in rural areas and rely on agriculture for most of their income. About half of the people are poor or unable to meet their daily nutritional requirements and most of them live in rural areas. Kenya's poor rural people are smallholder farmers, herders, farm laborers, unskilled and semi-skilled workers, households headed by women, people with disabilities, AIDS orphans etc. The Kikuyus emerged economically better off than any other ethnic groups in Kenya. They dominated the country's wealth and politics since independence. About 10% of the country's population controls 50% of wealth. Jomo Kenyatta, considered the founding father of Kenya, led the country from 1963 until 1978. Under his rule, the Kenya Action National Union (KANU) was the only legal political party in Kenya. Since

the 1980s, the economy has performed below its potential, with low economic and employment growth and a decline in productivity. Before 1997 elections Kenya witnessed one of its worst elections related violence, which accompanied by economic down turn, unemployment and poverty and endemic corruption that nearly left the state much more bankrupt (Ajulu, 1998)

# Impact of World Bank Intervention and the Prospects of Development in Kenya State of Kenya's Infrastructure

Infrastructure contributed half a percentage point to Kenya's annual per capita GDP growth over the last decade. Raising the country's infrastructure endowment to that of the region's middle-income countries could boost annual growth by more than 3% points per capita. Having made significant progress in infrastructure through the mid-2000s, Kenya boasts infrastructure indicators that are higher than those of most other low-income countries in Africa though still far below those of Africa's middle-income countries. Evidence from enterprise surveys suggests that infrastructure constraints are responsible for about 30% of the productivity handicap faced by Kenyan firms, with the remainder being due to poor governance, red tape, and financing constraints (Calderón, 2009).

Having made significant progress in infrastructure through the mid-2000s, Kenya boasts infrastructure indicators that are higher than those of most other low-income countries in Africa though still far below those of Africa's middle-income countries. A modernized ICT sector now offers 90% of the population access to a GSM cell phone signal. Institutional reforms in the power sector have reduced the burden of subsidies on the public by about 1% of GDP. A successful public-private partnership in air transport has helped to make the country's airline one of the top three carriers in Sub-Saharan Africa. Jomo Kenyatta International Airport is a key international gateway to Africa. The establishment of a sound system for funding road maintenance should pay long-term dividends by reducing the cost of road travel to the economy.

Kenya's greatest infrastructure challenge lies in the power sector, where a further 1,000 megawatts of generating plant will be needed over the next decade—a doubling of current capacity. A second challenge is to increase terminal capacity at the Port of Mombasa and to strengthen the port's road and rail interfaces to improve the efficiency of operations. Low levels of access to household services are also a major concern. Kenya has moved backwards with respect to the Sustainable Development Goals in water and sanitation and living conditions in Nairobi's slums are particularly poor (Gadzama, 2018).

Addressing Kenya's infrastructure deficit will require sustained expenditures of almost \$4 billion per year over the next decade, about 20% of GDP. That share is about what China has spent in recent years, but it would pose a huge challenge for Kenya's economy. The amount needed is split fairly evenly between investment and operations, on the one hand, and maintenance, on the other. Almost half of the total relates to the achievement of water supply and sanitation and a further quarter to improving the reliability and availability of electrical power. Kenya's population and agricultural activity are heavily concentrated in the southern half of the country, along the corridor linking Mombasa to Nairobi and then on to Kisumu and into Uganda. Kenya's infrastructure backbones including the country's principal road artery and its major power transmission and fiber optic backbones have followed this route. The northern half of the country, by contrast is sparsely populated and characterized by fragmentary infrastructure coverage. Kenya's infrastructure networks are largely isolated from those of its neighboring countries. While there are some transport links with Uganda and Sudan, road connections with Ethiopia, Tanzania, and Somalia are of very low quality, while power and ICT backbones are not yet integrated across frontiers (Gadzama, 2018).

Aside the impressive economic achievement in the first two decades of Independence, the subsequent two decades have witnessed a general decline in the economy, which has impacted negatively in nearly all areas of development. This is mainly attributable to the introduction of the SAPs in 1980s and particularly in the 1990s. These have affected the economy through declining government

expenditure, especially on public servants' salaries, administration, economic and social services and increased government lending and expenditures to service debts.

World Bank admit some of their policies do not work, the *Bretton Woods Project* revealed that in 2000, an internal World Bank report has concluded that the poor are better off without structural adjustment. The report itself is titled The Effect of IMF and World Bank Programs on Poverty (World Bank, 2000).

The report doesn't really look in detail at why the poor benefit less from the adjustment. Instead, it speculates that they may be ill-placed to take advantage of new opportunities created by structural adjustment reforms because, as the Bretton Woods Project insinuates, the report implies that the poor have neither the skills nor financial resources to benefit from high-technology jobs and cheaper imports. Now, it may not have been the intent of the report to do so, but one can't help but notice how it almost seems as though while they may admit that structural adjustment didn't benefit the poor, it is almost as though the Bank tries to cleverly absolve itself by subtly blaming the poor for not benefiting from this. When structural adjustments have required cut backs in health, education and so on, then what would one expect?

#### CONCLUSION

Notwithstanding Kenya's achievements made in reviving economic growth and meeting many of their development goals, Kenya is still confronted with major developmental challenges. Persistent corruption and weak governance, poor infrastructure, gender inequalities, sluggish human capital development, and a lagging export sector have resulted in decline of economic growth. Although Kenya is experiencing the beginning stages of economic recovery, the potential for adverse shocks to the economy still remains high. As rainfall amounts continue to vary with global warming and government corruption remains uncertain, it is difficult to predict Kenya's future with these highly volatile characteristics.

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