

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: A
CASE STUDY OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

BY

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DECLARATION

I declare that this is my original work and has not been presented for academic award or qualification in any institution of higher learning. In addition, appropriate referencing has been made where concerned.

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This research has been submitted for examination with my approval as the assigned University Supervisor.

Prof Maria Nzomo

Signature.....Date.....

DEDICATION

I wish to dedicate and sincerely thank my family for their immense support and understanding, being always there for me and wishing me the very best in all my endeavours; my beloved sons Munene and Kinyua for enduring my “absence” and to my beloved wife, Sarah Ruguru for all the love and encouragement, as she always prayed for me...

“All will be well, trust in God”.

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May God bless you all.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	African Development Bank
AEC	African Economic Community
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
APSA	Africa Peace and Security Architecture
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India China & South Africa
CACCU	Central Africa Customs and Community Union
CEAO	West African Economic Community
CEMAC	Communate Economique Monetaire del' Afrique Centrale
CEN – SAD	Community of Sahelian-Sahara States
CFSP	Common Foreign and Security Policy
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSDP	Common Security and Defense Policy
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EAC	East Africa Community
EASF	East Africa Standby Force
EC	European Community
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central Africa States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EMP	Euro-Mediterranean Partnership
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
HIPC	Heavily Indebted Poor Countries
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization

IOC	Indian Ocean Commission
KAR	Kings African Rifles
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MDRI	Multilateral Debt Relief Initiative
MNC	Multinational Corporations
NAFTA	North America Free Trade Area
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PEV	Post Election Violence
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RASCOM	Regional African Satellite Communications Organization
REC	Regional Economic Communities
RIA	Regional Integration Arrangements
SACU	Southern Africa Custom Union
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SADC	South African Development Community
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SRG	Standard Gauge Railway
UEMOA	Union Economique er Monetaire Ouest Africaine
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nation Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WASF	Western Africa Standby Force
WB	World Bark

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

- 1) **Globalization** refers to trans-planetary process or set of processes involving increased connectivity, fluidity and growing multi-dimensional flows as well as the structure they encounter and create between states
- 2) **Integration** is the tendency of sovereign states to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to new centre of power through persuasion.
- 3) **Liberalization** refers to the process of removing of government imposed restrictions on movement of goods and services between states to establish an open market economy.
- 4) **Media** refers to means of communication that reaches people widely to inform, interact, educate or to influence people and as a source of trusted information to the society.
- 5) **Overlapping membership** refers to states belonging to more than one regional integration arrangements.
- 6) **Regional Integration** refers to a process in which states in a region enter into an agreement in order to upgrade cooperation through common institutions and rules.
- 7) **Regionalization** refers to the way the countries have grouped within a certain geographical area to form a regional integration arrangement.
- 8) **Xenophobia** is the attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perceptions that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community society or national identity.

ABSTRACT

The overall objective of the study was to examine the challenges and prospects that play in the regional integration in Africa. In order to achieve this feat, the study examined literature on other Regional Integration Arrangements (RIA) of the world and especially on European Union (EU), the Association of Southeast East Asia Nations (ASEAN), the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA), among others. The study used the East African Community (EAC) as the case study of RIA in Africa. This was considered because EAC has transformed itself from a loose cooperation framework to a fast emerging, strong and dynamic economic block.

The study utilized both the primary and secondary data sources including interviews and material published in various forms. The study running arguments were that the dynamics of traditional challenges and prospects to regional integration organizations in Africa have a paradigm shift to the integration process, secondly the regional integration in Africa have challenges and prospects to realizing the African dream of economic integration and thirdly the challenges and prospects facing EAC regional integration are similar to those that face regional integration in Africa.

The study found a response rate of 83.3% for quantitative data which was considered adequate for further data analysis to complement the qualitative data. Further the study noted that the participants had a lot of experience and proper understanding of the field, based on their duration of stay in their respective ministries or within the EAC as staff.

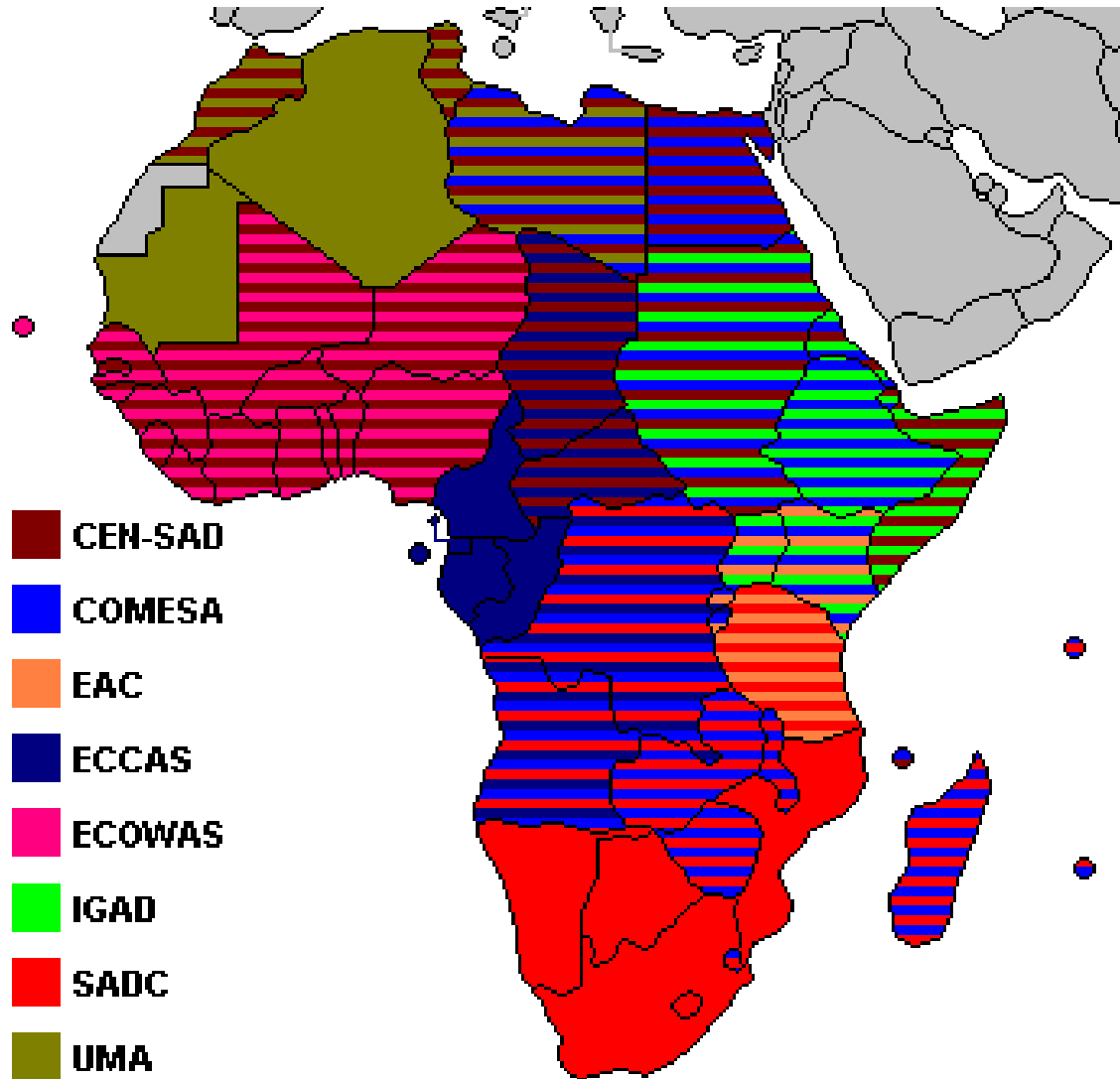
The study findings identified several concepts that have remained challenges to regional integration in Africa. The study argues that their consideration could create a paradigm shift to providing strong prospects for regional integration in Africa. Such concepts were harnessing the positive media agenda for public opinion, realizing that donor dependency hinders development, accountable and good political leadership is a player in attracting FDI for economic development, multiplicity of membership creates a negative force to RIAs forward impetus while economic diversification especially from agricultural sector would be key to capitalizing on economic strengths and capacities of the states.

The study findings contribute to knowledge by determining challenges and prospects that if addressed appropriately could lead to effectiveness of regional integrations in Africa. These are agenda setting or public opinion through media, foreign aid dependency, democratic political leadership, and economic diversification.

Further the study findings and recommendations could contribute to improve national foreign policy with respect to region integrations especially on the aspect of rationalizing membership to multiplicity of RIAs. The study findings have also enabled to prove the three main study arguments. These are underpinned on the aspect of realizing that the challenges and prospects of regional integration are becoming more practical and tangible to the people. In this view the study argues that, the globalization dynamics of the world today are playing a key role hence the African nations have no alternative but to take the opportunity.

THE STUDY AREA MAP

Map of Africa Depicting Regional Integration Arrangements



Source: Google Maps (2015)

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Background

The philosophy of the African Unity which underpins the African relations with itself and with the rest of the World states that “*We are all African*”. It was adapted from the Pan African movement whose aim was advocating a return to Africa of all Africans. The philosophy was essentially pioneered by the Africans born outside Africa and driven by the black intellectuals of African descent in the diasporas, mainly in the US, Caribbean and Europe. The defunct Organization of African Unity (OAU) was established on the basis of this philosophy.

It is observed that there were competing visions of unity and integration between the founding fathers, who were also the heads of new states in Africa. These visions got on the way to negotiations on the future of the independent Africa as it was established. However, a compromise was reached, that allowed the borders between the states to be retained as they were inherited from the colonial masters and the establishment of the OAU. Consequently, the OAU was to be a loose forum where issues concerning Africa could be articulated. They also agreed to adhere to the principle of non-interference with the internal affairs of member’s states. Further the establishment of the OAU was grounded on the assumption that it was a vehicle for promotion of economic interactions among the African states, in addition to the pursuit of formal regional cooperation and integration efforts. This was viewed as an indispensable and practical starting point not only for the building of mutual trust but also to act as the glue that would bind the states closely together. It was also to be the starting point for economic ties through cooperation and integration and thereafter pave the way for ultimate African political unity.

Ndongko observes that the creation of European Economic Community (EEC) by the European states and the Latin America Free Trade Area demonstrated both the necessity and possibil-

ity of regional economic cooperation in Africa.¹ This was the position held during the conference of the African leaders in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia on 3rd May, 1963. The 32 new African leaders then inaugurated the Organization of Africa Unity, (OAU)². Among the African founding fathers, who believed and advocated for the African unity were Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere of Tanzania. On one hand, Nkrumah advocated for United States of Africa that would be free from colonial fragmented nation states. He clearly understood the potential for a continental powerhouse by uniting all of Africa³. On the other hand, Mwalimu Nyerere did not see the essence of a fragmented Africa into small nation states. Nyerere treasured a strong belief, in that only uniting Africa could power be established to engage in other challenges faced by the Africans in their new states⁴.

The Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 encouraged regional integration bodies to prepare the way for the overall unification of Africa. However, fifty years later Muammar Gaddafi of Libya called for African leaders to retrace the steps of Nkrumah by uniting the African states. Just like Nkrumah, Gaddafi envisioned a prosperous Africa in all fields of economics, politics, social and ideology. In this view therefore, it was necessary to do away with OAU which had achieved its mandate of successfully lifting the colonial yoke off the shoulders of Africans. Gaddafi called for a paradigm shift for a new organization to replace OAU, and thus the birth of African Union (AU), in the African heads of states summit in South Africa in 2002 attended by all 53 states of Africa. On 9 July 2011, South Sudan became the 54th African Union member.

¹Ndongko W. A. (1985. p3) *Economic Cooperation and Integration in Africa*. CODESRIA. Dakar.

² Mangachi M W (2011. p7). *Regional Integration in Africa: East Africa Experience*. Safari Books Ltd. Ibadan.

³ Asante M K(2012. P1) *The Character of Kwame Nkrumah's United Africa Vision*. The Journal of Pan African Studies, Vol. 4, no.10, January 2012.

⁴ Chacha D M (08-11. Dec. 2003) *Julius Nyerere: The Intellectual pan Africanist and the question of African Unity*. A paper presented at CODERSIA's 30th Anniversary Conference, Dakar, Senegal.

The AU therefore inherited all the inherent challenges of the OAU. This did not dim the discussions and the desire to forge forward with the sub-regional bodies. Africa continent has fourteen multiplicity of treaties some functional and others dormant. Their importance cannot be over emphasized since they are fostering the African vision of Regional Economic Communities (REC) and are tools or instruments of development and collective security. Globalization is enhancing the world to become much more regionalized and in this view the African regional arrangements are assets for trade investment and economic bargaining for the member states. Regional bodies enable countries to pull resources together in order to achieve a common regional interest which in the long run makes it possible for the member states to realize some of their national interest with ease. Regional integration organizations in Africa have made it possible for the African Nations to have power to negotiate terms through international relations, either bilaterally or multilaterally, i.e. terms of trade, peace and security, conservation of flora and fauna, Carbon credit due to climate change, developmental loans, foreign developmental investment and many more.

1.1 History of East African Community

The root of cooperation in East Africa can be traced from the colonial period when Kenya and Uganda were both under British and Tanganyika was under Germany, which was later under the British rule through UN trusteeship. In 1926 a common economic integration⁵ was enacted and later these colonies had a functional customs administration and a common currency the East African Shilling (EASh). Between 1926 and 1939, much was achieved leading to massive expansion and strengthening of common services followed by customs and excise departments, Railways and Harbours, Ports and telegraphs administration, income tax department, research centres, civil aviation, meteorological services and an East African Army, 'the Kings African

⁵ Magu Stephene M(April, 2014) Dilemmas of collective action: Explaining East African Regional Integration and Cooperation. *Academic Research Journal*. Vol 2(4), pp. 58-67

Riffles (KAR)', which excluded Tanganyika.⁶ In 1967 the three East Africa States Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania founding fathers, Mzee Jomo Kenya, Milton Obote and Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere formed the first regionally integrated outfit, the East Africa Community (EAC), with its headquarter in Arusha town, Northern Tanzania. But in 1977 East African Community collapsed. Among many reasons for the downfall were the political and economic ideologies of member states.

Nevertheless, the ray of hope for regional integration did not fade away. On 30th November 1999 the treaty re-establishing the EAC was signed and came into force on 7th July 2000 after ratification by the leaders of associate states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The aim of the treaty was to widen and deepen cooperation among the partner states for their mutual benefits. All the three countries ascribed to competitive politics and a market economy, though with varying degrees of enthusiasm. Later in 2007, Burundi and Rwanda were admitted into the community. The EAC therefore prioritized four phased levels of integration starting with the Custom Union, the Common Market, the Monetary Union and ultimately the Political Federation which was to be achieved by 2015.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The importance of Regional Integration organizations in Africa cannot be overemphasized since they contribute to sustainable development, a case of EAC is at hand. However, the regional integration organizations in Africa are at different stages of integration implementing agendas, consequently, the concept of regional integration varies considerably. Nevertheless, the ultimate goal for the most African regions economic blocks is to achieve continental economic and political integration. According to Haas to achieve the realities of regional integra-

⁶ Edwin Mtei (2011 p30-46) East Africa Cooperation: Challenges in Implementing Agreements. Proceedings of the dialogue between the EAC and the former Germany President Prof. Dr. Horst Kohler, held in Arusha on 16 June 2011, by Konrad Adenauer Stiftung; www.kas.de/tanzania pdf

tion states are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new centre of power.⁷ In other words, existing member states would be required to cede sovereignty to the central power so created.

Africa continues to face serious economic and developmental challenges in putting in place effective and sustainable regional and continental integration framework that can become an effective tool for human development, regional and continental security. The emerging dynamics of the known regional integration challenges and prospects therefore need to be identified, examined and analyzed. Such phenomenon as emigration, xenophobia, international terrorism, globalization, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) and China projects in Africa, media and public opinion, multiplicity of RIAs, political leadership, State sovereignty, donor aid dependency vis-à-vis poverty in Africa, refugees' problems and other emerging issues that complicate or create challenges to regional integration in Africa demand an insightful analysis. This can be done by revisiting the challenges and prospects of regional integration in Africa in order to analyze the emerging ones and determine prospects of these organizations in the future.

1.2.1 Research Questions

- 1) What are the challenges and prospects that limit regional integrations in Africa?
- 2) What challenges and prospects do the Regional Integration Arrangements in Africa face?
- 3) What are the specific challenges and prospects that face EAC?

⁷Ernst B. Haas (1958 p.16) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif. Stanford University Press.

1.2.2 Research Objectives

The overall objective of the study is to examine the challenges and prospects that limit the integration in Africa with a view to recommending the way forward. Specific objectives are:

- 1) To determine the challenges and prospects that limit regional integration arrangements in Africa.
- 2) To examine the challenges and prospects that face regional integration arrangements in Africa.
- 3) To examine and analyze the challenges and prospects of regional integration that face EAC.

1.3 Literature Review

Regionalism across national borders has become a global phenomenon.⁸ For instance, the EU is an economic and political association that represents an exceptional form of cooperation amid sovereign countries. According to Archick's paper on "The European Union: Questions and Answers" EU is the world's regional body that is most advanced and in near stages of integration.⁹ The paper argues that most scholars believe the EU latest stage is at a process of integration that begun after World War II. In this regard it was started by six Western European countries, to foster interdependence and dispel fears that may resort with security dilemma among the member states. However, today the EU is an enlarged Union comprising of twenty-eight member countries that include most of the nations of Central and Eastern Europe. Furthermore the EU has promoted peace, stability and economic prosperity throughout the region.

The most critical aspect about the EU that most other regional bodies try to benchmark especially the African Union (AU), are the binding treaties that have build the EU over the years.

⁸ Philippe C. Schmitter (2007) Regional Cooperation and Regional Integration: Concepts, Measurements and a bit of Theory. European University institute. Online at <https://www.unila.edu.br> pdf.

⁹Kristin Archick (2016) The European Union: Questions and Answers. Specialist in European Affairs January 19, 2016; *Congressional Research Service* 7-5700

The EU member states seek to harmonize laws and to adopt common policies in economic, social and political sectors. This has enabled the EU to achieve a shared custom union, common trade policy, and a common agricultural policy. While nineteen members use common currency the “Euro”, twenty-two others participate in Schengen free movement area in which internal border controls have been eliminated. Besides the EU has been developing a Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) that includes a Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP). It is also pursuing cooperation in Justice and Home Affairs (JHA) in order to be able to forge common internal security mechanisms.

A different view of the EU’s CFSP has been fostered by Smith in which he argues that, the exercise of power in world political arena was less and dependent on military force and hence going on this direction the EU will be abandoning its civilian power image it has already created in the world.¹⁰ He further argues that EU may risk spawning a security dilemma if the outsiders sense a threat out of the establishment of an armed bloc centered on the association so formed. In this perspective therefore, Smith views that military capability of EU is not necessary and may further be potentially harmful. In the sense that EU would lose its civilian power identity signaling a desertion from major ideals in which EU was developed. The EU’s people’s power represents a paradigm shift in the world political arena.

In today’s globalized world the growing interdependence is a characteristic that makes the whole concept of absolute sovereignty become more and more a theoretical construct. A case in point is the EU’s environment in which other integration regions of the world are focusing. People today are living in a world where interdependence, that none likes or not, in both thing good and bad, is a reality that nobody can escape. On the one hand, Tuomioja in his paper on “the role of soft power in EU common foreign policy”, argues that interdependence applies to

¹⁰Karen E. Smith (2000) The End of Civilian Power EU: A Welcome Demise or Cause for Concern? *The International Spectator* Volume XXXV, No. 2, April-June 2000

all and any country, in whatever size, armed with nuclear weapons or not, and thus globalization is the good vehicle to regionalism.¹¹

On the other hand Branch's paper examines the ten years after existence of Euro-Mediterranean Economic and partnership (EMP) the achievements and challenges of the Euro-Mediterranean economic and financial partnership.¹² The paper observes that the end of second Gulf war and the successful conclusion of Israeli-Palestinian Oslo Agreements brought with it normalization and optimism in the region. This paved way for an ambitious aim of creating a zone of peace, stability and shared prosperity around the Mediterranean Basin based on the comprehensive Euro-Mediterranean Partnership (EMP) in political, economic and cultural issues. Nonetheless the geopolitical context has worsened since 1995. Branch examines economic and financial dimensions of EMP, the economic and financial Partnership and emphasizes its role and tools. The paper further argues that although EMP was formed on the basis of mutual economic interest, the political will to cooperate and the conviction that each member country profits from the regional body has waned. In contrast, political tensions among EMP member states and repeatedly escalating regional conflicts create an environment in the Mediterranean region that is far from optimal. It is further argued that for the Economic and Financial Partnership to improve there is need to prioritize more on building and improving capacities in line with advancement in technologies and administration mastering of the European Communities norms, rules and procedures.

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) was formed in 1967. This was at the height of the Cold War. The first five members were Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Sin-

¹¹Erkki Tuomioja (July, 2009) The Role of Soft Power in EU Common Foreign Policy. *International Symposium on Cultural Diplomacy*, Berlin 30.7. 2009

¹²Branch, J (December 2006, p5) Ten Years after: Achievements and Challenges of the Euro-Mediterranean Economic and Financial Partnership. *GIGA Research Unit: German Institute for Middle East Studies*. Online at www.giga-hamburg.de/workingpapers

gapore, and Thailand. The Indochina nations were entangled in geopolitical competition between the United States and the Soviet Union who were the hegemonies of the cold war. Many scholars have argued that the ASEAN has dramatically improved the living standards of the more than 600 million people residing within its ten member countries and brought a host of indirect benefits to billions of others in neighboring states. Mahbubani and Severino argue that the ASEAN has contributed to prevalence of peace in this region through three major ways that are being emulated by other economic integration regions of the world.¹³ These are, first cultivated culture based on “musyawarah and mufakat” traditions, which implies (“consultation and consensus” in Indonesian) and prosperity-neighbour policies:- Malaysia's contributions after the Asian financial crisis. The cultural tradition enabled Myanmar to achieve a peaceful transition from decades of harsh military rule while nations in similar situation in such regions like in Africa i.e. DR Congo are still grappling with internal conflicts. Secondly ASEAN organizes more than 1,000 meetings a year that virtually address everything. The issues may be touching on tourism, health, environment, social, economic or anything else. This is viewed to have considerably created thousands of invisible formal networks in the region. Lastly ASEAN embraces the policy of nonintervention on internal matters of the other member states which has resulted to peaceful environment for all.

Further, it is observed that even with enlargement of ASEAN by accommodating more members and observers the disputes have fizzled out quickly.¹⁴ This has been attributed to ASEAN quiet diplomacy in conflict management for example in Thai/Cambodia border dispute and Malaysia/Philippines dispute over Sabah.

¹³Mahbubani, K. & Severino, R. (2014) ASEAN: The way forward. *The Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy*. http://www.asia.udp.cl/Informes/2014/ASEAN_mgi.pdf

¹⁴ Ibid

In less direct concurrence with Bhattacharya has argued that integrating the Southeast Asia with South Asia through trade, physical infrastructure connectivity can contribute to peace, prosperity and stability of the two regions, although a policy would enhance regional cooperation and integration.¹⁵ Much has been put across on East Asia and South Asia that carries the emerging giant economies of Peoples Republic of China, the ASEAN economies as a whole and India that are creating a huge market for goods and services for local consumption and also for international market. In this context, ASEAN is viewed to play a major role in utilizing huge potential for economic integration between South and Southeast Asia. This role is viewed to promote peace, prosperity and stability of these two regions. However, just like the most economic integration regions of the world, political commitment backed with innovative leadership to cooperate, collaborate and to create partnership are cited as the most essential aspects that underpin an integrated South and Southeast Asia.

According to Dee, there are two main reasons why raising incomes in Japan and the newly industrialized economies of Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan have an impact on future growth of ASEAN economic integration and an impact to the future.¹⁶ In his arguments the first reason is through creating an incentive for the economies to relocate labour intensive stages of production to lower wage nations in the rest of East Asia. Respectively another reason is to reduce in information and transport costs which allowed fragmentation of production to be managed logistically. Dees' arguments covers nations in the rest of East Asia that include India, Taiwan, Japan, South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, China and ASEAN economies (Brunei, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, Myanmar, Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam). He further challenges two presumptions on economic integration. The economic integration

¹⁵Bhattacharya, B. N. (2014) Prospects and Challenges of Integrating South and Southeast Asia. *International Journal of Development and Conflict*, 4(2014) 40–66

¹⁶Dee, Philippa (2007). "East Asian Economic Integration and its Impact on Future Growth", *The World Economy*, vol. 30, issue 3, pp. 405-423.

among economies which he views to be a good way to promote economic growth, and that preferential trade agreement are an effective way to promote economic integration both of which were empirical questions.

He went deeper to look on bilateral trade between ASEANs and china with respect to two major ways. First, was the extent to which they tend to be preferential, even in the provisions that go beyond goods trade. Secondly the extent to which they tend to target only those provisions that directly discriminate against foreigners with a view to have an effect of adjusting the prices of goods or services. The model applied in the paper is computable general equilibrium model to assess the net welfare impacts of an indicative ASEAN economic integration. Dees' arguments infer that there is positive impact of regional economic integration on growth and investment.

Mckay observes that since 1989 forum that was held in Canberra, opinion about Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) its achievements and future roles had ranged from the widely optimistic to the utterly dismissive.¹⁷ Notwithstanding these observations, APEC continues to survive. This was portrayed by the recent APEC members meeting in Shanghai which demonstrated that the organization can still play a useful role in regional affairs.

Daniel Bach observes that Africa's regionalization process is intertwined with its changing patterns of global insertion¹⁸. While concerned with dilemmas of collective action with a view to explaining East Africa's integration and cooperation, Magu examined East African countries' long history of regional cooperation through institutions.¹⁹ He underscored the revival of the

¹⁷John Mckay (2002) APEC: Successes, weaknesses and Future Prospects. *Southeast Asian Affairs*, pp42-53. www.olemiss.edu/courses/pol337/mckayjo2.pdf.

¹⁸Bach D. C. (1999, p1) *Regionalization in Africa: Integration and Disintegration*. Indiana University Press. Indianapolis.

¹⁹ Magu S M(April, 2014 p58) Dilemmas of collective action: Explaining East African Regional Integration and Cooperation. *Academic Research Journal*. Vol 2(4), pp. 58-67

defunct first East African Community (EAC). This was a continuation of the earlier started co-operation by the British and German East Africa colonizers. The newly independent states of East Africa agreed through the multilateral treaty of 1967 to continue with the cooperation in view of the mutual benefits of an integrated region. The first EAC lasted only for 10 years, thus collapsed in 1977.

The EAC was later revived in 1999 through another multilateral treaty between the three East African countries, the Republic of Kenya, the Republic of Uganda and the united Republic of Tanzania. Magu observes further that EAC has been on a bumpy road-map as individual states have followed different paths of development, political ideology, cultural traditions and market models that have shaped their present entities.²⁰ However by application of Prisoners dilemma it was observed that where in real life players have had the options of walking away from the prison. States believed to be rational actors can choose to cooperate where they perceive some benefits in cooperating. This was a case applied in EAC in which prior conditions immediately influencing expected behavior of both Kenya and Tanzania, the two states still continued to cooperate. In this case, the two nations are found to be intertwined due to long history, shared populations, border, and wildlife migration patterns, previous membership to EAC, membership in Common Wealth, colonial history, shared language and transportation network among others, and thus the two countries have more reasons to cooperate than to be separated. However, it was further found that EAC's schedule for political federation by 2015 was exceedingly ambitious goal since the governments had to implement governance structures for the EAC and states, and formulation of structures that supported bilateral and multilateral partnerships based on principles rather than personalities. While the view of reforms in the partner states was not progressing well, the cracks due to political ideological differences as well as multiple partici-

²⁰ Ibid p66

pation in regional integration arrangements seem to affect the necessary harmony for EAC integration.

According to Istvan Tarrosy, creating regional groupings in Africa, mainly focusing on the political unions had been in the minds of the politicians in the initial years of their independence, and even before. In 1926, there was already the conference of the East African Governance created by the colonial heads, which later served as predecessor to the East Africa High Commission.²¹ Haztzenberg notes that since independence African countries have resulted with a very large number of regional integration arrangements (RIAs) focused on economic integration.²² Several of these have significant membership overlap, but with very few success stories in their objectives. Meredith on the other hand analyzed the potential trade impact of the scheduled EAC customs union.²³ The paper examined the trade linkages among the member states of the EAC common external tariffs and how they were to liberalize their trade regimes. Meredith points out that the treaty establishing the EAC recognized the asymmetry core principle in which its formation was grounded. Thus members appreciated the difference levels of their economic differences and their existing imbalances that needed to be addressed prior to custom union. The paper further found that there are factors other than enhanced trade that might influence states policymakers to pursue regional integration, such as regional cooperation beside the border reforms and the provision of public goods.

In an article review background to the conflict over the Nile waters, Kagwanja describes the activities of the revived EAC, to show the ways in which it has elaborated new policies and

²¹ Tarrosy I. (2005, p162) *Past Fears - Future Hopes, An example for Regional Cooperation outside Europe: From the East African Community to an East African Federation*. Retrieved from website; www.real.mtak.hu/14226/1/1338145.pdf, on 5 September 2015

²² Haztzenberg, T. (2011, p2) "Region integration in Africa." *World Trade Organization Economic Research and Statistics Division; Staff Working Paper ERSD-2011-14*. Retrieved from WTO website; www.wto.org pdf, on 5 September 2015.

²³ Meredith A. M. (2005) *Trade Integration in East African Community: An Assessment for Kenya. IMF Working paper, African Department*. WP/05/143.

structures since 1999 to strengthen and sustain the Nile Basin Initiative and the Nile Basin River Commission.²⁴ The article observes that revival of EAC signaled a new era of policy coordination to harmonize and rationalize its structures, objectives, programs and projects. However, Dirk Willem te Velde examining regional integration growth and convergence²⁵ observes that trade and foreign development investment promote growth and hence creates a positive impact on growth to member states through the effects of increased trade and investment on growth. Further the paper observed that country specific growth as ‘deep’ regional approaches could help to address crucial rail, road, airways and energy links amongst a regional economic community through forstoring Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) to promote growth.

New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) was among the policy frameworks for Africa’s road map to sustainable development. It emerged as a pledge by the African leaders to be grounded on a common vision that they had common duty to eradicate poverty and to put their nations on the path to human development. In an examination of the challenges of integrating Africa into globalized world through NEPAD, Ebegbulem, Adams and Achu found that NEPAD could only achieve its objectives if African and industrialized (G8) nations’ leaders were sincere and well committed to re-establishing a kind of dependency (master-servant) relationship that would end impoverishing Africans more.²⁶ It is further observed that governance in Africa is riddled with corruption, nepotism and patrimonialism that compound the African challenges. In such situation African regional integration opportunities are jeopardized since the member states’ citizens would be prioritizing basic human needs acquisition rather than integration processes. The various regional integration arrangements in Africa are:- The Com-

²⁴Kagwanja, P (2007, p334) Calming the Waters: The East African Community and Conflict over the Nile Resources. *Journal of East African Studies*, 1:3, 321 – 337.

²⁵ Dirk Willem te Velde (2011) Regional Integration, Growth and Convergence. *Journal of Economic Integration* 26(1), March 2011; 1-28. Centre for Economic integration, Sejong Institution, Sejong University.

²⁶ Ebegbulem J. C., Adams, A. A. & Achu, A. A. (2012) The Challenges of Integrating Africa into the Globalized World Through New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD). *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (special Issue- March 2012)

munate Economique Monetaire del'Afrique Centrale (CEMAC), Common Market for Eastern and South Africa (COMESA), East Africa Community (EAC), Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS), Economic Community of Central Africa States (ECCAS), Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), Union Economique er Monetaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Souther Africa Custom Union (SACU) and Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD). According to Kagwanja unchecked proliferation of agencies emanating from the many RIA might lead to a source of regional disputes²⁷.

In postcolonial Africa, Buzan and Waever observe that the new elements consisted of new state system of the Westphalia model of a nation state, although it did not follow the state military rivals and conflicts.²⁸ The model produced three postmodern major features in the African leadership aspect. Firstly, an ideology of Africanism, although viewed as loose by the westerner's critics. Secondly the continental organization the OAU which has long been transformed into AU. Although this continental organization is observed to have pre-empted the border disputes that were likely to emerge on decolonization, by adopting and institutionalizing a clause on their rules that there would be maintenance of border between states as they were during the colonial period. Lastly, there was need to construct regional bodies that would be the basis for eventual integration and unification of continental Africa. The West's view that African States are weak contradicts the strong regional integration institutions that these States have constructed. Their strength managed stability between interstates security relations.

²⁷ Ibid p334

²⁸ Buzan B. & Ole Waever (2005, p222) *Regions and Power: The Structure of International Security*. London. Cambridge University Press

Buzan and Waever further observe that the emergence of security systems interactions in Africa are creating patterns of strong regional integration.²⁹ Thus the view that these non-state actors may as well hold more of the future than the Westphalian state system that seems to have difficulties in Africa.

The concept of integration in Africa takes different forms. According to Nye, the concept of integration is generally defined as forming parts into a whole or creating interdependence which can be broken down into economic integration (formation of a transnational economy), social integration (formation of a transnational society) and political integration (formation of a transnational political interdependence)³⁰. The African RIA are holed up in the economic integration (formation of a transnational economy). The EAC has achieved a feat higher by formation of social integration (formation of a transnational society) and economic integration (formation of a transnational economy). According to Otieno, Moyi, Khainga and Biwott EAC is aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the partner states for their mutual benefit³¹ which has gradually achieved higher yields to the community than any other RIA in Africa. These achievements are not without the challenges of regional integration, but the aim constitutes the bedrock for realizing the mission of regional integration. Although African RIA have cherished the idea of all forms of integration they have become very elusive goal to each of the region. According to Olu-Adeyemi and Ayodele the record of regional integrations in Africa so far has been sobering one, through manifestation of uncoordinated initiatives, political conflicts and low levels of intra-regional trade bedevil many regional groupings³². This

²⁹ *ibid*

³⁰ Nye, J. S (1968, p858) Comparative Regional Integration: Concept and Management. *International Organization*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Autumn, 1968) Retrieved from website; <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2705847>. pdf,

³¹ Otieno, M., Moyi, E., Khainga, D., & Biwott, P. (2013, p67) Regional Integration and Foreign Direct Investment in East African Countries. *Journal of World Economic Research*. Vol. 2, No. 4, 2013, pp. 67-74. do: 10.11648/j.jwer.20130204.11

³² Olu-Adeyemi, L., & Ayodele, B. (2007, p216) *The Challenges of Regional Integration for Development in Africa: Problems and Prospects*. J. Soc., 15(3): 213-218 (2007)

view is echoed by Chongono and Nakana by observing that there is so much inertia in the SADC with very little progress³³.

In order to consolidate such inertia from different RIA in Africa there is need to bench mark with other RIA of the world and especially European Union (EU), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), the North America Free Trade Area (NAFTA) among others. This is because in some of these organizations for example the EU, it has been marked by an impressive growth of theorizing the causes of international regional integration in Europe and other parts of the world since its formation as observed by Joseph Nye.³⁴

The EAC is a case example of RIA in Africa that has transformed itself from a loose cooperation framework to a fast emerging, strong and dynamic economic block whose strong institutions and steady programs delivery are making an impact to the economies of the region. The membership has enlarged from three to five with prospects of further expansion to include more states. It is in this view that a study on the challenges and prospects of RIA in Africa using the case of EAC is necessary to fill the gap in the body of literature.

1.4 Justification of the Study

- a. **Academic:** The study findings contribute to the body of knowledge by determining challenges and prospects that if addressed appropriately could lead to effectiveness of regional integration arrangements in Africa.
- b. **Policy:** The study findings and recommendations could contribute to improving national foreign policy with respect to African member states to a regional integration arrangement, especially on the aspect of rationalizing membership to multiplicity of regional integrations arrangements.

³³ Chingono, M., & Nakana, S. (2009) The Challenges of Regional Integration in Southern Africa. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, Vol. 3 (10), pp. 396-408, October, 2009

³⁴ Nye, J S (1968 p856) Comparative Regional Integration: Concept and Measurement. *International Organization*, Vol. 22, No. 4. pp 855-880.

1.5 Theoretical Framework

Integration is a term that has no definite definition, as Joseph Nye puts it; the common usage of the term “integration” is often confusing³⁵. However, in this study integration refers to the process of African member states coming together to realize common economic objective (formation of a transnational economy) in regard integration is viewed as forming parts into a whole or creating interdependence. Consequently, the other parts to be realized latter are the social and political integration. Nevertheless, these two are the ultimate goals to be achieved by the EAC on realizing the economic integration. In order to achieve the desired goal of Economic Integration in any of the RIA organization in Africa the member states must be ready to shift some sovereign royalties to the centre of the RIA as observed by Haas’ definition of integration:

*“The process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities toward new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdictions over the pre-existing national states”.*³⁶

The Economic integration is defined by Balassa, as the abolition of discrimination between economic units belonging to different national states of a RIA.³⁷ Accordingly, Kohnert et al defines economic integration as “the process of removing progressively those discriminations which occur at national borders”, while cooperation is defined as “the process of diminishing the discrimination between member countries.”³⁸ There are five categories of these economic units that are considered to enable economic integration; these are the Free Trade Area, Cus-

³⁵Ibid

³⁶ Haas E. B. (1958 p.16) *The Uniting of Europe: Political, Social, and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*. Stanford, Calif. Stanford University Press.

³⁷Balassa, Bela (1961) *The Theory of Economic Integration*. Homewood, Illinois: Richd D. Irwin.

³⁸Kahnert, F. P., Richard, E., Toutjesdjik, A. and Thomopoulos, P. (1969) *Economic Integration Among Developing Countries*. Paris: Development Center of the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

tom Union, Common Market, Economic Union and then the total Economic Integration. In effect, the five categories address the elimination of the tariff or quotas, common external tariff, free flow of factors of production, harmonization of economic policies and unification of policies, and political institutions for the total integration to be realized.

1.5.1 Andrew Moravcsik’s liberal intergovernmentalism theory³⁹

This theory is considered to be the grounding theory in this study. The theory incorporates three phases, National Preference Formation, Interstate Bargaining and Institutional Choice as per the table below:

Stages	National Preference Formation	Interstate Bargaining	Institutional Choice
Alternative independent variables underlying each stage	What is the source of underlying national preference?	Give national preferences what explains the efficiency and distributional outcomes of interstate bargaining?	Given substantive agreement, what explains the transfer of sovereignty to international institutions?
	Economic interests or Geopolitical interests?	Asymmetrical interdependence or Supranational entrepreneurship?	Federalist ideology or Centralized technocratic management or More credible commitment?
	↓	↓	↓
Observed outcomes at each stage	Underlying national preferences →	Agreements on substance →	Choice to delegate or pool decision-making in international relations

Source: Moravcsik (1998 p24)

From the Rational Framework above the initial stage is concerned with the national preference formation. The underpinning question that is asked by Moravcsik in this stage is whether it is

³⁹ Moravcsik A. (1993) Preferences and Power in the European Community: A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 31, No.4, pp.473-523.

economic or geographical interests that should take precedence when individual state interests are formulated.

In the next stage, bargaining between nations attempts to explain the effectiveness and sharing outcomes of the regional body, i.e. (EAC), member state bargaining. At this point two forms of agreement explanations are contrasted: The irregular or unbalanced interdependence or multinational entrepreneurship. Moravcsik observes that the answer that irregular or unbalanced interdependence has most expounding authority. Some of the associate nations may have to pledge more at a certain verger than others. Consequently, they would put more efforts to influence results and may have to pledge more in concessions. However, the roles of the community actors, i.e. the five member states of the EAC, have different view of the EAC secretariat importance.

However Moravcsik considers three factors that are apt to influence the results of interstate negotiations:

1. The important of independent policy options vis-à-vis the status quo, which underpins plausible risks sanction.
2. The important of different partnerships, which underpins plausible risks to exclude.
3. The opportunity for issue connection or side-payments which underpin “Package deals”

Thus based on this theory Moravcsik postulates that: First, those states that intensively desire the benefits of cooperation will concede more to get them. Secondly the plausible risks of exclusion are apt to breed an even more powerful strain on intractable nations than does the risk of non-agreement. Thirdly, in respect to connecting policies the major restriction lies in the member states home sharing implications, while compromises often create domestic losers.

1.5.2 Critiques of Liberal Intergovernmentalism

According to Hall and Taylor, rational choice institutionalists presuppose that states have rigid preferences that make them behave in influential manner to maximize the realization of preferences.⁴⁰ In their view politics is a sequence of communal exploit predicaments. They accentuate the function of strategic dealings in the determination of political results. They further clarify the existence of institutions by referring to the roles these institutions carry out. Thus with such definition or view, Moravcsik would qualify as rational choice institutionalist. However, it is observed that, Moravcsik fails to assign significance to community or union institutions in the nation's "grand bargains" within a RIA. But in view to EC the process of making grand bargains in its history, institutions had no significant function thus the bargains were done by member national heads. But when the need arose to implement such bargains or negotiations the institutions within the RIA comes handy.

1.6 Research Hypotheses

1. The dynamics of traditional challenges and prospects to regional integration organizations in Africa have a paradigm shift to the integration processes.
2. Regional integration in Africa have challenges and prospects to realizing the African dream of economic integration.
3. The challenges and prospects facing EAC integration are similar to those that face other regional integration arrangements' in Africa.

1.7 Methodology

The study applied both qualitative and quantitative research designs. For the qualitative research design, the researcher explored secondary data of various literatures of some regional

⁴⁰ Hall, P. A. & Taylor R. C. R. (1996) "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," *Political Studies* Vol. 44, p 936-957.

bodies like the European Economic Community (EEC) and the United States of America among others. The study explored the treaty of EAC, various agreement and protocols as well as member state Foreign Policies. It further examined the Vienna Convention (Law of treaties) in order to ensure sufficient background to the study, scholarly researches conducted by the international organizations, scholars, government institution or non-governmental institutions were examined. Furthermore, to enrich the secondary data, relevant books, journals, magazines, media reports and other academic publications and technical reports by International governmental and Non-Governmental Organizations were examined.

Through quantitative research design non-probability sampling was employed due to the kind of information sought. Consequently, there was no need for representative sampling. In this regard key informants were selected from each of the EAC member states, and the EAC to provide an in-depth information relevance to the study, especially on experiences and perceptions of EAC integration. The study also used focus group discussion and content analysis. The effort enabled to acquire primary materials involving discussion questions with key informant to obtain their views. Although, the researcher did not manage to travel to all the EAC member states an interview was conducted by with the special informants through telephone conversations. The process of content analysis involved examination, recording and analysis past events with a view to discovering generalizations that were significant in understanding the past and present to enable to predict the relevant issues under consideration. Generally, the study depended mostly on documented literature.

1.7.1 Data Collection Procedure.

The research relied on both quantitative and qualitative research techniques. In this regard the mode of approach depended on the expertise of the informants. In which case they could not be qualified hence the researcher relied on the the qualitative approach for the primary data analy-

sis. The study further used the interview schedule method and supplement by telephone interviews. This was informed by the fact that the target population was large and widely spread geographically and the limited time within which the research was to be conducted.

1.7.2 Target Population

The study targeted 30 respondents, 5 special informant persons from each of the five member states and 5 key officials from the EAC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania.

EAC HQ/STATE	MFA	TOURISM	TRADE	DEFENCE	FINANCE	OTHERS
EAC						5
KENYA	1	1	1	1	1	5
BURUNDI	1	1	1	1	1	5
RWANDA	1	1	1	1	1	5
UGANDA	1	1	1	1	1	5
TANZANIA	1	1	1	1	1	5
TOTALS						30

1.7.3 Sampling Method

Sampling refers to the method of selecting elements to be observed for study, where observing all elements in the population is not possible. In this regard, due to the expansive nature of the member states of East Africa Community member states non-probability sampling method was used to select the thirty individuals for interview.

1.7.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis involves processing of collected data in a way to facilitate presentation and drawing of inferences. In this regard the collected data was edited, sorted and analyzed for qualitative data presentation. Correlation analysis was carried out to determine where independent

variables affect dependent variables. Descriptive primary data reflecting opinions of the respondents and secondary data answering the interview was analyzed in relation to themes. Themes analysis was a qualitative analytic method for identifying, analyzing and reporting patterns (themes) within the data. In this context, it organizes and describes the main data set in detail. Theme analysis, therefore, enabled to further and interpret various aspects of the research topic. In addition, some of the data sets helped in comparative analysis of ground practices versus the stipulated guidelines. After collection of the primary and secondary data, the researcher edited and cleaned up data to ensure errors and omissions are minimized. The information was interpreted and utilized in accordance with the objectives and hypothesis advanced. The quantitative data was used to reinforce the qualitative data.

1.7.5 Data presentation

The research was basically qualitative and the results of the study were presented in narrative form where the research identifies various emerging issues.

1.7.6 Ethical Issues

The researcher endeavored to adhere to all the norms, standards and rules of conducting research with a view to upholding high standards of ethical consideration. The approval of the final proposal document and data collection tool was sought from the supervisor. The data collection letter, whose permission was sought from the relevant authorities, was released and requisite approval given. The key informants were treated in humane manner and their consent sought prior to interview. Individual privacy and confidentiality were maintained throughout the research process and after. In addition, informants were assured that individual information and data was only to be utilized for the sole purpose of academic study only. In this regard, participants were informed of any possible limitations to the discretion of the acquired data and

the anonymity of the individual partakers in all the study matters. In addition, the individual partakers were assured of accessibility to the study results on completion.

1.8 Chapter Outline

This study is organized in four chapters. The first chapter covers the introduction, history of East African Community, statement of the problem, literature review, justification of the study, theoretical framework supporting the study, research hypothesis and methodology.

Chapter two presents challenges and prospects that limit regional integration arrangements in Africa. Specifically, the chapter covers globalization, xenophobia attacks, state security threat inform of terrorism, changing configuration of migration in Africa, prisoners of colonial legacy, multiple interests that result with ambitious undertakings, regional infrastructure development, the role of China trade and FDI in Africa, security and governance , and international regime interference.

Chapter three provides, challenges and prospects for regional integration organizations in Africa in terms of media promotion and public opinion; foreign aid and its effects on development, the need for the democratic leadership, the challenges of RI membership multiplicity, role of human capital, regional security community, dispelling land loss fears and role of ICT.

Chapter four presents challenges and prospects for regional integration a case of EAC. The chapter details agriculture oriented economic diversification, promotion of region integration though media and public opinion, donor aid dependency, promotion of democratic leadership, harmonizing continental security architecture, political leadership ability and FDI, challenges facing EAC integration goals and opportunities.

Chapter five presents the findings through data presentation and respondent profiling.

Chapter six outlines study conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS THAT LIMIT REGIONAL INTEGRATION ARRANGEMENTS IN AFRICA

2.0 Introduction

This chapter examines traditional challenges and prospects in view of the dynamic emerging issues with a bearing to limiting regional integration in Africa. In this case issues of globalization, Terrorism, immigration, colonial legacy, ambitious undertaking, regional infrastructure development, China trade and foreign development investment, security and governance and international regimes interference are examined.

2.1 Globalization.

Globalization has made issues and events in the world today omnipresent. This is because globalization is reflected in many domains of life today. According to George Ritzer, globalization can be defined as a “transplanetary process or set of processes involving increased fluidity and growing multi-directional flows as well as the structures they encounter and create⁴¹”. The fluidity here refers to the ease of movement people, things, information and places in the global age. In addition, many terms have been used to refer or mean the same as globalization. Some of these terms include internationalization and liberalization. Internationalization refers to the process of intensification of cross-border interactions and interdependence between states, especially between states with a common border, for instance Kenya and Tanzania. Thus this is an interconnection cross geopolitical borders between states. Liberalization on the other hand refers to the process of removing of government imposed restrictions on movement

⁴¹ Ritzer, G. (2011, p2) *Globalization: The Essentials*. John Wiley and Sons Ltd, Publication. Retrieved from Wiley’s website; www.wiley.com/go/globalization.

of goods and services between states to establish an open market economy. For example, the creation of free trade regions like the COMESA.

According to Byllis and Steve they define globalization as “processes whereby many social relations become relatively delinked from territorial geography, so that human lives increasingly played out in the world as a single place⁴²”. The way people interact today is becoming more and more influenced by social activities taking place in different states. The state location and in particular the state boundaries do not have much restrictions and meanings today. The globalization process is an ongoing trend whereby the world has many respects and at an accelerating rate become one relatively borderless social sphere as Byllis and Steve observe⁴³. However negative aspects of globalization if not well managed can become a limitation to regional integration.

2.1.1 Negative aspects of Globalization

Existing today of literature indicate that, globalization has had impacts to both developing and developed states.⁴⁴ However, it has greater effects to the growing economies and social political environment of the developing states especially in Africa. Ballis and Steve further argue that globalization has made the rich richer and the poor poorer.⁴⁵ For instance when the Structural Adjustment Plans (SAPs) were prescribed to African states by the World Bank and IMF in the 1980s, one of the conditions was to open doors to free market economy. What the African states did not envisage was that the developed nations were seeing markets for their goods and commodities in the African Market. Immediately they complied, their weak manufacturing

⁴² Ballis, J. & Steve, S. (2001, p14) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 2 Ed. Oxford University Press. New York.

⁴³ Ibid 2, p15.

⁴⁴ Mangieri, T. (2006) *African Cloth Export Production and Secondhand Clothing in Kenya*. University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, USA.

⁴⁵ Ballis, J. & Steve, S. (2001) *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*. 2 Ed. Oxford University Press. New York.

industries collapsed, the cases in point are the Rivatex and Raymond textile industries in Kenya that closed down due to flooding of second-hand clothes.⁴⁶ The unemployment levels went up while desperations set to most African states. The international lobby groups in form of NGOs and INGOS, Human Right groups and activists funded by the Western developed states became destabilizers of political leadership in Africa. Leadership conflicts set in and the peaceful environment for the growth of REC was in disarray. Most of the African states are still recovering from the impacts of SAPs.⁴⁷

2.1.2 Embracing Positive Globalization Aspects

Positive globalization aspects enable to develop strategies of harnessing technologies that would enhance economies of scale that can be utilized to establish diversification of production. The consumers in the region through internet connectivity would be able to pick their choices made in different countries of the REC and pay in a timely and in an inexpensive way. Free trade is encouraged through removal of trade barriers and lowering of customs tariffs. This is an aspect of globalization that enable more interactions between the people through trade of goods and services. In the long run the FDIs are through multinationals are attracted and the economy gains while geopolitical cooperation flourish.⁴⁸

2.1.3 State Hegemonic Market Competition

The influx of multinational corporations (MNC) that engage in foreign direct investments (FDI) in some member states creates competition that stifles member state relationships. The

⁴⁶ Kinyanjui, M. N. & McCormick D. (2002) *E-Commerce in the Garment Industry in Kenya: Usage, Obstacles and Policies*. London School of Economics and Political Science and Institute of Development Studies, Sussex. Retrieved from IDS website; <https://www.ids.ac.uk>. pdf.

⁴⁷ Obare G. & Heitchiles, F. (2011). Lessons from Structural Adjustment Programme and their Effect in Africa. In *Quarterly Journal of International Agriculture* Vol 50 (1) pp 55-64.

⁴⁸ Ibrahim, A. A. (2013) The Impact of Globalization on Africa. In *International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, Vol 3(15) pp 85-93.

case of Kenya's economic performance within EAC makes its economy larger, more dynamic and liberal. Kenya's advanced human capital base, diversified economy, a leading edge in information communication revolution in the region makes it better to interlink other member states economies in terms of investments flow and trade from multinational corporations, observes director of African Growth Initiative Mwangi S. Kimenyi⁴⁹. States compete in international relations in order to achieve and retain positions of dominance in whatever aspect. Consequently, Kenya has been viewed to fight hard to retain its dominance in East Africa. This resulted to the aspect of the coalition of the willing in which the nascent troika among Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda, could be understood outside the framework of EAC. Thus Kenya used the Tanzania's reluctance position about full integration into the EAC as an important tool to protect its economic dominance⁵⁰. In retrospect, multinational corporations are known to have the ability to exploit tax havens in other countries to avoid paying taxes. They are also known for social injustices, unfair working conditions (including slave labour wages, poor living and work conditions) as well as lack of concern for the environment, mismanagement of resources, and ecological damage.⁵¹ Although they are restricted to commercial activities they are known to influence political decisions with some directly interfering with RIA project priorities and hence creating poor relationships between the members.⁵² To an extent this has been attributed to some multinationals having larger investment budgets than the countries in which they operate.

⁴⁹Kimenyi S. M. & Kibe J. (January 6, 2014) *Africa's Power House*. Retrieved from website; www.bookings.edu/research/opinions/2013/12/30-kenya-economy-kimenyi. Accessed on 3 October 2015.

⁵⁰ Emmanuel Tayari (September 7, 2013) Coalition of the Willing: Using the EAC Stick to beat Tanzania will only Annoy a Sleeping Giant. *The East African News Paper*. Retrieved from website; www.theeastafrican.co.ke/OpEd/comment/, on 16 August 2015.

⁵¹ Ahiakpor, James (2016) Multinationals Corporations in the Third World: Predators or Allies in Economic Development. *Publication/Religion and Liberty*/Volume 2, Number 5. Retrieved from website www.actor.org/ on 16 August 2015.

⁵² Nyambura-Mwaura, H. (2016) *Total to Begin Ugandan Pipeline Construction Soon, Tanzania Says*. Retrieved from website; www.bloomberg.com/news/article/, Accessed on 2 April 2016.

2.2 Xenophobia Attacks

According to UNESCO, Xenophobia is described as attitudes, prejudices and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community society or national identity⁵³. Wangari Maathai observes that, in the most recent series of attacks in the Republic of South Africa against other Africans from other African countries caused deaths of over forty people and forced others to the tune of tens of thousands to flee from their homes⁵⁴. SADC is one region in Africa which has developed its institutions for region integration, close to those of EAC and ECOWAS. The economic giant the Republic of South Africa moved from the apartheid rule close to two decades ago and joined the SADC. It was viewed as a mover and a hegemonic state by other member states. Its support and contribution to the political leadership, economic problems, and security was viewed as promising.

The SADC region is working towards opening up colonial barriers by opening up its borders to encourage the smooth movement of goods, services and persons within Southern Africa region. Citizens of other member states close and far saw economic opportunity in South Africa's booming economy. Thus many people migrated in search of job opportunities in the mining, production, and service industries of South Africa.

The South African's felt competition in the job market due to the migrants' inflow into their state. This resulted with the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's statement that "*the foreigners should go back to their countries because they were changing the nature of South African soci-*

⁵³ UNESCO (August, 2001) "*International Migration, Racism, Discrimination and Xenophobia.*" Retrieved from UNESCO website; www.unesco.org/most/migration/imrdx.pdf.

⁵⁴Maathai, W. (2009, p9) *The Challenge for Africa*. Arrow Books. London

ety”⁵⁵. The statement caused tension that resulted to the xenophobic attacks that saw several people lose their lives in the recent times, six years from the first similar attacks. These attacks on foreigners had drastic effect to SADC main objectives of advancing its political and economic freedom in the region. They also had the capacity to derail some of the achievements gained in promoting mutually beneficial cooperation, if they were not addressed early.

2.3 Terrorism: State Security’s Threat Paradigm

The terror attack to East Africa states major capital cities of 1998 had a devastating effect⁵⁶. The Berlin wall had just come down marking the beginning of unipolar world where the international regime in the world advocated for liberal democracy. The Al-Qaeda “forces” were building fast enough to stage the terror attacks to the only hegemonic power in the world, the US, and to its interests in the world. The international terror group, the Al-Qaeda trained and distributed resources to affiliate Islamist militant groups in the world. They selected states with weak institution governance as their training bases. Somalia ravaged by internal wars for many years became a very convenience choice. Some states regions where the influence of the government was minimal also were targeted, especially the Sahel states of West Africa. It is in these areas where the Islamic Militant groups in Africa like the “Al-Ittihad Al-Islamia/Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Gama’at Al-Islamia in Egypt, the Boko haram in Nigeria” and the Salafi’s in Sahel region of West Africa would flourish.⁵⁷

These terrorist groups whether within or without the state have brought about a form of security threat not envisaged by the African states. The Gama’at attempt of assassination of Egyptian

⁵⁵Kizito Sikuka (April, 2015) *Xenophobia: Nemesis of Regional Integration?* Retrieved from SADC website; <http://www.sadc.net/en/southern-african-news-features/xenophobia-nemesis-of-regional-integration/pdf>

⁵⁶ Lauren Ploch (2010, p6) Countering Terrorism in East Africa: The US Response. *Congressional Research Service Report*. 7-5700 ww.crs.gov R41473.

⁵⁷Memar Ayalew Demeke & Solomon Gebreyohans Gebru (September 2014) The Role of Regional Economic Communities in Fighting Terrorism in Africa: The Case of Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD). *European Scientific Journal* September 2014 /SPECIAL/ edition Vol.2 ISSN: 1857 – 7881 (Print) e - ISSN 1857- 7431

President, Hosni Mubarak, in 1995 in Addis Ababa, the Al-Qaeda bombings of in Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam in 1998, the Uganda bombings in 2010 and the recent indiscriminate Al-Shabaab bombing in Kenya of Israeli and US interests left the security forces disturbed on the approach mechanism. In this regard, the terror threats and attacks which are of asymmetrical in nature give a challenge to the conventional security forces. This is well captured in Kenya where the Al-Shabaab leverage on insecurity, high youth unemployment levels, Islamic religious extremism and some social ethnic identity nexus⁵⁸. The terrorist attacks makes it fearful and challenging security threat, because it is a long term plan directed at a group, people or symbol that may not be directly linked to their real target, often the government, system, practice or ideology, observes Jakkie Cilliers⁵⁹.

2.4 Changing Configuration of Migrations in Africa

In independence African states, the peaceful migration patterns have always been known to affect male gender as they sought for employment in the emerging industrial cities of Africa and elsewhere. According to Aderanti Adepoju feminization of migration is reflected by diversification of relocation destinations, alteration of labour movements into profitable areas, and skill or knowledge based migrations from one region.⁶⁰ Notwithstanding human trafficking and the refugees and emigrants' flows is the invisible increasing role of regional economic organizations in Africa which are fostering free flow of labour between the states. From the time South Africa got independence, there have been influxes of migrants from almost all regions of

⁵⁸IPSTC (2014, p24-26) "Insecurity in Somalia: The Spill Over effects to Kenya". *Issue Briefs*, Issue No.6, 2014 Series. Retrieved from IPSTC website; http://www.ipstc.org/media/documents/IPSTC_Issue_Briefs_No6.pdf. Nairobi.

⁵⁹ Jackkie Cilliers. (2003, p92) "*Terrorism and Africa*." Retrieved from International Security Studies website; <http://www.issafrica.org/pubs/ASR/12No4/Cilliers.pdf>

⁶⁰ Aderanti Adepoju (September 1, 2004) *Configurations of Migration in Africa*. Retrieved from Migration Policy website; <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/changing-configurations-migration-africa/> Accessed on 4 October, 2015

Africa. Majority of the unskilled labour is from the neighboring states and are mostly street vendors and traders seeking to capitalize on the relatively affluent market of South Africa.

Globalization aspects are giving boost to information flow, foreign direct investments by multinational corporations attracted by African states, ease of cross border movements, harsh economic conditions at home, coupled with rise in education of girl child are contributing to feminist migration to enable support to the family unit. Cases at hand include the female nurses, doctors and university lecturers recruited from Kenya to work in Seychelles, Rwanda, South Sudan, Botswana, UK and Saudi Arabia⁶¹. While those from Ghana and Nigeria prefer migration to Saudi Arabia and European nations.

The man is left back home as the care taker of family. This pattern of migration creates new challenges for public policy both to individual states and regional organization, since the phenomenon is changing the gender role for Africa. According Aderanti Adepaju the appearance of migrant of female gender as the main source of incomes constrains the conventional gender roles within the African family⁶².

2.5 Prisoners of Colonial Legacy

The legacy of colonialism in the newly independent states of Africa left the people of Africa and especially the leadership chained to their colonial masters, politically, economically and socially⁶³. In this regard, the fear of the leadership from being hooded from office makes them to tend to seek protection by becoming royalists to the former colonial masters. Consequently, the African leaders tend to engage their states with bilateral negotiations that see trade agree-

⁶¹ Kwamboka Oyalo (2015) "Education Kenya: Students Pour In, Teachers Drain Away." Retrieved from website; www.ipsnews.net/2008/06/education-kenya-student-pour-in-teachers-drain-away/ Accessed on 4 October, 2015.

⁶² Aderanti Adepaju (September 1, 2004) *Configurations of Migration in Africa*. Retrieved from migration policy website; <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/>, on 5 October 2015.

⁶³ Maathai, W. (2009, p25-34) *The Challenge for Africa*. Arrow Books. London,

ments that result to syphoning of raw natural resources to the developed world industries. Failure to which coup was administered or political machinations to overthrow the government are stage managed. The states in Africa have thus remained indebted to the west and poorly governed. Hence, poor governance cannot result without strong regional institutions.

2.6 Multiple Interests that result with Ambitious Undertakings

Regional integration agreements are generally very ambitious undertakings. The time frames towards deeper integration and to extent political union like in the case for EAC are viewed in skeptical approach by some members who belong to other regional bodies. Most of the members are unsure which among the regional outfit offers the greatest benefit. This has resulted with large number of overlapping regional integration agreement bodies in Africa to the detriment of the desired objectives. In West Africa the ECOWAS is overlapped by UEMOA whose members are Francophone states less Guinea and MRU. The large ECOWAS regional integration body has similar objective as these small groupings. In the East and Southern African Region COMESA with a membership of twenty-two states has established a Free Trade Area (FTA) of nine states while others are in the process of joining. It is within this region that SADC and EAC exist.

2.7 Regional Infrastructure development

Connectivity challenges in Africa are specific to the region. Infrastructures focus on transportation network, energy resources and distribution, and Information, Communication and Technology (ICT) resources that interconnect the member states. The African Development Bank (ADB) views that Such concerns as fragility of the country, insecurity, cross border conflict, government challenges as well as cross cutting issues related to gender, the environment and

climate change pose challenges to regional connectivity⁶⁴. Political instability coupled with inadequate and poor regional infrastructure network, water scarcity and difficult in managing shared resources pose integration challenges between the members states in the regional integration organizations in Africa⁶⁵. In this regard the member states that have no access to the coast line have to depend on the littoral states that are their neighbors for cargo movement through the sea.

2.7.1 Rail and road network.

Regional railway and road networks are not commercially administered to serve the hinterland including the land locked States. Poor management and maintenance has also left these networks dilapidated over time. Above all, difficulties in trade logistics and region variations in technical standards pose further transit challenges. In this regard, ADB observes that major Seaports around Africa have dilapidated handling facilities and equipments, they have capacity constraints, insufficient logistics infrastructure such as container freight stations. Such challenges have a direct impact to transaction costs, operations costs, turnaround time of vessels to cargo and goods pilferage or damage.

During the Post-Election Violence (PEV) in Kenya of 2007/8⁶⁶, the rail transport came to a standstill. Goods from the port of Mombasa en-route to Burundi, Rwanda, Uganda, Eastern DRC and South Sudan were delayed for several weeks. The road and railway net work in Tanzania is worse than the Kenyan one hence goods transportation could not be diverted through Tanzania.

⁶⁴ African Development Bank. (September, 2015) “*Eastern Africa Regional Integration Strategy Paper 2011-2015*”. Retrieved from AFDB website; <http://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Policy-Documents/East%20Africa%20-%20Rev%20RISP%20.pdf>

⁶⁵ Ibid 38

⁶⁶ Opondo P. A (2014) Ethnic Politics and Post-Election Violence of 2007/8 in Kenya. *African Journal of History and Culture*: Vol. 6(4), pp. 59-67, May 2014.

2.7.2 The “Coalition of the Willing” Aspect

The current Multilateral agreements between Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda on construction of Standard Gauge Railway (SRG), a pipeline and the sharing of oil refinery in Kenya and one being constructed in Uganda has brought in stress and strain in the EAC members. Other member States not part of the deal have viewed this new development of issues within the Community with a prism of non-exclusion, and hence the new terminology in the EAC of the members of the “*willing coalition*”.

This has resulted to Tanzania seeking for multilateral agreements with Uganda on the railway and road interlink between Dar-salaam and Kampala. Hence, this this can be viewed as uncoordinated transport network development within the region resulting to unnecessary competition.

2.7.3 Political Leadership Uncertainty.

These are major challenge to deeper integration in most of the regions in Africa. Either there is a political strife after presidential elections or there is a manipulated election to ensure status quo remains in political leadership. Some State leaders have been clinging onto the power for a long period, cases in point are the Robert Mugambe of Zimbabwe and Kaguta Yoweri Museveni of Ugandan, both of whom have been in power since 1985 and 1986 respectively. Political and civil strife mark political elections in most African countries. These results to consuming and destruction of resources that could otherwise have been channeled into productive national economic efforts needless to say integration efforts also. It is not possible to be sure of how states in Africa will be without the incumbent president. This kind of uncertainty results with fear of other states engagements in bilateral or multilateral undertakings.

2.8 China Trade and FDI in Africa

The trade relations between China and Africa date back more than two Millennia. The Chinese navigator, Zhen He, reached the East Coast of Africa in the areas of Somalia and Kenya in the early 15th century.⁶⁷ However since then nothing much happened. But after establishment of the Peoples Republic of China in 1949 there was renewed interest, thus the China/Africa relations. Consequently China established various multilateral relations with newly independent states of Africa like the Guinea, Ghana , Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia. These relations offered better trade relations compared to Western powers according to Adenikinju and Bamou.⁶⁸ The trade relations advantages included demand for fewer conditions on providing assistance, very low rates and long periods of repayment, and training offers to professionals and technical personnel. In comparison the West tied their assistance to the African states with a lot of conditionalities. China's recognition of this part of the West's undoing to Africa was the soft sport point of connection with the African states.⁶⁹

China involvement in trade gave priority to highly visible and prestigious projects such as stadiums and hospitals. They financed construction of railway line like the Tan-Zam in 1973 -76 and provided military support. However the interest of China in its effort was the conditional so as to obtain the seat on the United Nation in 1971 through an overwhelming support of the African states.⁷⁰

When Deng Xiaoping came to power China opened its economy and its relationship with Africa changed for the better. China engages African states on individual basis and with a per-

⁶⁷Renard, Mary-Francoise (2011), China's Trade and FDI in Africa, Series N° 126, *African Development Bank*, Tunis, Tunisia.

⁶⁸Adenikinju, A. and Bamou, E. (2006) '*Evaluating Asian Drivers Impacts on Sub-Saharan Africa Oil and Gas Industries: A Methodological Framework*', African Economic Research Consortium, Nairobi.

⁶⁹Alden, C. (2007, p157.) *China in Africa*, David Philip, South Africa and Zed Books Ltd, London and New-York.

⁷⁰Ibid

ceived sensitivity of equality as developing partners who also have national interests. Furthermore, China respects sovereignty of African states, and ensures non-interference with internal affairs of the state. Larking observes that, China provide interest free grants and loans, builds capacity of the state, equipment made in China and living conditions that are similar to both Chinese and local experts.⁷¹ However Chinas demand for energy to power its ever growing economy has escalated and Africa untapped oil and mineral resources has made Africa to gain prominence in China's strategic resource acquisition.⁷²

2.9 Security and Governance

Africa is considered to be among the richest continents of the world. It is not only endowed with mineral resources, oil and gas but also flora and fauna. It is a vast continent with immense potential and with large young population. However even after gaining self rule from the colonialist African states are still among the most poverty stricken in the world. This makes most of the states in Africa to be nationally insecure from within. National security entails safety of nation against threats such as terrorism, war, or espionage, which makes people live in a state of fear and danger.⁷³ Conflicts within African states are just far too many for an effective continental response. The humanitarian crisis that has been caused by these conflicts have left some states very weak, while others are are failed states or in the brink of being termed failed states. The basis for the collective action against genocide, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity made African decide to develop the African Standby Force (ASF) architecture that is regional based. Its basis is on responsibility to protect given the unpredictable nature of conflicts and instability in the current African policy climate. The ASF architecture has been

⁷¹Larkin, B.D. (1971, p268) *China and Africa, 1949-1970: The Foreign Policy of the People's Republic of China*, California University Press.

⁷²Chaponniere, J. R. (2008) A Half- Century of Sino-African Relation: Trend and Analysis, *Afrique Contemporaine*, Vol.4, No.228, pp. 35-48.

⁷³ National Security, Retrieved on Oxford Dictionary website; www.oxforddictionaries.com

viewed as a sustainable continental security mechanism for Africa's development and positioning on the global stage.⁷⁴

The security architecture is based on the regional organization. Unfortunately, the Standby African force entities based on the region have a challenging management structure given the countries multiplicity of regional organization affiliation.

2.10 International Regimes Interference

The African Union's goal is to achieve continental integration agenda through the African Economic Community (AEC) by the year 2028. This will enable the African states to consolidate their resource power under one huge organization the AEC in the making, then the West East economic power equations of dealing with Africa states will change.

The West therefore with its control of the international regimes like the Donor Aid under the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), may be used to maintain the economic equations status quo. The deepened and calculated use of international regimes is beyond the eyes of the African leadership. One aspect considered here is the application of International Criminal Court (ICC). The ICC is the first permanent international court established as a court of last resort to bring to an end to impunity for the most serious crimes, including war crimes, crimes against humanity, genocide and crimes of aggression.⁷⁵ In this regard, the ICC has indicted several Presidents and other dignitaries from Africa.⁷⁶ Contrary to the international norm the sitting presidents are neither exempted from litigation process nor to be indicted while in office.

⁷⁴Ibrahim Farah, Hawa Noor, Charles Kisame and Khadija Hussein (2014) Security, Governance and Regional Integration: Issues in today's Africa. *Development Journal*, (2014) **56(3)**, 321–327.

⁷⁵ Defined in a specific way in the Article 5,6,7,8 of the Rome Statute, the crime of aggression is not yet defined.

⁷⁶ List of People Indicted in the International Criminal Court. Retrieved from Wikipedia website; <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/> Accessed on 13 January, 2016.

The case of Kenyan president, his deputy and a journalist, who got indicted by the ICC before assuming office, saw major international powers at play. A US diplomat in reference to election outcomes threatened Kenyans with “consequences of their choices”.⁷⁷ On the other hand the UK government is known to use the ICC to exert its powers and influence to Africa and in particular Kenya through the ICC cases⁷⁸. Britain colonized Kenya and it is a major export for Kenyan agricultural products while Kenya is a choice of destination of British tourists. Above all, Britain is a signatory to Rome Statute while US is not. Currently, Kenya is an emerging hegemony in the EAC and is a lead nation to EAC political federation. The stir by the Western powers threat and a former colonial master caused jittery in the EAC region. The jitters percolated into the regional integration when two nations Tanzania and Burundi dragged their feet to the EAC transport network major projects resulting to the coalition of the willing. The theory of hegemonic suggests strong leadership from one of the states which is necessary to drive the construction of regional agenda. Thus it can be argued that this was an opportunity for EAC to realize its dream but the Western powerful states had an opportunity to pre-empt the EAC agenda. In 2015, continuously the African Union and the African leaders discredited the retrospective application of *rule 68 of the ICC*.⁷⁹ In which recanted statements of the witnesses were to be brought to the fore in prosecuting Kenyan ICC cases.

On a different front, the Paris Creditor Club under the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has continuously provided donor aid to African countries but the funds have never had impact on poverty reduction since donor aid has always been given with conditions. The Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAP) had conditions that left many African nations with devastated

⁷⁷ Stephen Brown & Rosalind Radiate (2014) Dire consequences or Empty Threats? Western pressure for Peace, Justice and Democracy in Kenya. *Journal of East Africa Studies*, 2014 Vol. 8, No. 1, 43-62.

⁷⁸ Courtenay Griffiths (2012) The International Criminal Court is hurting Africa. Retrieved from website; www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaan , on 2 June 2016.

⁷⁹ Rule 68 of the Resolution ICC - ASP /12/Res.7. Prior recorded testimony, retrieved on website; http://www.icc-cpi.int/iccdocs/asp_resolution.pdf

economies. On the other hand in 2014 the Paris Creditors Club and the IMF released a report of debt relief referred to as the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries (HIPC) Initiative and Multi-lateral Debt Relief Initiative (MDRI).⁸⁰ Thirty five countries of the HIPC most of them in Africa benefited from this initiative of relief.

In the realist theoretical view, the international system is anarchical where states compete for power through amassing of resources in a self-help system. True to the actions of the most powerful nations was the debt relief however this action had an impact to the region organizations to which some of the nations belonged. The initiative resulted with some kind of ranking of countries within the regional body. Initially the countries that got relief had an inwards look relegating the regional agenda to the periphery. In the case of EAC in particular there was an aspect regrouping within the member states. Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda were on one side while Tanzania and Burundi being on another group. This resulted with the reference of the group of the three by the media as the Coalition of the Willing (CoW).⁸¹ It resulted with discontentment with some members of parliament in Tanzania arguing that their government was being side lined by the other some members in the EAC.

2.11 Conclusion

The challenges of integration are becoming more practical and tangible with globalization dynamics of the world today. This can be viewed through the state security threats that originally emanated from other states in the sub-region or region. It can be argued that threat to state security in the contemporary world and especially in Africa has become asymmetrical, either due to resource based conflicts, political grievances, ethnic tensions or from terrorism activities within or without the state. These forms of asymmetrical threats to state security in Africa have caused a paradigm shift in the mitigation approaches. The establishment of Africa Peace and

⁸⁰IMF. HIPC Initiative and MDRI Statistical - update. Retrieved on IMF website; <http://www.imf.org/external/pp/ppindex.aspx>, 2 June 2015.

⁸¹ Trade Mark East Africa (2014) "*Coalition of the Willing Slips on project as Rwanda Pulls Plug on Launch*" Retrieved from Trade Mark East Africa; <http://www.trademarka.com/news/> date accessed on 21 November 2015.

Security Architecture (APSA) and advent of peace and security sectors within the regional bodies explain this aspect.

On the other hand, the configuration of immigration in Africa which is reflected by the feminization of migration due to diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour among others is shifting from the traditional ways, hence affecting the African family gender role. However, migration within Africa can be argued to have been boosted by the infrastructure development as well as positive and negative globalization effects. To an extent migration has resulted to xenophobic attacks as well as human trafficking issues. These aspects create challenges to regional blocks growth as member accuse one another on mishandling their citizens.

China's trade interests and foreign development investments in Africa are changing the environment in which the RIAs operate through interconnectivity by means of communication and infrastructural development between member states. It is viewed to create competition between member states on economic front. Furthermore, the national security has become more inward looking from the traditional outwards looking due to nations' imploding from within partly due to poor governance and weak institutions, which have remained major challenges to the RIAs. Nevertheless, Africa is charting its road map in the international arena, although the western powers' regimes interferences seem to persist in transformed manner as argued earlier. All these dynamics seem to support the hypothesis that the dynamics of traditional challenges to regional integration organizations in Africa have a paradigm shift to the integration process.

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION

ORGANIZATIONS IN AFRICA

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the integration efforts of the member states, within the regional economic blocs in Africa, which provide the insights to examine the challenges and prospects regional integration arrangements face. In this case areas to do with promoting media public opinion, foreign aid as a hindrance to development, Preference of democratic leadership, addressing of multiplicity of regional integration membership, Redirecting China and FDI into infrastructure connectivity, strengthening human security, RIA's aim to be a regional security community and ICT data availability and accessibility are examined.

3.1 Media Promoting and Public Opinion

According to Nazir Hussain, media refers to means of communication that reaches or influences people widely as a significant place in the statecraft machinery especially in the age of information revolution.⁸² All forms of media have become trusted as sources of information for the society regarding any issue in whatever level or aspect may it be local, regional or global. It is observed that the major roles of the media are mostly to inform (hence a source of information) and as channel of communication.

Media transformations in Africa casts a critical look at Africa's rapidly evolving economic, socio-political as well as security scene. Although, the African states' democratic growth has only been barely 50 years, there have been all forms of media growth coupled with proliferation of new media deregulation and proliferation of new media technologies. Media has some-

⁸² Nazir Hussain (2008) *The Role of Media in national Security: A case of 1998 Nuclear Explosions by Pakistan*. South Asian Strategic Stability Institute (ASSI). London.

times been used to marginalize and restrict the activities of other groups, leading to tension, conflict, and even violence.⁸³ Analysts of state's threat to security today look and observe the trend of media reports as way of understanding regional economic integration status and direction in Africa. The proliferation of digital technologies in the twenty first century has transformed the knowledge of near and distant events so that it becomes impossible to separate economic, socio-political and threat to security in the context of regional economic integration and processes of the media in Africa.

In this regard the EAC attaches great importance to the role of the media in promoting awareness, discourse and involvement of the wide range of stakeholders in the East African regional integration agenda. Indeed, as the region integration process deepens the EAC is challenged more and more to achieve and demonstrate higher efficiency and effectiveness as well as being more transparent on its activities, achievements and competitiveness in Africa and beyond. Through the media, people of East Africa are expected to see it and feel its presence, in order to appreciate it more and acknowledge its benefits and prospects. In the long run the people ought to invest and participate in its projects and programs. They would also be in a position to exert pressure on the leadership to ensure the viability and sustainability of the community.

The media holds certain special and important position of informing individuals. Media also holds the responsibility for the interpretation of events they report, and their interpretations, in turn define the understanding of events by the readers and viewers. It is observed that the media can just report "facts," but there are no such things as facts without interpretation.⁸⁴

The reasons most scholars consider important of mass media to society include; one media provision of information that people need to make informed decisions and serving as a channel

⁸³ Rosalind I. J. Hackett & Benjamin F. Soares (2015) *New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa*. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

⁸⁴ Berverly G. Hawk (1992 p3) *Africa's Media Image*. Praeger. Westport.

through which mass communication can be achieved.⁸⁵ The East African have benefited from media as a source of information and platform through which the citizens articulate and aggregate their opinions thus making sense of integration and regionalism. However, within the context of individual member states (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda), there are differences in quality, breadth and depth of media coverage and content. This mainly depends on editorial media policies, target audiences, ownership and management, among other factors. For example, apart from the East African newspaper published by the Nation Media Group most of the other print and electronic media broadcasts focus on national matters while integration issues are considered secondary. This is at the expense of target audiences who happen to be the states citizens.

In most of the African Regional Integration the citizenly have not yet appreciated the concept of integration. This was underscored by Kenya's Minister of Trade in 1 July 2010, when he commented that,

“The flood gates have been flung open. The movement of goods and services across our borders has intensified even further. Yet this growing integration remains relatively unknown to many Kenyas. The challenges and opportunities it portends for us remain modestly addressed. Apart from the Ministry of East African Community and members of the associations of business, we remain broadly disengaged in the going-on”.⁸⁶

The social economic status of the individual determines the level and quality of media usage coupled with other factors like the location whether one is living either urban or rural, education level, age and to an extent gender. Most of the people of EAC regularly and increasingly acquire information about public affairs from the media. The media successfully acts as dis-

⁸⁵ George Nyaoga (2011 p130) *Enhancing Equity in the East African Regional Integration Process: Role of the Media*. Society for International Development. Nairobi.

⁸⁶ Kituyi, Mukisa (2010) ‘MPs Must Pay More Attention to EA Common Markets. *Sunday Nation*, 3 October: 2010.

seminating agent of integration issues and ideas, a vehicle for filtering, analyzing and disseminating the collective national conversations within and across the borders. This aspect facilitates and sustains regional understanding.

Media communication in EAC is a fulcrum for the regional integration this is because it contributes and enhances to the creation and establishment of bondages between national and supra-national political institutions, on one hand, and the people on the other. The media public opinion thus set, confers legitimacy on the actions of the member state governments, leaders and other actors. In this case, therefore, there would be little doubt that the extent to which people are engaged with public affairs and the political processes depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that is transacted on issues in the public domain. Such media information develops people's interest in public affairs which ultimately creates public opinion on various issues. In this view there is direct proportionate relationship between interest in public affairs and exposure to the media, to the extent that the level of people's attention to public affairs can be taken as a measure of their level of contact with the media as observed by Norris in Nyaoga.⁸⁷

Media can play a key role of enabling the regional integration process to be inclusive and participatory by all members of the society. This is because, at the national level there should be coherent coordination, public awareness, engagement of private sector and civil society as well as whole-hearted political will, rule-based implementation and accountability. The media can further facilitate to strengthen technical capacity for conducting informative cost benefit analysis and ensure fair and equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of integration as a start point among the members.

⁸⁷ George Nyaoga (2011) *Enhancing Equity in the East African Regional Integration Process: Role of the Media*. Society for International Development. Nairobi.

3.2 Foreign Aid and Development

In an article, analyst Mhaka observes that the French Philosopher and revolutionist, Franz Fanon in his anti-colonial writings referred to the early leaders of independent Africa as “the spoilt children of yesterday’s colonialism without pity who used natural distress as means of getting on through scheming”.⁸⁸ This can be attributed to the way most African countries’ leaders immediately after independent resulted to foreign aid to run the new governments. The Western leaders on the other hand had acquired knowledge of Africa’s resources through colonial administration. Their view of Africa was as a source of raw material for their recovering economies from the devastations of the WW1 and WW2. Consequently, the West became intimate with the African leaders. Also the west was made to believe that Africa was engulfed with war, disease and poverty. This was the easy way to make the western societies to sympathize and empathize with African people. This ended up having these societies authorizing their governments and leaders to channel aid through international governmental organizations such as United States Agency for International Development (USAID), Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and European Community (EC) development assistance. The foreign aid or the development assistance were provided in form of operational, managerial or financial assistance which were given to NGOs and governments of African nation. The contractors in this case happened to be companies from the nations providing the foreign aid or developmental assistance and so were the managers of the project. Consequently, there were no technological and managerial skill transfer as a result there was unsustainable development of infrastructure that got worn out in a couple of years due to lack of maintenance.

The African leaders became the new “colonial masters” amassing wealth through corrupt contracts and deals with the Western multinationals corporation. As Dambisa Moyo observes in

⁸⁸ Gibson Mhaka (Oct, 2013) “*Foreign Aid hinders Development in Africa*”. Retrieved from website; www.chronocles.co.zw. Accessed on 14 Jan 2016.

the 2004 case of the British envoy to Kenya then, who had to be forced to give an apology for commenting on corrupt ministers who were “eating like gluttons and vomiting on the feet of the foreign donors”.⁸⁹ On the other hand, it is in the public domain that the late leaders like Mobutu Seseke of former Zaire now DR Congo and Sani Abacha of Nigeria had rooted their nations and stacked the money in Swiss Banks accounts. The corruption in African states, view’s Dambisa Moyo, had reached what she called “the vicious cycle of aid that chokes off desperately needed investment”.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, this does not mean that African countries are off the hook of donor aids since majority’s budgets are depended upon it. A case in point is the Uganda’s⁹¹ and Tanzania’s⁹² donor funded at levels of 23.5% and 10.3% of their annually budget respectively, in 2015/16 financial year.

African states can work out on such issues of aid dependency, corruption and sale of natural resources at face value thus reversing the plague of poverty and underdevelopment of Africa. According to the president of Gabon, Mr. Ali Bongo there is an African solution that can deliver a peaceful and prosperous Africa.⁹³ Africans and African leaders should develop their national development approaches based on their national values and within their economic capacities and the regional interconnectivity that would ensure sustenance. This in contrast to the western model approach which has been used as case of what is tailor made for the West also fits any state in Africa, but this approach has failed. In this regard, it would be prudent for the African leaders to strengthen their economies while improving available opportunities within reach of the population and to device frameworks for new economic models that value local

⁸⁹ Dambisa Moyo (2009, p48) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and Why there is another Way for Africa*. Penguin Books. London.

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Uganda Budget Speech 2015/2016; Retrieved from Red Pepper website; www.redpepper.co, on 19 January, 2016.

⁹² Budget Summary: Tanzania 2015/16; Retrieved from website; www.fbaattoneys.com, on 19 January 2016.

⁹³ Ali Bongo (2016 p19) “Yes, there are African Solutions that can deliver a peaceful and Prosperous Future.” *The East African News Paper*, January 30 February 5, 2016. Nation Media Group. Nairobi.

sustainability. A case in point is Kenya's vision 2030, that even before the year is attained, Kenya was declared a middle industrial state although in the lower end of the scale.⁹⁴

3.3 Democratic Leadership Need to Prevail

The state building process of African nations continues to be an inherent complication even after grappling with experimentation of neoliberal political and economic system. There are pressured democracies in most of African nations which have resulted with unregulated perennial cycle of poverty and deprivation to their populous. After fifty years of independence the political governance is still stifled by weak institutions that contribute to human insecurity that has made a household name in the national and international media houses reporting about Africa.

Although many of the leaders of African states thought that creation of institutions at the national and the sub-regional levels would address the perennial poverty and insecurity. However, to institute the international regime demands especially the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), on their weak economy resulted to uncoordinated and unsynchronized governance of institutions that could not support the economy.⁹⁵ The leaders especially in East Africa embraced democracy with a focus on one of the key elements, election, which in most cases resulted to pseudo-democratic systems where the winner had it all (Big-man syndrome), nevertheless some had a genuine democratic rebirth. In the case of the former, the most prevalent state of affairs was the citizenry appearing to have been hoodwinked into playing the willing participant in the enthronement of self-serving political class. This was also the elite group that would hoodwink the donors to continue remitting donor funds that would be corruptly be used to win elections.

⁹⁴ Kenya Vision 2030, retrieved from Kenya vision 2030's website; www.vision2030.go.ke

⁹⁵ Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are economic policies for developing countries that have been promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the early 1980s by the provision of loans conditional on the adoption of such policies.

Notwithstanding the bad situation of state building contradictions that was faced by many states in Africa, the same leaders continued to hold office (a case in point is the former president of Kenya Daniel Arab Moi who ruled Kenya for twenty-four years, and the current serving president of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is on his 30th year rule). The dismal economic growth experienced by the continent averaging approximately five percent⁹⁶ is nothing to applaud about despite the economic recession experienced in the world in the recent past. This is because economic growth especially in the EAC region it not translated into job opportunity for the majority unemployed youths.

State leadership in Africa is an issue that is emerging as a challenge to regional integration. It is observed that out of 33 African countries that have had constitutional term limits, 12 have successfully changed the provisions that have allowed incumbent presidents to extend their stay in power⁹⁷, although a number of them were unsuccessful but they still found their way to stay put in power. The case in point for those who succeeded were Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda while Pierre Nkrunziza of Burundi in a contradictive self-serving interpretation of the constitution managed to stay put through a contested election. All the three presidents are Summit Members of the EAC highest decision organ. Out of five members of the EAC only two Kenya and Tanzania can claim preference of democratic governance through a democratically elected government.

The weakened constitutional institutions in Africa are an indicator of likely pending consequences of poor governance that Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) targeted poverty eradication has become a millage beyond the horizon. Consequently, this may have a negative

⁹⁶Peace A. Jiboku and Ufo Okeke-Uzodike (2014) *The African Peer Review Mechanism and the Quest for Regional Integration in Africa*. Africa Peace and Conflict Journal, 7:1 (2014), viii.

⁹⁷ Alfred Muteru (2015) "Editor's Note". *ALC Newsletter*. Issue III, Vol 1 Sept, 2015.

impact to the RIA's integration processes which are the 'pillars' supporting the Africa's time board vision, of agenda 2063. In effect, the paradox of democratic leadership of member states of the African leaders cannot produce clean institutions of government and policies to ensure regional economic integration.

Africa is still grappling with devastating conflicts and political crises ranging from Burundi, DR Congo, Central Africa Republic, and Somalia to South Sudan. On the other hand, grand corruption and scourges of terrorism impact, continue unabated in West Africa, North Africa and East Africa. The leaders of African states in the RIAs are expected to strengthen their social pacts that bind the states in the integration bloc with commitment and courage to strengthen each member state's institutions of leadership in order to be in line with AU economic agenda of the future. These also call for getting rid of tyrannical and "big-man syndrome" form of leadership.

3.4 Addressing Multiplicity of RI Membership

The regional economic integration and cooperation process in Africa is characterized by a multiplicity of arrangement and overlapping of membership and mandates. Generally, within the African regional integration it has become very widespread to find nearly one out of two countries belongs to more than one grouping. In this aspect, twenty-seven out of the fifty-three member states of African Union (AU) belong to two or more integration organization. In the major regions of the world, this makes Africa to be the region and continent with the highest concentration of economic integration and cooperation arrangements.

3.4.1 The African Economic Community (AEC)

The OAU Summit of Heads of State and Government adopted the Lagos Plan of Action in 1980 in furtherance of the objectives of regional integration and rapid socio-economic development of Africa. The idea developed as a strategic plan was meant to accelerate Africa's de-

velopment involving collective self-reliance, regional cooperation and integration. Further in 1991 the regional integration impetus was maintained through the adoption of the Abuja Treaty that established the African Economic Community (AEC). The major objective of the AEC as stipulated in the Article 4 of the Abuja Treaty was “to promote economic, social and cultural development and integration of African economies in order to increase economic self reliance and promote an endogenous and self-sustaining development”.⁹⁸ The Abuja Treaty provided six stages for the establishment of a full Pan-African Economic Community that extended for a period of thirty four years, using the RIAs as its building blocks. In this aspect the African integration road map got into a period of deepening and broadening both at the continental and regional levels.

3.4.2 Recommitting Political Leadership to AEC Aim

The governance problems aspect is one of the major discourses of the regional integration in Africa. Most scholars observe that most of the African governments are not committed to integration.⁹⁹ Although they have signed regional agreements and protocols they lack instruments, and institutional policies necessary to achieve regional integration objectives. The *big man syndrome* form of leadership style where the winner takes it all nature coupled with ethnic cultural beliefs as observed by John Kithongo “*it is our turn to eat mentality*” brings to the surface African governments lack of political will or commitment to the regional economic integration, this is because their interest are diverted to the demands of their ethnic society.¹⁰⁰ The unwillingness by the African leaders to cede sovereignty is another problem associated with the regional integration process. The long period of regional cooperation and integration in Africa does not seem to address this problem. But as a result the continent has witnessed estab-

⁹⁸ African Economic Community (AEC) “*History and Present Status.*” Retrieved from EAC website; <http://www.dfa.gov.za/foreign/Multilateral/africa/aec.htm>, on 22 January 2016.

⁹⁹ Ibid

¹⁰⁰ New York Times. *Sunday Book Review*: “Rooting out Evil.” Retrieved from New York Time website; http://www.nytimes.com/2009/07/19/books/review/Hammer-t.html?_r=0, Accessed on 22 January 2016.

lishment of numerous multiplicity of regional integration ranging from the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) to Economic Union. The current major regional integration groupings in Africa are characterized by overlapping and duplication of mandates.

The African continent's high desire for regional economic integration has been viewed not to match its political will and commitment of member states to effectively execute the agreements reached under the various integration agreements.¹⁰¹ The African states should be prepared surrender and to pool a 'portion' of their sovereignty as a prerequisite for the success of any regional integration process. A strategy for the execution and implementation of many protocols already signed need to be devised since there no effective sanctions to enforce the members. Further, scholars have identified lack of political will and commitment on part of the African leaders and many overlapping RECs can be attributed to leaders as excuses for lack of meeting desired targets.

The effectiveness of the regional integration might not be realized within current the multiplicity of the RECs which result to heavy load of financial administration and capacities of the states concerned and conflicting obligations. This also explains why states are unable to meet their annual financial remittance obligations for REC administration and management. Some scholars further argue that African experience so far seems to indicate that groupings with fewer member states tend to be more successful and show better progress than larger groups. This has been evidenced in RECs of EAC and SAKU/CMA. To an extent awareness is rising in the face of the risks of marginalization and the loss of opportunities offered by globalization.

In this view, therefore, the AU Summit need to formulate a strategy that would guide on de-conflicting and sequencing the overlapping of RECs for them to support the AEC objectives effectively. This would also enable to eliminate wasteful and costly duplication of the multiple

¹⁰¹Soumana Sako (2006) Challenges facing African Economic Communities in Capacity Building. The African Capacity Building Foundation: *Occasional Paper* No. 5 2006.

memberships and rationalizing some overlapping sub-regional blocs. The AU Summit ought to view REC based on priority needs and efficiency founded on comparative advantage. To achieve this objective of harmonization, the AU need to conduct a thorough analysis of rationalizing the number of blocs and membership to them through critically examination their comparative advantage and cost benefit.

3.4.3 Redirect FDI into infrastructure Connectivity

From the face value of China-Africa relations, trade and investment can be argued to cement the relation between the two. This can be viewed in the number of Chinese companies that have become major investors in Africa over the last decade. They range from major building and construction companies to small individually owned enterprises inform of restaurant to acupuncture clinics. According to Ambassador David Shinn China was the single bilateral source of annual foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa's 54 countries.¹⁰² However, no major research has been carried out to ascertain what constitutes Chinese investment in African. Nevertheless, China FDI loans are directed to mineral resource rich African nations such as Angola, DR Congo and Sudan for exploration and mining of natural resources. The payment mode is mainly by back-shipping of same mineral resources to China. The other form of loans which are not FDI are commercial deals mostly with a concessionary loan component. The level and quantum of investment of China to Africa cannot be estimated as argued by Larry and Morris, that China¹⁰³ does not publish data on foreign direct investment in Africa by sector. Secondly, according to economic experts China's data on FDI have several limitations that affect their reliability, this includes problems associated with underreporting, inconsistencies between FDI flow and stock data and different definitions of what constitutes FDI in Chinese economic sta-

¹⁰² David Shinn (2012) "Chinas Investment in Africa". Retrieved from website; <https://africaupclose.wilsoncenter.org/chinas-investments-in-africa/> , on 8 February, 2016

¹⁰³ Larry Hanauer, lyle j. Morris (2012, p32) *Chinese Engagement in Africa: Drivers, Relations, and Implications for U.S. Policy*. Retrieved from website; <https://books.google.co.ke/books>, on 8 February, 2016.

tistical disclosures. These problems compounded lead to wide range estimates of China’s FDI in Africa. A case in point is China’s Minister of Commerce Chen Denning announcement in 2012 that “Chinese FDI to Africa had exceeded \$14.7 billion in 2010, up 60% from 2009”. On the other hand, same year, the Chinese Ambassador to South Africa, Tian Xuejun, commented that “China’s investment in Africa of various kinds exceeded \$40 billion”.

In respect to these discrepancies in the two statements by the Chinese officials, the Economists concluded that, “Apparently the first figure is for African investments reported to the government. The second included estimates of Chinese funds flowing in from tax shelters around the world.” Thus according to economist in Larry and Morris it was argued that going by the official position of the Chinese economic statistics provided by the ministry of commerce, “Chinese FDI flows in Africa had increased six fold between 2005 and 2012 from \$392 million to \$2.5 billion. Chinese FDI stock in Africa has increased thirteen fold, from 1.5 billion in 2005 to 21.23 billion in 2012”. Nevertheless David Shinn argues that many Chinese scholars either from China and elsewhere view Chinese FDI in Africa have no consensus, but what is common in them is that they agree its total cumulative is quite higher than the official figures.¹⁰⁴ The top recipient of Chinese FDI although not correlated with total bilateral trade between China and African states as tabulated on the table below:

Top Destination of Chinese Direct investment in Africa in 201

Country	Chinese FDI flow in Africa (%)	Total China - Africa Trade (%)	
South Africa	19.5	17.9	
DR Congo	11.2	2.1	
Niger	9.3	0.2	
Nigeria	8.8	5.4	
Algeria	8.8	4.1	

¹⁰⁴ Ibid

Country	Chinese FDI flow in Africa (%)	Total China - Africa Trade (%)	
Angola	4.8	19.6	
Kenya	4.8	1.4	
Zambia	3.6	2.0	
Ghana	2.7	1.6	
Top 10 Share of Total	76.3	70.9	

Source: Sarah Baynton - Glen, *Beyond Trade - China-Africa investments Trends*, Standard Chartered Global Research February 22, 2010.

Critics of China-Africa relationship view that the developing economies of Africa are too much dependent on China to the extent that when China's economy's shake the African states economies nose-dive to the extent of collapsing. A case in point sited by Norimitsu Onishi where the West view's sub-Saharan Africa era of rapid economic growth that stimulated optimism of a successful new period to the world's most deprived population was coming to an end.¹⁰⁵ The emerging economies of poor Africa depended on China's tumbling economy. Hence the demand for Africa raw materials was waning, in which the West cited the China's demand for copper in Zambia that left many unemployed.

What these pessimistic view did not take into consideration was that most of African state economies have been diversified and mineral resources are no more dependent as the major drivers of the economy. Yet, some sectors of the economy in an African nation may be affected but it is most cases stabilized by another. A case in point is the Nigerian crude oil market affected by the China's economy shake. Although the prices of crude oil came down world over the services industry in Nigeria supported the economy well and so was in Kenya, Ghana Gabon and Ethiopia.

¹⁰⁵ Norimitsu Onishi (2016) *"African Economies, and Hopes for New Era, are Shaken by China"*. Retrieved from New York Times website; <http://www.nytimes.com> , on 20 January 2016

The western pessimistic scholars ought not to lose sight of the China's level of economic growth levels that did not come overnight and its diversification aspect that would ensure its stability for quite some time. In addition, the investment it has made in the world and in Africa is a major aspect to consider as the stabilization effect. Further, the African economies have also renewed attraction aspect of the Americans and the European investments as well as investment of emerging economies of Asia and South America. China's engagement in the whole of Africa is diverse ranging from poor and weak states to middle-income countries. In countries like the DR Congo and Mozambique, China is in extractive industries and the construction of infrastructure projects, while in countries like Ethiopia, Egypt, Morocco and Kenya China's investment is engaged in the manufacturing sector, which have created the necessary linkages with the domestic economy facilitating structural transformations. The impact of Chinese investment in an individual country in Africa can be viewed through the policies of that country and the capacity of the local manufacturing sectors. A case in point is how the China African economic partnership is triggering structural transformation in Kenya and Ethiopia.

3.4.4 FDI accelerates structural transformation of RECs

The worlds emerging economies like Brazil, China, India and others' demand for the raw materials are the major drivers of structural transformation in Africa. China has made impact in Africa in the last decade through investment in Africa, but this can be sustained over the long term if the correct and right policies are put in place. Richard Schiere and Alex Rugamba argue that Regional Economic Communities (REC) play critical role in this aspect since they are enabled to promote market friendly policies and regional integration.¹⁰⁶ Relevant policies especially those for customs and markets lead to improvements in the productivity of investments which is one of the critical elements that accelerate structural transformation. For real devel-

¹⁰⁶Schiere, R. & Rugamba, A. (2013) "*China and Regional Integration as Drivers of Structural Transformation in Africa*". Retrieved from website; <http://www.ictsd.org/bridges-news/bridges-africa/news>, on 9 February, 2016.

opment to occur Africa states are expected to move up the value chain and export more manufactured products instead of raw commodities. The Regional Economic communities are synchronizing the national infrastructure investment plans within a regional framework that leads to economies of scale that translates into more affordable prices for the businesses and consumers. This is expected to reduce the production cost and to raise the Africa's competitiveness in the international market. In the long run, this is expected to create power pools for the continental energy markets with coordinated supply systems. A case in point is the power grids in EAC and SADC state that are planned to be interconnected into a single regional power pool. Within the regions frameworks China is promoting African integration by financing and building ports, hydro-electric power plants, telecommunications, roads and railways infrastructure projects. In view of these projects only RECs power pools and African governments can take the lead in harmonizing policies and improving the investment climate, which are key to improving physical infrastructure in promoting regional integration.

Scholars of RECs argue that although they have different mandates and memberships, there are clear trends of convergence among these institutions. A case in point in the Tripartite Free Trade Agreement that is expected to merge the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the East African Community (EAC) and the South African Development Community (SADC) into a single free trade area with an expected market of more or less 500 million people. Similarly, the West African Regional Economic Communities have followed suit with Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) forging ways of merging into a single free trade area. The converging trend highlights the importance of RECs as a key driver for further China - Africa cooperation.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ Ibid

3.5 Strengthening Human Capacity

Human resource is argued to be the most important resource a nation can ever be proud of. Hence empowering human capital should be the prudent, judicious and lucrative investment an a nation can undertake. This is because human capital is the driver to national productivity. Nevertheless, higher productivity ensures the individual higher earnings, and for the collective to enjoy a higher output.¹⁰⁸ African nations with a desire to come out of the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment have no better alternative than to invest consistently in their citizens' human capital. However the global economy is inclined more towards knowledge based sector where manufacture of ICT devices, pharmaceutical, telecommunications and other ICT devices based services and research and development require skills and the human capital development becomes a focus for the policy makers and practitioners engaged in economic development both at state and regional levels.¹⁰⁹

At independence, African nations had to forge their nation's ways forward as states in a self help world arena. Economic development was therefore in the fore as a national priority to generate the necessary impetus to build the new nations administrative, political, and socio-economic institutions. Majority of the African leaders were well educated to meet the necessary threshold for the leadership portfolios, but the masses had little or no formal education. The expectations from the citizens were as high as the ambition and eagerness to make a difference. A case in point was the Kenyan president Jomo Kenyatta's government policy docu-

¹⁰⁸ Constant, Amelic F. & Tien, Bienvenue N. (2010, p3) African Leaders: Their Education Abroad and FDI Flow. *IZA Discussion Paper*, No.5353 December 2010. Bonn.

¹⁰⁹Hiro I., & Robert H. (2004, p111) Empirical analysis of human capital development and economic growth in European regions, in Impact of education and training, by Descy, P. & Tessaring, M. (eds), *Third Report on Vocational Training Research in Europe: Background Report*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004

ment that addressed poverty, disease and ignorance.¹¹⁰ Latter the scholars observed that the expected outcomes by the African leaders were hardly achieved.¹¹¹ Most scholars argue that leaders matter for the country's economic growth, this is because they invest in initiating social connection networks and innovating the right direction for the economic growth.¹¹² Leaders depend on these interpersonal connection networks to build trust and solidarity in work environment. Knowledgeable and skilled leader set norms, rules and strategies for success. They deploy the workers according to their knowledge and skills in the available jobs to achieve the institutions desired results. These leaders motivate and inspire workers to work hard in order to achieve institution goals and objectives. In this view the African leaders could not achieve much due to the low levels of human capacity and as such the expected performance was jeopardized.

3.5.1 Poor Human Capacity could not Support the FDI flow

An open economy which participates in the international trade establishes the necessary prerequisite for the FDI to flow in the country. Although the the states of Africa at independence never exhibited virtues of free market economy and foreign investment, however it may be argued that this was due to their small markets and they were grabbling with western economic culture that was foreign to Africa. Soon after the first crop of African leaders, well educated in their former colonial master's schools became economically inward looking. They protected their young economies dearly. Unfortunately, with lack of well skilled human resource the FDI's were directed and managed by foreigners who took advantage of the masses. Fear set in with new leadership due to the former colonial foreign masters underhand to control the activi-

¹¹⁰ Mwenzwa, E., M. & Misati, J., A. (2014, p247) Kenya's Social Development Proposals and Challenges: Review of Kenya Vision 2030 First Medium-Term Plan, 2008-2012. *American International Journal of Contemporary Research*, Vol.4 No. 1. January 2014.

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Jones, B. F. & Benjamin A. Olken (2005). Do Leaders Matter? National Leadership and Growth since World War II, *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120 (3): 835-864.
Kenya Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965

ties in their former colonies through use of FDI's that supported the economy of the young nation. Poor or lack of planning, policy formulation and implementation resulted with poor or little management and control of the FDI's activities that more often than not interfered with running of the government.

On the other hand, African states had no or little comprehensive plan to control and manage the foreign aid. Consequently, this assistance especially during the cold war was used by the hegemonic powers of East and West determined the kind of market economy, capitalist or communist within the political ideology inclination an African state would be. It could also change with change of leadership. A case in point was Congo Kinshasa under Patrice Lumumba and leadership under Mobutu Sese Seko.

Thus before 1970s most African states resulted with trade barriers and capital control as way of an import-substitution procedures aimed at protecting home industries and securing foreign exchange. This could be attributed to little knowledge in appreciating the western economy as a driver to development. This resulted in discouragement of international trade growth in the African countries that also locked out foreign direct investments. The impact of this mix resulted with poor economic growth and living conditions in the African people as observed by Roderick in Soutana Sako.¹¹³

Poor human capacity building can be argued to have contributed to 1970s and 80s leaders of new African states resulting to dictatorial or authoritarian leadership styles as the effects of the superpowers of the cold war played out. Majority of these leaders got into power through military coups or through undemocratic means. Such military dictators like Idi Amin and Bokasa took over power in Uganda and Central Africa Republic respectively. With Amin's poor level

¹¹³Soumana Sako (2006) Challenges facing African Economic Communities in Capacity Building. The African Capacity Building Foundation: *Occasional Paper* No. 5 2006.

of formal education, the progressing growth of Uganda and the EAC was jeopardized. In the whole of Africa, the masses could be manipulated in whatever way which left the RIAs in limbo. In the EAC region the masses had little or no knowledge about the EAC and its functions. The “leaders’ project”, the EAC broke down in 1977, although it had achieved higher levels of integration than the current one today.

In the 1980s and up to mid 1990s African states were imposed with condition for acquisition of loans and grants to support their economies from the Bretton Wood institutions (The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank), the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs).

But the major undoing of the African state leadership was not to have strengthened human capacity for comprehensive and consistent planning, policy formulation and implementation at the national levels to reduce the risks of conflicting imposed developmental initiatives by the Bretton Wood institution or to comprehend their complementarity aspect.

As a result, there was no or little significant improvement in economic performance in the African countries. The overall economic growth pattern in Africa remained anaemic notwithstanding the overlapping RIAs.

3.5.2 African State Leadership Aim at Human Capacity Building

In light of the previous failed developments, African leadership in post-cold war era aimed at human capacity building to enable and enhance the masses to contribute to the economic development and hence reduce poverty. In this regard regimes in Africa aimed at improving the education levels, improvement of labor force training while ensuring that it is flexible, culturally responsive, healthy and productive to compete in the world labor market. Ultimately this would enhance RIAs equitable economic growth, deeper integration and competitiveness in the global economy. The society is aimed to be in a position to support the activities of the RIA with good understanding of their accruing benefits. Further the society will contribute towards

reduction of poverty, combating of pandemic diseases like Malaria and HIV/AIDS, utilization of science and technology, Information and Technology (ICT) and empowerment of gender equitably.

3.6 RECs Aim to be a Regional Security Community

Under anarchic circumstances countries look out first and foremost for their own security interest, which tend to jeopardize existence of the state due to the competitive nature of the world arena.¹¹⁴ This aspect tends to lead to a security dilemma. However according to neo-liberalist they posit that although states are actors in an anarchic environment, rationality prevails in their actions. Hence States in a RIA should be believed to act rationally to maximize mutual benefits. In this case therefore they create institutions that promote cooperation that take a wide range of forms. The creation of such institutions enables control the existence of such security dilemma. These institutions are in form of collective security, collective defense or cooperative society or peace and security department.

In a collective security, the enemy is viewed to threaten regional or international peace and security. When the collective security institution is of international nature like the UN, a threat can emanate from any region of the world. Thus any nation that commits aggression threatens peace and may be considered to have exceeded the limits of a civilized behavior hence it would be considered to violate the norms of the security system and therefore subject to enforcement action by the members of the community.¹¹⁵ AU member states subscribe to UN hence they are members of the international collective security. Within the same arrangement the AU's African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) with its African Standby Forces (ASF) in every REC is in furtherance of collective security that has been regionalized within Africa. The

¹¹⁴ Fawcett, Louise (2009, p21) *International Relations of Middle East*, 3rd ed. Oxford University. London.

¹¹⁵ Aleksovski, Stefan; Bakreski, Oliver & Avramovska, Biljana (2014) Collective Security: The Role of International Organizations, Implications in International Security Order. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, Doi:10.5901/mjss. 2014.v5n27p274.

most developed of them is the East Africa Standby Force (EASF), which is managed from Kenya and Ethiopia to develop major institutions including Headquarters, a logistic base and a training school. EASF encompasses the EAC member states without Tanzania that belongs to South African Standby Force (SASF) under SADC. The SASF and the Western Africa Standby Force (WASF) are in the formative stage. Nevertheless, the EASF has laid the basis for the regionalized collective security.

In this respect a Security Community can be viewed as an affair of the states that tend to coagulate countries into a community of states. It facilitates a state to feel secure from external threats of other states and hence provide an environment that is conducive for the state to conduct its internal affairs of the sovereign state and the responsibilities vested to it by the cooperation membership. In today's world security communities depends largely on state's measure of political leadership that ensures stability. The Unity in the system of security community is normally followed by a strong economic cooperation within the region. Member states develop mutual respect and observation of the rule of law and human rights which create the necessary climate for the growth of RECs that ensure sustainable development and equitable standard of living.

3.7 Dispelling Land Loss Fears

Diversification of land can be described as activities on the farm that do not involve agricultural production on a piece of land as an alternative for generating income. For example use of land by an entrepreneur for wildlife conservancy to attract tourist or for erecting windmills or laying solar panels for electrical power generation. The importance of land as a major factor of production cannot be over emphasized. Everything that people use can be traced back to land. Thus land can be considered as the source of all material wealth. In this regard economic prosperity of a nation is closely linked to the richness to its natural resources. In context, African

states the quality and quantity of agricultural wealth depends on the nature of soil, climate and rainfall or availability of water resources that can be used for agriculture. Agricultural products in turn form the fundamental base for industries in Africa. Land is peculiar in the sense that it is a free gift of nature, permanent, immobile and limited. People accept land as it is and their efforts as well as innovation can make it productive in whatever sense. Hence people can degrade the land but it can be restored.

According to Maathai land ownership and distribution in Africa is a very emotive and volatile issue.¹¹⁶ It continues to be controlled through title deeds introduced by the colonialist. However, Population growth in the African states as resulted to pressure on demand for farmland leading to marginal subdivisions of land into uneconomic parcels. In addition, growth of urban centers and cities has displaced many communities furthermore demand for construction of infrastructure projects like transportation network development has added more pressure. Historically land distribution in most African states has continued to favor colonial settlers. A case in point as observed by Maathai is that white farmers owned 96% and 50% of arable land in South Africa and Namibia respectively by 2005, while 70% of prime land in Zimbabwe was in the hands of whites in 2000.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless it is altruism that too often prime land in Africa is always found in the possession of the affluent and political elite.

Luckily, Tanzania which was not affected very much by white settlers is the largest and most populous of the five EAC member states. Although it has the lowest density of people, it has major fears of its land from the other members of the community. The fear is based on EAC integration which is likely to open the flood gates of Kenyans, Rwandans and Burundians into

¹¹⁶ Maathai, Wangari (2009, p227) *The Challenges for Africa*. The Random House Ltd. London

¹¹⁷ Ibid p228

country in search of land.¹¹⁸ The three countries have scarcity of arable land. a case in point of land disharmony in Tanzania was the expelling of Banyarwanda in August 2013 from the Akagera region located at Northern Western part of Tanzania.¹¹⁹

Demographically according to UNECA in Chemelil,¹²⁰ Tanzania has an estimated population of 45 million accounting for 32% of the 139 million East Africans hence it has the right advantage in the region. In projection the EAC population is projected to increase to 237 million by 2030, translating to about 34% or 82 million Tanzanians. The major advantage of a large and growing population is creation of a larger domestic market for the nation. It also leads to attraction of investors and multinational institutions. Ultimately it achieves the stimulation of investment in new knowledge and generation of new ideas which improve productivity, innovation, with more workers, increased consumption which will drive manufacturing and increased national savings according to Durgesh in Chemelil.¹²¹

In this view such countries as Tanzania have an opportunity to diversify land as a factor of production in order to attract investors from the regional member states and dispel land fears.

3.8 ICT Data Availability and Accessibility

The RIAs need to address the aspect of information requirement. The African Sub-region and regional institutions, complemented by targeted and regionally coordinated international expertise assist to cross pollinate regional capacities that can play a meaningful role. To achieve this objective the Sub-Saharan Africa need to take maximum advantage of the global information grid, that was provided by the international development agencies such as Canada's Interna-

¹¹⁸ Kavuma M. Richard (2013) "*Tanzania: Understanding the Reluctant East Africans.*" Retrieved from Ugandan Observer News Paper website; <http://www.observer.ug/viewpoint/83-staff-writers/27976>, on 16 February 2016.

¹¹⁹ Ibid

¹²⁰ Chemelil Philip Kipkemboi (2016) Tanzania's Dilemmas and Prospects in East African Community: A Case of Trepidation and Suspicion. *Developing Country Studies, paper: Vol.6, No.1, 2016*

¹²¹ Ibid

tional Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which worked in partnership with Sub-Saharan African countries, civil society groups and transnational corporations such as CISCO, Alcatel, and Microsoft to build the information communication infrastructures. Such projects were undertaken and focused towards interlinking Africa by a round ring of fiber optic internet cable and to the rest of the world were, African Optical Network (African ONE1) and the sub-marine optical fiber cable South African Telecom 3-West African Submarine -South Africa - Far East (SAT-3/WASC/SAFE) respectively but the latter's aim was to interlink Africa with Asia and Europe. In addition to these two another project was aimed to provide satellite communication with an effective linkage between Sub-Saharan Africa telecommunication networks with those of other continents was the Regional African Satellite Communications Organization (RASCOM). These projects were geared to speed up region's integration to the global information exchange system. Thus the call was for the African government to introduce institution reforms such as "divestitures of public enterprises and commercialization, liberalization and privatization" of countries' telecommunication industry which have not been realized as yet.¹²² Information flow privatization and liberalization in a REC can be key to information sharing and resource allocation that could contribute immensely to the integration process.

3.9 Conclusion

Certain environments or areas if well addressed provide strong prospects for regional integration in Africa. In this case, harnessing positive media public opinion can become a good vehicle to promote the integration agenda. While the realization that foreign aid hinders development would be the first step to harnessing opportunities within the state. This may be achieved through strengthening economic institutions and developing homegrown, functional and exe-

¹²² Ojo, Tokunbo (2005) Wiring Sub-Saharan Africa for Development. *International Journal of Education and Development using Information and Communication Technology (IJEDICT)*, 2005, vOL. 1, iSSUE 3, PP94-107.

cutable economic models that would enable economic stability away from donor dependency and steer the African countries to development as argued earlier.

While addressing multiplicity of regional integration it would ensure value for resources especially time and money. In this case RIAs member states would tend to align their interests to the most valuable regions where their efforts would count wholly. On the other hand, democratic leadership would promote citizen participation thus strengthening institutions and accountability of leaders to the masses.

The Chinese foreign direct investment can be negotiated between member states in the RIAs in order to direct regional connectivity through communication and infrastructural projects to ensure increased volume of trade between partner states. Further in order to be in a better position to support the regional institutions and activities RIAs requires a sustained strengthening of human capacity policy through education and training of human resources within member states. Such well trained and skilled labour from member countries can be attracted to take jobs in the regional bodies and to steer them to the desired aim.

In order to achieve higher levels of development each RIA in Africa should aim at achieving a security community, a form of security interdependency between states that ensure democratic principles are maintained as well as blocs' policy adherence and execution. Meanwhile, the laying of data cables around and within Africa provides prospects for good connectivity between member states within the sub-region and African region and to the rest of the world.

The prevalence of these aspects that face regional integration efforts in Africa support the hypothesis that, regional integration arrangements in Africa have challenges and prospects to realizing the African dream of economic integration.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS FOR REGIONAL INTEGRATION: A CASE OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines challenges and prospects of regional integration that are limiting or enhancing the East African Community integration efforts. As observed earlier, according to Otieno, Moyi, Khainga and Biwott EAC is aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the partner states for their mutual benefit which has gradually achieved higher yields to the community than any other RIA in Africa.¹²³ The amended treaty for the establishment of the East African Community comprises five member states, Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda, came to be in 2006.¹²⁴ The chapter examines agricultural oriented economic diversification, promotion of regional Integration through media and public opinion, donor aid dependency, promotion of democratic leadership, harmonizing and improving the continental security architecture and the political leadership ability to attract foreign development aid (FDI). The chapter further endeavors to examine the challenges and goals of EAC integration as well as the region's integration opportunities.

4.1 Agriculture Oriented Economic Diversification

The agriculture oriented economic diversification is an expansion of agriculture oriented industrial that aim at getting value addition to farm produce. In EAC member states agricultural sec-

¹²³ Otieno, M., Moyi, E., Khainga, D., & Biwott, P. (2013, p67) Regional Integration and Foreign Direct Investment in East African Countries. *Journal of World Economic Research*. Vol. 2, No. 4, 2013, pp. 67-74. do: 10.11648/j.jwer.20130204.11

¹²⁴ *Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC* (2006), retrieved from website; http://www.wipo.int/edocs/treaties/en/eac/trt_eac.pdf, on 16 February, 2016

tor is a less developed sector. Creating new activities of economic production is a significant challenge that improves all stake holders since it requires a combined effort by the governments of the EAC member state, the private sector and or contribution of the international community. The EAC member states' have small size economies with similar commodities and thus economic diversification is an imperative in order to reap maximum benefits of larger domestic markets and economies of scale.

The agriculture sector in Africa has not contributed very well to job creation due to lack of industrial capacity for value addition to crops and Western products. The land control and ownership is a major issue that has strained further growth in agriculture in many countries in Africa like Kenya, while intermittent agricultural (i.e. food export ban) regulations by government in some other countries like Tanzania has led to poor market and great loss to farm produce. This view is in line with some scholars of regional integration and especially of EAC. Abdullah Madame observed that although Tanzania is the largest country in the EAC bordering all other partner states, it has not taken opportunity of its vast arable land as a food basket for the EAC member states as well as beyond the EAC.¹²⁵ Further Tanzania and Kenya are viewed to have large coastal strip that is endowed with good natural harbours that can act as a major link to international sea trade for agricultural produce hence creating job opportunities to East Africans. Further the EAC member states since the deposing of Dictator Idi Amin of Uganda in 1986 have enjoyed relative political stabilities in the region and are endowed with natural resources including newly discovered oil and gas notwithstanding the wildlife that traverse the borders, a conducive climate for trade. The infrastructure inter-linkages lack modernization to enhance trade in the region. The transport system is time consuming which is not conducive for perishable crop transportation to processing industry located in another country.

¹²⁵ Makame, Abdullah (2012) *The East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges*. GREAT Insights Volume 1, Issue6 August 2012, Maastricht: ECDPM

Agricultural diversification in Africa can be one of the means to secure stability and sustainability of income levels in the future between member states. Martin Hvidt observes that even though states continue to lead the economies, diversification entails a reinvigorating of the private sector and as such necessitates diversification of broader reforms especially in the agricultural sector.¹²⁶

4.2 Promotion of Regional Integration through Media and Public Opinion

Majority of the East African people have little or no knowledge of regional integration process and cannot enumerate the benefits that could accrue from the EAC integration process. The EAC member states media houses stand a better position to promote EAC's efforts in regional integration, but very little has been forthcoming from the regional media houses. The languages of Kiswahili and English are used in all the member countries although Kiswahili is more appealing to all generations. Hence the argument that Kiswahili could be the EAC's point of unification process holds.

Promotion of EAC has always been a major challenge as noted by the EAC deputy secretary general in-charge of political federation, Mr. Julius Rotich in 2012:

*“Time has come when we ourselves must take up the challenge of positively portraying the region as full of hope, full of investment opportunities, a single tourist and investment destination, and one people with one destiny”.*¹²⁷

¹²⁶ Martin Hvidt (2013) *Economic Diversification in GCC Countries: Past Record and Future Trends*. Kuwait Programme on Development, Governance and Globalization in the Gulf States. The London School of Education and Political Science. London.

¹²⁷ Daily Nation (25 July, 2012) *Media Urged to Promote EAC Integration*. Retrieved from Nation News Paper website; <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Media-urged-to-promote-EAC-integration/-/1056/1462984/-/view/printVersion/-/4fnlrxz/-/index.html>, on 19 March 2016.

This challenge was later echoed by the EAC's Secretary General Dr. Richard Sezibera in 2013 when he challenged the media houses in the region to play an active role in promoting regional integration agenda:

“..... (Media) not simply report news; but to shape public opinion as well as point out pitfalls and policy gaps in the integration process”¹²⁸

These sentiments echo the main avenue through which EAC agenda would be people driven to further enhance knowledge and participation to the integration process. In this regard the economic integration is influenced by the people's perception, if media gives the correct information then it enables to dispel the fears of loss and opens opportunities for integration. This is in addition to media making people aware of their neighbours' cultural orientation, history, beliefs among others. These aspects promoted by media enable people of the region to develop a common value system which anchors the foundation of integration.

4.3 Donor Aid Dependency

Donor aid has caused the EAC member states' budgets to be dependent on foreign aid. Although most of them are working on a reversal mechanism to reduce foreign aid dependence syndrome. The EAC countries budgets have not been left off the hook of donor aid dependency. Reducing dependency on foreign aid would encourage EAC states to look for internal funding targeted towards their needs and not as dictated upon by the donors. As stated earlier Wangari Mathai¹²⁹ and Dambisa Moyo¹³⁰ observed that donor aid dependency in Africa has made

¹²⁸ Lumu, David & Baguma, Raymond (2013) *Regional Media Challenged on Regional integration*. Retrieved from website; http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1335130/regional-media-challenged-regional-integration , on 19 March 2016.

¹²⁹ Maathai, Wangari (2009) *The Challenge for Africa*. Arrow Books. London

¹³⁰ Dambisa Moyo (2009) *Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and Why there is another Way for Africa*. Penguin Books. London.

the poor poorer and the economic growth slower. It has further made the African continent vulnerable to the vagaries of the currency market fluctuations, and more unattractive to higher quality investment. In this regard, cutting on donor aid dependency implies that the regional countries would promote cross border trade between each other hence enhancing cooperation.

4.4 Promotion of Democratic Leadership

Given that national preferences in RIA institutions are important and how they function is dependent on how the political elite shape them and especially in explaining the efficiency and distributional outcomes of interstate bargaining. The question is, are these institutions capable of serving the common good or they are exclusively serving the interest of the few elite? Although the democratic leadership was key to cooperation, the EAC member countries were at different levels of democratization and hence a challenging issue. Citing the democratic value system being entrenched in Kenya through the Kenyan Constitution 2010, other member states are likely to follow suit in the near future. This seems a paradox given the fact that three member states Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda reviewed their constitution to allow an extra term in office for their current heads of states. Burundi resulted with flawed elections that were highly contested leading to an internal crisis. Uganda's parliamentary and presidential election were marked with protests between the government and opposition that lead even as to arrests as the incumbent went along to win the race. The Eastern African's are still waiting for the reactions of the Rwandan president after the parliament gave a nod to his continuation of a third term. Although, the democratic leadership in the EAC is still very young and facing a lot of challenges, it would boost economic integration of the member state if well promoted democratic values were to be entrenched in the process.

4.5 Harmonize and Improve the Continental Security Architecture.

The EAC needs to recognize and identify security threats that would enable common agenda in securitization effort of certain issues based on defence and human security aspects. Some of threats are viewed in the lens of emerging security threats to national security, i.e. terrorism, international crime, food security, climate change etc. Thus in whatever aspect threats to any form of security should become represented and recognized by the member states. The African security architecture entails a policy for the continent whose beneficiaries include the Regional bodies, once adopted, comprise adequate strategies of implementation.

Nevertheless, the diverse securitization of issues has gone contrary to those of economic interest and alignments. But what is observed is that unlike the economic interest view, security demands provide answers as to who, what, where, and how of the threats means to each member of the REC. The multiplicity of the REC in Africa makes a country to economically align itself to one region while again aligning itself economically and in security wise to another region.

In this regard, there was need for harmonization and improvement of the continental security architecture to ensure the expected accruing benefits to the REC are realized.

4.6 Political Leadership Ability to Attract Foreign Development Aid (FDI)

According to Padma Mallampally and Karl P. Sauvant, FDI has grown at phenomenal rate since the early 1980s, and the worlds market for it has become more competitive.¹³¹ African countries are now becoming increasingly attractive investment destinations, prtly because they can offer investors with a range of created assets, cheap and available labour, as well as abun-

¹³¹ Padma Mllampally & Karl P. Sauvant (1999) Foreign Direct Investment in Developing Countries. *A Quarterly Magazine of the IMF*, March 1999, Volume 36, Number 1.

dance of natural resources. FDI today is a major source of external private capital finance for African countries. It is largely external private capital flow where the motivation is largely by the investor's long-term prospects for making profits in production activities that they directly control. The FDI in general represents investment in production facilities which is of great importance to developing states. This is because FDI adds to investible resources and capital formation and is a means of transferring production technology, skills, innovation capacity and organizational and managerial practices between locations as well as for the international market networks. Consequently, the political leadership ability to ensure efficiency and effectiveness of acquisition of FDI is a paramount factor to consider.

The high potential role that FDI can play in accelerating economic growth and transformation in developing states makes leadership to seek to attract it. Thus political leaders seek to take steps that improve the principal determinants influencing choices of FDI investors.

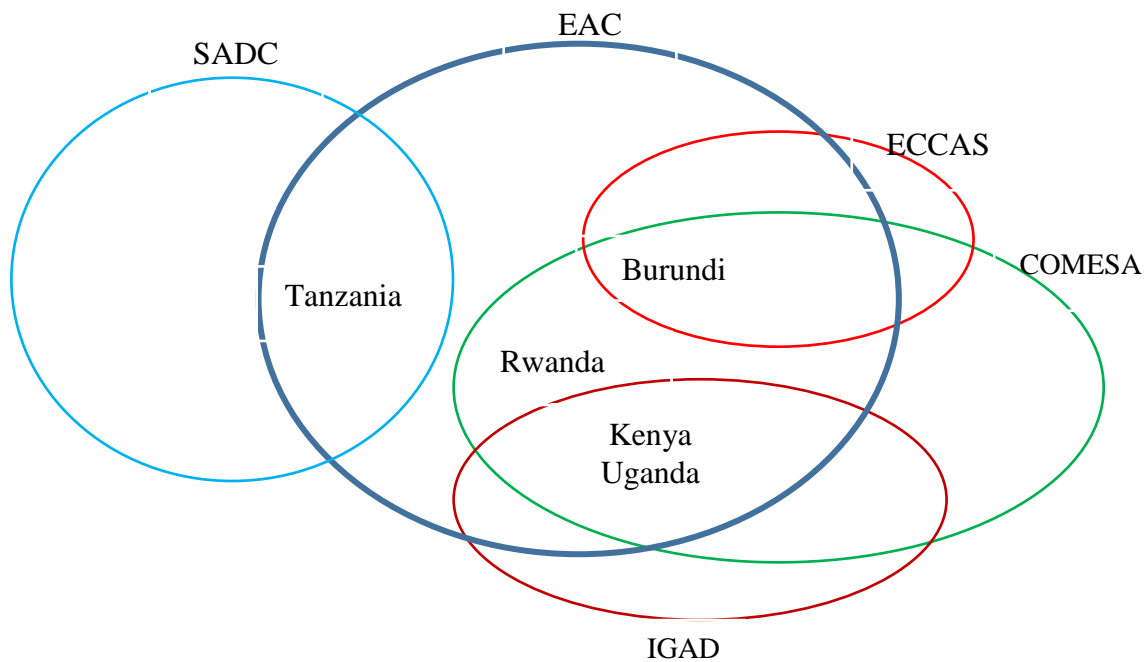
The two major principal determinants of FDI are policy framework formulation and economic determinants. Historically, political leadership in developing countries since the 1980 liberalization of economies led their countries in economic policy framework formulation to establish a hospitable regulatory framework for FDI through relaxing of rules regarding markets entry and foreign ownership that ensured improving the standards of treatment accorded to foreign firms and improving the functioning of markets. The policies were important since no investment would take place where it is forbidden or strongly impeded. However, the FDI policy frameworks are only one determinants of FDI among many in a host country. In addition to FDI policies and trade policies negotiations increase the number of bilateral investment treaties and double taxation treaties.

4.7 Challenges to EAC integration

There are several challenges that may be considered as hindrances or impediments to the EAC integration. Among those considered in the study are the overlapping membership by the EAC partner states, national sovereignty, harmonization of EAC economic policy and national interest.

4.7.1 Overlapping Membership by EAC partner states

The five EAC member states also belong to other regional integration arrangements as depicted by the diagram below: -



Source: Extracted and developed from African Capacity Report 2014¹³²

As depicted by the diagram above, EAC shares four member States with COMESA (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda). COMESA launched its Customs Union on June 2009, but is yet

¹³² African Capacity Report (2014, p44) *Capacity Imperatives for Regional Integration in Africa*. The African Capacity Building Foundation: Retrieved from ACBF website www.acbf-pact.org.

to fully attain the Common Market stage. These four countries currently belong to the two (2) different Customs Unions that is the EAC and COMESA. The EAC also shares Tanzania as a member with SADC, which is still preparing to launch its Customs Union. Burundi still belongs to the dormant ECCAS while Kenya and Uganda belong to a relatively active regional bloc, the IGAD.

EAC is already a Common Market and its moving towards the Monetary Union, as the Protocol for the establishment of the East African Monetary Union was signed during the EAC Head of States Summit held on 30 November 2013 in Kampala, Uganda.

The major challenge of the overlapping aspect of the five EAC member states results to complications which arise from application of domestic rules of origin in the signing of free trade agreements, a similar case to African RIAs as argued by J. Bhagwati in R. Nantchoung presentation.¹³³

The overlapping aspect has affected the basic objective of the EAC that underpins the pursuit of regional integration which is to merge involved economies, i.e. to integrate them and as a result form a monetary union. To achieve this basic objective, the requirement demands harmonization of economic policies, to pave way for the merger, hence convergence.

In the same argument Mothae Maruping observes that other economic derivatives that contribute to integration objective of a RIA include enlargement and diversification of market size, and tapping of related opportunities and the promotion of intra-regional trade and free move-

¹³³Nantchoung R. (February 2014) Are the Regional Economic Communities' (RECs) overlapping membership an issue? A discussion on the "free rider" syndrome as applied to a small economy (Evidence from Burundi). Retrieved online on 5th July 2016 <http://elibrary.acbfact.org/> pdf

ment of factors of production.¹³⁴ He continues to argue that these aspects result with stronger member states' bargaining positions in relation to other regional and international blocs thus fostering of other national developmental aspects like political stability as well as peace and security.

The EAC member states place varying emphasis on the integration objective just like nations in the other RIA in Africa. The varying emphasis can be argued to result from their differences in the specific stages of development, national interest, including the member states expected benefits and costs from the region. Further to this, conflict of national interests and expectations emanating from the different regional blocs the nations have subscribed into.

4.7.2 National Sovereignty

It is observed that there is no single cause that can be attributed to the problems of EAC member states they faced in their struggle to establish themselves politically and economically, as independent governing bodies or sovereign states in world politics of international relations. However, as argued by H. M. Vidmar, a number of factors can be considered including dysfunctional colonial legacies, politics of the cold war era, influence and the role of the international economic system, as well as the centralization of political power.¹³⁵ Additionally, these factors contributed together as an interconnected system where dysfunctional neocolonial legacies and the repercussions of the Cold War politics primed the transition to and adoption of centralized state power.

¹³⁴ Mothae Maruping (December 2005) *Challenges for Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa: Macroeconomic Convergence and Monetary Coordination*. From;- Africa in the World Economy – The National, Regional and International Challenges Fondad, The Hahue; Online at www.fondad.org

¹³⁵ Hannah Marie Vidmar (2015) *The East African Community: Questions of Sovereignty, Regionalism, and Identity*. Retrieved online on 6th July 2016, <https://etd.ohiolink.edu/>

The intervention of the international community through international regimes like the IMF and the World Bank heightened the struggle for the EAC member states to establish themselves as legitimate sovereign nation-states within the world political arena. The coming to an end of the cold war coupled with IMF and World Bank's failed structural adjustment programs (SAPs) in the late 1980s created a renewed enthusiasm and impetus for EAC member states to determine effective governance that was to be a tool for response to economic and political crises so created. Regionalism was seen as the key solution and thus the revival of the defunct EAC, although national interests and sovereignty prevailed much strongly as each member country pursued her national interest in the international political arena.

The road map to determine effective governance has been constrained by ethnic, religious, or political and social fragmentation witnessed in most EAC member states. A case in point is the ethnic tension and conflicts in post-independence Uganda and post-cold war era Rwanda, Burundi and to a limited extent Kenya. On the other hand, socialism ideology still lingers in post-cold war era Tanzania as it struggles to adopt capitalism. These aspects have called for the political leadership in these countries to struggle with the basic requirement of establishing democratic sovereign states within the colonial inherited Westphalian system of statehood based on territoriality recognized under contemporary capitalistic system. However, according to Brenner et al, this reterritorialization of state power has led to the rise of new political spaces like region, allowing sovereignty to flow above and below the nation-state.¹³⁶ Ultimately it has become the major challenging aspect in the RIA's integration process.

¹³⁶ Brenner, Neil, Bob Jessop, Martin Jones, and Gordon MacLleod (2003, p12) "Introduction: State Space in Question" in *State/Space: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publisher)

4.7.3 Harmonization of EAC Economic Policy

Several reasons can be advanced why officially recorded trade within EAC member states continue to be modest. Major among them is inadequate harmonization of economic policy. Although some consideration could be that the national economies of the partner states remain focused on export of primary goods, which rarely transacted between the member states. On the other hand, the geographical conditions hinder the exchange of goods due to long distances combined with poorly developed infrastructure contributes to low levels of interstate trade is the inadequate harmonization of economic policy. As a result, national state interests often weighing more than regional bloc cooperation gains. A case in point is the negotiations between the EU and the EAC on the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA).¹³⁷ Initially the member states negotiated on the EPA separately. Tanzania for example negotiated as a member of SADC but pressure from EU negotiators made her change mind and align its interest with the EAC.

Further to these, experts observe that EAC faces four major challenges in connection to inadequate harmonization of economic policy.¹³⁸ First, challenge of balancing the prospective benefits of a larger common market against the greater complexity that comes with a more diverse membership; secondly, the challenge of ensuring that all countries benefit from regional integration, thirdly, the challenge of how to advance the customs union and common market and fourth is how to determine the appropriate pace for moving beyond a common market to monetary union.

¹³⁷ European Commission (2015) Economic Partnership Agreement Between the EU and the EAC, Retrieved online at www.trade.ec.europa.eu/ on 6th July 2016.

¹³⁸ Hamid R. Davoodi (2012 p1) *Overview*. The East African Community After Ten Years: Deepening Integration. Retrieved online at <https://www.imf.org/pdf> on 6th July 2016.

4.7.4 National Interest

Economic concerns are not the only major challenge but other impediments also bedevil regional integration. The strengthening of supranational structures are other regional bloc challenges, whose cooperation has been so far predominantly intergovernmental. The self-interest of member states although understandable in the context of international politics, demands supranational counterweight to ensure appropriate and equal distribution of resources. This is because the short term national interest gains within the internal political commitments curtail the scope for inter-regional action. Realization of a common market goal requires all member states to be prepared to share and accept a certain significant amount of risk. This is because regional integration does not only create trade, but it also changes the overall economic landscape of the member states as well as regional economic structure. This therefore calls for acceptance of taking related risk, due to some uncertainties which in some instances may have negative consequences. It would seem then that coordination is aimed primarily at short term optimization of profit rather than a sustained harmonization of joint economic activities. This issue can be viewed through the lens of experts' lamentations of the political unwillingness in some RIAs' political regimes, to pursue integration in the form of unified energy policy.¹³⁹

Generally, creating and strengthening supranational structures is therefore one of the central challenges in the EAC due to partner states national interest interference. A case in point was the implementation of common identity cards by EAC citizens that Tanzania went negative about. Moreover, non-tariff barriers and unequal national legislation continue to exist, and it

¹³⁹ Veit Bachmann & James D Sidaway (2010) "African Regional Integration and European Involvement: External in the East Africa Community," *South African Geographical Journal*, 91 (2010) 1, 1 – 6.

has yet been possible to dismantle them. These disruptions of the market are to a large extent resulting in states national interests playing out.¹⁴⁰

4.8 Goals of EAC integration

The EAC is viewed as a vehicle for economic and political cooperation in various spheres. Three aspects can be considered as critical goals for EAC integration. These are the market integration, a shared infrastructure and the macro-monetary integration.¹⁴¹ An integrated EAC market offers important attractions, through encouraging urbanization, creating international prominence hereby attracting FDI and becoming a vehicle for redistributive aspect of wealth from richer to poor states.

4.8.1 The Institutions for Market Integration

The development of institutions of market integration has been quite slow, a case in point is the creation of the East African Court of Justice (EACJ). The court has not met the necessary acceptance and trust by the member states to the extent that the East African Law Society (EALS) finds a contradiction between the Custom Union Protocol which was ratified in 2009 and the Common market protocol which was ratified in 2010.¹⁴² Both protocols make provisions for resolution of disputes through mechanisms other than the EACJ. In that, in the case of the custom Union, the Committee on Trade Remedies is charged with investigating disputes and making determinations, while in the case of the Common Market Protocol refers disputes to national government courts. The regional bar association was of the view that the two provi-

¹⁴⁰ Ibid

¹⁴¹ Paul Collier (2012 p14) *Emerging East Africa: Achievements and Goals of the East African Community*. The East African Community After Ten Years: Deepening Integration. Retrieved online at <https://www.imf.org/pdf> on 6th July 2016.

¹⁴² Kenya Daily Nation; Wednesday, 20 February 2013. EAC Court to Hear Customs Disputes. Retrieved on 6th July 2016. Online at, www.tradebeat.com.

sions that purported to exclude the EACJ in dispute resolution should have been struck out. Although they were not removed the EAC declares the EACJ as the regions dispute resolution organ, but the view of the bar association has remained that the EACJ mandate has been vague.¹⁴³

Nevertheless, the economies of scale matter. Integration of EAC partner states is beneficial to all. In a globalized world economy, it calls for more urbanization which means bringing together in groupings, of the dispersed people of the Regional Bloc thus generating economies of scale.

4.8.2 Infrastructure Integration

As Paul Collier observes, “gains from cooperation in infrastructure may exceed gains from cooperation in trade.”¹⁴⁴ It has been a major goal for the EAC to invest in good and quality infrastructure. These entails the development of railroads and ports, power generation and distribution and financial integration infrastructure. But since investment in infrastructure is an expensive affair the EAC envisioned the attraction of private finance as a break through. However, the national politics of the partner states has been viewed by the private investors as major hurdle to the strategy. This was because the private investors view multi-national projects as a major undertaking with unmitigatable or unrecoverable risks. To change this perception EAC endeavored to its commitment and started infrastructural developments through the African Union Programme for infrastructural Development in Africa (PIDA). According to PIDA the priority of infrastructure in Africa entailed energy, transport, information and communication

¹⁴³ Ibid

¹⁴⁴ Paul Collier (2012 p14) *Emerging East Africa: Achievements and Goals of the East African Community*. The East African Community After Ten Years: Deepening Integration. Retrieved online at <https://www.imf.org/pdf> on 6th July 2016.

technology.¹⁴⁵ Within which the EAC launched a programme for identifying priority infrastructure projects. These comprise the road networks providing linkages from Tanzania to Kenya and to the rest of the community, the power interconnection project and the East African Railway network project. Nevertheless, the state of the infrastructure remains a major challenge in the EAC region.

4.8.3 Macro Monetary Integration

On the macro-monetary integration, the EAC established a high level task force to prepare a draft protocol for the East African Monetary Union (EAMU) with an objective of establishing a regional monetary institute and to formulate a legislation outlining the funding and operation of future East African Central Bank.¹⁴⁶ The European experience can be considered to have provided EAC with a major lesson that the practicability of introducing a single currency is far more difficult than envisioned. The experts' view that EAMU poses challenges to fiscal policy in the sense that, monetary union requires a single centralized East African monetary authority to operate within the context of at least five national fiscal policies.¹⁴⁷ Further uncoordinated fiscal policies may lead to weakening of monetary and price stability of objective of a monetary union.

4.9 EAC Integration Opportunities

The EAC integration opportunities can be argued on the basis of its Vision 2050 Draft. In the respect of its overarching themes of Transformation, Value addition and Growth which provide

¹⁴⁵ EAC Vision 2050 Draft; October 2015. Retrieved on 6th July 2016, at www.eac.int.pdf

¹⁴⁶ Article 5 of the EAC Treaty, signed in 2000, commits the participating states to establish a custom union a common market and ultimately a monetary union.

¹⁴⁷ Sanjeev Gupta & Jimmy McHugh (2012 p59) *East Africa Monetary Union and Fiscal Policy: Current and Future Challenges*. The East African Community After Ten Years: Deepening Integration. Retrieved online at <https://www.imf.org.pdf> on 6th July 2016

a platform for inclusive development and cooperation on shared goals for the collective regional interest. These opportunities include: positive globalization, geostrategic and demographics, and infrastructure and infrastructure development.

4.9.1 Positive Globalization Opportunities

On value addition and growth, the EAC is tapping on the positive globalization aspect especially on information and communication technology (ICT) which offers an integration opportunity for the regional bloc. This is because access and use of ICT is essential for the development of political, economic and social sectors of the bloc. Experts observe that the ICT sector within the region has created a trend of falling prices due to higher penetration of the society through the mobile telephone and broadband internet. The installation of a broadband internet cables through Dar-es-Salaam and Mombasa ports to the mainland East Africa has raised the number of internet users drastically. In effect, it has enabled the people of East Africa to pursue communication technology innovation more aggressively. A case in point is the Kenya's money transfer and banking innovation, the Mpesa. The Mpesa financial transactions have been embraced in the whole region thus bringing people together based on the mobile telephone usage and deeper penetrated into the society thus greatly reducing the cost of financial transaction as well as the number of the unbanked population.¹⁴⁸

4.9.2 Geostrategic and Demographic Opportunities

On the aspect of transformation and growth themes, EAC partner states carries attributes that provide opportunities for an integrated and competitive East Africa in a rapidly globalizing world. This is because of its world's geostrategic location in the Indian Ocean and its rich so-

¹⁴⁸ EAC Vision 2050 Draft; October 2015. Retrieved on 6th July 2016, at www.eac.int/pdf

cial economic diversity between the partner states. EAC has a total land area of 1,716.7 thousand square kilometers with population of about 150 million people.¹⁴⁹ The region further enjoys a diversity of culture, language, geography, history, ethnic and religious identity. Further the new discoveries of natural resources like coal, petroleum and gas, notwithstanding the tapping of geothermal and wind power generation, creates attraction of FDI from developed economies of the world like Japan, China, EU and US. It is further highly likely to be considered by the newly established economic blocs like the BRICS. In addition, it has a diversified economy offering a variety of businesses and investment opportunities. EAC further boasts of young population, rising middle class and a demand for fairly sophisticated products.

In these aspects the EAC has opportunity for high inclusive growth rates that could be associated with structural transformation.

4.9.3 EAC Infrastructure Development Opportunity

Underpinned in the transformation theme, infrastructure development in the EAC region still remains a major challenge although it offers a greater opportunity for the region's economic integration. The EAC infrastructure projects entail power generation and interconnection projects, the road and railway network, water and sanitation, and ICT.¹⁵⁰ Energy production is considered the most significant challenge of the entire infrastructure in EAC with the least per capital in the whole of the continent.¹⁵¹ However, EAC could benefit tremendously from interstate generation coupled with transmission grid interconnectivity. Further the EAC could bene-

¹⁴⁹ EAC facts and figures 2014.

¹⁵⁰ AfDB (2013) State of Infrastructure in East Africa. Retrieved at www.afdb.org on 7th July 2016.

¹⁵¹ Ibid

fit from intraregional energy trade and integration which would reduce costs and ensure greater reliability of supply. This would greatly stimulate trade in domestic as well as FDI.

The major transport corridors in the EAC are the Northern Corridor which runs from the port of Mombasa through Uganda, Rwanda to Burundi and the Central Corridor that runs from the Port of Dar-es-Salaam through Burundi, Rwanda and into Uganda. Generally, the EAC road networks are better than in most other African regions. Indeed, there is marked improvements of paving of interlinkage roads. Although their maintenance and management is not up to date resulting to high transportation costs. Generally, the costs are attributable to administrative and customs delay at ports and hold-ups at national borders, and checkpoints on transit route. In this regard the landlocked countries suffer most from the consequences of the above situation. The opportunity of the EAC on this challenge lies on the decreasing and curtailing of these types of non-tariff barrier trade.

Notwithstanding the mobile telephone the ICT sector in the EAC is characterized by high costs and low penetration. However, the trend of falling prices and higher penetration in areas with access to submarine cable has been realized. But the most challenging aspect is the completion of the cyber optic backbone that is expected to provide broader coverage to the entire region.

In the above arguments there lies significant opportunity for EAC integration through its improved infrastructure, particularly in productivity related areas such as energy production, rail and road network improvement and ICT.

4.10 Conclusion

Although EAC is argued to be the most progressed RIA in Africa this chapter has argued that there is much to be done for it to achieve its real dream of economic integration such as agricultural diversification in order to secure stable and sustainable income levels in the future be-

tween the partner states. The chapter further argued that the EAC agenda setting should be people driven to enhance citizen participation and acceptance of various community undertakings in the integration. The case in point here should be the cutting of donor dependency and promotion of democratic leadership in order to promote trade between the partner countries and ultimately enhance cooperation. While focusing on achievement of the regional goals and putting more effort on integration opportunities is argued to be a catalyst to attract major world economies as well as the newly established economic blocs like BRICS. These economies are likely to invest and tap on the resources of the integrated EAC rather than on individual nation. The arguments of this chapter, therefore confirm the hypothesis that, “the challenges and prospects facing EAC integration are similar to those that face other RIAs in Africa.”

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter, examines the core objectives of the study based on the study findings. It juxtaposes (embraces) the challenges and prospects in order to decipher the thematic areas that are inherent in the African RIAs, and using EAC as the case study regional bloc as the platform to examine the way forward. Therefore, the chapter includes information gathered from respondents who were either practitioners or policymaking contributors or executors in their country within the EAC and EAC Secretariat.

The following yard sticks were used for the critical analysis: challenges and prospects for the regional integration in Africa and further close examination of the challenges and prospects contributing to EAC integration efforts that have given it an edge to be a head of the others. Then the study will discuss the following issues; whether the hypothesis have been tested and also the linkages of the suitability of the theoretical framework to the outcome of the study.

5.1 Respondent Profile

5.1.1 Respondent rate

The study was only able to capture 25 participants (Respondents) out of 30 Participants (Respondents) initially targeted for study analysis. This represent 83.3% response rate which was considered adequate. The figure below presents a graphical presentation of the respondent.

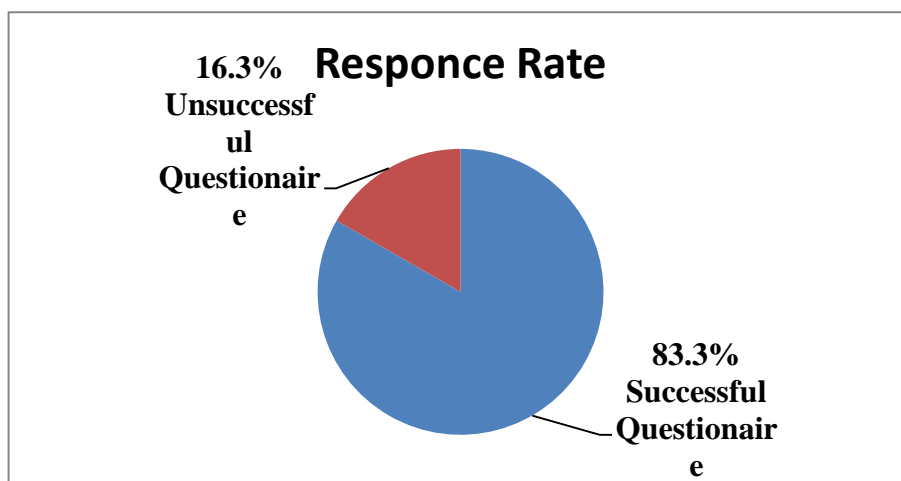


Figure 1: Response rate. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

Figure 1. shows the total participant response rate. Out of the total 30 (100%) targeted only 25 (83.3%) successfully filled the questionnaire while the 5 (16.7%) were unsuccessful. The response rate was therefore 83.3% which was considered adequate for further data analysis. The unsuccessful 16.3% can be attributed to English language communication challenges to the Burundians whose official language is French. Nevertheless, the response rate was possible as a result of participants' orientation, following proper research techniques plus continuous guidance from the supervisor assigned.

5.1.2 Age Distribution

The respondents were asked to indicate their age. The responses obtained are presented in the table 1.

Age (Years)	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Below 30	0	0
30-39	3	12
40-49	12	48
50-59	9	36

60-69	1	4
Total	25	100

Table 1. Age of Respondents. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

5.1.3 Gender Distribution

The respondents were asked to indicate their gender. The responses are indicated in figure 2.

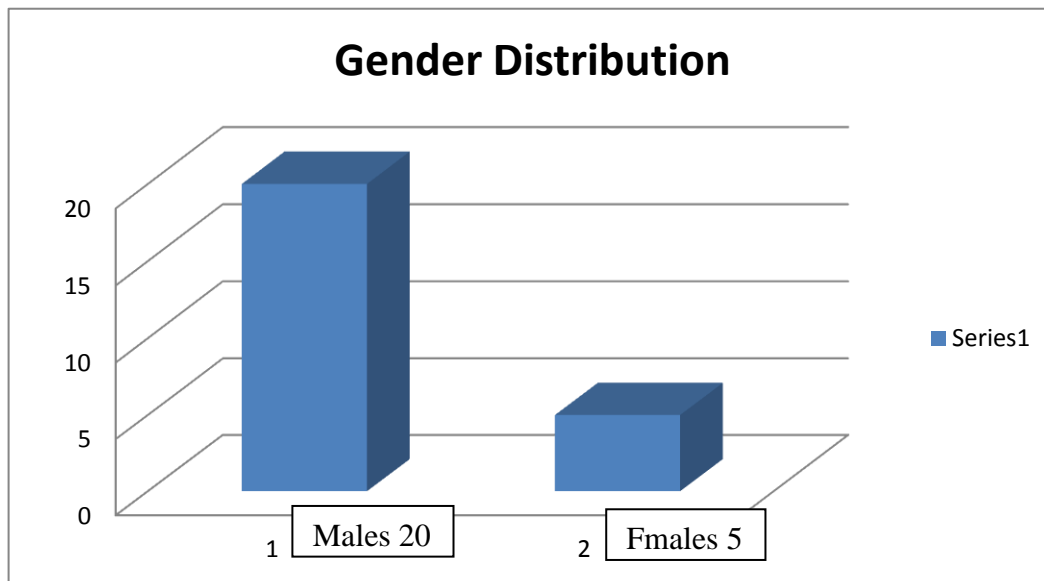


Figure 2: Gender of respondents. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

Figure 2, revealed that 20 (80%) of the respondents were males, while 5 (20%) were females. Hence the number of male respondents was higher than the females yet it is expected that the gender rule is applied in all the organizations that were under study. The gender disparity could be attributed to the continued female gender discrimination during job recruitment and employment in the EAC member states.¹⁵² This has resulted to male gender being dominance in work environment.

¹⁵² ILO (October 2013) Workshop: Combating Gender-Based Discrimination in East Africa Retrieved from International Labour Organization website www.ilo.org.

5.1.4 Country and EAC Staff Distribution

The study captured 25 respondents out of a total of 30 participants initially targeted based on EAC member country or EAC Secretariat as shown by figure 3 below:

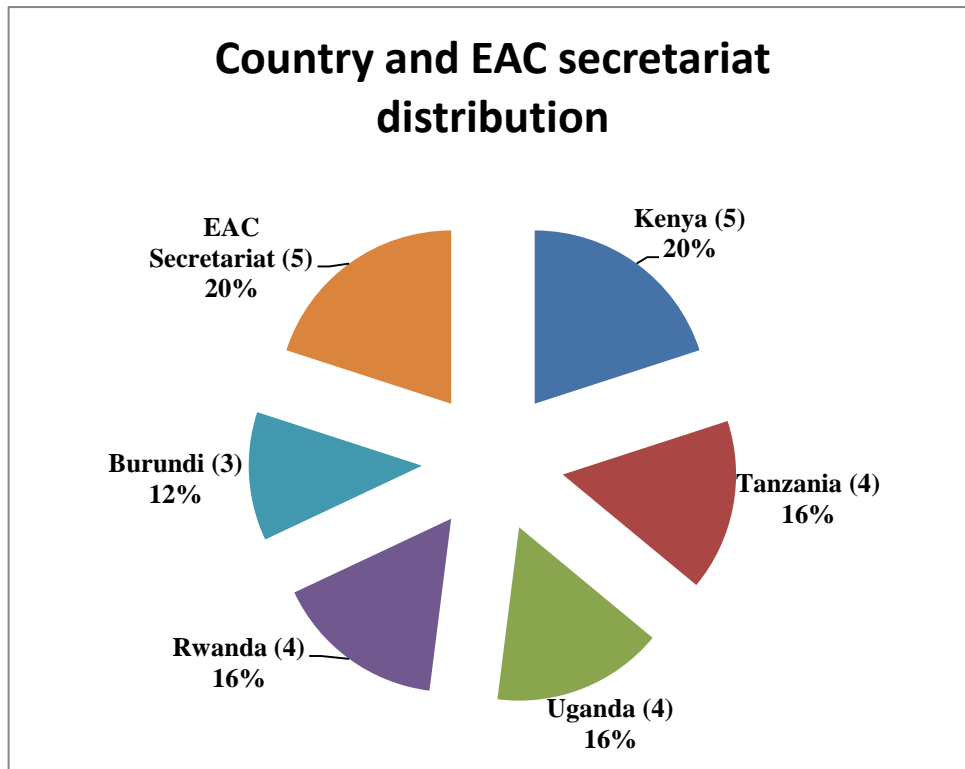


Figure 3. Country and EAC Secretariat distribution. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

Figure 3 shows the total participants response rate. Out of the total of 25 respondents Kenyan - 5, Tanzanian -4, Ugandan -4, Rwandan -4, Burundian 3 and from EAC secretariat -5.

5.1.5 Occupation or work designation

The respondents were asked to indicate their Occupation or work designation. The responses obtained are as presented in Table 2.

Occupation/ work designation	Frequency	Percentage (%)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	3	12
Ministry of Tourism	2	8
Ministry of Trade	2	8
Ministry of Defence	5	20
Legal Department	2	8
Entrepreneur	3	12
Ministry of Finance	4	16
Finance Department	4	16
Total	25	100

Table 2. Occupation/Work Designation. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

The study distribution by occupation/Work Designation found that the majority of the respondents were from ministry of defence at 20%.

5.1.6 Duration in organization

The respondents were asked to indicate their duration in the organization. The responses are as presented in table 3.

Duration in Years	Frequency	Percentage (%)
1-5	3	12
6-10	4	16
11-15	5	20
16-20	12	48
21-25	1	4
26-30	0	0
Above 30	0	0
Total	25	100

Table 3. Duration in organization. *Source; Data collected by the researcher*

On the distribution of the participants by duration in organization, the study revealed that majority of them had served for at least 16 – 20years (48%) in their respective organizations. The lowest numbers had served at least 1- 3 years (12%). This shows that the most of the participants interviewed had a lot of experience and deeper understanding of the concepts under investigation based on their respective duration in the organization.

5.2 Data Findings

The emerging dynamics of the known regional integration challenges and prospects that have been identified, assessed or examined need to be analyzed in strength and meaning based on the qualitative and quantitative data collected in the EAC case study in order to have a credible meaning. Such phenomenon as media and public opinion, foreign aid dependency, political leadership, multiplicity of REC membership, attraction of FDI, continental security architecture, economic diversification, common R&D Institution are among other emerging issues that complicate challenges and prospects for regional integration in Africa. These phenomenon are now closely interrogated and analyzed on the strength of the data collected.

5.2.1 Media and Public Opinion

5.2.1.1 Response to promotion of regional integration through media public opinion

The study found out that 80% of the respondents to this question strongly agreed to the fact that regional integration can be promoted through media and public opinion. The other 20% also agreed on the same issue. The study noted that majority of the East African have little or no knowledge of regional integration process and cannot enumerate the benefits that could accrue from the EAC integration process. This was confirmed by the many individuals the researcher tried to contact for interview but declined since they were not conversant with the level of integration although they knew their countries belonged to the EAC. The response from the interviewees was observed to be in agreement that media was in a better position to promote any regional integration efforts. In case of the EAC very little was forthcoming from the regional media houses in support of the integration processes.

5.2.1.2 Evidence that promotion of regional integration through media and public opinion is a challenge and prospect to regional integration.

The respondents viewed the above challenges were in line with the earlier observation that individual member states of the EAC have differences in the quality, breadth and depth of media coverage. The content is dependent on their editorial media policies, target audiences, ownership and management. They mainly focus on national matters while integration issues are considered secondary with no or very little aspects of regional integration agenda (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.1 p.44). It is further argued that in most cases these differences have not contributed to making the RIA's citizenly to appreciate the integration process in many African nations, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.1 p.45).

The study further observes that many scholars and practitioners viewed media as a fulcrum for regional integration in Africa. The media was to play the role of enabling regional integration processes to be inclusive and participatory by the whole society while enabling to strengthen the technical capacity for conducting informative cost benefit analysis. It was also to ensure a fair and equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of integration, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.1 p45). The paradigm shift in this can be viewed in the way the states in Africa have nationalized media contents as observed earlier. The major challenge has been promotion of regional integration through media and public opinion, considering national preferences in the RIA is dependent on the political leadership. The study views democratic leadership as a complement to the integration process but it is shaky in most African nations, (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.4, p72). It was observed by key officials of EAC that media has failed to play the key role in promoting regional integration agenda, (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.2, p70).

In view of the theoretical framework (ref. Chapter 1, para 1.5, p19) media challenges in the RIAs makes the integration effort to lose the substantive agreement awareness campaign to the citizens of the region.

The above arguments therefore are in tandem with the hypothesis that “dynamics of traditional challenges and prospects to regional integration in Africa have a paradigm shift to the integration processes” This is because the mass media could have been used to set the agenda for the public opinion by highlighting certain issues as theorist McCombs and Shaw argued that mass media does not tell people what to think, but what to think about.¹⁵³ Hence Africa media houses needs to reassess the advantageous opportunities offered by the national, regional and global information grid to enhance regional integration.

5.2.2 Foreign Aid Dependency

5.2.2.1 Response to cutting on dependency on foreign aid

The study notes that the respondents those that were in strong agreement were 50% and those that were in disagreement were 50%. Those that strongly agreed were for the view that cutting on dependency on foreign aid was an important aspect to regional integration, citing the fact that foreign aid conditionality especially from the west interfered with priorities of political decision of the state and most likely in the regional integration agenda. 45% of respondents observed that reducing dependency on foreign aid would encourage member states to look for internal funding with respect to their needs and not as dictated upon by the donors. Another view was that aid to Africa has made the poor poorer and the economic growth slower which has made the African continent vulnerable to the hard currency markets and more unattractive to higher quality investment. However, among the 50% disagreeing were of the view that cutting on foreign aid would imply weakening of regional economies and thus cause poor cross border trade and hence contribute negatively to regional cooperation. But a few pointed to the argument that since most of the countries were still dependent on foreign aid, dependency syn-

¹⁵³ MacComb, M. & Shaw, D.L. (1972) The Agenda-Setting Function of the Mass Media. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36, p.176-185.

drome was very strong to wish it away. The reasons seconded by some respondents to this view was that in some of the African countries the cold war period political ideological hangovers were still fresh in the citizen minds due to lack of value system to hard work.

5.2.2.2 Evidence that cutting foreign donor aid dependency can be a challenge and prospect to region integration.

The observation above is in line with view that donor aid dependency made the EAC member state budgets to be deep rooted and dependent on foreign aid, (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.3, p71). Although most of them are working on a reversal mechanism to reduce foreign aid dependence syndrome, a case in point is Kenya's experiences of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) as observed earlier, (ref. Chapter 2, para 2.1.1, p27). It was also observed that MNCs created state hegemonic competition between the members in the regional bloc that result to negative cooperative effort, (ref. Chapter 2, para 2.1.2, p28). The MNCs influence the decisions of their mother nations in either giving or holding foreign aid and to some extent the mutual relations between the investing state and their mother country. The view of Dambisa Moyo sums it all, in that donor aid dependency leads to a vicious cycle of aid that chokes off desperately needed investment thus strangling the regional integration efforts, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.2, p47). The EAC members have accelerated integration efforts since some members cut it off (i.e. Kenya) and others reduced to minimal the budgetary donor dependence, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.2, p47).

It is observed that the Western tailor-made integration process failed in Africa. Therefore it is possible to devise an African integration mechanism as a solution based on national values, economic capacities and regional interconnectivities that can deliver peaceful and prosperous Africa, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.2, p48).

In these arguments therefore the study views that donor aid dependency is a challenge that limits regional integration efforts. African countries seem to live beyond their means while their

integration effort decision seems to be distorted by donor aid expectation. In view of the theoretical framework, (ref. Chapter 1, para 1.5 p19), the aspect of donor dependency tends to weaken the intergovernmental relations and thus weak interstate bargaining of the states in a regional arrangement. Agreements on substance decisions of the RIA are also affected accordingly. These can be said to be the case in the EAC summit level where Kenya has had to cede more in concessions to influence outcome but the donor aid causes imbalance decisions of some member states. It can further be attributed to other RIA in Africa where there is lack of policy alternatives to issues relative to status quo of member states to determine expected unidirectional outcome to integration effort.

5.2.3 Democratic Leadership

5.2.3.1 Responses to promotion of democratic leadership contribute to regional integration.

The study respondents' outcome was observed to be as follows; strongly agreed 72%, agreed 8%, undecided 8% and those that disagreed were at 12%. Thus it was observed that the majority of respondents were in strong agreement. However, the general consensus that came out was that although the democratic leadership was key to cooperation, the EAC member countries were at different levels of democratization and hence a challenging issue to the regional integration effort. Citing the democratic value system being entrenched in Kenya through the Kenyan Constitution 2010, many were of the view that other member states were likely to follow suit in the near future as demonstrated by the constitution review process in Tanzania.

It was also in the majorities' view that the EAC was important highlighting the issue that its functions were dependent on how the leaders shaped the politics of the region. This view is in line with the theoretical framework, (ref. Chapter 1, para 1.5, p19), especially where leaders were expected to explain the efficiency in distributional outcomes of interstate bargaining, (ref.

Chapter 4, para 4.4 p73). The study observes that the political institutions in most African states are not there to serve the common good of the citizens but can be considered to be there exclusively to serve the interests of the narrow political elite. The study anchors this argument to the fact that three member states of EAC, Burundi, Rwanda and Uganda reviewed their constitution to allow extra term in office for their current head of states. Where Burundi resulted with flawed elections in 2015, that were highly contested leading to internal crisis. While the Ugandan parliamentary and presidential campaigns and elections were marked with protests between the government and opposition supporters that led to arrests of opposition leaders, the incumbent went along to win the race in 2016.

5.2.3.2 Evidence that promotion of democratic leadership can be a challenge and prospect to regional integration.

In line with responses above, the study observes that political leadership uncertainty in most of the African countries has been a major challenge to regional integration in Africa. It is noted that in most Africa countries, either there is a political instigated civil strife after presidential elections or there is a manipulated election to ensure status quo in political leadership, (ref. Chapter 2, para 2.7.3, p36) The study observes that political conflicts contestation have led countries to failed states like Somalia, while others like South Sudan, DR Congo and Burundi end up engulfed in civil conflicts. The study observes that the state political leadership in Africa which should have been a prospect to RIAs, is an issue that has emerged as a challenging aspect to regional integration. A case in point as observed earlier out of five members of the EAC only two Kenya and Tanzania can claim preference of democratic governance through a democratically elected government.

The study argues that for the RIAs in Africa to effectively transform this challenge into a prospect, there is need to study the EU regional integration bloc. This is because the EU has been

able to demonstrate democratic leadership values can promote peace, stability and economic prosperity throughout the region. Its member states adhere to democratic political leadership principles and values that have enabled to create institutions that have bided Europe for quite a long time. The study further noted that the EU institutions enabled to harmonize laws, formulate binding treaties and to adopt common policies in economic, social and political sectors, (ref. Chapter 1, para 1.3, p7). The ultimate result has been an integrated EU custom union, common trade policy among many others.

In this regard the study observes that the democratic leadership in Africa is still very young and facing democratic leadership challenges. The study argues that if democratic principles and values are well promoted in AU member states like in the EU then this challenge can be transformed into an integration prospect both in RIAs and AU.

5.2.4 Redirecting FDI to Infrastructural development for connectivity

5.2.4.1 Responses to redirecting FDI to Infrastructural development for connectivity

The study observed that the respondents were distributed as follows those that strongly agreed 16%, agreed 20%, Undecided 4%, disagreed 16% and strongly disagreed 40%. The majority of respondent were in strong-disagreement and disagreement. The central point of disagreement by the majority was that China investment in Africa in the infrastructural development was not meant to promote integration but it's driven by China's national interest. According to majority of disagreeing respondents their view was that China was gearing itself to be felt, seen and to create a mark for its presence to African people. The respondents' also viewed that the political leadership in Africa and the regional integration arrangements could take opportunity to harmonize China's infrastructural projects through regional bilateral and multilateral understanding to enhance regional infrastructure connectivity. Further the respondents were of the view that it was a major challenge for states to redirect Chinese FDI to regional endeavors.

5.2.4.2 Evidence that redirecting FDI to Infrastructural development for connectivity can be a challenge and prospect for regional integration.

The study did not get any strong evidence that redirecting FDI to infrastructure for connectivity could be a challenge and prospect for regional integration. The central point of respondents that redirecting the FDI depended on the country's projects priorities. In this regard, findings indicate that this is more of a prospect than a challenge. It can be viewed through the looking glass of China's economic interest as the major motivator of FDI in Africa, (ref. Chapter 2, para 2.8, p28 & Chapter 3, para 3.4.3 p53). Thus the African countries need to take advantage to develop the infrastructural inter-linkages of the RIA. The study further observes that regional and national governments attracting international corporate institutions for investments, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.4.3 p55), have a major role in policy formulation to guide in infrastructure development for regional connectivity. Improved infrastructure is essential for sustaining economic growth in RIAs in Africa.

5.2.5 Economic diversification

5.2.5.1 Response that economic diversification contributes to regional integration.

The study observed that the respondents representing 72% and 12% opined that they strongly agreed and agreed respectively with the aspect that economic diversification contributes to regional integration. The respondents were in a general concurrence on the issue that agriculture dependency in East Africa and Africa at large has not contributed much to job creation due to lack of industrial capacity for value addition to the crops produced. Other respondents' views were that, the land control and ownership is a major issue that has strained further growth of agriculture and livestock industries in East Africa. Other views were that traditional subsistence farming and pastoralist practices have failed to give way to extensive farming and high quality livestock breed ranching. The respondents further noted that EAC countries had vast

areas of livestock production but were still engaged with traditional cattle rustling that has become a cross border menace. Others respondents observed that intermittent agricultural regulations by governments, like in Tanzania led to poor market and great agricultural food stuff losses.

5.2.5.2 Evidence that that economic diversification can be a challenge and prospect to regional integration.

These views were in line with some scholars of regional integration, like Abdullah Madame, who observed that although Tanzania is the largest country in the EAC and it borders all the EAC partner states, it has not taken opportunity of its vast arable land as a food basket for the EAC member states as well as beyond the EAC.¹⁵⁴ The study notes that EAC member states have small size economy with similar commodities and thus economic diversification should be a prerequisite, (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.1, p68). Further government regulations are observed to create impediments to agriculture production within the region. The notes that even with a large coast line the EAC, has not complemented agriculture with sea fishing and neither has it developed the sea port facilities to international standards and other economic aspects to contribute to economic diversification, (ref Chapter 4, para 4.1, p69)

The study is of the view that expansion of activities in less developed sectors in the RIAs or even creating new activities of economic production is a significant aspect an existing challenge that requires combined efforts by the governments of a RIA, the private sector and or contribution of the international community. The RIA in Africa member states' have small size economies with similar commodities and thus economic diversification is an imperative in order to reap maximum benefits of larger domestic markets and economies of scale.

¹⁵⁴ Makame, Abdullah (2012) The East African Integration: Achievements and Challenges. *Great Insights* Volume 1, Issue6 August 2012, Maastricht: ECDPM

5.2.6 Continental Security Architecture

5.2.6.1 Response that harmonizing and improving the continental security architecture.

The study outcome observed the responses were 20% strongly agreed, 8% undecided, 12% disagreed 60% strongly disagreed with the issue that harmonization and improvement of the continental security architecture could contribute to regional integration. The central point of the respondents view were that there was no common reorganization and identification of security threats that would enable common agenda in securitization effort of certain issues based on defence and human security aspects. However, respondents some were of the view that the African security architecture was already in place and positioned alongside the regional blocs. Majority viewed the standby forces as none functional to African security challenges in the current state. Taking cognizance of the Eastern Africa Standby Force most of the respondents observed that it has failed to address the conflicts in Burundi and South Sudan to prove its worth. Although the regional blocs do not fully encompass the African Standby Force due to overlapping multiplicity of the membership of RIAs. Others viewed that it was already a challenge for the African states to agree on modes of operations as well as constituent institutions locations of the standby forces. Majority of the respondents observed that until that time the African standby force would take the shape of a continental force with one central command that is when it would be argued to be contributing to unification of both RIA and the AU.

5.2.6.2 Evidence that harmonizing and improving continental security architecture can be a challenge and prospect of regional integration.

The study observes that harmonizing and improving continental security architecture was on its early formation stages and hence it was a challenge to African states. In line with respondents views the study observed that insecurity of most states in Africa are internal and thus a challenge to effective continental response, (ref. Cahapter 2, para 29, p38). But the main challenge

is observed in the management structure given the countries multiplicity of regional organization affiliations.

The study observes that the diverse securitization of issues has gone opposite to those of economic interest alignments. Unlike like the economic interests, states view security demands differently from economic interests with the RIA. This can be argued to be among the causes of the multiplicity of the RIAs in Africa which makes a country to economically align itself to one region while again aligning itself in security wise to another region, (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.7, p73).

This aspect can be viewed from the EAC perspective where it is an existing challenge as observed by the respondents and confirmed by the study. It therefore supports the hypothesis that challenges and prospects facing EAC regional integration are similar to those that face other regional integrations in Africa.

5.2.7 Political Leadership attracting of FDI

5.2.7.1 Response to political leadership ability to attract FDI.

The study outcome observed the responses were 8% agreed, 8% undecided, 16% Disagreed 68% strongly disagreed with the fact that political leadership ability to attract FDI could contribute to regional integration. The central point of the respondents' view were that political leadership in Africa is normally compromised through donor funding by the western powers. Majority further stated that the MNCs are known to interfere with national political decisions through corrupting politicians to make decisions in favour of their investments. Others were of the view that the MNCs provided financial support for some incumbent political leaders to interfered with constitution by orchestrating the removal of term limits for the regime to hold on to power. Further most respondents observed that political leaders were capable to attract the

FDI but the corruption levels were so high that they could not enable the country to create wealth or opportunities for trade in the regional integration bloc.

5.2.7.2 Evidence that political leadership ability to attract FDI can be challenge and prospect for regional integration.

Political leadership in Africa has tended to be a challenge to regional integration due to corruption (ref. Chapter 1, para 1.3, p14). It was observed earlier that 33 of the African presidents have tried in one way or another to change the constitutional term limits in their countries, 12 were successful and of course through corruption, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.3, p50)

The study observes that leadership in most countries has stood out to attract FDI for economic growth since the early 1980s, and the worlds market for it has become more competitive (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.6, p73). On the other hand, the study also found that African countries are becoming increasingly attractive investment destinations for MNCs. While the FDI today is a major source of external private capital finance for African countries. The study further notes that the Africa states tend to prioritize human necessities compared to regional integration. Nevertheless, the big-man syndrome form of leadership in most states in Africa seem to be holding the major challenge to RIA in Africa, although good leadership is a prospect to regional integration in Africa. This consideration therefore proves the three hypotheses of the study to be holding to the arguments.

5.2.8 Multiplicity of Regional Economic Community Membership.

5.2.8.1 Responses to discouraging EAC member states from continued membership into the Multiplicity of Regional Economic Community Membership.

The study findings indicate that, 38% strongly agreed, 12% agreed, 12% disagreed 38% strongly disagreed with multiplicity of regional economic community membership. The re-

sponse was in a balancing feet, where 38% and 12% were in strong agreement and agreement respectively, and 38% and 12% were in strong disagreement and disagreement respectively. The central point of the majority of the respondents' view was that the multiplicity of RIA in the first place was due to national interest of maximizing on economic and security gain. The respondents observed that EAC member states did not only belong to EAC only but also to two or more of other regional blocs. The participants who strongly disagreed had a central view that it would be costly and not practicable to convince a state to withdraw from a certain RIA. They argued that this may be construed to mean interfering with internal affairs of that state. On the other hand, the respondents that strongly agreed and agreed had a central view that the EAC member states need to concentrate efforts to EAC integration and then consider as a bloc to join other RIAs. A few of the participants were of the view that most of EAC leaders lacked true commitment to regional integration processes.

5.2.8.2 Evidence that discouraging EAC member states from continued membership into the multiplicity of REC can be challenge and prospect for region integration.

The respondents' views were in line with study observation that most scholars have argued that African governance problem is one of the major challenges for regional integration in Africa due to their lack of commitment, (ref. Chapter 3, para 3.4.2, p52). In which case the leaders sign regional agreements and protocols but less effort is put to achieve regional integration objectives. The study further observes that African leaders are unable to cede some necessary level of sovereignty to accommodate regional integration issues. The state creates heavy burden by belonging to the multiplicity of the RIAs. This is because it results with a load of financial administration and conflicting obligations. The study notes also that African experiences so far seems to indicate that groupings with fewer members tend to be more successful and with a better progress than larger groups.in which the cases of EAC and SAKU/CMA can be cited.

Thus the study finds strong evidence that discouraging member states from continued membership into the multiplicity of REC can be a challenge and prospect. The major question is on how to make African states to appreciate withdrawing from the multiplicity of RIAs in order to align with the most appropriate and most beneficial to the states national interests?

This also proves the study's argument of the three hypotheses hold.

5.3 Study Findings

The study demonstrate that the hypothesis stated earlier that there are challenges and prospects to regional integrations in Africa holds.

The study reveals that promotion of democratic political leadership as an ideal challenge and prospect. As a prospect when this aspect is achieved it would ensure a level of political stability in line with regional policy formulation and implementation, increased levels of accountability and transparency, and standardized institution governance. However, in a capitalist environment the RIAs are operating in and the different levels of democracies African states are into, has remained a challenge. African states have been demanded by the international community to adhere to democratic ideals but to no avail. Political leaders in Africa have been caught up in power struggles, civil conflicts and corruption that suffocate democratic ideal for creation of an environment for regional integration. The moral integrity in leadership and commitment to regional integration lacks the necessary impetus to achieve greater strides in integration process. Nevertheless, the dynamics of post-cold war Africa is entrenching democratic ideals due to international pressures from such bodies as international human rights watch criticism, international legal obligation demands and through national constitution re-enacting in most African states.

Further the study reveals that media is best suited to promote cross border integration agenda and processes through agenda campaign for the public awareness. This is because it enables to

influence public opinion in the integration issues and Africa as a whole. It has been found that media is an opinion shaper and agenda setter. In this era of globalization there is increased dependency as well as competitiveness thus media diplomacy serves as a significant tool in winning both the local and international populace. But media houses have remained redundant in regional issues especially on integration. The likely and necessary media contribution that would have enabled to create images of expectations and benefits to the populace of regional integration through national and regional branding do not exist. The EAC media contribution is still in the formative stages where member states acceptance is still a major issue to some. This makes this aspect to remain a major challenge to RIAs in Africa. Although given the globalization rate in Africa the transformation due to its effects of connectivity and information sharing is causing a paradigm shift. States may be able to control the media houses what they say and air but they will not be able to control connectivity that enhances information exchanges and sharing as a result of globalization.

The study has found that the cyclic nature of poverty has been attributed to foreign aid dependency that the study noted to be a challenge and a prospect. Africa is the only continent that has defied the conventional economic logic that with all the natural resources, vast marine resources, flora and fauna and 12 hours a day of sunlight, its people writhe in abject poverty. Helping Africa by the West has been a noble cause. As argued in the study, the scholars' highlights of this realization are making African leaders to think otherwise on donor aid to run state budgets. On the other hand, the effects of conditionalities from the international aid institutions like the World Bank and IMF made the Africa states to think otherwise on accepting the foreign aid. The study has observed that some states in Africa have cut on donor aid to supplement their national budgets. It is in this view that the study argues there is prospect in the near future for the states within a RIA to look to one another for support for development, hence encouraging or creating the necessary environment for integration.

The study found that economic diversification as a challenge and prospect. This was argued in the view that African states require economic diversification to enable countries a chance to create the job opportunities for their people as well as opportunities for integration. The study observed that diversification does not occur in vacuum but operates in a conducive environment with investment, trade and industrial policies, dynamic economic growth performance, macroeconomic stability, competitive exchange rate and expansionary, responsible fiscal policies and institutions variables such as good governance and absence of conflict. However, due to lack of these economic aspects economic diversification in the RIAs member states has remained a challenge. The study argues that agricultural and livestock diversification in Africa states and technological innovation in the globalized world today among others are likely to create prospects for regional integration in Africa in the near future.

The study found that the African Force Security Architecture (AFSA) implementation though the RIA has made securitization of issues to go opposite those of the economic interest of member states. This is attributed to the meaning of emerging threats which has different meaning to different member states in a regional bloc. Although the study did not get enough evidence for harmonization of continental security architecture to stand out as a challenge and a prospect, it is still to be viewed as an unfolding concern in the overlapping multiplicity of RIA. Nevertheless, the study observes that globalization can be argued to have a greater influence in harmonization of continental security beyond alliance or grouping systems between states.

The study noted that Political leadership in Africa is a challenge and a prospect to RIA. The study views this aspect as a challenge to regional integration due to persistent corruption, “big-man” leadership syndrome and the regimes interference with national constitution. The study observes that the entrenchment of the democratic values in the African political leadership in the current times is creating dynamics that would make political leadership a prospect for reali-

zation of regional integration in the near future. The study further observes that with good political leadership a good environment for acquisition of FDI and prudent utilization will be assured.

The study further found that globalization is an unstoppable sweeping across the planet. No state can stop it but there are many things that states can do to slow it down in order to tap its benefits for economic development and hence make it more equitable and beneficial. For example, political leadership in Africa should have the will power to confront exploitative MNC and international regime strategies (i.e. the World Bank and IMF) by working together as African leaders.

The study also confirms that the liberal intergovernmentalism theory underpins the arguments of the EAC region formation and sustainment by the partner states as well as other RIAs in this study. This is based on the economic and geographical interests of the East Africa states. The study is in the line of the theory's argument that the partner states are of the view on the accruing benefits of the EAC. For example, the landlocked states view the ease of access to the sea when in the regional arrangement while littoral states view the trade between themselves and that of the landlocked states. Thus the theoretical factors of considered earlier in the study come into play.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.0 Conclusion

As it was postulated earlier the philosophy of the African Unity that underpins the African relations with itself and with the rest of the World still remains as “*We are all African*” It is observed that the competing visions of unity and integration between the founding fathers, who were also the heads of new states in Africa have had a paradigm shift given the dynamics of globalization effects the states are facing today. The Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 encouraged regional integration bodies to prepare the way for the overall unification of Africa. However, fifty years later, Muammar Gaddafi of Libya, called for African leaders to retrace the steps of Nkrumah by uniting the African states. Just like Nkrumah, Gaddafi envisioned a prosperous Africa in all fields of economics, politics, social and ideology. Nevertheless, Africa continues to face serious economic and developmental challenges in putting in place effective and sustainable regional and continental integration framework. In view of this scholars are still looking for viable and sustainable way for consolidating various integration processes not only in Africa but also in other regions of the world.

The Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs) in Africa are at different levels of integration in implementing respective agendas. The ultimate goal for the African Union is to achieve African integration that will enable a continental economic and political integration in future.

The overall objective of the study was to examine the challenges and prospects that play in the integration in Africa with a view to recommending the way forward. In order to achieve this fit, the study went off the path to check on other RIA in the world and especially European Union (EU), the Asian Southeast Economic Arrangement (ASEAN), the North America Free

Trade Area (NAFTA) among others. The study used the EAC as the case study of RIA in Africa since it has transformed itself from a loose cooperation framework to a fast emerging, strong and dynamic economic block whose strong institutions and steady programs delivery are making an impact to the economies of the region.

The study examined several challenges and prospects within certain concepts that if addressed provide strong prospects for regional integration in Africa. Such were harnessing the positive media agenda for public opinion, realizing that foreign aid hinders development which would enable to harness opportunities within the state or RIA, democratic political leadership plays a key role in attracting FDI for economic development, multiplicity membership creates a negative force to RIAs forward impetus hence the need for rationalization of activities while economic diversification especially from traditional agriculture would be key role in capitalizing on economic strengths and capacities of the states.

The study's findings contribute to the body of knowledge by determining four key challenges facing the RIAs in Africa in the contemporary world. Specifically, these are the agenda setting or promotion of public opinion through media (ref. Chapter 5, Sub Para 5.21, P93), cutting on foreign aid dependency by member states within a RIA (ref. Chapter 5, Sub Para 5.2.2, p95) promotion of democratic political leadership, (ref. Chapter 5, Sub Para 5.2.3, p97) and promotion of economic diversification (ref. Chapter 5, Sub Para 5.2.5, p100). These challenges demand states in the RIAs to transform them into the necessary opportunities or prospects for effective regional integration in Africa.

Further the study's findings and recommendations could improve national foreign policy with respect to region integrations especially on the aspect of rationalizing membership to multiplicity of RIAs. This is grounded on the view that states could realize that the key challenges can

be transformed into opportunities for regional integration would enable economies into tapping much of the opportunities offered by the globalization dynamics of the world today.

6.1 Study Objective Attainment

In view of the study objectives, Chapter Two geared to determine the challenges and prospects that limit regional integration arrangements in Africa as the first objective. This was achieved through in-depth examination of such aspects as globalization in terms of its positive and negative aspects, xenophobic attacks, state security threats emanating from terrorism, changing configuration of migrations in Africa, leadership in Africa as a prisoner of colonial legacy, multiple interests resulting to ambitious undertaking, regional infrastructure development, China trade and FDI in Africa, state security and governance, and international regimes interference with Africa states leadership.

On examination of these areas, the study enables to understand some of the traditional challenges and prospects that limit regional integration in Africa with a view of emerging state dynamics. For example, the Westphalian sovereignty is being rivalled by emerging aspects of globalization. The study argues that the state in a RIA has to endeavor to tap to positive aspects of globalization while guarding on the negative aspects in order to develop and grow economically to be a viable state in the world of international politics (Ref Para 2.2 p 27-3). This argument is further supported by the evidence that promotion of regional integration through media and public opinion is viewed as fulcrum for RIA in Africa where the media could play the role of enabling environment (Ref para 5.2.1.2 p95).

Chapter Three geared to examine the challenges and prospects that face regional integrations arrangements in Africa as the second objective. To achieve this objective, the study examined the integration efforts of the member states within the regional integration arrangements in order to get the insights of the challenges and prospects they face. Such issues as promoting me-

dia public opinion, foreign aid dependency as a hindrance to economic development, democratic political leadership preference, multiplicity of regional integration membership, strengthening human resource capacity, regional security issues aim, dispelling land loss fears and ICT availability and accessibility were considered.

These aspects were considered because they cut across the RIAs in Africa as well as other regional integrations outside Africa which were reviewed to ground the arguments. For example, political leadership in Africa is perceived to be more of autocratic and dictatorial rather than democratic thus getting riddled with corruption which affects how state strategic decisions are made compared to democratic political leadership in the European states under the European Union regional integration (Ref para 1.3 p6&7). On the other hand, African states have depended for too long on foreign aid but little or insignificant development has been realized compared to South East Asia States under ASEAN (Ref para 1.3 p9).

Chapter Four geared to examine and analyze the challenges and prospects of regional integration that face the EAC as an objective of the study. To achieve this objective, the study examined and analyzed the challenges and prospects that limit or enhance the EAC integration efforts with a consideration that EAC has achieved a foot higher than most other regional integration in Africa. The EAC acted as the case for consideration in this study. To achieve this objective, the study focused the RIA in Africa challenges and prospects to the EAC with a view to analyzing their effects. Further the challenges and prospects to EAC integration were brought to the fore. The challenges facing the EAC were identified as the effects of overlapping membership by the EAC partner states, effects of national sovereignty, harmonization of EAC economic policy, effects of national interest and the effects of goals of EAC integration. While the prospects were identified based on available integration opportunities. These were effects of positive globalization, EAC's geostrategic and demographic opportunities, and the EAC's infrastructure development opportunities.

These aspects were considered based on literature review explored that enabled to gather primary data to confirm the objective. For example, foreign aid dependency to support economies of the EAC member states and promotion of democratic leadership were considered. The foreign aid dependency was supported by the evidence that cutting it could be a challenge and a prospect to regional integration (Ref chapter 5 para 5.2.2.2 p98) while the study's evidence on supporting promotion of democratic leadership observed that the state political leadership should have been a prospect but has emerged as a challenge to regional integration contrary to other regional integrations like the EU (ref Chapter 5 Para 5.2.3.2 p100)

In this view the study objectives were all attained and as portrayed in the arguments of each chapter.

6.2 Study Hypotheses Confirmation

On the other hand, the study hypotheses were confirmed as follows: - the first hypothesis that held that, "the dynamics of traditional challenges and prospects to regional organizations in Africa have a paradigm shift to the integration process." This argument was confirmed to hold due to the positive aspects of globalization that demand interconnectedness of the states in many aspects, may it be politically, economically or socially, notwithstanding the sovereignty as it was found out in the EAC case study, (ref. chapter 2, p26-42 & chapter 4, para 4.7-4.8 p76- 87). In other words, it was found that the challenges of integration are becoming more practical and tangible to be realized by states in a RIAs due to globalization dynamics of the world today which on the other hand creates favourable climate that can be tapped to transform the challenges into opportunities or prospects of regional integration.

The second hypothesis which held that "regional integration in Africa have challenges and prospects to realize the African dream of economic integration" was confirmed through examination of various challenges that affect regional integration efforts in Africa, while the EAC case study brought out the prevailing challenges and prospects in a RIA (ref. Chapter 4, para 4.7-4.8

p76- 87). The preference or the existence of these challenges confirmed the hypothesis. The third hypothesis held that, “the challenges and prospects facing EAC integration are similar to those that face other regional integrations in Africa.” This argument was confirmed through examination of integration challenges and prospects that face the EAC. The EAC integration challenges and prospects therein were confirmed to be similar to those that prevailed in other RIAs in Africa.

6.3 Recommendations

From the conclusions above, the study gives the following recommendations:

1. Africa media houses needs to take maximum advantage of the global information grid to promote regional integration through agenda setting to create public opinions.
- 2 Africans nations ought to live within their means by delinking their annual budgets to foreign aid support in order to harness opportunities within the state or RIA.
3. African regional economic communities ought to establish governance institutions to run the affairs of the bloc with powers to formulate policies and biding treaties.
4. African nations ought to address the challenges of corruption in political leadership in order to improve the principal determinants influencing choices of FDI investors.
5. African Union as the continent’s premier organization should device a mechanism for rationalizing membership to RIA to address the overlapping aspects that has resulted to negative impetus force to integration process.
6. The African leaders should fight for balance of trade in the global arena under the umbrella of RIAs and AU just like most trading partners in other parts of the world.

7. To achieve integration effectively it is paramount that the competences of the EAC secretariat and supranational institutions are strengthened.

8. Given the fragmented and small sizes of EAC member states low income economies, EAC needs to competitively participate in multilateralism from a regionalized stand point, to negotiate more effectively for international markets access.

6.4 Area for further study

The study recommends that a further study is necessary to identify an appropriate regional integration framework for regional Economic Communities in Africa. Further to this there is need for a study on the AU's most appropriate mechanism for rationalizing memberships to RIAs in order to address the overlapping multiplicity of RIAs. In addition, an inquiry on the citizenry with a more representation sample large enough to be more representative of the EAC population of 150 million people is recommended. This is because a sample of 25 respondents out of 150million is not representative enough for a more generalized study.

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STRUCTURED QUESTIONNAIRE

Kindly fill this questionnaire to enable me collect data for this study. The questionnaire is meant to collect information to explore new prospects of regional integration in Africa with a focus to East Africa Community. Please answer the questions by writing a brief statement or ticking in the boxes provided as applicable. The information provided will be treated as strictly confidential and at no instance will your name be mentioned in this research.

Part A: Personal Data

1. Please tick in the box your corresponding age bracket

Below 30 years

30 – 39 years

40- 49 years

50 – 59 years

60 – 69 years

Above 70 year

2. Please tick in the box to indicate your gender

Male

Female

3. Please tick in the box corresponding to your country or if you are working for EAC

(NB: Your nationality is not necessary if you are working for EAC)

Burundi

Kenya

Rwanda

Uganda

Tanzania

EAC

4. Please tick in the box corresponding to your work occupation or work designation by

Ministry or any other

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ministry of Tourism

Ministry of Trade

Ministry of Defence

Ministry of finance

5. Please tick in the box corresponding to the duration you have worked with the organization

1 – 5 years

6 – 10 years

11 – 15 years

16 – 20 years

21 – 25 years

26 – 30 years

Above 30 years

Part B: Concepts Data

Instructions

The following represents some of the possible factors that influence regional integration of East Africa Community. How would you rate these factors and why? Where, 1 = Strongly agree, 2 = Agree, 3 = Un-decided, 4 = Disagree, and 5 = Strongly disagree, respectively.

S/No.	Description	Ratings and Why?			
1	Promotion of regional integration through Media and Public Opinion	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
2	Cutting on dependency on Foreign Aid	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
3	Promotion of Democratic leadership	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
4	Redirect FDI to Infrastructural development for connectivity	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
5	Discourage EAC member states from continued membership into the Multiplicity of Regional Integration Membership	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
6	Political Leaders ability to ensure efficiency and effective acquisition of Foreign Development Aid (FDI)	1	2	3	4
	Why?				
7	Harmonize and improve the continental security architecture.	1	2	3	4
	Why?				

S/No.	Description	Ratings and Why?			
8	Economy Diversification	1	2	3	4
Why?					
9	What other factor who you consider	1	2	3	4
Why?					