

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

**CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION; A COMPARATIVE
ANALYSIS OF THE EAC AND COMESA (2000-2020)**

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REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
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DECLARATION

I do declare that this research Project is mine and it has not been presented to any other institution of higher learning for any kind of an academic award

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my immediate family members and close friends who have been a great inspiration to me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to God for granting me mercies and strength during the entire period of working on this proposal.

Special appreciation to my supervisor Prof. Amb. Maria Nzomo whose contribution and suggestions helped me improve my proposal.

Furthermore, I would like to thank my family and friends for their moral support while I was working on this thesis.

God bless you all!

ABSTRACT

This study sought to make a critical analysis of the challenges and prospects of the African integration by making a comparative analysis between the EAC and COMESA since the year 2000. Among the key questions the study sought to answer included; What Contribution has COMESA and EAC made towards the realization of African Integration? And; what challenges does COMESA and EAC experience which slow down their capacity to properly aid the Integration of Africa? The study was anchored on the theory of Liberal Institutionalism which argued that in order for regional bodies such as EAC and COMESA to realize their intended objectives, they must create regional institutions with specialized functions to operate across the member's states. The study was qualitative in nature since it employed both primary sources of data collection such as the Interview Guide and the secondary sources of data collection such as the books, journal articles among others. The study relied on purposive sampling as its main sampling procedure. Data was analyzed using qualitative techniques such as content analysis as well as making interpretations and making inferences or attaching meaning. The study established that both the EAC and COMESA stood a very high chance of realizing their objectives which was in line with the African Unions Vision 2063 that sought to foster African Integration. Among the successes of COMESA and EAC in promoting African integration was by way of growth and expansion of Intra-regional trade, intra-regional security, increased immigration, increased intra-regional sports competition and Educational exchange programs, Among the identified challenges which continued to negatively impact on these two regional bodies included; the Sovereignty question, double membership of states, absence of political goodwill, external interference and ideological differences. The study recommended that the two regional bodies should consider collapsing themselves into one bigger regional grouping since they have the same objectives, harmonization of ideologies, promotion of increased consultations, as well as incorporating the views of the general through public participation.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	: African Union
BREXIT	: British Exit Vote
COMESA	: Common Market for Eastern and Southern African states
CSO	: Civil Society Organizations
EAC	: East African Community
ECOWAS	: Economic Community For the West African States
EU	: European Union
OAU	: Organization for African Unity
SADC	: Southern African Development Cooperation
UN	: United Nations

CHAPTER ONE: THE INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

The question of Regional integration has continued being one the most celebrated aspects in the modern international system¹, this is because among other reasons, it's an important strategy of promoting international peace and security, it's also an avenue of promoting regional and global development and above all, it's the surest way of ensuring that Global unity is achieved which is a necessary tool of promoting international cooperation and peaceful co-existence of all the people.² However, the art and science of regional integration has also been faced with a number of challenges which many at times has made the concept to appear as a wishful thinking. These challenges have continued to threaten the existence of regional bodies.³

For instance, in the European continent, the European Union has existed for over 7 decades and with the EU, there are quite a number of the documented milestones that the EU has achieved in the 7 decades.⁴ However, the EU continues to experience a lot of challenges which threaten the gains that have been made. This includes, the Economic crisis in Greece which led to the massive migrations of the refugees to other EU member states brought about interstate conflicts in Europe on whether to admit the refugees or not.⁵ The attempted Secession of Scotland from the mainland Britain also to a greater extent affected the stability of the EU. The problem of

¹ Schumitter P (2007); Regional Cooperation and Regional Integration; Concepts Measurements and a bit of Theory, European University Institute

² Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies. 2(11), pg. 4-15

³ World Bank report (2017); The state of Regional Integration in Africa, World Bank Website

⁴ MC Grattaon E & Waddle A (2020); The Impact of Brexit on Foreign Investment and Production; American Economic Journal; Macro Economics, 12(11), Pg. 76-103

⁵ ibid

terrorism and terrorist attacks has also to a greater extent led to the reversal of most gains in the EU which have been made over the years. What almost broke the Carmel's back in the stability of Europe was the BREXIT vote which saw the British citizens voting in a referendum and agreeing to move out of the European Union and begin functioning as Britain in regional and global matters⁶. Of course so many reasons were cited for this decision, but to a greater extent it made so many steps backwards with regards to the stability of Europe and its progress.

In the African Union, the Quest for the Unity of Africa began during the decolonization process, when a few pan Africanists such as George Padmore, Namdi Azikiwe, Kamuzu Banda, Jomo Kenyatta among others came together and created the Pan Africanism movement to promote the unity and integration of the African people.⁷ At the independence period, the OAU was formed in 1963 and Headquartered in Addis Ababa in Ethiopia with an intention of uniting all the African people from wherever they were all over the world, Later the OAU transformed itself into the AU with almost the same objective.⁸ However, despite the existence of the AU as a continental body tasked with these efforts to Unite the African people, still there has been a continued existence of several factors and historical occurrences that have continued to divide the African people along the racial lines, regional lines and ethnic lines alongside religious lines and socio-cultural lines just to mention but a few.

The Advent of the EAC and COMESA in the new Millennia offered a greater opportunity for the unity of the African people in the East and Southern region to unite and make progress.⁹ To date

⁶ ibid

⁷ Melo & Yvonne Tsikata (2014); Regional Integration in Africa; Challenges and prospects, A contribution to the Handbook of Africa and Economics /Foundation for international Development studies research website

⁸ ibid

⁹ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

there is still much hope in these two bodies to ensure that the unity of the Africans in the East and Southern parts of Africa is achieved. with this unity, it is also expected that the Africans living in the states located in the East and the Southern parts of Africa will enjoy faster development through intra-regional trade, it will stabilize the region through ensuring that there is order in all the member states as well as help to fight global criminal activities such as International terrorism, Human Trafficking, Drug Trafficking, Piracy, smuggling as well as effective utilization of the shared resources.¹⁰ However, all these expectations seem to be a pipe dream with the emergence of interstate conflicts and tensions between EAC and COMESA member states such as Kenya and Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda, South Africa and Zimbabwe, The Burundian Crisis among others.

It's upon this narrative that this study sought to critically examine the challenges and prospects of the African integration by way of doing a comparative analysis of the EAC and COMESA activities in the New Millennia.

¹⁰ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

1.2 Statement of the problem

The major reason as to why regional organizations are a necessary tool in promoting Integration of the people and states is because they enable different states that share common geographical location to come together to foster regional cooperation on various issues as well as to diffuse regional tensions.¹¹ This implies that regional stability, promotion of regional development as well as promotion of a harmonious existence is the end game of regional integration.¹² However, despite the existence of regional bodies such as COMESA and the EAC for more than two decades has not guaranteed regional peace and stability, neither has it ensured that regional development has taken root or the much desired harmonious existence between states and non-state actors has also not been achieved.¹³ This has made it difficult for the African people to integrate and it begs the study to ask the question why?

Secondly, A number of studies have been done in this area, some of these studies include Wolfrey¹⁴ who conducted a study on “The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Hailu, conducted a study on Regional Economic Integration in Africa; Challenges and Prospects,¹⁵ Mlambo, Unearthing the challenges and prospects of regional integration in Southern Africa.¹⁶ Jonyo and Mararo , A critical Analysis of the role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the

¹¹ Asche H & Burcher J (2009); Myth & Reality of Regional Integration, Recht in Africa, 2 pg. 169-1986

¹² Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

¹³ *ibid*

¹⁴ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

¹⁵ Hailu M (2014); Regional Economic International Africa; Challenges and Prospects; MIZAN law Review, Vol 8 No 2

¹⁶ Mlambo D (2018); Unearthing the Challenges and Prospects of regional integration in Southern Africa; Journal of Public affairs. Pg. 1-7 <http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9898-1414>

East African Community 2001-2016.¹⁷ as well as Girma who conducted a study on COMESA; Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration.¹⁸ These studies agreed that each of the regional bodies in Africa had Unique challenges that slowed down its efforts to realize its own objectives. However, none of these studies ever tried to do a comparative analysis between two regional bodies and in particular a comparative analysis between COMESA and the EAC to establish whether one regional organization could learn from the other. Similarly, the circumstances under which the above studies were conducted was very different from the modern circumstances whereby the outbreak of the Corvid-19 pandemic has to a greater extent altered the mode of operation in the International system and the Regional bodies such as COMESA and the EAC have been severely affected by the effects of the pandemic hence the rationale for this study.

It is therefore upon the above background that this study sought to critically examine the challenges and the prospects of African Integration by carrying out a comparative analysis between the EAC and COMESA with a view of making proposals on how they can further be strengthen so as to hasten the efforts of promoting African integration.

1.3 Research Questions

This study was guided by these questions;

- i. What are the challenges and prospects in the realization of African Integration?

¹⁷ Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies. 2(11), pg. 4-15

¹⁸ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

- ii. What Contribution has COMESA and EAC made towards the realization of African Integration?
- iii. What challenges does COMESA and EAC experience which slow down their capacity to properly aid the Integration of Africa?

1.4 Research Objectives

The study was guided by the following Objectives;

- i. To establish the challenges and the prospects in the realization of African Integration
- ii. To determine the Contribution of COMESA and EAC towards the realization of African Integration.
- iii. To identify the challenges which COMESA and EAC experience which slow down their capacity to properly aid the Integration of Africa

1.5 Justification of the study

This study was justified at two levels, at Academic justification and at Policy justification

1.5.1 Academic Justification

Academically, a number of studies have been done on this area which looked at the challenges and opportunities of regional integration in Africa. However, these studies have focused on individual regional bodies such as ECOWAS, SADC, EAC or COMESA among others. None of these studies ever attempted to do a comparative study of the challenges and prospects of regional organizations between two or more organizations and in particular a comparative analysis between COMESA and the EAC hence a literature gap exists in this area. This study contributed to knowledge expansion. This implies that students of diplomacy and international

studies, Law, regional integration, International Relations among others will find the findings of this study useful in their studies as it will make them to do a further intellectual interrogation on this matter. Similarly, the researchers who have a keen interest in the African integration will be promoted to carry out a further research.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

This study identified a number of policy loopholes in as far as Regional bodies in Africa and the African integration is concerned. These loopholes range from economic policies, immigration policies, security policies as well as socio-political policies among others. Therefore, the study will provide a number of solutions on how these policies can be strengthened so that they enable the regional bodies to effectively support the integration of the African people. The findings and the recommendations made by the study were useful to policy makers of these two regional bodies both at the state level and at the regional level. By doing this the study contributed to policy development.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the study

This study focused on the prospects and challenges of the African integration and the EAC and COMESA will be used as a case study when making a comparative study between COMESA and EAC. The study concentrated on the period between 2000 and 2020. This was the period when regional bodies have come up and championed the African Integration Agenda.

Among the limitations the study included; finding the relevant respondents to participate in this study can be hard, this is because many of them were so busy with their daily activities and they did not have time for this study, similarly, some of the respondents may fear to participate in the study since they have no authorization to do so from their seniors. Finally, in this era of Covid-

19 pandemic were movements of people have been limited, it affected the movements of the researcher from one point to another.

Therefore, the researcher tried to persuade the prospective respondents on the need to participate in the study, also the researcher mailed the research instruments to her would be respondents prior to the interviews. the researcher also tried to keep social distancing; used technological platform such as google meet to engage with her respondents.

1.7 Operationalization of Key terms

Regional Bodies: Refers to these specialized organizations whose membership is state based that share a common geographical location¹⁹. for the purposes of this study, regional bodies meant COMESA and EAC.

Regional Integration: Refers to that process whereby states that share a common geographical location makes a conscious decision of coming together with an aim of fostering regional cooperation and diffusing regional tensions.²⁰ For the purposes of this study, regional integration meant the coming together of the states in East and Southern parts of Africa through COMESA and the EAC.

Immigration: Refers to the movement of person's goods and services across interstate boundaries. ²¹For the purposes of this study, immigration ended the movement of person's goods and services across interstate boundaries within EAC and COMESA region

¹⁹ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

²⁰ Asche H & Burcher J (2009); Myth & Reality of Regional Integration, Recht in Africa, 2 pg. 169-1986

²¹ ibid

Regional Trade: Refers to the commercial exchange of goods and services across inter-state boundaries.²² for the purposes of this study it meant the type of trade that takes place within the EAC and COMESA region

Regional Security: Refers to the stability and state of peaceful co-existence of people and states within a particular geographical location.²³ For the purposes of this study, it meant the state of peace and political stability in the EAC and COMESA regions

Functionalism: it refers to the ability of regional organizations to govern themselves through established regional institutions which performs specialized functions through causing both spillover effects and spillback effects to each member state.²⁴ For the purposes of this study, it meant all those regional institutions that have been created by EAC and COMESA with a duty of performing a specialized function across the member states

1.8 Literature Review

This section reviews literature on various thematic areas which have a bearing on the regional integration in Africa, with an emphasis on the COMESA and EAC regional blocs. This was brought from a global outlook, then to a continental view and finally to a regional perspective. Regionalism across national borders has become a global phenomenon,²⁵

²² Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. *Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies*. 2(11), pg. 4-15

²³ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; *international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal*. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

²⁴ Haas E (1958); *The Uniting of Europe; Political, Social & Economic Forces 1950-1957*. Stanford; Stanford University press

²⁵ 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.

1.8.1 Genesis of Regional Integration in Africa

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.²⁶ The model produced three postmodern major features in the African leadership aspect. Firstly, an ideology of Africanism, although viewed as loose by the westerners' 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.

1.8.2 Implications of Regional integration

Regional integration is the arrangement that is aimed at achieving and enhancing cooperation by means of regional rules, regulations and institutions that are signed or entered into by countries or states that are in the same geographical region.²⁷ Regional integration could be having political goals or economic objectives and sometimes business strategies that are geared towards commercial purposes and security of the boarder. Generally, regional integration is instrumental

²⁶ Buzan B. & Ole Waever Regions and Power: The Structure of International Security. London. Cambridge University Press (2005) pp 222

²⁷ Haas, E. B. (1975). The obsolescence of regional integration theory (Vol. 25). Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California.

in helping countries overcome the separations that tend to impede flow of commodities and services, people, capital and ideas.²⁸

The separations happen to be limitations for growth in terms of economy more so in the developing countries. Regional integration thus aids countries in overcoming these expensive separations hence leading to integration of goods, services and market factors creating efficiency in movement of capital, trade and ideas as stated earlier on. Regional integration is made stronger through promotion of institutional and common physical infrastructure.²⁹ Regional integration therefore requires countries that are involved to cooperate in aspects such as transport, information computer technology, trade, investment, energy, domestic regulations, financial and macroeconomic policy. Regional integration can therefore lead to reasonable gains economically as it can allow the involved countries to share costs of producing public goods like huge infrastructure projects due to economies of scale, improve the efficiency in the markets, have strong building block for global integration, enjoy other non-economic benefits like security and peace and contribute to policy jointly.

1.8.3 Global Economic Integration

Globally, economic regional integration takes a general structure that is characterized by; integration processes are complex due to the controversies that arise among its members. Among the most outstanding features of the current processes of regional economic integration are, Institutional strengthening and free functioning of market rules, trade liberalization and export promotion, deepening of democratic government systems, generate global competition, the rest of the world is not discriminated and the emphasis is placed on opening markets, eliminating

²⁸ Schiff, M., & winters, L. A. (2003). Regional integration and development. The World Bank.

²⁹ De Melo, J., & Panagariya, A. (Eds.). (1995). New dimensions in regional integration. Cambridge University Press.

trade barriers and encouraging political and institutional cooperation.³⁰ Additionally the rules are similar and strict compliance by all members, without discrimination or asymmetries, the agreements that are adopted are vertical, countries can sign one or more trade agreements with other countries, including overlapping agreements and the concept of regionalism is more open, less protectionist. It adopts open policies against official barriers to trade or a distancing from protectionism.³¹ The stages of economic integration start with preferential trade areas, free trade area, custom unions, common market, complete economic union, monetary union, economic and monetary union, and the full political integration. Globally, there are several regional integrations such as the European Union (EU), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), and East Africa Community (EAC) among others.

1.8.4 European Union (EU)

The European Union is a united monetary and trade body that entails 27 countries as members. EU overcomes all the controls at the boarder among member states. The open boarder strategy permits free movement of commodities and people saving random checks at some spots for drugs and crime. Any product that is produced within the boundaries of one of the EU member is sold to any other member state with no duties or tariffs. The purpose of the European Union is to achieve more competence in the global market competition. Similarly, EU aims at balancing the needs of its political and independent members.

³⁰ Hosny, A. S. (2013). Theories of economic integration: A survey of the economic and political literature. *International Journal of economy, management and social sciences*, 2(5), 133-155.

³¹ Snorrason, S. T. (2012). *Asymmetric economic integration: Size characteristics of economies, trade costs and welfare*. Springer Science & Business Media.

The members of EU include Belgium, Austria, Greece, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Finland, Estonia, Germany, Ireland, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Latvia, Malta, Luxembourg, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Romania and Spain. EU aims at promoting peace, individual values and wellness of the members, offering justice, security and peace with no internal borders, sustainable development basing on balancing economic development and stability of price, highly competitive market economy, social progress and protection of the environment. European Union promotes scientific and technological progress, combats social exclusion and discrimination, enhances economic, territorial and social cohesion among the member countries, respects the rich linguistic and cultural diversity and establishes a monetary and economic union with a single euro currency.

The EU has been geared towards delivering more than 50 years of stability, peace and prosperity, aided in improving the living standards and strengthened the European currency. The abolition of borders between the EU members enables people to freely travel across the continent. The EU's main economic force is the single market. It enables most commodities, services, cash and citizens to move freely. The European Union aims at developing the huge resource to other sectors like energy, education and capital markets to ensure that Europeans can draw the maximum benefit from it. Currently the Brexit has had its effects on the economy of UK for instance in three dimensions which are: European Union market access based on consideration of tariffs and non-tariff barriers, reduced numbers of European Union citizens working in the UK, and reductions in FDI³². Capital accumulation and population size feedback on tax income and demand for public services are key issues of concern in EU.

³² McGrattan, E. R., & Waddle, A. (2020). The impact of Brexit on foreign investment and production. *American Economic Journal: Macroeconomics*, 12(1), 76-103.

1.8.5 African Integration

In Africa, regional integration has been viewed as one of the strongest ways of achieving modernization and industrialization by means of trade and enhancing economies of scale through access to reliable markets³³. As a result, there has been a revolution leading to formation of regional economic bodies across Africa. The formation of these regional bodies has however not done enough to reduce the marginalization of Africa as a continent in the world trade. The major aim of African countries coming together to embrace regional integration was to increase the visibility and voice of Africa in the world economy. In addition, these regional bodies were formed with specific short and long-term goals most importantly, achieving total integration over time.

The proposed framework for African integration and industrialization was the dissection of the continent into regional integration areas that would comprise a united African economy, the African Economic Community³⁴. To realize this, the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) augmented three regional integration arrangements. The first one was the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) for West Africa, which was formed in 1975, predating the LPA. The second one was the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) encompassing East and Southern Africa, which was the forerunner of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The third one was the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) for Central Africa. Additionally, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was formed in 1989, completing continental coverage. The Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC) was established in 1980, by the frontline states with the specific aim of reducing

³³ Bachmann, V., & Sidaway, J. D. (2010). African regional integration and European involvement: external agents in the East African Community. *South African Geographical Journal*, 92(1), 1-6.

³⁴ Asche, H., & Brücher, J. (2009). Myth and reality of African regional integration. *Recht in Afrika*, 2(2009), 169-86.

economic dependence on apartheid South Africa, which was still excluded from the African integration plan. SADCC engaged in cross-border, sector-specific projects such as regional development paths and the Southern African Power Pool. SADC, however, adopted an explicit market integration agenda and is a good example of the linear model of integration in Africa.

The SADC roadmap and the EAC integration arrangement are good models of Africa's integration history, reflecting the adoption of the linear integration model with ambitious targets. From the fourteen regional economic communities that existed in 2001, nine aim to become a full economic union. Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa aims to become a common market, SACU is an established customs union, with no plans to go beyond this, while the remaining three aim for intra-regional free trade or regional cooperation³⁵. These agendas find synergy with the aim to transform the African economic situation and to establish over a period of just more than thirty years a strong united bloc of nations. Recent commitment by the member states of the COMESA, SADC and the EAC to establish a Tripartite Free Trade Area consisting of the 26 member states of these RECs is viewed as an important step in addressing the problem of overlapping membership that is a key feature of these RIAs.

1.8.6 Literature Gap

Having explored various literatures, most studies considered treating regional bodies separately in the analysis of their challenges and prospects. Unlike the previous studies, the present seeks to take an aggregate comparative approach in assessing the similarities and differences in challenges and prospects between COMESA and EAC. The comparative basis provided a new

³⁵ Yeats, A. J. (1999). What can be expected from African regional trade arrangements? Some empirical evidence. The World Bank.

perception of application of strategies between the two regional bodies and suggests best feasible ways of promoting full regional integration in Africa.

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This study was guided by the Liberalism theory and in particular the third strand which talks about Liberal institutionalism. For starters the theory assumed that in the international system, international cooperation and interdependence are two attributes which are highly valued.³⁶ Secondly the theory assumed that besides matters of state sovereignty and survival of the state, there are other important attributes that have been prioritized such as the economy, environmental preservation, matters of socio-cultural promotion as well as regional cohesion and integration among others.³⁷ Therefore the theory argued that in order for interstate cooperation to work, there is a greater need of the member states in that particular region to embrace regional institutions with a specialized functions to carry out their functions across member states, This implied that states have to surrender part of their sovereignty to these specialized regional institutions so that they can ensure uniformity in the operationalization of key functions and promote regional interactions.

The theory further argued that its these regional bodies that are tasked with ensuring that states adopts policies and programs that are designed to promote regional integration and interdependence among the citizens of different states in that particular region. This process was known as spill-over effects whereby norms, practices and cultures such as democracy, good governance, public participation, transparency, regional trade among others are spread across the member states. Secondly, these regional institutions can cause spillback effects whereby they are

³⁶ Haas E (1975); *The obsolescence of Regional Integration Theory*, Vol (25), Berkeley. Institute of international Studies, University of California

³⁷ *ibid*

able to ensure that proper practices, cultures and norms of behaviors from one particular states are borrowed and adopted by the regional institutions in question.³⁸

The theory concluded by arguing that its only through these institutions that regional bodies such as COMESA and the EAC are able to realize all its objectives, i.e. both short term and long term objectives.

1.10 Conceptual Framework

This study was guided by the following conceptual framework whereby Regional Bodies such as the EAC and COMESA are the Independent Variables, while African Integration was the dependent variable. In order for the Independent variable to positively influence the dependent variable, the framework argued that there must be certain intervening variables which must exist in order to speed up the rates of influence of the independent variable to depend variable as explained in the diagram below;

³⁸ Mbutu Samuel (2016); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community, Unpublished Master's degree Project Submitted to the University of Nairobi

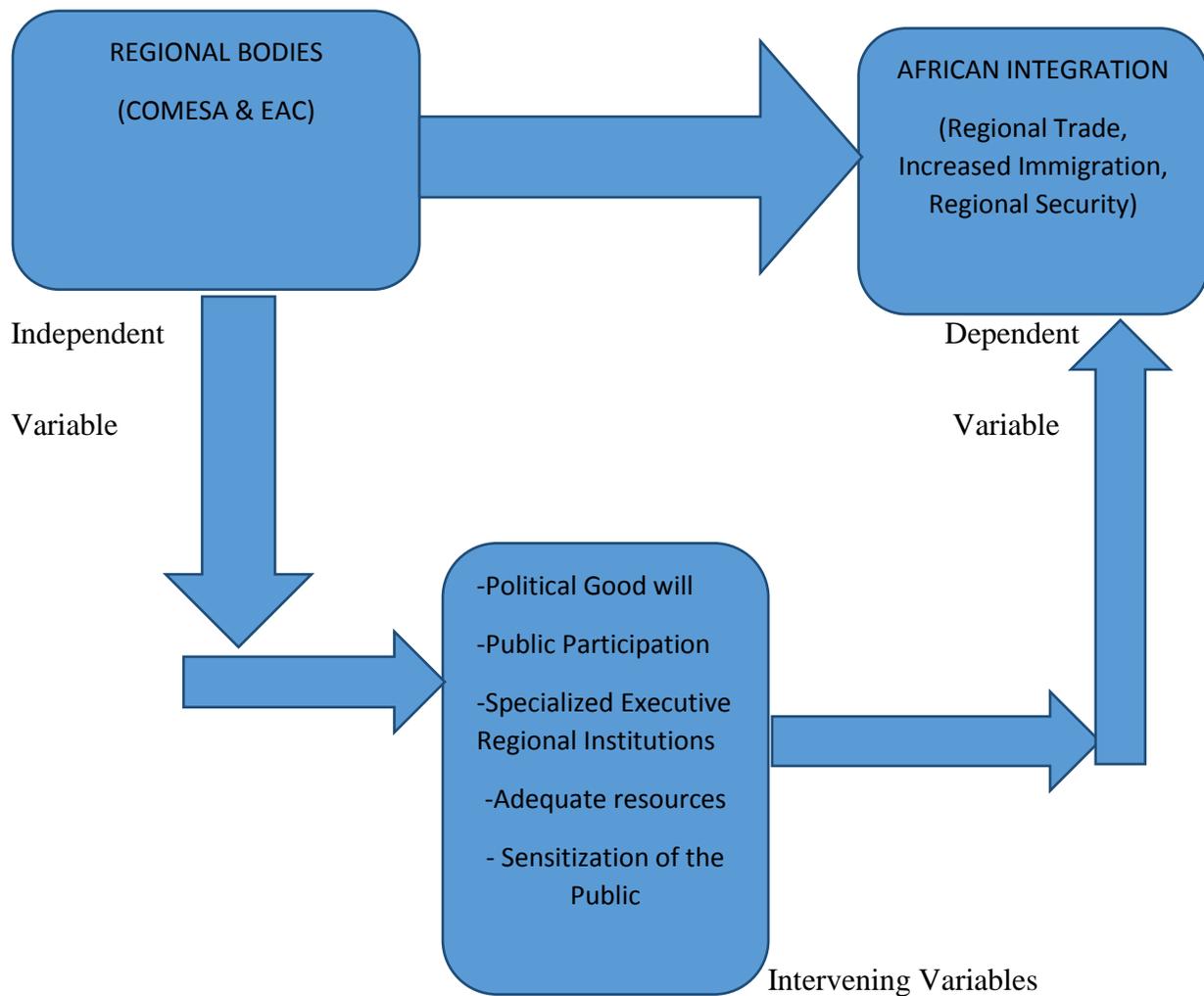


Figure 1.1 Conceptual Framework

From the Diagram above, it can be seen that the independent variable can positively influence the dependent variable if and only if the dependent variables are in existence. For instance, the existence of COMESA and the EAC can successfully influence African integration theory through increased immigration, increased regional trade, regional security and regional interactions if there are specialized regional institutions with executive powers and are tasked with specialized functions. There must also be a political good will from the leadership of the

member states, the regional institutions must also be supported with adequate resources and finally the general public must be sensitized about these regional bodies and matters of regional integration through effective public participation its only through this account that African integration can take root.

1.11 Research Hypothesis

This study sought to test the following Hypotheses

- i. The existence of COMESA and EAC regional bodies has made a positive contribution towards the realization of African Integration.
- ii. There exists numerous challenges within COMESA and EAC regional bodies which has slowed down their capacity to properly aid the Integration of Africa

1.12 Methodology of the study

This study was guided by the following methodology which was outlined in various sections

1.12.1 Research Design

The study used the Case study method as its research design in order to properly understand the role of regional bodies in promoting African Integration where a comparative study between COMESA and the EAC was done. The findings of the study could be replicated in other regional bodies across the African Continent using the inductive or the deductive approach.³⁹

1.12.2 Methods of Data Collection

This study relied on both the primary and the secondary sources of Data collection in obtaining its primary and secondary data. For instance, among the primary sources, this study was

³⁹ Mugenda A & Mugenda O (2003); Research methods, Acts Press, Nairobi Kenya

qualitative in nature whereby it obtained its primary data using the Interview guide. The secondary sources involved the use of books, published articles in reputable Journals, documentaries, Newspaper cuttings, organizational reports and other documented works with regards to the EAC, and COMESA.

1.12.3 Target Population

The target population of this study comprised of the senior officers working for COMESA and EAC in their secretariats and particularly the corporate affairs, Academic experts the fields of Law, International Trade, regional integration, officers at the Kenya's Ministry of Foreign Affairs particularly the Multilateral Division, and officers at the Kenyan Ministry of East African affairs particularly the Integration Division, The Embassies and High Commissions from the selected members of the EAC and COMESA such as Uganda, South Africa, Rwanda, Sudan, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia. The study will also target Journalists who specialize on regional matters, Senior officers working for the Civil Society organization with a regional base, the total number of the Target Population according to the background check of the number of the targeted officers working in the departments of interest was 540 respondents.

CATEGORY	NO OF RESPONDENTS
Officers from the COMESA secretariat	120
Officers from EAC secretariat	50
Academic Experts	40
Ministry of Foreign Affairs officers(Multilateralism Division)	30
Ministry of EAC officers(Integration Division)	20
Journalists	40
Embassies & high commissions of EAC & COMESA member states based in Nairobi 20 officers from each country (Uganda, South Africa, Rwanda, Sudan, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia.	160
Officers from the Civil Society Organization(CSOs)	40
TOTAL	540 Respondents

Table 1.1 Target Population

1.12.4 Sample Size

The sample size of this study comprised of the 10% of the respondents under each category of the Target Population. This implied that the Sample size was 54 respondents and it was distributed as follows; 8 officers working at the Corporate affairs from the EAC, and 12 officers working at the Corporate affairs from COMESA, 4 Journalists, 6 Academic experts from the

fields of Law, Political Science, International Studies and International Law, 2 members from the embassies’ of Ugandan, South Africa, Rwanda, Sudan, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia making up to to 16 respondents, 4 members of the Civil Society Organizations with regional Base. This brought the total sample size to be 45 respondents. The sample size was spread across the different cadres of officers in different directorates to ensure that its well representative.

CATEGORY	NO OF RESPONDENTS	Sample size(10% of the Target Population)
Officers from the COMESA secretariat	120	13
Officers from EAC secretariat	50	5
Academic Experts	40	4
Ministry of Foreign Affairs officers(Multilateralism Division)	30	4
Ministry of EAC officers(Integration Division)	20	3
Journalists	40	4
Embassies & high commissions of EAC & COMESA member states based in Nairobi 20 officers from each country (Uganda, South Africa, Rwanda, Sudan, Botswana, Zambia, Tanzania and Ethiopia.	160	17
Officers from the Civil Society Organization(CSOs)	40	4
TOTAL	540 respondents	54 respondents

Table 1.2 Sample Size

1.12.5 Sampling Procedure

This study adopted a purposive sampling design as its sampling procedure, this is a situation whereby the researcher were at liberty to pick on whom to include in the study and whom not to include. the consideration was based on who was able to produce the much needed information by the study.

1.12 6 Data Analysis

Collected data was analyzed using qualitative methods such as content analysis, attaching meaning to each idea and making serious interrogations of various items collected from the field. The study also relied on the data provided in various reports and documentaries about the EAC and COMESA and a comparative analysis was made on the two sets of data.

1.12.7 Ethical Considerations

The main ethical considerations of this study was confidentiality of the respondents and getting the respondents consent before interviewing them. The researcher was well aware that these regional organizations officers work under strict regulations and the targeted officers could find it hard to speak on behalf of their organizations without express permission from the authorities. however, the researcher explained everything about these study and assure them that it was only meant for study purposes and not for any other purpose. The researcher also assured them of maximum confidentiality and that nobody was going to be quoted in what they said.

CHAPTER TWO: AFRICAN INTEGRATION; A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE; CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES.

2.0 The Introduction

This chapter focused on the state of African integration from a historical perspective. Among other things, The chapter looked at the contribution of both the OAU and AU towards fostering African integration, the chapter also attempted to bring out the opportunities that Africa stands to gain in as far as the question of African integration is concerned, the chapter further identified the gains that Africa has made so far from its integration efforts since independence, it again identified the challenges that Africa continued to experience in its struggle towards integration, finally the contemporary issues bedeviling the African continent were also identified. All this was done through reviewing the existing studies which have been carried out by different Authors.

2.1 Genesis of African Integration

The struggle towards African Integration can be traced back during the struggle for decolonization process.⁴⁰ This is because as Africans were fighting to take back their independence from the colonialists', a group of Africans who had gotten the chance of being opposed in Europe and America formed a pan Africanism association. These Africans included George pad more, Jomo Kenyatta, Namdi Azikiwe, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, among others.⁴¹ The major aim of this this Pan Africanism Movement was to unite all the African people of the Black race from wherever they were across the World. As a result of the efforts of

⁴⁰Asche H & Burcher J (2009); Myth & Reality of Regional Integration, Recht in Africa, 2 pg. 169-1986

⁴¹ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

the Pan Africanists, Most African Countries were able to attain their independence between the period of 1957 and 1965.⁴²

During the independence period, the African Heads of states and Governments of the newly independent states met at Addis Ababa in Ethiopia and formed an organization of African union known as the OAU in 1963. Under the OAU umbrella, there were two groups of African leaders which emerged. These two groups had two different views of how African Integration and African unity was going to be pursued and attained. One group was led by Kwame Nkrumah, the president of Ghana, the other Group was led by Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere of the Republic of Tanzania, the two groups were referred to as the Monrovia group and the second group was referred to as the Casablanca group.⁴³

The Monrovia Group which was led by Mwalimu Julius Nyerere were of the view that Africans were too divided into various religious groups, socio cultural groups and had a very nasty history with each other. to them, the decisions ran so deep to an extent of having a hard task ahead of uniting. They therefore suggested that a step by step Integration would work best for Africa and the Africans. This step by step integration was by way of Africans dividing themselves into various regions i.e. West Africa, South Africa, North Africa, East Africa and Central Africa. then through these regional groups, regional blocks will be formed and African unity will start being constructed from there. Its these regional groups that will finally meet and discuss the African unity once that unity has been cemented and depended ant the base.⁴⁴ This implies that African

⁴² Qobo M (2007); The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa; In the context of Globalization and the prospects for a united states of Africa. ISS paper 145: Institute for security studies

⁴³ Mwangi S & Kuhlman K (2012); African Union, Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, Journal of Diplomacy and international Relations. Vol 13, issue 7

⁴⁴ ibid

unity was to be achieved through step by step integration where by each region would first stabilize itself before seeking the wider unity.

The Casablanca group which was led by Kwame Nkrumah on the other hand was of the opinion that Africa did not have a luxury of time in Uniting. The group argued that with the emergence of Globalization and with the existing cold war between the bigger powers. Africa will stand No chance if it remained split in several separate states. The bigger powers will divide them along the lines of individual states.it was therefore upon the duty of all the African countries to consider collapsing themselves into one United States of Africa with one head of state, one Government, one currency, one flag, One Army and one police service so that they can face the outside world as one single entity. it's as a result of this kind of unity that African integration will be attained fully and in within a very short period of time.⁴⁵

The competing ideas of the two groups were subjected into a vote at the OAU headquarters in Addis-Ababa Ethiopia in 1963. The end result is that the Monrovia Group won and the route which Africa was to take was the step by step integration towards achieving African Integration.⁴⁶

2.2 The OAU ERA (1963-1999)

The Organization for African Unity here in referred to as the OAU was formed in 1963 at Addis Ababa Ethiopia. Among the Principles and objectives of the OAU which were included in the Article 3 of the OAU Charter included; the principle of equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of member states, the principle of respect for territorial integrity and independence, the principle of peaceful settlement of disputes, the principle of support of

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid

liberation movements in the African countries lacking majority rule, and the principle of non-alignment.⁴⁷

The objectives of the OAU were contained in Article 2 of the OAU charter included the following; to promote the unity and solidarity of the African States; to co-ordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better life for the peoples of Africa; to defend their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and independence; to eradicate all forms of colonialism from Africa; and to promote international cooperation, having due regard to the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights charter.⁴⁸

2.2.1 Contribution of the OAU Towards African Integration

Throughout the period in which the OAU existed, it was able to make the following achievements

2.2.1.1 Settling of Boundary Disputes

The OAU Was an active player in settling of many boundary disputes between member's states. for instance, counties in the North, South East and Western parts of Africa were embroiled in so many boundary disputes. As result of this efforts, the OAU avoided the eruption of different conflicts between member states across the African continent hence promoting African Integration in a way.⁴⁹

2.2.1.2 Decolonization

At the times of the Formation of the OAU, there were only 32 member's states that had attained its independence. this implies that more than 20 African states had not attained their

⁴⁷ Organization for African Unity charter (1963); African Union Website

⁴⁸ *ibid*

⁴⁹ Ashe H & Burcher J (2009); *Myth & Reality of Regional Integration, Recht in Africa*, 2 pg. 169-1986

independence. The OAU was responsible in assisting the states such as Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, and Namibia who were still struggling to attain their independence. They did this by way of supporting the liberation movements, supply of arms and weapons and training of these liberation groups. They also partnered with the UN in ensuring that the activities of the liberation movements were recognized as legitimate and finally the leaders of the liberation movements were allowed to sit in the OAU and the UN meetings as observed as a way of encouraging them morally.⁵⁰

2.2.1.3 Protection of member states Sovereignty and Territorial Integrity

The OAU experienced a serious problem among some of member states. This is because there was a growing cases of secession in some states. The OAU was against these secessionist activities and it was at the forefront in containing these calls for secession of African states. For instance, states such as Congo wanted to experience an internal break up because of external powers that wanted to create a puppet state so as to siphon the mineral resources in Congo such as Uranium and Copper. Nigeria also experienced some calls for the secession of the Biafra state, the OAU discouraged that, there was also a case where Egypt was attacked by the Israeli Forces with a view of splitting into two. The OAU was at the center stage of discouraging that.⁵¹

2.2.1.4 Struggle Against Apartheid

The Apartheid era was one of the worst forms of Human Degrading to have happened in South Africa until 1994. The OAU was very vocal in speaking against the inhuman activities of the apartheid regime in South Africa. The OAU assisted the African Liberation movements and the Fighters by supplying them with Arms, sponsoring the Anti-Apartheid liberators such as Nelson Mandela among others. As result of the OAU's efforts. The African peoples were liberated in

⁵⁰ ibid

⁵¹ ibid

South Africa and since then, the south Africans are forever grateful to the OAU for the role it played in fostering the African Integration.⁵²

2.2.1.5 Promotion of African Culture

The OAU was noted to have been the biggest promoter of the African culture and the African Arts. It did this by way of partnering with the African member states, together they organized continental competition and display of various African Music, Dance and drama. There was also the construction of many museums and the preservation of Historical sites where Natural artifacts were stored and archived. as a result of these efforts, the African people were able to appreciate their cultural diversity and the idea of unity in diversity was embraced by all the African states and governments hence a positive step towards the African integration.⁵³

2.2.2 Failures of the OAU

Despite the fact that OAU had its achievements as explained above, the OAU also had a number of failures which led to its demise in 1999. Some of these failures are explained below;

2.2.2.1 The principle of Non Interference

This principle of non-interference of the internal affairs of member states was counterproductive. This is because some member states started experiencing external challenges which had been initiated by external forces. As a result of these, so many independence Governments were overthrown and the puppet governments were installed by those external forces. The OAU was reduced into on an observer as all these was happening. As a result of all these happening the

⁵² ibid

⁵³ ibid

puppet governments started advancing the interests of the external forces from western powers and other countries who had economic interests in various countries. The end result is that there was massive hemorrhage of resources and natural raw materials from Africa and being shipped to Europe and others developed countries, also these western powers embraced a strategy where they set up Africans among themselves. For instance, the Arab north was incited against the African blacks. The Franco Phone states in west and East Africa were incited against the Anglo-phone states in West and East Africa.it was a very big failure by the OAU.⁵⁴

2.2.2.2 The Principle of peaceful settlement of Disputes

By the mere fact that OAU did not have an army of its own and the fact that pacific settlement of disputes was one of its major principles reduced the OAU into a toothless bulldog who could not do anything to defend any members state that was in turmoil. As a result of this weakness, many African states fell into Intra-state conflicts, for instance the 1994 Rwandan Genocide, the Sudan and South Sudan Internal Conflicts, The DRC internal Conflicts, the Zimbabwean crisis, the war in Northern Uganda just to mention but a few.⁵⁵

2.2.2.3 Failure to promote Inter-African trade

The OAU did not put in place measures to promote trade between the African states. In fact, the OAU got sucked up in the so called international trade was taking place to the detriment of the African states and governments. African's were getting a raw deal from the so called international trade. This is because the balance of payments was in favor of western countries as

⁵⁴ Qobo M (2007); The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa; In the context of Globalization and the prospects for a united states of Africa. ISS paper 145: Institute for security studies

⁵⁵ ibid

opposed to African states, also the terms of trade between African and the western countries was also unfair.⁵⁶

2.3 The AU ERA (1999-2020)

The African Union was formed in Durban South Africa in 2002 and it succeeded the OAU. The major reason as to why the AU was formed was to correct the mistakes of the OAU. The Au continues to operate up to date. The major idea behind the AU is to promote the solidarity of the African people, to ensure that there is peace and stability in the African continent as well as the prosperity of the African people.⁵⁷

The adoption of the constitutive act which created the AU marked a significant shift in Africa's security system. This is because the conceptualization of security by the AU captured both the physical aspect of the state and the Human security. This is because contrary to the charter of the former OAU, article 4(h) and (j) of the constitutive act (2002) empowered the AU to intervene in situations involving crimes against humanity, war crimes as well as instances where genocide has been perpetrated (AU protocol 2002). This paradigm shifts from the principle of non-intervention to the principle of intervention, from the principle of non-interference to interference was greatly informed by the events around the 1994 Rwanda genocide. The African union was guided by the slogan of "never again" after witnessing the effects of the Rwandan genocide. It therefore developed organs and structures under it that will enable the AU to have the ability and the legal mandate to intervene and resolve security threats and conflicts in the African continent.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ *ibid*

⁵⁷ Constitutive Act of the African Union (2002); African Union Website

⁵⁸ *ibid*

In pursuit of its security role, the African union adopted the Peace and Security Council (PSC) on December 2003 through a protocol which had seven major agendas, namely; conflict prevention, early warning and preventive diplomacy, peacemaking and peace keeping, promotion of democratic practices, intervention, Humanitarian action as well as disaster management. This same protocol went a step ahead and designed the Comprehensive African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA). APSA was developed to facilitate the AU to achieve its mandate within the context of security.⁵⁹

2.4 Opportunities for the AU's Integrated Africa

The fact that African states are able to unite is enough to eradicate the many problems that bedevils the African continent. For instance, the following opportunities come into mind;

2.4.1 Trade Creation

Today, the rates at which intra-African trade takes place is still very low. However, once there is full integration, Africa stands to increase the size of the trade volumes since it will be very easier for markets to be expanded and new markets to emerge. These new markets will create the necessary employment opportunities for the young people. It will also attract investors who will come and set up industries in Africa hence a successful strategy of poverty eradication.⁶⁰

2.4.2 Strengthened immigration

It's expected that when Africa has fully integrated, the idea of immigration as a hindrance towards development will be eliminated. This is because a single passport will be generated and an individual will be able to traverse through the continent without any challenges. The immigration item will also not be used to stop trade and movement of persons, goods and

⁵⁹ *ibid*

⁶⁰ Mwangi S & Kuhlman K (2012); African Union, Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, Journal of Diplomacy and international Relations. Vol 13, issue 7

services across the continent. Strengthened immigration will also eliminate the acts of massive corruption at the border points. As a result of the increased movements of people and goods, African vision 2063 will be achieved early.⁶¹

2.4.3 Continental Security

When the African Continent Unites, it's believed that all or if not most of these inter-state conflicts and the intra-state conflicts will completely be eliminated. This is because at the continental level there will be a significant machinery to stop any kind of conflicts which may emerge. At the same time most of the conflicts that arise out the sharing of the resources such as in the Nile Basin region will be stopped. In addition to this, problems such as terrorism, money laundering, drug and human trafficking will completely be eliminated.⁶²

2.4.4 Faster Growth and Development

Once the Continent has united, it will be very much easier for faster Economic growth and development to take root. According to the African Union report on the state of its vision 2063, its argued that because all the untapped resources will now be under full utilization. The Continent will be able to ensure that enough revenues are generated and all the basic human needs such as food, clothing, shelter, clean water, and education will be in abundant provision to all the African people from wherever they are.⁶³

⁶¹ Melo & Yvonne Tsikata (2014); Regional Integration in Africa; Challenges and prospects, A contribution to the Handbook of Africa and Economics /Foundation for international Development studies research website

⁶² Hailu M (2014); Regional Economic International Africa; Challenges and Prospects; MIZAN law Review, Vol 8 No 2

⁶³ Mwangi S & Kuhlman K (2012); African Union, Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, Journal of Diplomacy and international Relations. Vol 13, issue 7

2.5 Contemporary issues affecting the Africa Continent

Currently, the African Continent is still grappling with the current challenges. It's expected that some of these challenges will be sorted out fully once full African Integration will have occurred.

These challenges include;

2.5.1 Insecurity

Currently, Africa is a continent which is marred by various cases of insecurity. These insecurity cases include; terrorism, Piracy, Muggings, Money Laundering, Human and Drug Trafficking, as well as the various interstate and intra-state conflicts. Its these cases of insecurity that continues to scare away investors who may wish to come and invest in the African continent.⁶⁴ The major cause of all these forms of insecurities is because Africa is not united and the African people are not pulling towards the same direction. However, with full Africa integration all these vices will be easily eliminated.

2.5.2 Under-Development

The question of under development continues to cause a lot of challenges to the many African peoples. For instance, the rates at which dependency levels are in some countries is scaring, the high cases of poverty, disease, illiteracy as well as ethnic division not mentioning Religious and socio-cultural division. All these are characteristic of an under-developed society.⁶⁵ Similarly, most African states still embrace the traditional way of driving their economies, for instance

⁶⁴ World Bank report (2017); The state of Regional Integration in Africa, World Bank Website

⁶⁵ Surf M & Winters L (2003); Regional Integration and Development, The World Bank Website

Agriculture in Africa is still dependent on traditional forms as oppose to mechanize forms. It's this under development that continues to case several unintended problems to Africa.⁶⁶

2.5.3 Dependency

The African continent as well, as African states and governments are still dependent to the big powers majority of who are in the West and in the East. Most African states are riddled with a serious debt burdens. This because since independence, they have never invested in local capital formation, instead they have continued pursuing the ideas of modernization theory which emphasized on foreign Aid as strategy of development. This foreign aid has never assisted the African states to develop. Instead it has created the state of dependency in Africa which is not good for development.⁶⁷

2.5.4 Corruption

Corruption has also become a way of Life in the African continent; this is because almost every African government has been infested with this vice. The major effects of corruption are that it has diverted public resources from serving public needs into priaca6e gain serving private needs of few individuals. it has killed most African economies, ostracized a section of the population from the main economic activities, killed talents as well as subvert justice in societies.⁶⁸

2.5.5 Unemployment

The state of unemployment in Africa has reached at an alarming level. It has been reported severally that most of African young people have lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea in North Africa as they strive to cross over the waters and move out of Africa and get inside Europe

⁶⁶ ibid

⁶⁷ Mwangi S & Kuhlman K (2012); African Union, Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, Journal of Diplomacy and international Relations. Vol 13, issue 7

⁶⁸ World Bank report (2017); The state of Regional Integration in Africa, World Bank Website

illegally. The idea is to find Employment in those countries and live better lives. The Youth Bulge has become a source of concern to almost every African country.⁶⁹ Therefore, its only when Full African integration has been achieved which will under that resources are pulled together that problems such as the Youth Bulge and unemployment can be sorted.

2.6 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the state of African integration from a historical perspective. The chapter brought out the road which Africa has travelled since independence in relation to the struggle to achieve Full African integration. The chapter further pointed out the roles which the African Union and the OAU have played in shaping the steps of achieving African unity. However, despite the fact that there have been efforts towards achieving these unity, these efforts have not yielded the necessary results hence a critical analysis of the role of the regional bodies in fostering this African integration.

⁶⁹ Hailu M (2014); Regional Economic International Africa; Challenges and Prospects; MIZAN law Review, Vol 8 No 2

CHAPTER THREE: THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE EAC AND COMESA TOWARDS AFRICAN INTEGRATION; A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

3.0 The Introduction

This chapter focused on the existing literature regarding to the contribution of EAC and COMESA towards African integration. The Study began on the platform that there has been no single study which has ever been done before where a comparative analysis between the EAC and COMESA has been done with regards to African integration. The study therefore tried to make a comparative analysis of the two institutions using the existing studies in a concurrent approach. The rationale behind the existence of the two regional blocs, the regional issues affecting the two regions, opportunities that exist for the two regions, as well as the Achievements of the two regional blocs was looked at.

3.1 Rationale behind the Formation of COMESA and EAC

The formation of the two regional blocs dates back to the independence period. However, for the case of the EAC. There has been an on and off operationalization of the community. In 1996, the final attempt of making the EAC to be a prosperous economic bloc was made. This culminated in the ratifying of the Treaty establishing the EAC in 2001. To date that treaty is still operational. The pioneer states of the EAC were basically three, namely; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, however in 2004; Rwanda and Burundi acceded to the Treaty establishing the EAC.⁷⁰ The number of member states rose to five. In 2016, the republic of South Sudan requested to join the community and it was allowed to do in 2017. Currently the EAC is having a membership of six member states.⁷¹

⁷⁰ Bachmann, V & Sidaway J (2010); African Regional Integration and European involvement; external Agents in the EAC, South African Geographical journal, 92(1), pg. 1-6

COMESA on the other hand was formed in 1993 in Kampala Uganda and the treaty establishing COMESA was acceded to and ratified in 1994 in Lusaka Zambia. This was after a series of meetings in Lilongwe Malawi. Currently COMESA boasts of 19 member states. These member states include; Zimbabwe, Zambia, Uganda, Swaziland, Sudan, Seychelles, Rwanda, Mauritius, Malawi, Madagascar, Libya, Kenya, Eritrea, Egypt, Djibouti, DRC, Comoros and Burundi.⁷²

The following reasons were illustrated for the formation of the EAC and COMESA. These reasons have been drawn out as result of a comparative analysis of the existing literature between the two regional blocs.

3.2 Trade Expansion

Studies have pointed out to the fact that whenever there is a formation of any regional bloc, trade expansion is one of the key goals, this is because the state needs to broaden its soft under belly in order to ensure on its survival. Secondly, it's through trade that states are able to meet their needs such as infrastructural developments, finance education, health and security needs for its people among others. For the case of COMESA and EAC a number of studies have also cited the idea of trade expansion as one of the philosophies being their formation. For the case of the EAC, it has been argued that traders are able to carry out their business across the six member states without any interference as opposed to carrying out trade within their own state boundaries. This implies that there are increased volumes of trade in the region and an increment in competition among

⁷¹ Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies. 2(11), pg. 4-15

⁷² Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

traders. This competition results into efficiencies and lower prices which is to the benefit of the ordinary citizens in all these member states.⁷³

For COMESA the explanation is almost the same since member states are able to support their traders and business people to buy and sell their merchandise across the 19 states.⁷⁴

3.3 Market Expansion

Market expansion is also another reason as to why COMESA and EAC exists. For instance, in the EAC, a state such as Kenya has got a market size of 47 million people. This implies that traders in Kenya will only have the 47 million Kenyans as their buyers or customers.⁷⁵ However, with the formation of the EAC, it is believed that the market size of the EAC region will rise from 47 million people and get to a tune of 300 million people. This is a good development for any trader or industrialist or any manufacturer. For the case of COMESA, it is believed that the market size will rise to a tune of over 1 Billion people. This is a huge market area for the local traders.⁷⁶

3.4 Regional Security

The idea of regional security is also one of the reasons as to why COMESA and the EAC were formed. For instance, when the EAC member states came together, some problems which used to happen across the border came to a stop, these problems included, Cattle rustling, smuggling,

⁷³ Mbutu Samuel (2016); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community, Unpublished Master's degree Project Submitted to the University of Nairobi

⁷⁴ Owino B & Oiro M (2017); COMESA; key Issues in regional Integration; Vol 5, KIPPRA website

⁷⁵ Makaka L (2018); Regional Integration in Africa- A False Promise? The Case Study of the East African Community, unpublished Master's degree project submitted to the university of Nairobi Library repository

⁷⁶ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

drugs and Human trafficking, tax evasion as well as other criminal activities.⁷⁷ On the side of COMESA, the main society concerns were smuggling, drugs and Human trafficking, dumping as well as cross border disputes between states which included territorial and boundary disputes among others.⁷⁸ However, for the two regions, the problems of rising cases of international terrorism has been a major concern for the two reasons. The issue of Somalia has continued to be the biggest bother to these two regional bodies.

3.5 Increased FDI flows

It has also been argued times without number that one the market size and trade areas have been expanded, it's a strategy of attracting in more investors to come and invest in the region. For instance, the market size of the COMESA region is enough to attract all interested nations and investors to come and invest in the region. Also, states are able to finance the infrastructural projects in these regions because they are able to see the potentiality of these regions to grow.as a result of these, faster economic growth and development is assured in these regions.⁷⁹

3.6 Increased Bargaining Power

Since all the EAC and COMESA member states are participants in the international trade and in the multilateral affairs across the world.it has always proven to be a great challenge if each the member states engaged s with the great powers in any bilateral trade deals. This if for the reason that they begin the bargain from a appoint of disadvantage since their market size is very small and their trade area is also every small. However these states engages bigger powers such as UK,

⁷⁷ Atsiaya A (2014); Challenges Facing Economic Integration; A case study of East African Community (2000-2012), unpublished Master's Degree project submitted to the University of Nairobi Library Repository

⁷⁸ Owino B & Oiro M (2017); COMESA; key Issues in regional Integration; Vol 5, KIPPRA website

⁷⁹ Owino B & Oiro M (2017); COMESA; key Issues in regional Integration; Vol 5, KIPPRA website

USA, China, France among others, they begin form a point of advantage since their market size will be attractive and trade areas bigger to the satisfaction of the bigger powers.⁸⁰

3.7 A Comparative analysis of the Achievements of COMESA and EAC

The exiting studies gave pointed out that COMESA and EAC have separately attained the following achievement, they include but are not limed to;

3.7.1 Trade Creation

As a result of the existence of both COMESA and EAC, there is a growing evidence that each one of them has benefited from an increased flow of the volumes of goods and servies.it has also resulted into increased level of production, distribution and consumption of goods and services across the member states. For the case of EAC, as result of trade creation, there has been a heavy infrastructural improvement in the region so as to support the traffic flow of goods and services across the region, consequently, the construction of the SGR in Kenya and Tanzania, highways across COMESA and promotion of communication services through the installation of the cyber optic cable has supported the existing trade which is highly expanded.⁸¹

3.7.2 Market expansion

There has been a steady expansion of market size in both the COMESA and the EAC region, this is a major achievement since it has enabled member states to realize faster economic growth and development within their jurisdictions Market expansion has also created a number of major

⁸⁰ Jonyo F & Mararo S (2018); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community ,2001-2016. Journal of African Interdisciplinary Studies. 2(11), pg. 4-15

⁸¹ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

opportunities in the region, this has been a significant step towards eradicating poverty as well as creation of employment for the millions of the unemployed youths.⁸²

3.7.3 Increased Bargaining Power

The EAC and COMESA Member states are able to freely bargain with other greater powers across the world in the name of these two regional trading blocs. For instance, the bigger powers have a system where they trade with all these member states and they also provide loans for each of these member states to finance their development activities. This has been a milestone in as far as balance of trade deficits are narrowed and fair terms of trade are negotiated between member states and the bigger power at the global level.⁸³

3.7.4 Competition

The expansion of trade and markets as resulted into an influx of so many traders in these markets selling the same merchandise. This has resulted into maximum competition. the competition has led to efficiency in the production process, consequently, competition has also led to the lowering of prices of different commodities in the markets, it has also eliminated the problems of monopolies in the markets.⁸⁴

3.7.5 Boosted Regional Security

As a result of the existence of both COMESA and the EAC, there has been a steady decline of cases of insecurity in these two regions. for instance, the number of terrorist attacks has significantly reduced in both the EAC and COMESA region, consequently the levels of

⁸² Hailu M (2014); Regional Economic International Africa; Challenges and Prospects; MIZAN law Review, Vol 8 No 2

⁸³ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

⁸⁴ ibid

smuggling, drugs and human trafficking has significantly reduced in these two regions. This is a positive milestone for these two regional bodies since it's a real evidence that the strategies they have kept on security matters in the two regions are bearing fruits.⁸⁵

3.8 Concussion

This chapter has dealt with the question of the contribution of the EAC and COMESA in as far as the African integration is concerned, whereas many studies which have been done have focused on each regional body in isolation, the chapter has revealed that there has been no deeper analysis of how the contribution of the two bodies are similar or different. Similarly, in this era of the Corvid-19 pandemic, the environment has really changed so much which requires a anew study to establish the actual contribution.

⁸⁵ Owino B & Oiro M (2017); COMESA; key Issues in regional Integration; Vol 5, KIPPRA website

CHAPTER FOUR: DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS OF THE CHALLENGES AFFECTING THE EAC AND COMESA TOWARDS THE REALIZATION OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION.

4.0 Introduction

This chapter sought to respond to the objective three of the study using the documented ideas in different sources. The chapters aimed at establishing whether these challenges are unique to each of the two bodies or whether they are similar for the two bodies. The chapter began by looking at the African continent in respect to the challenges that the continent is going through which affects its integration process. It is these challenges that informed the journey towards African integration of which the regional bodies act as the avenues.

4.1 Regional Issues Affecting COMESA and EAC regions

The COMESA and EAC regional bodies are found in the Eastern and southern parts of Africa. In these two regions, there have been common issues that continue to hamper the development of the people as well as the integration of the African people. These issues include but are not limited to;

4.1.1 Shared Resources

The issue of shared resources has continued to cause a major concern among the EAC and COMESA member states, whereas these shared resources are supposed to offer an opportunity for these member states to cooperate with each other. They have been sources of tensions between these states in so many occasions. For instance, in the COMESA region, the utilization of the Nile waters has continued to cause a lot of tension between states such as Ethiopia and Egypt and Sudan among others. This is because there are states such as Egypt that are purely dry and they heavily rely on the Nile waters for survival, however with the construction of the Grand

National projects by other upstream states such as Ethiopia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda among others. Egypt feels that water levels are reducing hence threatening their existence. Therefore, such states have no option but to embrace regional blocs such as COMESSA where such differences can be resolved.⁸⁶

On the side of the EAC, the management of resources such as Lake Victoria have made it impossible for states such as Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania not to work together Within the EAC for the purposes of managing the important resource. Similarly, management of the Maasai Mara and Serengeti National parks between Kenya and Tanzania has made the two states to embrace the EAC since such a resource also produced the seventh wonder of the world whereby wildebeests migrate between the two states in their large numbers annually.⁸⁷

4.1.2 Under development

The issue of under development of the EAC member states and COMESA member states is one reason as to why they have embraced those two regional blocs. This is for the reason that when these states operate within the prisms of regional blocs, chances of them earning more revenues and realizing development is high. Therefore, regional blocs are strategies of bringing about closer interactions between the African people, but they are also spring boards upon which meaning dull development can take place in Africa.

⁸⁶ Qobo M (2007); The Challenges of Regional Integration in Africa; In the context of Globalization and the prospects for a united states of Africa. ISS paper 145: Institute for security studies

⁸⁷ Bachmann, V & Sidaway J (2010); African Regional Integration and European involvement; external Agents in the EAC, South African Geographical journal, 92(1), pg. 1-6

4.1.3 Insecurity

The subject of regional security is also major concern for the EAC and COMESA regional blocs. This is for the reason that where Insecurity is, Business do not thrive, also investors are scared away. In areas where insecurity rules, the issue of under development sets in. therefore as result of the existence of COMESA and the EAC, the case of terrorism, cross boarder crime, inter-state conflicts, intra- states conflicts have been minimized. It should be noted that Regional blocs are focused on developmental and progressive issues as posed to regressive issues.

4.1.4 Climate Change

The issue of climate change also continues to be a concern in these two major regional blocs. This is for the reasons that both the EAC and COMESA are known to be Agricultural regions whereby plantations and Agricultural activities are the back-bone of the member states economies. In addition to this, the two regions are densely populated with huge population of people. Therefore, the issue of global warming, destruction of natural resources such as forests, depletion of the ozone later as well as reduction of water levels in rivers, lakes and frequent droughts and famine in addition to flooding problems in some periods of the years has also been a concern to these member states, therefore there are always attempts to find regional solutions to these problems.⁸⁸

4.1.5 Globalization

The fact that the rising cases of technological innovation and increased movement of capital across the world has increased the levels of closeness of the international system. This implies that whatever happens in one area has got a direct significant impact in what happens in other areas. For this reasons, individual states in COMESA and EAC regions will have no place in the

⁸⁸ Girma S (2020); COMESA: Prospects and Challenges for Regional Trade Integration; international Affairs and Global Strategy H Journal. Vol 76, pg. 15-21

contemporary international system if at all they do not come together so that they are able to shield themselves from the disastrous effects of globalization. Therefore, regional integration is one surest way a state can survive the dangers of globalization.⁸⁹

4.2 Failures of COMESA and EAC

The existence of the EAC and COMESA regions have also had a number of failures which to a agree extent have been responsible in slowing down the process of the African peoples integration. These failures include but are not limited to;

4.2.1 Overlapped Membership

The problem of overlapped membership affects both EAC and COMESA member states, for instance in EAC, all the member states except Tanzania are also members of COMESA. This makes it hard for the EAC member states to implement COMESA protocols when they have different roles to implement in the EAC. The same applies to some southern African states such as Namibia and Swaziland, they are also members of SADC. This problem has in a way created duplication of roles which is not good for the integration of the African peoples.⁹⁰

4.2.2 Heterogeneity of Economies

Another problem in both the EAC and COMESA regions which is responsible for their economic stagnation and lack of integration is the issue of Homogenous economies which employs traditional methods of production. These states are known to be producers of the same agricultural commodities and consumers of the same. Therefore, there is nothing new they have

⁸⁹ McGrattan E & Waddle A (2020); The Impact of Brexit on Foreign Investment and Production; American Economic Journal; Macro Economics, 12(11), Pg. 76-103

⁹⁰ Mbutu Samuel (2016); A critical Analysis of the Role of Public Participation in Regional Integration; A case study of the East African Community, Unpublished Master's degree Project Submitted to the University of Nairobi

to exchange with each other except what they already have. In a way this has killed the spirit of African integration.⁹¹

4.2.3 Loss of Import-export tax revenue

As a result of the EAC and COMESA member states coming together, there is another unintended problem that arises in the two regional blocs by member states, that is the massive loss of revenues on imports and exports. Most member states are finding it hard to leave with this new normal since they desperately need these revenues so as to finance their internal needs.⁹²

4.2.4 Lack of Political Commitment

There is also another problem of member states refusing to commit themselves in the implementation of various protocols in these regional organizations. For instance, in the EAC, Tanzania has always been accused of not cooperating with other states when it comes to the implementation of the articles such as that one of the customs union and common market protocols. The same problem is reported to be happening in SADC, this habit has threatened the existence of these regional organizations and it has slowed down the process of African integration⁹³

4.2.5 Loss of National Sovereignty

The other problem which has existed in these regional economic blocs is with regards to the loss of National sovereignty by member's states, for instance if the member states agree to relax their border rules, embrace foreign currencies, donate part of their sovereignty to regional bodies,

⁹¹ Asche H & Burcher J (2009); Myth & Reality of Regional Integration, *Recht in Africa*, 2 pg. 169-1986

⁹² Mwangi S & Kuhlman K (2012); African Union, Challenges and Prospects for Regional Integration in Africa, *Journal of Diplomacy and international Relations*. Vol 13, issue 7

⁹³ Wolfrey S(2016); The Political Economy of Regional Integration in Africa; A common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa(COMESA) report <http://ecdpm.org/peria/comesa>

in a way they lose their sovereignty. There is no single state which has fully accepted to do all these, because of fearing to loss their sovereignty. This has also slowed down the efforts towards realizing African integration.⁹⁴

4.3 Current Issues Affecting the EAC and COMESA regions

These issues have been highlighted as some of the threats that continues to impact negatively on the growth and development of the EAC and COMESA regions. They are as follows;

4.3.1 Conflicts over the Utilization of the Nile Waters

The issue of the River Nile and the utilization of its water resources by the lower stream and upstream states has continued to cause a lot of diplomatic tensions between COMESSA member states and the EAC members states. The situation has also been aggravated by the construction of Grand National projects by each member state along the river Nile. This scenario has caused the down system states such as EGYPT which is a desert country to feel threatened since the water levels that finally gets to its territory keeps on reducing. Unless something drastic is done to sort out these differences, the utilizations of the Nile waters threatens many states to fall into serious wars with each other.

4.3.2 The Somalian Question

Somalia is functionally a failed state, this is because it degenerated into inter-clan fights, in the process of these fights terrorist groups such as the Al-Shabaab which had connections with other terrorist groups in the Middle East such as the ISIS, Al-Qaeda and the Al-Hijra among others found shelter in Somalia. It's from Somalia that these terrorist groups have caused also of Havoc

⁹⁴ Atsiaya A (2014); Challenges Facing Economic Integration; A case study of East African Community (2000-2012), unpublished Masters Degree project submitted to the University of Nairobi Library Repository

in COMESA and EAC member states. This implies that until something serious is done to stabilize Somalia, the member states of these two organizations, it will continue being a thorn in the flesh of these two organizations hence reducing on their capacity to promote African integration.

4.3.3 The xenophobia Issue

Although South Africa is not a member of EAC or COMESA, its strategic location continues to have a lot of impact on the growth and development of COMESA and the EAC member states. For instance, the problem of Xenophobia which is merciless attacks of Non South Africans who leave South Africa has elicited a lot of nasty reactions across the African continent. There are some countries which have contemplated reacting and attacking South Africans leaving across the continent majority of whom are in EAC and COMESA member states, it's likely to destabilize the two regions in future unless something drastic is done to correct that mess.

4.4 Conclusion

In conclusion therefore, this Chapter focused on the setbacks of the EAC and COMESA in as far as fostering of the integration of the African people is concerned. The chapter did these through a comparative analysis which has been documented in separate studies about each body. The chapter appreciated that whereas COMESA and the EAC have made a significant contribution towards the Integration of the African people, there was more that still needed to be done.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focused data presentation and data analysis. This data consisted on what the researcher collected from her respondents in the field and from the various documented data in different sources. At the end of this chapter, the questions and the objectives which this study had set in chapter one were responded to. At the same time, all the hypotheses which this study had sought to test were either confirmed to be true and correct or not true and correct.

5.1 Data Presentation, the Demographics

This section discussed the gender of the respondents, their nationalities as well as their categories as outlined in the target population. The idea was to demonstrate that the selected sample size bore the typical characteristics of the target population since it was representative of the typical characteristics of the Target population.

5.1.1 Gender of the Respondents.

The study contacted 45 respondents, and out of the 45, 18 were female while 27 were male.

This implied that both genders were involved in the study since the one third representation was met.

GENDER	RESPONDENTS	PERCENTAGE
MALE	27	60%
FEMALE	18	40%
TOTAL	45	100%

Table 4.1.1 Gender of the respondents

The table above shows that there was a good representation of both genders in the sample size of this study, this implied that the sample was well representative in terms of gender distribution.

5.1.2 Nationality of the respondents

The nationality of the respondents was distributed as follows

NATIONALITY	RESPONDENTS
Kenyans	11
Ethiopians	5
Egyptians	3
South Africans	2
Sudanese	4
Tanzanians	6
Zambians	4
Ugandans	6
Rwandese	4
TOTAL	45 RESPONDENTS

Table 4.1.2: Nationality of the respondents

The table above demonstrates that various respondents were selected from various countries, most especially from the two countries which this study focused on as the case study. It's another demonstration that the sample was well representative of the country distribution

5.1.3 Categories of the respondents

The respondents were from the various categories as it had been proposed in the target population. It's explained in the table below

CATEGORY	RESPONDENTS
COMESA officers	13
EAC officers	5
MOFA officers(Multilateral and EAC divisions)	4
Ministry of EAC	3
Journalists	4
Members of the Diplomatic Corps	16
TOTAL	45 Respondents

Table 4.1.3 Categories of the respondents

The above table shows that the sample size was picked from the various categories of the respondents, this means that the sample picked was valid in terms of generating the correct findings since it was well representative of all the categories of the respondents.

5.2 Data Analysis

This section analyzed the collected data from the field through making comparisons and interpreting various ideas given by the respondents as well as attaching meaning to what was discovered from the documented sources with regards to the selected items of the two organizations.

5.2.1 The Sovereignty Question

The EAC member states just like the COMESA member states are skeptical about the idea of surrendering part of their sovereignty to regional institutions. This is because if they do that they will have to play a subordinate role to these institutions in their respective jurisdictions. This is despite the fact that these regional institutions are pursuing greater regional objectives as opposed to narrow state objectives. It should be noted that the more powers these regional institutions are given the more chances of success that the regional bodies are likely to get as a result of ceding part of their sovereignty. Both the EAC as well as COMESA secretariats are incapacitated in that they do not have any powers of forcing any member state to implement any regional policy within their territory. These policies may include eliminating Tariff and Non-Tariff Barriers because of the idea of Liberalization. Many member states fear this kind of scenarios since their sovereignty would have been lost hence the push to escalate the level of Non Trade Barriers which at the end of it all it complicates matters for both the EAC and COMESA regions.

The idea of member states in both COMES and EAC to offer their political commitment to regional matters remains on paper rather than practical. Hesse states pay much allegiance to Bilateral agreements as well as the Multilateral treaties they sign rather than regional Agreements they sign. in fact, this idea of signing agreements at regional level when these states do not have faith in those regional bodies remains counterproductive exercise. The absence of political goodwill is “expressed in the chronic non-observance of commitments undertaken within the respective agreements and in the insufficient use of the instruments set up by these agreements.” Similarly, if the idea of regional integration is to make serious progress, states

have no option but to surrender some of their powers and sovereignty so as to realize the greater good. However No state is willing to take the risk for the reason being “the transfer of resources and power of decisions to a supranational institution means a dissolving of the mass of patronage with which they can buy loyalty.”

5.2.2 The Double Membership Question

Almost each member of COMESA and EAC is in some form of multiple belonging to two or more organizations which is contradictory when it comes to matters of regional integration. for instance, a state like Burundi is in three Regional bodies namely, COMESA, the EAC as well as the ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States. Kenya belongs to two organizations namely; COMESA and the EAC, Uganda is in COMESA and the EAC, The Republic of Rwanda is in EAC, COMESA as well as the ECCAS while Tanzania is in SADC as well as the EAC. This implies that when it comes to the idea of harmonizing rules of origins of EAC member states against non-Members or COMESAS member states against non-members, it becomes very difficult for this differentiation to be made.

Secondly, the idea of these states belonging to multiple organizations pursuing the same interests contradicts the very philosophical underpinnings behind regional integration since they will not be able to attain the larger integration goal.

5.2.3 The Question of Inter-State Conflicts

In order for African integration to take root fully, the idea of security, political stability as well as harmonious existence between states is paramount. This is because peace and stability are necessary in order for regional trade to take root. Both the EAC and COMESA region have been affected in one way or the other by cases of insecurity, for instance in the Nile basin region, the case of interstate conflict as a result of the competition over the utilization of Nile River waters

has kept many states in constant tension, for instance Egypt and Ethiopia, Egypt and South Sudan, Upstream vs. Low stream states among others. Similarly, the Somalia question has also destabilized the nature of coexistence between states, these states Ethiopia and Eritrea, Ethiopia and Djibouti, Ethiopia and Kenya among others.

The other challenge which these two Regional bodies experience that relates to matters of peace and stability includes the internal civil disorder that most states experience, for instance the Tensions in Burundi, the Negative Ethnicity in states such as Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Rwanda among others. Therefore, it's incumbent upon these two organizations to help Africa states to forge a pan African think as opposed to these type of ethnic balkanization of their territories.

5.2.4 The Question of Public Participation

It was also revealed that both COMESA and EAC were designed to operate in such a way that they are organizations whose membership are states based. This means that the legally recognized entities are states. This means that other non-state entities such as the private sector, the individual persons and the Non-Governmental organizations are not recognized in the EAC and COMESA arrangements. This appears to be a big blunder which these organizations made since without involving the private sectors who are major stakeholders in development matters meant that the organizations were selective in the adoption of regional policies.

Secondly, it was discovered that the ordinary citizens have not been incorporated in the running of the affairs of the EAC and COMESA. This is because according to the signed treaties establishing these two organizations, the general public do not feature anyway, members of the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) were selected by political parties and their names

vetted and passed by the national assemblies of the 6 partner states. This means that the ordinary citizens in each state do not have a say on who leads them at the Regional level. This therefore demonstrates the fact that these two organizations are more of leader-led as opposed to people centered organizations.

5.2.5 The Question of Non-Trade Barriers

In the Common Market protocols which were signed by both the EAC and COMESA member states, it was agreed that member states were to remove Non-Tariff barriers to member states and impose those barriers on Non Member states, however, most states are yet to remove those tariff and Non-Tariff barriers. This is due to many reasons, key reason being protection of home based industries and businesses. This is because states feel that if their citizens are subjected to unfair competition by citizens from other states may cause internal turmoil in those countries.

For this reason, the continuation of the imposition of these Non-Tariff Barriers across COMESA and the EAC region has to a greater extent undermined the Regional integration efforts in these two countries. It has painted a picture of these member states going in circles thereby failing to address the main causes of African Disintegration.

5.3 Findings of the Study

This study has established the following facts

First, that both the COMESA and the EAC regional bodies stood a very high chance of realizing their objectives which was in line with the African Unions Vision 2063 that sought to foster African Integration. This is for the reasons that the two regions are well endowed and strategically positioned. The other reason is that the citizens in these two regions are so

welcoming and they can easily blend with any one across the world. The two regions are also blessed with shared resources which cut across state boundaries, for instance the River Nile, Lake Victoria, Maasai Mara and Serengeti national parks among others. These shared resources give these states a reason to unite and foster regional cooperation which is good for the overall integration of the African continent.

Secondly, this study has established that among the successes of COMESA and EAC in promoting African integration was by way of growth and expansion of Intra-regional trade, intra-regional security, increased immigration, increased intra-regional sports competition and Educational exchange programs. For instance, there was evidence that trade volumes in both regions kept on growing as years went by. With regards to matters security, it was revealed that both COMESA and EAC member states had contributed part of their national armies to serve in AMISOM which has done a great deal in containing the problem of terrorism which was believed to have emanated from Somalia. With regards to increased immigration, there was also enough evidence that there were increased movements of people, goods and services across the borders of all these member states which is a plus for African integration. There was also evidence that there was an increased educational exchange programs in EAC and COMESA member states between the member states besides inter African sports competition such as the African Cup of Nations.

Finally, the study also established that Among the identified challenges which continued to negatively impact on these two regional bodies included; the Sovereignty question, double membership of states, absence of political goodwill, external interference and ideological differences.

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has presented the collected data from the field and analyzed the same data. The study has further established that the challenges and prospects of EAC and COMESA promoting the African integration idea reflected the ideas of different scholars which was pointed out in the literature review in chapter are similar to the ones facing the EAC and COMESA.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter is the hallmark of this study, among other things, it provided the summary of the study findings, it will also give the conclusion based on the study findings, finally the study makes recommendations which will be based on the study findings, the recommendations also responds to the study questions and objectives of the study.

6.1 Summary of the Study Findings

This study sought to make a critical analysis of the challenges and prospects of the African integration by making a comparative analysis between the EAC and COMESA since the year 2000. Among the key questions the study sought to answer included; What Contribution has COMESA and EAC made towards the realization of African Integration? And; What challenges does COMESA and EAC experience which slows down their capacity to properly aid the Integration of Africa?

The study established that there are similarities in the challenges that both COMESA and EAC experience which slows down their capacity to foster the integration of the African people. These challenges revolve around the Sovereignty question, double membership of states, absence of political goodwill, external interference and ideological differences. This implies that these problems are synonymous with most of the regional bodies in the African continent. The study therefore suggests to the African union that it needs to consider helping the regional bodies to overcome these challenges.

The study also established that among the successes of COMESA and EAC in promoting African integration was by way of growth and expansion of Intra-regional trade, intra-regional security, increased immigration, increased intra-regional sports competition and Educational exchange

programs. This is a testament to the fact that there was a significant contribution that regional bodies have made towards promoting the integration of the African continent. This therefore suggests that more emphasis should be placed on these successes so that it creates a platform for further agitation of the African integration by all the relevant stakeholders. It should be noted that the interrogation of the African people is an idea which can be achieved progressively and not through a single event.

The study also noted that there was common occurrence of both the regional bodies in member states not honoring the set deadlines in achieving the agreed upon goals. For instance, in the East African community, Tanzania was accused of not implementing fully the common market protocol alongside other agreed upon policies. Under COMESA a number of states were singled out for not implementing the provisions of the signed common market protocol which slowed down the progress of COMESA. It's therefore because of such delays that the integration process of African people is also delayed.

Finally, the study also established that the regional institutions in each of these two regional bodies are not fully empowered to make decisions and implement those decisions across the member states. For instance, in the East African community, the secretariat remains helpless, it's at the mercy of the Summit which meets once a year, there are so many activities they cannot do without the endorsement from the summit. Similarly, in the COMESA regions, many institutions of the regional body remain dysfunctional. It's only the council of heads of states that has been empowered to make decisions and ensure their implementation. However, with the absence of political goodwill from some of the member's states, the situation is even made to be much more complicated.

6.2 Conclusion

This study makes the following conclusions which have been drawn from the findings of the study. They include;

The study concludes that both the EAC and COMESA have made quite a number of efforts in trying to foster the African integration. This is by way of promoting regional trade, market expansion as well as offering a platform for these member states to meet and engage. However, this study also cautions that different levels of member states economic capacity and development levels continues to be a major determinant on whether these states benefits or not. This implies that different levels of development between member states has in one way or the other undermined the efforts of the EAC and COMESA in fostering the integration of the African people.

Secondly, this study concludes that these two regional bodies namely; COMESA and the EAC have got weaker regional institutions which are incapable of enforcing many rules and agreements that have been passed by the partner states. It's as a result of these weaknesses that the two regional bodies are unable to make any serious progress in as far as African Integration is concerned. Similarly, the weak institutions have a got a bearing on the lack of harmonized policies between member states as well as the slow implementation of the agreed principles.

Third, the question of political insecurity and instabilities in the two regions of COMESA and the EAC. For instance, the study cited the Nile Basin Conflict over the utilization of the River Nile waters by the COMESA member states, the Uganda and Rwandan conflict, the Burundian conflict, the question of Somali as a failed state as some of the major cases of insecurity which

destabilizes the two regions hence stopping them from making progress. A politically unstable area is not a conducive area for business to thrive, neither can it form a good business environment which can attract the investors.

Finally, the study has also established that the two regional bodies namely COMESA and EAC are more state based as opposed to a people driven organizations. For this reason, it has excluded majority of the citizens from participating in their activities. This is counter-productive since the two regional bodies are gearing towards achieving the full integration of the African people. This has been worsened by the fact that these two regional bodies have failed to institutionalize the various avenues in which the African people could participate in their affairs. Therefore, they are top down organizations as opposed to bottom up organizations.

6.3 Recommendations

This study makes the following recommendations;

First and Foremost, the study recommends that since both EAC and COMESA are facing the same goals and the same Agenda, they should consider collapsing themselves and merging to form one bigger regional body which will further the integration process of the African people. This idea if implemented will be a master stroke of many challenges that makes the two regional bodies not to meet their set objectives of making the African people not to integrate.

Secondly, this study recommends that the two regional bodies i.e. COMESA and the EAC should with an immediate effect review its policies and institutional structures to accommodate the private sector and ensure public participation of their citizens in the organizations activities. This will not only help to deepen the integration process; however, it will also help to make these

two organizations to be more vibrant. Besides the incorporation of the private sector and the general public, the study also recommends that the Civil society organizations and the opinion leaders should also be included at the core of the decisions making process of these two bodies. Similarly, the legislators of these two bodies should be elected directly by the citizens in their respective countries.

Thirdly, the two regional bodies should consider conducting civic education across the member states to sensitize the general public as well as the officer's in-charge of various bureaucracies within government on the need to support the activities of the two regional bodies. This will help to ensure that the specialized institutions get the necessary support they need across the member states. Additionally, the two regions should focus more on the production process as well as avenues for wealth creation, this will enable them to convince the people that the integration agenda is for their best interest.

Fourthly, the two regional bodies should consider boosting the level of infrastructure between the member states across the two regions. For instance, more highways, standard gauge railways, more industries, ports and harbors, markets sea line as well as the fiber optic cables should be constructed. will not only ease the levels of movements of goods and services, but it will also able to increase the levels of communications and interactions between the African peoples in these two regions hence a milestone of the ultimate goal of African integration.

Finally, this study recommends to the two regional bodies to adopt the pan Africanists ideology as their main ideology. This will not only help to harmonize the various ideological differences between member states in these two regions, but it will also help to shape the thinking of all he African leaders and their citizens to think more about Africa and its future as opposed to their tribes, clans and other sectarian interests.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview Guide

This guide has been designed to facilitate the researcher to obtain relevant data in the process of conducting her research entitled “*Challenges and prospects of African Integration; A Comparative analysis of the EAC and COMESA (2000-2020)*”. Kindly assist the researcher in this exercise which is part of the requirements for the partial fulfillment of the award of the Degree of **Master of Arts in Diplomacy and International studies** of the University of Nairobi. The answers given in this interview Guide will strictly be used for academic purposes **ONLY** and **NOT** for any other purpose. Kindly **DO NOT** write your name anywhere on this Interview Guide.

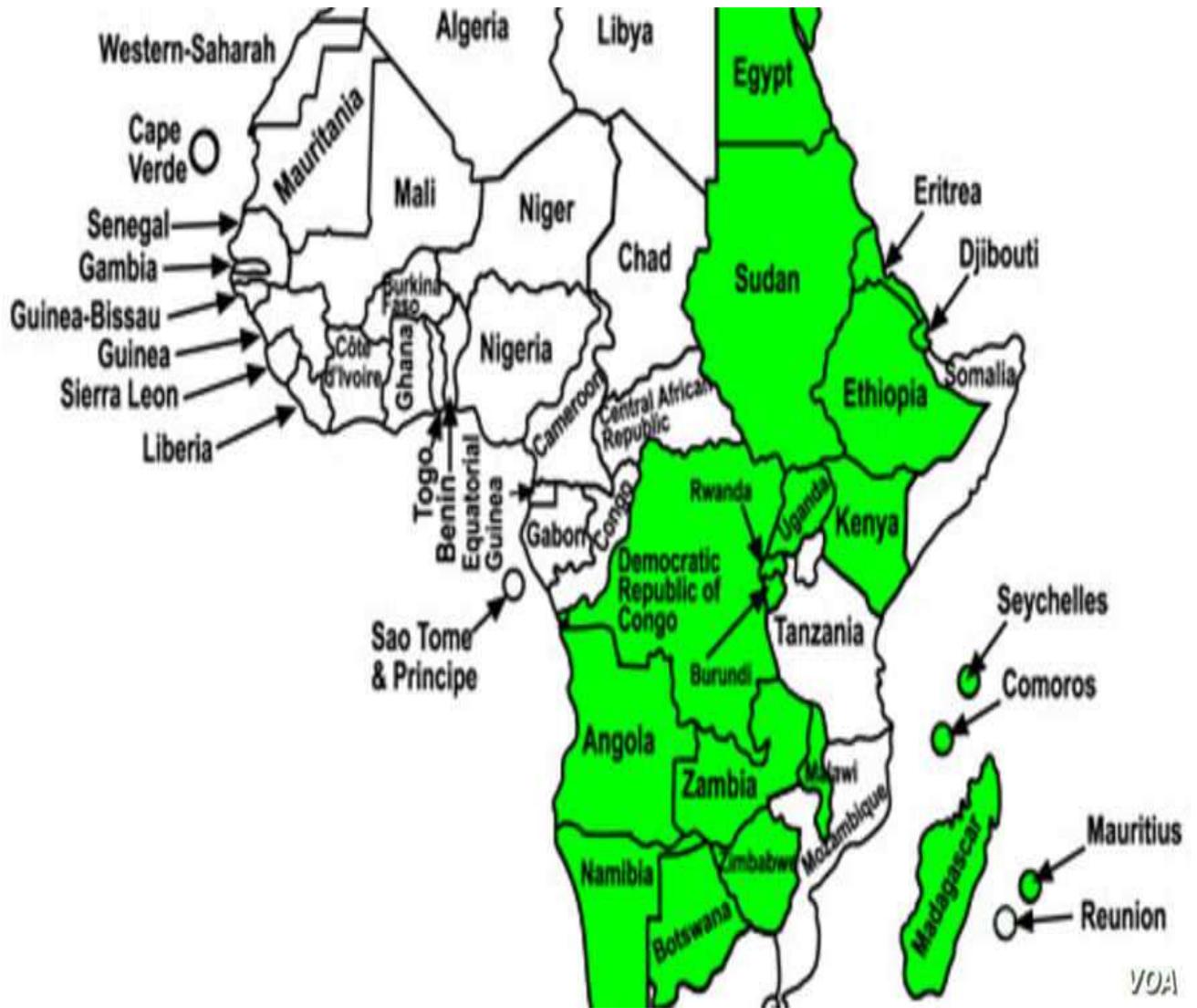
GUIDING QUESTIONS FOR THE INTERVIEW

1. What’s your view about the state of regional organizations in Africa? are we on the right track as a continent in as far as African Integration is concerned?
2. Do you think the regional organizations have played a key role in fostering African Integration? Please explain your answer.
3. In your view, what do you consider to be the greatest contribution of the EAC and COMESA in as far as African Integration is concerned?
4. In what ways have the EAC and COMESA participated in promoting intra- Africa Trade?
5. In what ways have the EAC and COMESA influenced regional security in the Sub Saharan Africa?
6. To what extent has the EAC and COMESA facilitated a smooth immigration of person’s goods and services across inter-state boundaries?

7. What do you consider to be the main failures of the EAC and COMESA in as far as the African Integration is concerned?
8. In what ways do you think EAC and COMESA can promote the integration of African people?
9. Do you think that the EAC and COMESA are properly structured in such a way that they are able to perform their assigned functions?
10. In this era of the Corvid-19 Pandemic, what strategies can you advise EAC and COMESA to adopt in order to continue Unifying the African people despite the disastrous effects of the disease?

Thank you for your Time and for your participation!!!!

APPENDIX 2: MAP OF COMESA REGION



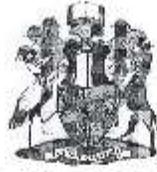
Source: <https://www.voanews.com/africa/africa-group-comesa-encouraged-regional-trade-cooperation>

APPENDIX 3: MAP OF THE EAC REGION



Source: <https://www.google.com/url?sa=i&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.busiweek.com%2Ffeala-calls-on-burundi-and-tanzania-to-embrace-single-tourist->

APPENDIX 4: INTRODUCTORY LETTER FROM THE UNIVERSITY



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
College of Humanities and Social Sciences
Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Tel : (02) 318262
Telefax : 254-2-245586
Fax : 254-2-245586
Website : www.uonbi.ac.ke
Telex : 22085 Varsity Ke Nairobi, Kenya
E-mail : directoridis@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197
Nairobi
Kenya

November 13, 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: CYNTHIA RITA AKINYI – R50/10894/2018

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a **Master of Arts Degree in International Studies**. She is working on a research project titled, **"CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS OF AFRICAN INTEGRATION: A COMPERATIVE ANALYSIS OF COMESA AND EAC (2000-2020)"**.

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to her to facilitate data collection for her research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.



Professor Maria Mzombi,
Director, IDIS
&
Professor of International Relations and Governance

APPENDIX 5: WORK PLAN

Month	JAN-APRILL 2020				MAY-AUGUST				SEPTEMBER-NOVEMBER 2020				DECEMBER 2020
Activity/ Week(W)													G
Chapter1													R
Chapter2													A
Literature Review													D
Meeting with Supervisor													U
Chapter 3													A
Data Collection													T
Data Validation													I
Data Analysis													O
Meeting with Supervisor													N
Chapter 4&5													
Findings, Discussion and Conclusion													
Dissertation Draft submission to Supervisor													
Meeting with Supervisor													
Addressing feedback, Finalising, Blackboard submission of e-copy													
Printing, binding, and Submission of hardcopy.													

APPENDIX 6: STUDY BUDGET

ITEM	COSTS
Stationary	@ 4,000/-
Internet costs WIFI (1 year)	@ 36,000/-
Transport costs	@ 15,000/-
Typing	@ 10,000/-
Printing, binding and Editing	@ 15,000/-
TOTAL	@ 80,000/-

APPENDIX 7: PLAGIARISM

Research Project MA Thesis			
ORIGINALITY REPORT			
11%	9%	7%	4%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMARY SOURCES			
1	www.doria.fi Internet Source		1%
2	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke:8080 Internet Source		<1%
3	fissilematerialsworkinggroup.org Internet Source		<1%
4	erepository.uonbi.ac.ke Internet Source		<1%
5	THOKOZANI THUSI. "ASSESSING SMALL ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVES IN EAST AFRICA", African Security Review, 2003 Publication		<1%
6	pdfs.semanticscholar.org Internet Source		<1%
7	"The Palgrave Handbook of Peacebuilding in Africa", Springer Science and Business Media LLC, 2018 Publication		<1%
mafiadoc.com			