



**UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

**// USE OF BORDER COMMUNITIES TO ENHANCE  
INTEGRATION IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY: A Case  
Study of Karamoja Cluster //**

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**R40/ 74877/2014**

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**Project Submitted in Partial Fulfillment for the Award of  
Post Graduate Diploma in International Relations**

**August 2016**



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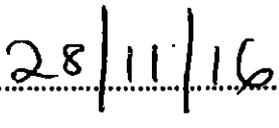
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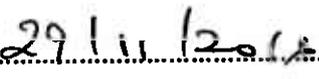
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I, **Otieno Kenyatta** hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

Signed.......... Date..........

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor;

Signed.......... Date..........

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## **ABSTRACT**

The East Africa Cooperation is working on a formula for attaining political federation. There is the office of Deputy Secretary General for Fast Tracking Political Federation but to date, EAC remains an association of politicians, policy makers, civil societies and private sectors. This paper seeks to come up with recommendations on how to enjoin the people of East Africa into the affairs of EAC by encouraging cooperation in the border communities by looking at Karamoja Cluster of communities in Kenya and Uganda. Border communities are accustomed to ignoring the restrictions that come with international boundaries but the reality is their respective states ignore them. Culture is composed of ideas, values, language and systems attached to a group of people for perceiving, interpreting, expressing and responding to social realities. In identifying the shared cultural practices among communities in the Karamoja Cluster across Kenya and Uganda, we learn ways in which EAC can speed up integration at the grassroots. and using these to recommend ways EAC can incorporate these practices into its policies to enhance social integration.

## **ABBREVIATION**

<b>ASAL</b>	<b>Arid and Semi-Arid Lands</b>
<b>CASSOA</b>	<b>Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency</b>
<b>EAC</b>	<b>East Africa Community</b>
<b>FGM</b>	<b>Female Genital Mutilation</b>
<b>GDP</b>	<b>Gross domestic Product</b>
<b>ICBT</b>	<b>Informal Cross Border Trade</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non-Governmental Organization</b>
<b>TCE</b>	<b>Treaty establishing a European Constitution</b>

# **DEDICATION**

**To My Wife Eudy**

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## **CHAPTER ONE:**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

The aim of this research is to critically look into the challenges that have emanated from the East African Community's (EAC) attempts to fully integrate and possibly form a political federation. This research will look at the indigenous culture of Karamoja Cluster people as one tool that can be used to bring the people of the six member states closer. East Africa consists of mainly three indigenous ethnic groups. Bantu, Nilotes and Cushites. There has been a substantial integration process during immigration in the past that gave rise to new Nilo-Cushitic and Cushite-Bantu as well as Nilo-Bantu ethnic groups. In brief, these groups have common ancestry and geographical origin. Though every community has a culture that is unique to them of which they hold dear to their heart. By identifying these aspects of culture which is dynamic, and how communities are adapting to modern challenges we can engineer a future of deep communal and state cooperation. When two communities link up at an intrinsic level, the bond becomes strong forming a building block for an EAC with stronger ties. This study will seek to identify specific areas within Karamoja Cluster communities in Kenya and Uganda that can form a basis for social and economic co-operation and integration in EAC.

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The presidents and ministers in charge of the EAC in member states have tried to bring the countries closer but it always appears like they are walking with their bureaucrats as the common people are left behind in community's agenda. The EAC was formed in 1967 but collapsed in 1977. It was revived in July 2000 and the original three states of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda

agreed to incorporate Rwanda and Burundi in 2007 after the two central African states acceded to the EAC treaty. Currently South Sudan is in the process of gaining full membership. EAC covers an area of 1,820,664 square kilometres, with a combined population of about 149,959,317 (EAC, 2000 ).

Already there are several structures and institutions that have been set up to spearhead integration but these are at the EAC Secretariat level or professional bodies. There is the East African Legislative Assembly, East African Court of Justice, Lake Victoria Basin Commission, Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency (CASSOA), Lake Victoria Fisheries Organisation, Inter-University Council for East Africa and East African Development Bank. The three main protocols that have been ratified are the Customs Union, Monetary Union and Common Market. In addition to these several professional organizations are forming regional societies a good example is East African Law Society (EAC, Fast Tracking Political Federation, 2004).

In light of the above information, EAC comes out as an elitist or government level co-operation. This paper seeks to identify cultural practices amongst the people of the region that can be used to enhance integration down to the grassroots.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The EAC has a vision of turning into a political federation yet the people of East Africa are excluded from EAC programs. On an informal level, the communities along East Africa borders are integrated socially and economically. The main problem is there is co-operation at the

highest level among government institutions, universities and corporations with little or no connection beyond the border communities for the common people of the region. When this is extrapolated within the vision of EAC becoming a political federation in future, the situation begs for immediate intervention.

Several communities can be found across more than one East African country or every community has another one which they share origin, social traits and economical characteristics. East African communities still value their culture and these define how they conduct several social functions. The EAC can create a framework for engaging border communities along their way of life (culture) to enhance social integration as a means to political integration. Majority of EAC residents do not conduct cross border activities like trade within the formal policy framework. It is important if these informal interactions can be mainstreamed.

## **1.2 Research Questions**

- a) How many communities can be found along Kenya –Ugandan border to the north and how do they perceive EAC?
- b) To identify challenges facing border communities in Karamoja Cluster that are a hindrance to integration.
- c) To identify practices among cross-border communities that can enhance regional integration between neighbouring states in the EAC.

## **1.4 Justification**

### **1.4.1 Policy**

The study will provide pointers for areas of policy formulation in regard to social interaction of communities within the EAC. As much as formal guidelines create strait-jackets that tend to inhibit sincere interactions, some ground rules are important for informal interactions. When a policy is in line with people's way of life, the uptake is faster leading to efficient systems and procedures.

### **1.4.2 Academia**

Culture is dynamic and social interaction is wide and deep in terms of research opportunities. This study will take a thin line that can ignite intellectual investigation in other areas that can enhance integration in the EAC.

### **1.4.3 General Public**

When the EAC sets out to break social barriers in the region the opportunities and benefits that this move will bring are huge. Already several communities along the border have been divided by the borders and some are found in as many as three countries in the region. There are also common social and economic activities that can connect several communities even where there is no geographical or ethnic connection.

## **1.5 Objectives of the Study**

### **1.5.1 General Objectives**

- i. To find out how regional integration in the EAC can be enhanced through improved integration in border communities.

### **1.5.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To establish communal links across the Karamoja Cluster can be used to enhance integration in EAC.
- ii. To identify challenges facing border communities in Karamoja Cluster that is a hindrance to integration.
- iii. To identify practices among cross-border communities that can enhance regional integration between neighbouring states in the EAC.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The research will focus on cultural linkages among several East Africa communities and how this can enhance regional integration. Culture was picked as it encompasses the way of life of people (Jones, 2006) and the indigenous communities of East Africa have had some element of co-operation or common interest in the past. The scope of study will go back into old way of life of these communities to define their present and to use this to predict how it can shape the future of EAC.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

The original three EAC members; Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda have had a long history of co-operation under several arrangements over time. There was a Customs Union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917, which Tanganyika later joined in 1927. In 1948 the East African High Commission was formed and it lasted up to 1961. There was the East African Common Services Organization between 1961 and 1967. It ushered in the East African Community that collapsed in 1977. The East African Co-operation came up in 1993 until the year 2000 when the EAC came into being (EAC, East Africa Community Treaty, 1997).

Following the dissolution of the former East African Community in 1977, member states negotiated and in 1984 signed a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities. This agreement left open possibilities of the three states to seek areas of co-operation in the future. This led to the three Heads of State to sign an Agreement for the Establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation on November 30, 1993. Full East African Co-operation operations started on March 14, 1996 in Arusha when the Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission was launched.

The three heads of state agreed to in 1997 to initiate the process of upgrading the agreement into a treaty. The treaty entered into force on 7 July 2000 following the conclusion of the process of its ratification and deposit of the Instruments of Ratification with the Secretary General by the three states and EAC was born. The following year, the East African Legislative Assembly and Court of Justice were inaugurated. In 2004 the EAC Summit signs the Custom Union Protocol and it became operational in January 2005. Burundi and Rwanda became full members of EAC in July 2007. In September 2011, the new government of South Sudan applied for membership.

Establishing of the East African Community Co-operation in 1999 was not a panacea for every problem in the region. Deliberate efforts must be made to avoid the collapse of the new East African Community, as happened to the previous East African Community in 1977. Tanzanians, Ugandans and Kenyans must start thinking as East Africans and stop thinking as individual nations. Economic, political, global, social and financial resources challenges need to be addressed for the survival of the community (Kamala, 2006).

The other option is for EAC to remain a confederation as it is now. Confederations are merely treaty organizations in which states remain sovereign. On the statist paradigm, ideal-typically, a confederation is an international law creature – a contractual arrangement whose legal basis is a treaty which does not alter the constitutional structure or international legal standing of the sovereign states that comprise it. Confederation is a way for states to cooperate for limited purposes, it is not meant to be permanent, its jurisdiction is limited and delegated, its legislative/administrative bodies are no more than a board or a congress of the executives of the state parties retaining their international character, rules are enacted on the basis of unanimity and this holds for any alteration of the treaty, the confederation itself not a subject at international law, and its rules do not have direct effect within the member states (Cohen, 2011).

Columbian University Professor Jean L. Cohen in his paper Federation; brings out the concepts of sovereign state, federation and confederation. One of the prime purposes in federating and hence a key goal of a federation is to guarantee the political existence of each member state and to provide internal peace, welfare, and in many but not all cases to protect members against the outside. The economic and geo-political imperatives of globalization and the pressures of size

they generate seem to render the idea of sovereign states (except for great powers or very large polities) as anachronistic today as the city-state became in an earlier period of globalization and state making (the end of the 16th century). The realities of international interdependence, of transnational risks requiring regional or global “governance,” and of ideological challenges to the classic “Westphalian” conception of absolute state sovereignty and exclusive domestic jurisdiction are just a few of the forces one could mention. Proliferation of concepts of and emergent of political formations and talk of regional and global “governance” all lack political-theoretical precision – and give us few clues regarding the question of political and constitutional form for the new political communities and/or proliferating regulatory regimes that are neither states nor simply their creatures (Cohen, 2011)

The European Union has a challenge in political integration which has progressed much more slowly than economic integration, and further political integration has recently suffered several potentially setbacks. In 2004, the Treaty establishing a European Constitution (TCE) was signed by the representatives of all twenty-seven member nations, but the treaty failed to be ratified by all of the members. Most members did in fact ratify the TCE by parliamentary measure or popular referendum, but France and the Netherlands both rejected it in referendums. These failures led other members to postpone or call off their ratification procedures. As a result, the European Council called for a “period of reflection,” which subsequently led to negotiations over a new constitutional treaty, known as the Lisbon Treaty. The Treaty of Lisbon, signed on 13 December 2007, was in the process of being ratified by member nations when the Irish electorate rejected the treaty in June 2008, creating uncertainty as to the future ratification of this version of a European constitution (Hazark, 2009)

Another problem also arises out of the composition of the Eurozone. According to the optimal currency theory first posed by American Robert Mundell in 1961, in order for a single currency to succeed in a multinational area several conditions must be met. There should be no barriers to the movement of labor forces across national, cultural, or linguistic borders within the single-currency area; there should be wage stability throughout the single currency area; and an area-wide system should exist to stabilize imbalanced transfers of labor, goods, or capital within the single-currency area. These conditions do not exist in present-day Europe, where labor mobility is small, largely because of language barriers, and wages vary widely among EU member countries, particularly between those in the West and in the East. Furthermore, the present administrative structure of the EU is not powerful enough to redress imbalanced transfers, which are bound to occur over and over (McCormick, 2005).

Regional integration is informed by strategic interests of member states. It does not do away with but leverages on the dynamics of international relations to explore new kinds of configurations in state- society relations. A mix of weak state involvement in border communities and neo liberal approach of globalization seem to work at favouring processes that ignore boundary concerns (Taylor, 2008).

To fast track the East African Community Federation, EAC created the post of Deputy Secretary General in charge of fast tracking the process of political federation in The April 2006 EAC Summit held in Arusha. In the course of implementation of the EAC Development strategy (2001–2005), the heads of state decided in 2004 to explore options for fast tracking the process towards achieving political federation, and set up a committee to work on this matter and the

report was submitted in 2004. The prevailing view is that the integration process would be more expeditious if conducted within a clear, definite and enabling political framework. In 2005, the heads of state considered the report of the committee and reaffirmed their vision of federation (Kamala, 2006).

Participation by citizens is important to the sustainability of The East African Community. The treaty advocates the need for people-driven and people-centered development. East African people should play an active role in determining the progress of the new community. The Community's long term survival is therefore pegged on how it will live up to the expectations of the people of East Africa through implementing the treaty's provisions for the creation of an enabling environment for social integration and development (EAC, Fast Tracking Political Federation, 2004).

The EAC treaty is not clear on how citizens will participate in the integration process yet the treaty specifies that it will be a people centred confederation. The EAC is viewed as an elite organization for the elite by the elite. This is because the integration process is driven by politics and politicians, civil society and private sector. The EAC has created the office of Deputy Secretary for political federation without a strategy for the office and for incorporating the people in the region into the integration process (Lwaitata, F. et al, 2013).

The globalization trends has rendered the idea of sovereign states to be untenable except for great powers or hegemony as the city-state became in an earlier period of state making towards the end of the 16th century. The single sovereign state will find it difficult to compete in the global arena hence the idea of political federation. The emergence of political federation ideas

without a clear path or formula to it even for advanced confederations like the EU is a challenge to policy makers and heads of governments in regional organizations.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

This research will adapt is the theory of Obsolesce of Regional Integration Theories. It was advanced by Ernst B. Haas and the theory was used to study the emerging trends in behavior of governments in regional blocs. This theory indicates that the core assumptions that form the basis for regional integration theories have become obsolescent. One assumption that has obsolesced is that; decisions should be made on the basis of disjointed incrementalism. This model has failed the EAC as decisions are supposed to be marginally different from the norm or past practices. One property of regional integration that has become obsolete and which this study seeks to bring out a new way around it is; regions must progressively increase the centralization of operations and concerns as an autonomous process following rules that are unique to the region. The assumption that a defined institutional framework must mark the outcome of the process of integration is relevant to cross border communities. The new trend is different dimensions of interdependence between countries on issues, objectives and policies which may go against the incentives of a customs union but will create equilibrium in state interaction in the region without necessarily ending up in a political federation. The new reality is "fragmented issue linkage"-which is competing with incremental ideals of the past as the basis for decision making (Haas, 2012).

As will apply to this study the theory will explain how EAC member states are struggling to advance their individual interests behind their push for a political federation. The member states are struggling to integrate without jeopardizing their own sovereignty. This has had an effect

where The EAC has remained more as an Arusha based body with little or no effect on the people of East Africa. The theory will enable the study look at emerging trends at informal integration and interdependence among border communities in Karamoja Cluster between Kenya and Uganda.

The “Optimal Currency Area Theory” puts social integration in terms of labour, trade and social integration as prerequisites for a successful single currency operation. The EAC has made strides on economic integration front and even fronting a single currency in the future but little has been done in terms of social and trade integration. The success of these ventures will depend on the level of social integration in the region.

## **1.9 Research Methodology**

This is a report of a study conducted among the communities around Karamoja Cluster in Kenya and Uganda. These are Jie, Dodoth, Tepes, Matheniko, Bokora and Pian in Uganda as well as Teso, Pokot, and Turkana in Kenya. Initially the Karamoja only referred to the pastoralists communities in north east of Uganda but currently it includes communities living around the convergence of Kenya, Uganda, Ethiopia and South Sudan borders.

### **Mixed Method**

The study looked at the works of other researchers in relation to the current state of events in the Karamoja Cluster. This enabled me to establish the level of awareness on EAC and proposed political federation among these communities. It also looked at their perception of their governments and EAC in regard to their counterparts in the region. It also looked at socio-economic trends that cut across the borders of Uganda and Kenya in regard to their way of life.

Lastly the study looked at areas of cooperation within the cluster that can encourage peace building in the volatile region.

On the quantitative side, I looked at the frequency of cross border movement among border communities between Kenya and Uganda. I also looked at formal and informal volumes of trade between Kenya and Uganda over the past one year. I then looked at the data of number of cross border cattle raids. On the qualitative side, I looked at the data on literacy levels, the perception of the communities of the EAC, their counterparts across the border and if they support a local formula of cooperation.

The study had two main challenges. The vastness and low population density of the region and low literacy levels which made me rely on translators. This made collecting of data a challenge and then loss of crucial information and meaning in the course of translation. The other challenge is security which made me to restrict my study to areas deemed safe by my guides.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter gives a brief of the study and an overview of the EAC. It has the problem the study seeks to solve, objectives and justification of the study. The main component is the bird's eye view of the EAC from its inception, collapse, re-birth, and future projections. There is also a brief on research method and how the study was conducted. At the end of this study, it will be clear how the EAC and partner states can be able to utilize the social-cultural aspects of their border population to enhance integration. The study will highlight day to day activities that can be used to improve cooperation and integration in the region beyond the head of states and ministerial summits. This will move the EAC from inter-governmental and social elite participation to a more inclusive community where every resident of East Africa feels part of.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 THE PROMISE OF THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY**

The East African Community (EAC) has realized tremendous progress in regional co-operation with a significant impact on regional development. The region's combined Gross domestic Product (GDP) has grown six times since EAC inception. The treaty establishing the EAC signed 1999, stipulates that political federation is to be preceded by three stages: the Customs Union, the Common Market and Monetary Union. The three stages are all policy and structural measures (top to bottom) while political federation (bottom to top) is a people participation process.

Although East Africa countries share social and cultural ties since pre-colonial times, the social setting in the region is not homogenous. Post-colonial experience in each member state produced different strains of the same socio-ethnic group. This has led to stereotypes across the borders which integration is meant to harmonize by free movement and interactions (D.J. Masima et al, 2010).

The belief is that there is the right combination of favorable conditions, including strong political will, sustained economic growth and popular participation of people in EAC. However, economic integration is achievable in the foreseeable future; political integration is a multi-dimensional process that takes time.

In May 2005, an extraordinary summit of EAC directed the EAC Council to form National Consultative Mechanisms to collect views from East Africans on the formation of a political federation (EAC N. C., 2009). The Burundi and Rwanda forums gathered data from different

stakeholders: youth, media, women organizations, civil society, informal sector, private sector, academia, and politicians among others.

East Africans are aware of the EAC and majority support fast tracking of political integration except Tanzania which recorded a low percentage on fast tracking (East Africa Community, 2007). They are aware of the benefits and also highlighted their fears of inhibitors to integration and negative effects of integration. In general, the people of East Africa agree in principle on the need for a political federation, which is good for EAC.

The social inhibitors to integration were raised as disparities in education systems, language, and identification systems in the region, and governance. Addressing these social inhibitors is the beginning of promoting integration in the region. Integration is complex and one thing that must be done strategically to create deep roots and widen its scope and speed up the process (Mwapachu, 2007).

Integration must be people centred and market driven. As the leftist and rightist ideologies diminish, the world is getting more pragmatic in terms of focusing on state interests, prosperity and people's welfare. EAC must create structured vehicles for stakeholder engagement (Mwapachu, 2007). Integration sets the way for improved interactions especially among border communities leading to reduction in ethnic conflicts (Harelimana, 2011).

## **2.1 Border Management in East Africa Community**

Globalization has led to an increase in volumes of people and goods across the borders worldwide. This has led to the need for countries to adopt border management systems that increase surveillance while minimizing border tensions as it gears to curb organized crime and syndicates across the border. This is possible if both countries generate joint common

understandings of length and nature of boundaries, anthropological and economic characteristics of the border residents.

Kenya has six and seven border points along its border with Uganda and Tanzania respectively. The borders are 772 kilometres and 769 kilometres respectively. Five out of the six points on Kenyan border with Uganda are found south of Mt. Elgon leaving only one, Suam River post on the long stretch to the North. ((EAC), 2000). This gives us about one border post every one hundred kilometres. Most of the areas along the border are sparsely populated especially along Kenya and Tanzania where two game reserves (Amboseli and Maasai Mara) cover much of the border. It is good to note that apart from these border points most of the border is not marked.

This makes border management a challenge especially if there is a barrier in the minds of the people and government agencies on both sides of the border. Under international law, states are classified as weak or strong by their capacity to maintain their boundaries, secure their borders and protect their citizens. Borders marking territories are also markers of “territorial sovereignty” which makes it an area every state will take seriously. Most of EAC borders are not marked, controlled or patrolled.

The management of borders by assumption has led to EAC border communities to seek ways of survival by ignoring or working around the state systems across the region. The system at border points is tedious and time consuming to people who can jump on a bicycle and finish a transaction in less than an hour. Whenever one community lives astride a border, one can confidently claim that the border is non-existent.

The general attitude for governments is “live and let live” until sovereignty or strategic interests is threatened. The lack of revenue from taxes is absorbed by job creation from the wealth and

social capital generated from cross border interactions. ((AfDB), 2014). This brings the need for a paradigm shift in border management. A people centred down-top approach will be most effective than top-down red tape prone government interventions.

Generally border security is never given first priority in Africa compared to security for political elite in the capital city and urban centres and East Africa is no exception. The little security that is spared for border communities is restricted to ports of entry and not the border lines. Because border communities are averse to stringent measures on restrictions to cross border movements, governments must look at ways of changing approach to border management. The shift from surveillance and restrictions to people management is crucial. This involves managing infrastructure, social services, culture and arts and economic activities especially trans-boundary modes of production.

This in a way has enabled border communities to go about their way of life with little interference unless their government feels its sovereignty is under threat. There is informal integration among the border communities in terms of socialization and small scale trade. This has enabled border communities to seek opportunities in the neighbouring countries by taking advantage of favourable conditions and services across the border.

## **2.2 Benefits of Integration to East Africa Citizens**

### **2.2.1 Free Movement of People**

The East African people expect the political federation to grant them free movement in the region to reside, seek employment opportunities, trade and own property. This will also come in

non- discrimination when seeking services in terms of cost and provision. Though some countries have abolished the “foreigner” tag on East Africans when seeking services like education and medical several states have not. There is also the expectation of more opportunities for employment and the fear by smaller economies like Burundi of other East Africans taking over most of their jobs.

### **2.1.2 Reunification of Border Communities**

The border communities have ignored the border in their informal day to day life but it inhibits formal interactions in terms trade. The borders have cut several families into two where brothers are citizens of different EAC states. They will now be able to conduct social festivals like initiation, marriage and prayers without border inhibitions. The people expect political federation to create an open environment for border communities to interact without restrictions from their state’s bureaucracy. Some communities are a minority in one country like the Kuria in Kenya but have a larger population across the border which will raise their clout regionally.

### **2.1.3 Political Unification**

The people in east Africa expect to be involved in the process of decision making to take the integration process from politicians who they feel have selfish interests. There will also be increased levels of democratic advancement as states lagging behind in good governance will have to catch up with the advanced democracies when political processes are harmonized. The people also want the ever emphasis on integration to be reduced so that they can be part of the process (Harelimana, 2011). There is growing desire for interdependence rather than independence which is shrouded by the fear of domination by the bigger economies and democracies in the region.

#### **2.1.4 Kiswahili as the Regional Language**

There is agreement that Kiswahili should be the official social language in the region while English to be the official language. It is the only language can cuts across social class and different ethnicities in the region. This is linked to the desire of standardization of education systems in the region and Kiswahili to be made a compulsory course. Kiswahili is rarely used in social circles in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi unlike Kenya and Tanzania, but this can be improved as a step towards integration (Kawoya V., 2009).

#### **2.1.5 Socio Religious Organizations Unification**

The prospect of social and religious bodies along the border unifying the border communities under leadership is also welcomed. The sports federations, parishes, diocese and local chiefs and elders whose influence has been crossing the border will now be able to maximize on resources and meet the spiritual and social needs of their people who share a lot in common. The social and spiritual leadership can be integrated at the border regions as a step towards integration. Social festivals like sports, music and annual festivals can be unified to give the populations and opportunity to interact. This will enhance cross border surveillance to curb negative effects of integrations like cross border crime and trafficking as well mitigate them.

### **2.3 Fears of Integration among EAC Member States**

#### **2.3.1. Loss of Sovereignty**

The main fear is loss of sovereignty within member states in terms of loss of political power, and the flexibility of decision making at national level (Harelimana, 2011). The aspiration for a political federation does not erase national pride and patriotism. This is more among the political

elite than the common population. Will the emergence of a political federation lower their political influence in relation to powerful regional politicians?

### **2.3.2 Lack of Uniformity**

There are disparities in national human rights records, constitutionalism, anti-corruption, governance and the rule of law (Kamala, 2006). There is also a variance in accountability, discipline and corporate culture among government agencies in the region. This will bring up the challenge of conflict in execution of the law and other statutes in the region.

### **2.3.3 Politicization of Integration Process**

The fear that the political leadership will speed up the process for selfish gains is real among the EAC populations. A country will support the integration if they feel one of their own will end up with a strategic seat in the political federation. This also breeds the fear of decision making being left to a selected few at the expense of the people of East Africa.

### **2.3.4 Cross Border Crime**

The fear of criminals taking advantage of the transition to export their activities across the border is real among the people. There is also fear of social maladies like drugs, prostitution and human trafficking will rise as cartels take advantage of virgin markets in the region. This will also be compounded by inability of some law enforcers in the region to track high level and organized crimes.

### **2.3.5 Economic Adjustment Measures**

Teething problems associated with integration will lead to loss of tax revenue which leads to fear of increase in tax to cover for the loss as well as run a bloated regional government. There is also

discontent in the prospect of strong economies dominating the weak ones. This can be addressed by putting up mechanisms to equitably distribute benefits accrued from integration.

### **2.3.6 Loss and Emergence of Identity**

Globalization which manifests itself in a smaller scale as regional integration means that national identity is surrendered to a regional one. Identity is in most cases imagined than real. The political ties, cultural ties and expressions and economic transactions are part of national identity. Regional integration is formal or informal, though experts prefer to concentrate on the former. Identity formation is fluid, so as the national identity fades; the new regional identity comes up. Regional integration gives chance for identity mergers, overlap, intermingling and even clashes (Taylor, 2008).

### **Conclusion**

This chapter looks at the current state and the promise of EAC. There is agreement between regional states that EAC members should work towards a political federation because there conditions are favourable. There are more unifying factors and points of convergence than reasons to the contrary. This will be preceded by formation of Custom Union, Common Market and Monetary Union. East African people believe that full integration will be beneficial as long as their fears are managed. The expectation is that full integration will give people an opportunity for free movement in the region, direct participation in regional affairs and that border communities will not operate from the corners of their countries while maneuvering around an imaginary line. The people also agree that Kiswahili is a unifying language for the region. The fears are; loss of sovereignty, politicization of the integration process, rise in crime, economic backlash in form of high taxes and loss of identity to build a new identity.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **3.0 INTEGRATION HURDLES AMONG BORDER COMMUNITIES**

A boundary is a line that marks the confines of a territory or divides two contiguous territories. A boundary can be fixed or general. A fixed boundary has been surveyed and marked by beacons while a general boundary is where a precise line is left undetermined. A boundary is mutually agreed upon by consensus between two states and can be marked by a beacon or a natural feature (Okumu, 2011).

A border is an area along a boundary that straddles or is adjacent to a boundary. The people living along the borderland are influenced by their neighbours across the boundary and generally tend to enjoy uninterrupted movement across the boundary. Governments use customs, immigration, police and the armed forces to manage borders. Border management is an expensive affair that most countries in Africa have a challenge in due to budget constraints. To manage borders effectively and efficiently there has to be collaboration especially within regional blocks.

About 177 ethnic groups in Africa are split by borders across two or more countries. Studies show that conflicts length and intensity increase by 25% where an ethnic group is divided by a national border as opposed to where they occur within one country. This also applies for trade where informal trade across a border is higher where a community sits astride a national boundary.

There are several communities that are found in more than one East African country. There are also communities which are closely related to other communities around East Africa. The

colonialists drew the boundaries more with natural resources than the indigenous people in mind. This led to many families being divided down the middle by the imaginary lines that later defined East African states.

Looking at the border regions of East Africa; Maasai, Kuria and Luo can be found in Kenya and Tanzania. Samia and Teso (Itesot) are in Kenya and Uganda. There are the Bukusu and Kabaras who are closely related to Bagisu of Uganda in a general tribe called Bamasaba, while the Bunyore (a Luhya subtribe) are related to the Banyoro of Western Uganda.

When an ethnic group sits astride a border, there will be distinct differences between people who live across the border. The Pokot of Uganda do not speak Kiswahili like their Kenyan counterparts because Kiswahili has never been fully adopted in Uganda. Apart from language there are also differences in clothing, economic activities and general level of social wellness. There is a distinct difference between Tanzanian and Kenyan Maasai. These differences have come about due to difference in national socialization and education systems.

The silver lining in this land mine is that border communities generate as much GDP as offices and factories. Official statistics indicate that the intra-African trade is a paltry 12.8% of the total foreign trade in 2011, some non-commissioned case studies found the informal cross-border trade to represent 15% of the total foreign trade in Nigeria and more than 200% in Central African Republic and Equatorial Guinea. It averages to about 43% of official GDP in Africa (- UNEC-A, 2013).

### **3.1 Challenges to Informal Integration**

Irredentist demands arise where minority communities in one country are attracted to their kinsmen across the border to boost their numbers. There are more Tesos in Uganda than Kenya

and their tribal leader 'Emorimori' resides in Uganda. If Kenyan Tesos demand to secede to Uganda, Kenya will be forced to defend its sovereignty. This is evident among the Somali, who are split across five countries; Somalia, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea and Djibouti. The horn of Africa has been unstable partly because of a push by Somali supremacist to unite "the greater Somalia" (Zoppi, 2013).

People along the border hardly recognize the boundary unless it is a clear natural feature like a river. This makes them to leverage on their mobility to leverage on fair prices across the border due to difference in tax regimes. Goods manufactured in Kenya can be exported to Uganda then smuggled back to Kenya and sold at a profit due to fair tax regimes. Traders in border communities enjoy such informal "tax regimes" to maximize their profits.

The boundaries delineating states in Africa are products of colonialism. The independence political leaders acknowledged its negative effects but were reluctant to make adjustments. The leaders were worried boundary adjustments would affect their new earned sovereignty and impede their power to govern their territory (Dereje Feyisa, 2010) . New governments tried to promote peaceful existence along the border as the affordable means to manage the challenges of separation of single ethnic groups by the boundary line.

Sovereignty meant that governments did not have to consult another external authority in making and administering its laws within its borders. This meant that with time, communities caught across two countries like the Bamasaba (Bukusu and Bagisu) in Kenya and Uganda went divergent ways as their governments consolidated power and forged a distinct national consciousness (Kidane Mengisteab, 2012).

The interests of border communities will always be diametrical to the sovereignty interests of the two states. This coming in the background of border communities being marginalized by design or default brings out anti-government tendencies within border communities. This led to the central governments investing in proxy authorities to maintain a presence in the peripheral lands (Webber, 2012).

This marginalization of border communities is disadvantageous due to lack of infrastructure and services to the people but also an advantage. Less government means freedom to move across the border. When the central governments have a conflict, they transfer the conflict to the border between the two countries with little regard to the communities along the border. This means that if states remain ambivalent, border disputes have little tendency to turn violent.

It is common for border communities to host rebels fighting insurgents in a neighbouring country. Kenya accused Uganda of hosting February Eighteenth Movement (FERA) in the late nineties. Uganda has accused Sudan before the split of hosting and sponsoring Lords Resistance Movement (LRA). Hutu regime in Rwanda in early nineties accused Uganda of incubating and supporting Tutsi led Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF) when they crossed the border into Rwanda. When an internal conflict crosses the border, border communities become collateral damage.

The RPF insurgency into Uganda is connected to National Resistance Army (NRA) move to oust Milton Obote as Ugandan president. Milton Obote's government was hostile to Rwandese refugees who lived in camps situated in Western Uganda borderlands. This led to about four thousand Rwandese refugees to jump into NRA. Upon NRA taking over power, the Ugandans became worried of Rwandese rise in the army due to the fact that they joined the rebellion early and they fought from their heart they rose through the ranks faster.

This led to the formation of RPF which set out to the border again. In their quest to oust the Rwandese government, they would retreat back into Uganda. They camouflaged into the communities of western Uganda as most of them had been born and grew up in western Uganda. The communities along the border bore the brunt of attacks and bombings by Rwandese government forces (Kinzer, 2008).

When border communities host refugees, interaction is inevitable. Inter-marriages occur and when the refugees go back home you end up with many people who have to choose between motherland and fatherland. This result immediately makes border communities to have one foot across the border, people will always cross to visit relatives and enjoy the benefits of life and natural resources across the border. This leads to governments to treat border communities with suspicion for fear of infiltration; in Kenya they wait longer to get identification papers. This was also the case when Ugandan refugees fled into western Kenya to run away from the tyranny of Idi Amin.

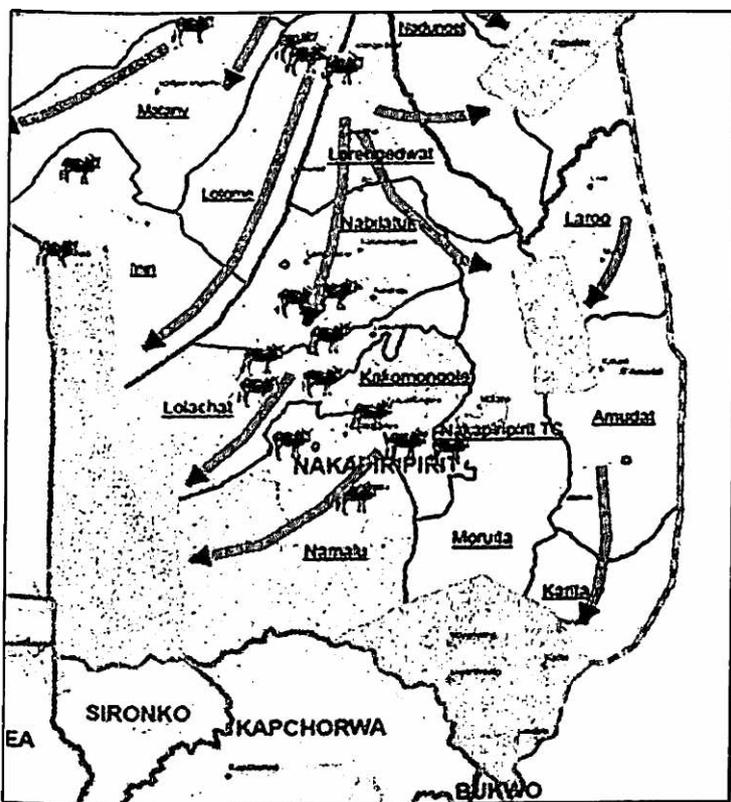
In the absence of services, border communities get involved in illicit trade. They also become susceptible to collaborating with insurgents like has been the case with Al-Shabaab fighters in North Eastern Kenya. To improve security and collect more taxes, the states (central governments) must mainstream the needs of border communities. Border management requires a bottom up approach with the communities along the borders in mind.

### **3.2 Peace Building in Karamoja Cluster**

The Karamoja cluster is a group of pastoralist communities living around the convergence of borders between Kenya, Uganda, South Sudan and Ethiopia. The communities are named after the Karimojong of North Eastern Uganda which comprises Jie, Dodoth, Tepes, Matheniko,

Bokora and Pian but now used to refer to the Teso, Pokot, Turkana, Toposa, Didinga and Merile. In this report the cluster refers to geographical area more than ethnic entities.

The cluster represents a region of informal regional integration. The communities in the cluster go about their life oblivious of the domestic and international boundaries. They are forced to acknowledge these imaginary barriers only in times of conflict. The study of this region is important in identifying the benefits of EAC integration and the challenges complex policies and government bureaucracy bring to regional integration (Taylor, 2008).



*Map 3.0 Migration routes in Nakapiripirit and Amudat Districts in North East Uganda, Courtesy of United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, March 2010*

All the communities in the cluster are pastoralists and the area is an arid area which is referred to as ASAL (arid and semi-arid land). They are similar in terms of needs, livelihood assets, culture, traditional governance system and shared natural resources. This predisposes the people to several similar challenges; migration in search for pasture and water, epizootics, cattle rustling, arms proliferation and poor or inaccessible social amenities. These challenges compounded with little government presence or marginalization has led to increase in conflict with countries and across borders in the region.

The governments of Kenya and Uganda have been conducting disarmament in their respective areas of jurisdiction since independence but the area has known no peace. Fire arms are hidden with relatives across the border when one country conducts its operation and the other party reciprocates when their relatives also needs to hide their arms. There is also proliferation of affordable arms from unstable regions of South Sudan and Ethiopia into the cluster. This obsession with cleaning up firearms brings peace only for as long as the armed forces are present then the hostilities resume (Mamdani, 1992).

The main challenge of security approach to peace building is the fixed mindset of war among security forces. The governments tend to send security teams comprised majorly of personnel who are not from the region. This is meant to lower mistrust levels and also avoid emotional attachment to the operation. The few officers from the area are kept at logistics level. This approach is counterproductive as peace is a product of trust. Generally the people do not trust the security forces who in some cases have been accused of favouritisms, looting and rape. Disarmament has been unevenly implemented, where one clan claims they were disarmed while its adversaries were not, making one clan vulnerable to raids (Lambroschini, 2011).

The emerging trends of proliferation of arms, population increase and constant migration has reduced the influence of elders over the communities. In the past raids were sanctioned by elders but not anymore. Nevertheless the raids still have a pattern; to restock after drought, after initiation as a rite of passage, retaliation for perceived injustice and to showcase new firepower (Wekesa M, 2014).

The conflict patterns have been mapped out. There is the conflict between pure pastoralists and semi pastoralists in the highlands to the west of Karimojong area of Uganda. In Kenya, Turkans migrate towards the Kapenguria highlands to look for pasture during dry season. It is in the process of movement or grazing that conflict arises. This also leads to shifting alliances so as to leverage on resources and firearms for security of other clans or families. In as much as most conflicts in the area are cattle and pasture related, every conflict is unique (Karamoja Cluster Peace Project., 2013). This calls for conflict analysis in order to get the social, economic, and other interests behind the conflict so as to transform it as the way out in seeking peace. Transformation seeks to create a new outlook that is different from the one that caused the conflict.

Non-Governmental agencies are making steps but their efforts are hindered by lack of coordination among themselves and lack of timely government support especially in the absence of a crisis. There is a convergence among aid workers in the area that peace will be a by-product of solutions to provision of; water and pasture, human and animal health care, relevant education and unhindered cross border trade and improvement of infrastructure (AU and IBAR, 1999).

A practical example to peace building is the introduction of exotic breeds of cows in Marakwet and South Pokot in 1999 and setting up of a milk processing plant in Lelana near Kapenguria in

Pokot area a decade later. The people of Marakwet know that they rely on Pokot milk for the plant to work at optimum and the Pokot know that the market of their milk is in Marakwet. (Onyango-Obbo, 2010). The conflicts due to cattle rustling subsided considerably with the growth of commercial dairy industry in the area. Around March 2016, violent clashes erupted in the area but this time it was due to a love triangle gone sour. One could not imagine of romantic relationships across the two communities.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **4.0 INFORMAL INTEGRATION IN KARAMOJA CLUSTER**

The main characteristic of Karamoja Cluster is the sparse and spread out mobile population which makes reaching the entire population expensive and time consuming. They occupy peripheral areas of states so it is difficult for them to identify with their nationality. The area lacks infrastructure development due to economic viability making them unsustainable due to poor returns (Wekesa M, 2014). Despite all these, the communities in the region have continued defy the odds by not only surviving but also preserving their culture.

#### **4.1 Migration**

The communities have sufficient resources during rainy season. In the dry season they keep moving across internal district and international boundaries in search of water and pasture. Marginalization from governments has led to competition for resources as global warming has led to increase in drought conditions which in turn have led to conflicts.

The border is not in line with ethnic realities on the ground. The Pokot are found in West Pokot County in Kenya and Amudat District in Uganda. The other communities in the area found in both countries are the Elgon Maasai; Sebei in Uganda and Sabaot in Kenya though they have adopted farming more than keeping livestock. Pastoralists have immeasurable pride in their culture and traditional way of life. This has made them resistant to change regardless of the forces that have been set to influence them out of it. Clans are also highly regarded social entities among these communities. Social and cultural meetings are bound to breach the borders.

To the area residents, survival in the harsh environment matters above everything. This makes them to be ever ready to move in search of livelihood which revolves around their livestock. Pastoralists try to gain access to available resources outside their area when these resources are located in an area belonging to another community, user rights depend on the community with the resources which are simply water and pasture. Dry season come with tensions between and within the communities in the Karimoja Cluster. Communities have over time formed alliances that tend to increase their access to the resources while excluding other communities. These have led to the communities to look for ways of cooperating or fighting it out in the absence of government due to marginalization.

Migration across the border also includes search for commodities. Due to difference in economic strengths and tax policies in the countries in the region, veterinary products are cheaper in Kenya than Uganda. This means that Ugandan's will cross the border to purchase products from Kenya. There is little or no surveillance along the borders which makes the migration a casual process for the residents of this area. This is because on the ground, the inhabitants of the area do not recognize the boundaries where they go about life ignoring the sovereignty attached to territories. Leveraging on the culture of the people to advance regional integration will be cost effective, sustainable and will bear results (Lambroschini, 2011).

There is also forced migration when conflict erupts as people move to safe places. This also comes up when the government comes in to quell a conflict. As their move is always reactionary to make up for their misgivings, people always expect the worst and their flight is always pre-emptive of harsh and collective treatment from government forces.

Movement across the border can also be cultural. Due to heightened fight against Female Genital Mutilation- FGM in West Pokot County of Kenya, young Pokot girls are trekking for over two hundred kilometers to undergo the cut in Uganda where the government has not been very firm in fighting FGM. Young boys also cross the border during initiation rites to take part in celebrations and other cultural rites.

## **4.2 Pastoralism**

Pastoralists in Africa move in search of pasture and water. This means that they do not have permanent homes, but temporary shelters. The small nuclear family adapts to survival under these ecological restraints in a communal land setting. Children in pastoral societies tend to be self-reliant, independent, and achievement oriented. A successful cattle herder of any age is respected for his competence, which is different from the hierarchical structure of the agricultural society.

Pastoralism is more than keeping cattle, it is about honour. This is the reason most pastoralist community in Africa do not understand the modern economics of rearing cattle. This means that pastoralists will go to any length to preserve their cattle. When it comes to trade, cows can be traded for everything including human life. The challenge is that pastoralists tend to inhabit harsh, dry and marginalized areas like the Karamoja Cluster (Wekesa M, 2014).

Among pastoralists, the age set in lineages dictate political and social structures. The elders engaged in orderly discussions on politics and dispute resolution, the youth pursued status and dignity in warfare, vitality, courage and resilience. To the youth, all their pursuit could be related to cattle; rearing, protecting, dowry, stealing and recovering.

The Karamajong Cluster communities are thus exposed to effects of drought which lead to long treks in search of water and pasture, famine and cattle rustling. It is during such times that the irrelevance of regional countries territorial borders is evident. In the struggle for survival under scarce resources, an imaginary boundary line is the last thing a pastoralist will think about. It is this vulnerability from effects of nature government marginalization that has fuelled a micro-integration.

Development theories and practice as taught by colonialists was based on sedentary or non-nomadic communities. The colonialists did not do much among the nomad pastoralists in the arid lands. The post-colonial governments retained the same policy. This in a way meant that the communities found a way of coexisting within the cluster. The governments came in only when peace and security was threatened to enforce peace by disarming the communities ((AU), 1999).

The fact that Jipe tribesmen can easily access Lodwar town in Turkana County in Kenya than access Kampala or Moroto in Uganda dictates that they seek a working formula with Turkanas. Changes in climatic conditions due to global warming and increase in population led to frequent eruption of conflict in the region. This led to the need for a more sustainable and integrated approach to developing the region as opposed to the old one of imposing peace by any means.

Globalization has broken down the social order that existed within the communities. In the past, raids had to be sanctioned by elders and the unwritten rules of war had to be maintained. These rules were meant to protect children, women and vital community installations. Peace was made under oath and going against it required mutual awareness of either party. Today the youth can acquire guns on their own and will wait for the orders and where they are given obedience is not

a guarantee. External political and market forces have also come into play which has led to unnecessary wars.

Cattle centred lifestyle also means that the communities are also male centred and women are marginalized. The boys tend to get the little benefits from opportunities that come into the communities in terms of education, health care and employment. More boys than girls are going to school in these areas. Pastoralists view girls as a source of more cattle in form of dowry hence they are likely not to be educated. Yet un-empowered girls mean a lower capacity for women to perform their roles at home. This has lowered the general life standards among pastoralist communities ((AU), 1999).

The government of Uganda has tried several initiatives but their impact has been small. Pastoralism has three phases that cattle go through and which the two governments can develop services around in Karamoja Cluster.

1. Livestock Rearing
2. Infrastructure Development
3. Marketing and value addition

#### **4.3 Livestock Rearing**

This is the basics of keeping livestock. The breed and size of herd people keep and generally their wellbeing. The services in need here are veterinary services which the two governments should standardize across the region. The breeds should be economically viable where the inhabitants of the region can get good returns for their efforts (Wekesa M, 2014).

Several NGOs have trained Community Veterinary Officers who support the people in animal health. These officers sometimes cross the border to offer services but their program is informal. The types of drugs in supply in the two countries as well as prices differ. The Ugandan pastoralists believe that Kenya has drugs of higher quality at affordable prices. They cross the border into Kenya to import drugs which in most cases is not certified. Management of disease outbreak is also a challenge as the movement of livestock cannot be fully restricted yet mitigation efforts to curb epizootics are rarely synchronized.

#### **4.4 Infrastructure Development**

This mainly revolves around risk reduction by developing infrastructure for cattle and people to ease and improve their livestock production. The infrastructure includes research institutes, markets, dips, watering points, roads, schools and clinics. These infrastructures should be standardized so that it will not matter where the people are in the cluster, they will access the services. This will also improve security as conflicts revolve around access to resources. Uniform infrastructure will improve monitoring and exchange of information which is a challenge in the marginalized areas. Communal grazing lands can be identified and access opened to everyone regardless of nationality. Mobile schools can be introduced and the syllabus set to suit the way of life of the pastoralists with a link to how they can join the formal education system in any of the countries.

#### **4.5 Creating Interdependency through Trade**

It is important that the two countries lay out formulas of creating interdependency among the communities in the cluster. This will involve empowering communities to specialize in production of certain commodities that the other communities will need. It will also require

setting up industries to add value to animal products strategically in the region so as to enhance the need of cooperation (Kim, 1994).

The main principle in this program is to reduce trade barriers as well as the gap in economic status in the cluster. Currently Ugandans cross into Kenya to access veterinary products because of favourable prices and the assurance of high quality. Another factor that will need to be raised is frequency of trade to take interaction beyond the normal quest for pasture and water. The Intensity of Trade Interdependency (ITI) can be measured to determine trade intensity. It involves comparing imports and exports across the border. If it is higher the factor means that the importing country is an important market to exporting country. An Index of ONE means that trade is at equilibrium.

The result is a distinct division of labour where high skilled production can be done in nearby towns like Tororo and Turkana while the low skill labour intensive production can be done at local trading centres. This involves production of animal feeds, curing of leather and ornaments from animal products like horns as basic productions. Manufacture of veterinary drugs, Water supply systems productions and manufacture of basic needs like food and clothing can be done in urban centres with more skilled labour.

After the introduction of exotic breeds of cows in Marakwet and South Pokot and setting up of milk processing plant in Kapenguria the area has been stable. The once volatile region has seen conflict reduce to manageable levels. The animals they fought over had low economic value but high sentimental cultural value. The changer was a 1998 conflict where many people died in clashes between the two communities (Ndurya, 2011). The high breed cows cannot trek long distances so rustlers saw them as a liability if they are stolen. The project started off slowly but

10 years later they decided to consolidate their efforts. Area residents began hiring transport services from donkey cart owners to collect and transport the milk but it gave an opportunity for everyone to be involved. The dairy industry has given rise to a Microfinance Institution and Agrovet outlets (Onyango-Obbo, 2010).

The weather condition in Pokot may be favourable for Freshian dairy cows but other breed suitable to Karamoja Cluster can be developed. The main difference could be in focussing more on meat and less milk production. The idea is to create an industry where several villages specialize in one area of production so as to create economic dependency. Complementarity increase interaction and will deepen integration in the region. These are examples of areas of specialization; animal feeds, livestock markets, slaughter houses, meat processing and tanning industries. This will minimize the distance the people go to search for market for their livestock and they can also maximize on the prices. There will also be the option of selling prior to drought season then the government can pay them part of their proceeds later for them to restock.

#### **4.6. New Education System**

Generally border communities tend to be marginalized which affects education standards in border regions. Karamoja region has low education enrolment as children are viewed as source of cheap labour for looking after cattle (Mamdani, 1992). Human development index indicators rank these groups among the least developed populations in Kenya and Uganda. There way of life also makes attending school a challenge as it requires permanent settlement. Despite increasing peace building efforts violent livestock raiding continues. Frequent droughts and the resulting disruption of social and economic life hinder efforts to reduce vulnerability in the Karamoja Cluster area.

Education is known to equalizer of many social and economic disparities among communities. Developing countries rarely define modalities to identify those vulnerable or marginalized children, as this can apply to substantial number of the population. Two of internationally accepted clusters for marginalized children are; Culture-related children belonging to specific castes, ethnic groups or tribes, religious groups, or children speaking specific language. The other is location-related: children living in conflict-affected areas, refugees and displaced persons, child soldiers, nomads, rural pastoralists, children living in urban slums, and street children (UNESCO, 2009).

Uganda introduced Universal Primary Education (UPE) in 1997 to improve enrollment. Initially the guideline was four children per family but this could not be strictly enforced so it was opened up and the enrolment numbers increased from 3 million in 1997 to 7 million in 2004 (Kakura, 2007). This stretched the facilities even in areas that are not considered marginalized. If teachers and facilities are stretched all over Uganda then it is worse in Karamoja Cluster. The education system in total does not factor in the culture and way of life of pastoralists. This leaves the children in Karamoja at the mercy of NGOs providing informal education.

Kenya introduced Free Primary Education (FPE) in 2003. This led to a rise in enrolment numbers in schools that led to the same problems Uganda faced. Marginalized areas have low population densities which leads policy makers to assume that they can do with fewer schools and teachers. There was a considerable rise in children enrolment in school in most areas except those in the ASAL (Arid and Semi-Arid Lands). Enrolments almost doubled from the previous numbers but soon after that the situation reverted to what it had been before. It was estimated that around one to two million school age children dropped out of school following the

introduction of the building levy which was to be used to increase the capacity of schools to take in the new numbers of students (Sifuna, 2005). It is common to find children herding, swimming or fishing during the time they are supposed to be in School in Turkana (Ngasike, 2011).

There is a metaphor in Turkana that one has to stand on two feet to herd his cattle. This has led to parents to choose some children to send to school so that they can have one leg in school and may be benefit from both sides. The community views education as a supplementary to keeping cattle (Kratli, 2001). The children drop out of school because they do not find school interesting. This is because the teachers insist on following the curriculum as laid down by the Ministry of Education without breaking it down to or incorporating the children's life worlds (Ngasike, 2011).

## **Conclusion**

Despite the challenges in the marginalized region, the people of Karamoja Cluster have made great steps towards informal integration. As pastoralists, cattle are precious to them. Despite the sporadic conflicts over water resources and pasture, these mostly nomadic pastoralists have managed to find a way of working together in spite of borders separating them. In addition to moving in search of pasture and water for their cattle, they also move across in search of commodities. Jipe tribesmen in Uganda are closer to Lodwar than Moroto or Kampala. This has made them to find a working formula with Turkanas in Kenya. The proliferation of small arms and breakdown in social structure is affecting the nature of conflict in the region as well. Government and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) are intervening in improving security, improving cattle rearing, infrastructure and improving trade in the region.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **5.0 CONCLUSION**

Ernst B. Haas argues that the theory of obsolescent is not obsolete. The assumptions, methods, and concepts found in theories of regional integration may apply to some activities in regional institutions but not all. The logic of incrementalism and regional self-containment no longer holds for certain regional bloc building activities. All decisions made must not adhere to and work towards building on the treaties signed earlier like custom and monetary union. Regional integration institutional outcome is left to get a life of its own will lead to a range of possibilities that will lead to alternative world orders different from familiar ones (Haas, 2012).

This lends credence to this research papers push that the integration of communities within the Karamoja Cluster will be good for the EAC even though it does not fall within the framework of the treaty creating the community. The old model of regional integration is geared towards upholding the agreements signed which are always on trade, security, and infrastructure. Micro-regionalism is an emerging trend which seeks to capitalize on local realities to promote cross border trade and cooperation which is managed by subnational governments and local leaders (Alemayehu, 2004).

I set out to establish how the border region of Karamoja Cluster people perceive EAC, the linkages across the Kenya and Uganda border in the region and how their way of life can be used to enhance regional integration. I looked for the cross border movement and volumes of trade between Kenya and Uganda. This enabled me to determine that the volume of informal trade across the two countries. Informal Cross Border Trade (ICBT) between Kenya and Uganda is at

24% of total goods traded which is way below the African average which is at 40%. This figure is not representative of actual volumes as most of informal trades go unrecorded or unrecognized. Several factors including unbalanced tax regime and corruption have constrained formal trade between Kenya and Uganda which has led to the growth of informal trade (UNCTAD, 2009).

Most of the goods traded in the informal market across the border are food stuff making the informal market vital for food security in the region. ICBT growth is mainly due to inefficiency, rigidity and time-consuming regulations the formal economy. Most respondents were aware of the requirement by customs but chose to capitalize on the benefits of informal avenue for trade across the border. In as much as a big percentage of informal trade between Kenya and Uganda takes place in Busia and Malava, there is a significant growth in movement of goods across Suam border point in the Pokot area of Karamoja Cluster.

The emergence of mobile phone has improved communication between people in Karamoja Cluster. This has enabled them to share information on availability of pasture, water and veterinary products for their cattle. This has made their movement more intentional and specific unlike a while ago when they moved in relation to past weather patterns. This has also improved their trade in cattle as traders can inquire on availability and negotiate a price on phone before making a trip to buy the cattle. The high regard they place on cattle forces them to make long journeys in search of veterinary officers and products. This is one area where quality of cattle and products can be standardized so as to enhance cooperation.

There is lack of infrastructure and structural system to support rearing and trade in cattle and cattle products. This exposes the people to adverse weather effects, cattle rustlers and

exploitation by traders. The weather in the region has a pattern that the people have mastered and it guides their cattle movements and their interactions with other communities. If infrastructure such as; roads, slaughter houses, dips and market yards can be built along these routes then it can cushion the people against losses.

Government officers are stationed very far from most of the people. The social services in the region are run by religious bodies and NGOs. The Catholic Church is behind most hospitals and schools in the region with most government agencies and employees preferring to remain in urban centres like Moroto and Lodwar. The people are positive about EAC prospects because it will enable them access pasture and water across the border without their movement evoking conflict. The people experience their governments when security forces are sent in to mop up illegal firearms and the experience is not pleasant.

Communities around Karamoja Cluster value initiation and age set culture. These have implication on security as the initiates become warriors to defend their community. Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) is outlawed in Kenya and the government is fighting the practice. Uganda is not giving the practice the urgency it deserves which is making girls in Pokot to cross over to Uganda for circumcision. Whenever a government sets in to clamp on criminals and aggressors, they tend to cross the border to escape their government. Integration will lead to concerted efforts which will curb insecurity and promote uniform development in the region.

Communities across the region do not take education seriously by design and default. There nomadic lifestyle is not school friendly while they also need their children's labour to look after cattle. The schools are far apart and the curriculum is more suited for urban set up hence irrelevant to the reality of the children. This pushes the children out of school into the known

cycle of poverty. Illiteracy levels are high and school enrolment is low. High illiteracy levels means the rate and level of engagement between the communities will be low and shallow.

To increase the rate of interaction and improve the level of engagement, the Kenya and Uganda governments must set up avenues for cooperation and coexistence. Regional Integration is giving rise to new paradigms different from the known beaten path. The assumption that regional integration is about centralization of operations of a regional body in a city has become obsolescent. Regional integration is not adherence to Custom Union protocol but banking on volumes of trade creating a ripple effect beyond collecting taxes. Ernst B. Hass in his Obsolescent Theory says that if the outcome of integration is not limited to a set range of possibilities then alternative world orders will emerge different from the usual known ones.

This makes the promotion of interdependency between the community in Karamoja Cluster a sure way of enhancing regional integration even if it goes against the laid down formulas and procedures for trade and cross border movement management. At a micro-level this has been going on informally due to lack of resources (financial and human) for both Kenya and Uganda governments to manage and run their northern frontier borders. The recommendations deduced from this study are not new but are born of existing realities on the ground. Despite the existence of conflict there is also deep cultural, social and economic cooperation between Karamoja Cluster Communities.

Micro-regionalism is a new phenomenon that can enhance regional integration. These are small regions sharing common factor(s) across several states. This means that the small regions will specialize in areas like; river transport in Congo River and Zambezi Valley, Nile Basin Initiative and Karamoja Cluster. This specialization to meet the need of the people in the region and cater

for the interests of the respective states will burst the myth associated with sovereignty especially for border communities. The advantage is that it will be people centred and easy to manage. There is also a likelihood that the initiative will be devoid of stringent bureaucracy and policy bottlenecks as it is designed to meet a specific need, blowing up boundaries thus enhancing integration.

## **5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS**

This paper recommends the formation of a joint authority to manage the affairs of Karamoja Cluster comprising Kenya and Uganda personnel. This authority will be driven by locals and people who understand the dynamics of the region well. Its main responsibility will be to coordinate the interventions currently going on in both countries into a concert leading to interdependence among communities. The areas of promotion will be;

1. Social cooperation in line with the cultures of the communities. This involves their rites regarding birth, marriage, death and seasonal festivals.
2. Cross border migration of people and trade to be enhanced by making available all the required commodities of uniform quality for humans and animals in the region.
3. Agricultural and Livestock management to be centralized to improve the people's economic power and prohibit cattle rustling.
4. Education to be made relevant to the realities of the pastoralist community in terms of content and structure.
5. Development of social and economic infrastructure in the region to promote accessibility, communication and trade.

These interventions may be carried out against the laid down rules on sovereignty and international cooperation. The benefits anticipated outweigh the risks involved and as Ernst Hass has said, regional integration is giving birth to new orders.

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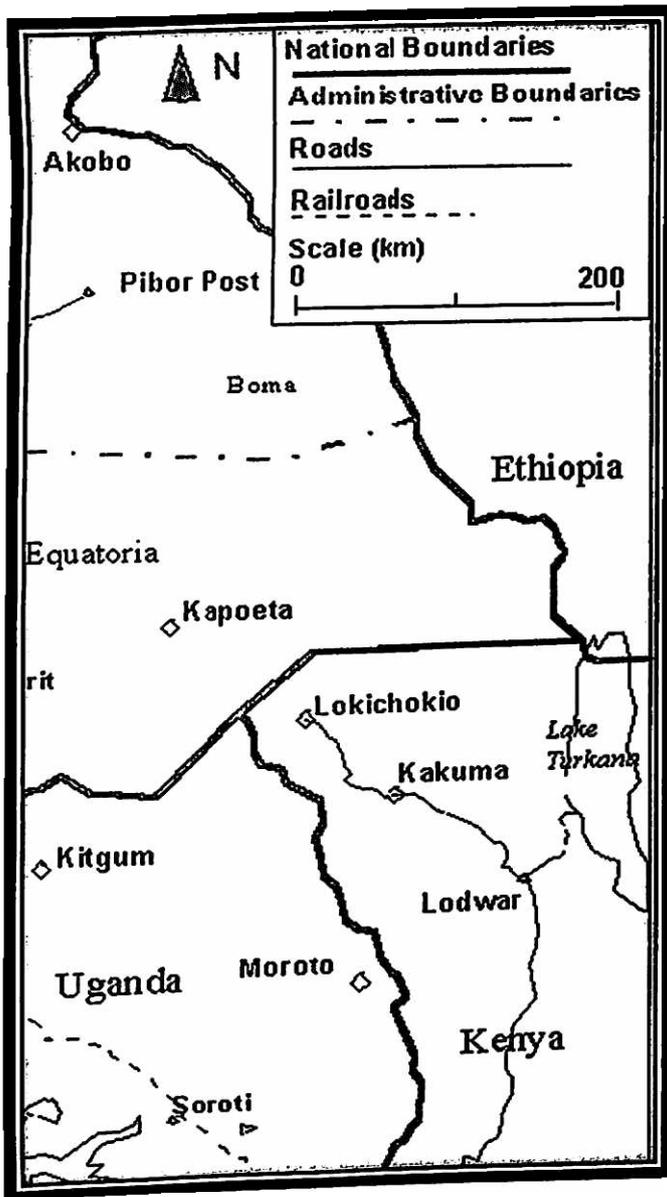
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# APPENDIX 1

## Fig. 2 Map of Karamoja Cluster



## APPENDIX 2

### Sample Questionnaire

Gender & Location .....

Age and Level of Education .....

How many Cattle to you own and what are the challenges you encounter keeping them?

.....

.....

How many children do you have and how many are in school? .....

How far is government office from here? .....

Do you travel across the border if yes for what reason? .....

.....

What are the main challenges you encounter when crossing the border? .....

.....

Reasons for traveling across the border .....

.....

Do you have relatives across the border .....

Do you know about EAC .....

How would you want EAC to be helpful to you .....

.....