

**AWARENESS LEVELS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS IN EAST
AFRICA; A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

By: JANET NYABOKE ARITA

R50/71825/2011

**RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.**

OCTOBER 2014

DECLARATION

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

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

Supervisor

This Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as University of Nairobi Supervisor.

Name **MR. MARTIN NGURU**

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

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my family for their support and encouragement during my studies.

To my husband, Ibrahim M. Omosa, my sons; Allan, Brandon and Damian and daughter Valerie. Thank you for putting up with my long hours as I sourced for information.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, to my God Almighty for his grace, gift of life and blessings.

To my very able supervisor, Mr. Martin Nguru without whose corrections and constant guidance, the thinking and coherent sequence of this research would not have been attained.

God bless you abundantly. To my fellow Masters colleagues who kept the faith and inspiration on the various occasions we met to reflect on the progress each one of us had made. Thank you for sharing your experience and expertise with me.

ABSTRACT

Attempts at integration in East Africa have been going on since the early 20th century but most of it has been leader-led. This means that there is a political will to establish a federation among the member states, but the leaders have not been able to carry the masses with them. It has however been proven that it takes more than just political will to bring a federation to maturity. Information about the importance of integration has not trickled down to the citizens in order for them to reap the benefits and opportunities that come with integration. This study addresses the awareness levels among Kenyan citizens on the East African Community integration with the objective of establishing whether Kenyan citizens have access to information about the EAC integration process and whether they have taken advantage of the opportunities and benefits of the integration process. It also examines whether Kenyan citizens are skeptical or optimistic about integration in East Africa and to find out whether the Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism (MEAACT) has achieved its mandate with regard to the integration process. The study arrived at the conclusion that sufficient information has not reached the masses for them to take advantage of integration. The Kenyan government has not made enough efforts to create awareness among its people. Those who are aware about the integration process know it through other channels. But there is however a high level of the understanding of the benefits of EAC integration process indicating that Kenyan citizens have made efforts to know of the operations of the East African Community integration process. The study reveals that majority of Kenyans are aware of the three main partners of the EAC i.e Kenya Uganda and Tanzania and that they expect to move freely from one country to the other, using a minimum of identification papers. A minority don't seem to know that Rwanda and Burundi also joined the EAC. With regard to the future functioning and relevance of the EAC towards the achievement of its objectives and well-being of its citizens, a number of recommendations can be put forward to ensure that the citizens are aware of the benefits, thus contributing positively to the integration process. First, there is the need for greater focus on civic education for the citizens of Kenya. There is need for a thorough understanding of how the EAC works and how the citizens will benefit directly. This is the mandate of the Kenyan government through the MEAACT to ensure that all citizens are brought on board.

ACRONYMS

| | |
|--------|--|
| AEC | African Economic Community |
| AMISOM | African Mission in Somali |
| AMU | Arab Maghreb Union |
| ASEAN | Association of South East Asian Nations |
| AU | African Union |
| CET | Common External Tariff |
| CMP | Common Market Protocol |
| COMESA | Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa |
| CU | Customs Union |
| CMP | Common Market Protocol |
| CSA | Common Services Authority |
| CSO | Civil Society Organizations |
| EAA | East African Airways |
| EAC | East African Community |
| EACB | East African Currency Board |
| EACJ | East African Court of Justice |
| EACLA | East Africa Central Legislative Assembly |
| EACSO | East African Common Services Organization |
| EAHC | East African High Commission |
| EAITB | East African Income Tax Board |
| EALA | East African Legislative Assembly |
| ECCAS | Economic Community of Central African States |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| EEC | European Economic Community |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investments |
| GDP | Gross domestic product |
| ILO | International Labour Organization |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| LVBC | Lake Victoria Basin Commission |
| LEGCO | Legislative Council |
| MEAAC | Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism |
| MU | Monetary Union |
| NBI | Nile Basin Initiative |
| NTBs | Non Tariff Barriers |
| PTA | Preferential Trade Area |
| PU | Political Union |
| RIAs | Regional Integration Arrangements |
| SADC | Southern Africa Development Community |
| UMA | Arab-Maghreb Union |

TABLE OF FIGURES

| | |
|--|----|
| Table 4.1 Categories of the sample | 68 |
| Table 4.2 Education levels of the respondents | 68 |
| Table 4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Age and Sex | 69 |
| Table 4.4 Self-assessment of knowledge of the EAC Partner States | 69 |
| Table 4.5 Meaning of EAC to Ordinary Citizens | 70 |
| Table 4.6 Awareness levels on the EAC integration process levels..... | 71 |
| Table 4.7 Frequency of getting information by ordinary citizens on EAC integration | 72 |
| Table 4.8 Information Medium..... | 73 |
| Table 4.9 Type of information accessed in relation to EAC integration process | 73 |
| Table 4.10 Awareness initiatives by the Kenyan government..... | 74 |
| Table 4.11 Level of optimism/skepticism about EAC integration Process | 75 |
| Table 4.12 Reasons for optimism..... | 75 |
| Table 4.13 Reasons for skepticism..... | 76 |
| Table 4.14 Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African regional integration..... | 77 |
| Table: 4.15 Greatest fears about the Integration Process | 78 |
| Table 4.16 Surrender of sovereignty | 78 |
| Table 4.17 Ministry Of East African affairs, Commerce and Tourism Mandate | 79 |

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|--|-------------|
| DECLARATION | II |
| DEDICATION | III |
| ACKNOWLEDGEMENT | IV |
| ABSTRACT..... | V |
| ACRONYMS..... | VI |
| TABLE OF FIGURES..... | VII |
| TABLE OF CONTENTS..... | VIII |
| CHAPTER ONE..... | 1 |
| 1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY..... | 1 |
| 1.1 Background: | 1 |
| 1.2 Statement of the Research Problem | 2 |
| 1.3 Objectives of the study | 3 |
| 1.4 Justification of the Study | 4 |
| 1.4.1 Policy justification..... | 4 |
| 1.4.2 Academic justification..... | 4 |
| 1.5 Hypotheses | 4 |
| 1.6 Literature Review..... | 4 |
| 1.6.1 Introduction | 4 |
| 1.6.2 Background | 5 |
| 1.6.3 European Union (EU)..... | 6 |
| 1.6.4 North American Free Trade Agreement..... | 7 |
| 1.6.5 African Integration..... | 7 |
| 1.6.6 East African Community..... | 8 |
| 1.6.7 EAC achievements..... | 9 |
| 1.6.8 Benefits available to Kenyan citizens..... | 10 |
| 1.6.9 Public awareness campaigns | 11 |
| 1.7 Theoretical Framework..... | 16 |
| 1.7.1 Functionalism..... | 16 |
| 1.7.2 Neo-functionalism | 17 |
| 1.7.3 Federalism | 17 |
| 1.8. Methodology | 18 |
| 1.8.1 Research methodology | 18 |
| 1.8.2 Target Population..... | 19 |
| 1.8.3. Research instruments..... | 19 |
| 1.9 Scope And Limitations | 20 |

| | |
|--|-----------|
| 1.10 Chapter Outline | 20 |
| CHAPTER TWO..... | 22 |
| 2.0 BACKGROUND OF THE EAC..... | 22 |
| 2.1 Introduction | 22 |
| 2.2 The East African Community | 22 |
| 2.2.1 Introduction | 22 |
| 2.2.2 Rationale for East Africa integration..... | 23 |
| 2.3. HISTORY OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY | 25 |
| 2.3.1 THE 1900 EAST AFRICAN COOPERATION..... | 25 |
| 2.3.2 THE 1948 EAST AFRICAN HIGH COMMISSION | 26 |
| 2.3.3 THE 1967 EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY | 27 |
| 2.3.4 THE BREAK-UP OF 1967 EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY IN 1977 | 28 |
| 2.3.5 The Secretariat Of The Permanent Tripartite Commission 1996-2001 | 30 |
| 2.3.6 THE NEW EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY 2001..... | 31 |
| 2.4 Organs & Institutions of the East African Community | 32 |
| 2.5 Stages of EAC’s integration process | 36 |
| 2.5.1 Customs Union Protocol | 36 |
| 2.5.2 The Common Market Protocol | 37 |
| 2.5.3 Monetary Union..... | 38 |
| 2.5.4 Political Union | 40 |
| 2.6 EAC Achievements..... | 40 |
| 2.6.1 Economic Achievements..... | 40 |
| 2.6.2 EAC and Associative Diplomacy | 41 |
| 2.6.3 EAC Headquarters..... | 42 |
| 2.6.4 EACJ Registries..... | 42 |
| 2.6.5 Social Integration..... | 43 |
| 2.6.6 The Nile Basin Initiative | 43 |
| 2.7 Challenges to the EAC..... | 44 |
| 2.7.1 Economic Challenges | 44 |
| 2.7.2 Social Challenges..... | 46 |
| 2.7.3 Political Challenges | 47 |
| 2.8 EAC Future Prospects..... | 48 |
| 2.9 Conclusion..... | 50 |
| CHAPTER THREE | 51 |
| 3. REGIONAL INTEGRATION THEORY AND THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY | 51 |
| 3. 1 Introduction | 51 |
| 3.2 Background..... | 51 |
| 3.3 Functionalism..... | 52 |

| | |
|---|-----------|
| 3.4 Customs Union Theory..... | 55 |
| 3.5 Neo-Functionalism..... | 57 |
| 3.6 Inter-governmentalism..... | 60 |
| 3.7 Realism | 61 |
| 3.8 Institutionalism..... | 63 |
| 3.9 Collective Theory (Regional Public Goods) | 64 |
| 3.9.1 Infrastructure..... | 65 |
| 3.9.2 Water basins; Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and River Nile | 65 |
| 3.10 Conclusion..... | 66 |
| CHAPTER FOUR | 67 |
| 4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS | 67 |
| 4.1 Introduction | 67 |
| 4.2 Background characteristics of the respondents | 67 |
| 4.2.1 Categories of the respondents | 67 |
| 4.2.2 Respondents educational level..... | 68 |
| 4.2.3 Distribution of respondents by sex | 69 |
| 4.3 Awareness of EAC Integration Process..... | 69 |
| 4.3.1 Knowledge of EAC Partner States | 69 |
| 4.3.2 Meaning of EAC to Ordinary Citizens | 70 |
| 4.3.3 Awareness levels about the four levels of EAC integration. | 71 |
| 4.4 Access to Information regarding the EAC | 71 |
| 4.4.1 Frequency of receiving information | 71 |
| 4.4.2 Mode of receiving information | 72 |
| 4.4.3 Type of information accessed in relation to EAC..... | 73 |
| 4.4.4 Attribution of EAC integration process knowledge to initiatives by the Kenyan government | 74 |
| 4.5 Kenyans' sense of optimism/skepticism concerning EAC integration..... | 74 |
| 4.5.1 Kenyan's Sense of Optimism/Skepticism Concerning EAC Integration process. ... | 74 |
| 4.5.2 Reasons for optimism..... | 75 |
| 4.5.3 Reasons for skepticism..... | 76 |
| 4.5.4 Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African regional integration.. | 76 |
| 4.5.5 Greatest fear about the EAC integration process..... | 78 |
| 4.5.6 Surrender of sovereignty to form a Political Union | 78 |
| 4. 6 Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism Mandate | 79 |
| CHAPTER FIVE | 80 |
| 5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS..... | 80 |
| 5.1 Introduction | 80 |
| 5.2 Summary of Key Findings..... | 80 |
| 5.3 Conclusion..... | 82 |

| | |
|---------------------------|-----------|
| 5.4 Recommendations | 83 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY..... | 85 |
| BOOKS..... | 85 |
| APPENDIXES..... | 90 |

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background:

The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization which comprises of five countries in the eastern part of Africa, namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. The Community came into being through a Treaty establishing the EAC which was signed on 30th November 1999 and came into force on 7th July 2000. The Community was originally founded in 1967 but it collapsed in 1977 due to among others, ideological differences by the Heads of Partner States. The founding members of the second EAC were the Republics of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania. Burundi and Rwanda joined later in 2007.

The idea behind the establishment of the EAC was to spearhead economic, social and political agenda. In pursuance towards achieving this, the states undertook the initiative to establish the Customs Union (CU), Common Market (CM), and a Monetary Union (MU) and envisaged a Political Union (PU). The Common Market came into operation in 2005 while the Customs Union entered into force in July 2010. The Monetary Union was signed on November 30th 2013, outlining a ten-year roadmap toward deeper economic integration among the partner states. The Political Federation phase is under study and scrutiny. The establishment of the Common Market Protocol (CMP) which allows for free movement of persons, labour, goods, services, capital and the right of establishment and residence, expands opportunities for a wider range of stakeholders.

In Kenya, the Ministry East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism has been mandated to coordinate, facilitate and oversee the affairs relating to the EAC. Arising from its mandate, the Ministry has been conducting public awareness campaigns on the EAC integration process. The objective of the awareness programmes is to empower Kenyans to exploit the opportunities accruing from the EAC process. This is in tandem with one of the fundamental principles provided for in Article 7 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC which provides that the EAC should be people-centered and private and civil society driven. “People-centered” primarily means, an EAC that is known and owned by the people for whose benefit the Community was established. At the technical level, it entails putting in

place publicly visible and accessible, policy and decision-making processes genuinely by popular participation.

While governments are seen to be leading the way in advancing the EAC integration course, the ordinary citizens ought to fully own the process and commit to the bloc's future plans. In a report "*The East African Political Federation; Addressing East Africans' Fears, concerns and challenges, and consolidating its pillars*" of August 2010 the EAC notes that public awareness levels remain low which has constrained the local citizens from accessing benefits and opportunities brought about by the integration.¹

To mitigate against this, the Kenyan government through the Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism (MEAACT) has since 2011 embarked on sensitization campaigns to educate Kenyans on the benefits, opportunities and challenges of the integration process. So far 29 counties have been covered.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The dilemma of the integration process in East Africa in particular and Africa in general, is that it has been leader led. It is obvious that there is the political will to establish the East African federation among the current crop of leaders of the region. Since the first EAC of 1967, the leaders were more than willing to give it a chance for the benefit of the region. However, it takes more than political will to bring a federation to maturity. Despite this realization, the leaders have not managed to carry the people along with them on the integration journey. The common man has played no role in their establishment and consolidation.

The Kenyan government, through Ministry East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism has carried out several sensitization campaigns, but it is apparent that there is still wide spread ignorance about the EAC integration process among many citizens. As a result of this, they

¹ East African Community; "The East African Political Federation"; *Addressing East Africans' fears, Concerns and Challenges and Consolidating its Pillars*; (Arusha, The EAC Secretariat, 2010) page 10

are not able to fully appreciate the benefits, opportunities and challenges of the process as well as rights and obligations as citizens of the EAC. The biggest challenge is the huge information gap between the government and the ordinary people. The integration process is supposed to be people-centered and private sector-driven. As it stands now, the situation reflects poorly and is not conducive for public ownership and endorsement by the citizenry especially the youth who encompass the largest segment of the population. Articles 35 and 46 of the constitution clearly states that Kenyans have a right to access information and this information is what is necessary for the citizens to fully participate in the integration process. The requirements of the constitution echo well with the Common market Protocol that provides for free movement of persons, labour, services and goods. All these freedoms are aimed at improving the livelihoods of the people of East Africa but this can only be achieved after they are aware of their rights and obligations towards the community. This study therefore aims to find out whether the Common Kenyan is well informed about the benefits, opportunities and challenges that come with the integration process.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of this study is to assess awareness levels among Kenyan citizens on the EAC integration after the sensitization campaigns carried out by the Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism on the benefits, challenges and opportunities of the integration process.

Other objectives include

- To examine whether Kenyan citizens have taken advantage of the opportunities and benefits of the integration process.
- To examine if Kenyan citizens are skeptical or optimistic about integration in East Africa
- To examine whether the Ministry East Africa Affaires, Commerce and Tourism has achieved its mandate with regard to the integration process.

1.4 Justification of the Study

1.4.1 Policy justification

Despite the benefits associated with regional integration globally which include increased trade, infrastructure development, employment and investment opportunities, the Kenyan people have not been able to reap the fruits of the EAC integration. The pace of the integration process has been slow in the region coupled with lack of understanding on the roles of ordinary people in driving the integration agenda. The benefits are not trickling down as fast as expected. This study aims at assisting the Kenyan government and other Partner States to come up with viable strategies and policies that can reach the peoples of the EAC so as to achieve the envisaged principles of people centered, private and civil society driven integration process. It will further inform the MEAATC's Communication and Policy Strategy and further enhance strategies towards addressing identified gaps.

1.4.2 Academic justification

This research will also assist the academic fraternity in enriching its academic archives on integration issues and bridge the knowledge gap on regional integration, especially in East Africa.

1.5 Hypotheses

- Kenyan citizens are still ignorant about the East African Community Integration process.
- The civic education undertaken by the Kenyan government to create awareness has not been effective.
- Kenyan citizens have not taken advantage of the integration process.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Introduction

This literature review will look at the background of integration in general and give a brief mention on the regional blocs that are prominent in the world today. This includes European Union (EU) North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the African Union. A brief background on EAC integration, its achievements, expected benefits to the citizens of

East Africa will also be looked at. Finally public awareness campaigns which have already been done will be analyzed to put the study into perspective.

1.6.2 Background

A team of experts drawn from the East African countries note that, in the recent past, there has been a bustle of activities in the world all geared towards regional integration. They say the upsurge of interest in regionalism is both a response to and the result of fundamental transformation of the international order including increased economic globalization and competition, and geo-political challenge.²

Regional integration can be loosely termed as a process whereby states enter into a regional agreement to enhance regional cooperation through regional institutions and rules. The objectives of the agreement could range from economic to political although it may take the form of a political-economic initiative where commercial interests may be used to achieve other objectives as defined by national governments. Regional integration is considered as the institutional unification of independent national economies to bigger economic entities and efficient markets, in a way that enhances the effective use of regional resources. Lombaerde says integration is a process of large-scale territorial differentiation characterized by the progressive lowering of internal boundaries and the possible rising of new external boundaries.³ This is supported by Winters and Venables who argue that the outcomes of regional economic integration depend on the comparative advantage of members, relative to each other and relative to the rest of the world. Countries with a comparative advantage that is almost equivalent to that of their partners do better than countries with a comparative advantage that is far beyond the others.⁴ Integration is therefore a process towards a union and today, nearly every country in the world is a member of one or more regional integration arrangements.

² East African Community; The East African Political Federation; *Addressing East Africans' fears, Concerns and Challenges and Consolidating its Pillars*; (Arusha, The EAC Secretariat, 2010), page 10

³ Lombaerde P & Langenhove L; *Indicators of Regional Integration; Methodological issues*. (United Nations University (UNU_CRIS), 2005) page 1

⁴ Winters, L.A & Venables, A.J: *European Integration: Trade and Industry*": (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press, 1993) page 7

There are several regional blocs in the world today where the most successful so far is the European Union (EU). Several dormant regional integration schemes have been revived, failed ones invigorated, existing ones strengthened and new schemes initiated. The endorsement of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the European Union (EU) which is formerly the European Economic Community (EEC), the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) all testify to this increased interest in regional integration. Others include the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA), the Arab-Maghreb Union (UMA), the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS).⁵ There is also the African Union (AU) and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). There are several regional blocs world over, but only two will be discussed below.

1.6.3 European Union (EU)

The European Union (EU) is the oldest regional bloc that is currently a success story to the rest of the world. It is an economic and political partnership between 27 European countries covering much of the continent. The EU was created in 1957 by six countries after the Second World War based on the idea that countries that trade with each cannot turn against each because they are interdependent. The six countries included Belgium, Germany, France, Italy, Luxembourg and Netherlands which formed the European Economic Community (EEC). The name was changed to the European Union in 1993 during The Maastricht Treaty.⁶ Through its integration, there has been peace, stability and prosperity on the continent and has brought about a rise in living standards. Border controls were also abolished leading to free movement of people and right of establishment in any of the member countries. A single currency, the Euro, was launched in 1999 and the internal market has enabled the residents to benefit enormously.⁷ With a combined population of over 500 million people by 2014, there is enough market for business to thrive. The EU generated a nominal Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of 16.4 trillion US dollars, representing

⁵East African Community; “The East African Political Federation”; *Addressing East Africans’ Fears, Concerns and Challenges and Consolidating its Pillars*, (Arusha, The EAC Secretariat, 2010), page 10

⁶ European Union website http://europa.eu/about-eu/eu-history/index_en.htm

⁷European Union website http://europa.eu/about-eu/basic-information/money/index_en.htm

approximately 20% of the global GDP. This goes ahead to show that countries in the world today have seen and experienced the benefits that are brought by regional integration.

1.6.4 North American Free Trade Agreement

It is not just the EU that has thrived since its launch but also the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) which was signed between United States of America (USA), Mexico and Canada in January 1994. There has been a boost in economic growth and rising standards of residents in all three member countries. This agreement removed most barriers to trade and investment enhancing business in the region. Just like EU, NAFTA has an over 460 million population as per the 2014 estimates and a \$17.577 trillion GDP.⁸ So a country like the USA that is considered to be the most powerful in the world today has still seen it fit to lower its boundaries in order to facilitate business and allow its resident to take advantage of the available benefits of integration. This goes a long way to show that integration is not just for the poor and struggling countries but also for the mighty which need the concerted effort in order to remain relevant and competitive in the globe.

1.6.5 African Integration

Africa has not been left behind in the integration endeavours. During the struggle for independence in the 1950s pioneering leaders such as Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and Julius Nyerere proposed a regional integration scheme for the African continent. The Pan-Africanists were strongly convinced that microstates' political independence may be meaningless unless they pool their resources to act collectively within a regional political framework of continent unity.⁹ However, majority of African leaders considered the idea too ambitious and therefore embarked on an integration course based on sub-continental regional groupings. Serious efforts in the 1970s culminated in the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action that stimulated African countries to establish sub-regional economic blocs.¹⁰

⁸ NAFTANOW.ORG http://www.naftanow.org/about/default_en.asp

⁹ Adejumobi S, & Olukoshi A; *The African and New Strategies for Development in African*; (Nairobi, DPMF Codesria, 2009), page 6.

¹⁰ Nyirabu, J; "Appraising Regional Integration in Southern African." (South Africa, African Security Review, 13(1) 2004); page 22

1.6.6 East African Community

The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization which comprises of five countries in the eastern part of Africa, namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. Efforts at integration of East African countries started early in the 19th century with the British initiating the first attempt in 1894 by a decision to start the construction of the Uganda Railway.¹¹ The second attempt at integration was in 1948 when a quasi-federation was established with a common market and a number of common services that included the establishment of an East African Railway and Harbours Administration, the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, and the Agricultural and Medical Research Services.¹² The third attempt at regional integration of East Africa was in December 1967 which brought into force the Treaty for East African Cooperation. The treaty created a number of community organs to coordinate activities and also give executive direction. In this regard, it provided for a Community Minister who was appointed by each state to promote the Community's interests and project its viewpoints in his or her own cabinet.¹³ The latest attempt to reconstruct the sub-region into a viable integration group began in 1984 when the three countries signed the East African Community Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities of the defunct EAC.¹⁴ On the 30th November 1993, the three East African Heads of State from Kenya Uganda and Tanzania signed an Agreement to revive cooperation. The Community came into being through a Treaty establishing the EAC which was signed in November 1999 and came into force in 2000. Burundi and Rwanda joined later in 2007.

The idea behind the establishment of the EAC is to spearhead economic, social and political agenda. According to EAC treaty, the objectives of the community shall be to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co- operation among partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence,

¹¹ Ojo et al. *African International Relations*; (Lagos, Longman Nigeria Limited, , 1985) page 157

¹² Kasaija, P. A, "Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries" (Dakar African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2; CODESRIA, 2004,) page 25.

¹³ Op cit "African International Relations" page 158

¹⁴ Kasaija, P. A, "Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries"; (Dakar, African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2; CODESRIA, 2004) page 27

security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit.¹⁵ In pursuant towards achieving this, the states undertook the initiative to establish the Customs Union, Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and finally a Political Union as provided for in paragraph 1 of Article 5 of the EAC treaty. This was aimed at strengthening and regulating the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social and political relations.¹⁶

The EAC has gone further and decided to integrate with other neighbouring states and regional blocs in the spirit of associative diplomacy. In October 2008, the EAC, after negotiations with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), agreed to an expanded free single trade area that would pave the way for deep Africa economic development. The new African Economic Community and the Free Trading Zone have been approved by 26 member states.¹⁷ The free trade zone is expected to strengthen the region and foster much needed economic growth. The wider aim is to build the new regional economic community up into a stronger competitor in the global market economy.

1.6.7 EAC achievements

As a Community, the EAC has put in place organs that are to assist in the running its affairs. This is stated in the EAC treaty¹⁸ The East African Court of Justice and the East African Legislative Assembly were formally launched in November 2001 and became operational pillars of the EAC.¹⁹ The other organs include the Summit of Heads of State; Council of Ministers; Co-ordination Committee; Sectorial Committee and the Secretariat. There are institutional achievements such as the Customs Union, Common market, steps towards harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies, the implementation of transport and communications projects and the launching of the Lake Victoria Commission. The political

¹⁵ East African Community; Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (Arusha : EAC Secretariat, 1999).

¹⁶ Ministry of East African Community; Survey Report; on perceptions and views Level on knowledge, plus Awareness and Preparedness for the implementation of EACs Customs Union, Common Market; the proposed Monetary Union and Political Federation. (GOK, Nairobi, 2012).

¹⁷ Adar, Korwa. "Federalism and East African Community Integration Process": *The Role of the East African Legislative Assembly*:(Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, 2008) page 195

¹⁸ East African Community; Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. (Arusha: EAC Secretariat. 1999).

¹⁹ Kamala D. B, "The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation";(United Kingdom , Research Memorandum 58, 2006) page 8

union is envisioned as the ultimate goal. To strengthen the EAC identity and the integration feeling among its citizens, the member states introduced an EAC flag, EAC anthem and EAC passport. The harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies have included Finance Ministries' pre- and post-budget consultations, regular sharing of information on budgets, and reading of budget statements on the same day.

1.6.8 Benefits available to Kenyan citizens.

The Customs Union Protocol (CUP) was signed in March 2004 and was ratified by the cabinet in January 2005. The CU protocol provides for progressive implementation within a period of five years so the full fledged CU in EAC was attained in January 2010. A CU integrates a goods market by eliminating tariffs for goods originating from partner states and a Common External Tariff (CET) structure applicable on goods imported from outside the EAC customs territory. It is also meant to harmonize the products classified as sensitive which require additional protection. It also allows for harmonization of standards and quality marks.

The Common Market Protocol (CMP) came into force in July 2010. The CMP is an arrangement in which members of a regional economic Community merge their factors of production into one big single market. It allows for free movement of labour, goods services, capital and the right of establishment and residence. It also expands opportunities for a wider range of stakeholders. There are some benefits which have been witnessed, such as market access, ease of trade in value-added products, investment and employment opportunities. There has also been increased access to financial resources, harmonization of trade and investment policies and standardized procedures and processes.²⁰

Citizens benefit from the CMP through the four key tradable items in the Common Market which include labour, goods, services and capital will freely move within the boundaries of the partner states. Specifically there is an increase in job opportunities. This means that any East African will have the freedom to move in and out of any of the partner states or reside for purposes of employment, business or provision of services. Professionals are more likely

²⁰Jumuiya News, *Ministry of East African Community*; (Nairobi, 2012) Issue 26 July-September, page 17

to benefit as they will be able to fit anywhere within the region. To ease the movement of goods, member states decided to eliminate Non-Tariff Barriers and remove any customs duty on internally produced goods while those from third parties will follow on tariffs mutually agreed on. Subsequently, roads blocks were reduced from 36 to 5 in Kenya and from 30 to 25 in Tanzania.²¹ Competition which has been introduced by the borderless single market will drive the quality of goods and services up while the prices will go down. In the CMP, citizens from any partner state can reside in any of the countries and engage in an economic activity of their choice without any hindrance. This right of establishment and residence is recommended so long as one doesn't engage in criminal activities. There is also the expansion of the market for business as the combined population of the five states is estimated to be around 141 million people by 2013. The most important population characteristic of the regional block is its children and youth, who accounted for an overwhelming majority, 80 per cent, of the region's total population in 2010.²²

1.6.9 Public awareness campaigns

Various researches have showed that awareness levels on integration benefits are very low and to mitigate against this, The Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism has since 2011 embarked on sensitization campaigns to educate Kenyans on the benefits, opportunities and challenges of the integration process. In addition, the Ministry has also used other forums, events where they have been invited to give talks on the EAC integration especially as regards to the Common Market Protocol and its implementation.

The Kenyan government through the ministry in February 2013 launched a new strategy aimed at reaching the youth in higher institutions of learning through Facebook and Twitter. Dubbed 'Connect Vuka Border' the EAC Inter-University Social Media Campaign was geared towards awareness creation of the EAC integration, its benefits and opportunities and also to encourage students to support the process.²³ The youth are potential beneficiaries. A large number of Kenyan university students use Facebook, so when engaging the students

²¹ Jumuiya News, *Ministry of East African Community*; (Nairobi, 2012) Issue 24 January-March page 4

²² Davoodi, H.R.(ed) "The state of East Africa 2012; Deepening Integration intensifying challenges,"(IMF 2012) page 4

²³ Onyango Emma, " East Africa: Kenya Launches New EAC Integration Strategy;" (Allafrica 11th February 2013) <http://allafrica.com/stories/201302112027.html> 12th June 2013

and the academia about the EAC process, the government hopes to use them in the research and development of new ideas. The students will go around the East African states and interact with their counterparts to forge that togetherness that is expected in the integration process.

Article 7 of the Treaty²⁴ for the Establishment of the EAC notes that the integration process ought to be people-centered and private and civil society driven. While governments are seen to be leading the way in advancing the EAC integration course, the ordinary citizens ought to fully own the process and commit to the bloc's future plans. A report by a team of experts of August 2010 notes that public awareness levels remain low which has constrained the local citizens from accessing benefits and opportunities brought about by the integration.

In a report "*The State of East Africa, 2012*"²⁵ it has been noted that the final responsibility for shaping East Africa's future lies with its citizens. They have the option of taking advantage of the unprecedented opportunities available to reshape their relationship with the world's old and emerging economic powers. They can invest in the East African Community and use it as the primary vehicle with which to engage the world economically, politically and socially. The people of Kenya can choose to take charge of the process and influence its evolution by redefining their relationship with the government through the business and civil society organizations that represent their interests and thus can make it a truly people-centered process with people-centered outcomes

It is critical to promote EAC integration ownership by the Kenya people and the processes towards the ultimate goal of political federation. There should be continuous sensitization to enhance peoples' awareness and understanding about the various stages of integration including the benefits and opportunities that accrue at each stage. This will build mutual trust and social integration amongst citizens of East Africa, geared towards removing "cross border fears" amongst EAC citizens and promotion of the East African identity and solidarity. Furthermore, the sensitization and awareness efforts should be combined with

²⁴ EAC Treaty 2002, Article 7

²⁵ Society for International Development; "The state of East Africa 2012;" *Deepening Integration, Intensifying Challenges*, (Nairobi SID, 2012) page 11

tangible developmental programmes in the EAC cross border zones. This will make cross border communities feel and live as true beneficiaries rather than losers of integration and will pave the way for a stronger social cohesion among the people of EAC Partner States.²⁶

Though there is significant contribution to building a spirit of 'East-African-ness' by non-state actors, EAC Secretariat and Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism through region-wide awareness programmes, more needs to be done to achieve regional social cohesion. A deliberate effort to bring on board other ministries, government departments and agencies in popularizing and sensitizing Kenyans on the goals and opportunities of integration will be necessary. Other activities used include sports, cultural activities, informal sector interaction, and involve professional groups, private sector, CSO groups, researchers, and media, among others.²⁷

With all the efforts that the government has put in place in terms of awareness creation, Kenyans are not any better informed than before. An example is when Kenyan traders were complaining that despite the CMP being in place for over three years, they were still being harassed at the border when crossing into Tanzania and being taxed before carrying out their businesses. Livestock traders say they are forced to use illegal routes on the border in order to access the market, a situation which leads to either loss of animals or the traders being conned of their proceeds by unscrupulous middlemen. Concerns have also been raised by cross border traders over harassment by immigration and police officers who should be in a position to know the facts about the CMP.²⁸ It means even the cross border agents are either not well sensitized or they are corrupt.

It is clear through several fora that the common Kenyan citizen is not utilizing the available opportunities well due to both the lack of understanding and ignorance. The former EAC Legislative Assembly Speaker, Abdirahim Abdi notes that the legislative body passed several laws which the East Africans are not making use of. He says that the EAC Court of

²⁶ East African Community; "The East African political Federation, One people One destiny:"*Addressing East Africans' fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*; (Arusha ,August 2010); page 44

²⁷ Ibid,

²⁸ Jumuiya News, Ministry of East African Community; (Nairobi, 2012) Issue 24 January-March page 24

Justice is not utilized and yet this is where they are supposed to complain on the slow pace of implementation of protocols or lack of implementation.²⁹ Laws which nobody is aware about are not assisting in the implementation process. During the celebrations to mark the second anniversary of The CMP at the Malaba border town, it came out clearly that some of the traders are yet to comprehend the efficient management of the border crossing procedures. They are yet to appreciate why the efficiency is essential for booming of business opportunities because according to them, it is a loss of business. The Kenyan cabinet had met in 2012 to streamline border crossing procedures, ensuring efficient and fast clearance of trucks through the border and instead of small-scale traders appreciating the fast pace of the procedures, they instead took it negatively. To them the pile-up of trucks gave them business in terms of lodging and restaurant spending.

The EAC Secretariat commissioned a qualitative study to gain an understanding as to why Kenyan citizens were not making use of the available opportunities and benefits as a result of the EAC integration process. This was done at the border points and among the communities living along the border points of Kenya in 2009 where several participants were interviewed. Despite being selected from groups which are assumed to have day to day contact with the integration process and also happen to travel across the border frequently, majority of the participants seemed to have knowledge gaps and were not well informed about many areas that touch on the EAC integration process. The survey found out that most of the gaps were on simple basic facts, information on achievement which has been made and obvious misconceptions on what the integration process was all about.³⁰ Half of those interviewed were aware of the existence of the EAC Passport. A small percentage knew about the existence of the Customs Union and the fact that tariffs on goods have been reduced.

A big percentage did not know about political institutions where about 10% of the respondents knew of the EA Court and the EA Legislative Assembly. It is notable that the majority of fears, concerns and challenges expressed by Kenyans about the EAC integration

²⁹ Jumuiya News, Ministry of East African Community; (Nairobi, 2012) Issue 25 April-June page 9

³⁰ Karega R. M; "Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African (EAC) Regional Integration"; (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2009) pp 5-8.

are related to stages of integration and partly caused by misinformation and inadequate facts and concerns about the implications. In testing the sense of belonging, 30% of Kenya had strong sense of belonging, 18% weak while 22% had no sense of belonging at all. The survey found that some facts which contributed to the sense of belonging included the free movement of goods and persons across the region and also increased job opportunities. A small number mentioned free choice of educational opportunities for East Africans.

Those with a weak sense of belonging noted that free trade was not yet implemented in practice and there was still mistrust, suspicion and discrimination among nationalities of the partner states. The different levels of economic development among the partner states and general lack of information on the benefits of EAC was also a reason for a weak sense of belonging. The people interviewed were not happy with the long wait at the borders, the unfriendly immigration officers at the border points and the general harassment and discrimination by the same officers. They however said a strong sense of belonging may develop if the advantages of the EAC integration were clearly spelled out to them.

The survey however showed a great deal of potential for shared EAC identity if it is strengthened by participatory communication strategies. These strategies include putting up information spots, broadcast both by radio and television in local language addressing ordinary citizens' concerns. It can also contain leaflets and posters displayed in public with information about the integration process. Communication material which contains factual information such as the movement of people, goods and services should also be distributed to create a sense of belonging. This communication can be initiated by the EAC secretariat and supported by Kenyan Government.

The Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, also carried out a study in 2012 to assess the country's knowledge and awareness about the implementation of the four pillars of integration. The study found out that most institutional stakeholders had a higher level of understanding at 65% on the integration pillars than the general citizenry who stood at 25%. It also emerged that regional integration initiatives remain an elitist initiative because the urban population had a relatively higher idea about the integration pillars than the rural people. The gender discrepancy between male and female which stood at a ratio of

3:1 clearly demonstrated that more men than women knew about the integration process. The figures above indicate that a good percentage of Kenyans are totally ignorant about the EAC integration process.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

There are several integration and regionalism theories which can be applied in this study three of which are discussed here below. States integrate with a purpose in mind and in most instances, for economic reasons. When integration is defined as such, then the economic aspect of integration is informed by three theories of integration, namely functionalism, neo-functionalism and federalism.

1.7.1 Functionalism

The functionalism theory in international relations came up after World War II in which states got concerned over the state's position as a social organization. David Mitrany is the key figure associated with this theory. Unlike the self interest of nation states that realist see as a motivating factor, functionalists focus not only on common interests and needs shared by states but also by non state actors in a process of global integration.³¹ The theory suggests that emphasizing cooperation in order to find solutions according to a specific need or function creates the basis for a thickening web of structures and procedures in the form of institutions. These institutions would include the pillars such the Customs Union, the Common Market Protocol which is aimed at benefiting the local citizenry of the EAC. Successful cooperation is when one functional setting enhances the incentive for collaboration in other fields. That is to say, when tasks in specific functional areas are successfully completed for example if the Customs Union is successful; attitudes favorable to cooperation in other sectors such as the Monetary Union may be developed. International integration, the collective governance and interdependence between states develops its own internal dynamics as states integrate in limited functional, technical, or economic areas under the functionalism theory. In the EAC integration, the states came together with an aim of widening markets and enhancing the lives of their people.

³¹ Garza, D.C; "International Integration Theories; regional scenarios." (ITESM August 19, 2006) page 3.

1.7.2 Neo-functionalism

Neo-functionalism theory suggests that integration results from the need to shift specific functions away from exclusively nation-state control toward supranational institutions. These new units would hold the decision making power once enjoyed by the nation-state.³² Therefore, unlike functionalism, neo-functionalism accords a role to politics. Major emphasis is placed on the role that non-state actors play in regional integration more so the secretariat. This adds more dynamics to the integration process. Member states are the most important actors in the process. They set the terms of the initial agreement, but may not determine the direction and extent of subsequent change. There are spill over consequences which may not have been foreseen but a few bureaucrats may decide to make use of them for their own gains. This theory informed the advancement of the European Union and the first East African Community that collapsed in 1977. It also informed the preceding stages of the current EAC, namely the coming into operation of the Customs Union, the Common Market and the envisaged Monetary Union.

1.7.3 Federalism

Federalism refers to a political organization in which two or more states agree to form a union government with a central authority, while retaining local autonomy. The theory believes in building and strengthening regional governance structures on federal lines. In regional integration, political federation is a mean between political cooperation and political union.³³ There is the European Union (EU), African Union (AU) Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), and the East African Community (EAC) among others which have been molded along federalism lines. Majority of these regional blocs have not attained the political Union as many feel that they would be giving up their sovereignty. Political cooperation involves joint strategy arrangements among partner states aimed at attaining common interests and objectives. The idea of federalism in East Africa is not new. President Nyerere was even prepared to delay Tanganyika's independence if that would

³² O'Brien, R. "North American Integration and International Relations Theory," (Canadian Journal of Political Science, 1995) 28: 693-7xx.

³³ Kasaija, P. A, "Regional Integration:" *A political Federation of the East African Countries?* African Journal of International Affairs; (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, 2006) page 24.

enable Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika to unite through political federation. However, disagreements in the 1970s to 1980s between the leaders on issues such as federal vis-à-vis the states, land, and citizenship, buried the political federation ambition.³⁴

The above three integration theories can all apply to the integration of the East Africa Community process but for this study, the theory of Functionalism is the best placed on which to base findings. There are several benefits accruing to states when they come together to form a bloc. When the three original partner states of the EAC decided to integrate, it is because they share a lot of things which they felt were of common interest to their people. When regional integration is simply defined as a series of voluntary decisions by sovereign States to remove barriers to the mutual exchange of goods, services, capital or persons, this is all for the benefit of the citizenry. The people are supposed to be the ones driving the process. The whole idea is to benefit them and not the bureaucrats are the top. The study therefore was to find out whether Kenyans are better informed about these benefits as hypothesized by the functionalism theory.

1.8. METHODOLOGY

A research methodology is a plan which defines how a study will be conducted, that is, how, when and where data is to be collected and analyzed.

1.8.1 Research methodology

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques of data collection and analysis were utilized. Quantitative data provides statistical evidence while qualitative data gives voice to the experiences of ordinary citizens. Although qualitative and quantitative research methods complement each other, Neuman notes that qualitative social research relies largely on the interpretive and critical approaches to social sciences while quantitative research just depend on presentation of statistical data. Qualitative research as a subjective approach allows the researcher to explore behaviours, perspectives, feelings, and experiences in depth, quality and complexity of a situation through a holistic framework. Through qualitative research design, this study explored the citizens' insights and views on the EAC integration process.

³⁴ Adar, K. "Federalism and East African Community Integration Process":*The Role of the East African Legislative Assembly*:(Africa Institute of South Africa, Pretoria, 2008) page 4

Mugenda and Mugenda also assert that unlike quantitative research, qualitative research allows the less privileged in society to take part in creation of knowledge.³⁵ Through qualitative research, a researcher can give voice to the voiceless by giving them a chance to be heard. So, through this study, the researcher gave a chance to the local Kenyan to say whether they are aware of the integration process or not and whether they know any benefits that they are entitled to. The study also relied on interpretation of qualitative data from a variety of sources.

1.8.2 Target Population

This study was carried out on a population sample of 60 people from various categories of the target groups within Nairobi and its environments. The categories included civil servants, second hand clothes traders, university students, doctors, secondary school teachers, primary school teachers, farmers, housewives and jua-kali artisans. This should be a fair representation of Kenyans who should be able to gauge whether citizens are aware of EAC integration or not.

1.8.3. Research instruments

Questionnaire; It enables a researcher capture data from diverse samples regardless of age, gender and level of education. The administration of a questionnaire is comparatively less expensive and easy when gathering data from large numbers of people spread over a wide geographic area.

Interview;

Through an interview, the researcher can get in depth information especially on how the integration process has impacted on the locals and how they plan to take advantage of the benefits and overcome the challenges. It gives a one on one setting in which the researcher is able to discover how an individual thinks and feel about a topic and why they hold a certain opinion over the topic under review. It also adds a human dimension to impersonal data. It at the same time deepens understanding and explains statistical data that may be gathered.

³⁵ Mugenda, O and Mugenda A; *Research Methods; Quantitative and Qualitative approaches*. (Nairobi: Acts Press. 1999) page 201.

Document Review

Reviewing documented material is a very rich source especially on background information and also relatively inexpensive. It is a way of collecting data by reviewing existing documents. The documents may be in hard copy or electronic and may include reports, program logs, performance ratings, funding proposals, meeting minutes, newsletters, and marketing materials. The documents may reveal whether the actual programme is actually going hand in hand with the implementation. In the EAC integration process, the researcher can check whether the implementation is being done according to the EAC treaty and the pillars that support it.

1.9 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

Scope

This study was carried out in Nairobi County and its environs. This is the capital city of Kenya which has a diverse population. The research sample was categorized such that there was a varied representation of several professions and the ordinary citizen. Nairobi City gave that sample being the capital city where there are bound to be a diverse population from all over the country. The environs included Kiambu and Kajiado Counties.

Limitations

Limitation to the study included financial constraints to reach the target population in the selected categories. There was also inadequate time to go into the field for data collection as the researcher works full time as a Public communications officer, so time off from the office for the research posed a problem. The categories to be interviewed were many and diverse, so the researcher could not access all of them.

1.10 CHAPTER OUTLINE

The study is divided into five chapters which include the introduction and the conclusion. The content of each chapter is as follows.

Chapter 1

This is the introductory chapter of the study which sets the scene and introduces the entire dissertation. It contains the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, literature

review, and justification of the problem, hypothesis, theoretical framework, methodology, scope and limitations.

Chapter 2

This chapter will give concise overview of integration in Africa in general and East Africa in particular from 1900 to the present setup. The history of the EAC, its objectives and operational principles that govern its operations will be highlighted here. An overview of the performance will be also be discussed, especially the successes and challenges. The background information is very crucial in the analysis of the process since it began and get an overview of how the East African have desired to be integrated over a whole century

Chapter 3

This chapter sets out to give a theoretical context of the East African Community. It examines theories of integration in order to ascertain whether they can explain the EAC. It focuses mainly on the Functionalism and Customs Union theory although other theories are also discussed because no single theory can adequately explain the critical dynamics and processes of regional integration. The other theories include realism, collective good theory, neo-functionalism, institutionalism and inter-governmentalism.

Chapter 4

This chapter will cover the specific area of study where the researcher hopes to contribute to the existing knowledge on EAC integration. This will be through what has been gathered by the researcher and analyzed into useful information both policy-wise and academically.

Chapter 5

This chapter will critically analyze findings from chapter four. Issues that will have emerged from the study will be highlighted here. This is the concluding chapter which will pull together and summarize the entire study by stressing the key points which will be discussed in the other chapters. It will also make recommendations that may be of assistance to the East African Community and Kenya in particular on what needs to be done to create more awareness amongst its people.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 BACKGROUND OF THE EAC

2.1 Introduction

Regional integration in the world is not a new phenomenon as one would want to imagine. Leagues, commonwealths, councils, unions, associations, pacts and councils have been known to exist and are spread out all over the world and East Africa has not been left behind. The East Africa Community (EAC) is among the few regional blocs that have a long history where the three partner states have come together but for one reason or another, integration efforts collapse. But with each fall, the EAC partner states have been able rise up and given integration a chance. In this chapter, the study will look at the EAC integration history which spans over 100 years, showing the support it got from Africa as a continent, why at each point the integration effort flopped and why the current EAC bloc may succeed where the others failed. It will also highlight the successes, challenges and future prospects of the EAC.

2.2 The East African Community

2.2.1 Introduction

The East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization which comprises of five countries in the eastern part of Africa, namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. It has its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. It has a population of 141 million people by estimates of 2012 and a combined GDP of about US \$ 99.8 billion.³⁶

The East Africa Community has a vision to have a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa which can be attained within the context of a structured security arrangement creating the right environment for integration initiatives and protection of the gains attained.³⁷ According to Article 5 of the EAC treaty, the objectives of the community is to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and

³⁶ East African Community Secretariat; *East African Community Facts and Figures* – 2013, Arusha Tanzania.

³⁷ Hon Beatrice Kiraso, Deputy Secretary General (EAC) during the EAC Peace and Security Conference in Kampala in October 5th 2009.

technology, defence, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit.³⁸ The EAC mission stems from the Partner states' desire to improve the living standards of their people through increased competitiveness, value-added production, trade and investment and this can be achieved through pooling existing and potential resources for sustainable common development needs.

2.2.2 Rationale for East Africa integration

States come together and decide to form a regional bloc due to various reasons. The formation of the East African Community was a prudent decision, informed both by history and reason. Evidence suggests that integration amongst the peoples and communities within Eastern Africa Community predated pre-colonial history. When the three original partner states of the EAC decided to integrate it is because they share a lot of issues which they felt were of common interest to their people.

First of all, there is the history of the three countries. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania since the 1800s under the then British East Africa protectorate, have been searching for ways to integrate. Having suffered under the same colonial masters, gave the people of East Africa a sense of togetherness and brotherhood to form a common front to face the world. In other words they have historical ties. The three countries would later incorporate Rwanda and Burundi.

The East African Community has been one region after all, the indigenous populace within the EAC share common ancestral history. There was a flexibility and seamless movement of goods and people within the EAC region before the advent of colonialism.³⁹ There was no form of state or infrastructure that specifically forbade people and goods from moving around, trade or do any other form of interaction. It was this free movement of goods and people that attracted traders from China, the Arabia and later the Europeans to the East African coast, because they could access goods sourced from the rich East African

³⁸ EAC treaty; Article 5, 1999;12-13

³⁹ Trade Mark east Africa; "The Benefits Of Integration: A Case Of East African Community"
www.trademarka.com/the-benefits-of-integration-a-case-of-east-african- .

hinterland with relative ease. Today the EAC is trying to re-establish that free movement of goods and people through the Common Market because the Eastern African region had a developed market systems long before the coming of the Europeans.

The countries share boundaries with communities spreading across the common borders. Where Tanzania and Kenya share borders, there are the Maasai and Kuria communities found in both countries. The Maasai being pastoralists tend to graze their cattle across the border just like they have been doing since time immemorial. The international border may not mean much to them because their relatives across will gladly welcome them to share the grasslands. Along the Kenya- Uganda border are the Samia, Teso and Pokots who are also found on either side of the border. It is hard separating them due to political borders and yet they have relatives on either side. These same people are however supposed to be acquiring visas to cross the border to visit their relatives, which sometimes proves awkward. Forming the regional bloc solves some of the immigration issues through the Common Market that provides for the free movement of persons.

The countries also share infrastructure and other facilities which assist in the operations of the countries. There is the common Kenya-Uganda railway which actually opens the hinterland for trade and other commercial activities. Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi also rely on the Ports of Mombasa and Dar es Salaam for their commercial activities. With a population of over 140 million people, the countries are able to provide market for each other's goods.

The issue of security especially in this era of terrorism poses a threat to regional stability. The Al Shabaab presence in the region complicates matters and all efforts to counter the menace are welcome in form of joined forces from the partner states. The EAC has been involved in strengthening the fragile governments and institutions of neighbouring countries such as Somali and South Sudan in an effort to improve the security situations in these countries and generally prevent the insecurity from spilling over into the rest of the region. In 2012, Burundi and Uganda contributed forces to African Mission in Somali (AMISOM) Peace Keeping in Somalia, supporting Kenya which had already sent its army there.

Environmental issues are also very crucial in the world today and East Africa has not been left behind in tackling them. There several physical features shared among the partner countries which need to be preserved. The most important is Lake Victoria and also rivers which originate in one country and drain into another. Wildlife such as wild beasts and flamingos which are important in the tourism sector also need to be taken into consideration as they don't recognize national boundaries but cross according to their migratory habits.

2.3. HISTORY OF THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

2.3.1 THE 1900 EAST AFRICAN COOPERATION

Unlike other parts of African, integration in East Africa has been on and off, changing faces and partnerships to suit the time. At the turn of the 19th century, Kenya and Uganda was under the colonial rule of Britain. Efforts at integration of East African countries started early in the 20th century with the British initiating the first attempt in 1894 by a decision to start the construction of the Uganda Railway. The British were however not really aiming at integration but rather finding a means to transport raw materials for use in their industries back home. The building of the railway started in 1895. Later on, they began promoting efforts to advance a more unified administrative control over their East African territories by establishing the Court of Appeal for East Africa in 1902, a Postal Union in 1911, a Customs Union in 1917, and the East African Currency Board (EACB) in 1921. Following the Allied victory over Germany and the subsequent surrendering of her colonies to the Allied victors, neighbouring Tanganyika was also absorbed into these agreements under British rule.⁴⁰

By the following year, the three countries engaged in free trade for local produce. This was followed by an agreement which removed almost all custom duties between the two territories.⁴¹ The East African Income Tax Board (EAITB) was established in 1940, and the East African Airways (EAA) in 1946.⁴²

⁴⁰ Kasaija, P. A, *Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries*; African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2; CODESRIA, Dakar, page 25

⁴¹ Ojo et al. *African International Relations*; (Lagos ,Longman Nigeria Limited, 1985) page 157

⁴² Tanganyika which was by then a British mandate after the First World War became Tanzania after it unified with Zanzibar in 1963 and was absorbed into these arrangements at various stages.

2.3.2 THE 1948 EAST AFRICAN HIGH COMMISSION

In 1948 there was another attempt at integration when a quasi-federation was established of East African cooperation under the framework of the East African High Commission (EAHC), with a common market and a number of common services that included the establishment of an East African Railway and Harbours Administration, the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, and the Agricultural and Medical Research Services.⁴³ There was a central legislature, the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly (EACLA), also known as the Legislative Council (LEGCO) in 1948, which had limited powers. It could not only be over-ruled by the High Commission but it also had no legislative competence over significant areas such as regional planning or the fixing of tariffs and customs rates. The common services thereafter gradually acquired a centralized feature, with the EAHC and the EACLA as the key decision-making bodies with functional responsibilities in the region. The quasi-federation was refurbished with Tanganyika attaining independence in 1961.

An East African Common Services Organization (EACSO) was established in 1961 as a prelude to the establishment of a fully fledged political federation of the region in a system where the high commission was replaced by a Common Services Authority (CSA) headed by three elected leaders from the territories. The EACSO had three main organs namely, the East African Authority, the Central Legislative Assembly, and the Triumvirates. The East African Authority, the supreme organ of the EACSO, initially comprised of the president of Tanganyika following the country's independence in 1962 and the Governors of Kenya and Uganda, with unanimity used as the key to its decision-making process.⁴⁴ Even so Uganda and Tanganyika were not happy with the benefits that were apparently accruing to Kenya in terms of growth in GNP, foreign investment, international trade and having the Common Services Organization headquarters in Nairobi.⁴⁵ With the centralization of most of the headquarters of the common services in Nairobi, Kenya posed challenges to the EACSO and created a centre-periphery relation in the region. The inequitable distribution of benefits

⁴³Kasaija, P. A, *Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries*; African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2; CODESRIA, Dakar, page 25.

⁴⁴ Adar K. G 'East African Community' Finizio et al (ed) *The democratization of international organizations*, (Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism, 2011) page 1

⁴⁵Ojo et al. *African International Relations*; Longman Nigeria Limited, Lagos, 1985 page 157

was dealt with by setting up a distributable pool account into which a fixed percentage of customs and excise as well as corporate income taxes collected by each territory was paid.⁴⁶

Integration at this point was derailed by the attainment of independence by the three countries of East Africa. A political federation of the three independent countries to be ushered in by the Nairobi Declaration of 1963 failed to take off as Uganda was opposed to the high degree of centralization, which its partners wanted to build into the federation and EACSO subsequently was on the verge of disintegration. The aspirations of the East African leaders who headed the three countries at the time were the key drivers of integration in 1960s. The Pan-African East African leaders, Jomo Kenyatta (Kenya), Julius Nyerere (Tanzania) and Milton Obote (Uganda) were initially interested in ushering in political federation as a springboard for regional integration. The interest in the political federation was influenced by factors such as similar historical experiences and Pan-African aspirations sweeping the continent at the time of decolonization. The independence national interests however, undermined the drive for political federation.

2.3.3 THE 1967 EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

The third attempt at regional integration of East Africa was in December 1967 which brought into force the Treaty for East African Cooperation. This came as a result of the 1966 recommendations contained in Kjeld Philip⁴⁷ report, which established the EAC, with economic cooperation as the driving force. The treaty created a number of community organs to coordinate activities and also give executive direction. The key organs of the EAC included the East African Authority, the East African Legislative Assembly, the East African Ministers, the 5 Councils (the Common Market Council, the Communications Council, the Economic Consultative and Planning Council, the Finance Council, and the Research and Social Council), the Tribunals, the East African Community Services

⁴⁶ Ibid

⁴⁷ Prof. Kjeld Philip was a former Danish Minister of Trade and Finance who was chosen by the three East African leaders to study the feasibility of establishing an EAC.

Commission, the East African Industrial Council, and the East African Development Bank.⁴⁸

To cut out any hostilities, the Community's common services institutions were distributed through the three states so as to redress existing disparities. Thus, Kenya hosted the headquarters of the East African Railways and the East African Airways, while Tanzania had the Harbours Corporation with the headquarters of the Community in Arusha. Uganda got to host the East African Development Bank and the East African Post and Telecommunications Corporation. The Treaty also got to provide for a transfer of a tax system which was designed to protect industries in Tanzania and Uganda against their Kenyan contenders.

2.3.4 THE BREAK-UP OF 1967 EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY IN 1977

Cracks in the 1967 EAC started developing owing to ideological differences among the three state leaders. One of its weaknesses was that it was politically driven and some of its key decisions depended on the whims of the leaders of the time — Presidents Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Milton Obote of Uganda and Tanzania's Julius Nyerere. There was no political will because, after the three countries became independent, the leaders got busy with consolidating power within their own turfs. President Obote of Uganda decided to adopt 'a common man's charter' and Nyerere of Tanzania ushered in a socialist epoch through the Arusha Declaration which emphasized self-reliance, channeling much of its resources towards welfare programs and shunning foreign investment. The two established an ideological axis between them which locked out Kenya where President Jomo Kenyatta had opted for an open, liberal economy welcoming foreign investment. With the spurning of foreign investments by Tanzania and Uganda, potential investors turned their attention to Kenya which had better infrastructure and industrial base inherited from the colonialists and also favoured an inflow of investment. Kenya was sidelined by the other two.

⁴⁸Adar K. G 'East African Community' Finizio et al (ed) *The democratization of international organizations*, (Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism, 2011) page 5

The honeymoon between Tanzania and Uganda however came to an abrupt end when Idi Amin overthrew Milton Obote in a military coup in January 1971. A clash of personalities took over. Nyerere refused to sit at the same table with Amin who he viewed as a double-crossing army leader while he termed Kenyatta's capitalists tendencies as a man-eat-man society as Kenyatta dubbed Tanzania's socialists views as man-eat-nothing penchants.⁴⁹ Amin in retaliation chased away all Tanzanians employed under the EAC. Amin's 1972 nationalization of commercial assets owned by Asian merchants and entrepreneurs, resulted in an Asian exodus to Tanzania and the subsequent decline in foreign investment which worsened an already tense situation. In 1976 Amin claimed that part of Kenya up to Naivasha, belonged to Uganda before the 1902 British land transfer to the old British East Africa Protectorate. In the intervening years this area had become a focal point of Kenyan farming, transportation, and economic development. Kenya responded to Amin's threats by curtailing the movement of Ugandan goods across its border.

Needless to say the community disintegrated in 1977 due to the fact that the three leaders never met again. The 1967 Treaty had all authority vested in the top leaders unlike the current one where exclusive authority is largely with the Council of Ministers, so due to the three presidents not meeting, everything collapsed. The three member states lost over sixty years of co-operation and the benefits of economies of scale accrued over time.

Other reasons other than ideological differences have also been cited as being responsible for the collapse of the 1967 EAC. According to Beatrice Kiraso,⁵⁰ a former Deputy Secretary-EAC, some of them include structural problems which impinged on the management of the common services. She also notes that low private sector and civil society involvement in the running of the community coupled with low levels of involvement of the people in the decision-making processes contributed to the collapse of the first EAC. Inequalities in the sharing of the costs and benefits of integration and lack of mechanisms to address the ideological differences among the leaders within the arrangements did not help

⁴⁹ Kibua T.N & Tosteensen, A. *Fast tracking East Africa Integration; Assessing the Feasibility of a political federation by 2010*, (Nairobi, Institute of policy Analysis and Research (Mimeo), 2005), page 2

⁵⁰ Hon Beatrice Kiraso, Deputy Secretary General (EAC) during the EAC Peace and Security Conference in Kampala on October 5th 2009.

the situation. During the time it existed, the EAC was one of the most advanced integration schemes in Africa. In fact it has been said that the EAC effort was the most advanced regional idea at integration in the whole of the developing world.⁵¹

2.3.5 The Secretariat Of The Permanent Tripartite Commission 1996-2001

After the collapse of the EAC in 1977, the East African states went their different ways for a number of years before coming to a conclusion that their destination in economic growth lay in integration. So the latest attempt to reconstruct the sub-region into a feasible integration block again began in 1984 when the three countries signed the East African Community Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities of the defunct EAC.⁵² It is through this Agreement in Article 14 (2) that the three states agreed to explore areas of future cooperation. In 1991, the three heads of state; Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Ali Hassan Mwinyi of Tanzania issued a formal communiqué, committing them to revive the East African Cooperation during the Commonwealth Heads of State Summit in Harare Zimbabwe. A committee of Foreign Ministers was set up to work out the details. Two years later, on 30th November 1993, the three Heads of state signed an Agreement to revive the cooperation. In November 1994, the first protocol to establish an EAC Secretariat in Arusha, was signed in Kampala. The Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission was finally established in March 1996, and Ambassador Francis Muthaura of Kenya was appointed its first Executive Secretary.⁵³

The Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation's mandate was to promote closer economic cooperation among its members. Its members met in Arusha in August 1996 and agreed on unified budget and annual ministerial-level meetings. The member states agreed to cooperate in such areas as trade, health, law, science, infrastructure and industry. The EAC's bid to create a single East African market of about 77 million people entailed easing travel restrictions, harmonizing tariffs, increasing cooperation among security forces, improving communications, sharing electrical power and addressing Lake

⁵¹ Kasaija, P. A, *Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries*; African Journal of International Affairs, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2; (CODESRIA, Dakar, 2006) page 27.

⁵² Ibid

⁵³ Ibid page28

Victoria issues. Concrete measures toward integration included freely exchangeable currencies, a common East African passport, a common flag and a double taxation accord. Considering the need to consolidate regional co-operation, the East African Heads of State, at their 2nd Summit in Arusha on 29 April 1997, directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission to start the process of upgrading the Agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation into a Treaty. The Treaty-making process, which involved negotiations among the Member States as well as wide participation of the public, was successfully concluded within 3 years.

2.3.6 THE NEW EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY 2001

The Community came into being through a Treaty establishing it, signed on 30th November 1999 and entered into force on 7th July 2000 following its ratification and deposit of the Instruments of Ratification with the Secretary General by all the three Partner States. The EAC was inaugurated in January 2001. Burundi and Rwanda joined later in 2007. To safeguard against the chance of the new EAC collapsing like its predecessor, the new treaty took measures to ensure that issues which led to the collapse of the 1967 EAC are addressed. The three states decided to adopt a gradual approach to regional integration; that is, take a step at a time. The Treaty calls for a customs union, common market and monetary union and sets the ultimate objective as the birth of a political federation of East African states. This was to start from the basic which is the Customs Union. Powers were also decentralized from the Summit which consists of heads of states to the Council of Ministers. The council of ministers makes most of the decisions unless those which need political interventions which now call for the head of states to come in. The treaty also calls for a people-centred and private-sector driven integration and also the involvement of Civil Society as key stakeholders. This is to show that the integration is for the good of the people of East Africa and they own the process. Consensus was to be used as a confidence building tool and also as key in decision-making processes. Withdrawal from the EAC by a member has been made difficult where Article 145 of the Treaty requires that the proposal must be

supported by not less than two-thirds majority of all members of that partner state's National Assembly.⁵⁴

The main idea behind the 1999 EAC was to spearhead economic, social and political agenda. The Treaty in Article 5(1-3)⁵⁵ notes that the objectives of the community shall be to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit. The partner states were also to ensure the attainment of sustainable growth and development. Consolidation of the long standing political, social, cultural and traditional ties that had existed among the people of East Africa had to be maintained so as to promote people-centred mutual development and good neighbourliness. Gender has to be mainstreamed while the promotion of peace, security and stability within the EAC is important. The partner states also had to ensure the enhancement and strengthening of partnerships with the private sector and civil society.⁵⁶

2.4 Organs & Institutions of the East African Community

Article 9 of the EAC treaty establishes the organs of EAC. This is to enable it achieve its objectives. The seven organs are;

The Summit of Heads of State; The summit consists of Heads of the partner states who give the EAC a general direction by making major decisions such as create new institutions, admit new members, appoint judges and pass laws. They take decisions by consensus. The Summit meets at least once every year and may hold extraordinary meetings at the request of any member of the Summit. The tenure of office of the Chairperson of the Summit is one year and the office of the Chairperson is held in rotation among the Partner States.⁵⁷ The

⁵⁴ East African Community, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. (Arusha: EAC Secretariat, 1999).

⁵⁵ East African Community, Article 5; Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. (Arusha: EAC Secretariat, 1999).

⁵⁶ Adar K. G 'East African Community' Finizio et al (ed) *The democratization of international organizations*, (Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism, 2011) page 6

⁵⁷ http://www.eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=130&Itemid=151 June 2014

Summit considers the annual progress reports and such other reports submitted to it by the Council as provided for by the Treaty. It also reviews the state of peace, security and good governance within the Community and the progress achieved towards the establishment of a Political Federation of the Partner States. Subject to the Treaty, the Summit may delegate the exercise of any of its functions, to a member of the Summit, to the Council or to the Secretary General.

Council of Ministers; These are ministers/cabinet secretaries from each partner state responsible for regional integration, tasked to support and monitor the implementation of Council decisions in the national context and ensure proper functioning of the regional organization in accordance with the Treaty.⁵⁸ It is the policy organ for the Community and its decisions are arrived at by consensus. The Council also prepares draft legislation for the Legislative Assembly. The Council meets twice in each year, one meeting of which is held immediately preceding a meeting of the Summit. Extraordinary meetings of the Council may be held at the request of a Partner State or the Chairperson of the Council. Its other functions include; making regulations, issue directives, take decisions, make recommendations and give opinions in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty. It also approves the budget to run the Community affairs and discuss measures that should be taken by Partner States in order to promote the attainment of the objectives of the Community.⁵⁹

The Co-ordination Committee; This consists of Permanent/ Principal Secretaries responsible for East African Community Affairs from each Partner state and any other Permanent Secretary from each state who has relevance to the integration process. The main function of the Coordination Committee is to submit reports and recommendations on the implementation of the Treaty to the Council of Ministers, implements the Council decisions,

⁵⁸ Reith S and Boltz M; “The East African Community”; *Regional Integration Between Aspiration and Reality*; (KAS International Reports, 2011, 91-107) page 96

⁵⁹ EAC website http://www.eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=130&Itemid=151 18th August 2014

receives and considers reports of the Sectoral Committees and co-ordinate their activities and other functions as are conferred upon it by the treaty.⁶⁰

Secretariat; This institution is tasked with planning and supporting all the EAC's programs and undertakes administrative tasks. It also commissions, studies and monitors implementation of the agreed regulations in the member states.⁶¹ It is headed by The Secretary General assisted by two Deputy Secretaries who are all appointed by the Council. The core budget of the EAC's Secretariat is funded by equal contributions from the Partner States. Regional Projects and Programmes are funded through the mobilization of resources from both within and outside the region.

Sectoral Committees; They are established by the Council of Ministers on the recommendation of the Coordination Committee which spells out their composition and functions. The committees set out priorities in various sectors and monitor their implementation.⁶² As directed by the Council, the Sectoral Committees meet as often as necessary for the proper discharge of their functions and determine their own procedures. Each Sectoral Committee is responsible for the preparation of a comprehensive implementation programme and the setting out of priorities within respect sectors. They also submit reports and recommendations to the Co-ordination Committee concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty that affect its sector.

East African Court of Justice; This is the judicial arm of the EAC. The defunct East African Court of Appeal was a court of appeal from decisions of the National Courts on both civil and criminal matters except constitutional matters and the offence of treason for Tanzania.⁶³ The East African Court of Justice is however different in composition and jurisdiction in that it is an international court. It has autonomy from the national state

⁶⁰ EAC website http://eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=132&Itemid=133 18th August 2014

⁶¹ Reith S and Boltz M; "The East African Community"; *Regional Integration Between Aspiration and Reality*; (KAS International Reports, 2011, 91-107) page 96

⁶² EAC website http://www.eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=130&Itemid=151 18th August 2014

⁶³ EA Court of Justice website http://eacj.huriweb.org/?page_id=19 30th July 2014

influence and supervises application of the Treaty and compliance with it. The Court's major responsibility is to ensure the adherence to law in the interpretation and application of and compliance with the EAC Treaty. Any resident in a Partner State may refer for determination by the Court, the legality of any Act, regulation, directive, decision or action of a Partner State or an institution of the Community on the grounds that it is unlawful or an infringement of the provisions of the Treaty. Jurisdiction of national courts is ousted wherever the Treaty confers it on the East African Court, as decisions of the Court on the interpretation and application of the Treaty have precedence over decisions of national courts on a similar matter.

Any dispute concerning the interpretation or application of the Treaty or any of the matters referred to the Court are only subject to what is provided for the Treaty. Where a dispute has been referred to the Court, the Partner States are to refrain from any action which might be detrimental to the resolution of or might aggravate the dispute further, the Partner State in question or the Council must immediately take the necessary measures to implement a judgment of the Court.⁶⁴ The operations of the Court during the transitional period are ad hoc until the Council of Ministers determines that there is enough business to make it fully operational. This means that judges are not required to permanently reside in Arusha where the temporary seat of the Court is located.

The East African Legislative Assembly (EALA); This is the legislative organ of the EAC and has 27 members who are all elected by the National Assemblies or Parliaments of the member states of the Community. Under Article 49 of the Treaty the EALA has oversight functions on all matters that fall within the Community's work. Its functions include debating and approving the budget of the Community, discussing all matters relating to the Community and making recommendations to the Council as it may deem necessary for the implementation of the Treaty. It also liaises with National Assemblies or Parliaments on matters pertaining to the Community and establishes committees. It consists of nine members and seven ex-officio members consisting of Ministers in charge of EAC Affairs

⁶⁴http://eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=133&Itemid=134 August 18th 2014

from each partner state. There is also The Secretary General of the EAC and EAC's counsel.⁶⁵

Lake Victoria Basin Commission (LVBC) and other institutions; Article 9 of the EAC treaty empowers the Summit to establish other organs and institutions of the Community. The LVBC is a specialized institution of the EAC responsible for coordinating the sustainable development agenda of the Lake Victoria Basin. In the Protocol, areas of cooperation where a top institution responsible for coordinating matters relating to management and sustainable development of the Lake Victoria Basin are provided for. Lake Victoria and its basin is designated as an area of common economic interest and a regional economic growth zone.⁶⁶ The other institutions include; The East African Civil Aviation safety and Oversight Agency, Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization and the East African Kiswahili Commission. There is also the East African Development Bank and Inter University Council.

2.5 Stages of EAC's integration process

Article 5 (2) of the Treaty also stipulates that: Partner States undertake to establish among themselves and in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, a Customs Union, a Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation. All these various stages mutually reinforce each other.

2.5.1 Customs Union Protocol

A Customs Union Protocol (CU) is a trading bloc which is formed when two or more neighbouring countries agree to a common external trade policy while granting free trade between them. EAC Partner States undertook to establish a Customs Union as an entry point of the Community. The formation of the EAC CU is the first stage in the four-step EAC regional integration process. It came into effect throughout the EAC territory in July 2009, having been ratified by Partner States Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda in March 2004, and later by Rwanda and Burundi in 2008. CU protocol provides for progressive implementation within a period of five years so the full fledged CU in EAC was attained in January 2010.

⁶⁵ Ibid

⁶⁶ Lake Victoria Basin Commission www.lvbcom.org/index.php/who-we-are/overview-of-lvbc June 2014

Its objectives include promotion of efficiency in production within the community; enhancement of domestic, cross border and foreign investment; Promotion of economic development and diversification in industrialization and finally liberalization of intra-regional trade in goods on the basis of mutually beneficial trade arrangements among Partner States.⁶⁷ The main instrument of trade liberalization provided for is the elimination of tariffs and non-tariff barriers. The Protocol provides for the elimination of internal tariffs and other charges of equivalent effect and the elimination of non-tariff barriers to trade among the five states.⁶⁸ Common External Tariff applied on goods from third countries with a three tariff bands of 0%, 10% and 25% for basic raw materials, intermediate goods and finished goods respectively. This means that, goods from the other four states into Kenya shall be duty free while specific goods from Kenya into them shall attract duty under the program of gradually eliminating internal tariff in five years. These taxes started to gradually decline from 5% in 2005 and reached 0% in 2010. When fully executed, the customs union will consolidate East Africa into a single trading bloc with uniform policies, resulting in a larger economy. A full-fledged Customs Union operating as single customs territory will level the playing ground for the regions' producers by imposing uniform competition policies and laws which should assist the region advance its economic development and poverty reduction agenda.⁶⁹

2.5.2 The Common Market Protocol

The Common Market Protocol (CMP) is an arrangement in which members of a regional economic Community merge their factors of production into one big single market. The Protocol on the establishment of the EAC Common Market was signed by the Heads of States on 20th November 2009 and entered into force on 1st July 2010, following ratification by all the five Partner States.⁷⁰ It represents the second stage of the regional integration process after the CU and is considered as a significant step towards the single currency and

⁶⁷ Osiro D; *The East African Community (EAC) Customs Union* ;Institute of Economic Affairs; (Nairobi Trade information programme; Issue 11, April 2005) page 3

⁶⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ Muga E, "Jumuiya News," *EAC Single Customs Territory- a Status Report*; (Nairobi; MEAC, 2012 , Issue 26 July-September;) page 40

⁷⁰ EAC website <http://www.eac.int/commonmarket/documentation.html> 15th May 2014

eventual political federation. The CMP guarantees the free movement of labour, goods, services, capital and the right of establishment and residence.⁷¹ Under the CMP, the states will also be required to eliminate tariff, non-tariff and technical barriers to trade, harmonize and mutually recognize standards and implement a common trade policy for the community. They are also expected to ease cross-border movement of persons and goods. Each partner state is supposed to domesticate the protocol into national law.

Single market comes with many benefits. Freedom of movement for all the factors of production between the partner states increases productivity because the factors are efficiently and evenly distributed within the states. Efficient firms also benefit from economies of scale, increased profits, competitiveness and lower costs. Consumers also benefit from the single market in the sense that the competitive environment brings cheaper products, more efficient providers of products and also increased choice of products. Competition in businesses also leads to innovation and creation of new products. Other benefits include common and coordinated policies that increase efficiency especially in those countries that are behind in instituting good policies. In addition the common regulatory regime and frameworks ensure that best practice within the regional framework is not only in place but adhered to. The closeness of single market ensure that good procedures are instituted and practiced and thus creates a kind of seamless market.⁷² The implementation of the EAC CM will be in a progressive manner with a transition period of five years. It will therefore be fully implemented by the end of 2015. Individual member states will progressively harmonize several national laws to be in conformity with the protocol.

2.5.3 Monetary Union

The Monetary Union (MU) is a situation where by two or more states agree on a single currency for their daily transactions within the Common Market. In the EAC, the MU was envisaged to be in place by 2012 but this was done during the 15th ordinary summit on November 30th 2013 in Kampala when the five Heads of State appended their signatures on

⁷¹ The East African Community; Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market;(Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2009)

⁷² East African Community; “Towards a Common Market 2012” ;<http://www.eac.int/commonmarket/cm-background.html> 18th May 2014

the protocol. It now paves way for a process that would lead to the adoption of a single currency across the five partner states; Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda. This is the third pillar to be signed after the CU signed in 2005 and CMP in 2010. The EAC single currency is expected to be introduced by 2024 by member states that comply with the convergence criteria. Joint monetary policy will be governed by an independent EAC central bank with a system of national central banks as its operational arms. The central bank's primary objective will be price stability; secondary objectives will be financial stability and economic growth and development. The single exchange rate will be free floating.

To qualify, countries are expected to meet the convergence criteria and comply with them for at least three years. The primary convergence criteria are ceilings on headline inflation (8 percent), fiscal deficit including grants (3 percent of GDP), and gross public debt (50 percent of GDP in net present value terms); and a floor on reserve coverage (4.5 months of imports).⁷³ The EAC Monetary Institute shall be established by 2015 to direct preparatory work for monetary union while an East African Surveillance, Compliance and Enforcement Commission to monitor and enforce convergence will be created by 2018, setting the stage for monetary and exchange rate policies coordination and harmonization.

The launch of the East African Cross Border Payment System is a concrete operational step that will assist towards monetary, financial, and economic integration. So far, the system which is an integrated payment and settlement system within the EAC is operational in three partners—Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda, while Rwanda and Burundi are working on their systems. The payments system is a multicurrency mechanism that links real time gross settlements of EAC member countries through the generation of automatic payment messages through the Society for Worldwide Interbank Financial Telecommunication. The central banks maintain accounts with each other, and also host prefunded settlement accounts in the currencies of partner states. The central banks are responsible for providing the infrastructure, operating rules, and oversight of the system, while commercial banks would run it. The payments system is expected to make cross-border payments faster and

⁷³ Clara M, "New pacts ease path towards East African single currency;" (IMF African Department, December 30th 2013,) <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2013/car123013a.htm> 2nd August 2014

more reliable, promoting regional trade. As much as it may take more than ten years to be fully established, the MU is seen as an outstanding effort to spur economic development within the community by facilitating trade.⁷⁴

2.5.4 Political Union

The final and ultimate stage of the EAC is the Political Federation. This occurs when two or more states come together to form a Super State under a single Political Authority but allows each to retain its own identity and distinctiveness to some degree. The states have to cede some sovereignty and powers to the Super State. The federal state becomes the subject in international law though the federal states retain an existence in domestic law.⁷⁵ In the EAC, there was no time frame set for the federation but there is a general consensus from the partner states that the process be fast tracked and there has been an indication of overwhelming support for the EAC to federate from the political class. Specific pillars that will strengthen the process towards East African Political Federation include good governance that entails combating corruption and enhancing ethics and integrity, protection and promotion of human rights and access to justice, democracy and democratization processes, constitutionalism and rule of law, and conflict prevention.⁷⁶

2.6 EAC Achievements

2.6.1 Economic Achievements

The most noticeable achievement of the EAC is the establishment of the Customs Union Protocol, the Common Market Protocol and Monetary Union Protocol. The CU was signed by the Heads of States on 2nd March 2004 and came into force on 1st January 2005 while the Common Market was signed on 20th November 2009 and entered into force on 1st July 2010. During their 15th ordinary summit on November 30, 2013 in Kampala, The five Heads of State appended their signatures on the East African Monetary Union Protocol. The EAC

⁷⁴ The East African Community; Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Monetary Union, (Arusha, EAC secretariat, 2013)

⁷⁵ East African Community; “The East African political Federation, One people One destiny”: *Addressing East Africans’ fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*: (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, August 2010); pp 10-15:13

⁷⁶ Ibid pp 33-35: 34

therefore has two functional stages in the integration process which are important in the boosting economic growth while the third had just begun. Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) and international trade in EAC have continued to grow accumulating to over 60% for the years 2008-2011 while intra-region trade has additionally risen to 23% of total value of exports.⁷⁷ Uganda and Tanzania remain the preferred investment destinations due to Kenya's restriction on foreign ownership and weak investor protection laws. The total inflow of FDI in the EAC region increased from \$1.3 billion in 2006 to \$1.7 billion in 2009. Deeper regional integration has increased trade volumes as well trade as a percentage of GDP. In addition, trade is generally associated with higher value-added activities and its increase as a percentage of GDP tends to spur growth of income.⁷⁸ Several business opportunities have spring-up across the region due to growth in trade and investment. The EAC as a Customs Union, agreed with the EU on an Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) for market access and development component. It has also signed a Trade and Investment Framework Agreement with the United States of America a move meant to lead to greater access to each other's markets.

2.6.2 EAC and Associative Diplomacy

In the last 12 years of its existence, the EAC had made tremendous progress in several sectors. The EAC has further integrated with other neighbouring states and regional bloc in the spirit of Associative diplomacy. In October 2008, the EAC, after negotiations with the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) concluded a tripartite COMESA-EAC-SADC process. In the communiqué, the 26 states committed themselves to broaden their co-operation in the areas of socio-cultural and econo-political issue areas.⁷⁹ The countries agreed to an expanded free single trade area that would pave the way for deep Africa economic development. The free trade zone is expected to strengthen the region and foster much needed economic growth. The wider aim is to build the new regional economic community up into a stronger competitor in the global market economy. What is important to note is

⁷⁷ Sezibera, R; Regional integration and sustainable development in the East African Community: progress and achievements. (During EAC Side Event at RIO+SUMMIT, 20 - 22 June 2012)

⁷⁸ Grail research; The East African Community (EAC); It's time for Business to take notice; (January 2012) page 11-12.

⁷⁹ Adar K. G; "East African Community" in Finizio et al (ed) *The democratization of international organizations*; (Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism, 2011,) page 35

that the EAC negotiates in these fora as a bloc, giving the regional body more leverage in terms of regional consensus. The EAC Trade Negotiations Act assented into law by the Summit in 2008 has provided useful legal and policy mechanisms for negotiations as a bloc in bilateral, regional and international fora.⁸⁰ However, of concern is the issue of multiple memberships by partner states in different organizations which has the potential of negating integration process. It is also burden on meagre resources of the partner states. For example Tanzania, is a member of the EAC, COMESA and SADC.

2.6.3 EAC Headquarters

In November 28, 2012, The EAC completed its headquarters in Arusha, on a 15 km² piece of land provided by the Tanzanian government. The EAC was previously housed at the Arusha International Conference Centre (AICC). The project was funded by the German government to a tune of 14 million Euros while the partner states each contributed \$2 million. The new headquarters will house all Arusha based EAC organs which include the Secretariat, the EALA and the EACJ. The headquarters is seen as a tangible symbol of commitment by the partner states to achieve a socially, economically and politically united East Africa.⁸¹

2.6.4 EACJ Registries

East African citizens can also access justice easily courtesy of a recent launch of regional sub-registries by the EACJ in three capitals of partner states. The three are based in Kigali (Rwanda), Kampala (Uganda) and Nairobi (Kenya). Another will be opened later in Bujumbura (Burundi). Anybody seeking justice within the community doesn't have to travel to the main registry in Arusha but can get it in any of the three centres. The citizens can file documents, access information and get any communication within the regional court of justice.⁸²

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Ministry of East African Community; "Jumuiya News"; *Slow Compliance to EAC Protocols a Major Impediment*; (MEAC, Nairobi; Issue 27-January 2013,) page 10

⁸² Ibid page 15

2.6.5 Social Integration

To strengthen the EAC identity and the integration feeling among its citizens, the member states introduced an EAC flag, EAC anthem and EAC passport. The EAC passport was issued in all the partner states and an holder of the document could enter any East African country for a period of six months without the need to stamp his/her passport..⁸³ But as from January 2014, citizens from three partner states of Rwanda, Kenya and Uganda, begun using an Identity Card to cross their respective borders without presenting any passport or pass. The Identity Card only contains the names, gender, issue and expired date, date and place of birth, but the rest of computerized databases can only be seen when it is checked digitally. Use of this card at the border points only takes a few minutes and is cost-effective unlike the passports which needed money and time to process. Burundi which has fully adopted the Biometric ID Project will have different validity periods depending on age. Those aged between 16 and 25, the ID validity will go up to 10 years while from 26 to 45 years, the validity will last 20 years and those aged 46 and over, it is indefinite. The old Identity cards have therefore become null and void. During the 15th Ordinary Summit of the EAC Heads of States held at Kampala, on 30 November 2013, the Council of Ministers was asked to study the modalities of including French as a language of the EAC community in addition to English and Kiswahili. This is for the benefit of the francophone countries of Rwanda and Burundi who normally have difficulties in communicating in English as the official language.

2.6.6 The Nile Basin Initiative

The Nile Basin Initiative (NBI) was established in 1999 by ten Nile River Basin riparian states for purposes offering amicable solutions to the utilization of the Nile River waters and resources. The EAC partner states resolved to negotiate in the NBI as a bloc. They note that the degree of consensus employed by the EAC not only gives it more leverage in harmonizing its position vis-a-vis the other riparian states but also empowers the regional

⁸³Kamala D.B ; The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation;(United Kingdom, 2006) page 10

organization's multilateral diplomacy, which gradually consolidates elements of sovereignty.⁸⁴

2.7 Challenges to the EAC

2.7.1 Economic Challenges

Right from the onset of independence, the EAC partner states pursued different economic paths; Kenya had a pure market economy while Tanzania followed a socialist economy commonly referred to as "Ujamaa" and Uganda pursued the mixed economy policy. Just like the former collapsed integration bloc of 1977, fears in the current EAC exist, stemming from economic diversity. There is a perception by the partners that Kenya is the region's wealthiest, Uganda the fastest growing while Tanzania is integration policy conscious. Economic commitment to the community has raised questions with low financial contributions being viewed as evidence of inadequate preparedness for deeper integration. Economies of different countries are growing at different rates so there is a fear of poor performers slowing down the pacesetters; defeating the very economic reason for integration.

There is no clear sustainable formula for funding community affairs as they majorly rely on donor funding questioning long term sustainability and ownership of the integration.⁸⁵ There are also fears that funding for domestic priorities such as disease control, poverty reduction interventions and development initiatives may be diverted to the federation. Anxiety exists that some countries carry heavy domestic and external debt portfolios which may be passed on to other countries in the community when the federation comes into being.

Currently the greatest economic challenge lies in the slow pace in which national laws are being domesticated by the EAC Partner states to conform to various EAC protocols. This has proved to be an impediment to the integration process and realization of the envisaged

⁸⁴Adar K. G "East African Community" Finizio et al (ed) *The democratization of international organizations*; (Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism, 2011) page 36

⁸⁵ East African Community; "The East African political Federation: one people one destiny"; *Addressing East Africans' fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*. Arusha 2010; pp 21-27: 24.

social-economic benefits and opportunities for the people of East Africa.⁸⁶ Failure to harmonize national laws especially those on tax, pose a challenge in achieving free movement of goods and persons within the Partner states contrary to the objectives of the CU and CM protocols and as much as the Partner states have tried to comply with various protocols, they have at the same time used diverse national laws to delay acquiescence.⁸⁷

In line with CU and CM, Non Tariff Barriers (NTBs) also frustrate the full realization of the two Protocols. There is no legal binding mechanism on NTBs which makes enforcement of directives by the Council of Ministers difficult. NTBs come in many forms and spring up anytime and even when one is removed another will be erected, hindering smooth flow of trade. Some of the NTBs include weak government structures, erratic application of rules and the lengthy customs administration documentation procedures. Others include cumbersome inspection requirements, lack of harmonized standards and police road blocks.

The challenge of infrastructure is also real. The integration process towards a federation can only be achieved if there exists a proper transport and communications network that links all the partner states together. Poor infrastructure designed and anchored upon the colonial extractive economy cannot service closer integration. The business community cannot trade amongst themselves when they cannot easily or cheaply reach each other. The rating for the quality and cost of transport within the region ranged from 24% for Kenya to 46% for Tanzania with the average of 32%.⁸⁸ The failure to scrap work permit fees among the citizens continues to hinder the free movement of citizens in the community, which is contrary to the CMP. Fees charged to obtain work permits vary between partner states. For example, Burundi charges between \$60 and \$84, Tanzania \$634 and \$3,000, while in Uganda, it's between \$250 and \$2,500 for a regular worker.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Ministry of East African Community; "Jumuiya News"; *Slow Compliance to EAC Protocols a Major Impediment*; (Nairobi ,MEAC; Issue 27-January-March, 2013,) page 13

⁸⁷ Ibid

⁸⁸ 4th EAC development strategy (2011/12-2015/16); *Deepening and Accelerating Integration*; (Arusha, EAC secretariat, August 2011); page 24

⁸⁹ Kabeera E, *How EAC integration was fast-tracked in 2013*, (The New Times, January 01, 2014,) <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news>

2.7.2 Social Challenges

The people of East Africa may have social and cultural ties emanating from pre-colonial times, but their social and cultural life in the region is not homogeneous. There are those who feel that the opening of borders will lead to social emigration and people tend to move with their lifestyles, ideas and values. This process can result in social and cultural shocks because of differences in social beliefs and value systems among communities. In EAC, a lot of cross-border cultural stereotyping has been generated due to varied national experiences for instance, Tanzanians are concerned with what they term as the aggressive nature of Kenyans while Burundi have protested that Tanzanians pay only lip service to the promise of liberalizing the movement of people across their shared border. Kenyans of Somali origin also complain of being eyed suspiciously by all East Africans due to association to Al Shabaab.⁹⁰ But citizens' input towards sustaining the EAC is important. The treaty advocates the need for people-driven and people-centered development meaning East Africans should play an active role in determining the progress of the new community. Straubhaar warns that if cultural upheaval of integration remains unchecked and people feel that their national identity is threatened, they may raise defenses and xenophobic organizations are formed. It may result in nationalist movements and foreigners will be kept out.⁹¹ This scenario is detrimental to the integration process.

Another challenge that proves to be a hindrance to free movement of services is the lack of harmony and common standards in the education systems in the region. It is seen as predisposing citizens of some countries to more successful exploitation of the regional employment opportunities than their neighbours. Kenyans and Ugandans are particularly seen to over-run the regional labour market and this is partly due to an advantage of their command of the English language. The disparity in presence and strength of health and

⁹⁰ East African Community; "The East African political Federation: one people one destiny"; *Addressing East Africans' fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*. (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2010) pp 21-27: 25.

⁹¹ Straubhaar, T. *Theoretical Expectations on Economic Integration in Dialogue on Regional Integration in East Africa* : (Arusha, EAC Secretariat in conjunction with the German Agency for Technical Co-operation (GTZ) 2002,) page 37

social security programmes within partner states raises fears among the countries most advanced that their gains may be compromised by federation.⁹²

2.7.3 Political Challenges

Politically, the question of sovereignty and nationalism tops as a challenge against the idea of a federation. There is the fear especially from the elite, of loss of political power as a country, loss in decision making and being flexible at national level and also losing identity as a sovereign state. There is the fear of what obligations member states would have towards each other in the event of an invasion from another country. There is also fear of abandoning what has been put together painfully over the decades in the form of the existing sovereign states but it is evident that there can be no federation without the countries surrendering some of their sovereignty. But the sustainability of the East African Community and the achievement of a political federation will depend on political will and commitment as well as flexibility, good governance practices, political responsibility and creating a conducive environment for enforcement of regional policies.⁹³

Insufficient political will is seen in the multiple memberships in regional blocs by partner states. Membership to any regional bloc for whatever reason, be it political, social, economic or cultural is purely a political choice of any one country. Four of the EAC partner states that is; Kenya, Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda are members of COMESA while Tanzania is a member of SADC and EAC, but if SADC was to establish its own CU it will clash with that of EAC and this contributes to the slow progress of integration process.⁹⁴ Multiple memberships prove to be a challenge as it slows down the implementation of trade protocols due to clashes with those of the other regional unions. The overlap adds to the burdens of the regional blocs through multiple financial obligations, different meetings, different policy decisions, procedures and schedules. At customs, officials have to deal with different rules of origin, tariff reductions, and trade documentations.

⁹² East African Community; "The East African political Federation: one people one destiny"; *Addressing East Africans' fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*, (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2010) pp 21-27: 26.

⁹³ 4th EAC development Strategy (2011/12-2015/16) *Deepening and Accelerating Integration*, (EAC Secretariat, August 2011); page 34

⁹⁴ Grail research; The East African Community (EAC); *It's time for Business to take notice*; January 2012; page 11-12

The political elite have also failed to involve the ordinary people in the integration agenda, which means it is lacking grass root support. This makes implementation difficult. Many countries don't join regional integrations blocs due to the wishes of the people or due to their felt needs, but more from the ideas of the political leaders at the top. The leaders have failed to explain to the people fully why they have to participate in the integration process, the benefits that accrue from being a member. The establishment and functioning of the EAC therefore has been largely a top-to-down process engaging the regional governments while the local citizens can barely comprehend the process. If they have been consulted, it was on issues which they haven't been educated on or are not adequately informed.

2.8 EAC Future Prospects

The Treaty that established the EAC has been designed to operate through five-year development strategies which define specific areas to be implemented. The first three strategies had focused on re-launching the EAC and establishing the first two pillars of integration; the CU and CM. In November 2011, the EAC summit launched the fourth EAC development strategy which aims at deepening and accelerating integration.⁹⁵ The summit noted that implementing the strategy will be built on the achievements of the first decade while focusing on projects and programmes that are feasible and tangible in the next five years and have an immediate impact on the citizens of East Africa.

Since the establishment of the CU in 2005 there has been tremendous growth in intra EAC trade reaching about US \$4 billion in 2010 as compared to US \$ 1.8 recorded in 2004. In the fourth strategy the focus in enhancing the CU will ensure efficient customs administration and facilitation of trade, enhanced market access and harmonized administrative procedures and regulations. The EAC Customs strategy will guide these objectives in the fourth EAC development strategy.⁹⁶ The CM with over 141 million people is expected to spur economic growth and the free movement for all factors of production will be attained through social sectors. Monetary Union will focus interventions to harmonize policy and regulatory

⁹⁵ Ministry of East African Community; "Jumuiya News"; *EAC Development Strategy (2011/12-2015/16); A Synopsis*; (Nairobi, MEAC Issue 24; January-March, 2012) page 8.

⁹⁶ Ibid page 9

frameworks, strengthen and empower institutions that implement and monitor monetary and fiscal affairs at regional and national levels. In trying to achieve the EAC Political Union, efforts shall be on establishing regional structures and institutions through developing regional policies, promote good neighbourliness and international relations and also promotion of regional peace and security.

In November 29th 2012, a joint communiqué by EAC heads of states in Nairobi embraced the need for strong partnerships with other neighbouring states for the development of infrastructure. An efficient cost-effective and sustainable road transport forms a very important component on which the region's economy runs. Efficient and well run sea ports and airports provide the entry and exit points for imports and exports while a modern railways system reduces transports costs incurred in doing business. Five priority infrastructure areas include energy, roads, ports, airports and railway systems. This will entail modernizing and reviving the railway systems, expand the existing sea ports of Mombasa and Dar essalaam and also work on the new ones such as Lamu. Expansion to the airports is also important while improved power generation will spur regional growth and economic development in the region. Already the 240 km Arusha-Namanga-Athi River road which was recently commissioned cost US \$ 164 million and connects Tanzania and Kenya and forms part of the Northern Corridor.

On the implementation of Article 123 of the Treaty on the EAC Memorandum of Understanding on Foreign Policy Co-ordination, modalities and strategies for bringing about common foreign policy for East Africa have been discussed. In the spirit of political cooperation, the EAC partner states have set up joint overseas diplomatic missions to reduce the cost of operating such as offices. The EAC, Rome Chapter in Rome, Italy, was recently launched within the context of promoting and strengthening coordination of common foreign policies. The launch buttresses the Partner States' commitment to use diplomatic missions as key avenues for the mobilization of partnerships, funds and other resources necessary for the realization of EAC objectives in Italy. Under the provisions of the EAC Treaty, the Partner States committed to develop and implement common foreign and security policies. Diplomatic missions are therefore enjoined to coordinate efforts with a view of effectively advancing the EAC integration agenda. Two protocols, that is, the

protocol on Environment and Natural Resources Management and the protocol for the Standards Criteria for the Classification of Hotels, Restaurants and other Tourist Facilities will help in promoting East Africa as a single tourist destination and will result in the contribution of the tourism industry to the East African economy.⁹⁷

2.9 Conclusion

It is over 100 years since the first idea on EAC integration was first conceived and since then a lot has happened. The EAC has progressed further than most other African Regional Economic Communities. No other Regional Economic Community has gone from establishing itself, to agree on an internal market in 10 years. Despite the ups and downs experienced over the years, the EAC has stood the test of time. The decision to re-establish the East African Community was taken at the right time in that enables East African partner states to withstand the forces of globalization, provides an enabling environment for attracting FDIs, creates a large market of over 141 million people and will eventually improve the lives of the East Africans. There has been and still are several challenges but several factors favour the current EAC which include less disparity in terms of economic size, strong political will and a more equal distribution of benefits between member states. But there is also a risk that implementation cannot follow the fast pace of decisions. This risk must not be underestimated and focus must also be on implementation.

⁹⁷ Kamala D. B .*The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation*, (during an open lecture at University of Hull, UK, May 3rd 2006); page 12.

CHAPTER THREE

3. REGIONAL INTEGRATION THEORY AND THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out to give a theoretical context of the East African Community. It examines theories of integration in order to ascertain whether they can explain the EAC. It focuses mainly on the Functionalism and Customs Union theory although other theories are also discussed because no single theory can adequately explain the critical dynamics and processes of regional integration. The other theories include realism, collective good theory, neo-functionalism, institutionalism and inter-governmentalism.

3.2 Background

The development of theorizing the concept of integration started picking momentum in the 20th century as an attempt to explore ways of implementing the process of integration. It focused more on Europe which had started on the integration process. Organized regional integration goes back to 1952 with the formation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). That was a reaction to the need to preserve the economies of Europe.⁹⁸ As the regional integration phenomena began growing in importance, so did the interest of social scientists, who were trying to draw out theories that can help explain the new field of study.⁹⁹ An earlier political science theory focused on variables and processes such membership size, symmetry of member's capabilities, decision-making style and quality styles of leadership. Others explained integration as a process in which national actors are persuaded to shift their royalties and political activities towards a new centre of power. The traditional economic theories were however market driven and concentrated on relationships between goods and factors of production.¹⁰⁰

The concept of regionalism represents a regional approach to problem solving including regional integration, regional cooperation or both. The terms regional integration and

⁹⁸ Irungu E, J; The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010.; Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

⁹⁹ Fanta, E; Politics of (non-)integration and Shadow Regionalism in Africa; Paper presented at the BISA workshop at Open University, Milton Keynes - UK on July 9th 2008

¹⁰⁰ Anadi, S.K.M. *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*, PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich (2005) page 135

regional cooperation have in common the involvement of neighbouring countries in collaborative ventures. Regional cooperation is organized on an adhoc and provisional basis through contractual arrangements, around projects of mutual interest. It refers to policy measures jointly undertaken by a group of countries typically located within a geographical area, to achieve a level of welfare that is higher than what is possible when pursuing such goal unilaterally. Regional cooperation maybe a phase in the process of regional integration and allows states to retain much of their sovereignty.¹⁰¹ For the East African Community, Customs Union implementation and community external relations allows partner states to retain most of their sovereignty in regional customs administration, foreign and trade policy coordination.¹⁰² The East Africa regional integration has the challenge of trying to arrive at a common agreement on the best structure the regional body should assume to maximize benefits for the member states. Policy issues have to be harmonized if any results are to be realized. By global standards the EAC region is still economically underdeveloped, and big efforts are needed to identify the most ideal principles and theories to steer the region's growth and development. The principles should be moulded into a form that provides for their practical application in the real economic experience of the five member states.

3.3 Functionalism

Functionalism based its assumptions on the belief that in a world of economic interdependence, problems such as social, technical and humanitarian could be prioritized and solutions found. It insists that because of economic interdependence, common economic interests create the need for international institutions and rules.¹⁰³ It proposes that common needs can unite people across state borders. Form is supposed to follow function, and nation state should be by-passed.¹⁰⁴ Human needs change over time so should the institutional solutions to address these needs. When David Mitrany was advancing the theory, he was not

¹⁰¹ Lamberte, M.B; *An overview of Economic Cooperation and Integration in Asia*; Asian Economic Cooperation and Integration; page 5

¹⁰² Uzodike, U.O; *The Role of Regional Economic Communities in Africa's Economic Integration: Prospects and Constraints*; AJOL Vol 39, No 2; 2009

¹⁰³ Irungu E, *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

¹⁰⁴ Soderbaum, F. *Comparative Regional Integration and Regionalism*, In T. Landman & N. Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics*; (London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore, @Washington DC: SAGE; 2009) page 480

interested in the functional integration of European states, but in the creation of international organizations to fulfill certain specific needs, such as settling war refugees and regulating air traffic. Functionalism was developed primarily as a strategy to build peace. He criticized both federalism and neo-functionalism on the basis that both were primarily based on territory rather than function. He saw territoriality as part of the Westphalia logic.¹⁰⁵

Functionalism seeks the attainment of a regional organization that would not be rooted on the territorial confines of the states forming it. Functional cooperation in economic and social fields may spill over into political field and gradual functional developments and cooperation between states will address common needs in areas that are not very political such as trade, energy and environmental affairs. This may yield mutual benefits that lead ultimately to political unification.¹⁰⁶ Joint management of scarce resources, employment, labour standards or social security may be acceptable to many but anything political is bound to be disputed. Politics is a sensitive issue so it is better when integration start from the areas that are easily acceptable. In today's world of economic interdependence, common economic interests create the need for international institutions and rules.¹⁰⁷

Africa has faced challenges in regional integration because member states don't fulfill their obligations as specified in the objectives and regulations governing regional.¹⁰⁸ This can only be addressed through a political process. Member states must understand what their citizens stand to gain from the regional integration process. Sustained political and ideological will on the part of individual member governments is critical to the success of any regional economic grouping. A country should be able to determine whether to pursue an integration process further after weighing the welfare benefits to citizens in respect of the

¹⁰⁵ Chen J; Factors shaping regional Integration in Europe, Asia and Africa: The Validity of competing theories. A Master's thesis submitted to the school of graduate Studies, University of Lethbridge, 2011

¹⁰⁶ Kaisi, J.K; *Assessment of regional Integration progress in the East African Community*; A research Report submitted to the Graduate school of Public & Development Management, University of Witwatersrand, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the Field of Public Policy 2013.

¹⁰⁷ Anadi, S.K.M. *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*; PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich (2005).

¹⁰⁸ Muuka, G.N. et al; *Impediments to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA*, Journal of Business in Developing Nations, (Volume 2, Article 3. 1998).

costs of ceding some level of control to a regional body.¹⁰⁹ Functionalism has received criticism for its position that states can cooperate even in areas of interests that are in danger of being surrendered to a supranational organization. This may result in a supranational organization that could easily be dominated by the powerful states in the regional arrangement.¹¹⁰

When viewed from a functionalist point of view, regional integration is seen as a weakening of the state apparatus through the transfer of loyalties to a supranational organization. After realizing results from cooperation from one area, the integrating units then can move onto a different aspect. After several successful returns in all integration areas, then it is realized that these integrating units are best handled not by the state but by the supranational entity.¹¹¹ Nations cooperating among themselves using different political-economic structures and on different levels of economic development would appear unfeasible in the current global political system.¹¹² International institutions do not hold the idea that functional cooperation can be attained separate from a political environment present in the member states. The application of functionalism to the EAC recognizes that the regional integration takes place at an intersection of diverse interests of the multiple states which vary in culture, ideology, economic, political and legal systems.¹¹³

These disparities have to be handled in a right manner to sustain the relationship among the integrating state. From a functionalist angle, it is not enough that the individual citizens of the countries have some welfare gains to be realized from the integration. There must be the will by the leadership of these countries to work together towards a mutual good for all states. There is a danger of disintegration if one state or some states feel others are deriving

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Irungu E, J; The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010; Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

¹¹² Keohane, R.O; *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*; (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1984).

¹¹³ Irungu E, J; The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010; Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

more benefit than the others.¹¹⁴ This may lead to the collapse of the integration process as happened to the EAC in 1977. The political leadership in EAC should be able to drive the integration agenda in the right direction having acquired experience from the several integration attempts.

3.4 Customs Union Theory

A Customs Union (CU) is a form of trade agreement under which certain countries preferentially grant tariff-free market to each other's imports and agree to apply a common set of external tariffs to imports from the rest of the world. The customs union theory was advanced by Jacob Viner who defines a Custom Union as the process of elimination of intra-trade barriers and the equalization of tariffs on imports from non-member countries.¹¹⁵ Customs Union has two types of economic effects; static effects and dynamic effects. Static effects include trade creation effect and trade diversion effect. Trade creation occurs when the domestic production of a good in a member country is replaced by the imports of the same good from another member country within the customs union because of the lower cost production. Trade diversion occurs when the imports from a non-member country are replaced by the imports of a member country because of the removal of tariffs between members and the application of common customs tariffs to non-member countries.¹¹⁶ Balassa advances that a custom union theory mostly focuses on markets, goods and services within a region in relation to the discrimination in the integrating areas.¹¹⁷

The EAC CU Protocol was ratified in March 2004 by Partner States Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda and later by Rwanda and Burundi in 2008, but came into effect throughout the EAC territory on January 1st 2005. In an ideal economic integration situation, a Customs Union should be the third stage of integration after a Preferential Trade Area and a Free Trade Area, but the EAC chose to deviate from this structure such that the Customs Union is the

¹¹⁴ Oppong, R.F. *A Relational Theory of Economic Integration and its Implications for Africa's Economic Integration Initiatives*, (Research Group, Lancaster University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, 2007)

¹¹⁵ Josic H & Josic M; *Static and Dynamic effects of Customs Union creation*; JEL classification: F15

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Balassa, B. *The Theory of Economic Integration*, Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, Inc., 1961.

first stage in the four-step economic integration process.¹¹⁸ Tindyebwa further argues that the implementation of Customs Union has resulted in harmonization and uniform application of community customs laws by all partner states, that is, the uniform application of the common external tariff and ongoing process of asymmetrical reduction of internal tariff.¹¹⁹ In support of the above, Kenya charges Value Added Tax at the rate of 16% while the rest of the EAC countries charges 18 %. In addition, the Exercise Duty is charged at the rate of 4% in Rwanda and 5% in other EAC countries. In the region there is a standard income corporate tax rate of 30%, except in Burundi where it is 35%. Moreover, the EAC partner states have reached considerable harmonization in corporate income tax.¹²⁰

Customs Unions become effective when the output of inefficient producers are replaced after the elimination of tariffs in the region with cheaper imports of more efficient producers within the region to the benefit of both producers and consumers.¹²¹ When all the trade aspects have been harmonized the CU creates a really big market that would be highly attractive to investors. There are several challenges that should be dealt with before concrete results are realized. These include national sovereignty, non-tariff barriers to trade, language barriers, and inaccurate trade data due to unrecorded cross-border trade. The EAC has a weak dispute settlement mechanism and the overlapping membership by the EAC members to other regional bodies is something that the Community has to deal with.¹²² The transformation of the growth realized from trade expansion to tangible and sustainable development of the citizens can also be a problem. The presence of inequities in factors of production with ownership skewed negatively to the very wealthy pose a great economic challenge but the growth in trade is intended to be for the good of the local person in every country.¹²³

¹¹⁸ Mushega, N.A; Secretary General, EAC, in the foreword to the Treaty for the establishment of the EAC, (Publication of the EAC Secretariat, Arusha 2002, pp. v)

¹¹⁹ Tindyebwa, A; *Negotiations & Trade Facilitation in the East African Community, work in progress.* No.84. March 2011: African Trade Policy Centre

¹²⁰ Namara, H; *Tax Harmonization Regimes, the East African.* Retrieved on 24 June 2014 from <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/Rwanda/Business>

¹²¹ Anadi, S. K M. *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*, PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich (2005).

¹²² Irungu E, *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010;* Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

¹²³ Bartik, T. J; *Local Economic Development Policies*, Up John Institute Staff Working Paper, 2003.

The EAC is yet to come up with policy solutions that will enable all countries to reap substantial benefits from the growth and opportunities that will arise as a result of the integration, a factor which led to the break up of the first EAC. The Customs Union theory has a better chance of interpreting integration in the region without making several modifications as it is submitted on a tariff regime which is in control of member states.

3.5 Neo-Functionalism

The theory, building on the work of Ernst B. Haas, and Leon Lindberg aims at integrating individual sectors in the hope of achieving “spill-over effects” to further the process of integration.¹²⁴ The “spill-over” effect refers to a situation where the creation and deepening of integration in one sector would create pressures for further economic integration in other sectors of the economy. These effects will give rise to a need, and consequently a demand for remedies. The remedies could well be measures of further integration which extended the scope of central decision making.¹²⁵

According to Neo-functionalists the primary integration players are below and above the nation state. The actors below who include, interest groups and political parties all contribute to the process of decision making on how the conduct of the state is to be undertaken. These are the cultivated spillover where any policy achievement is not due to functional pressure but due to the leaders representing institutions. These groups collectively and individually inform which direction a policy by the head of state or government may take. Political parties normally have the most organized forums especially those represented in the National Assemblies. States as core units that make decisions to enter into regional integration arrangements and once treaties are signed, they spearhead the ratification process by their law making organs of government.¹²⁶ The actors above the state are supranational regional institutions. The regional supranational bodies consequently promote integration

¹²⁴ Haas, E. B, *The Uniting of Europe, Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press ;1958) pg 270

¹²⁵ Munyao, S.M; *Strategies for Regional Integration: A case study of The East African Community*; A Masters research project submitted to the University of Nairobi, 2013.

¹²⁶ Irungu E, *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC),2001-2010*;Research Project submitted University of Nairobi, 2011.

foster the development of interest groups by cultivating close ties with fellow technocrats in the national structures.¹²⁷ In the EAC, these include Trade unions, Business groups, CSOs, International NGOs and donors. Other interest groups include EALS, EABC which monitored the initiation of the EAC in the 1990s. Due to the early inclusion of CSOs, EAC was one of the first African RIOs that created an ascertained status for non-state actors embedded in the integration process. With the newly guaranteed status of NGOs and donors, interest groups as well as foreign stakeholders are now directly involved in the decision-making processes.¹²⁸

In this regard, the initiation of EAC serves as an example where nation-states as well as non-state and external actors have pushed the integration forward, due to economic needs and interests and gives empirical evidence to the definitions of actor hood made by Neo-functionalism, since Haas declares that nation-states are no longer the only decision-makers in the integration. Sezibera notes that in the EAC, the private sector contributes at least 80% in wealth creation, poverty reduction and production of goods and services. This emphasizes the need to have a structured dialogue between the EAC, the private sector and civil society and also other interest groups in line with the requirements of the treaty establishing the community.¹²⁹

This theory hypothesizes that even before a regional integration arrangement is arrived at, the member states are interdependent economically. Integration is therefore a consequence of joint action by the states to promote their interests under the guidance of a supranational organization. A mode of preference formation is incorporated in which national governments have strong ideas of what their preferences are and pursue them through bargaining with other member states. The notion argues that the bargaining power of member states is vital for regional integration and that deals and side payments also happen in the deal making process. In the EAC during the initial stages of a customs union,

¹²⁷ Uzodike, U.O. *The Role of Regional Economic Communities in Africa's Economic Integration: Prospects & Constraints* in Ogude, J et al, (Pretoria 2009)

¹²⁸ Plenk, S; *The uniting of East Africa and the uniting of Europe?* Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU), JIOS, Vol. 4 Issue 2, 2011; pp 39-56:42

¹²⁹ Sezibera, R. *The East African Community –Private Sector-CEO Forum held in Kigali: Public Private Partnership Framework.*(2012)

preferences of prominent business groups in the three original member states; Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, influenced the governments' policy position as regards integration.¹³⁰ As well, the outcomes of interstate bargaining activity and the institutional choice echoed the wishes of the three member-states of ensuring that integration would maximize their welfare.

Besides functional spillover, there is also the cultivated spillover which refers to a situation that the achievement of new policies is not because of functional pressure or package deals, but cultivated by leaders which deliberately promotes increased integration. This comes to the role of motives which include regional constraints such as water or food supply, health (HIV), and how to attain economic growth for the partner states. However one of the major motives in the EAC integration is peace and security. As much as some of the EAC partner states have not been challenged by an intraregional post-war situation, they are confronted with the unstable and war-like environment of the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes Region. The region has conflict ridden neighbors, namely the Democratic Republic of the Congo, South Sudan and Somalia, giving the EAC members no choice but to deepen their liaisons.¹³¹

Neo-functionalism's weakness is seen if a supranational arrangement with strong central synchronization and effectively harmonized policies is missing. It should be able to give a new bearing on all integration matters. Neo-functionalist logic uses political means to penetrate the field through economic advances. Since the fusion of the integration process is politically driven, a much longer time might be required before the economic aspect of the integration attains substantial growth to impact on the political aspect. The region faces a challenge as economic development of the region may take longer to be evident that it is expected.¹³² Although neo-functionalism provides a more predictable approach than functionalism and analyzes the actual policy-making process, realists criticize it that it

¹³⁰ Munyao S. M; Strategies for Regional Integration: A case study of The East African Community; A Masters research project submitted to the University of Nairobi, 2013

¹³¹ Plenk S; *The uniting of East Africa and the uniting of Europe?* Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU), JIOS, Vol. 4 Issue 2, 2011; pp 39-56:43

¹³² Irungu E, J; *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, August 2011.

underestimates the importance of nation states and, to a certain degree, the legitimacy of policies. It seems to stress too much on the sub-national and international actors.

3.6 Inter-governmentalism

Inter-governmentalism as a political integration theory was advanced by Andrew Moravcsik who proposes that power in international organizations is possessed by the member-states and decisions are made with one accord.¹³³ Independent appointees of the governments or elected representatives have solely advisory or implementation functions. Any increase in power at supranational level, results from a direct decision by governments. Inter-governmentalism has emphasis on domestic economic interests and stresses on the role of states in foreign economic policies offering a more plausible explanation for integration in the developing world. Preference convergence is the key determinant of what direction regional integration would take following interstate bargaining. States bargain based on leverage derived from the intensity of their national preferences regarding integration.¹³⁴

In the process of negotiating depending on the different national preferences influencing bargaining leverage, states might agree on less integration in cases where national preferences of many states are not in support of deeper integration. The theory argues that despite this, the smaller states would still need an international organization to help them deal with complex issues that they are not equipped to handle on their own.¹³⁵ In the EAC, the smaller states of Rwanda and Burundi joined the EAC in 2007, so as to benefit from the regional block which will provide a market for its goods as well as access other facilities that are not yet available in the two countries. The two are also land-locked with poor economies, so they needed a gateway to the ports of Mombasa and Dar salaam for economic purposes.

¹³³ Moravcsik, A; *Preferences and power in the European Community; A liberal inter-governmental approach*; journal of common market studies vol31, no 4; pp: 473-473;(1993)

¹³⁴ Mwitwa C; *Membership dynamics and the Evolution of Regional Integration in the Developing World*; Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan, (2013.)

¹³⁵ Irungu E, J; *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, August 2011.

Some proponents of inter-governmentalism note that its major advantage is that nation-states work together to achieve targeted objectives, while retaining their sovereignty. This makes inter-governmentalism a more acceptable concept to governments as compared to other concepts, which delegates power to intergovernmental organizations.¹³⁶ In the EAC, states are not willing to share any degree of their sovereignty. The power of decision making lies with the state representatives, that is; The Council of Ministers rather than the EAC Secretariat, regional parliamentarians or judges of the EAC court of Justice.¹³⁷ This amounts to inter-governmentalism because the Council of ministers are state appointees and not appointees of the regional bloc. The partner states also have a say at every level of the decision-making process making The EAC more inter-governmental than supranational.

Inter-governmentalism has received criticism for tending to overlook the processes of actual implementation of the regional agreements and decisions because its approach views the process of regional integration through defining historical moments such as when signing an act or agreement. It also tends to focus on heads of government as being behind integration schemes, ignoring the many other players in integration such as the civil society and the private sector.¹³⁸

3.7 Realism

The realism school of thought emerged from America led by Hans Morgenthau who viewed the state as the most important actor in international relations. The realists think that the state has predetermined national interests which have different costs and benefits attached to them.¹³⁹ Morgenthau summarized six principles of realism; the laws of politics have their roots in human nature since statesmen are the ones making decisions; the statesmen choose rational alternatives to meet problems in the actual circumstances; the core concept in

¹³⁶ Tive C; *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): Combining Sub-Regional Economic Integration with Conflict Resolution*; A PHD degree in International politics submitted to the University of South Africa, October 2013.

¹³⁷ Onyango, O.J. *Who Owns the East African Community?* A Paper presented at DENIVA Dialogue on the East African Community, Hotel Equatorial, Kampala, (November, 2003).

¹³⁸ Fanta, E; *Politics of (non-)integration and Shadow Regionalism in Africa*; paper presented at the BISA workshop at Open University, Milton Keynes - UK on July 9th 2008

¹³⁹ Anadi, S.K.; *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*, Unpublished PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich, (2005), page 136

realism is interest defined in terms of power, which depends upon the political and cultural context and may comprise anything that establishes and maintains the control of man over man; political ethics judge action by its political consequences; political realism rejects the idea that the moral laws govern the universe.¹⁴⁰ Realism sees the international system as lacking a centralized authority to make and enforce laws which can govern inter-state interactions. This is a system of anarchy that leaves every state to determine how to go about its dealings in order to achieve its goals. In a competitive world, this calls for cooperation and conflict at the same time as national interests and foreign policies of different nations become incompatible.¹⁴¹

Kenneth Waltz, a leading neo-realist or structural realist theorist, placed emphasis on the structure of the system, which is characterized by anarchy (the absence of an overriding authority) and the distribution of power or capabilities among powers. While Morgenthau saw states as striving for power, Waltz laid importance on their need to search for security in the fear of the anarchic and unbalanced structure¹⁴². Critics argue that Morgenthau's concept of human nature was elusive, and his definition on power and interest were vague.

Realism finds relevance in explaining regional integration in that all state action is geared towards achievement of national interests and if not realized, then the integration process may collapse. The national objectives of attainment of economic growth and development by all the five EAC members inform their decision to integrate.¹⁴³ States desire to pursue policies that will give it maximum benefit at the least cost possible.

¹⁴⁰ Chen J; *Factors shaping regional Integration in Europe, Asia and Africa: The Validity of competing theories*. A Masters thesis submitted to the school of graduate Studies, University of Lethbridge, 2011.

¹⁴¹ Irungu E, J; *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, August 2011.

¹⁴² Williams, P. Goldstein, D. M. & Shafritz, J. M. (Eds.), "Introduction". *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth. (2006). Page 12-13

¹⁴³ Irungu E, *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, 2011.

3.8 Institutionalism

Regional integration can also be explained from the view of historical institutionalism. This school of thought views integration as the institutionalization of collective action by nation-states to achieve policy which a state may be unable to achieve when acting on its own. March and Olsen, proponents of the theory argue that institutions are important because they affect political outcomes. Institutions do not carry political actors along a defined path but channel the access of the actors to attain the resultant changes which are the intents that the institution seeks to follow.¹⁴⁴

Institutionalism is in two forms; historical institutionalism and rational choice institutionalism. Historical institutionalism regards the period of institutional origins as crucial to understanding later developments. It recognizes phases of an institution's origin, the development, change and relationship to each other. Paths chosen or designed early on in the existence of an institution tend to be followed throughout the institution's development.¹⁴⁵ For one to understand why something is happening, they have to place it back to when it happened. So for a person was to project on the future of the EAC, he only needs to place the origin of East African cooperation to that time in history in the early 20th century when it began. Appreciating the context in time when the idea of starting the EAC was first considered assists in a proper understanding of its aims and objectives.¹⁴⁶ Historical legacy must be woven with the current conditions in order to understand the present state of an institution.

Rational choice institutionalism presumes that individuals acting out of self-interest are central actors in the process and institutions emerge as a result of interdependence and strategic interaction. But they realize their goals can be best achieved through institutions.¹⁴⁷ It assumes that utility-maximizing individuals or states, acting out of self-interest, are

¹⁴⁴ Ibid

¹⁴⁵ Iona, A. *Historical Institutionalism as a Regional Integration Theory: An Outline of Theory and Methodology*, Paper Prepared for the Fifth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal, 23rd -26th June, 2010, page 3

¹⁴⁶ Irungu E. J *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, 2011.

¹⁴⁷ Anadi, S.K.; *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*, PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich, (2005).

central actors in the political process and those institutions emerging are as a result of their interdependence, strategic interaction and collective action or contracting dilemmas. Institutions emerge and survive, because they fulfill important functions for the individual actors affected by these institutions.¹⁴⁸

Rational institutionalism is consequently founded on rules and regulations which may be compromised if these rules are misinterpreted or if the actors decide to go for other more relaxed options. These defeat the rational approach. It is presumed that any decisions made will be subjected to a process of identifying the costs and benefits that come with it and then the best optimal option will be selected. It may not be practical on many issues that occur as a result of integration. For instance, crucial security issues in a partner state if not handled well may affect the other states in other activities across the integration.¹⁴⁹ Rational Choice Institutionalism has been criticized for its deductive approach relying on theoretical model building to explain actual policy results. It oversimplifies human motivation and interface as a result of its foundation on generalization and clear lines of reasoning.

3.9 Collective Theory (Regional Public Goods)

The collective theory is found within the liberalism school of thought and was championed by Gareth Hardin who tries to explain cooperation and governance. This theory tries to show that the use of collective or common goods or decisions by one state over the said goods may have unanticipated effects on other neighbouring states¹⁵⁰. Schiff and Winters note that there are greater benefits from cooperation when states share common resources such as rivers and lakes. Countries that share these kinds of resources may be more willing to

¹⁴⁸ Axelrod and Keohane "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38(1):226–254, (1985).

¹⁴⁹ Irungu E, *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010*; Research Project submitted to the University of Nairobi, 2011.

¹⁵⁰ Kaisi, J.K; *Assessment of regional Integration progress in the East African Community*; A research Report submitted to the Graduate school of Public & Development Management, University of Witwatersrand, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the Field of Public Policy 2013.

cooperate and share the gains from cooperation equitably.¹⁵¹ The EAC has two kinds of collective goods; infrastructure and water basins.

3.9.1 Infrastructure

Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi are land-locked countries, but they have been able to access Kenyan and Tanzanian transport corridors through regional cooperation. The infrastructure has enabled the three to access regional markets and the rest of the world.¹⁵² The infrastructures in the region are not integrated with each other, such that the sea ports, roads and railways are not linked. But the EAC partner states have agreed to revitalize the railway sector by rehabilitating and privatizing it.¹⁵³

3.9.2 Water basins; Lake Victoria, Lake Tanganyika and River Nile

Natural assets that are shared by states can be a starting point for integration. Lake Victoria covering an area of 69,000 square kilometres is shared by three EAC partner states and is actually the source of the River Nile. Kenya occupies the least at 6%, Tanzania 49% while Uganda has 45%.¹⁵⁴ The Lake Victoria catchment's area covers 193,000 square kilometres in Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania and includes some parts of Rwanda and Burundi. Lake Victoria facilitates intra - regional trade within the region and is crucial due to the fact that it is a major inland water transport linkage with other EAC partner state. The EAC partner introduced the "City Development Strategies" in the three cities bordering Lake Victoria: Kampala, Kisumu and Musoma, to exchange information on achievements, and discuss common challenges and forge a common approach to problems that might arise out

¹⁵¹Schiff, M & Winters, L.A; *Regional Cooperation, & the Role of International Organizations and Regional Integration*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2875 (2002)

¹⁵²Kabubo J.M; "Infrastructure Development in the EAC: Challenges, Prospects, &Policy Options"; Ajulu, R. *The Making of a Region: The Revival of the East African Community*. Institute for Global Dialogue: South Africa (2005). pg 171

¹⁵³Kaisi, H J; *Assessment of Regional Integration Progress in EAC*; A Research Report Submitted to the Graduate School of Public &Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the Field of Public Policy; June 2013

¹⁵⁴ Ibid

of the lake.¹⁵⁵ In 1999, the Nile River Basin Initiative was established and comprised ten River Nile riparian states, including, the Republic of Congo DRC, Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi, Rwanda, Eritrea and Ethiopia, Sudan and Egypt. The Initiative was established for the purpose of finding a solution to the utilization of the waters of the Nile. What was important was the degree of consensus employed by the EAC partner states which not only gives its more leverage in harmonizing its position vis-à-vis the other riparian states but also empowers the regional organizations in multilateral diplomacy, which gradually consolidates elements of sovereignty.¹⁵⁶

3.10 Conclusion

The growing of sub regional integration schemes in global affairs and in multilateral trade systems have gained a new momentum and it requires contemporary integration theories to bridge the gap. Therefore, the gap in the above theoretical frameworks provide a space for integration theorists to develop multilateral trade negotiations models, which can explain the predictive outcomes and policy implications to developing countries in the negotiations.

¹⁵⁵ Kayunga, S.S; “Deepening Political Integration of the East African Countries: The Uganda Case”; in Mohiddin, A. (ed). *Deepening Regional Integration of the East African Community*. Development Policy Management Forum & SIDA: Universal Printing Press(2005) page 183

¹⁵⁶ Adar, K.G.; “East African Community.” In Finizo, G & et al eds. *The Democratization of the International Organization*. 1st International Democracy Report. (2011)

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In the preceding chapters the EAC regional integration process was discussed. Integration is one of the vital East African solutions to the common problems of economic growth and development that the partner states continue to face. Significant strides have been made towards uplifting the region economically, socially and politically. This chapter will analyze the main aspects relating to whether Kenyan citizens have taken advantage of the opportunities and benefits of the integration process, whether Kenyan citizens are skeptical or optimistic about the integration of East Africa and whether the Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism has achieved its mandate with regard to the integration process. More importantly, the study will analyze whether the citizens have access to information on the integration process. This is very vital as an ignorant citizen cannot seek what he/she is unaware of. The inferences drawn from this chapter will lead to the conclusions of this study which will impact on both academic and policy circles. The critical issues identified above are the key rudiments to the success or failure of the economic bloc. A critical evaluation of these will lead to a better comprehension of the regional integration.

4.2 Background characteristics of the respondents

4.2.1 Categories of the respondents

In the study, categories of respondents were selected by stratified random sampling. The categories were in terms of occupations, both formal and informal. The first category consisted of small scale traders who may be in a position to travel within the EAC in search of business opportunities. The second category consisted of students who would wish to further their education within the EAC. The third category had farmers and pastoralists who may take advantage of access to land and pastures. The fourth category was made up of various professionals searching for greener pastures. The fifth category consisted of civil servants and other government officers. The sixth category was made up of people who were unemployed and were seeking job opportunities. The table below provides an overview of the categories, typology of the categories and the number per category.

Table 4.1 Categories of the sample

| Category | Typology | Number interviewed per category |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| Micro and small entrepreneurs | Jua kali artisans, second hand clothes traders, hawkers, hairdressers, artists | 10 |
| Students | High school and university students | 10 |
| Farmers | Subsistence Farmers and pastoralists | 10 |
| Professionals | Lawyers, doctors, university lecturers, engineers | 10 |
| Civil servants | Teachers and government workers | 10 |
| Unemployed | Housewives and job seekers | 10 |
| Total | | 60 |

Source; Author, 2014

4.2.2 Respondents educational level

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of education. 13.33% of the respondents stated that they had a Master's degree while 26.66% had a Bachelor's degree. Those who had a diploma certificate were the majority 28.33% while those who had completed high school were 23.33%. 8.33% had primary level education and below. The table below summarizes education levels of the respondents.

Table 4.2 Education levels of the respondents

| Educational level | Frequency | Percentage |
|-------------------|-----------|------------|
| Masters Degree | 8 | 13.33 |
| Bachelors Degree | 16 | 26.66 |
| Diploma | 17 | 28.33 |
| KCSE | 14 | 23.33 |
| Other | 5 | 8.33 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source; Author 2014

4.2.3 Distribution of respondents by sex

The respondents were asked to indicate their gender and age. 72.5% were male and 27.5% were female. 28.6% of the respondents were men aged 26-35 years and 10.7% were women of the same age group. 18.7% of the interviewees were men aged 36-45 years and 6.9% were women of this age group. The distribution of the respondents by sex is summarized in the table below

Table 4.3 Distribution of Respondents by Age and Sex.

| Sex | Age category | | | | | | | | | | Total | |
|---------------|--------------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|---------|-----|-------|------|
| | 15-25 | | 26-35 | | 36-45 | | 46-55 | | Over 55 | | N | % |
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | | |
| Male | 6 | 10 | 17 | 28.33 | 11 | 18.33 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 43 | 71.7 |
| Female | 4 | 6.66 | 6 | 10 | 4 | 6.66 | 1 | 1.66 | 2 | 3.3 | 17 | 28.3 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Source; Author (2014)

4.3 Awareness of EAC Integration Process

4.3.1 Knowledge of EAC Partner States

This section assessed whether ordinary Kenyans really know which Partner States make up the East African Community Partner States and how they perceived it. The respondents assessed their own knowledge of the Partner States as shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.4 Knowledge of the EAC Partner States

| Response | Kenya | | Uganda | | Tanzania | | Burundi | | Rwanda | |
|----------|-------|-----|--------|-----|----------|-----|---------|-----|--------|-----|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| Yes | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 58 | 97 | 59 | 98 |
| No | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 00 | 02 | 03 | 01 | 02 |
| Total | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author, 2014)

Majority of the respondents answered positively when asked whether they are you familiar with the East African countries. Only about 3% and 2% stated they did not know that Burundi and Rwanda respectively were Partner states of the EAC. However, further analysis as seen in Table 4.4 shows that most respondents are generally aware of the Partner States of the EAC.

4.3.2 Meaning of EAC to Ordinary Citizens

The study sought to find out the meaning of EAC to Ordinary Citizens. Most respondents were of the view that the EAC enables East African citizens to move freely within the Partner States, using a minimum of identification papers such as national identity cards. This expectancy was expressed by 53.33% of the respondents interviewed. It was also expected by 56.66% of the respondents that the EAC would enable to East African citizens to work anywhere in the region. 70% of the respondents interviewed expected the EAC to provide business opportunities. They expected a situation where they can freely cross borders to buy and sell goods. Further 65% of the respondents expect a reduction in taxation, reduced tariffs, and improved infrastructure, especially the road system as most Kenyans travel by bus. However, about 3% of the respondents interviewed said that they did not know if there would be any benefits. The information obtained from the respondents is as summarized in the table below.

Table 4.5 Meaning of EAC to Ordinary Citizens

| Meaning of EAC | Number | Percentage |
|--|--------|------------|
| Enables East African citizens to move freely from one country to the other, using a minimum of identification papers | 32 | 53.33 |
| Enable East African citizens to work anywhere in the region, | 34 | 56.66 |
| EAC to provide business opportunities | 42 | 70 |
| Reduced taxation, and improved infrastructure, especially a better road system. | 39 | 65 |
| I don't not know if there would be any benefit | 02 | 3.33 |

Source (Author, 2014)

*Respondents were allowed to give multiple answers

4.3.3 Awareness levels about the four levels of EAC integration.

This section tried to find out whether ordinary Kenyan citizens knew about the four levels of EAC integration. Asked whether they knew about the Customs Union (CU), 11.66% of the respondents were not aware about it, 23.33% had scanty information about it while 38.33% knew about the CU. 26.66% of the respondents had very high knowledge about CU. 28.33% of the respondents knew very little about the Common Market, 6.66% knew nothing about it while 21.66% and 43.33% had very good knowledge about that level of integration. The knowledge on both the Monetary Union and Political Union was low standing at 40% and 36.66% while 16.66% and 20% of the respondents actually had no idea about the two levels of integration. 18.33% and 15% had very high knowledge of the MU and PU. The awareness levels of the four levels of EAC integration process have been summarized in the table below.

Table 4.6 Awareness levels on the EAC integration process levels

| | EAC levels | | | | | | | |
|------------------|------------|-------|----|-------|----|-------|----|-----|
| | CU | | CM | | MU | | PU | |
| Awareness level | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| High | 16 | 26.66 | 13 | 21.66 | 11 | 18.33 | 9 | 15 |
| Medium | 23 | 38.33 | 26 | 43.33 | 17 | 28.33 | 15 | 25 |
| Low | 14 | 23.33 | 17 | 28.33 | 22 | 36.66 | 24 | 40 |
| Not aware | 7 | 11.66 | 4 | 6.66 | 10 | 16.66 | 12 | 20 |
| Total | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author 2014)

4.4 Access to Information regarding the EAC

4.4.1 Frequency of receiving information

Information in any undertaking is essential in order to make any meaningful contribution or take advantage of the endeavor. In order for ordinary Kenyans to embrace the EAC integration process they must have to access adequate information about it. In this section, the study tried to establish whether Kenyans receive adequate information regarding the EAC integration process, how frequently they got it, through which media they received it

and on what topics. The highest of responded stated that they received information a few times a month at 41.6% followed by those who received it once in a while at 21.66%. 20% received information a few times a week while respondents who got it daily were 10%. There are those who during the study stated that they never receive any information at all. This stood at 6.6%. The study findings are summarized in the table below.

Table 4.7 Frequency of getting information by ordinary citizens on EAC integration

| Frequency of receiving the information | N | % |
|---|----------|----------|
| Once a in a while | 13 | 21.66 |
| A few times a month | 25 | 41.66 |
| Weekly | 12 | 20 |
| Everyday | 6 | 10 |
| Never | 4 | 6.6 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author 2014)

4.4.2 Mode of receiving information

There are different channels through which one can access information. During the study, the most popular mode of accessing information about the EAC was through the newspapers. 28.33% of the respondents stated that there were various newspapers that carried news about the EAC. This was followed by the internet at 21.66%. These two channels were popular with the elite and university students who could easily access them. Radio and Television followed at 18.33% and 15 % respectively. 11.66 % of the responded noted that they received some information from the Kenyan government while only 5% said they got anything from politicians. The findings have been summarized below.

Table 4.8 Information Medium

| Mode of receiving information | N | % |
|--------------------------------------|----------|----------|
| Television | 9 | 15 |
| Radio | 11 | 18.33 |
| Newspaper | 17 | 28.33 |
| Internet | 13 | 21.66 |
| Government fora | 7 | 11.66 |
| politicians | 3 | 5 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author 2014)

4.4.3 Type of information accessed in relation to EAC

Respondents were asked to state the type of information they accessed from the media. Most of the information accessed was on job opportunities at 31.66% followed by business related information at 28.33%. The study established that information on educational opportunities was sought at 20% especially by those who wanted to pursue further education. Information on politics and social was accessed at 11.66% and 8.33% respectively. The findings have been summarized in the table below.

Table 4.9 Type of information accessed in relation to EAC integration process

| Topics | N | % |
|--------------------------|----------|----------|
| Politics | 7 | 11.66 |
| Educational | 12 | 20 |
| Job opportunities | 19 | 31.66 |
| Business related | 17 | 28.33 |
| Social | 5 | 8.33 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author 2014)

4.4.4 Attribution of EAC integration process knowledge to initiatives by the Kenyan government

The government as the main actor in the integration process is bound, through the Ministry, to spearhead awareness initiatives to educate its citizens about the benefits and opportunities available. Respondents stated that there were very few initiatives by the government in trying to educate its people on the EAC integration process. 38.33% of the respondents stated the initiatives as low and 30% as very low. 20% thought the initiatives were high while 11.66% were very high. The table below summarizes the awareness initiatives.

Table 4.10 Awareness initiatives by the Kenyan Government

| Level | No | % |
|--------------|-----------|----------|
| Very high | 7 | 11.66 |
| High | 12 | 20 |
| Low | 23 | 38.33 |
| Very low | 18 | 30 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author 2014)

4.5 Kenyans' sense of optimism/skepticism concerning EAC integration

4.5.1 Kenyan's Sense of Optimism/Skepticism Concerning EAC Integration process.

A sense of optimism gives citizens the motivation to positively contribute to the process of integration and gives a sense of belonging which in turn gives people a shared identity. The respondents were asked to explain the reasons for their sense of optimism towards EAC integration process. In this study it was established that the sense of optimism varied across the sampled population. 40% of the interviewees had a very strong sense of optimism, 22% were optimistic, 8% were neutral, while 18% were skeptical and 12% were very skeptical about the success of the integration process of EAC. The information is as summarized in the table below.

Table 4.11 Level of optimism/skepticism about EAC integration Process

| Level of optimism or pessimism | Number | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| Very optimistic | 24 | 40 |
| Optimistic | 13 | 22 |
| None | 05 | 08 |
| Skeptical | 11 | 18 |
| Very skeptical | 07 | 12 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author, 2014)

4.5.2 Reasons for optimism

The study sought to establish the reasons that underlie the respondents' optimism concerning the EAC integration process. The information obtained from the respondents is as summarized in the table below.

Table 4.12 Reasons for optimism

| Factors | Number | Percentage |
|--|---------------|-------------------|
| Freedom of movement across borders | 19 | 31.66 |
| Possibility to do business | 03 | 5 |
| Minimum identification to cross the border | 03 | 7.3 |
| Employment opportunities in the Region | 02 | 6.6 |
| Study in any of the East African countries | 10 | 25.9 |
| Total | 37 | 100 |

Source (Author, 2014)

The most frequently stated reason for having a sense for being optimistic concerning the EAC integration process was the free movement across partner countries at 50.5%. The ability to study in other countries was mentioned by a total of 25.9% of the respondents. This was followed by the possibility to do business in the region at 10.6%, travel using a

minimum of identification documents (7.3%) and enjoy increased employment opportunities (6.6%).

4.5.3 Reasons for skepticism

The study sought to establish the reasons that underlie the respondents' skepticism concerning the EAC integration process. The information obtained from the respondents is as summarized in the table below.

Table 4.13 Reasons for skepticism

| Reason for skepticism | Number | Percentage |
|--|---------------|-------------------|
| Ability to trade freely is not fully implemented in some countries | 09 | 50 |
| Lack of information on benefits of the EAC | 05 | 27.77 |
| Lack of trust among citizens within the Partner States | 02 | 11.11 |
| Discrimination of people while in other countries | 01 | 5.55 |
| Different economic development levels of the Partner States | 01 | 5.55 |
| Total | 18 | 100 |

Source (Author, 2014)

The main reason given for having skepticism regarding the EAC integration process was the feeling that free trade, in some countries was not yet fully implemented. 50 % of the respondents cited this factor. The lack of information about the EAC was mentioned as a reason by 27.77% of all interviewees. 11.11% of the respondents cited lack of mutual trust among citizens of the Partner States as one reason for them developing a strong sense of skepticism. A total of 5.5% of the respondents felt that they were discriminated against while in other East African countries, and therefore would rather not leave their country. 5.5% Kenyans said they were prevented from developing an East African identity by the fact that East African Partner States have different levels of economic development.

4.5.4 Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African regional integration

The study sought to establish whether ordinary citizens are aware of any benefits expected as a result of regional integration. The respondents provided the information summarized in the table below.

Table 4.14 Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African regional integration.

| Benefits | Number | Percentage |
|--|---------------|-------------------|
| Import/exporting farming products and access to pastures | 9 | 15 |
| Increasing inter-marriages | 8 | 13.33 |
| Ability to travel with minimal documentation (abstract) | 12 | 20 |
| Employment | 13 | 21.66 |
| Freedom of movement | 10 | 16.66 |
| Business opportunity in EA | 5 | 8.33 |
| Don't know of any benefits | 3 | 5 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source (Author, 2014)*

Since its inauguration the EAC has managed several accomplishments in the process of integration. The respondents were asked whether they had experienced any of these benefits. 16.66% of the respondents mentioned freedom of movement across EAC countries. The ability to travel with minimal documentation, especially the new rule of crossing using only an identity card was mentioned by 20% of the respondents. Business persons who deal in small enterprises and also the informal sector found the ease of moving across the borders very useful. Business opportunities across the three East African countries were quoted widely as benefits being enjoyed at 8.33%. The respondents noted that the East African integration process had created a conducive environment for informal business at the borders of the three Partner States. Intermarriages were frequently mentioned as a social benefit resulting from East African integration by 13.33% of the respondents. 15% of the respondents stated that they were now able to buy items to improve farming from across the border. The interviews conducted with professionals established that 21.66% of the persons interviewed had worked in other EAC countries before the integration process and noted that it had been difficult interacting with the rest of the East Africans. There before, most countries demanded work permits which the respondents said were slowly being faced out. 5% had no idea about the benefits that come with integration.

4.5.5 Greatest fear about the EAC integration process.

The study sought to find out what Kenyans fear most about the EAC integration process. The greatest fear the respondents had was loss of identity as Kenyans which was at 38.33% followed by loss of land at 18%. 13% feared losing job opportunities while 10% feared loss of business opportunities.

Table 4.15. Greatest fears about the Integration Process

| Fear | No | % |
|-----------------------------|-----------|----------|
| Loss of land | 18 | 30 |
| Loss of identity as Kenyans | 23 | 38.33 |
| Loss of jobs | 13 | 21.66 |
| Loss business opportunities | 6 | 10 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source; Author 2014

4.5.6 Surrender of sovereignty to form a Political Union

The study also set out to find out what the citizens thought about the Kenyan state giving up its sovereignty and joining the other Partner States to form a Political Union. 61.66% were uncomfortable about the idea while 38.33% thought it would be okay to form one large state. The findings are illustrated in the table below. Reasons given for not joining the Federation ranged from loss of political power and sovereignty to loss of decision-making at the national level. Those who were for the Political union and didn't mind Kenya joining the other EAC states to make a federation, stood at 38.33%.

Table 4.16 Surrender of sovereignty

| Response | No | % |
|-----------------|-----------|----------|
| Yes | 23 | 38.33 |
| No | 37 | 61.66 |
| Total | 60 | 100 |

Source; Author 2014

4.6 Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism Mandate

From table 4.17 below, Formulation of policy on the East African Community was rated at 28.33% indicating that to a high extent, the MEAACT has achieved its mandate in respect to Formulation of Policy on the East African Community. Whereas coordination of government participation in the East African Community meetings and institutions was rated at 25%, Coordination of the Implementation of the East African Community regional programmes was rated at 18.33%. This indicates the MEAACT has achieved its mandate to a larger extent in respect to coordination of government participation in the East African Community meetings and institutions and coordination of the implementation of the East African Community regional programmes. Implementation of the East African Treaty was rated at 15% whereas promotion and fast tracking of East African integration was rated at 13.33% an indication that the respondents were uncertain as to what extent the ministry had achieved its mandate along these lines.

Table 4.17 Ministry of East African affairs, Commerce and Tourism Mandate

| Mandate | N | % |
|---|----------|----------|
| Formulation of policy on the East African Community; | 17 | 28.33 |
| Coordination of government participation in the East African Community meetings and institutions; | 15 | 25 |
| Coordination of the Implementation of the East African Community regional programmes; | 11 | 18.33 |
| Implementation of the East African Treaty; | 9 | 15 |
| Promotion and fast tracking of East African integration | 8 | 13.33 |

Source (Author, 2014)

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study set out with the overall objective of assessing awareness levels among Kenyan citizens on the EAC integration after the sensitization campaigns carried out by the Ministry East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism on the benefits, challenges and opportunities of the integration process. It also sought to explain whether Kenyan citizens have taken advantage of the opportunities and benefits of the integration process, examine if Kenyan citizens are skeptical or optimistic about integration in East Africa and find out whether the Ministry East Africa Affaires, Commerce and Tourism has achieved its mandate with regard to the integration process. The study summarized the quantitative data and arrived at a number of conclusions which need to inform the form and pace that the integration needs to take in future years. These will be discussed briefly in this chapter as a way of separating the key issues from the main discussion that has been the focus of the other chapters. The chapter also contains recommendations on areas for further research.

5.2 Summary of Key Findings

The study found that a larger proportion of Kenyans are aware of the EAC integration process. This is confirmed by the finding that all the respondents answered in the affirmative that they are aware of the three initial Partners of the EAC, that is; Kenya Uganda and Tanzania. However some have no idea that Rwanda and Burundi joined the EAC. It was also revealed that there are several opportunities that are found in the two countries which the Kenyans can take advantage of, but lack of awareness puts them at disadvantage. Kenyans are enthusiastic about the Common Market which enables East African citizens to move freely from one country to the other, using a minimum of identification papers. This resonates well with the aspirations of the Common Market Protocol that allows East Africans to enjoy the factors of production freely. It was further revealed that the EAC integration would enable citizens to work anywhere in the region, and to access services in any of the Partner States. Citizens also expect the EAC to provide business opportunities and reduce in taxation and improve infrastructure, especially a better road system. It also emerged that majority of the Kenyans are optimistic about the EAC integration process.

However, a good number of them are skeptical about the success of integration of member states. Those skeptical identified the inability to trade freely in one of the Partner States, Tanzania. Majority also feared losing their identity as Kenyans which went hand in hand with loss of sovereignty.

Secondly, in regard to the mandate of MEAACT, it emerged that the Ministry has successfully formulated policy on the East African Community and coordinated government participation in the East African Community meetings and institutions. It has also succeeded in the implementation of the East African Treaty and been active in fast tracking East African integration Process.

Thirdly, the study found out that access to information on EAC integration was low and inaccessible for the ordinary Kenyan. Information is key in any undertaking and for Kenyans to take advantage of the opportunities and benefits that come with integration; they must have easy access to it. The media through which this information is accessed is important. It was found that the elite and those in formal employment would access it electronically while others got it through other means such as newspapers. It was apparent that very little came from the government while the opinion leaders in the communities concentrated on other topics outside integration. The type of information on the EAC accessed also varied but it emerged that majority of Kenyans wanted to take advantage of job opportunities and also explore business ventures. This means that the local man has no means of knowing what integration has to offer in terms of benefits and opportunities. The government through MEAACT, is supposed to spear-head awareness campaigns aimed at the masses through suitable channels. This means that the Kenyan government has failed its people and they cannot access the benefits and opportunities that come with integration. It also emerged during the study that there is very little that comes from the politicians about EAC integration. The elected leaders could use different forum in their constituencies to address issues that are pertinent to integration.

5.3 Conclusion

Kenya has been an active partner of the EAC since the first attempts at integration were made early in the 20th century. It is obvious there has been a political will through the years for Kenya to be a member in the integration process, hoping that her people will reap the benefits that come with pooled resources. With a population of about 140 million people, the EAC presents a large market for Kenyans in all sectors. The study set out to establish whether the government has done its part as a state in implementing the EAC Treaty and creating awareness as the integration process is supposed to be people centred. It was also to find out the attitude of Kenyans towards the integration process.

The Kenyan government has partly fulfilled its mandate of formulating policies that will assist in the implementation of the aspirations of the EAC. This includes establishing a ministry that solely deals with EAC affairs and also appointing competent officials to different organs and sectorial committees that assist in the running of the EAC activities. Other ministries have also tried to align their programmes to regional policies through the EAC's sectoral committees. The government has also been involved in fast tracking the EAC process towards a Political Union.

It is the duty for every partner state to sensitize its citizens about the EAC integration process and ensure that they maximally participate. The Kenyan government through the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism (MEAACT) has been carrying out the sensitization programmes countrywide but so far the impact is small. The study found out that there is a certain degree of understanding on the benefits of the EAC integration process among Kenyan citizens. A good proportion of ordinary Kenyans have heard about the EAC but are unaware about the benefits that come with it. This means they are aware of the operations of the East African community integration process, but they don't know exactly how to go about reaping the benefits. More information needs to be availed to the masses for them to fully embrace integration. They are very optimistic that there is much goodin store from integration but have no idea how to get it.

The political leadership has also failed the electorate. It also emerged through the study that most political leaders both for the national assembly and the East African Legislative

Assembly (EALA) don't give feedback to the people on what is going on in the EAC yet they claim to represent them. Very little information was forth coming from the political leaders. Unfortunately most of the political parties even do not have EAC agendas in their manifestos and never address any issues touching on integration in their rallies.

The study found out that Kenyans are however generally optimistic about the EAC integration process, hoping that they can freely move around the EAC partner states with minimum papers, expecting business and job opportunities. There is a certain degree of understanding on the benefits of the EAC integration process among Kenyan citizens, but more awareness creation is necessary for it to make meaningful contribution to the life of the ordinary citizen.

5.4 Recommendations

With regard to the future functioning and relevance of the EAC towards the achievement of its objectives and well-being of its citizens, a number of recommendations can be put forward to ensure that the citizen are aware of the benefits, thus contributing positively to the integration process.

First, there is need for greater focus on civic education for Kenyan citizens. The citizens need to thoroughly understand how the EAC works and how they will benefit directly. This is the mandate of the government through the MEAATC to ensure that all citizens are brought on board. The Ministry therefore needs to put more effort in its endeavor to educate Kenyans on the EAC integration process. This can be done through developing a strategy of participatory communication with citizens through infomercials, broadcasts through both radio and Television in languages understood by the citizens. Newspaper supplements, brochures and other print materials can also be used to pass information to the public. The media used should concentrate on information that will create awareness about the EAC and the benefits and opportunities that accrue as a result of the integration process for the ordinary citizens. Free movement for both people and goods across borders in line with the CMP is among the basic information that needs to be passed across to Kenyans.

As Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and the private sector are key in driving the integration process especially in the area of policy harmonization and coordination, greater stakeholder involvement is necessary. In particular, the role of the private sector and civil society must be increased and greater cooperation in the form of public-private partnerships explored. Most CSOs are very vocal and it is very easy for them to reach the grassroots. The Kenyan government and all the Partner States need to quickly improve on the infrastructure, especially the road network and railway systems. These are the main means of transport for ordinary citizens which will enable them move easily across the EAC. Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) should also be scrapped for free movement of goods and services. They are some of the major hindrances for the attainment of the CMP. The introduction of a single border point will enhance business growth through 24 hour operations.

Due to resource constrains and limited study time, this study was done in Nairobi and its environments only. There is need for further research into the rest of the country especially the rural areas to assess the true picture of awareness levels among ordinary Kenyans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

- Adejumobi S, & Olukoshi A; *The African Union and New Strategies for Development in African*; (Nairobi DPMF Codesria, 2009).
- Balassa, B. *The Theory of Economic Integration*, Homewood, IL: R. D. Irwin, Inc., 1961. Available at: [<http://www.jstor.org/>]
- Haas, E. B, *The Uniting of Europe, Political, Social and Economic Forces 1950-1957*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press; 1958)
- Keohane, R.O; *After Hegemony: Cooperation and Discord in the World Political Economy*; (Princeton: Princeton University Press (1984)
- Mugenda, O & Mugenda A; *Research Methods; Quantitative and Qualitative approaches* (Nairobi; Acts Press 1999)
- Mitrany, D; *A Working Peace System*; Reprinted from *A Working Peace System* (Quadrangle Books, 1966). Copyright 1966 by The Society for a World Service Federation, 93-113.
- Neuman, W. L, *Social Research methods: Qualitative and Quantitative approaches*, (Boston; Allyn and Bacon, 1997).
- Ojo, B, Orwa, K & Utete B; *African International Relations*.(Lagos, Longman Nigeria Limited, 1985).
- Winters, L. A & Venables, A; (Eds.): *European Integration: Trade and Industry*: Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK,(1993).

Journals

- Afesorgbor, S and Bergeijk, P; *Multi-membership and the effectiveness of regional trade agreements in Western and Southern Africa; A comparative study of ECOWAS and SADC*; (The Hague, International Institute of Social Studies, 2011.)
- American Association for the Advancement of Science; *East Africa, Regional Integration and Scientific Cooperation*. Center for Diplomacy, Washington DC (2009).
- Axelrod and Keohane "Achieving Cooperation under Anarchy: Strategies and Institutions." *World Politics* 38(1):226–254, (1985).
- Bartik, T.J; *Local Economic Development Policies*, Up John Institute Staff Working Paper, 2003.
- Dosenrode, S, *Federalism Theory and Neo-Functionalism: Elements for an analytical framework; Perspectives on Federalism*, Vol.2, Issue 3. (2010).
- Davoodi, H, (ed) *The East African Community After 10 Years – Deepening Integration*, (2012)
- Hartzenberg T, *Regional Integration in Africa*. (TRALAC; October 2011. pp 1-22)
- Garza, D.C; *International Integration Theories; regional scenarios*. (ITESM August 19, 2006).
- Josic H & Josic M; *Static and Dynamic effects of Customs Union creation*; JEL classification: F15
- Kasaija, P. A, *Regional Integration: A political Federation of the East African Countries?* *African Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 7, Nos. 1&2, 2004, Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa. (2006).
- Lombaerde, P. & Langenhove, L; *Indicators of Regional Integration: Methodological Issues*, United Nations University (UNU-CRIS) (2005)
- Maruping M, "Africa in the World Economy-The national and International Challenges" *Challenges for Regional Integration in Sub-Saharan Africa* (The Hague FONDAD, 2005).

- Mitrany, D. *The Functional Approach to World Politics; Internal Affairs* (Royal Institute of International Affairs 1944), Volume 24, Issue 3 (July 1948), 350-363
- Moravcsik, A; Preferences and power in the European Community; A liberal inter-governmental approach; journal of common market studies vol 31, no 4; pp; 473-473; (1993)
- Morgenthau, H. J. "Six Principles of Political Realism", in P. Williams, D. M. Goldstein & J. M Muuka, G.N. et al ; *Impediments to Economic Integration in Africa: The Case of COMESA*, Journal of Business in Developing Nations, Volume 2, Article 3. 1998.
- Mwapachu, J, *EAC: Past Present And Future*; EAC Secretariat; Arusha First; (2006). pp 10-13
- Nyirabu, M *Appraising Regional Integration in Southern African*. African Security Review 13(1) 21-32; (2004).
- O'Brien, R, *North American Integration and International Relations Theory*, Canadian Journal of Political Science Volume 28, Issue 04 (1995): 693-7xx.
- Oduro A and Aryeetey E; "Regionalism and the Global Economy: The Case of Africa:" *Regional Integration Efforts in Africa: An Overview* (The Hague, FONDAD, 1996,)
- Osiro D; The East African Community (EAC) Customs Union; Institute of Economic Affairs; Trade Information Programme; (Nairobi, Issue 11, April 2005)
- Plenk S; *The uniting of East Africa and the uniting of Europe?* Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (LMU), JIOS, Vol. 4 Issue 2, 2011; pp 39-56
- Robinson (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Comparative Politics*; (London, Los Angeles, New Delhi, Singapore, @Washington DC: SAGE; (2009)
- Rugman, A. M. and Hodgetts R. M; *International Business*. New York: McGraw Hill, 1995
- Shafritz (Eds.), *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth.2006 58-62; 60 (2006).
- Uzodike, U.O. The Role of Regional Economic Communities in Africa's Economic Integration: Prospects & Constraints in Ogude, J et al, AJOL Vol 39, No 2 ;(Pretoria 2009)

Reports

- Adar, K.G; "East African Community." In Finizo, G & et al eds. *The Democratization of the International Organization*.(Turin, Centre for the studies on federalism 2011)
- Adar, K.G Federalism and East African Community Integration Process: The Role of the East African Legislative Assembly: (Pretoria Africa Institute of South Africa, 2008).
- East African Community; Towards a Common Market 2012; The East African Community; protocol on the Establishment of the East African Community Common Market; (EAC Secretariat, Arusha 2009)
- East African Community; East African Political Federation: *Addressing East Africans' fears, concerns and challenges and consolidating its pillars*: Arusha, August page 1-54(2010);
- Economic Commission for Africa; *Assessing Integration in Africa*, (ECA Policy Research Report, Addis Ababa, 2004)
- Grail research; The East African Community (EAC); It's time for Business to take notice; (January 2012, pp 1-15)
- Kabubo J.M; "Infrastructure Development in the EAC: Challenges, Prospects, & Policy Options"; Ajulu, R.; *The Making of a Region: The Revival of the East African Community*. Institute for Global Dialogue: South Africa (2005).
- Karega R. M; Benefits experienced by ordinary citizens from East African (EAC) Regional Integration; Arusha, (2009).

- Kayunga, S.S; Deepening Political Integration of the East African Countries: The Uganda Case in Mohiddin, A. (ed). *Deepening Regional Integration of the East African Community*. Development Policy Management Forum & SIDA: Universal Printing Press (2005)
- Kibua T.N & Tosteensen, A. *Fast tracking East Africa Integration; Assessing the Feasibility of a political Federation by 2010*, (Nairobi, Institute of policy Analysis and Research (Mimeo), 2005)
- Lamberte, M.B; An overview of Economic Cooperation and Integration in Asia; Asian Economic Cooperation and Integration;
- Matthews, A. *Regional Integration and Food Security in Developing Countries*, (Rome, FAO-UN, Agricultural Policy Support Service Policy Assistance Division, 2003).
- Ministry of East African Community; *Non tariff Barriers in East Africa Community; A survey report*. Government of Kenya, Nairobi. (2012).
- Ministry of East African Community, Survey Report; on perceptions and views Level on knowledge, plus Awareness and Preparedness for the implementation of EACs Customs Union, Common Market; the proposed Monetary Union and Political Federation. GOK, Nairobi, (2012).
- Mushega, N.A, East African Community, Handover Report to the New Secretary General. Arusha: EAC Secretariat, (April 2006).
- Ranganathan, R & Foster V; *ECCAS's Infrastructure; A Continental Perspective*; Policy Research Working Paper, 2011.Trust Africa; Report on Regional Integration in Africa; Workshop report Addis Ababa; November 25th -28th 2002.
- Reith S and Boltz M; "The East African Community"; *Regional Integration between Aspiration and Reality*; KAS International Reports (2011,) pp 91-107
- Tindyebwa, A; Negotiations& Trade Facilitation in the East African Community; work in progress.No.84.: African Trade Policy Centre March 2011
- Williams, P., Goldstein, D. M. &Shafritz, J. M. (Eds.), "Introduction". *Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*. Boston: Wadsworth. (2006).
- Wangwe, S & Obwona, M East African Community Development strategy; 2001-2005.EPRC (2000).

Treaties

- East African Community, Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 1999).
- East African Community; Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Monetary Union, (EAC secretariat November 30th 2013
- Mushega, N.A; Secretary General, EAC, in the Foreword to the Treaty for the establishment of the EAC, Publication of the EAC Secretariat, Arusha 2002.

Newsletters

- Ministry of East African Community; Jumuiya News, Nairobi Issue 25, April-June (2012).
- Ministry of East African Community; Jumuiya News, Nairobi Issue 24, January-March (2012).
- Ministry of East African Community; "Jumuiya News," Muga E, (ed) EAC Single Customs Territory- a Status Report; MEAC, 2012 , Nairobi; Issue 26 July-September;
- Ministry of East African Community; "Slow Compliance to EAC Protocols a Major Impediment" *Jumuiya News*, (MEAC, Nairobi; Issue 27-January-March. 2013)
- Ministry of East African Community; "EAC Development Strategy (2011/12-2015/16); A synopsis" *Jumuiya News*, MEAC, (Nairobi; Issue 24; January-March, 2012)

Working papers

- Iona, A.; *Historical Institutionalism as a Regional Integration Theory: An Outline of Theory and Methodology*, Paper Prepared for the Fifth Pan-European Conference on EU Politics, Porto, Portugal, 23rd -26th June, (2010)
- Mwita C; *Membership dynamics and the Evolution of Regional Integration in the Developing World*; Nazarbayev University, Astana, Kazakhstan, (2013.)
- Oppong, R.F. A Relational Theory of Economic Integration and its Implications for Africa's Economic Integration Initiatives, Research Group, Lancaster University, Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences, (2007)
- Soderbaum, F. "Comparative Regional Integration and Regionalism," in T. Landman & N. Schiff, M & Winters, L.A; *Regional Cooperation, & the Role of International Organizations and Regional Integration*. World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 2875 (2002) Society for International Development, *The State of East Africa 2012; Deeping Integration, Intensifying challenges*. Nairobi, SID (2012).
- United Nations Conference on Trade and Development; *The New Partnership for Africa's Development: Performance, challenges, and the role of UNCTAD Trade and Development Board*; (Geneva, UNCTAD, 2012).

Theses

- Anadi, S.K.M. *Regional Integration in Africa: The Case of ECOWAS*, PhD Thesis Presented to the University of Zurich (2005).
- Chen J; *Factors shaping regional Integration in Europe, Asia and Africa: The Validity of competing theories*. A Master's thesis submitted to the school of graduate Studies, University of Lethbridge, 2011.
- Irungu E, J; *The impact of regional and integration on economic growth development: A case study of the East African community (EAC), 2001-2010.*; Masters Research Project submitted to the IDIS, University of Nairobi, 2011.
- Kaisi, H J; *Assessment of Regional Integration Progress in EAC*; A Research Report Submitted to the Graduate School of Public & Development Management, University of the Witwatersrand, in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Management in the Field of Public Policy; June 2013.
- Luseno, S.B; *Factors influencing communication among stakeholders in the integration process of the East African Community*; A Master's research project submitted to the school of Business, University of Nairobi, August 2007.
- Matama N.C; *Perception of East Africa Community Customs Union: A case study of retailers in Nairobi Central Business District*; A management Research Project submitted to the School of Business, University of Nairobi, April 2007.
- Omoro M.F.A; *Organizational Effectiveness of Regional Integration Institutions: A case study of East African Community*; A masters research projects submitted to the University of South Africa, November 2008.
- Munyao S. M; *Strategies for Regional Integration: A case study of The East African Community*: A Masters research project submitted to the IDIS, University of Nairobi, 2013
- Tive C; *Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS): Combining Sub-Regional Economic Integration with Conflict Resolution*; A PHD degree in International politics submitted to the University of South Africa, October 2013.

Mngomezulu B.R; *An Assessment of the role played by political leaders, nationalism and sub-nationalisms in the establishment and collapse of the East African Community*; A Masters research project submitted to the University of south Africa, November 2006.

Papers Presentations

Fanta, E, Politics of (non-) integration and Shadow Regionalism in Africa; Paper presented at the BISA workshop at Open University, Milton Keys - UK on July 9th 2008.

Kamala D. B The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation; open lecture on May 3, 2006; University of Hull, United kingdom

Laursen, F; Theory and Practice of Regional Integration: Paper presented at the Miami-Florida European Union Centre, University of Miami, Florida on February 25, 2008

Onyango, O.J. *Who Owns the East African Community?* A Paper presented at DENIVA dialogue on the East African Community, Hotel Equatorial, Kampala, (November, 2003).

Schmitter, P.C. Theorizing Regional Integration and Inter-Regional Relations, Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Workshops, Helsinki, May 7-12, (2007)

Sezibera, R. The East African Community –Private Sector-CEO Forum held in Kigali: Public Private Partnership Framework. (2012)

Sezibera, R; Regional integration and sustainable development in the East African Community: progress and achievements; EAC side event at RIO+20 SUMMIT June 20, (2012).

Websites

African Union-website www.Africa-union.org/ May 2014

Clara M, “New pacts Ease path towards East African single currency”; *Regional Integration in Africa*; IMF African Department, December 30th 2013, <http://www.sg.eac.int/>

Onyango E; AllAfrica; East Africa: Kenya Launches New EAC Integration Strategy.) <http://allafrica.com/stories/201302112027.html>

EAC website <http://www.eac.int/>

ECOWAS website May 2014 www.ecowas.int

European Union website <http://europa.eu/>

Kabeera E, How EAC integration was fast-tracked in 2013, The New Times, January 01, 2014, <http://www.newtimes.co.rw/news>

Lake Victoria Basin Commission Website <http://www.lvbcom.org/> May 2014

NAFTANOW.ORG <http://www.naftanow.org/>

Namara, H, *Tax Harmonization Regimes, the East African*. Retrieved on 24 June 2014 from <http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/Rwanda/Business>

The Benefits Of Integration: A Case of East African Community <http://www.trademarka.com> May 2014

The East African Community website; <http://www.commonmarket.eac.int> April 2014

South Africa Development Community Website; <http://www.sadc.int> February 2014

Appendixes

Appendix I: Introductory Letter

My Name is Janet Nyaboke Arita, a postgraduate student in the University of Nairobi, Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS) undertaking a study on the “AWARENESS LEVELS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS IN EAST AFRICA: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA. Kindly respond to the questionnaire items as accurate as possible. The responses will be used for purely academic purposes .Thank you.

Appendix II: Questionnaire

SECTION A : PERSONAL DETAILS

Marital status: Married Singe

Your gender: Male Female

Your highest level of education (please tick)

KCSE

Diploma

Degree

Masters

Other (specify).....

SECTION B: AWARENESS OF EAC INTEGRATION PROCESS

Which countries make up the EAC Partner States?

| Response | Kenya | Uganda | Tanzania | Burundi | Rwanda |
|----------|-------|--------|----------|---------|--------|
| Yes | | | | | |
| No | | | | | |

What does EAC mean to you as an ordinary citizen?

| | |
|--|--|
| Enables East African citizens to move freely from one country to the other, using a minimum of identification papers | |
| Enable to East African citizens to work anywhere in the region | |
| EAC to provide business opportunities | |
| Reduced taxation, reduced tariffs, and improved infrastructure, especially a better road system. | |
| I don't not know if there are any benefit | |

Please indicate your awareness levels about the four levels of EAC integration from
VERY HIGH to NOT AWARE

| EAC levels | Degree | | | | | |
|------------|-----------|--------|-----|-----------|-------|--|
| | Very high | medium | Low | Not aware | Total | |
| CU | | | | | | |
| CM | | | | | | |
| MU | | | | | | |
| PU | | | | | | |

SECTION C : ACCESS TO INFORMATION REGARDING EAC

How often do you receive information regarding the EAC?

| Frequency of receiving the information | |
|--|--|
| Once a in a while | |
| A few times a month | |
| A few times a week | |
| Everyday | |
| Never | |

Through what channels do you receive this information?

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Mode of receiving information | |
| Television | |
| Radio | |
| Newspaper | |
| Internet | |
| Government fora | |
| Politicians | |

What type of information do you receive concerning The EAC?

| | |
|---------------------|--|
| Type of information | |
| Politics | |
| Educational | |
| Job opportunities | |
| Business related | |
| Social | |

How do you rate your knowledge of EAC integration process to initiatives organized by the Kenyan Government?

| | | |
|-----------|--|--|
| Level | | |
| Very high | | |
| High | | |
| Low | | |
| Very low | | |
| Total | | |

SECTION C: KENYANS SENSE OF OPTIMISM/SKEPTISIM CONCERNING EAC INTEGRATION

Are you optimism or pessimism about the EAC Integration Process?

| | |
|------------------|--|
| Very optimistic | |
| Optimistic | |
| None | |
| Pessimistic | |
| Very pessimistic | |

What reasons/factors underlie your being optimistic/very optimistic concerning the EAC integration process?

| | |
|--|--|
| Factors | |
| Freedom of movement across borders | |
| Possibility to do business | |
| Minimum identification to cross border | |
| Employment opportunities in the Region | |
| Study in any of the East African countries | |

What reasons/factors underlie your being pessimistic/very pessimistic concerning the EAC integration process?

| | |
|---|--|
| Reason | |
| Ability to trade freely is not fully implemented in some of the countries | |
| Lack of information on benefits of the EAC | |
| Lack of trust among citizens within the Partner states | |
| Discrimination of people while in other countries | |
| Different economic development levels of the Partner States | |

What benefits do you experience from East African regional integration as a Kenyan citizen?

| | |
|--|--|
| Benefits | |
| Import/exporting farming products and access to pastures | |
| Increasing inter-marriages | |
| Ability to travel with minimal documentation | |
| Employment | |
| Freedom of movement | |
| Business opportunity in EA | |
| Don't know of any benefits | |

What is your greatest fear about the EAC integration process?

| | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Fear | |
| Loss of land | |
| Loss of identity as Kenyans | |
| Loss of jobs | |
| Loss business opportunities | |
| | |

Should Kenya give up its sovereignty and join other partner states to form a Political

Union

| | |
|----------|--|
| Response | |
| Yes | |
| NO | |

If **YES**, give
reason _____

If **NO**, give
reason _____

**SECTION D: MINISTRY OF EAST AFRICAN AFFAIRS, COMMERCE AND
TOURISM MANDATE**

To what level has the MEAACT achieved its mandate

| Mandate | high | medium | low |
|---|------|--------|-----|
| Formulation of policy on the East African Community; | | | |
| Coordination of government participation in the East African Community meetings and institutions; | | | |
| Coordination of the Implementation of the East African Community regional programmes; | | | |
| Implementation of the East African Treaty; | | | |
| Promotion and fast tracking of East African integration | | | |