CHALLENGES OF REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: THE CASE STUDY OF THE NEW EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY.

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A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED TO THE COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND DIPLOMATIC STUDIES OF KAMPALA INTERNATIONAL UNIVERSITY
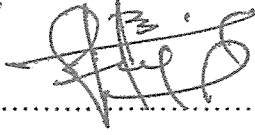
MAY, 2019

DECLARATION

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

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APPROVAL

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

Signed..Date.....22nd - May - 2019

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my wonderful brother MR. OGWANG ENGEU PATRICK who instilled in me the importance of education and to my commander late Capt AJ Bakundana who was a father as well as a commander indeed for having granted to me educationopportunity and the need of going to greater lengths in all aspects of life, may the heavenly father grant him Eternity.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AEC	African Economic Community
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunities Act
AU	African Union
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
CET	Common External Tariff
CMP	Common Market Protocol
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
CU	Customs Union
EAAC	East African Airways Corporation
EABC	East African Business Council
EAC	East African Community
EAC	East African Community
EACJ	East Africa Court of Justice
EACSO	East African Common Service Organization
EACSOF	East Africa Community Civil Society Organizations Forum
EADB	East African Development Bank
EAHC	East African Harbors Corporation
EAHC	East African High Commission
EAHC	East African High Commission
EALA	East Africa Legislative Assembly
EAPTC	East African Post and Telecommunications Corporation
EARC	East African Railways Corporation
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EPAs	Economic Partnership Agreements
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
REI	Regional economic Integration
RIA	Regional Integration Agreement

ABSTRACT

This research study aimed at the assessment of the challenges of regional integration in Africa focusing on the New East African Community. The specific objectives of the study were to determine the political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development, to examine the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration and to identify the possible solutions to the various constraints. The research adopted the transformative mixed approach. This provided for a framework for topics of interest, methods for data collection and outcomes or changes anticipated by the study and involved sequential or a concurrent approach. The targeting population of the study was selected randomly and included 150 individuals. Sample sizes of 109 respondents were selected. The study used both primary and secondary data collection methods including document review and interviews. Data were collected using questionnaire surveys and employed a face to face interview methods as well as documentary review. The researcher used face-to- face interview with the employee from Uganda Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies of Tanzania, Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi in Uganda. The study found out respondents' biographic data based on their sex, age, education level, marital status and time spent in the community and experience. Findings in this study showed that that overall mean rating for political factors influencing development in the EAC region was computed at 73.6%, which is relatively modest. The analysis has indicated, however, that the following factors are showing a positive path to progress in political integration. These factors received a rating of 75% and above. One of these is the fact that there is an enhanced sense of East African identity, developing from modern communications. The study identified that there is no single approach that can wholly describe and prescribe the progress of the EAC integration process. It finds, rather, that a mixed theory approach is more effective, where various theories describe and prescribe the EAC integration at various stages of the process. Despite this finding the study concludes that the political will might be high at the highest level but the rest of the levels do not fare as well. To accelerate the process of integration, investments on basic infrastructure such as railways, roads, electricity and access to water need to be prioritized in order to connect the region as well as providing favorable conditions for commerce to thrive. Difficulty in the movement of people, goods and services create a hindrance to the process of integration. Non-tariff barriers create such a hindrance and hence the EAC should strive to completely eliminate them. The study recommends the development of a legislative framework (laws, policies and guidelines) for Community Development within partner states. Harmonization of democratization policies, processes and practices. In doing so, the EAC should embrace policies on human development, social benefit, and protection, across the region. This would enable EAC member states realize a common identity, a feature that is prerequisite for integration in the region. The East Africa citizenry needs to be informed and educated more about the integration process. The EAC secretariat ought to conduct massive civic education programmes around East Africa for the public to know how they can get involved in the process. It will as well inform them of the benefits to them and the huge opportunities that lie in an integrated East Africa.

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background of the study, the purpose of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study and significance of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

The New East African Community is a regional intergovernmental organization established under the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community. The organization is now in its second decade with membership now comprising six countries, the Republic of Kenya, Republic of Uganda, the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Rwanda, the Republic of Burundi, and the people republic of south Sudan. The republics of Rwanda and Burundi became members after acceding to the Treaty of the EAC on June 18, 2007 and become full members on July 1, 2007 and South Sudan acceded to the treaty on 15 April 2016 and became a full member on 15 August 2016 (EAC, 2016a). The main objective of the EAC is to introduce policies and programs to promote cooperation among its member states for their mutual benefit in awide range of areas including political, economic social and cultural affairs, research and technology, defence, security, legal and judicial affairs. The EAC covers an area of approximately 2.5 million square kilometers with a population of 168.8 million people as of 2016 estimate. The EAC is headquartered in Arusha, Tanzania and the official language is English (Akwetey, E, 2008).

Historically, formal economic and social integration in the East African Region commenced with, among other things, the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway from 1897 to 1901. It was followed by the establishment of several other regional organizations such as the Customs Collection Centre in 1900, the East African Currency Board in 1905, the Postal Union in 1905, the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa in 1909, the Customs Union in 1919, the East African Governors Conference 1926, the East African Income Tax Board 1940 and the Joint Economic Council in 1940. The Treaty for East African Co-operation 1967 established the East African Community as an organization to control and administer matters of common interest and regulate the commercial and industrial relations and transactions between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania

to achieve an accelerated, harmonious and balanced development of economic activities which the benefits of all this to be equitably shared (Dahl, R., 2003)

Due to political differences between the three member states, the East African Community collapsed in 1977. Following the dissolution of the organization, former Member States negotiated a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities which was signed in 1984. In the Mediation Agreement one of the provisions established was that the three States shall explore areas of future co-operation and they would endeavor to make concrete arrangements for such co-operation. Following subsequent meetings of the three Heads of State the Agreement for the Establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation was signed on November 30, 1993(Dahl, R, 2003). Hence on March 14, 1996 efforts for revived East African Co-operation began when the Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission was launched at the Headquarters of the EAC in Arusha, Tanzania. The need to consolidate regional co-operation led to the start of the process of upgrading the Agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation into a Treaty following direction from the East African Heads of State, at their second Summit in Arusha on 29 April 1997(Christian, M., 2007).

The push to strengthen their economic, social, cultural, political and other ties for their sustainable development fostered the establishment of an East African Community with an East African Customs Union and subsequently a Common Market which would subsequently became a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation. The Treaty for the Establishment of theEast African Community was signed in Arusha on 30 November 1999. The Treaty entered into force on 7 July 2000 following the conclusion of the process of its ratification by the original partner states. Burundi and Rwanda acceded to the EAC treaty on 18th June 2007 and became full members of the East African Community on 1st July 2007 (Corbett, R., Jacobs, F., Shackleton, M., 2000)

1.2 Statement of the Problem.

The revived East African Community is now in its second decade and momentum for its continuity is steady. It has already surpassed its predecessor which collapsed after 10 years following several years of strained relations amongst the then three member states due to differences in political ideology and lack of political will. Political integration even in its loosest form requires a direct surrender of political jurisdiction thus certain powers must be surrendered to the federal authority (Corbett, R., Jacobs, F., Shackleton, M, 2000). The difficulty in economic integration is with the establishment of a customs union where local industry will be protected by a tariff against imports from outside the area, while it will have free or preferential access to markets of the other members of the area. Operation and development of services such as transport, communications, electric power and research in common is a measure of integration between states.

Effective economic union can therefore be achieved only within the framework of a political association. Difficulties connected with supranational planning and with revenue effects of customs unions are more or less automatically taken care of in a political association. It is however not clear that it would be possible to sustain a political association if it were impossible to sustain the more limited measures of economic association. The danger of trying to go beyond economic integration is that disagreement on some non-economic issue may prove to be politically explosive to put agreements on economic co-operation in serious jeopardy (Dahl, R., 2003).The study seeks to investigate the various challenges that the EAC integration process is facing with the implementation of the treaty. The study furthermore seeks to identify the solutions that have been put in place to tackle these challenges.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This research work aimed to assess the challenges of regional integration in Africa focusing on the New East African Community.

1.4 Objectives of the study

Specific objectives of the study were:

i.   To determine the political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development

ii. To examine the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration

iii. To identify the possible solutions to the various constraints

1.5 Research questions

The research questions in this research study were:

i. What are the political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development?

ii. What is the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration?

iii. What are the possible solutions to the various constraints?

1.6 Scope of the study

1.6.1 Geographical scope

This research study was done in Kampala is the capital whereby the Uganda Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (19), embassies of Tanzania Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi are found. This is a largest city of Uganda. The city is divided into five boroughs that oversee local planning: Kampala Central Division, Kawempe Division, Makindye Division, Nakawa Division, and Rubaga Division. Surrounding Kampala is the rapidly growing Wakiso District, whose population more than doubled between 2002 and 2014 and as of 2014 Wakiso was reported to stand at over 2 million. Kampala was named the 13th fastest growing city on the planet, with an annual population growth rate of 4.03 percent, by City Mayors. Kampala has been ranked the best city to live in East Africa ahead of Nairobi and Kigali by Mercer, a global development consulting agency based in New York City.

1.6.2 Content scope

This research identifies challenges of regional integration in Africa by considering the case study of the new East African Community. It took recommendations to deal with those challenges to EAC integration. I question the modes of operation within the process and the motives of the partners. I also sought to validate or invalidate the current process while providing a thorough assessment of how the process can be better conducted. It is my hope that this report dissertation

will provide a path forward for the EAC, one that is careful as it addresses all the needs of partner countries.

1.6.3 Time scope

This research took into account data from 2010 to date and was done within a period of six months.

1.7 Significance of the study

The study seeks to contribute towards a growing body of literature on the progress of the integration processes in Africa. It will be of most value to the literature on the East African Community by providing information gathered from the EAC officials who are conversant with the challenges of integration on a daily basis.

The study will also be of value to the current and future policy makers in the EAC as it will provide insights on what to do and what not to do so as to enhance the realization of a fully integrated EAC.

Great opportunities lie in cooperation between the several REC's in Africa. For instance Tripartite Arrangements such as that between the EAC, COMESA and SADC will encourage development in sectors such as infrastructure and intra-regional trade. Deepening regional integration in Africa implies creating the appropriate conditions for guaranteeing factor mobility of factors of production such as movement of people, goods and services. Promoting a vibrant private sector will ultimately bring about development and prosperity to the region.[23]

1. 8 Theoretical Framework

The study is anchored on Neo-functionalism theory. A group of American academic theorists present neo-functionalism as a deliberative paradigm reaction by to previously feeble attempts to the logic, or to predict the course of contemporary international change (O'neill,1996). The fundamental assumptions of neo-functionalism are embedded in their perception of the role of the nation-state. They discounted the nation-state as an irrelevance rather than disparaging it as evil something propagated by functionalists. According to O'Neill, the neo-functionalists

theorized that, nation-states were principally concerned to perpetuate social and ideological divisions along existing faultiness they had been responsible for creating. They were also too culturally insular, as such, incapable of meeting the more expansive functional or welfare needs of modern citizens. In this regard, these needs could only be met with international cooperation. In that context, the political integration is perceived as a process, that differs from the potential existence of political integration as a status. This process represents the activity of delegating the power of decision-making to new central organs, which includes delegation of the sovereignty, from a national level to a newly established supranational one. The theory posits 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 (Schmitter, 1969).

The critical element in the theory of neo-functionalism is the spill-over effect (Majone, 2009, 104,105). The effect of spill-over takes the central position in this theory and according to Lindberg (*Theorizing Regionalism: Cooperation*, Integration (2018). "it refers to a situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and need for more action, and so forth" (Laursen, 2005). The spill-over effect is the effect from the ongoing process of integration (in the political sense) and specific integration in certain sectors that spontaneously leads to integration in another sector (*Theorizing Regionalism: Cooperation, Integration* (2018).

In that direction, the initiation of integration in one sector would produce integration in another sector. The establishing of common institutions that govern certain social issue would be followed by extending their authority of decision-making in another specific sector. This logic of spontaneously extending authority of decision making of the supranational institutions is called spill-over effect.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review shall delve into the nature of regional integration in Africa. The study shall show how integration involves various nations having the desire to merge into one region therefore foregoing their ability to conduct foreign and domestic policies independently. This creates the basis for making joint decisions from new central organs. The study shall also review literature on the regional blocs in Africa reviewing their history, performance and the various challenges and opportunities that face them in their quest for integration.

The East African region is not new to integration efforts. The region has maintained a long history of cooperation marked by successive political integration. The first political integration was by British colonial authorities in the beginning of the 20th century. The objectives were to create modern African states based on British colonial values to colonial and imperialist interests. The second political integration was by African nationalist leaders on the wave of nationalism which was a creation of modern African nation-states based on African values,principles, interests and visions. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika, an African nationalist leader, promoted the idea of political integration in East Africa with the objective of establishing an East Africa Federation. He was passionate about forming the federation to the extent that, he was ready to delay the independence of Tanganyika in the event of persuading Kenya and Uganda to consider abandoning their quest for independent sovereign statehood and instead merge into a much larger regional state.

2.1 Political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development
2.1.1 History of East Africa Co- operation since 1900-1950

The regional integration arrangement in East Africa was initially between Uganda and Kenya that were both colonies of the British. This began after completion of the railway through Kenya to Uganda in 1902, followed by the establishment of an East African Currency Board in 1905 to offer bank notes to the two territories and finally the establishment of Postal Union in 1911 mainly because the British saw it favorable to coordinate services between the two territories. In

1917, the two colonial territories Kenya and Uganda united to form a free trade and this marked the first phase of East Africa integration.

The second phase of regional integration of East Africa began in 1923 when Tanganyika was incorporated into the Customs Union after joining the Currency Board in 1921 and later joined the Postal Union in 1933.[29] Between 1926-1950, other initiatives to integrate the economies were put in place like the formation of a Common Market, Joint East African Income Tax Board and Economic Council.

2.1.2 The East African High Commission, 1947-1960

In 1948, the East African High Commission was formed which consisted of colonial governors of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. This marked the third phase of regional integration of East Africa. The High Commission was a corporate body and the Governors met at least two to three times in a year.[30] The Governor of Kenya was the Chairman of the commission and according to the Order of Council, in the absence of the High Commission at the Conference; the Chairperson had the powers to act on his behalf on matters agreed upon by the High Commission. It had the powers to make laws for peace, order and good governance of territories with the consent of the territorial Legislative Council. The High Commission had to approve a bill before it was introduced to the Assembly and it equally had the powers to refute or assent to bills in its discretion.[31] In cases where the Assembly had failed to pass a bill, the High Commission had powers to declare the bill passed.

2.1.2.1 Executive Officers

The Principal Executive Officers were appointed by the High Commission and acted as advisers to the High Commission in respect to the subject of their title. They had powers and duties imposed on them by the East Africa High Commission legislation. These officers were; Administrator, Commissioner of Transport, Postmaster General, Legal Secretary Financial Secretary Commissioner of Customs and Chief Administrative Secretary.

2.1.3 East Africa Cooperation in 1960s

During the 1960's four major land marks were set in the economic integration of East Africa. These included the;

2.1.3.1 Raisman commission report of 1961

The Raisman Commission was put in place to inquire the distribution of benefits from the East Africa High Commission services and existence of a Common Market. The report recommended for the creation of a distributable pool achievable by setting up funds and maintaining the flow of funds by taking 6% of annual customs and excise revenue plus 40% of income tax earned from company earned profits. Half of the money raised was to be directed towards the High Commission to enable it run its activities independently. The Raisman Commission failed to address the root causes of the imbalances enacted by the White Settler.

2.1.3.2 The East African Common Services Organizations (EACSO)

The EACSO was formed in December 1961 and its initial charter was drafted to consider Tanganyika as a State; thus it would be represented by its President whilst the two territories would be represented by the Governors as it was not clear when they would achieve their independence. When Kenya and Uganda attained independence, the Constitution of EASCO was amended to include the two Presidents in the authority.

EACSO's headquarters was in Nairobi and its main aims were to centralize the administration of East Africa customs, currency, land, sea, air transport, telecommunication services, education and exercise of revenue authorities. In the process of pursuing its goals EACSO faced various challenges including trade imbalances and unequal distribution of resources.

2.1.3.3 The Kampala Agreement

Signed in 1964, the sole purpose of this agreement was to address the persisting problems in the pursuit of integration. This was to be achieved by correcting the imbalances prevailing in the common market primarily to decrease trade deficit and industrial imbalances in Uganda and Tanzania. The Kampala Agreement proposed methods of redressing trade imbalances which never came to play as Kenya failed to ratify the agreement. Instead, Kenya insisted on single

currency to be maintained which was never accepted by the other parties and because of this the agreement had been referred to as the Kampala Disagreement as it was never implemented.

2.1.3.4 The Treaty for East African Cooperation

The three now independent countries of East Africa signed the Treaty for East African Co-operation establishing the East African Community. It was signed in Kampala by MzeeJomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Milton Obote of Uganda, on June 6 1967 and it come into force in December 1967. The main objective of the community was to strengthen and to regulate industrial, commercial and other relations of the Partner States. Benefits accrued were to be shared equitably through the establishment and maintenance of a common market and the operation of common services.

2.1.4 Collapse of the East Africa Community and Factors that led to the collapse.

Nominally the EAC collapsed in 1972 with the EAC ministers running errands of the three member states. The ministers errands were futile efforts to save the regional economic cooperation which finally collapsed in 1977 ten years after the Treaty of East Africa Cooperation had been signed. The collapse could be attributed to various factors that had manifested themselves rapidly after the *Uhuru (Independence)* of member states.[38] Territorial and national consciousness emerged and this resulted to national belonging and national interests which took precedence over supranationalism. Thus, a lot of energy was placed on national building as each state felt its national interest were too basic to compromise.

East Africa Federation was a major issue in that, the three member states did not completely agree on what regional unity entailed thus the level of understanding differed. What Tanzania and Kenya understood of regional unity was that, it involved the concept of a tightly constructed federation. For Uganda, regional unity inferred a loose plan of inter-territorial co-ordination that should respect citizenship, foreign affairs, agriculture and external borrowing of each member state to be dealt with by the individual government. Mwalimu Julius Nyerere replied to this view of timing of Federation by saying,

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"It has been argued, largely by some of our friends in Uganda, that we must put our separate houses in order before we complicate federation. I do accept this argument. If we were all in chaos it would be silly to add chaos to chaos. But when does one satisfy oneself that our house has been put in order?"

2.1.4.1 Lessons learnt from the collapse of East Africa Community

The purpose of regional integration is primarily political, aimed at meeting security needs and enhancing bargaining power. Economic considerations in integration are however paramount in sustaining a regional integration arrangement because, a country enters into an economic integration with the goal of benefiting from it. Failure to adequately address the socio-economic disparities leads to conflicts, insecurity or eventually break-ups of regional unions. This explains the demise of the first East African Community especially when Kenya was perceived to be benefiting at the expense of Uganda and Tanzania.

There is need for political will that unconditionally supports integration that involves public participation and the involvement of civil society. A stable foundation for legitimate and formal democratic procedure provides a climate for long term economic reforms that are pursued and ensures that institutions are not dependent on the political leaders, heads of states and political appointees. This does not mean that all benefits will be distributed equally neither does it mean that problems and constraints will be non-existent but it means, no member state will benefit at the expense of another and that the obstacles will be seen as providing opportunities for adoption of new innovative initiatives.

Appreciating the fact that East Africa's economic problems cannot be treated in isolation is vital. This is because; East African economies and the world economic systems have links in form of loans and financial aid from World Bank and International Monetary Fund. These financial ties are from time to time influenced by the international politics especially when a country does not follow reforms agreed it may risk losing financing from these two organizations. Trade is equally affected as the value of the shilling keeps fluctuating depending on its value compared to that of dollars. This was the case especially when each member state introduced its currency and when the formation of a federation that could have given member states better bargaining grounds.

2.1.5 Post-disintegration to revival of the East African Community

After the collapse of the Community in 1977, member states negotiated a Mediation Agreement for the division of assets and liabilities that was signed in 1984. Article 14.02 of the agreement was to explore areas of future cooperation. Following this provision, steps towards restoring the economic cooperation between the three countries kicked off in November 1993. At this stage of post disintegration, Tanzania made significant improvement in the fields of health, infrastructure and education compared to the post-independent period where it was ranked as one of the poorest countries. In 1986 the support of multilateral donors to Tanzania generated an increase in economic activities hence the country's GDP rose at an annual average of 3.1%during 1990-2001.

On the other hand, Kenya in the 1980s began to feel the heat when the prices of tea and coffee in the world market deteriorated and the subsequent world recession led to a slumped Kenyan economy hence sluggish performance. Uganda followed the path of Tanzania in terms of growth as it was able to receive loans from World Bank hence Uganda's macroeconomic growth was quite impressive averaging at 6.5% 1990-2005.

New East Africa Community in the 1990s

In November 30th 1993, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania signed an agreement to revive the East Africa Cooperation. A Permanent Tripartite Commission for co-operation was established to promote cooperation in political, cultural, social and security of Partner State countries and to resolve outstanding issues of the defunct East Africa Community.

In 1996, a Secretariat to the Commission was launched with its headquarters in Arusha Tanzania which later circulated a draft treaty for the re-establishment of East Africa Community that was debated by the respective East African National Assemblies. These efforts eventually led to the re-establishment of the East Africa Community with the signing of the treaty in November 1999 by President Daniel Moi of Kenya, Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania and YoweriKagutaMuseveni of Uganda.

The enlargement of East Africa Community

The New East African Community is a regional intergovernmental organization established under Article 2 of the Treaty of Establishment of East Africa Community. The Treaty officially entered into force on 7th July 2000 but was launched in 15th January 2001after it had been ratified by the original three countries. The republic of Rwanda and the republic of Burundi later joined the East Africa community by acceding to the Treaty of the EAC 18th June 2007and became full members on 1st July 2007. The joining of Rwanda and Burundi led to the realization of a larger economic bloc and recently South Sudanjoined thus a combined population of 130 million people as of 2010 and a combined GDP of $74.5 billion in the year 2009 and currently South Sudan finally joins into the membership of East African Community enlarging it into six member countries.

Finally the revived EAC's broad goal is to widen and deepen cooperation among partner states in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security, legal and judicial affairs for their mutual benefits. The vision of the integrated community is to create wealth in the region and enhance competitiveness through increased production, trade and investment in the region. In order to reach this goal the community shall establish a Customs Union as the entry point of the community that is to be followed by a Common Market subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation of the East African states.

2.1.6 Structure and Organs of the Revived East African Community

The Summit

The Summit consists of the Heads of State. It holds its meetings at least once a year and may hold extraordinary meetings at the request of any member of the Summit. Subject to the provisions of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, the Summit gives general directions and acts as an impetus to the achievement of EAC objectives. Bills passed by EALA have to pass through the Summit to be assented to in order to be Acts of the Community. The decisions of the Summit are by consensus. The Summit determines its own procedure, including that of convening its meetings, for the conduct of business and for the rotation of the office of Chairperson among the members of the Summit.

The Council of Ministers

The Council consists of the Ministers responsible for regional co-operation of each Partner State. Directives and decisions of the Council are binding on the Partner States, on all organs and institutions of the Community apart from the Summit, the Court and the Assembly within their jurisdictions. All the decisions of the Council are made by consensus.

It is the main policy organ of the Community hence; it initiates and submits Bills to the Assembly. The Council is mandated to make staff and financial rules and regulations of the Community; submit annual progress reports to the Summit; and prepare the agenda for the meetings of the Summit. The Council of Ministers establishes from among its members, Sectorial Councils to deal with such matters that arise under the Treaty as the Council may delegate or assign to them.

The Co-ordinations Committee

This organ consists of the Permanent Secretaries responsible for regional Cooperation in each Partner State. The Committee submits reports and recommendations on the implementation of the Treaty to the Council either on its own initiative or upon the request of the Council; it implements the decisions of the Council of Ministers and receives and considers reports of the Sectorial Committees.

Sectorial Committee

The Sectorial Committees consists of experts from five countries that are responsible for tabling their country's position on paper on various issues. They later discuss these issues of concern within their sector. Sectoral Committees are responsible for the preparation of comprehensive implementation programs and setting out of priorities with respect to their sector. Each Sectoral Committee monitors and keeps under constant review the implementation of the programs of the Community with respect to their sector.

The committees also submit reports and recommendations to the Co-ordination Committee either on their own initiative or upon request of the Co-ordination Committee concerning the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty that affect its sector.

The Secretariat

This is the executive organ of the Community comprising the Secretary General and two Deputy Secretaries General; one in charge of department of projects and programs while the other deputy secretary general is in charge of finance and administration.

The Secretary General is the principal executive officer of the Community and the Head of the Secretariat in which she or he serves for five years. Once nominated, the Partner State in which the Secretary General is representing forfeits the seat of Deputy General. The Deputy Secretary General is appointed by the Summit on recommendations of the Council. They act as deputies to the Secretary General and each serves a three year term, renewable once.

The secretariat is responsible for the general administration and financial management of the Community. In this case, it mobilizes funds from development partners and other sources for the implementation of projects of the Community, submits the budget of the Community to the Council for its consideration as well as proposing draft agenda for the meetings of all organs of the Community other than the Court and the Assembly.

The Secretariat implements the decisions of the Summit and the Council, organizes and keeps records of meetings of all institutions of the community other than those of the Court and the Assembly. It monitors, manages and strategically plans programs for the development of the Community and in the same measure; it is responsible for the general promotion and dissemination of information to the stakeholders, the general public and the international community.

East Africa Court of Justice

The EACJ (the Court) is established under Article 9 of the Treaty for Establishment of EAC as one of the Organs of the Community. It is a judicial body serving five Partner States and to that extent it is an international court. The role of the court is defined by the Treaty as ensuring "the adherence to law in the interpretation, application of and compliance with the Treaty". Initially the court had six Judges, two from each Partner States, and the Registrar. It began its operation

as a single chamber and judges served on ad hoc basis this meant that the judges were not required to reside in Arusha. The judgment of the courts at this point was final and binding.

This aspect of the courts finality without appeal was however subsequently amended as provided for in Article (23) (2), "The court shall consist of a First Instance Division and an Appellate Division. Article (23) (3) continues to state that, "The First Instance Division shall have jurisdiction to hear and determine at first instance, subject to a right of appeal to the Appellate Division under Article 35A, any matter before the Court in accordance with the Treaty."

The number of judges was increased and currently they are ten judges of the Court. According to Article (24) (2) the judges have a maximum of seven years of non-renewable term. The Court is headed by the President who is the administrative Head of the Court as well as head of the Appellate Division and is assisted by a Vice President. The Principal Judge directs the work of the First Instance Division under Article 45(5).

The Court envisions Partner States utilizing the Courts facility as an tribunal as the Judges are trained and have familiarized themselves with international commercial arbitration principle and practices. The rules of arbitration have been reviewed to measure up to international standards.

East Africa Legislative Assembly

EALA is a supranational parliament and the legislative organ of the community under Article 49 of the Treaty. It was inaugurated on 30th November 2001 and it is based in Arusha Tanzania. The membership of the Assembly comprises of nine members elected by each Partner State, ex-official members, [54] the Secretary General and the Counsel to the Community. The Speaker presides over proceedings in accordance to the rules of procedure of the Assembly.

The EALA plays a pivotal role in the initiation of new regional policies as it sets agenda for the region. The Assembly further contributes to East African integration by speaking for and enhancing the bargaining power of the region at international forums such as UN system. This initiative has played an indispensable role in regional confidence especially when dealing with common problems which later results to fostering a sense of solidarity among the East Africans.

Equally fundamental is the provision of a forum for consultation on matters of common interest which cannot be handled by national Parliament. This is made possible by EALA cooperating with national assemblies on different matters for example the cooperation on multilateral trade negotiations which brought regional assemblies in a joint forum to debate and lobby national governments on economic partnership and the World Trade Organization.

The promotion of accountability and transparency in deepening of democratic governance among Partner States as well as in the conduct of regional affairs is a vital role for EALA. This is done by the endorsement of important aspects of integration that requires legislation like the customs procedures and regulations, employment laws, labor relations and immigration. The East Africa Legislative Assembly

The Summit

East Africa Legislative Assembly is in a continuous formative process thus, it is limited and has non-exclusive roles in regional integration.

2.1.7 East Africa Development Strategies
The First East Africa Development Strategy

The First EAC Development Strategy was launched on 29th April 1997 by the three Heads of Partner States with a strategy aimed to achieve certain goals between 1997 and 2000. Its main goals were to promote the spirit of regional co-operation especially emphasizing on economic co-operation; to strengthen regional institutions by increasing their capacities for regional co-operation; and to ease the free movement of people, capital, goods, as well as services and information within the region. Progress made by this strategy culminated in the signing and ratification of the EAC Treaty, the legal document that guides the EAC integration processes.

The strategy did not always determine the feasibility for implementing various policy and programme actions based on country specific conditions. There was a time lag between changes made and change of attitudes and modalities of operation on the part of the operational staff on the ground. A lessons learnt from this 1st development strategy suggest that public education and awareness campaigns may be required to improve on the attitudes towards the integration

process. There was need to develop the institutional and human capacity to manage regional co-operation in the context of unequal levels of development of partner states so that a balance may be struck in the actual and perceived distribution of benefits amongst partner states.

The Second East Africa Development Strategy (2001-2005)

The Second Development Strategy covered a broad range of areas and activities to address economic areas of cooperation. The formulation of this strategy was guided by six main considerations which were; lessons and experiences learnt from the first development strategy; views of the stakeholders; continuation of ongoing activities including decision making made by various committees; proper use of results of studies commissioned by the Secretariat; and consistency with the Treaty. There was vital need to develop capacity to compete and effectively participate in the globalized world economy and to implement activities without insuperable obstacles.

This development strategy was guided by the provision of the Treaty which stipulates that, the entry point into the community will be the establishment of a Customs Union and later a Common Market. To achieve these two, there was need to build capacity in the region by enhancing productive sectors which include; tourism, agriculture and natural resources which was to be facilitated by infrastructure, science and technology and human resource development.

Convergence of macroeconomic policies was paramount in speeding up implementation of issues agreed upon in the first development strategy and resolving of disputes. This entailed harmonization of exchange and interests rates policies, currency convertibility of member states, sharing of relevant budgetary information on revenue measures, capital market, monetary and fiscal policies that were imperative in strengthening the role of East Africa Bank in regional financing projects. EADB was to be revamped by allowing border purchasing of shares within EA and enhancing its capacity to issue international bonds.

The Third East Africa Development Strategy (2006-2010)

The formulation of EAC –Development Strategy (2006-2010) was guided by developments in three levels: the world economy, the regional economy and the national economy. The Strategy

focused on the key pillars of EA integration. These are consolidating the implementation of Customs Union, establishing a Common Market, laying foundation for establishing a Monetary Union and Political Federation. One of the key successes of the 3rd development strategy was the strong partnership of the public and private sectors towards the implementation of the Customs Union which led to remarkable growth in intra- EAC trade from 2005 to 2009.

Taking into account the nature and level of development of Partner States, the implementation of the EAC –Development Strategy of 2006 to 2010 was based on the Principle of Asymmetry which recognized the need to address differentials and imbalances of integration, the Principle of Subsidiary that emphasized on multi-level participation in economic integration and the Principle of Sublimity that enable harmonization of policies, strategies and plans with regional counterparts.

The Principle of Complementarity that encouraged the participation of people in community activities to complement each other and the Principle of Variable Geometry which allowed progression in cooperation among groups within the community for wider integration in various fields at different speeds were also applied.

The establishment of Common Market was the primary goal of EAC-DS (2006-2010) to create a larger market and a more attractive single investment area with about 100 million consumers, with no internal frontiers. The Common Market entailed free movement of persons, goods, services, labor and right of establishment. This was to provide the region with an opportunity to be more competitive whilst participating in the global economy, accelerate growth rate and enhance the welfare of the people of EAC to be consistent with the concept of people centered development. For it to be possible there was need to provide adequate and reliable supporting infrastructure through sharing of production, management and operations energy, roads and Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

The Forth East Africa Development Strategy (2011-2016)
The Fourth Development Strategy is informed by the global, Pan-African, regional and national commitments particularly the global issue. These issues are climate change whose effects are felt

on food security and environment, financial crisis, and persisting insecurity characterized by piracy and terrorism. EAC –Development Strategy of 2011 to 2016 plans to focus on consolidating the benefits of a fully-fledged Customs Union, full implementation of Common Market and laying foundation for Monetary Union and Political Federation.

In monitoring the implementation of Fourth EAC Development Strategy, focus is on the outcomes and impacts rather than on activities and processes. The key reports are to be regularly compiled under a monthly activity report, a quarterly performance report, a bi-annual progress report and an annual report. Evaluation of the strategy development endeavors to explore the other EAC Organs and Institutions alignment of intervention and policies, change processes that support implementation of the development strategy.

The basis, in which data is collected, planned and executed, is laid by the Monetary &Evaluation and the sources of data are EAC Secretariat, Partner States implementing Ministries, Private and Public Institutions. The responsibility of collecting, analyzing and disseminating relevant data and information is solely on EAC Secretariat and Partner States implementing Ministries. The figure below illustrates the principles and systems that guide data collection analysis and the reporting and information flow within the EAC.

2.2 Extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration

Regional integration can be described as the attainment within a territory, of a sense of community and of institutions and practices strong enough and widespread enough to assure for a long time, dependable expectations of peaceful change among its population.

Integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectation and political activities to a new center whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states.

The process involves nations foregoing their desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other and instead seeking to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision making process to new central organs. At the center of this definition is the

development of devices and processes for arriving at collective decisions by means other than autonomous actions by national governments.

Africans have for a long time held a vision of the continent's political and economic union. The pan-African movement was developed under the premise of African unity and it promoted such a vision in the 1930s and 1940s. Pan Africanism pushed for the liberation of Africa from colonial rule as the first order of business while bringing the liberated African states under a continent-wide umbrella was always in the bigger picture. These sentiments were what led to the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

African countries embraced regionalism after gaining independence, a move in the direction of Pan-Africanism. There are more regional organizations in Africa than in any other continent with many countries being members of more than one regional integration initiative. However, not that many initiatives have lived up to expectations and thus lessons need to be drawn from these initiatives by studying why they produced limited results. To understand African integration, the challenges and constraints that have rocked these initiatives have to be understood.

Regional integration blocs across Africa
West Africa
The most comprehensive regional initiative in this region is the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) which was created in 1975. ECOWAS has had success especially when it played an effective role in regional peace keeping operations, through the ECOWAS Monitoring Group's (ECOMOG's) operations in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the Ivory Coast. ECOWAS has nonetheless made only limited progress in terms of trade integration, the main reason being that there remains significant tariff and non-tariff barriers in the region.

Following their independence, most of the French colonies in West Africa maintained their monetary union with France. The West African CFA franc zone countries established the Communauté Economique de l' Afrique de l' Ouest (CEAO) in 1973. Union Economique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine (UEMOA) was formed in 1994, replacing CEAO by joining

monetary and economic integration functions. A Customs Union has been in force since 2000 with UEMOA establishing a common trade policy.

Central Africa

Colonial legacy has also shaped the push to regional integration in central Africa. In 1964, Union DouanièreetEconomique de l'AfriqueCentrale (UDEAC) was formed by five former French colonies. However, UDEAC has never quite functioned well as a customs union owing to very low intra-regional trade. Limited cross border infrastructure networks and the lack of complementarity between countries have hampered the integration process severely. There was a merger of monetary and economic functions similar to what happened in West Africa in the formation of UEMOA whereby UDEAC was transformed into CommunautéEconomique et Monétaire de l'AfriqueCentrale (CEMAC).

East and southern Africa

The Southern African Development Community (SADC), was formed in 1992 following the signing of the Windhoek Treaty. It was a transformation of its predecessor the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) that was founded in 1980. SADCC was set up with the view to reduce dependence on South Africa in the transport and energy sectors. South Africa later joined SADC after the apartheid regime was removed and a democratically elected government took office. This made SADC the regional integration block with the highest GDP in Africa. SADC adopted its Trade Protocol in 1996 and started actual implementation of an FTA in 2000.

Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) was formed in 1994 as a transformation from its predecessor the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) that was formed in 1981. It launched its Free Trade Area in 2000, but not all the member states joined. Progress has been made in trade facilitation, insurance and harmonization of transit goods charges amongst its member states. A major challenge which SADC and COMESA face is that of overlapping membership.

Inter-governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) was originally named the Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development (IGADD). It was created in 1980 by Djibouti, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, the Sudan and Uganda mainly to promote food security and to combat desertification in the Horn of Africa. Over the years, IGAD has continued to play a vital role as a forum for mediation in internal conflicts within its member states.

North Africa

The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) is a regional integration initiative established in 1989 by the nations of North Africa except Egypt. It has however been dogged with slow progress and limited development due to political differences especially between Morocco and Algeria.

Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD) was created in 1998 with one of its main goals being to achieve economic unity through the implementation of people and goods with an aim of creating a free trade area. With 23 member states, CENSAD is the largest African regional body but its effectiveness is greatly hampered by the fact that it overlaps several other regional organizations. Some members of AMU, ECOWAS, CEMAC, and COMESA are also members of CENSAD. This being the case, the organization has mostly been more active as a political forum and less active in the economic integration.

Regional Economic communities and their performance

The Lagos Plan of Action of 1980 called for the formation of an African common market by the year 2000. It introduced the idea that regional integration initiatives in Africa would gradually expand towards a single Pan-African arrangement. This idea became the central feature of the 1991 Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC). The Abuja Treaty developed the notion of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) as building blocks of the AEC. The Treaty indicated the regional communities would cover North, West, Central, Eastern and Southern Africa but it did not specify how membership of the REC would be. This led to the designation of AMU, ECOWAS, ECCAS, COMESA, SADC, EAC and IGAD as REC's. The Abuja Treaty sets out a number of stages that would ultimately lead to a continental economic and monetary union. The first step is to reinforce and consolidate the RECs.

National and Regionalism interest

The study of international relations is based upon certain principles. Deriving from the realist theory, power is the main principle where the concept of national interest is defined in relation to national power. Thus in the process of countries vying for power, the foreign policy of all nations must consider survival as their immediate requirement. All nations are compelled to protect their physical, political and cultural identity against encroachment by other nations. The interest is identified with national survival and each member state has national interests to pursue even if they are grouped together in an integrative process.

Regional integration is very important in the world today as many countries are strengthening their bargaining powers among other issues through forming regional blocs, trade liberalization arrangements, developing regional physical infrastructure and institutions including regional capital markets and preventing managing and resolving conflicts among other important issues. Integration includes concerted efforts aimed at lessening discrimination in certain areas of common interest.

A cited reason for failure of integration policy in Africa as a lack of political will in the member countries that are necessary to see integration succeed. This is expressed in the chronic non-observance of commitments undertaken within the respective agreements and in the insufficient use of instruments set up by the governments involved.

2.3 Possible solutions to the various constraints

Incompatibility problems in the road and rail sectors create a cumbersome trade logistics environment. Regional variations in technical standards pose transit challenges some roads designed for higher axle load limits than others while regional railway networks have different track gauges prevent seamless regional connectivity between Eastern and Southern Africa. Under investment in the power sector has creates serious electricity deficits and high energy costs in Africa.

Most African countries operate state monopolies in electricity generation, distribution and price regulation constraining the scope for investment opportunities in the private sector. Security and political stability are vital ingredients for economic prosperity anywhere in the world. Recurring conflicts and unsteady political regimes in Africa frighten investors thus inhibiting development by slowing economic growth in Africa as a result of lack of foreign investment.

The Treaty of the Establishment of East African Community identifies creation of a Customs Union as the entry point in the process of regional integration in East Africa. The principle objective of the CU according to the Treaty of EAC Article 75(5) is to deepen the integration process through liberalization and promotion of intra-regional trade. Remarkable progress has been recorded in the implementation of the Common External Tariff in terms of elimination of internal tariffs and rules of origin and standards. The establishment of key institutions, systems, policies, strategy and legal framework, for example the EAC Customs Act and the promotion of EAC as a single investment destination, are complementary achievements of the Customs Union. As a result of the establishment of the CU, there has been an improvement in market access, increased awareness of EAC integration agenda, accessibility to cross-border resources and common external trade policy starting with negotiations of EPA and AGOA.

Harmonization of fiscal policies has included the harmonization of banking policies to ease the conversion of member states currencies, pre and post budget consultations by the Ministers of Finance of member countries and the reading of the budgets on the same day.

The integration of transport, communication and energy are integral components of regional integration schemes. Ratification of the Tripartite Agreement on road transport by member states was done to facilitate interstate transport marked by the establishment of a Sectoral Council on Transport, Communications and Metrology. Currently, partner states are working on modalities of improving the railways and the ports that are a gateway to the landlocked countries in the community for example, construction of the standard gauge railway. Tangible achievements include the joint infrastructure development projects which are currently divided into three transport corridors; the Northern Corridor, Central Corridor and the Southern Corridor.

The feeling of integration among the people of East Africa has been nurtured with time to facilitate East African identity. The unity among the member states has been enshrined in"*WimbowaJumuiyayaAfrikaMashariki 2010*", East African flag and the adoption of EAC Military sports and culture week.

In addition to the above, the harmonization of immigration forms at port entry and the adoption of common travel documents, working permits, fees for education and tourism has resulted to increased cross boarder student exchange and free movement of modes of production.

The current East African passport grants the holder a six months multiple-entry visa within the region. A communiqué from the Heads of State Summit that took place in Kampala 2013 quoted that the five Presidents agreed to launch a new East African passport in November 2015. As opposed to the current one that is only valid within the region making a holder have to depend on their respective national passports to travel abroad, this new passport will be an international passport that will be recognized globally. The passport shall have a micro-chip installed in it for storing biometric data of the holder and shall have on it the colors of the East African flag.

Uganda, Rwanda and Kenya launched a single destination tourist visa in Kampala in February 2014. The new visa has been modeled on the European Union Schengen visa which allows visitors to any of the 26 member states. The single destination tourist visa costs USD$100 and is valid for 90days and allows tourist to travel around the three countries without seeking any other travel documents. Revenue generated from issuance of the single tourist visa is divided amongst the three states. The issuing state gets USD$40 while the rest get USD$30 each.[67] The Chief Executive Officer of Uganda tourism, Steven Asiimwe is quoted as saying that this will open the region to over one billion travelers from all over the world and that Kenya Uganda and Rwanda will market the regions tourism potential from a single hub.

In addition to this, the use of national identity cards, student's cards and voter's cards by citizens of the three participating member states was launched to travel across the participating countries. These developments coupled by the signing of protocols to promote tourism in East Africa as single tourist destination.

To achieve political federation and to sustain the East Africa Community, political goodwill is essential. Slow decision making processes at national levels have been a major challenge because it involves several statutory steps. For instance issues that require amendment of law, there is a laid down process which involves respective ministry's to develop a cabinet paper which is submitted to the cabinet to be discussed by the Inter-Ministerial Technical Committee and finally taken to Parliament for final approval. It is imperative to acknowledge that the above process takes substantial amount of time which is in most cases never put into consideration in the course of fast-tracking bureaucratic activities. This has manifested itself at boarder points with the red tape that impedes on movements of factors of production.

Availability of resources in implementation of activities is vital. Lack of proper funding from concerned governments has left implementation of certain activities tied to goodwill of the international community. In cases where international resources are not forthcoming at the required time, the implementation of programs is thus delayed. This has led to pressure of restructuring and privatization of public institutions.

The East African countries face challenges in the consistency of reduction of Non-Tariffs barrier (NTB's). In comparison, Rwanda has reduced 94.1% of NTBs whilst Tanzania is trailing having reduced 66% of NTBs. This is an indicator of varying levels of political goodwill among the EAC member states and to curb this the Secretary General Richard Sezibera was quoted saying that the community had proposed legislation that would see actions taken against countries that will fail to eliminate NTB's.

Implementation of Common External Tariff (CET) among member states has been a challenge which could be attributed to partner States being members of multiple free trade blocs. Kenya is leading in terms of membership as it is a member of CEN-SAD, COMESA, and IGAD. Uganda is a member of IGAD, COMESA and EAC, Burundi is a member of COMESA, EAC and ECCAS, Tanzania belongs to EAC and SADC. This means that, they take regional commitment from all trade blocs they belong to thereby having to implement different CET to extra-regional trade partners.

CHAPTER THREE
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research design, the target study population, sample size and selection; sampling procedures, data collection instrument, data collection methods, validity and reliability; data analysis, measures of variables and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

The research adopted the transformative mixed approach as discussed by Creswell (2009, 15) as transformative mixed methods whose procedures provide for the use of theoretical lens as an overarching perspective within a design that contains both quantitative and qualitative data. This provided for a framework for topics of interest, methods for data collection and outcomes or changes anticipated by the study and involved sequential or a concurrent approach. A descriptive cross-sectional case study survey research design was adopted for the study because, according to Kothari (2007), research design must provide for protection against bias, maximize reliability, pre-planned for analysis, structure with well thought instruments and advanced decisions about operational procedures with due concern for economical completion of research study.

3.2 Study population

A population is a complete enumeration of all items in the 'population' also known as a census inquiry (Kothari, 2007), while the target population are the complete items to be studied. In this study, at national level, the target population of the study was selected randomly and included 150 individuals. These were the staff officials at the Uganda Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism (26), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (19), embassies of Tanzania (21), Kenya (25), South Sudan (20), Rwanda (18) and Burundi (21) in Uganda

3.3 Sample Size

A sample size of 109 respondents were selected from the population of 150 people using, Slovene's formula as shown below;

$$(1)n = \frac{N}{1+N\,(e)2}$$

Where n = sample size

N = population of the study

1 = constant

e = level of significance = 0.05 in social sciences

Basing on Slovene's formula, the minimum sample size was;

$$n = \frac{150}{1+150\,(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = \frac{150}{1+150\,(0.0025)}$$

$$n = \frac{150}{1+0.375}$$

$$n = \frac{150}{1.375}$$

Therefore, n= 109 **respondents**

Table 1: showing the sample size distribution

Microfinance Institutions	Employees	Sample size	Sampling selection
Uganda Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism	26	17	Random sampling
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	19	15	Random sampling
Kenya Embassy	25	16	Random sampling
Tanzania Embassy	21	15	Random sampling
South Sudan	20	15	Random sampling
Rwanda Embassy	18	15	Random sampling
Burundi Embassy	21	16	Random sampling
Total	**150**	**109**	

Source: Primary data, 2019

3.4 Sampling Techniques

Simple random sampling is a probability sampling where the very item of the universe has an equal chance of inclusion in the sample as described by Kotheri (2007). The researcher employed random Sampling Technique. This technique was chosen for this study due to the large population in the selected area of investigation and because of time constraints, the researcher chose to employing this technique that enabled him to give equal opportunity to all eligible respondents since it was not possible to serve all of them, it was in this way that any form of biasness was avoided.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

The study used both primary and secondary data collection methods including document review and interviews. Data were collected using questionnaire surveys and employed a face to face interview methods as well as documentary review. The researcher used face-to-face interview with the employee from Uganda Ministry of East Africa Affairs, Commerce and Tourism, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, embassies of Tanzania, Kenya, South Sudan, Rwanda and Burundi in Uganda and provided in-depth information regarding the decentralised policy management to provide the best method for valuable results which generated reliable and valid data that was relevant to research questions and objectives.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

3.6.1 Questionnaire Method

A questionnaire is a data collection instrument used to gather data over a large sample or number of respondents (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). A structured questionnaire was developed following the recommended guidelines by various scholars that include Kothari (2005), Sekaran and Bougie (2010) and Saunders et al (2009). It addressed issues of demographic data and the study objectives. In each section, the respondents were given clear instructions on how to complete the item.

3.6.2 Interview Method

An interview guide is a set of questions that the researcher asks during the interview (McNamara, 2009). The researcher designed an interview guide which was used during the

interview of the key respondents. In addition, the researcher asked questions with the intention of leading the respondents towards giving the kind of data that meet the study objectives including probing the respondents in order to seek clarification about provided responses. A structured interview guide was used to stimulate a detailed discussion on challenges of Regional Integration in Africa.

3.7 Pre-testing Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments
3.7.1 Validity

Amin (2005) defines Validity as the truthfulness of findings or the extent to which the instrument is relevant in its measurement of variables. The validity of the instrument was quantitatively established using Content Validity Index (CVI). This involved the expert scoring relevance of questions in the instrument in relation to the study variables and the CVI of more than 0.7 implied the valid tool was computed using the formula below:

$$CVI = \frac{No\ f\ relevant\ items}{Total\ N.of\ items} * 100$$

$$CVI = \frac{38}{45} * 100$$

CVI=0.844

CVI=84.4%

Since the Content Validity Index is 84.4%>70% then this means that the data questionnaire was valid to measure what it intended to.

3.7.2 Reliability test

Reliability is concerned with consistency, dependability or stability of a test (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1996). The researcher measured the reliability of the questionnaire to determine its consistency by testing what they intended to measure. The Cronbach's Alpha Coefficient, was used to estimate the reliability of the instruments using SPSS 20.0. Upon performing the test, the values that is 0.7 and above was regarded as reliable. In the case of psychometric tests, they must fall within the range of 0.7 and above for the test to be reliable (Creswell, 2009).The formula below was applied to test the reliability of instruments:

$$\alpha = \frac{K}{K-1}\left(\frac{1 - \sum SD^2{}_i}{SD^2{}_t}\right)$$

α   = Alpha coefficient

K   = Number of items in the instrument

$\sum$ = Sum

SD^2i = Individual item variance

SD^2t = Variance of total score

The validity test was carried out to test for consistency of results amongst the respondents using the Cronbach Alpha statistic. From the results of the table 2, a value of 0.887 was greater than the recommended 0.7 which implied the 88.7% of the results was reliable.

3.8 Data Collection Process

The data collection process started with the pilot survey, the questionnaire was revised to ensure validity. After the researcher obtained an introduction letter from the Kampala International University and contacts was made with the target respondents, the received ones was interviewed using both self-administered and interviewer-administered method. Continuous follow-ups were made to ensure reliable data was collected.

3.9 Data Analysis Procedure

The researcher carried out data coding, data cleaning, descriptive data analysis of all the research variables to include frequencies, mean, variance and standard deviations subjected to decentralized planning, implementation, monitoring and interpretation of research results.

3.9.1 Quantitative data analysis

Data from the questionnaires were arranged, coded, edited for consistency and easiness, and later entered using Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS Version 22).

3.9.2 Qualitative data analysis

Regarding qualitative data, key informant interviews were conducted with the respondents to gain an in-depth understanding of challenges of Regional Integration in Africa.

3.10 Measurement of Variables

The researcher adopted both the nominal and ordinal scales of measurement. The nominal scale measurement was applied for the sex, age, level of education, category of respondent, among others. Numbers were assigned only for purposes of identification but not for comparison of variables; the ordinal measurement was used to categorize and rank the variables being measured.

The study adopted four-level Likert item, for example, could be: •1 = strongly disagree • 2 = Disagree • 3 = Agree • 4 = strongly Agree to measure respondents' attitudes to a particular question. The neutral option was not considered in this study so as to increase the validity and reliability on the results and eliminate errors as a result of respondents' attitude as they resort to "not sure" as an easy option to take whether or not it is a neutral option is questionable. The study used the ordinal scale generated from Likert scale and analysis of the variables were based on it.

3.11 Ethical considerations

According to Croswell (2009, 87-93) it is important for ethical practices to be taken care of in all phases of the research process, right from identification of topic, problem statement, writing style, targeted participants, research sites, potential readers, data collection methods and analysis procedures to increase the validity and reliability of results. The researcher further explained that Ethical questions in the current generation focused on personal disclosure, professionalism, professional codes of conduct, authenticity and credibility of the research report, the role of researchers in cross-cultural contexts, and issues of personal privacy through forms of Internet data collection. While in the literature, ethical issues could arise in discussions about codes of professional conduct for researchers and in commentaries about ethical dilemmas and their potential solutions.

Therefore, to resolve these issues, the researcher was granted permission of a written letter to conduct the study by Kampala International University and consent of respondents was pursued to undertake the field data collection. The researcher explained to the respondents the research and its purpose and informed them that participation in this research was voluntary and that the protection of their privacy was strictly guaranteed by standard of anonymity.

CHAPTER FOUR
PRESENTATION AND INTEPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study based on the study objectives which focused on the challenges of regional integration in Africa, a case study of the new East African Community especially the determination the political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development, identifying the possible solutions to the various constraints and the examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration.

4.1 Demographic characteristics of respondents

The study found out respondents' biographic data based on their sex, age, education level, marital status and time spent in the community and experience. Respondents were asked to provide this information on the questionnaires distributed to them and their responses are summarized in the table 2 below;

TABLE 2: Showing the gender of respondents

Sex	Frequency	Percentage
Male	69	63.3
Female	40	36.7
Total	109	100

Source: Primary Data (2019)

Table.2 indicates that the majority (63.3%) of the respondents was males and only (36.7%) were females. Unlike other similar studies where the number of participants tend to be higher among females, this study had more male participants perhaps owing to the fact that the targeted population were male whom amongst the populations males are higher in numbers.

Figure 1. Showing the gender of respondents
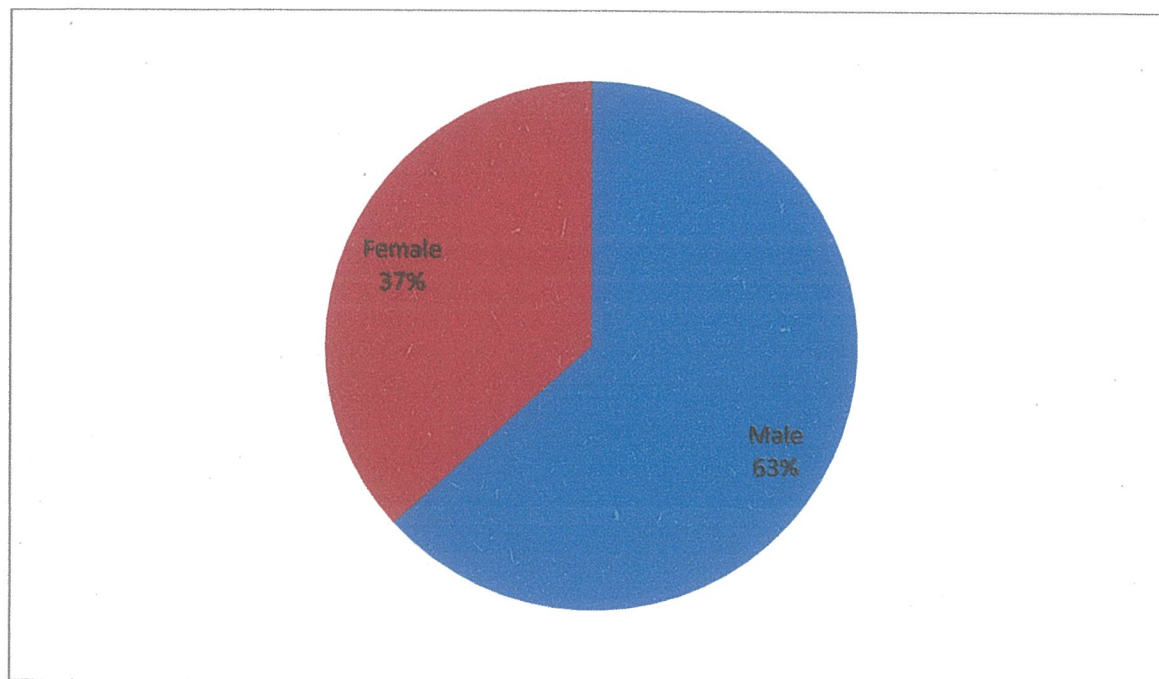
Table 3: Showing the age of the respondents

Age of the respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Below (18)	–	0
(18-30)	80	73.4
(30-35)	29	26.6
Total	**109**	**100**

Source: Primary Data (2019)

Results further showed from table 3 that (73.4%) of the respondents were age d 18-30, followed by (26.6%) in the age bracket of 30-35. None of the respondents was aged below 18 years implying that all participates were mature enough to give reasonable ideas on the study variables. Secondly the study was focusing on mainly the youths and according to the Uganda Constitution (1997), a people between the age of 18-45 years are considered to be youths.

Figure 2. Showing the age of the respondents
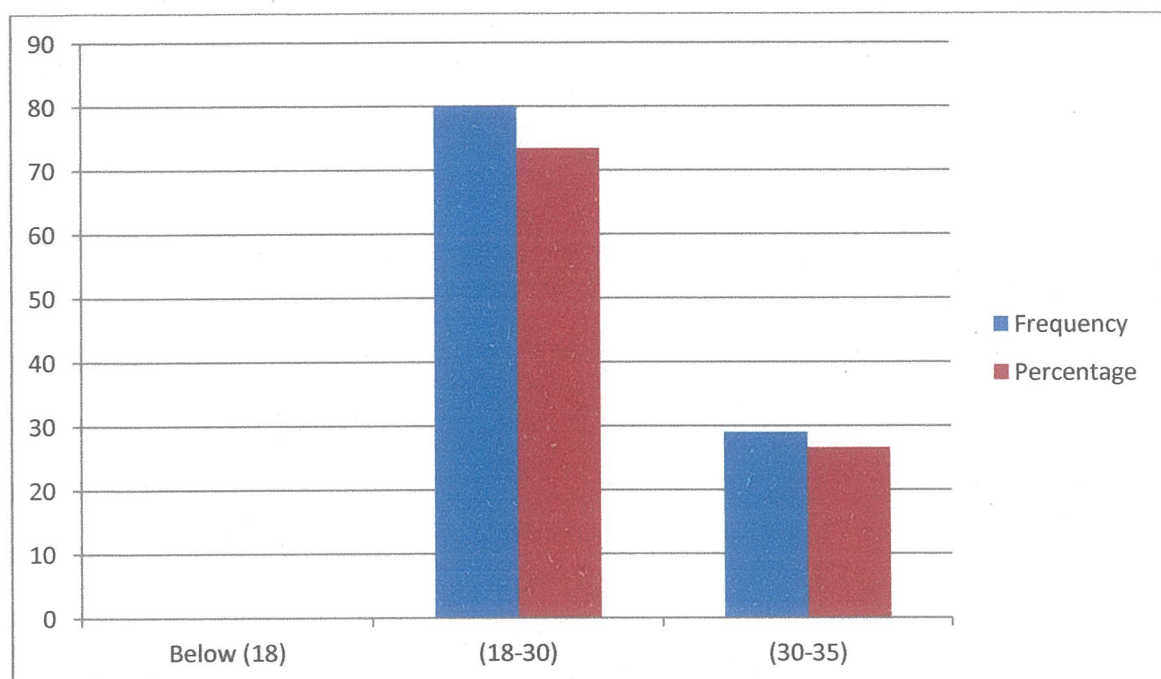
Table 4: Showing the education level of the respondents

Education Level	Frequency	Percentage
Primary	2	1.8
Secondary	5	4.5
Diploma	35	32.1
Degree	25	22.9
Masters	42	38.5
Total	**109**	**100**

Source: Primary Data (2019)

Regarding education levels, findings indicated from table 4 that (1.8%) of the respondents were primary school level, (4.5%) secondary level while (32.1%) %) and (22.9%) were diploma and degree holders respectively and 35.8% of the participants were Masters' holders. To this, much as a significant number of respondents were from post graduate studies, it is concluded that most of the respondents were educated.

Figure 3. **Showing the education level of the respondents**
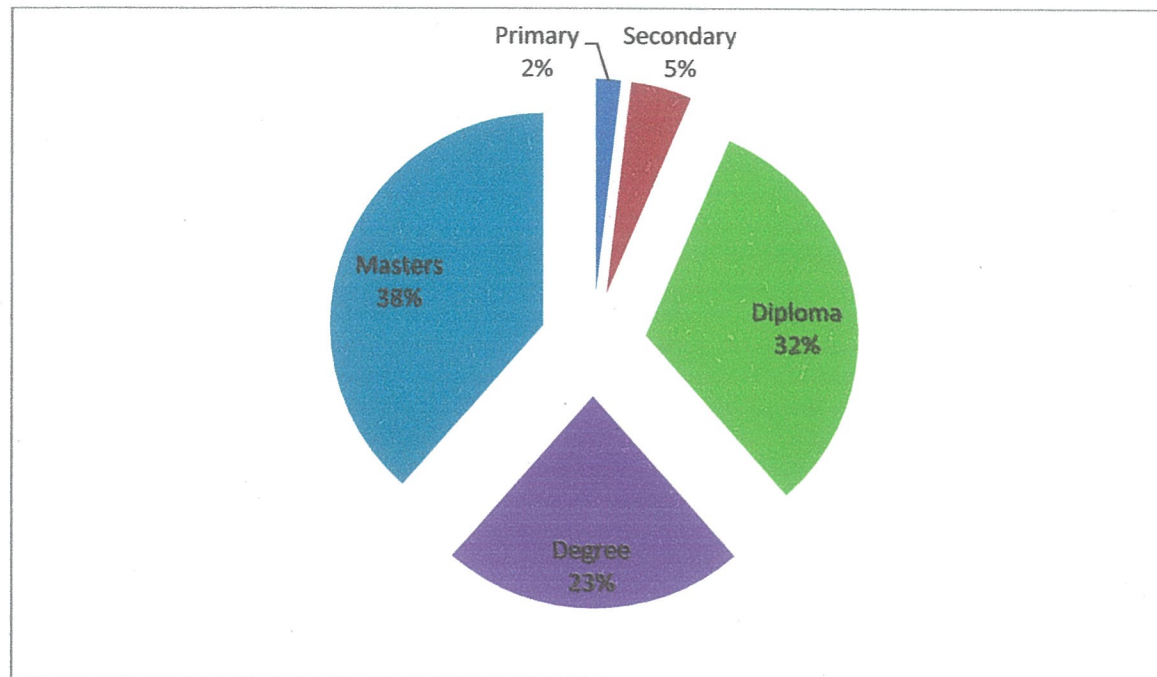
Table 5. Showing the marital status of the respondents

Marital Status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	55	50.5
Single	15	13.8
Divorced	10	9.17
Widow	29	26.6
Total	**109**	**100**

Source: Primary Data (2019)

Among the categories of the study targeted population were representatives on official duties politicians who by requirement are expected to have a minimum education qualification. Majority of the respondents (50.5%) were married, (13.8%) were single, (9.17%) were divorced and (26.6%) were widows. These results showed most of the respondents are married, this implies that the majority of the respondents are responsible and can offer the high of the quality of work to their services.

Figure 4. showing the marital status of the respondents
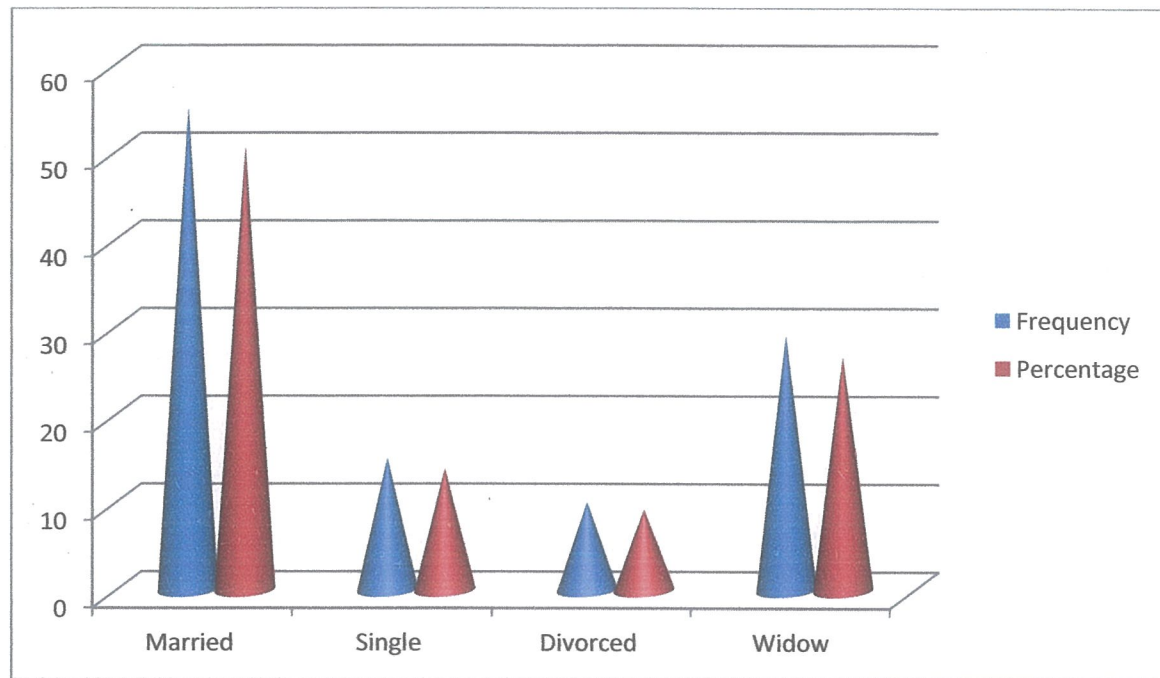
Table 6. Showing the working experience of the respondents

Time spent on duty	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 2 year	20	18.3
Above 2 Years	50	45.9
Above 5 Years	39	35.8
Total	**109**	**100**

Source: Primary Data (2019)

Concerning the time the responses had spent on duty, findings indicated from table 6 that 18.3% had spent less than 2 years in the community, 45.9%   above 2 years while 35.8% had spent above 5 years of experience. These results show that the respondents had spent enough time working and therefore have enough knowledge on the service rendered to them.

4.2 Political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development

Table 7. Showing the political factors promoting EAC growth and development

POLITICAL FACTORS PROMOTING EAC GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT	Mean Rating	St. Dev.	% Ratin
Historical ambition potentially provides politicians in the EAC region with the ability to present themselves as statesmen and representatives of a more significant regional interest	3.55	1.239	71
The visions of a political union are shared together by the majority of the population, who is well informed about the process in all the EAC countries.	3.24	1.190	64.8
There is an enhanced sense of East African identity, developing from modern communications	3.82	0.799	76.2
The Commitment to the formal EAC idea is relatively stable, in both social and generational terms	3.85	1.080	77
The fast-tracking political union is enhanced by a consensus among the leaders of the member states	3.76	1.098	75.2
The possibility of speeding integration so as to achieve political federation sooner than later, is embraced by leaders	3.24	1.264	64.8
There remains a significant political cohesion among the EAC member states	3.75	1.162	75
EAC has potential for expansion as other current non-EAC states have expressed same interests as EAC member states	3.94	1.139	78.8
The EAC member states have embraced similar policies on human development, social benefit and protection, across the	3.61	1.135	72.2
The EAC regional identity is characterized by social justice and rights, ensuring environmental sustainability.	3.63	1.005	72.6
The EAC member states are continually forging a collective identity and building a caring and sharing society which is	3.77	0.933	75.4
The EAC member states are people-centered and socially responsible to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among	3.94	1.043	79.8
Overall Mean	3.68		73.6

Source: Field Data, 2019

The results in Table 7 shows that the EAC respondents' rating of political factors promoting EAC growth and evolution. The analysis is grounded on the mean ratings computed from responses given by the selected stakeholders representing the EAC region. The mean ratings are then converted to percentage ratings, where the midpoint (cutoff point) is 60%. Ratings above 60% are interpreted as high, where 60 -74% are moderately high, 75 – 84 is high 85% and above is very gamey. Likewise, below 60% is low and very low, successively. Table 4.2 presents this analysis.

Findings in this study showed that that the valuations applied by the EAC respondents of the political factors influencing development range from a minimum of 64.8% to an uttermost of 79.8%. The lowest factor, which is ranked as moderate, represents the "possibility of speeding integration to achieve political federation sooner than later, is espoused by the leadership of the EAC member countries." This means that the leadership of the EAC states has put reasonable efforts to achieve political integration. The highest rated factor, represented by the statement that "The EAC member states are people- centered and socially responsible with an aspect to achieving enduring solidarity and oneness among the East African citizens." This is construed as a high rating. This means that the member states in the EAC region are investing adequately on their citizens to attain solidarity among the citizens of East Africa.

Another factor having a low valuation of 64.8% is extracted in the assertion that "The sights of a political union are shared together by the majority of the population, who is well informed about the process in all the EAC countries." This implies that communication and pedagogy of the EAC population on the usefulness of integration is still low.

The results also suggest that the historical ambition has not adequately provided politicians in the EAC region with the ability to represent themselves as statesmen and representatives of greater regional involvement. This was rated at 71%. The results further show that the EAC member states have not adequately embraced similar policies on human development, social benefit, and protection, across the region. This was rated at 72.2%.

Also, the findings show that the member states have not adequately fostered an EAC regional

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identity, which is characterized by social justice and rights, ensuring environmental sustainability. This was rated at 72.6%. The overall mean rating for political factors influencing development in the EAC region was computed at 73.6%, which is relatively modest.

4.3 Examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration

Table . **Examination of the extent to which the east african countries are prepared to achieve full integration**

Examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration	Mean Ratin	St. Dev.	% Ratin
Globally competitive and prosperous, with a high quality of life.	3.54	1.238	70
Transform Ugandan society from peasant to a modern prosperous country.	3.81	0.798	76.1
High quality of life anchored on peace, stability, unity, and good governance, rule of law, resilient economy, and competitiveness.	3.84	1.079	76
Become a middle-income country by 2020.	3.75	1.097	75.1
Sustainable peace and stability and achievement of global development c ommitments in line with MDGS.	3.23	1.263	64.7
Attain a prosperous competitive, secure, and politically united East Africa.	3.74	1.161	74
Transform Ugandan society from peasant to a modern prosperous country.	3.93	1.138	78.7
High quality of life anchored on peace, stability, unity, and good governance, rule of law, resilient economy, and competitiveness.	3.60	1.134	72.1
Become a middle-income country by 2020.	3.61	1.004	72.5
Sustainable peace and stability and achievement of global development c ommitments in line with MDGS.	3.72	0.932	75.3
Attain a prosperous competitive, secure, and politically united East	3.83	1.042	79.5
Overall mean	**3.66**		**72.4**

Source: Field Data, 2019

The results in Table 8 shows that the EAC respondents' rating of the examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration. The analysis is gro unded on the mean ratings computed from responses given by the selected stakeholders representing the EAC region. The mean ratings are then converted to percentage ratings, where the midpoint (cutoff point) is 60%. Ratings above 60% are interpreted as high, where 60 -74% are moderately high, 75 – 84 is high 85% and above is very gamey. Likewise, below 60% is low and very low, successively. Table 4.3 presents this analysis.

Findings in this study showed that that Transform Ugandan society from peasant to a modern prosperous country of 76.1% to an uttermost of 79.7%. The lowest factor, which is ranked as moderate, represents the "possibility of speeding integration to achieve political federation sooner than later, is espoused by the leadership of the EAC member countries." This means that the leadership of the EAC states has put reasonable efforts to achieve political integration. The highest rated factor, represented by the statement that "The EAC member states are people-centered and socially responsible with an aspect to achieving enduring solidarity and oneness among the East African citizens." This is construed as a high rating. This means that the member states in the EAC region are investing adequately on their citizens to attain solidarity among the citizens of East Africa. Another factor having a low valuation of 64.7% is extracted in the assertion that "Sustainable peace and stability and achievement of global development c ommitments in line with MDGS range from a minimum." This implies that communication and pedagogy of the EAC population on the usefulness of integration is still low. The results also suggest that globally competitive and prosperous, with a high quality of life. This was rated at 70%. The results further show that High quality of life anchored on peace, stability, unity, and good governance, rule of law, resilient economy, and competitiveness. This was rated at 72.1%. Also, the findings show that the member states have not adequately fostered an EAC regional identity, which is characterized by social justice and rights, ensuring environmental sustainability. This was rated at 72.5%. The overall mean rating for the examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration at 72.4%, which is relatively modest.

4.4 Possible solutions to the various constraints

The information from the informants (from Kenya Embassy, Tanzania Embassy, South Sudan, Rwanda Embassy and Burundi Embassy) showed that: *Public involvement in the integration process* is on the solutions on regional integration in Africa. The continuously said that:

'The general population is a passive recipient of integration as there exist minimal opportunities for participation. This creates the absence of transparency in the integration process as the general public neither knows nor understands what integration is all about. This fact also presents another major challenge which is the lack of legitimacy for the organs of the EAC. For instance the EALA members are selected by national MPs of member states as opposed to being elected by the general public as do MPs from member states. This removes the mandate of EALA MPs as they are not put there by a mandate of the people''.

Moreover, the information from the informants (from Kenya Embassy, Tanzania Embassy, South Sudan, Rwanda Embassy and Burundi Embassy) showed that: *Non-Tariff Barriers* is on the solutions on regional integration in Africa. The continuously said that:

There exists National Monitoring Committees (NMCs) in member states as a means of implementing the Mechanism for Identification and Elimination of NTBs within the EAC. There are eight clusters of NTBs namely: Business registration and licensing, Police roadblocks, Varying trade regulations among the EAC countries, Duplication of functions within agencies involved in customs activities, Cumbersome inspection requirements, Varying cumbersome and costly transiting procedures in the EAC partner states, Immigration procedures and Customs documentation procedures. However, even with these committees in place to implement NTB elimination mechanisms, there has been a lack of progress in eliminating the NTBs. More needs to be done in raising the awareness of NTBs and more transparency in the process of identifying and eliminating them.

Additionally, the information from the informants (from Kenya Embassy, Tanzania Embassy, South Sudan, Rwanda Embassy and Burundi Embassy) showed that: *Overlapping loyalties* is on the solutions on regional integration in Africa. The constantly said that:

"African countries have come into partnership with each other through various trade agreements and arrangements. Some of these arrangements have materialized into regional

blocs that have large market bases and huge potential to yield development for these members through increased trade. This has naturally turned into a convergence of interests and a streamlining of policies that improve on how members of these blocs relate with each other for mutual benefit. This has resulted in the formation of up to 13 Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa''.

Finally, *the Cooperation and coordination is growing among the EAC partner-states, and this has generated some notable achievements in establishing a regional parliament and court system,* said the respondents form from Kenya Embassy, Tanzania Embassy, South Sudan, Rwanda Embassy and Burundi Embassy. They continuously said that: *''Regional mechanisms and programs for early warning and disaster preparedness are now in place. Efforts to improve conflict prevention, management, and resolution; refugee management; combating the proliferation of illegal small arms and light weapons are ongoing. Cooperation and coordination of these regional security matters will strengthen the move toward a political federation, especially after the implementation of achievements aimed at the three pillars of the EAC: the Customs Union, the Common Market, and Monetary Union. The EAC has made substantial progress toward these pillars, although much work still needs to be done''.*

Regarding the Customs Union endeavor, the EAC has accomplished a number of things, as stated by the respondents form from Kenya Embassy, Tanzania Embassy, South Sudan, Rwanda Embassy and Burundi Embassy and these were: *''liberalized intra-community trade, implemented a Common External Tariff (CET) and Rules of Origin (RoO), implemented a strategy of gradual internal tariff elimination and established mechanisms and programs to monitor that trend established the EAC Customs Management Act, concluded the regional Competition Act (2006), with policies and strategies, promoted the EAC as a single investment area, initiated common trade policy frameworks and reviews''.*

The results of these achievements have been a "common trade policy, improved market access particularly for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs), and diversification of product ranges," among other positive outcomes. Achievements on behalf of the Common Market, in addition to signing and operationalizing the protocol were: *'' A steady currency convertibility and full-scale*

economic union, adoption of regular travel reports, work permits, and fees for education, tourism, common negotiating frameworks, free movement of capital and harmonization of transport facilitating instruments''.

These achievements have brought about the free movement of human capital within the community, free exchange and cross-border activities and, most importantly, new markets for development resources. Although negotiations for a common currency and monetary union began in January 2010, progress has occurred in partner-states' currency convertibility, the review of banking rules and regulations, and harmonization of fiscal and monetary policies and trading practices and regulations in the stock exchanges.

CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data gathered and interpretation thereof. It gives the demographic characteristics of the respondents and variables used.

5.1 Summary of findings

The study sought to identify challenges in regional integration in Africa with a focus on the new East Africa Community. The interest arose from observed publicized increase of activities within the East Africa Community especially by the Summit of the Heads of Partner States. This prompted the researcher to want to find out about the areas causing constraints in the realization of the EAC treaty from representatives working within the EAC.

Findings in this study showed that that overall mean rating for political factors influencing development in the EAC region was computed at 73.6%, which is relatively modest. The analysis has indicated, however, that the following factors are showing a positive path to progress in political integration. These factors received a rating of 75% and above. One of these is the fact that there is an enhanced sense of East African identity, developing from modern communications. The other factor is the fact that, the commitment to the formal EAC idea is relatively stable, in both social and generational terms. Also receiving high rating is the effort of the fast-tracking political union, which is enhanced by a consensus among the leaders of the member states. The respondents also concurred that there remains a significant political cohesion among the EAC member states. Further to this, the respondents concurred that EAC has the potential for expansion as other current non-EAC states have expressed same interests as EAC member states. Lastly, the respondents strongly agreed that the EAC member countries are continually forging a collective identity and building a caring and sharing fellowship, which is inclusive and proportionate.

Kimenyi (2006), directs out the unwillingness of governments to surrender authority to regional bodies because many African states are however dealing with sovereignty issues, and are

yet unwilling to cut the powers of the state. To date, Political Federation is yet to be achieved, and talks towards laying the basis for ultimate political Federation have been acrimonious due to the concern of loss of sovereignty among the Partner States.

According to Elbadawi and Mwega (1998), political integration is a process by which a supranational state is produced out of smaller nations. The individual states share a joint government, and the supranational state is recognized internationally as a single political entity In substance, the Partner States need to infer that for political integration to come after, they should be made to give up some of their powers to the Community, and this has been the significant drawback towards the EAC political Integration.

It has been contended, perhaps humorously, that the critical drivers for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania are that Kenya wishes to export surplus capital, Uganda seeks an outlet for its surplus labor, and Tanzania wants to realize a Pan-African vision (Ayee, 2011). It has also been argued, nonetheless, that the commonalities go far more recondite.

More cynically, others have indicated that this historical ambition potentially provides politicians with the ability to represent themselves as statesmen and representatives of greater regional involvement. Furthermore, EAC institutions bring significant new forces to dispose and depose those who serve in them (Wangamati and Okoth, 2015).

There remain significant political differences between the states. Museveni's success in obtaining his third-term amendment raised doubts in the other countries. The single-party dominance in the Tanzanian and Ugandan parliaments is unattractive to Kenyans, while Kenya's ethnic-politics remains absent in Tanzania. Rwanda has a distinctive political culture with a political elite committed to building a developmental state, partly to safeguard the Tutsi group against a return to ethnic violence (Booth *et al.,* 2007).

Informed by the Neo-Functionalist theory of integration the study hypothesized that common policy arrangements in one sector amongst countries eventually leads to a spillover to other common sectors creating a higher potential of achieving regional integration amongst these

countries. Conversely, non-existence of common policy arrangements in common sectors amongst countries create low potential for achieving regional integration amongst these countries.

In seeking the validity of these hypotheses, the study gave the general background of the revived East Africa Community and outlined the broad review of the history of integration, collapse, revival and the new East Africa Community.

The study sought to highlight the performance of the EAC based on its 5 year Development Strategies. The research also focused on a broad literature review of various theories and approaches to the process regional integration. This was an attempt to describe how the various theories and approaches to regional integration may be used to describe partly or fully the EAC integration process.

The study identified that there is no single approach that can wholly describe and prescribe the progress of the EAC integration process. It finds, rather, that a mixed theory approach is more effective, where various theories describe and prescribe the EAC integration at various stages of the process.

5.2 Conclusions

The research findings based on literature review of EAC policy documents, the researchers own critical observation and results obtained from the questionnaires that generally tended to agree with the hypothesis that guided the study. In view of this, there was overwhelming consensus on:

Political will is high, at least at the highest level which is at the Summit of Heads of State of Partner members. The respondents from the questionnaires were of the opinion that unlike the collapsed EAC, the new EAC's heads of State are far more willing to actualize the treaty towards the realization of an East African Federation.

Despite this finding the study concludes that the political will might be high at the highest level but the rest of the levels do not fare as well.

1. As shown in the objective of this study, it can be understood that the weak institutions in EAC lack the mandate to enforce and implement agreements; this is ascribable to the reluctance by the partner nations to give their sovereignty. This has also resulted in the slow harmonization and coordination of policies. Thirdly, the security and instability in the region create an environment not conducive for investors, disputes and tension between communities further slows the integration operation. Terminal, but not least the lack of participation by the private sector and citizens who are really the remainder beneficiaries of the integration process is missing. The participation process of the citizens is yet to be institutionalised as the masses have no avenues of participation unlike the EU, where the people directly participate in electing representatives of the EU parliament through political parties. On that point is no comprehensive integration policy to cement the EAC regional states. The primary cause is that there is a lack, of political will in the member countries to see the integration succeed. This is expressed by the persistent nonobservance of commitments taken and insufficient use of the instruments set up by these arrangements. The EAC member states do not share common political values: each has had different political experiences and each has chosen a different path to handle them. The experiences have created elements of a unique political culture for each member state.

2. The integration process should incorporate the public more if the process is to succeed. It needs to be owned by the East African citizenry through their participation in decision making such as electing members of regional bodies for instance the EALA, to give it popular mandate as opposed to what it is now where they are selected and not elected limiting their mandate.

3. To accelerate the process of integration, investments on basic infrastructure such as railways, roads, electricity and access to water need to be prioritized in order to connect the region as well as providing favorable conditions for commerce to thrive. Difficulty in the movement of people, goods and services create a hindrance to the process of integration. Non-tariff barriers create such a hindrance and hence the EAC should strive to completely eliminate them.

5.3 Recommendations

The study recommends the development of a legislative framework (laws, policies and guidelines) for Community Development within partner states. Harmonization of democratization policies, processes and practices. In doing so, the EAC should embrace policies on human development, social benefit, and protection, across the region. This would enable EAC member states realize a common identity, a feature that is prerequisite for integration in the region.

The East Africa citizenry needs to be informed and educated more about the integration process. The EAC secretariat ought to conduct massive civic education programmes around East Africa for the public to know how they can get involved in the process. It will as well inform them of the benefits to them and the huge opportunities that lie in an integrated East Africa. The passive nature of the larger East African citizenry needs to be made part and parcel of the process as they are the ones that shall eventually be most affected by the results of the process of integration.

The organs of the EAC are structured in a way that executive power lays in the Partner States through the Council of Ministers. The decision making process in the EAC has proved to be a lengthy and bureaucratic activity rendering it ineffective in effectively delivering its mandate.

The Treaty stipulates in Article 11 and 14 that issues requiring executive decision first have to be considered by respective Sectoral Committees then considered by the Coordination Committee that make a recommendation to the Council of Ministers for final decision making. The process is lengthened even more by the requirement of Article 12(3) of the Treaty that decisions shall be made in consensus. This means that all State Partners have to be in agreement for any decision to be final thus limiting progress where one Partner State disagrees then a decision cannot be made.

There is need to allocate proper power to make decisions to the various organs as opposed to just one final decision making organ. This move would enable the organs perform their objectives more effectively. The EACJ for instance has been denied the opportunity to play a bigger role in the integration agenda by its limited jurisdiction to interpreting the Treaty of the EAC.

As has been documented in this research, though RECs in Africa are beneficial, it shall be prudent if the members of the EAC maintain their main focus on establishing the EAC as per its objectives. The State Partners have multiple memberships in several RECs and this in itself can create a conflict of loyalty.

Membership to these overlapping regional institutions produces complexities that create confusion for governments and the private sector. This situation gives rise to duplication of effort especially at customs where different tariffs have to be applied. It also burdens partner states of the EAC to other protocols, rules, procedures and financial obligations as members of other regional organizations.

The study recommends that EAC partner States prioritize achieving EAC goals and avoid conflicting efforts in other RECs in Africa as one cannot render service to two masters at the same time.

5.4 Area for further Research

The EAC has made significant strides toward integration, more so than any other bloc in the continent. However, the complexity of the process and continuing uncertainties leave the looming question of whether the process will succeed ultimately. Doubts are compounded if one considers the level of distrust amongst the partner-states. Questions remain as to whether secession might occur, or if full regional integration will occur, and how sustainable such integration would be. Answers remain up in the air, even though resolutions to all such questions appear to be possible.

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

Dear Respondent

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collect primary information towards a research project on 'Challenges to Regional Integration in Africa: A Case Study of the East African Community'. The research project is being written by the researcher in partial fulfillment of the award of a Degree in International Relation and Diplomatic Studies tenable at Kampala International University. On account of your experience and demonstrable knowledge of the East African Community Affairs, you have deliberately been identified as a respondent in this research. The invaluable information you provide shall strictly be treated with utmost confidence and used for academic purposes in the said study only. It is therefore not obligatory that you provide your name if you do not wish to do so. Please feel free to provide information in this questionnaire and revert to the researcher at your earliest convenience. Please provide your answers by writing on the available space (dotted) or by circling your answer where appropriate.

SECTION A. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA
Sex
Male ☐
Female ☐
Age
Below (18) ☐
(18-30) ☐
(30-35) ☐
Education level
Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Diploma ☐
Degree ☐
Masters ☐
Marital status
Married ☐
Single ☐
Divorced ☐
Widow ☐
Time spent on duty
Less than 2 year ☐
Above 2 Years ☐
Above 5 Years ☐

SECTION B Political Factors Promoting EAC Growth and Development

Instruction: please tick the most appropriate option that best describes your level of agreement or disagreement with the statements in the table below. Use the scale below to rate your opinion: 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=not sure; 4=agree; and 5=strongly disagree.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Historical ambition potentially provides politicians in the EAC region with the ability to present themselves as statesmen and representatives of a more significant regional interest					
The visions of a political union are shared together by the majority of the population, who is well informed about the process in all the EAC countries.					
There is an enhanced sense of East African identity, developing from modern communications					
The Commitment to the formal EAC idea is relatively stable, in both social and generational terms					
The fast-tracking political union is enhanced by a consensus among the leaders of the member states					
The possibility of speeding integration so as to achieve political federation sooner than later, is embraced by leaders of the EAC member states					
There remains a significant political cohesion among the EAC member states					
EAC has potential for expansion as other current non-EAC states have expressed same interests as EAC member states					
The EAC member states have embraced similar policies on human development, social benefit and protection, across the region					
The EAC regional identity is characterized by social justice and rights, ensuring environmental sustainability.					
The EAC member states are continually forging a collective identity and building a caring and sharing society which is inclusive and harmonious.					
The EAC member states are people-centered and socially responsible to achieving enduring solidarity and unity among the East African citizens					

SECTION C. Examination of the extent to which the East African countries are prepared to achieve full integration

Instruction: please tick the most appropriate option that best describes your level of agreement or disagreement with the statements in the table below. Use the scale below to rate your opinion: 1=strongly disagree; 2=disagree; 3=not sure; 4=agree; and 5=strongly disagree.

Statements	1	2	3	4	5
Globally competitive and prosperous, with a high quality of life.					
Transform Ugandan society from peasant to a modern prosperous country.					
High quality of life anchored on peace, stability, unity, and good governance, rule of law, resilient economy, and competitiveness.					
Become a middle-income country by 2020.					
Sustainable peace and stability and achievement of global development commitments in line with MDGS.					
Attain a prosperous competitive, secure, and politically united East Africa.					
Transform Ugandan society from peasant to a modern prosperous country.					
High quality of life anchored on peace, stability, unity, and good governance, rule of law, resilient economy, and competitiveness.					
Become a middle-income country by 2020.					
Sustainable peace and stability and achievement of global development commitments in line with MDGS.					
Attain a prosperous competitive, secure, and politically united East Africa.					

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SECTION D. Possible solutions to the various constraints

Comments on the possible solutions to the various constraints:

Public involvement in the integration

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Non-Tariff Barriers

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Overlapping loyalties

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Regarding the Customs Union endeavor, the EAC has accomplished a number of Achievements. What are those achievements:

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In your opinion, how would you rate the level of awareness of the East African citizens on the integration process?

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What more can be done to bring about effective communication at the EAC?

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APPENDIX II. INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. At the preamble of the EAC Treaty of 1999, the main reasons contributing to the collapse of the East African Community were the lack of strong political will, lack of strong participation of the private sector and civil society in the co-operation activities. In your opinion, is there strong political will in the revived East African Community?

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2. In your opinion, are the East African citizens actively participating in the process of EAC integration?

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3. In your opinion, at what level of participation would you place the civil society and private sector in the EAC integration process?

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4. In your opinion does the membership of EAC Partner States in other Regional Integration Institutions like COMESA and SADC affect EAC's effectiveness?

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5. Effective communication in any organization about ongoing activities is vital to keep employees and stakeholders (EAC citizens) informed as well as motivated. In your opinion are there effective communication channels at the EAC?

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6. The EAC's decision making structure begins with consideration by Sectoral Committees who then make recommendations to the Coordination Committee who make recommendations to the Council of Ministers (including Sectoral Council of Ministers) for ultimate decision making. In your opinion, is this structure supportive of EAC's ability to effectively achieve its goals?

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