

**ASSESSMENT OF THE TRAJECTORY OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF COMESA FREE MOVEMENT OF
PERSONS PROTOCOL IN KENYA.**

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DECLARATION

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to the Almighty God for blessing me with physical, emotional and mental strength that I needed to finish this study. In addition, I want to dedicate this research project to my parents, Mr. Mackline Mutai and Madam Esther Mutai, for their prayers, unwavering financial support, encouragement, and inspiration during my entire academic journey. Thank you very much to my brothers and sisters, Victor, Brian, Mercy, and Kevin, for all of the support and motivation you've given me over the years. I'm grateful and pray that God lavishes His blessings on you.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACFTA:	African Continental Free Trade Area
ADB:	African Development Bank
AEC:	African Economic Community
ASEAN:	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU:	African Union
AUC:	African Union Commission
AMU:	Arab Maghreb Union
CM:	Common Market
CEMAC:	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CEN-SAD:	Community of Sahel -Saharan States
CMP:	Common Market Protocol
COMESA:	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CU:	Customs Union
EAC:	East African Community
ECCAS:	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS:	Economic Community for West African States
EU:	European Union
FMPs:	Free Movement of Persons
FTA:	Free Trade Area
ICMPD:	International conference on Migration Policy Development
ICT:	Information Communication Technology
IOM:	International Organization for Migration
IOs:	International Organizations
KIPPRA:	Kenya Institute for Public Policy and Research Analysis

MPFA:	Migration Policy Framework for Africa
MTSP:	Medium Term Strategic Plan
NACOSTI:	National Commission for Science Technology and Innovation
NGO`s:	Non-Governmental Organizations
OSBPs:	One Stop Border Posts
PTA:	Preferential Trade Agreement
RIT:	Regional Integration theory
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SDGs:	Sustainable Development Goals
SPSS:	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
UDHR:	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN:	United Nations
UNCTAD:	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
UNECA:	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Common Goods Problem:	It is a concept in international relations that explains conflict by advocating for provision of something to all individuals regardless of contributions.
Economic Development:	Refers to a positive increase in the wealth of states from low income economy into an industrialized economy.
Free movement:	It encompasses the right individuals to travel from place to place within the territory of a country and return to it.
Free Movement of Persons:	Refers to the right of individuals to travel within a country`s territory, it is applicable to all citizens and allows for temporary mobility based on non-discriminatory process through the removal of restrictions at entry points in Regional Economic Communities.
Free Movement Protocols:	It means the provision of exemption to certain categories of travelers or all of them from visa requirements.
Gravity Model Approach:	It refers to a model used in evaluation of Regional Trade Agreements based on bilateral trade amongst Member States.
Implementation:	It is the process of executing policies into effective action.
Overlapping Membership:	It refers to a situation where a state belongs to many regional organizations at the same time.
Protocol:	Refers to an agreement made between two or more states.
Ratification:	Refers to a consent made by states to be bound to a specific treaty or agreement.

Reciprocity Principle:	A core principle in international relations that solves collective goods problems by giving rewards to behaviors pursuing collective action and punishing self-pursuing interests.
Regional Integration:	Refers to cooperation of states through formation of a common institution with an ultimate goal of boosting trade.
Spaghetti bowl:	It is a concept in African Integration that refers to overlapped trade agreements that hinders regional integration.
Variable Geometry:	Refers to an approach adopted by Regional Trade Agreements in Africa to aid in the process of implementation of integration measures at different paces.
Visa on Arrival:	Refers to an entry permit often granted at entry points of states.
Visa:	Refers to an authorization document that allows visitors to travel into entry points of a particular country.
Visa free reciprocity:	It refers to the practice of a country to extend the privileges of visa free entry to each other`s citizens.

ABSTRACT

The aspect of freedom of movement is considered a dimension in migration and regional integration since it deepens cooperation among Member states. Freedom of movement is one of the essential tenets of continental, political and international human rights system. Most Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in Africa have come up with innovative policies such as the Free Movement of Persons (FMPs) protocols implemented at regional levels whose purpose is to open up borders through the removal of restrictions at entry points in order to facilitate intra-regional travel and mobility across all the RECs. The ratification and implementation of treaties and protocols demonstrates African states commitment to resolve common goods problems in states. Nevertheless, despite the importance of freedom of movement accords to COMESA's integration agenda, Member states have been slow in the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol. The COMESA freedom of movement protocol was enacted in 2001, but not all COMESA member states have ratified it or put it into practice therefore, compliance levels is still low in nearly every Member state. This study set out to quantify the results of Kenya's implementation of the free movement of people protocol inside the COMESA. The Study objectives included assessing the degree to which COMESA had achieved its aims, ascertaining the degree to which the COMESA free movement of person's protocol has been implemented, and identifying barriers to full implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol. The research was guided and supported by regional integration and liberal institutionalism theories. In order to determine the associations between factors, exploratory research design was used in the research study. The research was conducted in Nairobi City County, and the sample was drawn at random from the relevant departments in that locale. Purposive and snowballing sampling techniques were used in selection of key respondents in the research study. Primary data was obtained from self-administered questionnaires and the use of interviews administered to the relevant respondents. Secondary data on the other hand was obtained from books, journal, articles, COMESA annual reports and COMESA meeting decisions. Content analysis - was used in analysing qualitative data and SPSS version 25 was used in quantitative-data analysis. Data was corroborated in order to attain validity. Based on the findings of the study, it was concluded that the process of implementing the protocol on COMESA FMP lags behind in Kenya due to hurdles such as; lack of political commitment, lack of collaboration from stakeholders, slow pace of ratification, fear of loss of sovereignty and also overlapping membership. However, despite the COMESA free movement of person's protocol not being ratified and implemented in Kenya, the study revealed that notable efforts have been made by Kenya through the issuance of visa on arrival to other COMESA member states. The study recommended that Kenya should prioritize and ensure the full implementation and ratification of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in order to enhance mobility and achieve the goal of agenda 2063 that seeks to foster integration and effective mobility in African RECs.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Chapter Overview

The chapter consisted of the background to the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, significance and justification of the study, scope of the study and lastly limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Free movement of people is an important factor in fostering regional cooperation (Vhumbunu and Rudigi, 2020). One of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) outlined by the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in 2015 incorporates human mobility as one of its objectives (AU, 2018). Human mobility is a multifaceted phenomenon since it's a human right as well as a general right. The World Bank (2011) noted that African Regional Economic Communities (RECs) are groups of governments that cooperate to address regional economic and political issues, such as the free movement of people and goods and the achievement of political unification.

According to Tsikata (2014) and Abuja Treaty, RECs were envisaged as a platform for continent-wide integration in Africa in the 1980 Lagos Plan of Action for development of Africa adopted by the chiefs of state in 1980 (AU 2018). Adepaju (2002) adds that, lessons learnt from both emerging and rich countries bolster the case for establishing sub- and regional-level economic cooperation in Africa. A growing number of countries are signing regional integration pacts as it gains momentum as a worldwide trend (Jansen, 2019). Demelo & Tsikata (2013) stated that development agendas at the international, regional, and national levels have all taken RECs into account.

Freedom of movement across international boundaries in regional groupings of states has a long history in Africa. As a result, major postcolonial economic blocs in Africa,

such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), have articulated a vision of a future in which freedom of movement is unrestricted by inherited colonial boundaries (Crush, 2000). According to the World Bank (2011), African RECs are made up of governments that cooperate to address developmental challenges like easing travel restrictions and attaining national unity. The International Conference on Migration Policy Development (2013) adds that unrestricted mobility is prioritized in COMESA documents like the Medium-Term Strategic Plan (MTSP).

According to Betts (2011), there are a number of international treaties that address human rights-based migration. Article 13(2) of the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) adopted by the General Assembly (A/RES/3/217A1948) contains a strong incorporation of the right to freely move within and between states, making it a hybrid legal right protected by the African Charter, considering its legislative foundational role in establishing freedom of movement restrictions. In the context of Africa, freedom of movement is also incorporated in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Free movement of people across the continent is a stated goal of the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063, which the African Union Commission (2015) describes as "the blueprint and masterplan for transforming the continent to facilitate sustainable development and integration." Further, the AU (2015) argues that, Agenda 2063 encourages governments to do away with visa entrance requirements in order to realize a connected continent that prioritizes the implementation of free movement laws in all RECs.

Free movement of people benefits states because it increases cross-border socialization, cross-border infrastructure development, economic development, and investment (Gheasi and Nijkamp 2017). Since freedom of movement is a major component of Africa's Agenda 2063, AU (2018) asserts that it will foster integration,

Pan-Africanism, inter-African trade, labour mobility, mobilization and utilization of human and material resources, and self-sufficiency and development. The African Development Bank (2012) adds their opinion that the freedom of travel and labour are intertwined.

Freedom of movement, like free trade in commodities and services, encourages more interaction and growth among people in different areas of the world. From an African perspective, free movement of people integrates communities, promotes business expansion, and creates jobs across the continent (IOM, 2018). Opening a region's boundaries, according to Goldin *et. al.* (2011) also increases worldwide output. As envisioned under the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA), intra-African trade will benefit from efforts to realize free movement of people. Practically all RECs on the African continent see freedom of movement as a crucial goal that promotes economic union, it's clear that globalization's favourable impact on this issue is not limited to the European Union (EU).

Unrestricted movement between African countries boosts economic benefits for both the receiving and sending states, most African RECs advocate for it (UNESCO, 2007). Freedom of movement within regions is crucial to bolstering regional integration because the majority of people move within regions through short and frequent trips (IOM, 2007). According to Nita (2017), RECs have created migration frameworks to ease the integration process, and the instruments chosen show a stronger resolve at regional levels to properly regulate migration. Multiple RECs have established policy frameworks that are consistent with the AU Migration Policy Framework for Africa (MPFA), which advocates for the implementation of free movement protocols at the regional level. Mobility of people is a cornerstone of the integration agenda, which has grown substantially as a result of globalization. It is also an important factor in fostering

regional economic integration, but achieving this goal is difficult because states are understandably wary of the effects of immigration on national security and are protective of domestic industries and jobs.

The EU, ECOWAS, SADC, COMESA, AU, and finally the East African Community (EAC) have all passed legislations to make it easier for their nationals to travel freely throughout their own regions. However, only five African RECs have free movement of persons (FMPs) frameworks according to the AU Commission (2013), therefore there is significant variation in the level at which mobility policies are formulated and implemented at the sub-regional level. While the agenda for RECs to facilitate free movement among COMESA member states is well-established, little is known about the specific steps taken by individual COMESA Member States to implement the FMPs protocol. This is because Member States use domestic systems to regulate migration, making the implementation process complex and challenging. Although free movement protocols have been heralded as a superior policy framework for improving regional mobility, they have been slow to be put into reality in most RECs (Feltes and Schola, 2018).

Freedom of movement has been realized by the EU on a scale never before seen (UNESCO, 2017). Rukema and Rudigi (2020) asserts that European Union through the establishment of the Schengen agreement has inspired many regional integration attempts towards achievement of mobility within regional integration schemes. Schengen is considered one of the largest visa free zones, according to the European Commission (2021). The primary goal in creating the Schengen area was to eliminate restrictions on the free flow of commodities, people, services, and capital. It is now possible to freely travel between any of the Schengen area's member states so long as you have a valid form of identification (Popa, 2016). Since the Schengen area is

Europe's most developed and prosperous integrated region, free visa entry for stays of up to 90 days for Schengen accord members is a top priority. According to Guild (2017), the establishment of the Schengen agreement brought about the elimination of internal borders.

According to AU (2006), many RECs have established cooperation frameworks based on migration, notably with regard to the mobility of people, goods, and capital and investment. Schengen region in Europe and ECOWAS have the highest levels of reciprocity amongst its member states, according to the UNTWO visa openness report (2014). AU (2002) asserts that, freedom of movement is provided in chapter six of the treaty that established the African Economic Community(AEC). Article 28 of the free movement protocol also supports the fact that RECs aid in actualizing mobility measures and movement of goods and services. The Migration Policy Framework for Africa(MPFA) adopted in 2006 by African Union encourages RECs to adopt and implement protocols that progressively seek to attain freedom of movement, and several RECs have adopted various legal and policy frameworks at regional levels to facilitate freedom of movement in accordance with this framework. Majority of the African RECs, including ECOWAS, SADC, COMESA, and the East African Community, have been inspired by the agreement and success of the European Union and have developed protocols to ease mobility of people.

According to Adepaju (2007), ECOWAS has achieved the greatest success in terms of actualizing the goal of freedom of movement since it has achieved a higher level of harmonization compared to any other African REC. The elimination of visa requirements for all citizens was made possible according to Adepaju (2015), because of the adoption of ECOWAS protocol by ECOWAS member states. Citizens of the ECOWAS community have the freedom to travel and settle anywhere in the regional

bloc, as noted by Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018). In addition, the Common Market Protocol (CMP) was ratified in the EAC in 2010, thus maintained a liberal posture towards achieving FMPs and provided an excellent framework for COMESA to establish a similar mechanism that facilitates freedom of movement (Samuel, 2017). According to Crush et. al (2017), the facilitation of movement of person's protocol adopted by Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) member states essence was to allow citizens to move freely without visa requirements for a period of 90 days however, only four member states have ratified the protocol therefore the protocol is not yet enforced. AUC (2021) further asserts that most SADC member states have entered into bilateral agreements that allows respective states visa free entry. Freedom of movement has improved in EAC and ECOWAS, leading to a high level of visa reciprocity (AFDB, 2017). The World Bank (2011) suggests that free movement is impossible to realize on a global scale and is therefore more practicable on a regional one. Murithi (2018) adds that without freedom of movement throughout the continent, the foundations for genuine African citizenship are not in place, rendering Africa's integration ambition a pipe dream.

According to COMESA annual report (2022), COMESA has been a fundamental pillar in the integration efforts of the region hence has made milestones in trade liberalization and facilitation, customs and border management , policy coordination ,COMESA has also harmonized institutional framework for transport and energy and ICT, In terms of peace and security, COMESA has developed frameworks that aid in addressing conflicts, insecurity as well as instability therefore contributing towards enhancement of the principles of democracy and good governance within COMESA region. COMESA has also been able to transform from a free trade area into a common market with relative movement of goods and persons (COMESA, annual report 2022)

COMESA's documents give priority to the free movement agenda because it is included in the organization's Medium-Term Strategic Plans (MTSP). According to UNECA (2010), in 2001 the COMESA Authority of Heads of state adopted the COMESA FMPs protocol in accordance with article 164(1) of the COMESA treaty which provided that; member states to adopt necessary measures in order to progressively achieve freedom of labour, movement, and finally the establishment of rights and services. This laid the groundwork for the agenda of freedom of movement, which sought to complement the agenda of integration.

According to Samah (2015), COMESA adopted the free movement protocol adopted in 2001. However, to date, only four Member States have signed the protocol to remove barriers that obstruct FMPs: Kenya, Rwanda, Burundi, and Zimbabwe while Burundi is the only state that has ratified the protocol To promote free movement of people, COMESA devised a schedule covering the years 2000–2014. To further facilitate free movement of people, COMESA member states suggested a time frame from 2000-2002 to implement the initiative, which included the progressive elimination of visas as the first stage (ECA, 2010). Despite being adopted in 2001, the COMESA freedom of movement protocol has not yet come into force because the minimum number of ratifying nations was not reached (IOM, 2007).

While free movement of people is crucial to achieving COMESA's goals, the organization's member states show inconsistent compliance with the organization's protocol, as stated in the COMESA Business Council Report, Lusaka (2011). COMESA (2007) claims that there has been a delay in the ratification and implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, but the report does not explain why this delay has occurred despite the importance of implementation to furthering regional integration within COMESA. Therefore, the purpose of this

research study was to fill the gap of literature that exist by assessing the trajectory of implementation of COMESA's FMPs protocol in Kenya. It is also worth mentioning that, most documented literature has focussed on the difficulties encountered in the implementation of free movement protocols in other African RECS such as ECOWAS, SADC, and EAC and have diverted attention away from COMESA freedom of movement protocol thus resulting in a dearth of evidence in COMESA. This study was inspired by a need to fill that void in the literature.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The free movement of people is considered as a vital enabler and component of trade and regional integration according to Stephenson's and Hufbauer (2010). Furthermore, Asche and Burner (2009) highlight the importance of regional organizations as effective tools for boosting mobility. Most African RECs have implemented free movement protocols to remove visa requirements and promote visa-free travel at borders and other entrance points.

Freedom of movement is a cornerstone of the COMESA treaty and the organization's strategy for economic integration because it is crucial to the creation of a shared market. Recent worldwide debates on migration have spurred debates on how far adopted mobility protocols are implemented and how RECs regulate freedom of movement. The COMESA regional integration agenda anticipates the operation of a common market based on mobility of people and goods. With the ultimate goal of removing constraints that hinder mobility in COMESA member states, the freedom of movement protocol was agreed by COMESA member states during the sixth summit of COMESA authority. Low levels of compliance from Member governments have hampered the process of implementing the protocol due to a lack of ratification from such governments.

Despite the fact that COMESA adopted the free movement protocol in 2001, only Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya, and Zimbabwe have signed it, Burundi is the only state that has ratified the protocol, therefore, the protocol faces implementation hurdles. The initial set timelines to attain the enforcement of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol elapsed, and so the roadmap was not achieved by COMESA Member states. It is worth mentioning that freedom of movement is often progressive at the regional level in comparison to the continental level. Zambia and Zimbabwe set up National Monitoring committees in 2016 to oversee the execution of the COMESA freedom of movement treaty, thus the situation has improved somewhat. Despite the importance of free mobility to achieving COMESA's shared market goals, member states' actual practices vary widely.

Though Kenya has tried to facilitate free movement of people by issuing visas upon arrival and eliminating visa requirements at entrance points, Kenya has failed to ratify and implement the COMESA free movement of person's treaty, which it signed in March 2010. Few international law scholars have investigated the willingness of states to bind themselves to treaties since most scholarly literature focusses on the decisions of states to comply with treaties once committed. Few studies have examined the ratification as well as the implementation status of the COMESA free movement of person's protocol since it was signed. The intention of this research study was to fill the existing knowledge gap by analyzing Kenya's progress toward implementing the COMESA freedom of movement protocol and identifying the challenges that the country has encountered along the way.

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of this study was to assess the trajectory of the implementation of COMESA Free movement of person's protocol in Kenya.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To assess the extent to which COMESA has attained its objectives in accordance to its founding treaty.
- ii. To evaluate the implementation trend of COMESA free movement of persons Protocol in Kenya.
- iii. To examine the challenges faced in the implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. To what extent has COMESA attained its objectives based on its founding treaty?
- ii. What is the implementation trend of the COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya?
- iii. What challenges hinder the implementation of the COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya?

1.5 Significance and Justification

Implementing the adopted COMESA free movement protocol by COMESA will improve regional integration among its Member states, therefore, this research study would help relevant stakeholders and policy makers to evaluate effective strategies that will help them realize and actualize policy success and identify gaps on the obstacles that have hampered the implementation of mobility protocols. Scholars and researchers

exploring a comparable topic, in this case, free movement of people in African RECs, would find this study helpful, as it will help them generate new knowledge. The difficulties identified in the research study would serve as a resource for future scholars and will inform COMESA transition policy decisions. Further understanding of mobility and regional economic integration would also be gained from the study's findings.

The choice to zero in on Kenya was therefore appropriate given that it is one of the most interconnected COMESA Member States, having signed the COMESA freedom of movement treaty and beginning to implement some components of the convention. The years 2004-2018 were pivotal for this research because that's when the COMESA FMPs protocols began to take effect throughout all COMESA Member states, Kenya included.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Kenya's trajectory in enforcing the COMESA freedom of movement protocol was examined. The country signed and partially implemented some aspects of the protocol to promote regional integration and make travel more convenient. The research was conducted solely in Nairobi City County, with the majority of the time spent in Kenyan government buildings housing the Ministry of Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya Institute of Public Policy Research and Analysis (KIPPRA) offices, Immigration Department, and COMESA offices. Since the timelines established at the time of the approval of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol by member states had been followed, the study focused on the period from 2004-2018. The year 2004 was vital because it's when the COMESA freedom of movement protocol took effect. The year 2008 was pivotal in the research since it documented the progress made toward

implementation and ratification of the COMESA freedom of movement treaty, especially in Kenya.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitations of the study

Some challenges in the course of the study were faced. There was a dearth of literature and publications on mobility in African RECs, which made it difficult for the researcher to gather relevant published materials, such as reports on the status of the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol by individual COMESA Member States like Kenya. The researcher, however, addressed this difficulty by using secondary sources to ensure uniformity. Some respondents felt uncomfortable answering questions about the COMESA freedom of movement protocol during data collection since the aspect of implementation of protocols is considered sensitive thus there was a general reluctance to share information on migration. Lack of commitment at work and lack of cooperation from other respondents made it hard for the researcher to arrange convenient interview times with important informants, so the researcher resorted to setting up appointments and, in some cases, conducting interviews over the phone.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Chapter Overview

Academic materials review was undertaken in this chapter. Literature undertaken focused on reviewing protocols relating to freedom of movement in other migration frameworks due to the insufficient existence of academic literature on the aspect of freedom of movement in COMESA region. The review aided in assessing the similarities in COMESA freedom of movement protocol and the obstacles faced towards achieving the full implementation of the protocol in Kenya. This chapter also covered the theoretical and conceptual frameworks adopted by this study.

2.1.1 Objectives of COMESA and Perspectives of Free Movement of Persons

Mapuva (2014) asserts that regional integration takes place when multiple governments sign treaties establishing norms for how they would trade with one another. Biswaro (2012), argues that regional integration includes the establishment of a shared institutional framework with authority to make decisions that will regulate its members and have an effect on trade policy. This means that states will have to cede part of their autonomy in determining policy. According to Ernest Hass's definition (Hass, 2009), regional integration occurs when "political players based in different contexts are persuaded to change their expectations, loyalties, and political activities toward a new center possessing over pre-existing national states," creating a new political community on top of the existing ones.

The development of a new political community that supersedes preexisting ones is the end consequence of regional integration, which entails convincing political entities in different contexts to move their allegiances and political duties towards a new central authority. COMESA plays a vital role in the African Economic Community (AEC).

The COMESA treaty from 1994 places an emphasis on increasing commerce between member states to raise living standards in the area. Supporting the greater goals of the African Economic Community, such as facilitating movement, the organization aims to promote sustainable growth, shared economic development, a conducive climate, and peace and stability for economic advancement (COMESA treaty, 1994). Mario, an academic, thinks that the freedom of movement agreement between COMESA member states reflects the goal of African regionalism to do away with borders (Mario 2007). According to Senewa (2015), proponents of free movement foresee "open borders" or "nations without borders," which would permit unrestricted movement of people and things across state lines.

According to a 2018 assessment by the International Organization (IOs) for Migration (IOM), the COMESA free movement agreement will boost intra-African trade and commerce, worker mobility, Pan-African identity, and shared development among States. Eliminating barriers to people's ability to travel across borders is an important step toward fostering a sense of community and spreading knowledge internationally. Ukhaoho and Ukpe (2013) agree, arguing that FMP from one nation state to another brings about economic development in different states because people bring the physical goods of trade with them. This means that removing all obstacles for cross-border rights of people helps in promoting a sense of belonging and also ensures technical know-how across national borders.

The COMESA Freedom of Movement Protocol of 2001 and the COMESA Visa Protocol of 1984 were both adopted by COMESA pursuant to article 164 of the COMESA treaty, and they form the backbone of the COMESA freedom of movement agenda and COMESA economic integration, respectively. Samah (2015) claims that the freedom of movement Protocol has been authorized by the Common Market for

Eastern Africa, but that only a small number of nations, including Kenya, have signed it. The Free Movement Protocol has been ratified by only one country so far, Burundi. The intention of this research study was to fill a gap in the existing literature by examining the reasons for Kenya's delay in ratifying and implementing the agreement. To begin the project, COMESA member states proposed the years 2000-2002 (ECA, 2010). The first step would be to eliminate visa requirements for travelers.

2.1.2 Perspective of Freedom of Movement in European Union (EU)

Freedom of movement within the EU has been crucial to the success of its integration efforts. Free mobility inside the European Union is guaranteed for its citizens in this way. The Schengen Agreement, which abolished border restrictions between European member states, is the most efficient border control system in the world. By doing away with internal borders and setting up a single external border, the Schengen agreement aimed to remove obstacles to free movement (European Commission, 2016). The freedom to travel is widely regarded as a triumph of European unification. Rukema and Rudigi (2020) assert that European Union has served as an inspiration to many regional integration attempts towards the achievement of mobility within regional integration schemes.

According to Guild (2017), the Schengen agreement, which was adopted by the EU in 1995 and formed the Schengen through the process of removing barriers, has had the most impact within EU member states and beyond due to the substantial enhancement of mobility without limitations across internal borders. The Schengen agreement has been a significant milestone in the integration process of the European Union. Miller (2020) states that the responsibility of common interests and the solidarity principle are the basis for the functioning of the Schengen system.

The effectiveness of the Schengen accord is being put to the test by the worsening economy and the rising number of asylum seekers entering Europe. Touzens (2010) argues that the differences in the tax systems between member states and the aspect of language barrier are greater challenges to mobility in the Schengen area.

2.1.3 Perspective of Freedom of Movement in ECOWAS and in EAC

According to the treaty's preamble, one of the primary objectives of the ECOWAS is to eliminate restrictions on FMPs in order to promote economic growth in West Africa. According to Article 27 of the ECOWAS treaty (Adepoju, 2005), one of the aims that all residents of the region are obliged to reach is the formation of community citizenship in order to create a non-porous West Africa.

The protocol on freedom of movement that the ECOWAS states adopted in 1979 laid the groundwork for the organization's treaty. Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018) state that the protocol made it possible for people to settle down in the area. The second provision streamlined the procedure for creating rights, which aided in strategic preparation.

Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018) state that the protocol made it possible for people to settle down in the area. The second clause aided preparations by enhancing the establishment of rights in the fifteen years following adoption of the agreement. Finally, a plan was made to gradually implement the freedom to live and work anywhere one chooses, as well as the right to be admitted. To what extent the ECOWAS treaty and the protocols of freedom of movement among partner states have been implemented, is a topic that Adepoju (2015) has written extensively on.

The implementation of the ECOWAS adopted Protocol on freedom of movement, which guarantees the rights of residence, establishment, and admission, has been carried out in three phases. Professor Aderanti Adepoju extensive work examines the extent to which the ECOWAS treaty and freedom of movement protocols have been

executed among partner nations. In 1980, ECOWAS partner states endorsed the freedom of movement treaty, ensuring citizens the right to move freely without requiring visas for a 90-day period. The initial five years of implementation focused on eliminating visa requirements, allowing citizens with valid travel documents to visit partner states for up to 90 days without visas. Adepoju (2015) asserts that the first phase, involving harmonizing immigration processes, visa elimination, and introducing the ECOWAS travel certificate, has achieved considerable success. Some member states have introduced the ECOWAS passport and streamlined their immigration regulations, marking a significant advancement in travel facilitation.

However, according to Adepoju, full freedom of movement in West Africa remains unrealized. Despite initial successes, the latter two phases have encountered significant obstacles, leading to their incomplete execution. Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018) echo this sentiment, noting that while progress has been made, full mobility of people has not been fully achieved within the region.

ECOWAS has made significant progress in the field of freedom of movement implementation procedure, but it still must overcome the challenge of implementing the protocol. According to Kehinde and Ogunnubi (2018), there are a number of obstacles that have slowed down the implementation of the ECOWAS FMP protocol. These include a lack of a solid legal framework for the adopted protocol, political instability, and a reluctance to give up national sovereignty. Since Western states have varied perspectives on how they view their areas based on porosity, political insecurity is one of the hurdles facing the implementation process of the ECOWAS convention. Bolarinwa (2015) further notes that free movement being one of the advanced regional despite deepening integration has encountered obstacles such as disparities between national policies as well as regional commitments.

There have been other scholarly investigations into the obstacles to free mobility within ECOWAS member states. For example, Hein de Haas points out that widespread corruption among police and immigration officials throughout all ECOWAS Member States has impeded the process of adopting the protocol. The absence of citizen education and the failure to align the protocol with the national legislation of the community state are cited as two of Alister Bolton's major criticisms of the FMPs protocol.

In 2010, the EAC Common Market protocol that had been created by the EAC finally went into effect. In order to realize the rights to FMPs, labor, services, right of establishment, and residency guaranteed by Article 104 of the EAC Treaty, the parties have committed to expanding and extending their collaboration. The right to travel freely is an essential part of the Common Market. The purpose of the EAC passport established by EAC council was to facilitate unrestricted travel between member states (Kinyua, 2015). According to Macharia, k (2013) there have been recent initiatives within EAC such as the ability to use national identification cards to facilitate mobility between states have led to progress in development of frameworks that boost regional mobility. Since the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) aims to create a single market for goods and services facilitated by freedom of movement, and finally contributes to movement of capital and natural persons, it is seen as a factor that seeks to facilitate actualization of FMPs in EAC. (AU, 2018)

According to IOM (2011), the biggest challenge to easing freedom of movement in EAC is the lack of conformity between national migration regulations in EAC and the Common Market protocol. Inadequate public awareness of EAC integration issues is another barrier, as is the perception that EAC member states will lose sovereignty if

they fully adhere to the provisions of the freedom of movement protocol (as noted by Touzens, 2010).

2.1.4 Challenges Facing the Implementation of COMESA Free Movement

Protocol

COMESA being a regional organization, one of its goals is to create a common market area for its member states. However, as noted by Kebret (2008), no regional grouping in Africa has yet succeeded in creating such a common market, suggesting that most governments fail to implement the treaties they have signed. The fear of ceding sovereignty and the lack of political authority are cited by Kebret as additional reasons why states do not implement adopted protocols. This is because most regional organizations in Africa are hesitant to transfer power to supra-national bodies that have been created. Kebret adds that most RECs are devoted to other bilateral agreements rather than putting all of their attention on regional agreements.

According to Nye's research on regional integration, many regional organizations are vocal about their support for signing cooperation treaties but are less than enthusiastic about actually putting those policies into effect. This study sought to address this void by evaluating the impact of implementing the COMESA FMPs protocol on regional economic development in Kenya. The previous study failed to provide an explanation for why nations remain hesitant to implement protocols.

Khandelwal (2004) investigated the potential and obstacles of COMESA regional commercial integration. According to the research, regional trade is slowed by problems associated with the level of implementation. The absence of political commitment leads to sluggish policy implementation, according to an IOM research conducted in 2017. This report, however, does not go into greater detail on the implementation of protocols by individual states in COMESA; therefore, a study of the

trajectory of the implementation and ratification process of COMESA protocol in Kenya is required to fill this knowledge gap. Thuo (2011) argues that different regional organizations may have differing conflicting objectives, leading to slow progress, and, ultimately, resulting in a lack of participation from Member states.

Seven nations, according to Moreira (2002), belong to both COMESA and SADC. Kenya is a member of the EAC, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), hence its participation in these groups overlaps. In order to better understand the challenges that government's face while trying to join RECs, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) conducted a study (Alemaheyu, 2013).

It has been suggested in a recent report by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) that a lack of political commitment to implement the freedom of movement protocol in COMESA may be attributable to a lack of understanding of the protocol and the measures taken by individual member States to promote awareness of the protocol among their citizens. According to the IOM's research, COMESA member states may lack the necessary human and technical resources, and there may be a lack of practical implementation methods in the nations at issue.

Scholars from a variety of disciplines have begun debating the issues that prevent most RECs from implementing adopted freedom of movement protocols. These issues are remarkably consistent across regions, with the most significant one being states' reluctance to give up sovereignty in exchange for increased mobility.

Scholars have looked at a lot of literature, and while most of it has focused on the elements hindering the implementation of freedom of movement protocols in different regional organizations, there is still a gap because no study has been done on the hurdles facing the enactment process of the protocol on FMPs in individual COMESA member

States like Kenya, and the studies also have no concrete proposals to address the obstacles encountered.

2.1.5 Conclusion

RECs, such as COMESA find it difficult to amend their immigration laws and the protocols developed due to lack of compliance of their domestic laws with regional provisions and the protocols of FMP thus making the implementation process of the COMESA protocol lag behind.

2.2 Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 Theoretical Framework

According to Knutsen (2020), international relations and diplomacy research are theoretically based generally. Bless and Smith (2008) note that, theoretical framework is a structure that backs up the theory of a research study. In this study, the theoretical framework primarily centred around two key perspectives that explained why states established IOs to address collective goods problems which in this case is the aspect of mobility. The proponents of liberal institutionalism are Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye. Liberal institutionalism, as advanced by Keohane and Nye (1987), underscored the significance of cooperation and interdependence in fostering effective interstate collaboration. This theory advocated for the adoption of regional institutions with specialized functions, necessitating states to cede some sovereignty to these institutions to ensure uniformity in the pursuit of regional integration and international peace (Mingst, 2018). Liberal institutionalism posited that international institutions played a pivotal role in facilitating cooperation between states and non-state actors, drawing on elements of realism, game theory, and liberal functionalism (Kante & Peace, 2003).

Liberal institutionalism also accentuated the role of individuals, bureaucratic agencies, legislatures, and judiciaries in shaping international agendas, particularly in economic

matters (Niou, 1991). However, it acknowledged that in situations of conflict or when states perceived limited gains from cooperation, its relevance diminished (Mearsheimer, 1994). Nevertheless, the theory maintained that international institutions served as catalysts for international cooperation by mitigating the balance of power dynamics. In this context, liberal institutionalism was highly applicable to the study as it elucidated the role of regional institutions in facilitating regional integration and cooperation, a goal aligned with the objectives of organizations like COMESA.

The study also drew on Regional Integration Theory (RIT), associated with proponents like Hass, Lindberg, and Scheingold. Regional Integration Theory (RIT) offered insights into why states formed regional blocs and the challenges they face in relinquishing sovereignty to these organizations. According to Regional Integration Theory (RIT), states join regional organizations primarily to reap economic benefits while preserving their sovereignty. This theory posited that successful integration depended on aligning nationalistic sentiments among citizens of partner states with regional objectives and diversifying economic and political structures (Schiff). Effective decision-making bureaucracy was also essential for regional integration (Pritchett, 2018). However, RIT highlighted a key challenge: the dominance of nationalistic views over regionalism, leading to non-compliance with regional laws and policies (Hass).

In the context of COMESA's adoption of the freedom of movement protocol, the theory of regional integration helped explain the challenges faced in implementation. Some member states were hesitant to fully embrace the protocol due to concerns about its interference with national laws and sovereignty. Therefore, both liberal institutionalism and regional integration theory school of thought provided valuable lenses through which to analyze the dynamics of International Organizations (IOs), international

cooperation, and regional integration, as demonstrated in this study on mobility of COMESA freedom of movement protocol.

2.2.2 Conceptual Framework

According Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a conceptual framework enables a reader to see proposed correlations between variables in the study. Kombo and Tromp (2011) further note that conceptual framework is ideal in generating variables in a study. The study had dependent variable, independent variables and intervening variables. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), independent variable is referred to the one manipulated by a researcher in order to effectively determine its influence on dependent variable whereas dependent variable is caused by independent variable and indicates the influence that arises from the effects of independent variable. According to the conceptual framework that informed this investigation, the fact that COMESA is a regional organization served as the independent variable and the right to travel freely served as the dependent variable. As can be seen in Figure 2.1, there are exogenous factors that have a positive effect on the dependent variable;

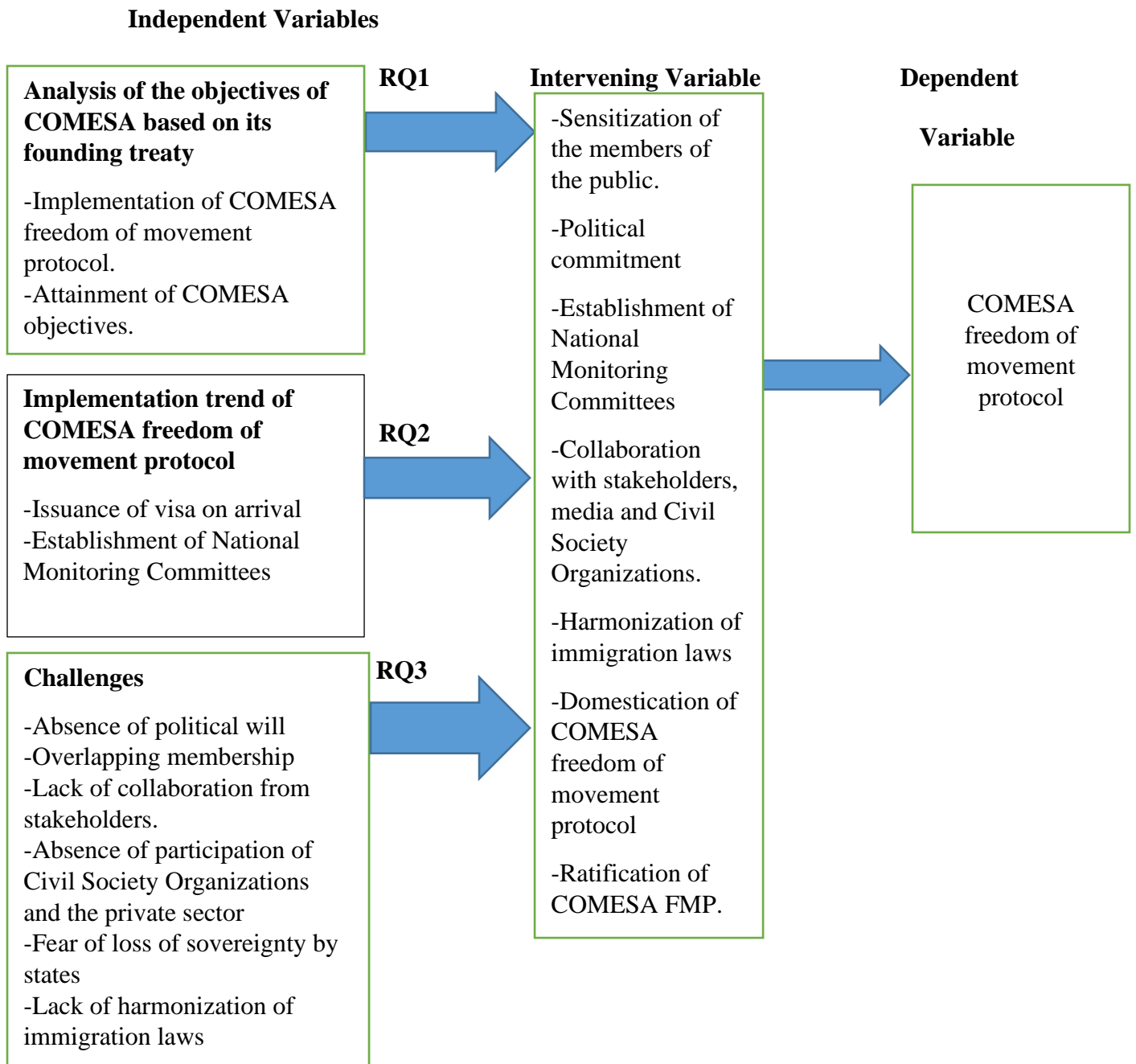


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework
 Source: Researcher, (2022)

From the figure 2.1 above, the existence of COMESA as a regional body has the ability to successfully influence freedom of movement in COMESA through increased political commitment by Member states to implement the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, sensitizing the members of the public about the existence of the freedom of movement protocol and the creation of national monitoring committees

which will be tasked to look at the progressive process of implementing the COMESA freedom of movement protocol thus enhancing regional integration and promotion economic development.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Chapter Overview

The chapter focused on the appropriate methodological methods in the study which included: research design, the study area, target population, sample size and sampling techniques, instruments of data collection, pretesting of research instruments, data collection procedure, data analysis, data collection methods, and lastly ethical consideration.

3.1 Research Design

According to Ary (2010), a research design describes an approach to learning about a phenomenon. A researcher's research design serves as a sort of road map or blueprint outlining the steps, they want to take in order to carry out a study (Lodge, 2005). Given the paucity of prior research on the topic at hand, the researcher opted for an exploratory approach. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) point out that one advantage of exploratory research design is that it is often widely used to describe behaviours, attitudes as well, as characteristics that can be used in the analysis of qualitative and quantitative data. Exploratory research design was well-suited due to the qualitative essence of the research and also it yielded new information regarding the implementation status of COMESA freedom of movement protocol and its impact on Kenya`s economic development.

3.2 The study Area

Nairobi City County was the site of the research. The offices of the Ministries of Industrialization, Trade, and Enterprise Development, Immigration, COMESA, and Foreign Affairs are all located in Nairobi City County, making it an ideal location for the study. Respondents for this study came from the Ministry of Industrialization,

Trade, and Enterprise Development's Department of Trade; other key informants included COMESA officials based in Kenya, officials from the Immigration Department, Kenya Institute of Public Policy and Research Analysis (KIPPRA) official's, academic scholars from institutions of higher learning, and finally, members of the public.

3.3 Target Population

According to (Strydom, 2005), target population is the entire number of people who can participate in a study. In addition, Burns and Grove (2003) demonstrate that the term `population` is employed when describing the components of a study that ought to have a common set of characteristics. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) further elaborate that a target population comprises of a group of individuals to which a researcher generalizes results from. Thus, the target population for the study was fifty-seven key informants. The respondents comprised of representatives from the State Department of Trade, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Kenya Institute of Public Policy and Research Analysis (KIPPRA), the Immigration department, COMESA representatives based in Kenya, academic scholars because of their involvement with matters pertaining to regional integration of IOs. Members of the public were also a focus because they provided a unique insight about the general public's familiarity with the COMESA freedom of movement protocol

3.4 Sampling Techniques

According to Van wyk (2016), sampling entails the entire process of selecting participants to reflect a complete target population in order to acquire detailed information regarding a research issue. The sampling procedure, as argued by Ogula (2005), is helpful in selecting individuals from a population since the traits contained in the sample are reflective of the characteristics present in the whole. The researcher

reached out to key informants in the selected departments identified as having information pertinent to the topic of the study: the trajectory of the implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol.

Since the study only needed information from a specific subset of participants, a non-probability sampling method was used. Snowball sampling and purposive sampling techniques were used by the researcher to pick interviewees. Based on the claims of (Parker & Geddes 2019), snowball sampling method was effective to the researcher since it made use of word-of-mouth and informal connections to obtain a representative sample of the target population. According to Teddle and Yu (2007), purposive sampling is appropriate for qualitative investigations, hence purposive sampling technique was also appropriate in the study due to the qualitative nature of the study as well as the knowledge and expertise of respondents based on the aspect of mobility in African RECs and in particular COMESA.

3.5 Sample Size

Mugenda and Mugenda (2009) recommend that forty percent of the selected target population shows a good representation of sample size.

Based on Cochran's formula,

$$n_0 = z^2 pq / e_2$$

The assumption of this study was based on the idea that half of the target population of key informants will effectively participate in the study. Therefore, Cochran's formula used in calculating sample size was useful in this regard due to the small population of the study. Hence $p=0.5$. Based on a 95% assumption for the confidence level, a value of 1.96 was obtained.

Hence $n_0 = ((1.96)^2 (0.5) (0.5)) / (0.05)^2 = 385$.

$$n = \frac{n_0}{1 + \frac{(n_0 - 1)}{N}}$$

n_0 – The Cochran's recommended standard sample size is 385.

N – Target population which consisted 57

n - Represented the Sample size

Therefore, $n = 385 / (1 + (384/57.3134)) = 50$

In accordance to Cochran's formula, the sample size for this research study was 50 key informants obtained from various selected departments based on their adequate knowledge on implementation process of COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya.

3.6 Instruments of Data Collection

According to Babbie (2013), research instruments are created to provide solutions to research problems. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) further assert that a researcher is supposed to develop instruments for the intention of collecting data. Valid and trustworthy data cannot be gathered without the use of appropriate research equipment. The study utilized both primary and secondary data. Primary data was obtained using face to face interviews using both open –ended questionnaires and semi-structured interview guide schedules. The interview schedules provided by the guides worked well because they allowed the key informants to freely share their thoughts and feelings.

Information was also gathered from secondary sources such as websites COMESA, UNECA, IOM reports, World Bank, scholarly articles, various researches and scholars in the related fields and mobility in African RECs, COMESA treaties and protocols, International treaty (UDHR), journals, COMESA recent meeting decisions, and

government publications from the Ministry of Industrialization, Trade, and Enterprise development. The combination of primary and secondary sources used by the researcher increased the study's validity and reliability, allowing for more straightforward data corroboration during analysis.

3.7 Pretesting of the Research Instruments

Pretesting of research instruments was conducted prior the study by conducting interviews to ensure the enhancement of validity and reliability. It involved two individuals from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, two people from the immigration department, two members of the public and lastly two academic scholars from the selected Universities. The total number of people who took part in the pilot study were eight. Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) assert that the essence of pilot study is to examine the possible flaws in measuring procedures as well as the operation of variables. The feedback provided by the participants resulted in understanding the feedback that was anticipated during the study.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2009), a research instrument's validity is determined by ascertaining how well it serves its goal. The supervisor assessed the researcher's open-ended questionnaire and interview guide schedules to ensure that they were valid research tools and that the questions asked were relevant to the study's aims. New ideas were taken into account, and the research tools were modified accordingly. Reliability, on the other hand, is the regularity with which research tools provide the same results (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2007). The research instruments were administered twice over the course of two weeks.

3.9 Data Collection Procedure

Primary data for the study was gathered with the help of questionnaires and interview guides. The information was organized into categories and themes. Questionnaires were sent out to informants, who were given a time frame to fill them out and return them. Some participants wanted to receive and complete the surveys through email, and this was also an option for them. Analysis of periodicals, websites, and books, as well as COMESA's own yearly reports, constituted the secondary data set. The documents helped evaluate the progress made in implementing the COMESA freedom of movement protocol and the challenges that were encountered along the way.

3.10 Data Analysis

Silverman (2015) explains that data analysis involves the process of breaking down large amounts of information into smaller, more manageable chunks for the purpose of gaining a deeper understanding. Therefore, data analysis requires the researcher to effectively analyse and evaluate the data critically. Both quantitative and qualitative data collected were analysed to further the study's aims.

To analyse the qualitative data, the researcher first codified it into themes that were in line with our research questions. According to Vaismoradi et al. (2016), thematic analysis is a valuable tool for analysing interview data through the process of identifying, recording, and analysing recurring themes. According to Braun and Clark (2006), thematic analysis also has the advantage of being adaptable when dealing with large amounts of complex data. The results of the interviews were used to back up the theme organization of the presentation of the qualitative data. Additional report excerpts were used to back up the conclusions. Quantitative data obtained from questionnaires, on the other hand, was analysed in statistical package for the social sciences version 25 (SPSS V.25) analysis software and presented in the form of

frequencies and pie-charts when relevant, which contributed in establishing credibility. The researcher did follow-up analysis that helped confirm the theory.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

According to Mouton (2006), when conducting research, it is crucial to know what is and is not allowed. The researcher was able to conduct the research after obtaining a letter of introduction from Kenyatta University Graduate School and submitting it to the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). Targeted research participants were adequately informed about the research project before participating voluntarily through informal agreement, which was also considered.

By explaining the study's purpose and procedures to potential informants in advance, the researcher was able to instil a sense of trust in them and increase their motivation to participate in a way that upheld the principle of informed consent. Finally, the study's goals, scope, and time frame were all taken into account.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Chapter Overview

This chapter outlined on how the study's data was analyzed. The results were summarized in light of the aims of each individual study. The study used both descriptive and inferential statistics in its analysis and presentation of its results. Data was presented in the following order: percentage of questionnaires returned; demographics of respondents including age, gender, and education level; level of COMESA achievements; implementation trend of COMESA free movement of people protocol in Kenya; challenges encountered in the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya; and finally, recommendations for enhancing effective implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya. The researcher was able to effectively evaluate the data through the use of frequency tables, pie charts, graphs, percentages, and content analysis.

4.1 Response Rate

The response rate was significant since it revealed whether or not the study had enough participants to draw meaningful conclusions and formulate useful suggestions. Fifty (50) participants were selected to serve as key informants for the investigation. The informants were given open-ended questionnaires, 32 of which were completed and returned with useful responses. There was a 64% response rate among the overall sample size, with 36% of respondents opting out.

According to Babbie (2002), 50% response rate or more is enough for statistical analysis. Research with a response rate of 30–60% is considered adequate for drawing

findings and making suggestions (Creswell, 2005). As a result, the study's response rate was sufficient for data analysis.

Table 4.1 Response Rate of Sample Size

Questionnaires and interview guide return rate	Frequency	Percentages
Questionnaires return rate	27	54%
Questionnaire non return rate	8	16%
Interviews response rate	10	20%
Interviews non response rate	5	10%
Total	50	100%

Source: Research Data (2022)

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The analysis relied heavily on demographic data because it was crucial in justifying the study's existence. The informants gender, age, respondent category, years of experience highest level of education were used to classify the study's demographic characteristics.

4.2.1 Gender of Respondents

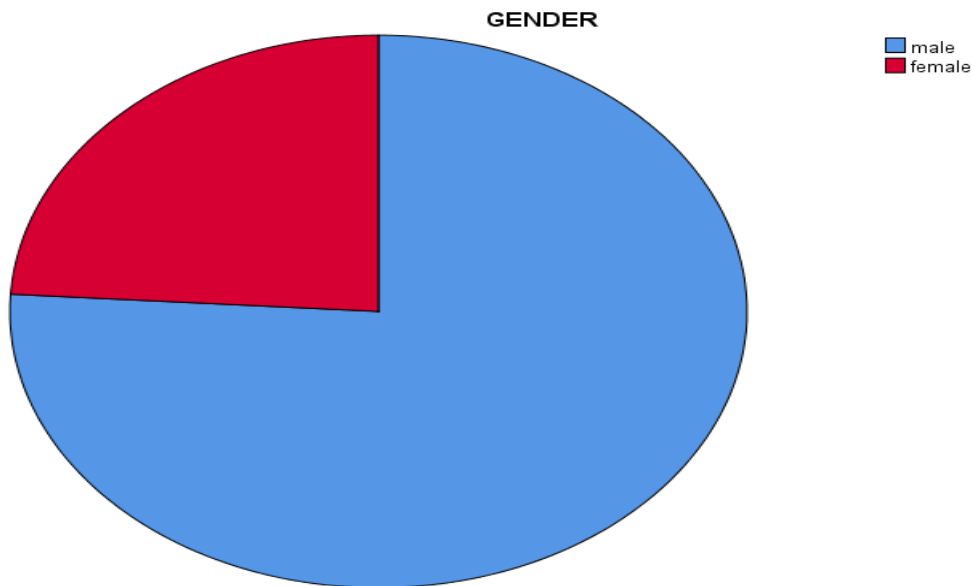


Figure 4.1: Gender of Respondents

Source: Research Data (2022)

According to the figure above, 12 of the respondents were females (24%) and 38 men (76%). Findings suggested a sufficient number of informants from both genders to conduct analysis of the data.

4.2.2 Age of the Respondents

Participants' ages were considered in this study due to the important role that maturity plays in making good choices. Age played a significant role in identifying the predominant generations within each of the ministries from which this study drew its data. Variation in responses is to be expected in a study with a wide age range of respondents.

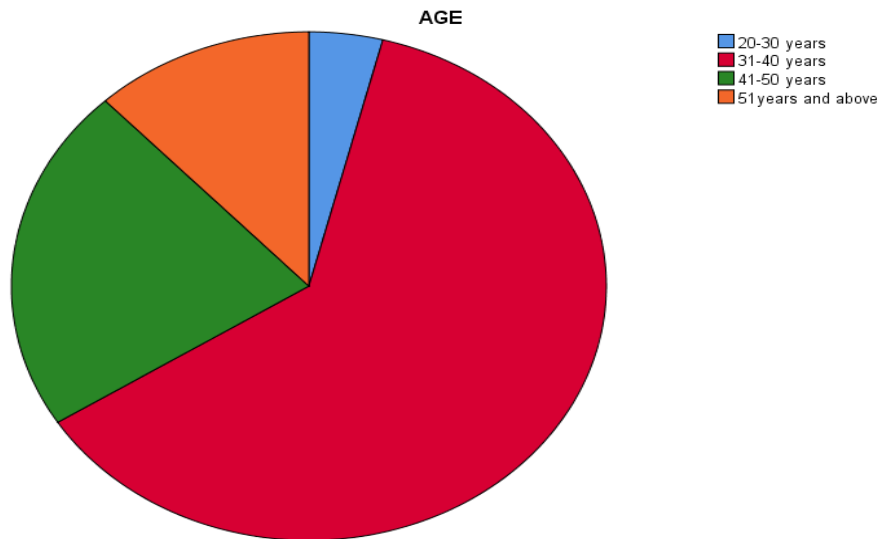


Figure 4.2: Age of Respondents

Source: Research Data (2022)

Figure 4.2 shows that 12% of the informants were aged 51 and more, while 4% were between the ages of 20 and 30. Additionally, 62% of respondents were aged 31 to 40, while 22% were aged 41 to 50, and 6 respondents were aged 20 to 30. Participants aged 31 and up made up 62% of the total, and this age group was found to have a greater familiarity with regional integration issues, especially mobility among COMESA Member states, and thus contributed insights more fruitfully to the study.

4.2.3 Level of Education of Respondents

Since the findings based on the level of education of the respective informants gave an advantage in advocating for effective policies and positive efforts geared towards the achievement of the full implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya in order to boost economic development, it was crucial to analyze the level of education of the informants in the study.

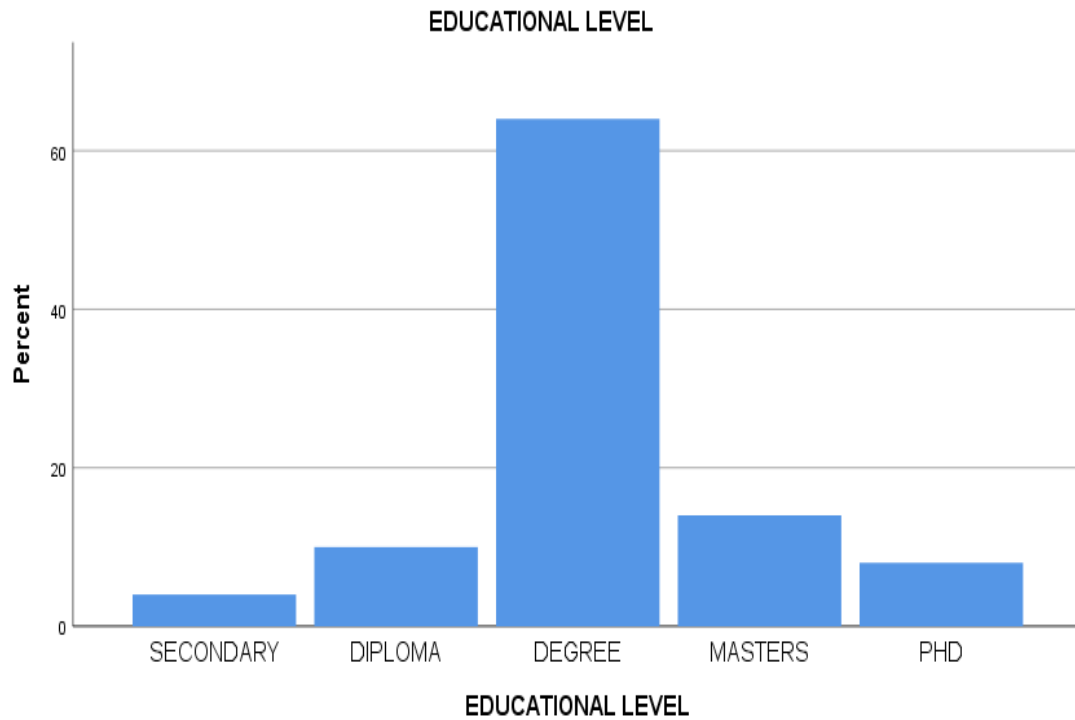


Figure 4.3: Education Level of Respondents

Source: Research Data (2022)

Figure 4.3 displays that 64% of respondents held at least a bachelor's degree; 7% held a master's degree; 4 percent held a doctoral degree; 10 percent held diplomas; and 2% held only secondary school certificates. According to the study results, most of the interviewees had at least a bachelor's degree, thus they had the necessary background knowledge and training in their respective fields to answer all of the study's questions thoroughly and accurately.

4.2.4 Categories of Respondents

The respondents in the study were drawn from different categories as indicated in the table 4.2;

Table 4.2: Categories of Respondents

Category	Frequency	Percentage
KIPPRA representatives	3	6%
Academic scholars	2	4%
State department of trade representatives	3	6%
Ministry of foreign affairs representatives	3	6%
Immigration Department	2	4%
COMESA officials	2	4%
Members of the public	35	70%
TOTAL	50	100%

Source: Research Data (2022)

According to the data in the preceding table, the research's sample of informants was representative of all relevant subgroups, which helped provide reliable results. Three (6%) respondents worked for KIPPRA, three (3%) represented academic scholars, two (2%) worked for the Ministry of Trade, three (3%) worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, thirty-five (70%) were members of the general public, two (2%) worked for the Immigration Department, and two (2%) worked for COMESA as officials.

4.3 Opinions on whether Kenya Has Attained the Goal of Free Movement of Persons

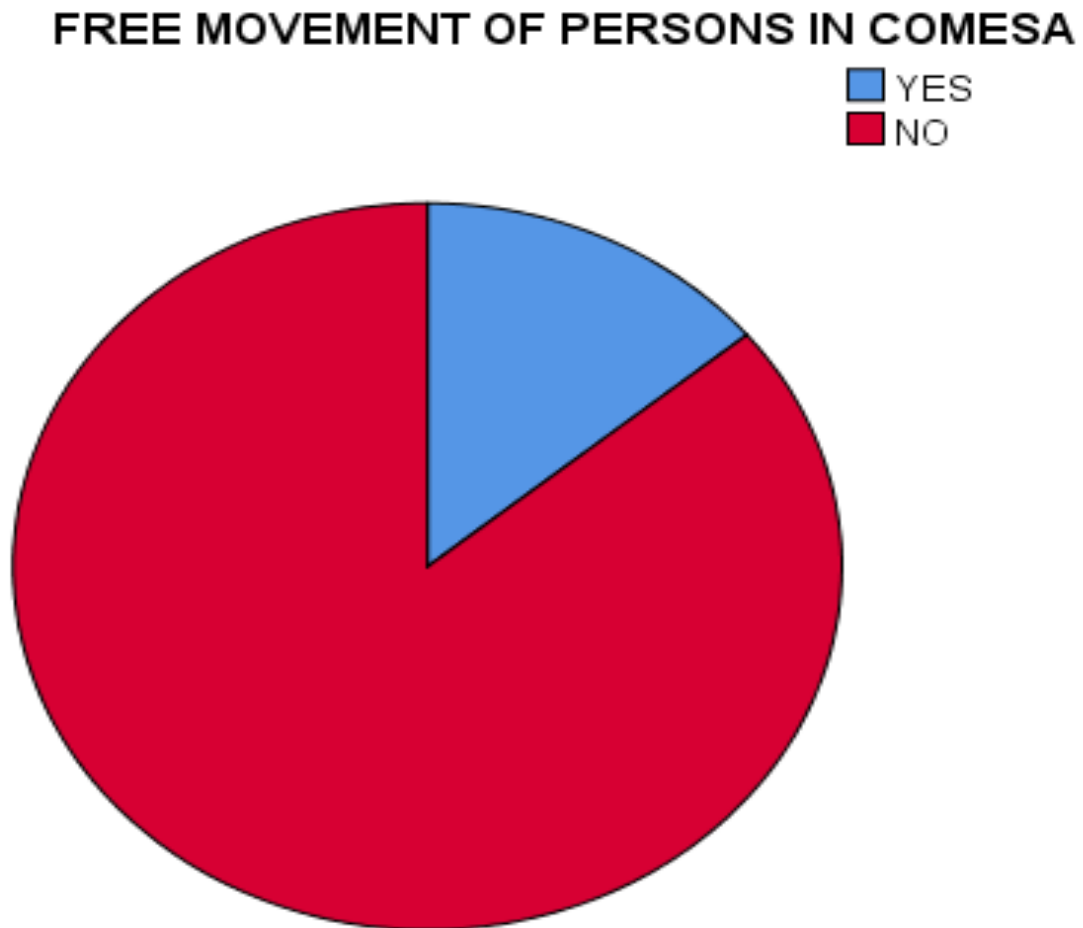


Figure 4.4: Respondents Opinion on Attainment of the Goal of Freedom of Movement by COMESA in Kenya

Source: Research Data (2022)

The majority of respondents (39, or 78%) believe that COMESA has not fully realized the goal of mobility in Kenya as a member of COMESA, whereas a smaller percentage (11, or 22%) believe that the component of freedom of movement has been achieved by COMESA in Kenya (see Figure 4.5). In consonance with the study's participants, the researchers concluded that the level of commitment needed to achieve freedom of movement throughout all COMESA Member states, and especially in Kenya, remains low and tough.

Notable responses obtained from respondents supported this finding, since most informants asserted that most protocols and policies adopted to support regional integration efforts in regional organizations are not fully ratified and implemented by Member states, which explains the low progress in attaining the goal of freedom of movement in Kenya, in spite of being a member of COMESA. The research also found that while COMESA has made great progress in easing trade, its member states including Kenya have made minimal advances in achieving freedom of movement.

4.3 Findings on Study Objectives

The first objective of the research analyzed the magnitude in which COMESA has attained its objectives in accordance to its founding treaty. The findings of this study were collected mainly from content analysis sourced from relevant documents that dealt with regional integration matters in COMESA. The findings of this objective were presented in the following subsections; Rationale behind the establishment of COMESA, Achievements of COMESA based on its treaty objectives and lastly the Progress made by COMESA towards attaining full mobility amongst its Member States. Responses obtained from key informant interviews as well as answered questionnaires were incorporated in the study findings.

4.3.1 Rationale and Achievements of COMESA on Economic Development in Kenya

In 1994 (COMESA treaty, 1994), COMESA was formed to replace the former the preferred trade agreement(PTA). Eleven countries signed the COMESA treaty in Kampala, Uganda on November 5, 1993; it was ratified in Lilongwe, Malawi on December 8, 1994. COMESA is a group of sovereign states that have come together to promote their mutual development. According to Endale (2019), there are presently twenty-one Member States in COMESA. According to COMESA medium term

strategic plan (2021-2025), COMESA is well positioned to accelerate integration in Africa since it is considered the second largest Regional Economic Community in the continent due to its membership. One of the goals of COMESA has been to facilitate free movement of goods and services and mobility of people across states since its inception. The aim for the organization called for it to move from a PTA to a Common Market to a full-fledged Economic Union by 2025, with the achievement of sustainable growth as its primary objective. The Abuja Treaty's goals, which foresaw the emergence of an African Economic Community (Jakobeit, 2005), are reflected in COMESA's planned progression from a privileged Trade Area to a Common Market and, ultimately, an Economic Community.

4.3.1.1 Achievements of COMESA Based on Treaty Objectives

Article 3 of the COMESA treaty (1993) outlines the organization's primary goals: "to promote development in all economic fields; to adopt policies that improve people's living standards; to strengthen economic and social relations among its Member states; and to ensure the attainment of sustainable growth and development by all COMESA Member states." Foster peace, security, and stability to boost economic development among Member States, collaborate to create an investment-friendly environment through advancing technology and promoting research, and more. Help achieve the aims of the African Economic Community through increasing ties amongst the common market and the rest of the world, taking up positions in the international arena to boost negotiating leverage, and so on.

AU agenda 2063 and the United Nations (UN) SDGs are two examples of global and continental frameworks that COMESA aligns its yearly plans and final five-year MTSPs with. According to ICMPD (2013), the free flow of people is a top priority in COMESA's MTSPs (Medium-Term Strategic Plans). Since its inception, unrestricted

movement of products, services, and people throughout the COMESA region has been one of its primary goals. The COMESA MTSP 2011-2015 (ICMPD 2015) places a premium on easing travel between member states. Objectives were derived from all COMESA treaty objectives and from COMESA's various programs aimed at achieving regional integration and realizing COMESA's goals and objectives, in particular the pillar of migration, which covers the implementation of proposed freedom of movement protocols. The concept of feasible geometry, which allows some groups of nations to hasten the pace of regional economic integration relative to others, is actively supported by COMESA.

4.3.1.2 Expansion of Trade

Since COMESA's inception, intra-regional commerce, the improvement of infrastructure, and an uptick in investment were expected to pave the way to the realization of Sustainable growth and development. According to Akura and Joumotte (1991), international trade is the primary means through which innovations in science and technology spread from country to country. More international trading alliances and regional trade agreements are being established as part of a global push to expand trade (Reo, 2019). Increased production, distribution, and communication have all benefited from the freer flow of commodities and services made possible by COMESA commerce.

(COMESA, 2006) reports that trade within the COMESA region has increased in recent years. The goals of COMESA have been assisted through trade and investment development programs. In addition, on November 1st, 2000, COMESA member nations officially launched a Free Trade Area that now serves as the foundation for the organization's trade facilitation initiative. According to Goyal and Joshi (2006), a free trade area is a sort of regional economic integration in which barriers between member

nations are eliminated. There was an effort to promote economic integration among COMESA Member States through the establishment of a free trade area (Mude, 2018). The creation of a free trade area among the countries of the COMESA has been a major success for the member nations of COMESA. The current goal of COMESA is to expand into a Digital Free Trade Area by reducing physical obstacles to trade between member states via the use of information and communication technologies.

Policy shifts, such as the eradication of non-tariff and tariffs obstacles to intra-regional trade, are at the heart of regional trade liberalization attempts in Africa. COMESA is driven by a vinerian mindset that prioritizes reducing trade and non-trade barriers through the implementation of a unified plan to do away with tariffs. Non-Tariff Barriers have reportedly been overcome in recent years, demonstrating a successful outcome for COMESA's trade facilitation and liberalization efforts. Most countries have done away with non-tariff barriers like quotas, licensing, import licenses, and currency controls (Carmignari, 2006). The implementation of the COMESA Customs Union in 2009 marked a significant step forward in terms of regional integration because it was in line with Article 45 of the COMESA treaty, which calls for the elimination of custom union, custom duties, and other charges. COMESA plans to establish itself as a comprehensive economic community by the year 2025. COMESA has accomplished a great deal in bolstering regional integration through the creation of novel mechanisms in customs harmonization and the mobility of goods and services. According to the African Union Commission (2013), One Stop Border Posts (OSBPs) have been set up by COMESA to combat delays at cross border points and effectively promote speedy movement of people and products.

With a low economic growth rate of 3.8% over the last decades due to the varying sizes of economies with varying levels of industrialization, COMESA has failed to produce

notable levels of intra-regional trade despite being in place for over twenty years and having a huge trade potential and having adopted different ongoing initiatives. Kenya's growth rate has been below 2% in recent years, while intra-COMESA trade has stayed below 10% of total trade due to structural factors (Fauzel, 2022).

World Bank (2015) reported that due to slow economic growth rate from 2000-2007, COMESA Member states have failed to achieve Millennium Development Goals by 2015. Numerous studies have attempted to evaluate COMESA, such as Rojid (2006), Alemayeku (2002), and Musila (2005). These authors have examined COMESA's challenges and opportunities, as well as its trade creation and diversion effect, by employing the gravity model. According to Geda and Kebret (2002), regional integration in COMESA member states has not been successful in increasing intra-regional trade or fostering better policy coordination since it is based on the gravity model of evaluating regional blocs' performance. The United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2011) claimed that COMESA Member States were among the world's poorest nations. According to Ebaidalla and Yahia's (2013) research on intra-trade integration within COMESA, member states of COMESA perform poorly in trade when compared to ASEAN member states because they fail to fully utilize their trading potential.

4.3.1.3 Stability and Security

COMESA's treaty also includes the goal of promoting the safety and peace of its member states. Since COMESA's foundation, Member nations' security concerns have decreased significantly. Smuggling and human trafficking have also decreased significantly, indicating that COMESA is making progress toward its goal of increased security. Since maintaining peace and order is crucial to the COMESA Member states' integration process, the organization has kept rolling out its governance, peace and

security programme and its Greats Lake trade and facilitation programme in line with its medium and strategic plans for 2020.

4.3.1.4 Increased Bargaining Power

COMESA Member states freely bargain with other greater powers across the world since bigger powers trade and provide loans for member states usually used for financing development activities thus becoming a milestone in the balance of trade deficits and also in terms of negotiations of trade amongst member states and other bigger powers at the global level. Therefore, this has made COMESA to achieve greatly in terms of increased bargaining with other Member States.

Table 4.3: Respondents Opinion on whether COMESA has achieved its Objectives

	Frequency	Percentage %
YES	41	82.0
NO	9	18.0
	50	100.0

Source: Research Data (2022)

Based on the responses obtained in the study and the discussions on the developed programs initiated by COMESA to facilitate the effective realization of its objectives as laid its founding treaty, figure 4.6 shows that COMESA has achieved its objectives to a greater extent in other areas except trade and mobility of people. The study found that while COMESA has been successful in a number of areas, more work needs to be done to increase commerce and mobility between all COMESA Member States by ensuring that the COMESA Freedom of Movement Protocol is ratified and implemented. Forty-one respondents (82%) supported that COMESA had achieved its

goals, whereas nine respondents (18%) were negative. The responses were also supported by verbatim responses from informants as included below;

“COMESA has not fully attained all the objectives based on its founding treaty for instance, the goal of opening up borders is yet to be actualized by COMESA member states”

“COMESA has not actualized all the goals envisioned in its founding treaty. The aspect of trade and mobility have not been achieved by COMESA member states due to bottlenecks and barriers encountered amongst COMESA Member states”

The findings of the study revealed that the goal of mobility of people and trade has not been actualized since there were obstacles that hampered the implementation progress of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in all of its Member nations, including Kenya.

4.3.2 Implementation trend of the COMESA Freedom of Movement Protocol

The second objective was to assess the implementation trend of COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya. Kenya has full membership privileges in COMESA. Key informant responses were used into the final output in addition to secondary sources. COMESA Member States are required to eliminate barriers to the free movement of labour, services, and the right of establishment within the common market as outlined in Article 4(6) of the COMESA treaty.

When it comes to removing obstacles to FMP, goods, and services, as well as the ability to set up shop anywhere within COMESA's borders, Chapter 28, Article 164(1) of the COMESA treaty both allows and encourages Member States to take whatever actions are necessary on a bilateral or regional basis (COMESA, 1994). Until the protocol on freedom of movement gets into force, the COMESA treaty's Article 164(3) on the protocol on Gradual Elimination of Visas applies.

The concepts of visa-free travel for a period of 90 days and the elimination of visa requirements six years after coming into force were established in the 2001 COMESA freedom of movement protocol, which was in turn based on the COMESA convention (1994). However, COMESA's initial goals were not met because the protocol had not yet entered into force and had not received the necessary seven ratifications from its members. As of the now, just four Member nations (Kenya included) have signed the convention, with Rwanda and Burundi having ratified it.

Since it is impossible for all states to advance at the same rate, the COMESA concept of variable geometry recognizes that Member states have taken unilateral, bilateral, and multilateral measures outside the COMESA Economic Integration Agenda to facilitate progressive attainment of the goal of freedom of movement. The research also found that a number of Member States have signed bilateral visa-free travel arrangements with one another. According to the results, Kenya, like the other member states of COMESA, has been following the agreement's guidelines.

Despite the protocol not being in force, the study found that due to various levels of adoption, governments have implemented specific steps at the bilateral level to facilitate the freedom of movement within COMESA Member states (Cigawa, 2016). To emphasize, Kenya is among the COMESA states that have implemented the COMESA free movement of person`s protocol at the highest level. It is also worth mentioning that Kenya is also in full compliance to the COMESA visa protocol

4.3.2.1 COMESA Free Movement of Persons Protocol Implementation Status in Kenya

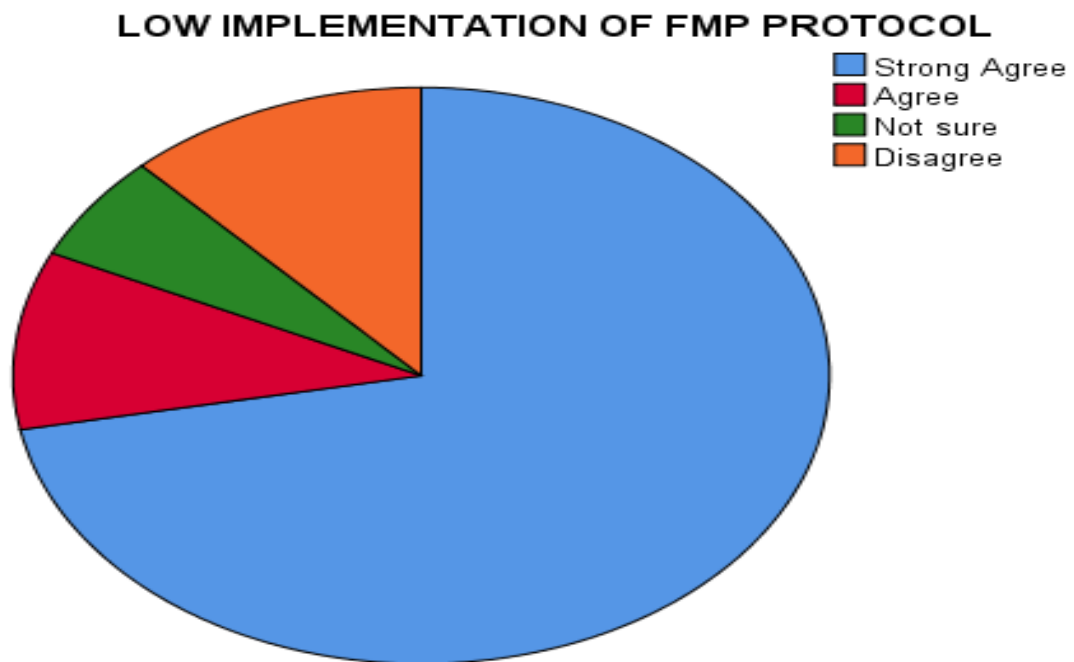


Figure 4.5: Implementation Status of COMESA Freedom of Movement Protocol in Kenya

In terms of the level of operation of the COMESA FMPs protocol in Kenya, as shown in figure 4.5, 36 respondents (representing 72%) strongly agreed that the protocol is low in Kenya and other COMESA Member States, 5 respondents (representing 10%) agreed, 3 respondents (representing 6%) were unsure of the status of implementation, and 6 respondents (representing 12%) disagreed. Two COMESA Member States were found to be the only ones to have ratified the freedom of movement protocol, according to the research. According to COMESA (2007), Burundi formally adopted the agreement in July 2017. Kenya has merely signed the protocol; hence its implementation level is still poor because the ratification procedure has not been completed. As may be seen in table 4.4, this is also true of other African RECs.

Table 4.4: Status of Free Movement in other RECs

REC	Free Trade Area	Customs Union	Single Market	Countries That Have Ratified Freedom Of Movement Protocol Economic And Monetary Union
EAC	✓	✓	✓	3 out of 5 ✗
COMESA	✓	✗	✗	Only Burundi. Rwanda. ✗
ECOWAS	✓	✓	✗	All 15 ✗
SADC	✓	✗	✗	7 out of 15 ✓
ECCAS	✓	✗	✗	4 out of 11 ✓
CEN-SAD	✗	✗	✗	Unclear ✗
IGAD	✗	✗	✗	No protocol ✗
AMU	✗	✗	✗	3 out of 5 ✗

Source: UNECA, 2017

4.3.2.2 COMESA Free Movement of Person's Protocol Existence Level of Awareness

The study ascertained the knowledge level of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya. Ascertaining the level of awareness was crucial in order to find out if the respondents knew anything concerning the COMESA free movement of person's protocol.

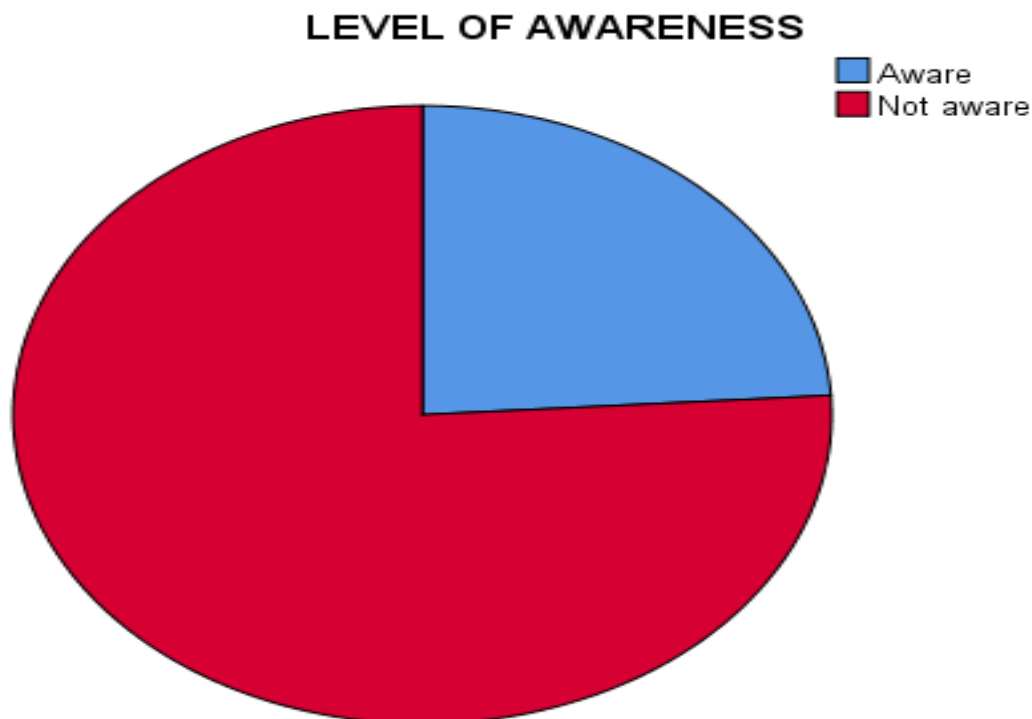


Figure 4.6: Level of Awareness about Existence of COMESA Free Movement of person`s Protocol

Source: Research Data (2022)

The figure 4.6 questions queried informants about their familiarity with the current COMESA freedom of movement. Research findings showed that the vast majority of respondents had no idea that Kenya had not yet ratified the COMESA free movement of person`s protocol. A total of 38 participants (or 76% of the sample) reported being unaware of the protocol, whereas 12 participants (or 24% of the sample) reported being conversant with the protocol. The absence of familiarity with regional accords is reflected in people's unfamiliarity with the COMESA freedom of movement protocol. These results are consistent with those of the IOM report (2017), which argues that the public's lack of familiarity with the COMESA FMPs protocol is impeding regional

integration efforts. COMESA medium term strategic plan (2021-2025) also note that, low awareness and sensitization levels on the importance of regional integration have restricted active involvement of the private sector in COMESA member states. Muswede (2023) found that the business sector and grassroots communities were not very involved in COMESA regional integration programs due to the low levels of knowledge and sensitization among stakeholder's member states. Attempts for integration are rarely discussed by the general public. Pursuant to the IOM EAC development in migration management training module (2011), increasing freedom of movement requires strengthening and promoting the knowledge and implementation capacities of agencies to implement the protocol's provisions for FMPs, labor, and the right of establishment.

4.3.2.3 COMESA Freedom of Movement Protocol Implementation Efforts in Kenya

The AU (2013) claims that noteworthy advancement has been achieved toward the establishment of liberalized governments. The research found that Kenya has made substantial progress in implementing the freedom of movement protocol. Furthermore, the COMESA Council of Ministers has been at the forefront of advocating for effective measures that facilitate the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol by establishing taskforces that advance implementation of legal instruments by developing effective strategies for implementation in response to concerns about the slow pace at which Member States have been ratifying and implementing the protocol (COMESA, 2020).

As a stopgap measure on the way to the ultimate goal of eliminating visa requirements, the COMESA Economic Integration Agenda has endorsed a number of agreements, including the creation of a visa specifically for business travelers, the creation of a

regional migration database, and the creation of migration profiles and other related information. The study found that Kenya has made efforts by signing the protocol and is making continued efforts towards achieving the implementation of freedom of movement protocol in order to boost economic development in Kenya despite the fact that it has not consented to the protocol.

According to the majority of respondents and the results of the study, Kenya has made an effort to facilitate the issuance of visas on arrival to other COMESA Member states by issuing visas on arrival to some of the COMESA member states, with the majority of these cases being based on the principle of reciprocity. According to Visa openness Index (2023), Kenya and Uganda were indicated as the leaders on visa free reciprocity. This result is consistent with previous findings on the COMESA integration agenda, which show that COMESA FTA member nations are provided visas upon arrival in accordance with the protocol (CM/X1/60), but that the region still has not established a common market. COMESA has reportedly made progress in implementing visa on arrival and 90-day visas, as reported by Business Daily in 2015. Visa requirements for citizens of other COMESA member states have been lifted by Mauritius, Rwanda, and Seychelles therefore these countries have been ranked high in terms of African integration index. The COMESA agreement on the eventual liberalization and removal of visas pertaining to freedom of movement is not yet in effect, although Kenya and Rwanda are in full conformity with it.

According to the COMESA Training Manual (2011), Kenya is one of the COMESA Member states with a noteworthy rate of application of the freedom of movement protocol, thus the preceding response is consistent with those findings. The results also showed that Kenya's growing commerce was attributed to the country's high production of quality commodities, which has enhanced rivalry with other Member States. Despite

not having ratified the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, Kenya has made notable efforts to encourage countries to connect the aspect of movement of persons with other economic needs by implementing the Intra Talent Mobility Partnership programme used by COMESA.

Within COMESA member states, border control between Member nations is crucial. To address mobility problems and shorten clearance times at border crossings, COMESA launched the OSBP facilitation and border management tool in Chirundu, Zambia and Harare, Zimbabwe in 2009 (Samuel hall, 2010). The COMESA MTSP gave its full approval to the creation of One Stop Border Post.

The President of Kenya William Ruto has been vibrant on the aspect of mobility. He urged most African states in his remarks to work towards elimination of barriers to movement and convert regional boundaries to act as steppingstones that aid in facilitating friendship bridges that facilitate movement of people, ideas and lastly goods and services (Ruto, 2023)

4.3.3 Challenges in Implementing the COMESA Protocol in Kenya

The third objective examined the challenges that are facing the implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol. The study revealed the impediments that have prevented Kenya from fully implementing the COMESA FMPs agreement. The study found that some of the obstacles faced by other RECS are of a similar nature to the ones COMESA is experiencing and that these factors have contributed to slow implementation and non-ratification of COMESA freedom of movement protocol because of the political sensitivity of the issue. Below are the challenges that were outlined;

4.3.3.1 Lack of Political Commitment

The willingness of the political elite to act in a certain way with regards to a given subject is what is meant by political goodwill or commitment. The COMESA partner states' signed protocols and agreements are merely a political statement. Many choices are not fully implemented due to a lack of political commitment, which is sometimes caused by a lack of understanding of protocols and anxieties regarding established protocols by regional organizations. Fear of losing sovereignty is cited as a political barrier to COMESA unification by Geda and Kebret (2002) and McCoy (1998). The lack of political commitment was cited as a primary obstacle to the swift implementation and adoption of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol by respondents in their verbatim responses. Direct quotations from key informants are included below:

“Many leaders in other COMESA Member states including Kenya have not fully complied in commitment of ensuring the fast implementation of the COMESA free movement of person’s protocol due to the absence of good will since most Regional Economic Communities have a history of bandwagoning by signing protocols and not implementing the agreements”
(Respondent 1, Egerton University, 22nd April 2022).

Another respondent noted that “there’s lack of commitment in implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya since implementation is two-fold since theoretically, Kenya practices mercantilism principles thus impose Non-Tariff Barriers that undermine the full implementation of deliberate strategies not to allow free movement of people”.

(Respondent 2, Immigration Department, 25th April, 2022)

Another respondent supported this statement by adding that:

...there’s no political commitment in most COMESA Member states since states only sign protocols but don’t make a follow up on the ratification and implementation progress for instance, Kenya did not follow up on ratifying and implementing the COMESA free movement protocol after signing the protocol therefore, in most instances, the political class is not willing to get involved in the process of implementation and domestication of adopted protocols.

(Respondent 3, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, 25th April, 2022)

Most states are eager to sign instruments that improve freedom of movement, as Nita (2017) argues; but, political will to put them into practice is lacking. Among COMESA Member States, there is a lack of consultation and coordination between relevant stakeholders and government agencies in order to establish cohesive migration policy frameworks, which is essential for the successful implementation of protocols. Low compliance of COMESA freedom of movement protocols in its Member states and other implementation of programs that facilitate regional integration are seen as evidence that a lack of political commitment is a factor in the failure of integration efforts in African RECs, as stated by Lyakurwa (1997). Another respondent asserted that:

There's lack commitment by governments in COMESA region. Most governments focus on adopting economic reforms and democratization to please the local people thus the lack of attention on regional issues is evident.

(Respondent 4, COMESA Office, 26th April, 2022)

The tendency of Member States to commit and give preference to other bilateral and multilateral regional arrangements also contributes to lack of political will thus is still a challenge. One of the respondents stated that:

Kenya has committed to other bilateral and multilateral agreements leaving out the COMESA free movement of person's protocol therefore, this has contributed to slow ratification and implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol since Member states including Kenya are not faithful to the agreements signed especially in instances where the protocols have not been ratified and domesticated into law despite committing to the protocols at regional levels.

(Respondent 5, KIPPRA, 26th April, 2022)

According to a research published by the International Organization for Migration (2017), a lack of political commitment is often to blame for the sluggish implementation of policies and protocols. According to the findings of this analysis, implementing the free movement protocol in its entirety has been difficult because of a lack of political will. The study found that problems with regional policy ratification and

implementation generally stem from a lack of political commitment. According to Dinbabe (2011), efficient policy implementation requires the involvement of stakeholders in the process of planning and integrating human and technical resources. Nevertheless, this has not been the case with COMESA Member states. According to UNECA, national governments' reluctance to cede control over the policymaking process has stymied regional integration efforts.

The study found that political leaders in Kenya and other COMESA partner states are not very dedicated to upholding the treaties and protocols they sign. This has undermined confidence in the reliability of adopted policies and protocols, which are crucial to regional economic integration and the development of individual member states' economies. According to Maher (2021), most governments put national interests first before integrating and domesticating treaties into the legal system.

4.3.3.2 Overlapping Membership

Multiple memberships have mixed effects on regional integration effort, according to UNECA (2014). Bachinger and Hough (2009) observe that, every African state today is an affiliate of not less than four different trade blocs therefore, creates spaghetti bowl of Regional Integration Agreements. Having a foot in several communities' doors helps weak economies reap the benefits of integration while minimizing losses through risk diversification. Most partner states, including Kenya, are members of more than one REC, which respondents noted as a concern hampering the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement agreement. It has become unproductive for there to be so many RECs because their presence has become more of a liability than an asset.

The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) has reported that twenty-six of Africa's fifty-three countries are members of two regional organizations, while another twenty

are members of at least three regional economic groupings, as reported in African Renewal (2004). It also supports the flexible geometry principle as an important factor in the desire to participate in several economic communities.

The execution of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol has been hindered by issues of coordination and commitment caused by the organization's large membership base. The following are direct quotes from interviews with respondents that corroborate this. One of the key informants stated that:

Overlapping membership leads to conflicting interests therefore poses serious problems during coordination of policies' in addition, Kenya being a member of COMESA belongs to more than one regional organization hence, is not committed to timely implementation of adopted protocols and policies therefore this issue has become a challenge in implementing adopted protocols such as the COMESA free movement protocol.

(Key Informant 1, Immigration Department, 28th April, 2022)

Another respondent opined that:

Kenya belongs to EAC, IGAD and COMESA RECs this indicates multiple memberships therefore it brings about the issue of contradicting loyalties and duplication of efforts and objectives towards achieving the overall goal of regional integration since concentration and focus is on other regional arrangements as compared to others.

(Key Informant 2, COMESA Office, 29th April, 2022)

Kenya's membership in three RECs the EAC, IGAD, and COMESA complicates its ability to fulfill its responsibilities within any one of them. According to Kritzinger and Moreira (2002), most regional arrangements are members of multiple IOs. ARIA (2002) echoes this sentiment, noting that the vast majority of African states are members of many regional groups. Another respondent observed that:

Kenya is a member of many Regional Economic Communities RECs however, is non-committal in ratifying signed protocols. Kenya's recent adoption of the African Continental Free Trade Area (ACFTA) and will have an implication on COMESA.

(Respondent 5, Member of Public, 27th April, 2022)

The study concluded that the difficulty of implementing and ratifying the COMESA freedom of movement agreement is attributable to the overlap in membership among COMESA Member states. The efficiency of RECs is impacted when their membership

overlaps, which places a greater financial burden on Member states. There is less dedication from members as a result of the burden of attending meetings and coordinating policy. Conflicting aims have increasingly contributed to less progress being made in most areas, as noted by Iqbal and Kahn (1997), and as stated in *Regional Integration and Debt in EA* (2003).

Overlapping membership is seen as an obstacle to regional integration by many experts since they lead to wasted time and resources. Due to the problem of overlapping membership, several positions have been duplicated, which is counterproductive to Africans working together as a whole (Mbutu, 2016). In addition, Muuka, Arrison, and McCoy (1998) argue that duplicative efforts waste time and money. The study found that the freedom of movement protocol in COMESA has been hindered by the organization's diverse membership due to difficulties with commitment and coordination. Slow regional integration is, according to UNECA (2016), in part due to overlapping membership. Oduro (1996) agrees that the overlapping membership of COMESA makes it hard to imagine the organization's success on the basis of convergence to cooperation and integration in trade.

4.3.3.3 Lack of Harmonization of National Laws

It can be challenging for governments to amend their national laws so that they conform to RECs and Free Movement of Persons Protocols (FMPPs) clauses. Since most COMESA Member States are still behind, it is clear that the failure to harmonize national laws with the freedom of movement protocol has been a barrier to its implementation. verbatim responses were obtained from respondents who noted:

For effective enforcement of the legal strengths of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, Kenyan national laws are expected to be harmonized and elevated to the status of the COMESA free movement of person's protocol`

(Respondent 6, Daystar University)

Another respondent noted that `Immigration laws have not been streamlined due to lack of attention on the COMESA freedom of movement protocol therefore, this is similar to EAC since there is little harmonization of passports to promote Common Market Protocol.

(Respondent 6, Member of Public, 27th April, 2022)

From the quotations of the responses obtained one respondent noted that:

Kenyan laws and systems not corresponding with those of other COMESA Member states is an impediment towards achievement of the full implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol.

(Respondent 7, Kenya Institute of Public and Policy Research(KIPPRA) 27th April, 2022)

Another respondent stated that:

The lack of harmonizing mobility regimes has resulted to different levels of implementation of COMESA free movement of person`s protocols. Harmonization of laws have not been streamlined in Kenya since insufficient attention has been given on the COMESA freedom of movement protocol.

(Respondent 8, Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and Enterprise Development 27th April, 2022)

COMESA adopted a model on immigration in 2006 to aid in promoting harmonization of national legislation, but progress has been gradual, creating implementation issues of the free movement protocol (AU, 2017), as established by the study. According to ICMPD (2013), nationals of COMESA Member states are not guaranteed freedom of movement under the COMESA model law on immigration. Since Kenyan interests are more important than those of COMESA, the findings also indicated that the provisions of the FMPs protocol incorporated in the FMPPs have not been prioritized properly.

4.3.3.4 Fear of Loss of Sovereignty

The Issue of sovereignty is crucial because it give Member States authority over their own affairs and borders. According to the research study, Kenyans' apprehension over

COMESA's free-movement protocol stems from worries about ceding control of their country. One of the respondents stated that:

States are faced with dilemma and in most cases are undecided on choosing between sovereignty and promoting freedom of movement of persons within its frameworks.

(Respondent 9, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, 28th April, 2022)

Another respondent noted that:

Generally, most African states are afraid to relax borders since it may pose threats and also diminish their own ability to foster developments thus is a challenge towards achieving implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya.

(Respondent 10, Ministry of Industrialization, Trade and Enterprise Development, 28th April, 2022)

Verbatim responses obtained from another respondent were quoted as follows:

Most regional migration frameworks in Africa including COMESA have inconsistent policies that differ with national policies due to the prevalence of existing threats to their own national sovereignty as well as interference concerns.

(Respondent 11, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, 28th April, 2022)

Another respondent noted that:

Most Member states belonging to different regional economic communities fully endorse cooperation protocols but fail in the process of implementing the protocols because of fear of ceding their sovereignty to another regional authority.

(Respondent 12, KIPPRA, 26th April, 2022)

Okumu (2011) points out that managing borders is a difficult task for countries. All of these direct quotes back the research by Geda and Kebret (2002), which found that ideological and political differences across Member States are a major barrier to closer economic ties among them. According to COMESA (2008), leaders are reluctant to accede to and implement protocols on regional integration due to the worry that doing so will result in relinquishing sovereignty of their state to a sub-regional authority.

As a result of these responses and the study's findings that COMESA member states are skeptical of ceding sovereignty to regional institutions because of the subordinate roles they must play, and that the COMESA secretariat lacks the ability to force its Member

states to implement protocols even in instances where they showed commitment, integration efforts within COMESA have slowed (Atsiaya, 2014). AU (2014) observed that the building of institutional structures that are not cohesive and lack in supra national scale essential to promote integration efficiently is hindered by member states' concession of sovereignty and attempts to defend it. In spite of the fact that doing so causes extra challenges in terms of bringing national and regional policy frameworks into harmony with one another (Nyirabu, 2014), African governments continue to cling to their independence on the grounds that national policies should be the business of states. It has been difficult to execute the COMESA freedom of movement convention due to sovereignty concerns.

4.3.3.5 Lack of Collaboration from Other Key Stakeholders

Promoting the agenda of free movement requires significant support from civil society organizations, the third estate, and other strategic partners. Regional integration cannot be achieved without the private sector's knowledge of and participation in the implementation of treaties and conventions. It is clear that the business sector and civil society organizations have minimal influence on policy making in regional institutions, despite the fact that UNECA (2017) states that regional institutions should incorporate procedures for effective consultations with these groups.

Lack of cooperation between important parties, such as civil society organizations and the commercial sector, was cited as another challenge facing the implementation process of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol by research participants. The research concluded that only states are recognized legally because COMESA was created as an IO with a membership consisting solely of states. Thus, COMESA agreements do not include non-state entities like civil society organizations, the corporate sector, non-governmental organizations, or people. This suggests that the

private sector's stakeholders in regional and development issues lack a mechanism for influencing how regional organizations put their policies and protocols into practice. The statement was supported by the following verbatim reporting obtained from respondents as follows:

There exists minimal active participation by the, civil society, private sector and the Members of the public towards facilitating the implementation of protocols particularly the COMESA freedom of movement protocol.
(Respondent 13, Ministry of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, 28th April, 2022)

Another respondent also noted that:

Ordinary citizens within COMESA Member States have not been included in the affairs of COMESA since the signing process of COMESA treaty dint involve Members of the general public the implication of this basically means that they don't have a say on regional integration matters.
(Respondent 14, Immigration Department, 25th April, 2022)

According to these reports, regional participation from civil society and the commercial sector is low and disorganized, making it hard to separate their respective viewpoints on the issue of COMESA's integration. These results corroborate previous research by Geda and Kebret (2008), who argued that a lack of funding and information were the main impediments to private sector involvement in COMESA. As a result, the study's findings established that, the civil society organizations, private sector and the members of the general public minimally participate in issues related to integration in COMESA therefore, this has slowed the operation and process of implementing the COMESA FMPs protocol.

However, this has not been the case with COMESA Member states, despite Din babe's (2011) contention that stakeholder participation in planning and integration of human and technical resources is crucial for efficient policy implementation. According to Endale (2019), both the public and the private sector must be actively involved in order for treaties and conventions to be effectively implemented. Non-state players take part

in a pivotal role in the political economy of Africa, but they are rarely considered in discussions regarding regional integration, and the private sector has also not been given the tools it needs to play an active role in regional integrations.

4.3.3.6 Slow Ratification and Implementation of Decisions

By ratifying and implementing mobility agreements, governments have shown that they can work together to overcome common goods problems. The fundamental motivator of integration efforts is economy, as noted by Zhu (2019), therefore, majority of states ratify regional integration accords in order to speed forward development goals.

A slow pace of ratification and implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol has been an obstacle to the organization's efforts to strengthen regional economic integration due to a low level of deference by its Member states caused by the absence of the necessary ratifications. These sentiments are similar to a research conducted by (ADB 2009), a fundamental obstacle to regional integration at the national level is the translation of devotion into action by ratification of protocols and giving greater attention towards regional integration efforts. Decisions made by COMESA's decision-making bodies might be difficult to put into practice considering that member states' unique circumstances are often in the way of the implementation process. A response obtained from a key informant informed that:

The biggest obstacle facing the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol is the slow process of ratification and implementation since some of the COMESA Member states feel that others are taking advantage of them therefore opt to go slow and adopt a wait and see game. (Respondent 15, Kenyatta University, 26th April, 2022)

Another respondent noted that:

Member States have a tendency of seeking extended timelines when it comes to the ratification of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol (Respondent 15, Kenyatta University, 26th April, 2022)

The findings of the study also established that COMESA assistant secretary general noted the following sentiments:

It is calamitous to any regional bloc to constantly come up with new strategies at the cost of existing and unimplemented ones hence there`s an urge for Member states to accelerate ratification and implementation of protocols.

(COMESA Assistant Secretary General ,2015)

Since it is damaging to a regional bloc to constantly adopt new policies at the expense of old and unimplemented ones, Member states must speed up the ratification of protocols. This demonstrates that the delayed pace of ratification and implementation of the COMESA free movement protocol has impeded its successful enactment in COMESA member nations such as Kenya. Touzens (2012) asserts that the lack of legislative framework isn't a major issue but the aspect of ratifying and implementing protocols.

Since COMESA's decision-making bodies sometimes face pushback from national governments when attempting to execute their decisions, this obstacle remains a major stumbling block. In order to put words into deeds on a national scale, ADB (2019) suggests that nations should ratify protocols and pay attention to regional integration initiatives. The lack of a legally enforceable mechanism for COMESA to integrate its program into the national programs of Member states is a major factor in the failure to embody integration aims and plans into national development plans. Since there is no consequence for the non-application of protocols negotiated at the regional level, the lack of a supranational power for COMESA adds to the low implementation of regional integration protocols.

Another respondent claimed that;

``...Majority of COMESA members have not yet completed the ratification of legal instruments, which prevents some COMESA instruments, such as the protocol on FMPs, labor, and services, from coming into force. ``

This verbatim response is in agreement with a study that made this claim. Bhagwati (1991) points out that because so many countries assume varying regional trade agreements, administrative and policy coordination issues arise. Protocols lack complementarity between RECs, which makes them difficult to negotiate and slows down the process of ratification by member states, as noted by the AU (2014). The COMESA Medium Strategic plan (2021-2025) also pointed out that the ratification process of legitimate instruments adopted by COMESA have not been completed thus leading to the instruments such as COMESA protocol of free movement of persons, labour and service not taking effect.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Chapter Overview

The chapter discussed the summary of the study findings on assessment of trajectory of the implementation of COMESA freedom of movement in Kenya, conclusions of this study were also discussed and recommendations of the study were drawn. This chapter finally incorporated suggestions to be conducted for further research.

5.1 Summary of the Study Findings

The first objective sought to assess the extent to which COMESA has attained its objectives based on its founding treaty. The study findings revealed that COMESA has mostly accomplished some goals set forth in its founding treaty, but there has been little progress in trade and efforts to actualize the goal of mobility of people among all COMESA Member States. The vast majority of respondents concurred that COMESA had failed to actualize its goal of facilitating freedom of movement between member states due to the lack of ratification and implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol.

Based on the findings of the second objective that sought to analyze the trend of implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya, the findings of the research stipulated that FMPs occurs inside RECs and those frameworks do not bind Member states but rather rely on the goodwill of Member States. The findings of the study found out that; Only one COMESA member state has fully ratified the freedom of movement convention, nevertheless, most of the respondents believed that implementation is still in its early stages in states like Kenya. The study also confirmed that the freedom of movement protocol adopted by COMESA in 2001 is not yet

completely functional due to the fact that seven of its signatories have not yet ratified the protocol. It is crucial to note the goal of mobility will be realized by all COMESA member states if reciprocity is applied. To illustrate the public's lack of familiarity with the existence of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, 38 respondents (76%) noted that they were unaware of its existence. While Kenya has not yet ratified the COMESA free movement protocol, it has made significant strides towards achieving the implementation process and has demonstrated its dedication and optimism for the eventual realization of the FMP provisions of the COMESA agreement.

The third objective focused on examining the challenges facing the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya. The findings of the research unveiled that the slow process of ratification and implementation, lack of political commitment, lack of harmonization of laws, overlapping membership, the sovereignty issue and the lack of effective collaboration from other stakeholders have hindered implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol in Kenya. According to the findings of the research study, the absence of political will is the major impediment hindering the implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol. It is pertinent to note that, IOM reports offer a rationality of ambition for the realization of mobility among all COMESA member states and have given suggestions for overcoming the obstacles facing the COMESA region.

5.2 Conclusion of the Study

COMESA has lagged by regional comparison in expediting the free movement of people. The status of implementation of the COMESA free movement protocol has been inconsistent with the COMESA aspirations and visions as mirrored in its founding treaty and policy instruments. The lack of ratification and implementation of COMESA freedom of movement protocol as shown by the study's findings, suggests the paucity

of political commitment to ratify and implement the COMESA freedom of movement protocol therefore, the study's findings confirm the existence of varying levels of formulation and enactment of mobility framework in COMESA and low prioritization of regional integration programmes. Despite being a COMESA member, Kenya has not shown sufficient dedication to the realization of mobility in COMESA therefore leading to minimal economic development in Kenya. The study's findings suggest that, due to the complexity and sensitivity of the issue of mobility, states are hesitant to participate in freedom of movement on a regional level. The study also found that in order for COMESA member states like Kenya to focus on implementing the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, they have to consider sacrificing national sovereignty. This is because the identified obstacles have contributed to the lack of focus and attention on freedom of movement by COMESA member states.

Aspects of freedom of movement, such as the case of COMESA freedom of movement, are realized in practice thanks to bilateral agreements between Member nations that elect to waive visa restrictions. Since Kenya has signed the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, it is clear that the country intends to ratify the agreement. The study findings also noted that Kenya has taken steps to implement the COMESA freedom of movement protocol, which is expected to have positive effects on the economy and growth. Increased economic and development benefits are expected as a result of Kenya's decision to ratify and implement the COMESA freedom of movement convention.

5.3 Recommendations

- In order to promote full mobility of people and deepen regional integration efforts between Kenya and other COMESA member states, the researcher recommended that Kenya, as a Member State of COMESA, should aim to ratify, implement and make effective follow up on the COMESA free movement protocol by enhancing political commitment.
- The researcher also suggested that the Kenyan government should develop awareness strategies and provide adequate training to the stakeholders involved in migration issues and the general public in order to raise public awareness and sensitization of the COMESA free movement protocol. Increased sensitization and creation of awareness to citizens on benefits of integration and altering negative perceptions about free movement of people can be harnessed by government agencies to disseminate knowledge about the importance of mobility of people to other COMESA member countries. The freedom of movement also protocol needs to be publicized on a national and regional scale through the media. Media outlets on each continent should work closely with the IOM to influence popularization techniques and hasten the protocol's adoption and implementation.
- To ensure the smooth operation of the COMESA FMPs protocol, the researcher also suggested that the Kenyan government should maintain constant and open communication with the private sector, NGOs, and CSOs. They should be constantly engaged in decision making in order to improve vibrancy in integration matters along with the ratification of COMESA freedom of movement protocol.

- The researcher recommended that, Kenyan migration agencies ought to familiarize themselves with the freedom of movement protocol's objectives, provisions, policy frameworks, and ultimate aims; to increase cooperation with other COMESA member states to bring immigration laws into line with the protocol; and to create a monitoring platform to help ensure the program's continued success.
- The researcher recommended that Kenyan immigration laws should be harmonized in accordance with the provisions of COMESA freedom of movement protocol this will facilitate fast and similar level of implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol amongst all COMESA member states.
- The researcher further recommended that COMESA should merge with other Regional Economic Communities with similar objectives in order to form a bigger body that will further integration agenda thus solve the challenge of overlapping membership.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Research

The aspect of implementation of freedom of movement protocols in African RECs is extensive therefore more studies ought to be carried out since freedom of movement is a crucial dimension of regional integration in member states recognized by the African Union as building blocks to African Economic Community. The researcher therefore gave suggestion on that future research should be done on the following areas;

- a) Comparison in implementation levels of freedom of movement protocol in individual COMESA Member states.
- b) The conditions necessary for the development of regional free movement of person's policies should also be researched by future academic scholars.

- c) The role played by key stakeholders and policy makers towards achieving the full implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol should be considered by future researchers and academic scholars.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Key informant Interview Guide

1. What is the current implementation status of the COMESA Free Movement of Persons protocol in Kenya?
2. Does Kenya grant freedom of movement to other COMESA member states?
Explain
3. What are the challenges encountered in the implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol?
4. Will Kenya ratify the COMESA Free Movement of Persons protocol? Justify your reason
5. What measures has the government of Kenya put in place to address the challenges facing the ratification and implementation process of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol?
6. Are there any set timeframe and timelines that have been put in place by the executive that seeks to advocate on the process implementing the FMP protocol?
7. What measures has the Government of Kenya put in place to hasten implementation process of FMP protocol?
8. Does the Kenyan government work with IOM and other key stakeholders towards popularizing the COMESA Free Movement of Persons Protocol?
9. Is there any political goodwill from the executive advocating for the attainment of full mobility among COMESA member states?
10. Has the government of Kenya used the media to popularize the protocol to the ordinary citizens and educate the public on its benefits?

11. Does the government of Kenya involve the private sector, national assembly and the civil society groups in dissemination process of relevant information regarding the COMESA Free Movement of person's protocol?
12. Have immigration laws in Kenya been harmonized in line with the COMESA Free Movement of Persons implementation policies?
13. Is there any implementation roadmap that seeks to hasten the ratification process of COMESA free movement of person's protocol?

Appendix II: Questionnaire

Dear respondent I am conducting a research on `` Assessment of the trajectory of the implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol on economic development in Kenya.

I am kindly requesting you to participate in this research study by providing required information in the questionnaire below. The information provided will be strictly confidential and only used for academic purposes. I urge you to be honest and be willing to provide relevant information as accurate as possible. I sincerely thank you in advance for taking time to read and complete the questionnaire below [Please tick where appropriate].

Your participation is valued.

Daisy Mutai

SECTION A: Demographic information

1. What is your gender [] male [] female
2. Indicate your highest educational level?
 - a) Secondary level()
 - b) College()
 - c) College or university level()
 - d) Postgraduate level ()
3. Indicate your level of experience in your field of expertise
 - a)2-3 yrs()
 - b)3-6 yrs. ()
 - c)More than 6 yrs()

4. Do you think Kenya has made efforts to promote the free movement of persons among COMESA countries? Explain
5. Do you know about the existing COMESA freedom of movement protocol?
6. Do you think that the process of implementation of the COMESA Free Movement of Persons protocol has commenced in Kenya? Explain
7. Do you think Kenya will ratify the free movement of person's protocol present amongst COMESA member states?
8. Does the Immigration department in Kenya issue visas at entry points to all COMESA Member States?
9. How can the process of implementation of the COMESA freedom of movement protocol be enhanced in Kenya?

******THANK YOU ******

Appendix III: Letter of Introduction to Respondents

Daisy Chepngetich Mutai,

P. O. Box 18633-00100,

Nairobi, Kenya.

chepngetichmutai@ku.ac.ke

(Date)

(Address 2)

RE: REQUEST FOR RESEARCH DATA

My name is Daisy Mutai a postgraduate student at Kenyatta University pursuing Masters of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy in the school of Law Arts and Social Sciences Department of International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies.

I am conducting a research on **assessment of the trajectory of the implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya**. I am writing to kindly request for access to research data in your institution in form of key informants and documents for analysis as part of the requirement and fulfillment of the program. The main objectives of the research are;

1. To assess the extent to which COMESA has achieved its objective based on its founding treaty
2. To analyze the implementation trend of COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya.
3. To examine the challenges faced in the implementation of COMESA free movement of person's protocol in Kenya.

I consider a chance to access data in your institution as the right opportunity for me to learn and to effectively contribute towards creating a publication on the importance of implementing mobility protocols in African Regional Economic Communities.

Please do not hesitate to contact me via my email Chepngetichmutai@ku.ac.ke.

Kindly find the attached research permits. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Yours Sincerely,

Daisy Mutai

Appendix IV: Research Consent Form

Title of the Research Project: **Assessment of the Trajectory of the Implementation of COMESA Free Movement of Persons (FMP) Protocol in Kenya.**

Dear respondent,

The study is being done by Daisy Mutai a student at Kenyatta University pursuing Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy. My passion is to effectively contribute in addressing the challenges facing the implementation and ratification of mobility protocols in African Regional Economic Communities(RECs)particularly in COMESA region. This study is expected to illuminate extensively on the objectives attained by COMESA since its inception in accordance with its founding treaty, the implementation trend of the COMESA Free movement of person`s protocol (FMPP)and lastly the challenges faced by Kenya in the implementation process of the COMESA FMP protocol.

I confirm that I have read and understood the information letter explaining the research project above and I have had the chance to ask questioning concerning the project

I comprehend that the participation is voluntary.

I understand that my response will be strictly confidential

I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials

I agree to the interview being audio recorded

I agree to the use of anonymous quotes in publications.

Name of the participant

Date

Signature

Name of the researcher

Date

Signature

Appendix V: NACOSTI PERMIT

 REPUBLIC OF KENYA	 NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
Ref No: 636310	Date of Issue: 10/February/2022
RESEARCH LICENSE	
	
<p>This is to Certify that Miss. Daisy Chepngetich Mutal of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: ASSESSING THE TRAJECTORY OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF COMESA FREE MOVEMENT OF PERSONS PROTOCOL, ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN KENYA for the period ending : 10/February/2023.</p>	
License No: NACOSTI/P/22/15547	
636310 Applicant Identification Number	 Director General NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION
	Verification QR Code 
<p>NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.</p>	

Appendix VI: RESEARCH APPROVAL



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 810901 Ext. 4150

Internal Memo

FROM: Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 27th January, 2022

TO: Daisy Chepngetich Mutai
C/o Inter. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies Dept

REF: S205/37814/2017

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROJECT PROPOSAL

This is to inform you that Graduate School Board at its meeting of 19th January, 2022 approved your Research Project Proposal for the M.A Degree Entitled, "Assessing the Trajectory of the Implementation of Comesa Free Movement of Persons Protocol on Economic Development in Kenya".

You may now proceed with your Data Collection, Subject to Clearance with Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed Supervision Tracking and Progress Report Forms per semester. The Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Thank you.

JACKSON LUVUSI
FOR: DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL

c.c. Chairman, Inter. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies Department

Supervisors:

1. Dr. Joseph Wasonga
Department of Int. Rel. Conf. & Strg. Studies
Kenyatta University

JL/inn

APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION



KENYATTA UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL

E-mail: dean-graduate@ku.ac.ke

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.O. Box 43844, 00100
NAIROBI, KENYA
Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: S205/37814/2017

Date: 27th January, 2022

Director General,
National Commission for Science, Technology
and Innovation
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR DAISY CHEPNGETICH MUTAI, REG. NO. S205/37814/2017.

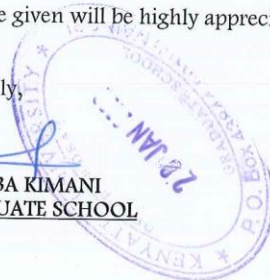
I write to introduce Daisy Chepngetich Mutai who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. The student is registered for M.A degree programme in the Department of International Relations, Conflict and Strategic Studies.

Daisy intends to conduct research for a M.A Project Proposal entitled, "Assessing the Trajectory of the Implementation of Comesa Free Movement of Persons Protocol on Economic Development in Kenya".

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.

Yours faithfully,


PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL



JL/lnn