

**REGIME CHANGE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON EASTERN AFRICA  
COMMUNITY**

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## DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

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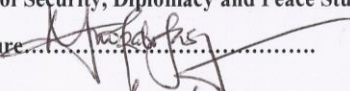
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## **DEDICATION**

This document is dedicated to my dear parents Nelson and Anne, my siblings Maureen, Maurice and Juliet, my daughter Esther-Elcy and my nephews Charbel and Ace as a tool for their encouragement to greater achievement in their lives.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	ii
DEDICATION .....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT .....	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS .....	v
LIST OF FIGURES .....	viii
LIST OF TABLES .....	ix
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....	x
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS .....	xi
ABSTRACT .....	xii
<b>CHAPTER ONE</b> .....	<b>1</b>
<b>1.0 INTRODUCTION</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background to the Study .....	1
1.2 Statement of the problem .....	5
1.3 Specific Objectives .....	6
1.4 Research Questions .....	7
1.5 Justification of the Study .....	7
1.6 Scope of the Study .....	8
1.7 Limitations of the Study .....	8
<b>CHAPTER TWO</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	<b>9</b>
2.1 Empirical Review .....	9
2.1.1 Regional Integration .....	9
2.1.2 Role of Heads of State on Regional Integration .....	13
2.1.3 Heads of State Transition and Regional Integration .....	16
2.1.4 Current Kenyan Regime and Regional Integration .....	21
2.2 Theoretical Framework .....	24
2.2.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory .....	24
2.2.2 Structural functionalism theory .....	25
2.3 Conceptual Framework .....	26
Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework .....	26

<b>CHAPTER THREE</b> .....	26
<b>3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY</b> .....	26
3.1 Research Design .....	27
3.2 Study Area .....	27
3.3 Target Population .....	27
3.4 Sampling Techniques .....	28
3.5 Sample Size .....	28
3.6 Data Collection Instruments .....	29
3.7 Pretesting of research instruments .....	29
3.8 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument .....	29
3.9 Data Collection Techniques .....	30
3.10 Data Analysis .....	30
3.11 Ethical Considerations .....	31
<b>CHAPTER FOUR</b> .....	32
<b>4.0 PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION</b> .....	32
4.1 Introduction .....	32
4.2 Response Rate .....	32
4.3 Demographic Information .....	33
4.3.1 Gender of the Respondents .....	34
4.3.2 Distribution of Respondents by Age .....	35
4.4. 3 Level of Education of the Respondents .....	36
4.5 Descriptive Analysis of the Study Variables .....	37
4.5.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration .....	37
4.5.2. Satisfaction in the effectiveness of the Heads of State .....	39
4.5.3 What the Current Regime Can Do to Enhance Regional Integration .....	44
4.6 Interview Results .....	48
4.6.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration .....	48
4.6.2 SATISFACTION IN THE PARTICIPATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE .....	49
<b>CHAPTER FIVE</b> .....	52
<b>5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION</b> .....	52
5.1 Introduction .....	52
5.2 Summary of Findings .....	52
5.2.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration .....	53

5.2.2. Satisfaction in the Participation of the Heads of State .....	54
5.2.2 What the Current Regime Can Do to Enhance Regional Integration .....	55
5.3 Conclusion.....	55
5.4 Recommendations .....	56
5.5 Suggestion for further studies .....	56
REFERENCES .....	57
APPENDICES .....	61
APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER TO THE RESPONDENT .....	61
APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE.....	62
APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE EXPERTS.....	66
APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH SCHEDULE.....	67
APPENDIX V: RESEARCH BUDGET.....	68

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework .....	26
Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondents.....	34
Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents.....	35
Figure 4.3: Respondents' Level of Education.....	36
Figure 4.4 Effectiveness of Heads of states .....	37
Figure 4.5. The frequency of meeting by the head of state.....	44
Figure 4.6 Activeness of current state to regional integration .....	45

**LIST OF TABLES**

Table 3.1: Target Population.....	28
Table3.2: Sample Size .....	28
Table 4.1: Response Rate.....	33
Table 4.2 Role played by state on regional integration .....	38
Table 4.3: Satisfaction in the Participation of the Heads of State .....	39
<i>Table 4.4 Satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration with those of Uganda and Tanzania?.....</i>	<i>42</i>
Table 4.5 What can be done by current regime to Enhance Regional Integration .....	46

## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>EA:</b>	East Africa
<b>EU:</b>	European Union
<b>EAC:</b>	East African Community
<b>ECOWAS:</b>	Economic Community of West African States
<b>COMESA:</b>	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
<b>SADC:</b>	Southern African Development Community
<b>NAFTA:</b>	North American Free Trade Agreement
<b>LAFTA:</b>	Latin America Free Trade Association
<b>ASEAN:</b>	Association of South East Asian Nations
<b>ECA:</b>	Economic Commission for Africa
<b>EEC:</b>	European Economic Community
<b>EERC:</b>	European Economic Recovery co-operation
<b>EACSO:</b>	East Africa Common Service Organization
<b>CARICOM:</b>	Caribbean Community and the Common Market
<b>AREC:</b>	Asian Regional Economic Cooperation
<b>MERCOSUR:</b>	Southern Common Market

## **OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS**

**Integration:** This is a process by which people's association and interaction is enhanced for a common good and purpose. There is also the creation of new structures and voluntary creation of larger political or economic units. This underscores the fact that force is not a tool that is employed in this creation of a single unit.

**Regime Change:** This involves replacement of a government with another for a given period of time. The processes here may include voting and election of a government by the electorates or by a parliament. In Kenya, a regime (government) goes for five years. The head of state can serve for a maximum of two terms each going up to five years as per the Kenyan constitution 2010.

**Regional Integration:** This is the process of enhancing the relations between two or more countries with the purpose of breaking the trade barriers for mutual benefit between and among the countries. Most developing countries have considered regional integration as panacea to economic development. This has been a major motivating factor for the African countries to undertake regional integration approach over the past decades with varying degrees of success.

### **ABSTRACT**

The attainment of a fully integrated East African region through the East African Community is yet to be realised. This is because most of the agreements pertaining integration are yet to be fully implemented while some are way past their implementation deadline. The East Africa Common Market Protocol, for instance, came into force in July 2010 after being ratified by member states. However, its practical implementation is considered a process that must take place over time since to-date, the free movement of labour, goods, and capital and across partner states has not been actualized by most EAC citizens. The EAC Common Market was meant to merge partner states' markets into a single market in which there is free mobility of persons, services, labour, goods, capital and the right of establishment and residence. The Monetary Union protocol which was scheduled for 2012 is already behind schedule and therefore delays in full implementation of the Customs Union and Common Market protocol can only translate to delays in the implementation of the Monetary Union and Political Federation protocols. Timely implementation of EAC agreed decisions has been inadequate and similarly, the implementation of this protocol has been slow. For instance, there is failure by individual member states to lift legal barriers like recognition of business certificates for each other and double taxation. The study's overall aim is to unearth the implications that regime change has in ensuring the unification the East African region. The study has explored the steps so far taken towards East Africa integration and the precise objectives of the study are; to analyse the role(s) that the different Heads of state in Kenya have played to ensure East Africa integration, to examine the effects of Heads of state transition in Kenya on regional integration in East Africa, to establish what the current Kenyan regime can do to speed up the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region. In this study, the Hegemonic Stability theory that is based on the presence of a hegemony that ensures stability of the international system and the Structural Functionalism theory which factors in a society as a complex system that is constitutes of segments that work together with an intent of achieving a set goal will be used. Descriptive research design was used in the study. The target population for the study was the Ministry of East African Community, Labor and Social protection, Political scientists, retired and serving ambassadors. Stratified random sampling was used to obtain a sample size of 130 respondents. The data was collected by use of self-structured questionnaires which were directly administered to the respondents, as well as individual interview schedules. Analysis of the qualitative data was done by use of both the framework analysis and the thematic analysis approaches while the quantitative data was analyzed through theme coding. This area of study found out that the state head plays quite a significant role towards regional integration which include enhancing policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional blocs geared towards this integration. In addition, it was revealed through this study that, although the head of state holds meetings to discuss regional integration little has been done with regard to formulation of new policies as well as establishing a concrete legal frame-work to safeguard the issues concerning regional integration. The study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is the will to put in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among member states, hence resulting to mutual benefit of these states in terms of creating opportunities for their citizens.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **1.0 INTRODUCTION**

This chapter presents an investigation on the factors relating to regime change that are a hindrance to the attainment of a fully integrated East African region. In it, is the background of the study, the statement of the problem, objectives, research question, and significance of the study as well as the limitations of the study.

#### **1.1 Background to the Study**

A political regime is a fundamental form state institutions take that regulates the operations of a government and its interactions with the outside world. It can either be a democracy, republic, monarchy, communism or dictatorial. The role any head of government in any form of regime plays is very critical in that their operations and dictate to a greater extent how his/her government will relate with others. Cuba for instance, has had a principle of a democratic centralist political system since 1959 and has been under the rule of dictators and Marxists. After assuming power in 1959, the late former Cuban president Fidel Castro is hailed for having played a critical role in bringing the small Caribbean island to the center of the world politics and since then, Cuba has been in a position to exert an undeniable amount of pressure on the international stage. Fidel Castro was at the forefront of the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) that emerged in 2000. He also was at the forefront of the Pink-tide (a struggle against neo-liberal hegemony) which swept through Latin America, bringing left-wing governments to power. An expansive foreign policy has been achieved in the face of US aggression. Cuba's foreign policy has been scaled back and re-directed as a result of economic hardship after the collapse of the Soviet bloc. There being no massive soviet subsidies and its primary trading partner, in the 1990's Cuba spent some time in isolation. However, as time went by, there was a deeper realization of the need to relate and get into agreements with other nations and/or states and thereafter in the late 90s, the country got into bi-lateral co-operation with a number of South American countries like Venezuela and Bolivia.

According to Karl (1990), the crucial aspect of regional integration has become the focal point for intense global interest and a serious debate over the past decades in diverse parts of the world. After the Second World War, European countries were seeking to attain peace and stability and were convinced that it would be attainable through unity and integration among themselves. In 1947, the Marshall Plan (initially the European Recovery Programme- ERP) was established as an American initiative to aid Western Europe to re-build its economies. The U.S.A which gave \$12 billion had an intention of doing away with trade barriers, upgrade industries and improve European prosperity. The then US president Harry Truman appointed George Marshall and through this, the ERP was conceived. From 1948 to 1952 European economies grew at quite an alarming rate with trade relations resulting to the formation of the North Atlantic Alliances. The early European community started with only six countries, as some, like the Soviet Union and its allies rejected the idea of integration, in order to save their sovereignty.

In 1957, the Rome Treaty was signed to create the European Economic Community (ECC) which saw the establishment of the European Common Market. The period between 1950s and 1970s witnessed significant progress in integration as countries like Belgium, France, Italy, Netherlands and Germany joined ECC whose objective was free movement of labour and capital and also abolition of trusts and cartels. In Asia, an organization like Asia- Pacific Economic Co-operation (APEC) is playing a crucial role in fostering transnational networks. In the 1990s hopes were raised that economic and political integration would help Asia to develop its own identity by overcoming the legacy of colonialism. The Asian financial crisis of 1997-1998 was a chance to foster integration process as the Asian leaders realised that absence of transparency and accountability in the integration procedure led to this crisis. On regime change, a country like Myanmar in East Asia had over several years experienced authoritarian rule coupled with civil wars but as the country got into a new phase under a democratically elected government in 2016, it was reported in The Asian Weekly (18<sup>th</sup>

September, 2016) that the new government's only option was to forge ways of stepping up the peace process and especially the process of re-balancing external relations with China, her largest trading partner. Among other reasons that led to the two countries' strained relations was the decision by Myanmar's former president to suspend the Myitsone dam project in 2011, one of China's flagship projects in Myanmar. This took Beijing, a close ally of China, by surprise hence launching a charm offensive. The current head of Myanmar government Aung San Suu had prioritized the need to see an end to these issues as reported in *The Diplomat* (10<sup>th</sup> July, 2018). In fact, under the new government it was reported that Myanmar was being considered to be an alleviant to the rising tension between some ASEAN member states and China over territorial claims in the South China Sea since Myanmar has no competing claim to the dispute.

Narrowing down to the African continent, it has been argued that Africa lags behind in development, and one of the reasons raised is the ineffectiveness of regional agreements in existence (Saitoti, 1988). Calls have been made for an African economic and political union with leaders foreseeing a scenario where African countries completely eliminate all forms of trade barriers both qualitative and quantitative, set unified external tariffs, use common currency, have a single monetary authority and even harmonise their macro-economic, industrial and development politics. From the early years of colonialism, around the 1960s, when Africans began to occupy responsible political positions, African states have focused on developing new patterns of continental and regional co-operative arrangements. At first, their efforts involved dealing with the existing colonial arrangements in what they referred to as 'a creative destruction' in order to meet African needs and operations. Therefore, with the inspiration of how successful the EU has proven to be and encouraged by the UN-sponsored Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the first generation of African leaders focused on creating regional entities that hopefully had the capability of promoting regional co-operation and integration. The consciousness of the small -sized countries in the realization that without

joining others in larger groups they would be facing serious problems in promoting their development became their motivating factor. They were greatly challenged by the fact if major countries like Germany and France felt the need for regional integration, then such a need was definitely greater for smaller and under-developed countries (Nugent, 2004).

Since the idea of co-operation and unity for collective betterment had been central in Africa since 1960, Pan-Africanism as an idea and a movement in the African continent was predicated on. The struggle to develop new arrangements was in real sense an aspect of struggle to institutionalize Pan-Africanism. Therefore, efforts to do it in the 1960s structured and shaped the debate on the proper form and scope of African unity. African heads of government like Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia started advancing the Pan-African idea. Attention was now focused on the geographical scope and the intensity or degree of co-operation that would be considered necessary. One proposal for institutionalizing Pan-Africanism was Kwame Nkrumah's 'continental union' or a political union of West African states, a Ghana-Guinea union, Ghana-Guinea-Mali union and a Ghana-Zaire union. He envisaged each of these as a nucleus for continental union. The proposal faced a stumbling block because Nigeria was totally against it. She instead favoured functionalism, the theory that co-operation in non-controversial areas leads to the acquisition of knowledge and skills which will translate to make co-operation in politically sensitive areas possible (Haas, 1964; Claude, 1964; Mirrany, 1943).

After the re-establishment of the EAC whose treaty came into force in 2000, the EAC members namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan have shown key concern on regional integration even though its achievement has not been as successful as projected. All the member countries have designed a common regional integration policy focusing on industrialization, poverty and impact assessment and on pharmaceuticals and manufacturing sectors; each member country has also been tasked with formulating individual regional integration policies. In Kenya, through the Ministry of East Africa (2009), a conformed

regional integration policy was formulated and was aimed at seeing the country engage in more open ties with other East African countries and also enhance Kenya's ability to maximize the utilization of the socio-economic and political opportunities presented by RECs as well as to further integrate into a global economy. The policy also provides a guideline towards attainment of a much flexible Common Trade market, free movement of people across the countries not forgetting improved engaged transactions (Mwengi, 2011). This policy was set to see that the interests of Kenya were protected at the EAC, as much as equality between the countries being pushed for and the share contribution of each country to be recognized. However, as Lalema (2013) indicates, the projected integration is far from being achieved due to continued lack of trust among the EAC member states and the minimal attention given to the entire integration process by the respective heads of states.

In 2017, the Kenyan government through the Ministry of East African Affairs and Commerce and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade came up with a new regional integration policy. The policy's key objective was to enhance coherent regional integration and co-ordinated international engagements, a move that if keenly undertaken was to make it possible for Kenya and other East African countries have a well formulated integration framework that would translate to countries of the region opening their boundaries to international trade (ROK, 2017). Among key issues to be addressed by this new integration policy framework was security among the member countries, regional macro-economic policy, and innovative commercial diplomacy as well as embracing common development corridors. This however as reported by Munene (2018) is yet to be achieved even as the countries continue to draw more expectations.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

For significant growth and development of countries both politically and social-economically, the need for regional integration cannot be ignored. As a result of regional integration, most

countries have emerged to become global economic and political giants with their impact being felt across the world. Countries like Japan and Mauritius have grown to bigger economies thanks to regional integration (Wales & Wild, 2012). He goes further to state that most of these countries have benefited from open trade where trade barriers are reduced.

However, despite the advantage that comes with regional integration, most of the regional integration blocs are yet to fully achieve their set goals, more so, the EAC which despite lessons learnt from its earlier collapse due to reasons like unequal distribution of resources and prioritization of national interests, its current member states are yet to fully focus on its integration (Odhiambo,2011; Shivji,2009; and World Bank, 2012). What partly contributes to this is the fact that member states have been operating contrary to the revival treaty of the bloc which states that the implementation of the policies is to be pushed forward by the council of ministers responsible for EAC affairs.

Cooksey (2014) did a study on the relationship between regional integration and regime change among Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) countries which include Algeria and Libya among others. During the reign of King Idris of Libya (1951-1969), Libya suffered the western sphere of influence, becoming the recipient of western expertise and aid and by the end of 1959 she joined OPEC. While king Idris had travelled out of Libya in September 1969, he faced a coup d'état by Muammar Gaddafi. During colonel Gaddafi's tenure, it was decided that the presidency of AMU becomes rotational and transferred on a yearly basis but when the time came for the same to move from Algeria to a different AMU member country, Gaddafi decided that it was time to put the union in "a freezer" meaning that he would henceforth handle AMU matters with a lot of negativity. Between 1969 and 2011, Libya's foreign relations suffered a lot of instability and severe tension. It is thus critical to question the influence that change of regime has on regional integration in the EAC.

### **1.3 Specific Objectives**

Specific objectives included:

- ii. To analyse the role that the different Heads of state in Kenya have played in integration of East African States between 1963 and 2019
- iii. To examine the effects of Heads of state transition in Kenya, on regional integration in East Africa
- iv. To establish what the current Kenyan regime can do to speed up the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region.

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

- i. What roles have the different Kenyan Heads of state played in integration of East African states between 1963 and 2019
- ii. How does the transition of Heads of state in Kenya affect regional integration in East Africa?
- iii. What can the incumbent Head of state do to speed the integration process?

#### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

Several impediments have been cited on why East Africa region's attempts of realizing full integration have so far not yielded satisfactory success; some of the reasons are ideological differences and fear of losing sovereignty among others. A lot has also focused on policies that are inclined towards regional integration. This research narrowed its focus on examining individual willingness or unwillingness of the current Head of state towards achieving regional integration. The state and policy-makers are bound to benefit from this study.

### **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The focus for the proposed research study was on Kenya. The reason being that Kenya is among the pioneers of the EAC integration process and the offices of the EAC ministry are closer for the purpose of data collection compared to those of other member states.

### **1.7 Limitations of the Study**

One of the limitations was in the area of Literature, whereby although available, it was rather scattered in different publications hence a daunting task of consolidating it in order to achieve meaningful reading information. On data collection, there was a bit of lack of co-operation from the respondents who would feel insecure to respond to the study questions. This was taken care of by informing the respondents on the intended use of their responses which is for academic use only and that their information was treated with confidentiality. The respondents may have felt coerced to participate in the study thus making them give inaccurate information. However, this was delimited by ensuring their informed consent is declared such that they can withdraw from the study any time they felt like doing so.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW**

This section focuses on the review of previous studies on regime change and regional integration. The chapter reviewed literature as per the objectives of the study and the gaps from those respective studies to be taken care of by filled by this study.

#### **2.1 Empirical Review**

##### **2.1.1 Regional Integration**

Regional integration can be defined as any inter-state activity with less than universal participation designed to meet some commonly experienced need (Haas, 1971). Haas further states that regional integration is the peaceful creation of possible new types of human communities at a very high level of organization. These needs could include but not limited to military, political, and economic or it may be technical or residual public interest. It is the business of governments of the respective states to over-see the integration process. The history of various parts of the world reveals that integration is not new; states across the world have signed, and are still signing regional agreements for various reasons among them economic progress.

In a global context, in Europe for instance, countries have embraced the European Union (EU) which has seen them grow both politically and social-economically thus majority of them emerging to be among the globally developed merchants. Bertoncini (2013) notes that EU is one of the most integrated regions across the globe with most of its members sharing a common benefit and excelling equally. In Asia, Central Asian Regional Economic Co-operation program (CAREC) is considered another major integrated region in the world with vested economic and political development (Cawthra & Nieuwkerk, 2004). The CAREC incorporates Asian countries such as Japan, India and China which join together to have a common market where trade is enhanced.

In Africa, regional integration has also been embraced since the pre-colonial era where African countries have come together and formed trading blocs for enhancing both political and social-economic development. The first generation of African leaders believed in creation of regional entities capable of promoting regional co-operation and integration. This vision of African International relations was best captured in 1981 by the OAU's publication of an economic blue-print, Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000 (Martin, 2002). One of its major focuses was to establish an African socio-economic order based on utilising maximumly the resources the region is endowed with, hence leading to the creation of a self-reliant economy. According to Nathan (2004), the impact of some regional integration communities in Africa like SADC, COMESA will continue to be hailed since they have greatly contributed to the growth and development of the African continent. Even with the inception of most of them coming after the colonial period, they have partly helped the member countries propel into globally recognized economies. Other major integrated regional communities in Africa include Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), each of which is impacting positively to its member states.

The East African Community (EAC) dates back to early 1917. A colonialist and imperialist purpose, that of co-ordinated exploitation of East African resources by the British inspired the need for a more united Africa. Later on, Kenya and Uganda came together to promote trade between the two countries and enhance regional transport and movement (Zormelo,1994). In 1927, Tanzania, then known as Tanganyika, joined the union which translated to East African High commission (EAHC). In the year 1961, the EAHC was converted to East African Common Service Organization (EACSO) which continued to promote regional stability and integrated trade paths until 1967 when EAC was formed. Comprising of three freshly independent countries, the EAC transpired to be a co-joined and well-flourished integrated

region where political, economic and social transformations were principle (Kaime, 2004). Since then, there have been tremendous efforts to achieve integration in the region including the creation of supranational authorities and formal economic unions designed to promote intra-regional trade and investment.

Most of the regional co-operation efforts, through the various integration blocs have made major steps. However, it is undeniable that most regional blocs have not been able to fully attain their integration objectives. Accordingly, there are certain factors that contributed to the failure of regional integration efforts in the EAC. Beach and Colette (2007), in Ojo (1985) state that polarization of national development and the perception of unequal gains, inadequacy of compensatory and corrective measures are some of the factors that led to decline of the former EAC. Elsewhere, Keohane and Stanley (2011) noted ideological differences as another reason, whereby Kenya being a pro-west capitalist regime was very open to private enterprise, the introduction of foreign investment while the socialist-oriented regime of Tanzania opted for a self-help strategy known as Ujamaa (socialism) and denounced private enterprise as exploitative and restricted the flow of foreign investment and lastly, there was the impact of foreign influences. The collapse of the EAC in the year 1977 did not see the end of the efforts by the leaders to revive the union. For instance, since the then Kenya's president Daniel Moi was eager to develop the regional market, he reached out to Tanzania's president Julius Nyerere and then Uganda's president Godfrey Binaisa in 1980 and the three held a meeting after ten years since the relations between the three had been severely strained leading to the closure of border and airspace restrictions. In 1999, the union was revived, and the new EAC came into force in the year 2000 (Rosenau & Ernst-Otto, 2002). With this came the community's zeal to regain its effectiveness and common development agenda including that of expansion of markets and allowing free trade within the members states. In the year 2009, Burundi and Rwanda joined the union making it a five-member state organization. Later on in the year 2010, Southern Sudan joined the union after it gained its independence from the larger Sudan.

Through the secretariat, as the EAC treaty stipulates, it is its responsibility to implement the set policies so as to promote a common interest development agenda. However, this has not been the case since most of the implementation duty has been left to the member states who in extension have gone ahead to assign the duty to respective national ministries of the EAC (Shivji, 2009). This has been identified as one of the major challenges that the new EAC has been dealing with and far from that, some of the ministries responsible for the EAC are underfunded and end up not performing their intended mandate (World Bank, 2012). As reported by The Daily Nation (26th June, 2018) a cash crunch has hit EAC integration projects going on in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan. The newspaper went on to state that the Northern Corridor projects are at risk of being delayed for rather long unless more money is allocated to them. This was announced during the 14<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting of the EAC ministers in Nairobi. The EAC budget tabled for the financial year 2018/2019 totals to \$99,770,716 which is a step down from the previous financial year's \$110,130,184.

In West Africa, Nigeria was the dominant power, but continentally, it had competitors in Egypt and Ghana. The very possibility of Nigerian domination, however, was one reason for Nkrumah's insistence on immediate continental union. The differences over the proper form and scope of African unity started a power struggle that brought about tension between Nigeria and Ghana which became West Africa's leadership tussle (Ojo, et al.1985). The struggle was broadened to include the rest of Africa as Ghana's president Kwame Nkrumah embarked on his 'nucleus' union and engaged in subversive activities against weaker African states. He succeeded in creating the Casablanca bloc. Nigeria on the other hand, sought support for its position in the diplomatic fore. Most francophone states were wary of Nigeria's position but their opposition to Nkrumah's position and personal ambition was strong enough for them to endorse the Nigerian position as the lesser evil of the two and this emerged as the Monrovia bloc. The Francophone wariness of Nigeria's position in particular and of co-operation with the Anglophones in general led to the formation of the Brazzaville group within the Monrovia

bloc, to the extent that the divisions among these blocs formed the stuff of inter-African relations in the early 1960s. The question of political unity on a continental or even a regional basis was laid to rest with the formation and subsequent development of the OAU and thereafter several other regional blocs.

### **2.1.2 Role of Heads of State on Regional Integration**

Heads of states play a significant role in enhancing the success of regional integration. Through their role(s) as the representatives of their respective countries, Heads of state present the interests of their people and thus push for agenda that seeks to meet such interests. As Kynis (2010) in Holmwood (2005) notes, in USA for instance, the former Head of state, President Obama, played a key role in enhancing the integration of USA with other Western and Asian economies like China as well as African countries. Through his interventions and enthusiasm, Obama ensured that USA developed strong ties with other countries. By the time he assumed office in 2009, China's relations with the USA had been strained by George Bush administration. During his first year in office, President Obama decided to break the rule of thumb (that a sitting American president should not visit China during his first term in office). Instead, he advanced the "return to Asia" policy and through this move diplomatic negotiations were held leading to the revival of business relations between the USA and China. President Obama too set six diplomatic priorities that he set himself to accomplish during his term; one of them was to restore the international reputation of the USA that had been ruined by former president George Bush and also to strengthen ties with her allies. President Obama partly scored in this since resumption of diplomatic ties with Cuba earned applause for the U.S in Latin America. According to The Progress of Asian Economy Integration Annual Report 2018, it's reported that a cautious attitude should be adopted to predict the future of Asia's economic integration. The report went ahead to state that President Trump's administration's imposition of tariffs on steel and aluminium imports as well as a threat of a trade war against China have ignited a world-wide firestorm of frustration and confusion and that Washington's increasingly protectionist policies affect China's economy since "unilateral" remarks like those made by

President Trump more often than not tend to spark counter-reaction. In The Financial Tribune (8<sup>th</sup> August 2018), President Donald Trump warns against doing business with Iran. He's quoted saying "Anyone doing business with Iran will not be doing business with the USA" This was in relation to sanctions re-imposed on Iran whereby during president Obama's reign, Iran's markets had become relatively buoyant with the Rial strengthening by 20% after the government had relaxed foreign exchange rules and allowed unlimited tax-free gold and currency imports. In the Asian countries, Heads of State such as the former president of China, Xi Jinping and Afghanistan's Ashraf Ghani, saw the CAREC community grow and become integrated through their extensive contributions and facilitation. In Africa, former Nigerian President Olusegun Obasanjo called for a union of African countries, to push for continental integration like Nigeria, South Africa, Algeria and Senegal had done in establishing the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) during his tenure in office. He pushed for the abolishment of visas to encourage free movement of persons across member countries. He encouraged African presidents to bring their people together and condemned some foreign countries for interfering with regional integration efforts, citing France's interference in West Africa. In 2003 President Obasanjo went on to condemn African governments for dismissing the idea of the African Union Board that he headed. There was an agreement that countries raise \$750 million to support the board but with time, there was reluctance in remittance of these finances. A study by Calvocoressi (1985) on the role of countries leaders in promoting peace and regional integration established that through interventions and support by heads of government, prevention of resistance was highly enabled. He notes that heads of government like the then Nigerian president Jonathan Goodluck played a key role in ensuring that countries had frequent meetings and summits in order to work towards regional integration. Elsewhere, Kireghel (2007) did a study on the impact of a seating president's intervention on enhancement of growth and development of an integrated community among countries in West Africa. In his study, he established that their key roles included pushing for a common trade market, pushing for the formulation of domestic policies that favour integration of communities. As a

head of state, it is a personal responsibility to ensure that the regulations in one's country are favourable to the region's integration. Through the support of integration blocs in West Africa like ECOWAS whose initial objective was to promote economic integration across the region, Nigeria has made a major step in curbing the menace of the Boko Haram militia movement since this bloc also acts as a peace-keeping force in the West African region.

In the East Africa region, during an African Leadership Forum held in Dar es Salaam on the topic 'Moving towards a co-ordinated Africa', President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda in his keynote address expressed his support for a consolidated political and economic East African region. He underlined the importance for the region's heads of government to inform their approximately 140 million citizens on the benefits that come with co-operation within the region which will translate to immense security and economic benefits. This was further emphasised in the need for East African countries to co-operate with the outside world. Again, during the 5<sup>th</sup> Session of the Assembly of East African Legislative Council, he was quoted urging organs working within the region's integration process to support and fast-track the region's integration agenda.

In December 1967, President Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya met President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania and Milton Obote of Uganda to dispatch the EAC. In spite of its initial fall in 1977, the three pioneers are credited with establishing the political framework for the current EAC. Jomo Kenyatta, more than the two supported the sharing of assets and thumping down exchange obstructions since Kenya had more created ventures contrasted with the two. With the initiative pivoting between the three pioneers, the EAC however confronted ideological challenges as Tanzania began pulling towards a communist state and Uganda's Milton Obote was deposed by Idi Amin in January 1971. This greatly angered President Julius Nyerere, a close friend to President Milton Obote and thereafter Tanzania's relations with Uganda took a different turn.

Ngari (2016) did a study on the challenges and prospects of regional integration in Africa where he focused on East African Community integration. In his findings, he stated that numerous challenges face the region's integration process but quite conspicuous was the lack of support by the Heads of state where most of their differences transpired hence affecting the strategies and plans laid down to spearhead regional integration. In a broader perspective, the state Heads have the central role of enhancing regional integration through execution of the agreed-on policies and strategies. As Ngari (2016) argues, at times, the Heads of state may concentrate on differences amongst themselves and this obviously affects the efforts to push forward the regional integration agenda.

The studies reviewed on the role of Heads of State in regional integration have not clearly brought out the specific role played by a Head of state in order to enhance regional integration. Other studies like that by Calvocoressi (1985) focused on regional integration in West Africa whereas this current area of knowledge narrows down on regional integration in East Africa. The study by Kireghel (2007) on role of Heads of state on regional integration was conducted almost two decades ago and obviously a lot has changed in terms of governance and regional relationships. This therefore means that the current study is necessary to update on the findings by Kireghel (2007).

### **2.1.3 Heads of State Transition and Regional Integration**

Regional or economic integration is a product of arrangements among countries which enhance their interaction. As stipulated in the EAC treaty on one of the roles of the Summit which is to give directions and impetus to the progress and achievement of the community's objectives, it is the responsibility of individual governments to oversee and fast-track integration efforts from their end which should be spearheaded by the Heads of the particular states entering into an agreement. In order to come up with a common framework that allows for common pursuit of some goals and common implementation of set policies representatives of the said countries should have a common setup and focus (Hazelwood, 1975). Change of the Heads of state or as

it is commonly known as transition and what in this study is considered as regime change, plays a significant role in determining to what extent the regional integration plans will be acted upon. Studies from across the globe have been conducted on the relationship between transition of the Heads of state as one of the aspects of regime change and regional integration. For instance, Mefalopulos (2013) carried out a study on impact of transition of Heads of state on regional integration in the EU. The study aimed at establishing how the entry of new presidents or government heads influenced regional integration among European Union Countries. In his study, he adopted a systematic review research design and had a sample of ninety three (93) respondents. In his findings, Mefalopulos (2013) pointed out that alteration of state Heads through government transition had not one but numerous impacts on regional integration. According to him, when leadership of a country changes, there is a high likelihood that whoever takes over leadership will set new guidelines on the implementation policies thus interrupting the existing ones laid out or those that were being steered by his or her predecessor.

Elsewhere, Omorogbe (2012) did a study on the change of individual state Heads and a country's continued international relation. He focused on Nigeria and aimed at establishing how change in individual Heads of state affects the country's relationship with the international community. The study employed a descriptive research design and had a sample of one hundred and twelve (112) respondents drawn from the state departments especially those that deal with international relations. In his study, he concluded that a country's international reputation to a great extent was determined by the operations of the individual who held the seat as the Head of state. Omorogbe further implied that personal attributes and at times utterances of a particular Head of state play a significant role since they can make or break relations between his/her country and her neighbors.

In a study by Rosato (2017) on USA's relationship with the external world, a comparison between president Barack Obama's and president Donald Trump's regimes established that after the regime change from Obama's to Trump's reign, USA's relationship with other

countries has for that short period of time President Donald Trump has been in office, deteriorated pragmatically. An example is relations between the USA and China as pointed out earlier in this document. According to Rosato (2017), the qualities of the individual Heads of state affects the relationship of a country with other countries in how a person carries oneself and handles issues and most especially those that relate to and affect other countries. This will play-out on regional integration whose success relies to a greater extent on the relationship between the particular Heads of state or presidents, as commonly known. When the top leadership of a given state changes, and the one taking charge fails to foster good relations with the other heads of states and their nations, the implementation of set policies will always be affected.

From the studies reviewed on the change of regime and regional integration, several gaps can be identified. To begin with, the study by Mefalopulos (2013) was conducted in the European Union (EU) which is a different region with different policies and agenda unlike the current study which will focus on East Africa whose member countries are not developed thus their policies and agenda may differ. The study by Omorogbe (2012) was specific to Nigeria, which is among the West African countries unlike the current study which focuses on East Africa countries. Also, Omorogbe (2012) did not point out clearly the role and the specific areas that change pertaining regional integration when there is government transition.

Several factors account for the disintegration of the former EAC. While some are idiosyncratic, others are fundamental in that they affect all integration schemes in the Third World. These factors include polarization of national development and the perception of unequal gains, inadequate compensatory and corrective measures, ideological differences and the rise of economic nationalism; ideological differences often ensure a radically different approach to the concept of development, which in turn can significantly hinder regional integration. In addition, relations between Tanzania and Uganda had been strained for several years after Idi Amin seized power in a military coup in 1971. Being a personal friend of president Obote,

President J. Nyerere did not take this move kindly thereby; he offered sanctuary to his friend. After several coup attempts were made on Amin by Tanzania, Uganda declared a state of war against Tanzania and sent troops to invade part of Tanzania. This tension greatly impacted negatively on the operations of the EAC. Lastly, former EAC's inefficiency could also be attributed to the impact of foreign influences; whereas Kenya developed close relationship with the western bloc nations, Tanzania pursued close links with the socialist bloc as Uganda sought links with the former Soviet Union and the Arab world. These links saw the EAC embroiled in cold war- a rivalry of the 1960s and the 1970s and contributed to the creation of "a strategic image" that prompted EAC member states to look "outward" towards their foreign patrons for support rather than "inward" towards their natural regional partners (Bach, 2008).

In the years that followed the collapse of the former EAC, the three member states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania made an effort to revive the community. Key steps towards establishing a regional integration bloc were taken in 1993 and 1997 during two summits of the Heads of state whereby the presidents of the three countries signed the Treaty for East African co-operation in 1993, establishing the Permanent Tripartite for co-operation; a co-ordinating establishment that in 1998 delivered a draft agreement for the revival of EAC. EAC, a regional intergovernmental organization that is made up of the republics of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and the most recent entrant, the republic of South Sudan was born. The organization's headquarter is in Arusha, Tanzania. The EAC was revived on 30th November 1999, and came into force in July, 2000. The republics of Rwanda and Burundi later signed the Treaty consequently, achieving full membership into the organization.

The organs of the EAC comprises of (1) The Summit which is made up of the Heads of state of the six member countries (2) Council of Ministers, the central decision making and governing organ which is comprised EAC cabinet Ministers from each member state (3) Co-ordinating Committee which has the sole responsibility for regional co-operation and co-ordinating activities of the sectoral committee (4) Sectoral Committees which conceptualises

programmes and monitors their implementation (5) The East African Court of Justice, the legal arm of EAC (6) East African Legislative Assembly which is comprised of 52 individuals; 45 of whom are chosen by member states and 7 ex-officio and (7) The Secretariat which is the executive organ of the community, the guardian of the treaty, and ensures that regulations and directives adopted by the council are properly implemented.

With the EAC treaty, it was envisioned that East Africa would form a community with a stable political, social integration which would thereafter greatly see the improvement of the living standards of its citizens through competitiveness, value added trade, investment and production. There was also the intention of expanding and deepening co-operation among member states and for this reason member states signed the EAC Customs Union in March 2004 and it came into force in January 2005 and a Common Market protocol which came into force in July 2010, the deadline for its full implementation given as 2015. The objectives of the EAC Customs union include the removal of internal tariffs and all non-tariff barriers on intra-EAC trade, harmonize and implement a common trade policy for EAC and also to make cross-border movement of persons easy as well as adopt a border management system which is integrated.(EAC Protocol,2010). The EAC has made some commendable strides towards achieving its set objectives. However, The East African magazine (11<sup>th</sup> November, 2017) reviewed major trade deals that caused friction among the member states hence threatening the stability of the bloc. It reports that while EAC Common Market liberalised the movement of labour in the region and set December 31<sup>st</sup> 2015 as the deadline for each member to waive permit fee, only Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda have complied Tanzania and Burundi still require work permits for which all non-national have to pay a fee, contrary to the protocol. A report on the *Elimination of non-tariff barrier in EAC* singles out Tanzania as the country with the highest number of NTBs in the region. As at 2017, the country charged individuals \$2000 to register any product, compared with \$1000 charged by other partner states. Moreover, implementation of common regional integration projects faces further hurdles due to lack of

commitment by member states. For instance, Kenya pulled out of an EAC capital markets infrastructure project meant to connect all EAC stock markets electronically. On the other hand, Tanzania and Burundi have refused to sign the Economic Partnership Agreement which allows duty free access of EAC products to the European markets. The Sunday Standard (01<sup>st</sup> July, 2018) reported that the inter-relationship between Kenya and her border countries is wanting, citing Kenyans victimization and harassment from other countries across the border. An example was given of the huge number of livestock that was auctioned by Tanzanian government officials on the pretext of trespassing. Similarly, fishermen and even Kenyan police officers have been humiliated by Ugandan officers over the Lake Victoria waters, some ending up in Ugandan cells. Kenyan journalists have not been spared either as some have been mistreated and even arrested in Uganda while on duty. Therefore, despite the efforts in promoting integration and cohesion across borders through trading deals and projects like the NCIP, more needs to be done in order to achieve good inter-personal relations.

#### **2.1.4 Current Kenyan Regime and Regional Integration**

The Kenyan government has a key role to play to enhance regional integration in East Africa. The current GDP per capita for each of the member states is approximated as follows Kenya \$1,718b, Uganda \$781b, Tanzania \$149.8b, Rwanda \$22.8b and Burundi \$7.9b. Kenya thus becomes the central participant in the integration of East Africa, being the largest economy in the region thus having a bigger 'muscle' to push for regional integration. During their tenure in office, each of the presidents in Kenya has played a role in promoting regional integration with the former President Kibaki's regime being quite significant in the same.

In 1967, Kenya's first President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta met Tanzania's Julius Nyerere and Uganda's Milton Obote to launch the former EAC. The three former Heads of state are credited for laying the political foundation for the current EAC. Jomo Kenyatta more than his counterparts encouraged the sharing of resources and removal of trade barriers. Later on in 1971 after Milton Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin, relations between Amin and the other

East African presidents became quite shaky; they did not recognize him as a head of government and this also affected the operations of the EAC. In 1976, Amin started building troops at the Kenya border and ordered its closure and went further to announce a trade boycott on Kenyan products. Idi Amin further claimed that the Kenya-Uganda border was at Naivasha and this quite angered the Kenyan government which in turn refused to supply land-locked Uganda with more fuel until it cleared its outstanding bills. Uganda then retaliated by cutting its electric supply to Kenya. This tension called for three days of intense negotiations with the then OAU secretary as the mediator hence President Jomo Kenyatta agreeing to sign a Peace Formula with Idi Amin.

President Moi took over power a year after the collapse of the former EAC. At this time, Tanzania closed her border with Kenya followed by a lot of tension in the air. President Moi had the urge to develop the regional market and for this reason, he reached out to President Julius Nyerere and Uganda's Godfrey Binaisa in 1980. Relations between the three states had been strained leading to the closure of borders and airspace restrictions and for this reason, President Moi felt that there was an urgent need to address issues. Uganda and Tanzania had additionally gone to war soaring the tension in the region. More talks would later follow and President Moi's role in the subsequent signing of the Arrangement for the Establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East Africa co-operation in November 1993 was very key. Full East Africa co-operation efforts started in March 1996 and at a later summit in Arusha in 1997, the process of upgrading the Agreement of establishing the Tripartite Commission for East Africa Co-operation into a Treaty was at a high gear. The East Africa passport was officially launched in April 1998 and the EAC was born in 1999. The president additionally strongly suggested that the countries of the region form a political federation and also create a regional assembly that would have limited powers.

During the 13<sup>th</sup> Summit meeting of the EAC Heads of state as the chairman then, President Mwai Kibaki assured members of his total commitment to the discharge of obligations as the

chairman. He called upon the partner states to enhance their commitment in pursuit of the EAC objectives as stipulated in the Treaty. He underscored the importance of timely implementation of policies and the urgent need to address outstanding problems including the non-tariff barriers that significantly continued to escalate the cost of doing business in the region. President Kibaki also emphasized on the need to fast-track the establishment of one-border post, to intensify the development of efficient infrastructure and enhance support for small and micro-enterprises. During his tenure in office, in March 2004, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania shaped a Customs Union Agreement clearing route for a typical market.

According to GoK (2015), the current regime under the leadership of President Uhuru, major steps have been taken to enhance regional integration. Among the key achievements that the regime has seen through include; pushing for the passing and implementation of the customs management act, spearheading the Common External Tariff policy, pushing for the establishment of Export Promotion Schemes and sensitive products. Notably, a study by Mburu (2014) on the impacts of East African Community Customs Union on Kenyan exports established that the current Kenyan Head of state played an undeniably very critical role in promoting regional integration that gave room for an integrated trade system. According to the, The Daily Nation (10<sup>th</sup> July, 2017), Kenya and Tanzania agreed to discard restrictions on some products like milk, wheat flour, cigarettes and cooking gas. It was reported that Kenya has lifted restrictions on wheat flour and cooking gas imports from Tanzania, which has in-turn allowed milk and cigarettes from Kenya. This followed discussions between president Uhuru of Kenya and president Magufuli of Tanzania. However, more is yet to be done since the same newspaper went on to report that Kenyans will still have to apply for visas when travelling to Tanzania for business and that the issue was still being looked into by the two states with a view to addressing it. Furthermore, as reported in The Daily Nation (8<sup>th</sup> May, 2018) the Busia one-border post opened in February at a cost of about Ksh1.2 billion as a way of implementing president Uhuru's commitment to expand trade by freeing the movement of people. The

current Kenyan regime can however enhance the East African regional integration further by laying out policies that promote effective relationship and economic development among the member states.

The study by Mburu (2014) stated not in depth what the current regime can do to enhance exports in the region but did not extensively and in details bring out what the current regime can do to enhance regional integration. Though promotion of trade and tariff policies is one dimension through which the current regime can enhance regional integration, there are other aspects that the regime can factor in, to push forward regional integration. This therefore justifies the need for the study at hand to find out what the current regime can do to speed up regional integration.

It is worth noting that while there are several regional integration arrangements in Africa, according to Balassa (1961); their success has majorly been chocked by insecurity and frequent civil conflicts, stagnation of economic growth, lack of resources to implement infrastructural programs and the non-diversification of African economies.

## **2.2 Theoretical Framework**

A theory can be defined as a logical deductive system consisting of a set of interactive concepts from which testable propositions can be derived (Nachmias,1996). Hegemonic Stability theory (HST) and the Structural Functionalism theory will be applied in this study.

### **2.2.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory**

Hegemonic Stability theory (HST), a theory of International relations which states that the international system is likely to remain stable when only one nation-state, also known as a hegemony, is the dominant world power. Consequently, when an existing hegemony falls, the stability of the international system lessens thus resulting to disorder. The theory further impresses that when a hegemony exercises leadership either through coercion, persuasion or diplomacy, it is indeed deploying its “preponderance of power” that is, its superiority in influence. The key feature of a hegemony therefore, is to single-handedly dominate the laid-

down rules and arrangements of international political and economic relations. Exercising allegiance to a system which is considered as mutually beneficial to the major states, is a way through which a state would be a hegemony. Capability rests upon a large, growing economy, dominance in a leading technological or economic sector and a political power backed up by projective military power.

Wanyama (2013), points out that Kenya is the regional hub for trade and finance for EAC. In addition he says, Kenya has a comparatively strong economy with her role as the region's financial nucleus and her infrastructural advantage making her the East Africa regional hegemony. In relation to the HST therefore, Kenya should take the initiative to enforce the implementation of the EAC integration policies in all member states and as a hegemony, also have the will to do so, on the same policies on her part. However, this theory alone is inadequate since it's not always obvious that the hegemony will impose ideas and principles using power since EAC member states joined the bloc out of their own will, thus many are the times it is assumed that the hegemony's interests coincide with those of members states. They therefore are left to implement policies at their own pace but with a hope that each member state works towards meeting the set deadlines. However, since the current study is not focused on developing hegemonies instead, promoting oneness for mutual benefit, a second theory was adopted.

### **2.2.2 Structural Functionalism Theory**

The structural functionalism theory envisions society as a complex system whose individual parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. Social structures shape us and our surroundings. Each social structure, according to Herbert Spencer, has respective social functions or consequences that impact on the general public. Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent components; namely norms, customs and organizations. A common analogy, advanced by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work towards the proper functioning of the "body" as a whole

(Holmwood, 2005). It is noted that the ultimate goal is to achieve satisfaction both in the short-term and long-term for productivity to occur, as per Trotter, et al. (2008) in Cresswell (2009). In order for physical integration to be realized, co-ordination and harmonization of standards across the countries are paramount so as to reap the benefits of regional agglomeration (Gordon, 1996). This theory (structural functionalism theory) mainly focuses on the structures that make a leadership system successful which is a clear definition of the regime – the main aspect of the study.

### 2.3 Conceptual Framework

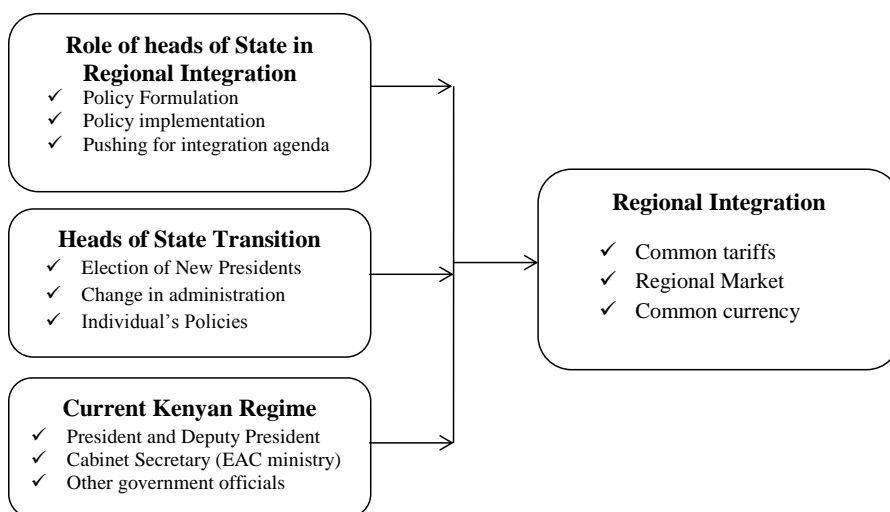


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

## CHAPTER THREE

### 3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter is the research design used, variables both independent and dependent, study area, target population, sampling techniques and sample size. Additionally, issues on research instruments, pretesting, data collection techniques and procedures, data analysis and ethical considerations.

### **3.1 Research Design**

This area of knowledge adopted a descriptive research design. This research design involves giving detailed information about a phenomenon, making an estimation of a proportion of a population with identical traits and ascertaining the relationship that arises amid the variables being studied. The design was considered appropriate for the study due to its ability to incorporate several aspects in a study and give the researcher a wide room to choose from, eventually enhancing better understanding of the research problem.

### **3.2 Study Area**

This study was conducted in Kenya and will focus on the Ministry of East African Community, Labour and Social Protection Headquarters. The ministry has its headquarters in Nairobi, Upper-hill area. The ministry was considered appropriate for the study since it has all the details regarding the strategies that have been laid out by the government to promote regional integration. The ministry is made up of three departments which include the East African Integration department, Labour department and Social Protection department. The key focus here was directed to the department of East African Integration. This department plays the key role in promoting East African regional integration and policy formulation of the latter.

### **3.3 Target Population**

In his definition, Baldwin (1995) considers the target population as the group of persons or things that a research focuses on based on the common characteristic(s) that they share. The target population for the study was the Ministry of East African Community, Labor and Social Protection, Political scientists, retired and serving ambassadors. According to the Ministry of EAC (2017) the state department for East African integration has close to two hundred and forty (240) department officials who deal with East African integration policies and making sure that Kenya plays the required roles in East Africa. There are also other senior diplomats and the EAC Ministry officials who play an advisory role to the department on regional integration who included the ambassadors and regional integration policy experts. All these people work under the EAC integration department (Khayota, 2016).

**Table 3.1: Target Population**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Target Population</b>
Department officials on EAC affairs	240
Ambassadors	102
Foreign Policy experts	90
<b>Total</b>	<b>432</b>

**Source:** *MEAC (2017) and Khayota (2016)*

### **3.4 Sampling Techniques**

According to Bachmann and Sidaway (2010), sampling involves doing a strategic selection of representatives of the target population that will feature in the actual study. Stratified random sampling was used in the study. The method's key feature is dissection of the target population into clusters and picking respondents randomly from the clusters based on a given parameter.

### **3.5 Sample Size**

This study chose 30% of each category of the target population as the sample size. Mugenda (2008), proposes that considering at least 30% of a stratum in a population reflects an ideal representation of the study population. The sample size for the study was therefore comprised of a total of 130 respondents as portrayed on table 3.2.

**Table3.2: Sample Size**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Target Population</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Department officials on EAC affairs	240	72	30%
Ambassadors	102	31	30%
Foreign Policy experts	90	27	30%
<b>Total</b>	<b>432</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>30%</b>

### **3.6 Data Collection Instruments**

The use of structured questionnaires and an individual interview schedule to get primary data from the respondents in every category in the sample size will be adopted in this study. A questionnaire, according to Kothari (2008) consists of set of questions that have a designed flow and aim at gathering specific information from respondents in an area of interest in a study. The individual interview is a one on one interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee and is purposely geared towards eliciting the interviewee's knowledge on a certain topic of interest to the interviewer. This was being tape-recorded. The questionnaire was divided into four sections. The first section was focused on the demographic equation, the second, third and the fourth sections were focused on the first, second and third study questions respectively.

### **3.7 Pretesting of research instruments**

A pilot study consisting of 5% of the sample size (7 respondents) was carried out so as to check on the validity and reliability of the research instruments. According to Young (2011), pretesting of research instruments can be done using whatever number of respondents the researcher prefers as long as they are of diverse views and are not part of the sample that will be used for the final study but bears similar characteristics to the latter. The pilot study was focused on employees in the embassy of South Sudan based in Nairobi and subsequently were not factored in, in the final study. Immediate corrections on any mis-interpretations noticed at the pilot study were made with immediate effect.

### **3.8 Validity and Reliability of the Instrument**

A meaningful presentation of content in that the respondent is confident of what is required of him or her, then the research instruments used are deemed valid. How the questions logically flow and the respondents correctly interpreting them from the questionnaire gave an assurance of the validity of the instruments in this area of study. During the pretesting session a confirmation of the same was done. The exercise of pre-testing was necessary so as to assess whether the instrument items were clear enough so that items found to be inadequate in

measuring the variables would either be gotten rid of or altered to better the quality of the research instrument enhancing its validity.

Reliability will be attained when the research instruments give the desired results hence reflecting the findings that the study intended to achieve. In order to enhance levels of reliability of the research instruments in the on-going study, testing and re-testing of the results from the pilot study would be done and if there would be a similarity in the results obtained from all the questionnaires, the instruments would be considered reliable. The internal consistencies of the questions were tested by use of Cronbach's Alpha. A reliability of at least 0.70 at  $\alpha=0.05$  significance level of confidence was acceptable.

### **3.9 Data Collection Techniques**

Questionnaires were used to gather primary data from the respondents; they were delivered to the respondents' work place and thereafter picked after they had answered the questions based on mutual agreement on the appropriate time to pick them. The interview session was scheduled for the foreign policy experts. This category of population had a wide range of knowledge and experience as far as regional integration is concerned thus interviewing them was necessary to get some in-depth information for the study as compared to giving questionnaires to be filled.

### **3.10 Data Analysis**

Data collected through the individual interviews, which is qualitative data was analyzed through a combination of two approaches; one is the Framework analysis which according to Pope et.al (2000), is a method that involves examination of the data with a pre-defined framework, which reflects your aims and objectives, the indexing, charting, mapping and finally interpreting the data. This allowed the study to narrow down to a particular answer and forego the rest. The second approach is the thematic analysis which was also incorporated; it took a more explanatory approach whereby all data is coded. For the data collected through the structured questionnaire which was qualitative data, data master sheets and tally sheets

were used for both open and close-ended questions, information was first summarized in a tabular or statistical form then presented in description using words. Editing of the data would be done to ensure it is uniform and accurate, checked mistakes, omitted information and inconsistencies that may have interfered with the general outlook as presented by the respondents that had been sampled.

### **3.11 Ethical Considerations**

Moral issues emerge from the kind of problems that social scientists investigate and the techniques used to obtain valid and reliable data. Ethical considerations were of great concern to this study because of the nature of the problem being studied about, data collection methodology and the nature of those who participate in giving data for the research. Participants were informed on the nature of the study and accorded the opportunity to make a choice on whether to voluntarily participate or not (informed consent). Social scientists world over unanimously agree that research involving human participants must forever be performed based on informed consent of the participants. Bearing this in mind, the researcher ensured that participants were aware that their involvement would always be voluntary. To assure participants of their privacy, respondents were kept in a private environment. Participants were also not required to write their names on the questionnaires during the research and this too gave an assurance of confidentiality.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA AND DISCUSSION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

The chapter interprets and explains the findings on regime change and its implications on Eastern Africa community. The chapter presents response rate, demographic information, gender of the respondents as well as descriptive analysis and inferential analysis of the study variables.

The findings are herein presented as per the specific study objectives, which were: to analyse the role(s) that the different Heads of state in Kenya have played to ensure East Africa integration, to examine the effects of Heads of state transition in Kenya on regional integration in East Africa and to establish what the current Kenya's head of state can do to speed up the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region.

#### **4.2 Response Rate**

The response rate will be key in determining whether the study attained a reliable number of respondents to make conclusions and recommendations. The study had a sample of 130

respondents who were surveyed using a structured questionnaire. A response rate of 81.5% (106 respondents) was achieved and the data used for analysis. Therefore, this makes the study appropriate to make conclusions and recommendations since according to Creswell (2005) and Kingslay (2012) 30-60% response rate in a field of study passes as appropriate for drawing conclusions and giving necessary recommendations. Table 4.1 below presents the response rate.

**Table 4.1: Response Rate**

<b>Category</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Sampled Population	130	100%
Responses	106	81.5%
Non-Responses	24	18.5%

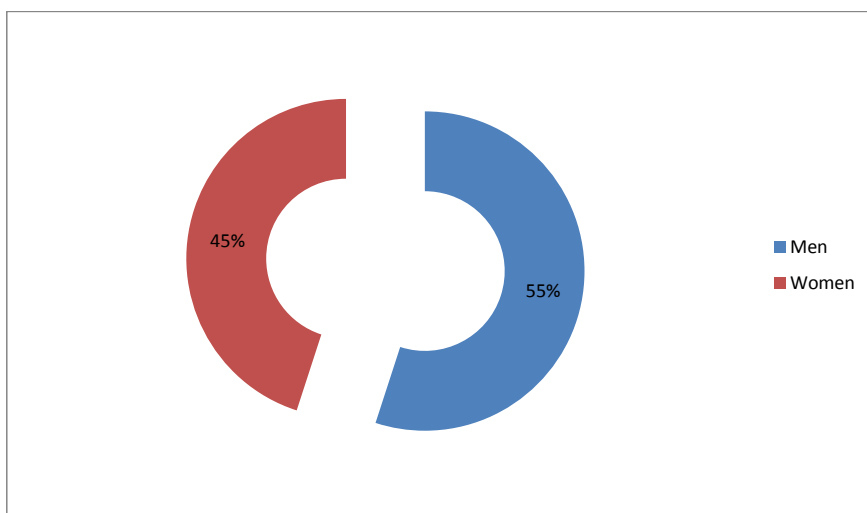
#### **4.3 Demographic Information**

To enhance the feasibility of a study, it is a requirement to get the respondents' background information for a solid relationship between the respondents and the researcher to be developed (Kvale, 2007). Consequently, the study sought the respondents' demographic information which included age bracket, level of education, and work experience. This is presented in tables and figures as shown below. According to the UN report on East Africa Community, age and gender of the respondents vary depending on the roles and responsibilities they play on matters relating to East Africa Community integration. This information of the respondents is also very necessary in providing the research with knowledge on level of competence in terms of education since a respondent's academic level impacts greatly on their competence in comprehending and responding objectively to matters relating to their professional positions

while age indicates the level of maturity in handling and steering matters of integrating the East Africa Community.

### 4.3.1 Gender of the Respondents

This area of knowledge attempted to analyze the gender of the respondents for the purpose of establishing the diversity of the respondents. According to Murgia and Poggio (2019), in a modern social science research, gender is a social variable that cannot be over-looked in any field hence focusing on it gives a clear understanding on how it has been embraced in advocating for equity. The findings are as shown in Figure 4.1 below.



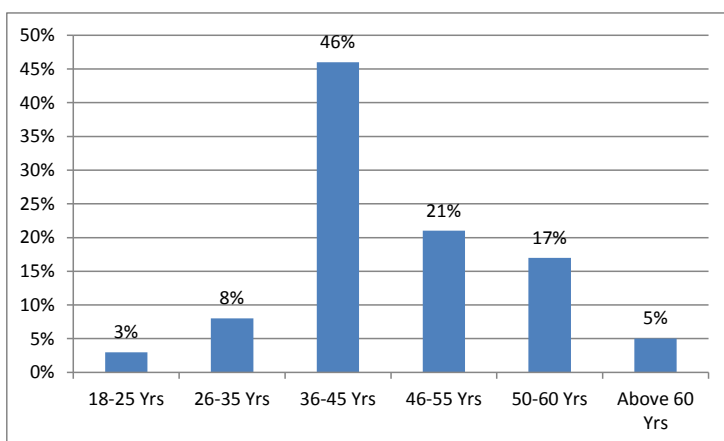
**Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondents**

As the findings portray, a greater number of the respondents were male, taking 55 per cent of the total respondents, while their female counterparts were more than half, as represented by 45 per cent. The findings imply that the male respondents dominated the study, meaning that they occupy most of the positions in the Ministry of East African Community. Moreover the findings portray that the sample size was representative of all genders thus promoting diversity in the responses gathered.

### 4.3.2 Distribution of Respondents by Age

Getting to know the age bracket of the respondents was paramount in this area of study. Age is a social variable that plays a significant role when it comes to decision making. Age is an important factor as well since it will help find out which employees of what age bracket dominated jobs at the ministry of EAC. Figure 4.2. presents the findings

**Figure 4.2. Distribution of Respondents by Age**



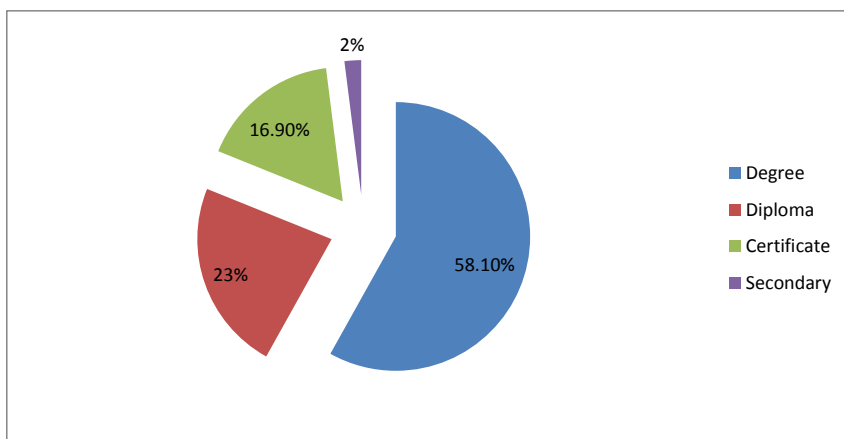
**Figure 1Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents**

The findings show that 3 per cent of the respondents were aged between 18 years and 25years, 8 per cent of the respondents were aged between 26 years and 35 years, 46 per cent of the respondents were aged between 36 years and 45 years whereas 21 percent of the respondents were aged above 46 and 55 years and those of 50-60 years were represented by 17 per cent, while those above 60 years taking 5 per cent. The findings imply that majority of respondents at the Kenyan East Africa Community offices were middle aged and this means that a good

number of them are mature enough to understand and respond objectively to matters relating to integration. According to Merlyn (2011), a study whose respondents' age effectively cuts across various ages ought to have responses that are more diverse.

#### 4.4. 3 Level of Education of the Respondents

The study made attempts to establish level of education of respondents working in East Africa Community in Kenya. By establishing the level of education of ambassadors as well as officials on EAC affairs, the study would establish whether the information on their level of education could give an upper hand in terms of supporting and pushing for policies that are geared towards a fully integrated East Africa Community. The findings are as shown in figure 4.3.



**Figure 4.3: Respondents' Level of Education**

As portrayed in the findings, 58.10 per cent of the respondents had attained a first degree, those with Diploma represented by 23%, 16.90 per cent of the respondents had attained certificate levels while 2 per cent had gone up to secondary school as their highest level of education. The findings imply that most the respondents serving the EAC ministry in different capacities have their peak level of academics as the university undergraduate degree, thus were considered competent enough to comprehend matters relating to regional integrations.

#### 4.5 Descriptive Analysis of the Study Variables

The presentation herein shows the analysis of the findings as per the objectives of the study. A systematically presentation of the findings in the order in which the questions appear on the questionnaire and the main statistics used include standard deviation, mean, frequencies and percentages.

##### 4.5.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration

The first objective of the study was to assess the role of heads of state in regional integration. The head of state is expected to play a pivotal role as far as regional integration is concerned. The head of state enhances the effectiveness of regional integration by fully committing towards the process and this could be done for instance by ensuring there are adequate resources and favorable polices and framework to safeguard and enhance the success of the process.

##### 4.5.1.1 Effectiveness of Heads of states

The respondents were asked to indicate how effectively they think the previous Heads of state in Kenya have enhanced regional integration. The findings are as shown in figure 4.4.

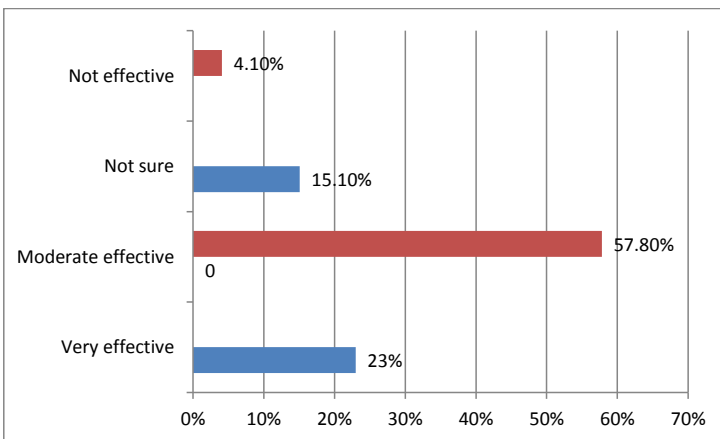


Figure 4.4 Effectiveness of Heads of states

The findings portrayed that majority of the respondents were of the view that the previous head of state has moderately been effective as represented by 57.8 per cent, while 23 per cent were of the opinion that the previous regime was very effective, with those who were not sure and those who said he was not effective were represented by 15.10 per cent and 4.10 per cent respectively. More so, from the responses the head of state was portrayed as giving more focus on state interests at the expense of regional integration interests. The findings concur with those of Wandia, (2008) who states that attaching too much value on national interests excessively could at times jeopardize regional integration.

#### 4.5.1.2 Role played by the head of state on regional integration

This area of knowledge sought to find out whether the roles played by the head of state have significantly contributed to regional integration. Respondents were asked to state to extent they agreed on specific statements and their feedback represented on table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2 Role played by the head of state on regional integration**

Proposition	SA		A		U		D		SD		Mean	Std. Dev.
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>F</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%		
Heads of state have the key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration	58	54.7	22	20.8	5	4.7	13	12.3	8	7.5	3.1	1.0
Through the appointments made by the heads of state, the regional integration is enhanced	53	50	26	24.5	7	6.6	11	10.4	9	8.5	3.3	1.1
As the head of state, the president has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration	51	48.1	38	35.8	4	3.8	8	7.5	6	5.7	2.9	1.4

With the first statement, the findings indicate that 54.7% of the respondents strongly agreed, while 20.8% agreed and 19.8% (12.3% disagreed, 7.5% strongly disagreed and 4.7% were of undecided views that heads of state have the key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration. The statement had a mean 3.1 and standard deviation of 1.0. On the second statement majority of the respondents agreed as represented by 74.5% (50% strongly agreed and 24.5% agreed. 6.6% were not sure. While 18.9% (10.4% disagree and 8.5% strongly disagreed while 6.6% were neither disagreed nor agreed that through the appointments made by the heads of state, the regional integration is enhanced. The statement has a mean 3.3 and standard deviation of 1.1. On the last statement, a big percentage of the respondents agreed as indicated by 83.9% (48.1% strongly agreed, 35.8% agreed, while 13.2% (7.5% disagreed, 5.7% strongly disagreed. And 3.8% were of undecided opinions that the head of state has a role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration. The statement has a mean of 2.9 and standard deviation of 1.4. It is evident from the findings that the head of state is quite instrumental and the role he or she plays on enhancing regional integration cannot be under-estimated. This would include roles on policy formulation as well as implementation of the same, thus establishing linkages between different regional neighbors.

#### **4.5.2. Satisfaction in the effectiveness of the Heads of State**

The endeavor to find out the satisfaction level in the effectiveness of the Heads of State in regional integration was the second objective of the study. There was need to find whether the different regimes in Kenya since independent have impacted positively or negatively on regional integration.

##### **4.5.2.1 Satisfaction on effort by state towards regional integration**

The respondents were asked to indicate how satisfied they were, with the head's efforts in enhancing the regional integration. Table 4.3 presents the findings.

**Table 4.3: Satisfaction in the Participation of the Heads of State**

<u>Proposition</u>	<u>VS</u>		<u>S</u>		<u>U</u>		<u>D</u>		<u>VD</u>		<u>Mean</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>
	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>%</i>		
Jomo Kenyatta's Regime	45	42.5	40	37.7	15	14.2	2	1.9	4	3.8	<u>3.2</u>	<u>1.1</u>
Moi's Regime	10	9.4	27	25.5	42	39.6	18	16.98	9	8.5	3.0	<u>1.4</u>
Uhuru Kenyatta Regime	20	18.86	30	28.3	24	22.64	10	9.4	22	20.8	<u>2.6</u>	1.2
Kibaki's Regime	22	20.8	29	27.3	25	23.6	17	16.0	13	12.3	<u>3.0</u>	<u>1.3</u>

From the above, it is evident that majority of the respondents were satisfied 80.2(42.5% very satisfied, 37.7% satisfied. 24.3 were not sure, 5.7 % ( 1.9% were dissatisfied and 3.8 were very dissatisfied with Jomo Kenyatta's regime in regards efforts aimed at regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.2 and standard deviation of 1.1. On the second statement, a reasonable number of the respondents were satisfied 48.1 % ( 20.8% were very satisfied, 27.3 were satisfied and 23.6 were not sure. 28.3 % ( 16.0% dissatisfied and 12.3 very dissatisfied with former president Kibaki's regime regarding regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.0 and standard deviation of 1.3. The findings concurred with those of Kayunga and Simba, (2005) who found that Kenya continues to impose non-tariff barriers on goods from

neighboring states yet it signed the Customs Union protocol in 2005 and this hampers good trade relations between and among EAC members. Deeper integration is also hindered by multiple memberships to other regional economic blocs. For instance, Kenya being a member of the Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) begs the question on her total commitment to integration in the EAC. From the scenario above, it is right to conclude that tensions, in a bid to implement policies from each of the regional blocs can have a harmful consequence on regional integration in the EAC. In President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime on regional integration, a reasonable number of the respondents were satisfied 47.16 % (18.86% very satisfied and 28.3% satisfied while 22.64% were not sure. 30.2 % (9.4%) dissatisfied and 20.8% very dissatisfied. The statement has a mean of 2.6 and standard deviation of 1.2. Furthermore 34.5 % (9.4 were very satisfied and 25.5% were satisfied, while 39.7 of the respondents were not sure, with 25.48% (16.98 were dissatisfied and 8.5% as very dissatisfied with former president Moi's regime with regard to regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.0 and standard deviation of 1.4. The findings were in line with those of Wandia (2008) who observed that Kenya has in the recent past failed to abide by procedures and decisions of the EAC Treaty reflecting existing tensions between national interests and those geared towards EAC regional integration. For instance, during the election of members to the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) in 2001, Kenya failed to ensure gender balance in the election of its members. Consequently, the Kenyan Women's Movement staged a demonstration against the manifestly sexist exclusion of female representatives by the government led by the former President Daniel Arap Moi. However, the matter was presented to the East African Court of Justice (EACJ) and no action was taken to reverse the action. The members were sworn in despite the fact that the other two member countries-Tanzania and Uganda- observed the EAC Treaty provisions<sup>47</sup>.

#### 4.5.2.2 Satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration with those of Uganda and Tanzania?

The study sought to find out the role different countries of East Africa have played in regards to regional integration. The study had an in-depth look on how separately Kenya, Uganda as well as Tanzania have played out on regional integration in the EAC.

**Table 4.4 Satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration with those of Uganda and Tanzania?**

Proposition	VS		S		U		D		SD		Mean	Std. Dev.
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%		
<b>Kenya</b>	20	18.87	47	44.3	10	9.4	14	13.20	15	14.15	3.2	1.0
<b>Uganda</b>	10	9.4	37	34.9	20	18.87	17	16.0	12	11.3	3.1	1.2
<b>Tanzania</b>	5	4.7	4	3.7	21	19.8	46	43.4	30	28.3	2.8	1.1

From the findings it is evident that majority of the respondents were satisfied as indicated by 63.17 % (18.87% very satisfied, 44.3% satisfied. While 9.4% were of undecided views. And 27.3% (13.20 were dissatisfied, while 14.15% were strong dissatisfied on the level of satisfaction of Kenya's regimes on regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.2 and

standard deviation of 1.0. Kenya occupies a dominant position in most aspects of inter-state relations. Her GDP is 37% in the whole EAC, while that of Rwanda and Burundi are only 6% and 2% respectively. Kenya also has military superiority in the region: her defense expenditure in 2013 was US\$861 million, followed by US\$465 million in Uganda (SIPRI, 2013). For Uganda a moderate number of the respondents were satisfied 44.3% (9.4% were very satisfied, 34.9 satisfied. 18.87% of the respondents were of divergent views. While 27.3 % (16.0% were dissatisfied, 11.3 strongly dissatisfied on the level of participation of the Uganda regimes on regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.1 and standard deviation of 1.1. The findings agreed with Mwangi (2014) who observes that with regards transport, the ports of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania) and Mombasa (Kenya) are quite critical in linking EAC member states and neighboring countries with the outside world through the Southern, Central and Northern road and rail transport corridors. Eighty percent of Uganda's imports pass through Mombasa, while Rwanda and Burundi depend on both Dar es salaam and Mombasa for imports and exports and as such, Mombasa and Dar es Salaam ports handle the lion's share of EAC external trade. This gives landlocked Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi compelling reasons to be concerned with the costs, reliability, and security of Kenya's and Tanzania's transport systems, while it creates a sense of rivalry between Kenya and Tanzania.

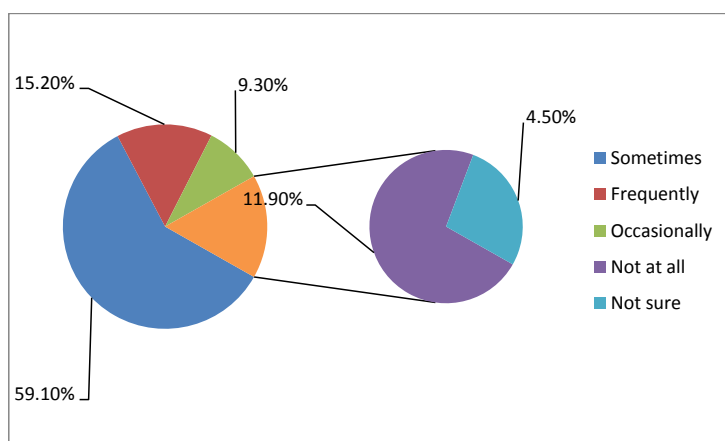
Evidently, a high number of respondents were dissatisfied 71.7 % (43.4% of the respondents were dissatisfied and 28.3 were strongly dissatisfied. While 19.8% of the respondents were not sure. And very few respondents were satisfied 8.4 % (4.7% very satisfied and 3.7 were satisfied on the level of satisfaction of the Tanzania regimes on regional integration. The findings reflect Verhaeghe (2017), who observes that Kenya and Rwanda are the top performers in terms of free movement of people, closely followed by Uganda and Burundi, while the United Republic of Tanzania scores the lowest among all the member states. He further commends Rwanda for being the only country that achieved financial and macro-economic integration to some extent closely followed by Kenya.

### 4.5.3 What the Current Regime Can Do to Enhance Regional Integration

Finding out what the current regime in Kenya can do to speed up the process of regional integration is the third objective of this area of knowledge.

#### 4.5.3.1 The frequency of meetings convened by the head of state

The respondents were asked about the frequency with which the current head of state convenes meetings to discuss issues affecting integration, meetings believed to be where the head of state could come up with comprehensive, concrete as well as sustainable solutions regarding regional integration. The findings are shown in figure 4.5



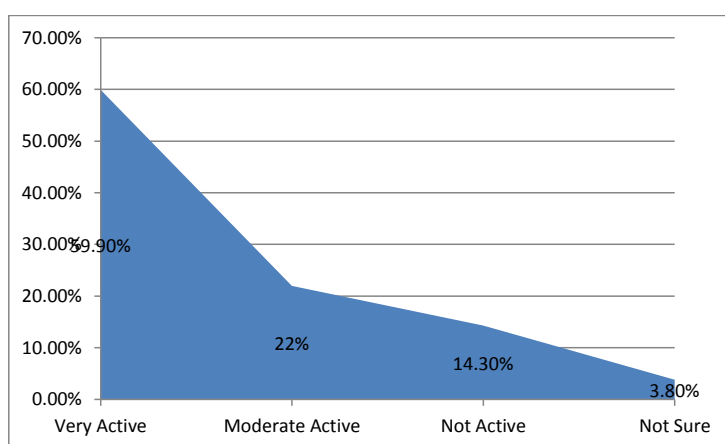
**Figure 4.5. The frequency of meetings by the head of state**

The findings portrayed that majority of the respondents as represented by 59.1% said meetings are held sometimes, 15.2% said frequently, 11.9% said not at all. Those who said occasionally and not sure were represented by 9.3% and 4.5% respectively. The findings implied that although the head of state holds meetings to discuss regional integration, little has been done with regard to new policy formulation as well as formulation of any legal frame work to safeguard the issues concerning regional integration. The findings concur with those of Mercy,(2015) who stated that, even with the existence of the secretariats and frequent technical and ministerial meetings, heads of states hold their summit meetings that are at times devoid

of conflicts. These conflicts are accredited to slow pace in ratifying protocols, reluctance in implementing agreed policies, the divergence of socio-economic systems and limited capacities nationally and regionally.

#### 4.5.3.2 Level of activeness of current Head of state to regional integration

Rating how the current regime has been active in promoting regional integration with the neighboring states as findings from respondents is shown in figure 4.6 below



**Figure 4.6 Activeness of current Head of state to regional integration**

The findings portrayed that majority of respondents said it was very active as represented by 59.9%, 22% said it was moderately active, 14.30% rated it as not active and 3.8% were not sure on the whether the current regime has been active in promoting regional integration with the neighboring states. This implied that the current regime has done relatively well in terms of building strong ties of bilateral trade among the East Africa Community states for example in the recent past there has been renewed trade between Kenya and Uganda.

#### 4.5.3.3. What can be done by current regime to Enhance Integration in the Region

Finding out what the current regime can do in regard to regional integration in the East Africa Community was also sought in this study. Table 4.5 below presents the findings

**Table 4.5 What can be done by current regime to Enhance Regional Integration**

Proposition	SA		A		U		D		SD		Mean	Std. Dev.
	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%	<i>f</i>	%		
To speed up the regional integration process, the current regime has to embrace common goals with the other countries' regimes	63	59.4	25	23.6	3	2.8	9	8.5	6	5.7	3.3	1.4
The current regime has to allocate enough resources towards the implementation of the regional integration strategies to speed up the process	57	53.8	29	27.4	3	2.8	9	8.5	6	5.6	3.3	1.1
The current regime can speed up the regional integration process through fully participating in the integration activities and strategies	55	51.9	37	34.9	2	1.9	7	6.6	5	4.7	3.2	1.0
Through consultative meetings the heads of state can enhance the regional integration process	58	54.7	29	27.4	3	2.8	11	10.38	5	4.7	3.0	1.2

The findings above portrayed that 59.4% strongly agreed, 23.6% agreed, 8.5% disagreed and 5.7% strongly disagreed, whereas 2.8% were of undecided views that to speed up the regional integration process, the current regime has to embrace common goals with the other countries' regimes. The statement has a mean of 3.3 and standard deviation of 1.4. On the second statement majority of the respondents agreed 81.2% (53.8% strongly agreed and 27.4% agreed. 14.1% (8.5% disagreed, 5.6% strongly disagreed and 2.8% were of the divergent views that the current regime has to allocate enough resources to the implementation of the regional integration strategies in order to speed up the process. The statement has a mean of 3.3 and standard deviation of 1.1. On the third statement a large percentage of the respondents agreed 86.8% (51.9% strongly agreed, 34.9% agreed.) On other hand 11.3% (6.6% disagreed, 4.7% strongly disagreed and 1.9% felt that the current regime can speed up the regional integration process through fully participating in the integration activities and strategies. The statement has a mean of 3.2 and standard deviation of 1.0. On last statement 82.1% (54.7% strongly agreed, 27.4% agreed.) While 15.08% (10.38% disagreed, 4.7% strongly disagreed and 2.8% were of a different view that through consultative meetings, the heads of state can enhance the regional integration process. The statement has a mean 3.0 and standard deviation of 1.2. The findings implied that the EAC governments can steer effort of integration as long as they are willing to plough in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among the states, which will in turn result to mutual benefit of member states. The findings are reflected in the report (RoK.2015) which noted that focus on improvement on human capital quality and creation of job opportunities, scaling down poverty levels, wealth creation and providing adequate resources can enhance regional integration.

## **4.6 Interview Results**

The interview results are herein presented. The interview was conducted among the foreign policy experts since they are the main stakeholders who are believed to have key information as far as this study is concerned.

### **4.6.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration**

The interviewees were asked to give their views on effectiveness of the head of state in regional integration. Most of the respondents said that the heads of state have moderately influenced the regional integration. Interviewee 004 explained;

You know Kenya has continued imposing non-tariffs barriers on goods from neighboring states yet it signed the Custom union protocol in 2005. This has seen the deterioration of regional integration from time to time. More so, this has attributed negatively to trade among member states of the East Africa Community.

This explains why on Table 4.2 75.5% of the respondents (54.7% who Strongly agree and 20.8% agree) are of the view that it is the duty of the head of state to promote policies that enhance regional integration and from the respondent in this interview, Kenya has continued to impose non-tariff barriers on goods for lack of total commitment to the policy. He further explained;

On the other hand, Kenya is a member of Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA) which raises concern of her total commitment towards EAC.

The interviewee went on to say;

Through policy formulation as well as legal framework the head of state can enhance regional integration. The head of state can also enhance regional integration through the appointment of representatives who have both broad knowledge as well as

experience in related fields so that they can present the country's interests on matters of trade and security that directly impact on regional integration.

#### **4.6.2 SATISFACTION IN THE PARTICIPATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE**

The interviewees were asked to give their views with regard to the level of participation of the heads of state. One interviewee indicated that although the assessment of level of regional integration is done, no concrete effort has been taken to ensure that integration is fully realized.

Interviewee 008 explained;

You know the assessment of the integration process is done but the major challenge is that it is not carried out regularly. The head of state sometimes articulates the national goals towards integration while mostly there are no common goals set and this has continued to compromise the stability of regional integration.

The interviewee's sentiments are in line with the findings on Table 4.5 whereby a response of percentage of 59.10 reveals that meetings to discuss regional integration matters are held sometimes while a minor 15.20% said that similar meetings are held frequently. The interviewee further explained that

Jomo Kenyatta's regime did a lot in promoting regional integration since there was a strong political will; strong participation from the private sector as well as the civil society and presence of adequate policies geared towards speeding up regional integration.

The interviewee's sentiments that former president Jomo Kenyatta did a lot to enhance regional integration is reflected in the findings on Table 4.3 that shows the respondents' agreeing to a satisfaction level of 80.2% on his participation on the integration process

Interviewee 009 explained;

Former president Moi's regime also put a lot of effort towards regional integration for example the notion of East African Co-operation among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was realized in 1967. It is in his regime that the East African Community of 1967-77 came to be and its objectives were to establish a common market and a common customs tariff.

Another Interviewee 011 was quoted saying;

The current regime under President Uhuru has seen major steps taken to enhance regional integration. Among the key areas with regards to integration that the regime is working on include, pushing for the passing and implementation of the customs management act, spearheading the Common External Tariff policy, pushing for the establishment of Export Promotion Schemes and sensitive products. However, none of these has been fully achieved.

Interviewee 012 explained;

Mwai Kibaki's regime did a lot with regard to regional integration. For instance, when was the Chairman of the EAC, he gave an assurance that he would totally commit towards achieving a fully integrated region.

This was in line with a report from Gok(2014) which notes that president Mwai Kibaki assured members of his total commitment to the discharge of obligations as the chairman of the EAC. He called upon the partner states to enhance their commitment in pursuit of the EAC objectives as stipulated in the Treaty.

The study was guided by the Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) which states that the International system is likely to remain stable when there is a hegemony. Kenya has a G.D.P

per capita of \$1,718b, the highest compared to those of other EAC member states. This makes the country have the largest economy and a relatively stronger one in the East Africa region. Kenya's financial nucleus and her infrastructural advantage making her the region's hegemony hence has the 'muscle' to push for integration. As presented on Table 4.4 respondents were asked to rate how Kenya fared on regional integration in comparison to Uganda and Tanzania. Respondents who said were very satisfied and satisfied about Kenya's participation were 63.17%, for Uganda it was 44.3% while for Tanzania the response was 8.4%. These findings therefore are in line with the HST that Kenya, despite the many milestones to be covered to achieve full integration, is playing her role as the region's hegemony, since she is exercising allegiance to the EAC treaty and leading the way as far as integration is concerned.

The structural Functionalism Theory was also used in the study and it states that the efforts of each social structure impact on the whole; one organ can affect the others and ultimately the whole. The head of state of each EAC member state has a role to steer compliance through implementation of laid down integration policies, and this is majorly based on political will. On figure 4.4 rating on how effective the previous head of state in Kenya was towards integration is presented as 23% said very effective, 57.80% said moderately effective. On figure 4.5 on frequency of integration meetings chaired by the head of state 15.20% responded meetings were held frequently, 9.3% said occasionally while 59.10% said sometimes. On figure 4.6 on how actively the current head of state in Kenya participates in regional integration matters, 59.9% responded as very active and 14.30% as moderately active. From the findings in the various sections, there is average effort by the previous and the current regime to participate in integration matters. The findings are supported by the SFT in that the interdependence of organs can have an implication on how the other performs. Since the study was focusing on the implications that regime change has on EAC, full integration is yet to be achieved since there is minimal contribution from one organ; that of the head of state.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

A summary of the research findings as they appear in the previous chapter will be presented here. This is done systematically as per the objectives of the study. The chapter also points out the conclusions of the study as per the findings as well as the recommendations of the research. This chapter will give hints for further studies, which highlight areas not addressed in this study thus, need to be addressed by future scholars.

#### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

The study obtained a response rate of 81.5% which present an ideal number for analysis and also for conclusions to be drawn and recommendations made. Majority of the respondents were male, making 55% of the total respondents while their female counterparts were more than half

as portrayed by a 45%. The age of most of the respondents was between 36 and 45 years, that is represented by 46 % while those of between of 46 and 55 years were represented by 21% while those of 50-60 years were represented by 17%. The findings imply that majority of respondents at Kenya' offices in the Ministry of East Africa Community were middle aged. More so, a high number of the employees who are the respondents have studied up to the university as represented by 58.10%. 23% and 16.90% of the respondents had attained college education certificates and diploma level respectively, with 2% going up to secondary school as the peak of their education. The demographic data on level of education implied that majority of the respondents serving the EAC ministry in different capacities had attained the undergraduate university degree as their highest level of education, hence concluding that most of them have attained a moderate level of education.

### **5.2.1 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration**

As per the findings from the study, it is evident that a significant number of the respondents agreed 75.5% and 19.8 % disagreed on whether the heads of state have a key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration. Similarly, majority of the respondents agreed as represented by 74.5% while 18.9 % disagreed (that through the appointments made by the heads of state, regional integration can be enhanced. Moreover, majority of the respondents agreed as indicated by 83.9% while 13.2%( 7.5% disagreed that the head of state has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration. The findings implied that the head state has a crucial role to play towards fulfillment of regional commitments and improving policy formulation as well as establishing linkages between different regional policies and strategies.

### **5.2.2. Satisfaction in the Participation of the Heads of State**

Majority of the respondents were satisfied 80.2(42.5% very satisfied, 37.7% satisfied while 24.3% were not sure. 5.7 % ( 1.9% were dissatisfied and 3.8% very dissatisfied with Jomo Kenyatta's regime with regard to regional integration. More so a reasonable number of the respondents were satisfied 48.1 % ( 20.8% were very satisfied, 27.3% satisfied and 23.6% were not sure while 28.3 % ( 16.0% very dissatisfied and 12.3% very dissatisfied with the Kibaki regime on regional integration. Moreover, a reasonable number of the respondents were satisfied 47.16 % ( 18.86% very satisfied and 28.3% satisfied while 22.64% were not sure. 30.2 % ( 9.4% dissatisfied and 20.8% very dissatisfied with Uhuru Kenyatta regime with regard to regional integration. A further 34.5 % ( 9.4% were very satisfied and 25.5% were only satisfied while 39.7% of the respondents were not sure and 25.48 % (16.98 were dissatisfied and 8.5% were very dissatisfied with president Moi regime on regional integration.

#### **5.2.2.1 Satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration with those of Uganda and Tanzania?**

The findings revealed that majority of the respondents were satisfied as indicated by 63.17 % ( 18.87% very satisfied, 44.3% satisfied while 9.4% were of undecided views. 27.3% (13.20% were dissatisfied, while 14.15% strong dissatisfied on the level of satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration. For Uganda, a moderate number of the respondents were satisfied 44.3 % ( 9.4% were very satisfied, 34.9% satisfied. 18.87% of the respondents were of divergent views while 27.3 % ( 16.0% were dissatisfied, 11.3% strongly dissatisfied with Uganda' regime's level of satisfaction on regional integration.

In addition, majority of the respondents were dissatisfied 71.7 % ( 43.4% dissatisfied and 28.3% were strongly dissatisfied. 19.8% of the respondents were not sure. And very few respondents were satisfied 8.4 % ( 4.7% very satisfied and 3.7% were satisfied with Tanzania's regime' level of satisfaction on regional integration.

### **5.2.2 What the Current Regime Can Do to Enhance Regional Integration**

On whether an incumbent president's government should embrace common goals with those of other member states, 83% of respondents strongly agreed and others agreed. 14.2% represented those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed on the same while 2.8% were undecided. Asked whether allocation of enough funds to implement regional integration strategies would make an impact, 84.8% represented both those who strongly agreed and who agreed. Those who strongly disagreed and those who simply agreed to the statement were represented by 14.1% and the undecided was 2.8%. The statement on the regime to fully participate in the integration activities and strategies, 94.9% represented both those who strongly agreed and those who agreed, 11.3% for those who strongly disagreed and those who disagreed while the undecided were represented by 1.9%

#### **5.5.2.1 Activeness of current head of state to regional integration**

The findings portray that majority of respondents rated very active as represented by 59.9%, 22% as moderately active, 14.30% rated as not active and 3.8% responded that the current regime has been active in promoting regional integration with the neighboring states. This implied that the current regime has performed fairly well in terms of building strong ties of bilateral trade among the East Africa Community states.

The findings further implied that the EAC governments can steer effort of integration as long they are willing to pump in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among states.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

The study concluded that the efforts by the previous heads of state in ensuring effective integration in EAC during their regime, had a moderate effect.

The area of knowledge further concluded that the head of state has a crucial role to play with regard to fulfilling regional commitments touching on integration as well as establishing linkages between different regional policies and strategies.

Finally, the study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer effort of integration as long as there is a will to plough in more resources which will go a long way in creating a friendly environment for trade and movement for all their citizens.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The findings therefore should be considered a wake-up call for the government to put in place appropriate as well as radical policies with a legal framework which will enhance regional integration among states in the East Africa Community.

Moreover, the government should come out strongly to ensure that when promoting interests, it is prudent to give priority to those interests that cut across member states of EAC since they are geared towards achieving integration and therefore beneficial to the entire region.

In addition, the East Africa Community members should be guided on the need to conform with the regional integration laws, for instance, on set tariffs there is need to maintain standard in terms of levies to be charged for both exported and imported goods and services hence promoting trade and boosting security in these nations.

#### **5.5 Suggestion for further studies**

1. The current study focused on regime change and its implication on Eastern Africa Community. There is need for a further study to be done focusing on regime change and how it impacts on integration in other countries that are not members of the East Africa Community.
2. The study focused on the role of a head of state in regional integration. Therefore, there is need for another study focusing on the role of political stability in regard to regional integration

3. The study was done in Kenya, on regime change and its implication on East Africa Community, there is need for a similar study to be done in a different country which is also member of the East Africa Community.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX I: INTRODUCTION LETTER TO THE RESPONDENT**

Carolyn K. Mbithi

Reg. No. CE/C50/27055/2011

Kenyatta University,

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Nairobi.

E-Mail: carolekary@gmail.com

Mobile No: +254 710 644 775

Date: September, 2019

Dear Respondent,

#### **RE: PERMISSION TO COLLECT DATA FOR ACADEMIC RESEARCH**

I am a student undertaking Master of Arts in International Relations and Diplomacy in Kenyatta University. As part of requirement of the degree program, I am expected to carry out a research study whose objective is to solve a problem within my area of specialization. For this reason, I will be carrying out a study on Regime Change and its Implication on Eastern Africa Community Integration process - Case of Kenya. There is a questionnaire attached herein, and it's with utmost humility I request you to respond to the questions as honestly and accurately as possible. Since the objective of conducting this survey is purely for academic purpose, the information given will be treated with utmost confidentiality. I will sincerely appreciate your co-operation.

Yours Faithfully,

Carolyne K. Mbithi

**APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE**

**SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION**

1. Please indicate your gender

Male  Female

2. Please indicate your age bracket

18-25  26-35   
36-45  46-55  50-60   
Above 60

3. What is your education level? (Tick as applicable)

a) Secondary   
b) College   
c) Graduate   
d) Post-graduate   
Others-specify.....

**SECTION B: ROLE OF HEADS OF STATE IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION**

1. How effective do you think the previous Heads of state have enhanced regional integration?

Very effective

Moderate effective [ ]

Not sure [ ]

Not effective [ ]

2. To what extent do you agree with the following statements on the role of Heads of state on regional integration? Use a Likert's scale of 1-5 where 1= Strongly agree, 2=Agree, 3= Uncertain, 4= Disagree and 5= Strongly disagree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Heads of state have the key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration					
Through the appointments made by the heads of state, the regional integration is enhanced					
As the head of state, the president has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the commission to have them embedded for better regional integration					

3. What other roles do you think the Head of state plays in promoting regional integration?

.....  
.....  
.....

**SECTION C: SATISFACTION IN THE PARTICIPATION OF THE HEADS OF STATE**

1. Do you carry out any assessment to establish the level at which the regional integration is being done?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. Do you have common goals set as a state department for regional integration to ensure faster regional integration?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

3. How satisfied are you with the regimes below on their efforts to ensure regional integration?

Regime	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
Jomo Kenyatta's Regime					
Moi's Regime					
Kibaki's Regime					
Uhuru Kenyatta's Regime					

4. How would you rate the satisfaction of the Kenya's regimes on regional integration with those of Uganda and Tanzania?

Country	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Uncertain	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied
Kenya					
Uganda					
Tanzania					

5. What do you think ought to be done by the Heads of state to enhance satisfaction of their roles in the regional integration?

.....  
 .....  
 .....

**SECTION D: WHAT THE CURRENT REGIME CAN DO TO ENHANCE REGIONAL INTEGRATION**

1. Do you call for meetings to strategize on how you can enhance regional integration?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

2. If yes, how often do you call for the meetings?

Frequently [ ] Sometimes [ ] Occasionally [ ]

Not at all [ ] Not sure [ ]

3. How active is the current regime in enhancing regional integration?

Very active [ ] Moderately Active [ ]

Not active [ ] Not sure [ ]

4. To what extent do you agree with the following statements on the speeding up the regional integration process? Use a Likert's scale of 1-5 where 1= Strongly agree, 2=Agree, 3= Uncertain, 4= Disagree and 5= Strongly disagree

Statement	1	2	3	4	5
To speed up the regional integration process, the current regime has to embrace common goals with the other countries' regimes					
The current regime has to allocate enough resources to the implantation of the regional integration strategies to speed up the process					
The current regime can speed up the regional integration process through fully participating in the integration activities and strategies					
Through consultative meetings the heads of state can enhance the regional integration process					

5. What do you think the current regime has to do to enhance regional integration?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

### **APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THE EXPERTS**

#### **THE ROLE OF HEADS OF STATE**

1. What other roles do you think the Head of state plays in promoting regional integration?
2. What do you think ought to be done by Heads of state to enhance satisfaction of their roles in the regional integration?

#### **EFFECTIVENESS OF PREVIOUS HEADS OF STATE**

3. How effective do you think the previous Heads of state have enhanced regional integration?
4. How satisfied are you with the previous regimes on their efforts to ensure regional integration?

#### **EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CURRENT REGIME**

5. How active is the current regime in enhancing regional integration?
6. Do you think to speed up the regional integration process the current regime has to embrace common goals with the other countries' regimes? Please explain
7. What do you think the current regime has to do to enhance regional integration?

**APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH SCHEDULE**

<b>Activities</b>	<b>December TO March, 2019</b>		<b>April TO July, 2019</b>			<b>August TO January, 2020</b>		
Theoretical Study and Literature Review	■							
Proposal Development and Submission			■					
Proposal Presentation						■		
Field work and Data Collection							■	
Data processing, analysis, report writing and submission								■

**APPENDIX V: RESEARCH BUDGET**

ITEM	UNIT COST (Kshs)	QUANTITY	AMOUNT(Ksh)
Proposal writing			
Typing	20	66	1320
Printing	660	10	6600
Piloting			
Photocopy of research instruments	3	20	60
Traveling and subsistence			3000
Data collection			
Photocopy of research Instruments	3	240	720
Traveling and meals			10000
Subsistence			5000
Assistant researchers	5000	2	10000
Data Analysis and presentation			2000
Typing	2000	1	3000
printing	1000	10	
Final report binding			

	3000	1	2000
<b>Total</b>			<b>53,700</b>