

REGIME CHANGE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON EAST 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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DEDICATION

This Project 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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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

EA:	East Africa
EU:	European Union
EAC:	East African Community
ARII:	African Regional Integration Index
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
COMESA:	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
SADC:	Southern Africa Development Community
NAFTA:	Northern American Free Trade Agreement
LAFTA:	Latin America Free Trade Association
ASEAN:	Association of South East Asian Nations
ECA:	Economic Commission of Africa
EARI:	East African Regional Integration
OSBP:	One Stop Border Post
EEC:	European Economic Community
EERC:	European Economic Recovery Co-operation
EACSO:	East Africa Common Service Organization
CARICOM:	Caribbean Community and the Common Market
AREC:	Asian Regional Economic Co-operation
NTB:	Non-Tariff Barriers
CET:	Common External Tariffs
ECLAC:	Economic Commission of Latin American and Caribbean States
CELAC:	Community of Latin American and Caribbean State

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.

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.

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.

Diplomacy: A system of formal means by which the self-identity of the sovereign state is constituted and articulated through external relations with other states.

National Security: This is the safekeeping of a nation by maintaining its survival through use of diplomacy, political and economic power and power projection.

National Interests: These are objectives, claims, goals, demands and interests which a state tries to preserve.

Policy Formulation: There development of effective and acceptable courses of action for addressing what has been placed on policy agenda.

Hegemony: Leadership or dominance, especially by one state or a social group over others.

ABSTRACT

The study's overall aim is to investigate the implications that regime change has in enhancing the unification of the East African region. Since independence Kenya has had four heads of State and the first president is credited for establishing the political framework for the current EAC, the second spearheaded the Agreement for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for EA co-operation hence the re-birth of the EAC integration process. During the tenure of the third president, the Customs Union Agreement was shaped hence clearing way for a Common Market. In the current regime, the fourth head of State signed the Common Monetary Union Protocol. The objectives of the study are; to analyse the role(s) that heads of State in Kenya can play to ensure East African integration, to examine the effects of heads of State transition in Kenya on regional integration in East Africa and to establish what the current regime in Kenya 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 a society as a complex system that constitutes of segments that work together with an intent of achieving a set goal, were used. Descriptive survey design was used in the study. The target population for the study was officers in the Ministry of East African Community, Labour and Social Protection, Political Scientists, serving and retired ambassadors. Stratified Random sampling was used to obtain a sample size of 130 respondents. Data was collected by use of self-structured questionnaires as well individual interview schedules. Analysis of the qualitative data was done by use of both the framework analysis and thematic analysis approaches while the quantitative data was analysed by use of data master sheets and tally sheets. The study reveals that in the past regimes, each of the heads of State in Kenya have made significant impact towards pushing forth the integration agenda. 79.2% stated that the first president's effort towards integration was effective, 34.9% rated the second president as effective, the third president was rated at 48.1% while 40.1% rated the effectiveness of the current president towards regional integration. The study found out that heads of State play a significant role towards regional integration. They promote integration policies as presented by 75.5% of the respondents. The head of State safeguards the common values, fundamental interests and independence of the community. The head of State should also spearhead the harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies. The study further found that it is crucial for the head of State to actively participate in consultative meetings that promote the regional integration agenda and present the interests of the country at the EAC. Kenya's main national interest in the EAC is economic growth and development and as represented by 82.1% of the respondents, it is key for the Head of State to actively participate in the summit by advancing the need for the country to attain a larger regional market for her goods and products hence uplifting the living standards of the Kenyan citizens. The study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer efforts towards integration as long as there is a will to plough in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among member states, hence realization of mutual benefit in member states in creation of opportunities for their citizens. It was also concluded that previous heads of State in Kenya have endeavoured to push for the regional integration agenda to some extent, but none has fully overseen the implementation of all agreed integration policies. The study recommends that heads of State should consider giving significant weight to interests that reflect on regional integration and not focusing mostly on national interest, it is also prudent for Kenya to conform with the regional integration laws especially on set tariffs in order to promote trade. A study that focuses on the political stability in regard to regional integration is recommended since this study only focused on the role(s) of the head of State in regional integration.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

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

1.1 Background to the Study

A political regime, also known as a political system is a set of political structures that make up a government or a state. It can either be a democracy, monarchy, communism or dictatorial. The role any head of government in any form of regime is very critical in that their operations dictate to a greater extent how their government will relate with others and the world at large. Fidel Castro, for instance, ruled Cuba between 1959 and 2008 and he was described as “maximo Lader” as a result of how he wielded power like a tyrant. According to New York Times (26th November 2016) Castro’s defiance resulted to a diplomatic stand-off between the USA and the Soviet Union. The USA imposed an arms embargo on Cuba in March 1958 which saw Cuban assets in the USA frozen. Fidel Castro’s defiance of American power turned him into a beacon of resistance in Latin America and in 1962, Cuba was expelled from the Organization of American States (El-agraa,1982). It was further reported that in the late 80’s and early 1990’s Cuba had become very isolated in the international arena.

Raul Castro assumed power in Cuba in April 2008 and the country is reported to have changed from a charismatic post-totalitarian regime to a maturing one. According to Vandamme, (2000) attention was drawn on normalizing Cuba’s relation with the USA and this was announced by then President Barack Obama and Raul Castro in simultaneous speeches at the Washington DC and in Havana, respectively. In February 2013 President

Raul Castro met the Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission of Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) and the Cuban president recognized the effort of the ECLAC in supporting the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC). In 2011 Cuba joined the CELAC and President Raul Castro declared 'Unity within Diversity' a slogan that inspired the people of Havana to promote deepening co-operation in the region. Since then, Havana's presence in the CELAC is considered central in enhancing Latin-American-Caribbean relations since close links with CARICOM member states based on a greater agenda of solidarity and co-operation was born.

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 (18th September, 2016) that the new government's only option was to forge ways of stepping up the peace process and especially that of re-balancing external relations with China, her largest trading partner. Among 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 was reported in *The Diplomat* (10th 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 had 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).

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 are protected at the EAC, as much as equality between the countries is pushed for and the share contribution of each country to be recognized. 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. Munene (2018) observes that the attainment of a fully integrated East African region is yet to be realised because some of the agreements pertaining integration are yet to be fully implemented while others are way past their implementation deadline. The East Africa Common Market protocol for instance, came into force in July 2010 and its practical implementation is considered a process that will take place over time since to date, the free movement of labour, goods and capital across partner states is yet to be actualized by citizens

of EAC member states. The Monetary Union protocol which was scheduled for 2012 is already behind schedule hence delays in implementation of Customs Union and Common Market protocol translates to delays in the implementation of the Monetary Union and Political Federation protocols. There is failure by individual member states to lift legal barriers like recognition of business certificates for each other and cases of double taxation as well. According to The Independent, 16th December 2020, trade relations between Kenya and Uganda are deemed to get worse since traders from both countries had been embroiled in a trade conflict that had lasted more than two years. Uganda traders had once demanded their government blocks entry of Kenyan products into its market since they blamed authorities in Nairobi for preventing entry of their products into the Kenyan market, a contravention of the East Africa Common market commitment of free movement of goods and services within the EAC trading bloc.

The tension between Kenya and Uganda over the Migingo island which can be traced back to 2004 has too been a factor that has strained relations between the two EAC member states. Kenyan fishermen have complained of harassment in the hands of Ugandan officers. In early 2009, the tension exacerbated and sparked a diplomatic row when President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda claimed that whereas the island is in Kenya, the waters surrounding it belong to Uganda and the Luo community living around the area would not be allowed to fish in Ugandan waters. Kenya's relation with Tanzania on the other hand has faced challenges as well. In July 2020, Tanzania banned Kenya Airways (Kenyan carrier) from flying into her territory as retaliation to Kenya for having not listed Tanzania as one of the countries considered safe to continue flying into due to the Covid-19 pandemic. This was however resolved. In 2017 about 5000 chicks illegally imported to Tanzania from Kenya were seized at the Namanga border and burnt alive and about 1,125 cattle from Kenya auctioned after Maasai herders from Kenya crossed the border into Tanzania in search of pasture. Kenya has

faced challenges in its sub-regional diplomacy as a result of her hegemony stemming from her colonial legacy as a sub-regional centre, and the fact that until the 1990's Kenya has been better able to promote economic development and sustain domestic stability as compared to any of her East Africa neighbours.

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. (Wales & Wild, 2012).

The attainment of a fully integrated region among member states of the EAC is paramount since there will be accelerated economic growth and development. The achievement of this greatly depends on the willingness of each of the sitting head of state in their respective countries, to push for the full implementation of all integration policies. As noted by Keohane and Stanley (2011), ideological differences are sighted among reasons that have slowed down the integration process in the EAC. Former Tanzania President Benjamin Mkapa for instance is said to have been key in accelerating the EAC revival pace and also enforcing harmonized regional trade policies. Former President Magufuli on the other hand was non-comittal in attending EAC summit meetings since he did not prioritize them as reported in *The East African* of October, 2020.

It is thus critical to analyse how change of regime affects regional integration since each head of State will approach integration policies differently. As such, this study has explored the possible role of personal interests towards regional integration. Does change of regime come with objective or subjective interests towards regional integration?

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to analyze how change of regime in Kenya has impacted on regional integration.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

Specific objectives included:

- i. To analyse the role that the heads of State in Kenya are expected to play towards the integration of East African Community
- ii. To examine the effects of heads of State transition in Kenya, on regional integration in East Africa between 1963- 2019
- iii. 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 is the head of State in Kenya expected to undertake to enhance integration in the East African Community?
- ii. How does the transition of heads of State in Kenya affect regional integration in East African Community?
- iii. What can the incumbent head of State do to speed up the integration process?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This study will be beneficial both in academics and policy-making. In academics, it will help scholars to adequately address the gaps on how political stability or instability thereof affects integration process. To the policy-makers and the particular EAC departments charged with

overseeing regional integration, the study will help them identify the weaknesses, lost opportunities and threats of slowing down on the implementation of integration policies hence possibly come up with a cocktail of both socio-economic, political strategies and solutions towards attaining the envisaged full EAC integration.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The focus for the research study was in Nairobi, Kenya. The reason being that Kenya is among the pioneers of the EAC integration process and the offices of the EAC ministry are in Kenya, thus convenient for data collection in terms of accessibility as compared to those of other member states. Further, the study focused on foreign policy officials, department officials on EAC affairs and ambassadors of EAC members states. This is because these categories of people are direct actors responsible for the EAC integration and would provide relevant information on the same.

The study focused on the period between 1963-2019. This is after Kenya had attained self-rule and had the first president, who together with his Ugandan and Tanganyika's counterparts understood the deficiencies of the governments they had inherited from the colonial powers and were geared to building an East African federation to help address their countries' economic problems. Furthermore, the former EAC was formed in 1967, collapsed in 1977 and later revived in 1999. Since 1963 to date Kenya has had different heads of State, and each has impacted differently on the regional integration process, hence making the period ideal for this study.

1.7 Limitations and Delimitation 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 lot of time was spent consolidating it in order to achieve meaningful reading information. On data collection, there was lack of co-operation

from some respondents who felt insecure to respond to the study questions. This was taken care of by informing the respondents on the intended use of their responses, which was for academics only and that their information would be treated with utmost confidentiality. There were also bureaucratic challenges that at some point affected efforts to conduct the interviews and constant assurance was given that the information given would remain confidential.

1.8 Assumption

The assumption of the study was that change of regime affects the integration process in a region.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

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

2.1 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. Bertoincini (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 Cooperation 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 focus 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. It is undeniable however, 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 & Stanley (2011) note 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 countries had been severely strained leading to the closure of borders and also 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 member states.

In the year 2009, Burundi and Rwanda joined the union making it a five-member state organization. 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. This however 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 14th 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. This is according The East Africa, 14th June 2018.

2.1.1 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, 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 the 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 President 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 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. As earlier stated in this study, 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 was 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 had 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 tended to spark counter-reaction. In The Financial Tribune of 8th August 2018, President Donald Trump warned against doing business with Iran. He was 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 summit 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 would in-turn 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. Moreover, during the 5th 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. It was however reported in The East Africa of 29th January 2012 that while opening the third meeting of the fifth session of the EALA in Kampala, President Yoweri Museveni seemed to be going slow on his push for a political federation when he claimed that it was more rational. President Museveni suspected that implementing the Common Market Protocol without accompanying Political Federation would turn some countries into captive markets for other partners' goods. Critics warn that if the leadership in the EAC member states did not consider addressing critical issues, the integration process would be derailed (EAC,2010).

Former Tanzania President Benjamin Mkapa was hailed for playing a key role in enforcing harmonized regional trade policies that led to reduction in NTBs. According to Ogalo, (2010), after he took the reign of power in 1995, President Mkapa accelerated the EAC revival pace and six months after being sworn in, the EAC secretariat was launched in Arusha. The East Africa of October, 2020 reported that after President Magufuli took over

power in Tanzania in 2015, the EAC started pulling in two opposite directions. Weeks after assuming office, he banned a Kenyan milk firm from collecting the product and directed that all milk produced in Tanzania must be processed locally. It was further reported that President Magufuli could be responsible for the slow pace in integration. This was attributed to the fact that he missed several EAC summit meetings. A Kenyan Member of Parliament at EALA observes that President Magufuli has not been enthusiastic about EAC. He said, ‘He (Magufuli) has not been travelling and the EAC dream has not been his priority because when there are meetings he does not attend.’

According to African Regional Integration Index (ARII) 2019, a tool designed to measure regional integration dimensions among African countries, Tanzania is reported to be lagging behind her EA partners in dimensions of regional integration especially on infrastructural, macroeconomics and trade integration since assumption of President Magufuli into office.

In December 1967, Kenya’s first President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta 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. In 1971 after Milton Obote was overthrown by Idi Amin of Uganda and relations between Amin and other East Africa presidents became sore and the operations of EAC were greatly affected. In 1976, Idi Amin started building troops at the Kenya-Uganda border and a long period of tension ensued. This called for three days of intense negotiations and for the sake of peace and stability in the region, president Jomo Kenyatta agreed to sign a Peace Formula with Idi Amin to end what was described as a “state of belligerency”. This was done in separate ceremonies in Kampala, Uganda and Mombasa, Kenya. President Moi took over power a year after the collapse of the former EAC. In 1980 he

reached out to President Nyerere of Tanzania and Uganda's Godfrey Binaisa with the intention of mending Kenya's relations with the two countries. He was described as a Pan-Africanist who believed in the formation of a single common market in Africa which would eventually unite all African countries for economic gain Akodu, (2005). The former president spearheaded the Agreement for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation in 1993 hence the rebirth of the EAC regional integration process. Furthermore, after being elected the chairperson of the OAU in early 1980s, President Moi used this platform to rally African nations to value unity and create a single market in the East, central and Southern Africa region which in the long run saw the birth of COMESA. President Moi too was instrumental in the negotiation and peace process that saw South Sudan attain self- rule in 2011. As recognition for his integration effort, in early 2002, the former president was mandated by IGAD to lead efforts to merge the parallel peace initiative on Sudan.

During the 13th Summit of the EAC heads of State after assuming chairmanship, Kenya's third President, Mwai Kibaki assured members of his total commitment to the discharge of his obligations. He called upon member states to enhance their commitment in pursuit of the EAC objectives as stipulated in the Treaty. As president, he 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. In 2004, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania shaped a Customs Union Agreement clearing route for a common market. President Kibaki is hailed for having made a bold economic sacrifice in 2004 for the sake of the regional unity bid. When Tanzania and Uganda seemed reluctant about the bid due to concerns about Kenya's strong economic pillars that the two countries feared could overturn their economies, President Kibaki agreed to have Kenya shoulder the burden for the sake of peace and prosperity within the region. Kenya thus in 2005, immediately scrapped custom

taxes on goods from Uganda and Tanzania while allowing them to gradually phase out their taxation on Kenyan goods with Tanzania starting at 25% and Uganda at 10%. This was read as an act of sincerity on the Kenyan part hence emboldening the countries to sign the Customs Union Protocol in 2005 (Lwaitama, & Mkumbo,2013; EAC 2010). Further, when delivering the EAC state address to members of the EALA's third meeting of the fifth session at the Uganda parliament in 2012, President Kibaki impressed on the need to continue supporting regional integration measures noting that trade in the region had increased from 2\$bn in 2005 to 4\$bn in 2010.

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 they play 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 those findings.

2.1.2 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 leaders 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 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 relations in the international arena. He focused on Nigeria and aimed at establishing how change in individual heads of State affected 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 one 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 one's country and their 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 had within a short period of time deteriorated pragmatically. An example was relations between the USA and China as pointed out earlier in this study. 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 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 their counterparts 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. The study by Omorogbe (2012) was specific to Nigeria, which is a West African country. Omorogbe (2012) also 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. 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. 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 inter-governmental 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 headquarter of the organization 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 on 1st July 2007.

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-authorities 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 socio-political 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, the 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. The East African magazine (11th November, 2017) however 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 31st 2015 as the deadline for each member to waive permit fee, only Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda have complied while Tanzania and Burundi still require work permits for which all non-citizens 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 (01st 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-state relations.

2.1.3 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. According to ARII 2019, Kenya is the best performer in the EAC and leads other member states in the trade, infrastructural and productive dimensions. Kenya then 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. The EAC is a major market for Kenyan products. In 2017 for instance, Kenya’s exports to EAC recorded Kshs 131.58b as compared to 138.03b in 2016 while imports of various products from the partner states recorded Kshs 60.97b as compared to Ksh 32.94b in 2016.

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 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 has so far played an undeniably very critical role in promoting regional integration that has given room for an integrated trade system. A year after assuming office, while delivering state of EAC address at the EALA chambers in Arusha, President Uhuru argued that it was critical for the region to embrace the Customs

Union and the Common Market Protocols. On Political Federation, which is the ultimate goal of the integration process, he emphasized that the EAC would remain steadfast on achieving political unity of the region, underscoring the fact that federation was not an event, rather a process. According to The Daily Nation (10th July, 2017), Kenya and Tanzania for instance, 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. On 13th November 2013 President Uhuru joined presidents of other EAC member states in Kampala, Uganda where he signed the East African Community Monetary Union protocol, which is considered a legally binding commitment towards the attainment of a single regional currency in Africa. (*The Treaty for the Establishment of the East Africa Community, 2002*). In his acceptance speech as the EAC chairperson, the president stated that he was keen to see the realization of a fully integrated region key on his priority being elimination of all trade barriers to progressive integration. During his tenure in office President Uhuru, success has been realised on the construction and operationalization of One Stop Border Posts (OSBP) at all major border crossing points between Kenya and its East African Partner states at Busia, Namanga, Isebania, Taveta and Lunga Lunga. The EAC Treaty under chapter fifteen provides co-operation in infrastructure and services. Under the OSBP arrangement, cross border goods clearance is carried out once at every point of entry doing away with double clearance at the exit and entry points that was initially practised. Moreover, in 2014 President Uhuru directed that movement of transit goods from the port of Mombasa to Malaba be reduced to a maximum of five days since by then it would take on average about twelve to thirteen days to Malaba and up to twenty days for goods destined for Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda. To improve efficiency on the Northern Corridor Transit, the Kenyan Government

contracted out the weigh bridges management to SGS Kenya, a logistics firm which has installed computerized Weighing in Motion (WIM) system at various weighing bridges which is reported to have significantly reduced the number of trucks diverted to weigh bridges hence saving time.

The Rift Valley Technical Training Institute, was in November 2013 among institutions identified as centres of Excellence for the East African Community whose specific mandate is to offer Technical, Vocational and Entrepreneurship training. The institution has to date admitted students from Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan. This move is in line with one of EAC integration benefits; that of harmonization of Education standards and mutual recognition of academic certificates from all member states.

The study by Mburu (2014) neither stated in depth what the current regime can do to enhance exports in the region nor did it bring out what the same 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 is a logical deductive system consisting of a set on interactive concepts from which testable propositions can be derived (Nachmias, 1996). Hegemonic Stability Theory (HST) and the Structural Functionalism Theory (SFT) will be applied in this study.

2.2.1 Hegemonic Stability Theory

Hegemonic Stability theory (HST), a theory of International relations 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. He further 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. 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 are left to implement policies at their own pace but with a hope that each member State works towards meeting the set deadlines. 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. 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

A conceptual framework is an analytical research tool that's intended to help a researcher to develop awareness and understanding of the situation under scrutiny and to effectively communicate this (Riechel & Ramey, 1987). It defines relevant variables for the study and maps out how they could relate to each other, since it shows a possible connection between the variables and answers the *why* question.

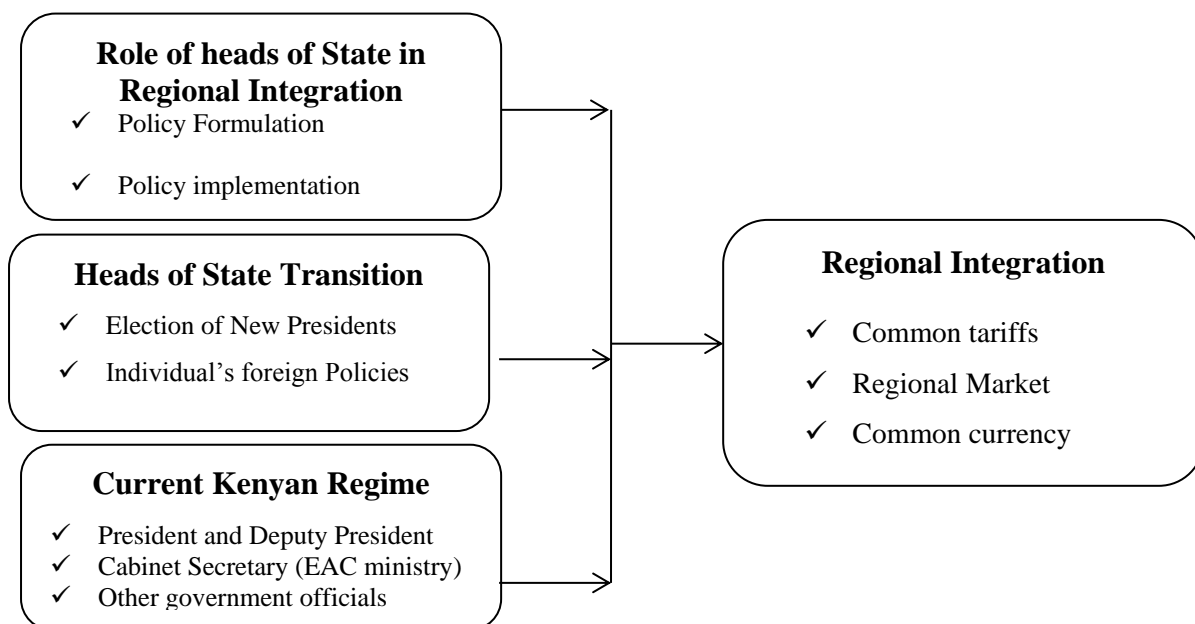


Figure 2.1 Conceptual Framework

At the helm of Kenya's government system is the president and the deputy president. When the head of State attends the EAC Summit, he participates in giving direction and impetus in the achievement of East African objectives, evaluates the progress of the EAC and makes appointments among other duties. It is the duty of the head of State to appoint a Cabinet Secretary in-charge of the EAC ministry who together with other ministers from EAC member states work on promotion, monitoring and keeping in constant review the implementation of the of the EAC programs. The realization of a fully integrated East African region, with a regional market, common tariffs and a common currency depends on the head of State playing the role of formulation and implementing the regional integration policies and appointing both a Cabinet Secretary and a Permanent Secretary responsible for regional co-operation. One regime in Kenya runs for five years and the study conceptualized that change of regime in Kenya is much likely to affect the regional integration process.

CHAPTER THREE

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 gave the researcher a wide room to choose from, eventually enhancing better understanding of the research problem.

3.1.1 Variables

The independent variable explains variation in the dependent variable. Regime change is the independent variable while the implications it has had on the East African Community is the dependent variable. This study focuses on how various regimes in Kenya have impacted on the EAC integration process.

3.2 Study Area

This study was conducted in Kenya and focused 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) 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 include the ambassadors and regional integration policy experts. All these people work under the EAC integration department (Khayota, 2016).

Table 3.1: Target Population

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

Source: MEAC (2017) and Khayota (2016)

3.4 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

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

3.5 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. The major concern when adopting a sampling technique is to what extent it can be seen as a representative sample of the information needed (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Stratified random sampling was used in the study whereby respondents were divided into smaller sub-groups. With a cumulative number of all officials at the State department for East African integration. Random numbers of specific officials who deal with East African integration policies was considered.

Non-probability sampling was used. This is because the study targeted respondents who were conversant with regional integration matters and would provide relevant information for the study. Purposive sampling was specifically used by singling out departmental officials on EAC affairs, ambassadors and policy experts because they directly deal with regional integration affairs.

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 was adopted in this study. A questionnaire, according to Kothari (2008) consists of a set of questions that have a designed flow and aims 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 that is of interest to the interviewer. The questionnaires were administered to the department officials of EAC affairs and ambassadors. The interview sessions were scheduled for the foreign policy experts. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Transcribing was essential to carefully examine the answers of the participants and to lower the risk of my analysis being influenced by my own biasness and values. The questionnaire was divided into four sections whereby the first section focused on the demographic equation, the second, third and fourth sections focused on the first, second and third study questions respectively.

3.7 Pre-testing of Research Instruments

A pilot study consisting of 5% of the sample size (7 respondents) was carried out to check the validity and reliability of the research instruments. According to Young (2011), pre-testing of research instruments can be done using any preferred number of respondents as long as they are of diverse views and are not part of the sample that will be used for the final study. The pilot study focused on employees of the embassy of South Sudan based in Nairobi and were

subsequently not captured in the final study. Immediate corrections on any misinterpretations noted on some of the questions were made with immediate effect.

3.8 Validity and Reliability

Validity is considered the degree to which the sample of a test item represents the content that it's designed to measure. A meaningful presentation of content to guarantee the respondent confidence and comprehension on what is required of him or her, makes the research instruments used be deemed valid. The logical flow of the questions and their correct interpretation gave an assurance of the validity of the instruments in this area of study. The exercise of pre-testing was necessary so as to assess whether the instrument items were clear enough and those considered inadequate in measuring the variables were altered to enhance the quality of the research instrument.

Reliability would be attained when the research instruments give desired and consistent results hence reflecting the findings that the study intended to achieve. In order to enhance levels of reliability of the research instruments in this study, testing and re-testing of the results from the pilot study was done and with a similarity in the results obtained from all the questionnaires, the instruments were 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 and Procedures

Questionnaires were used to gather primary data from the respondents; they were delivered to the respondents' work place and thereafter, picked after they had been answered 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 was the thematic analysis and it took a more explanatory approach whereby all data was coded. For the data collected through the structured questionnaire which was quantitative 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

Ethical considerations are of great concern in any research that involves human participation and in regard to this, ethical principles must be observed during the research process (Saunders et.al, 2012). Permission from relevant government bodies was sought for purposes of this study while participants were informed on the nature and purpose of the study and

accorded the opportunity to make a choice on whether to voluntarily participate or not (informed consent). 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 OF FINDINGS, INTERPRETATION AND DISCUSSION

The chapter presents the findings, interpretations and discussions according to the objectives, research questions and assumptions.

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.

4.1 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 (Zormello, 1994). 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. 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. Information about 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.

4.1.1 Response Rate

The response rate was 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 made the study appropriate to make conclusions and recommendations since according to Creswell (2005), 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

Category	Frequency	Percentage
Sampled Population	130	100%
Responses	106	81.5%
Non-Responses	24	18.5%

4.1.2 Demographic Data

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.

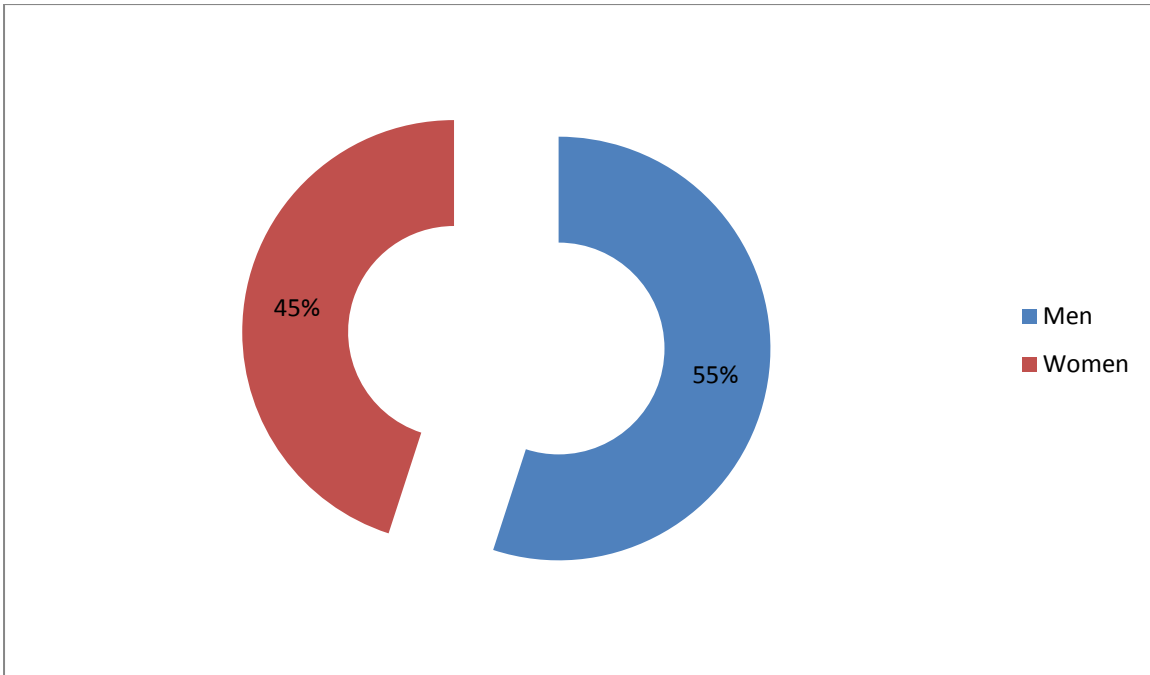


Figure 4.1: Gender of the Respondents

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.

4.1.3 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

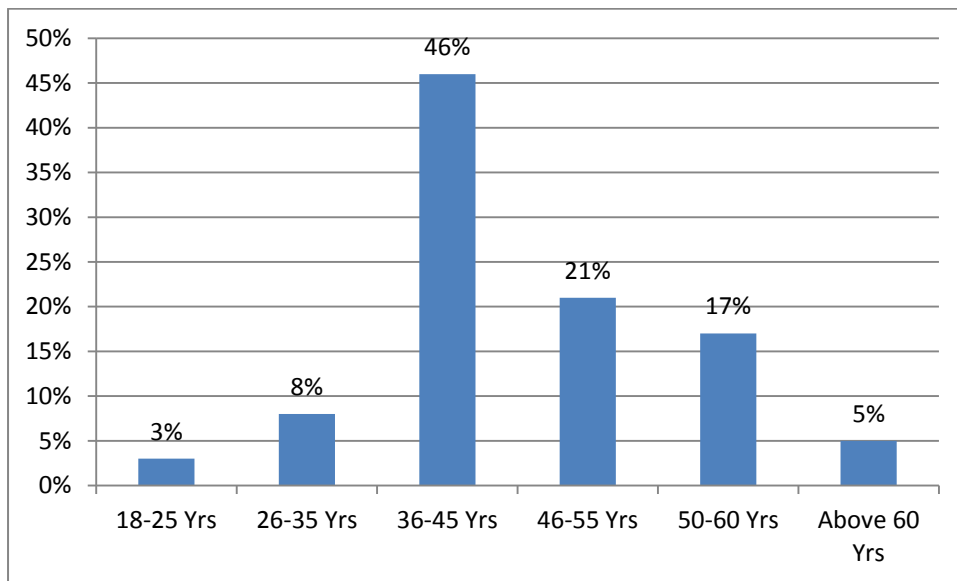


Figure 1 Figure 4.2: Age of the Respondents

The findings show that 3 per cent of the respondents were aged between 18 years and 25 years, 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 per cent 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. A study whose respondents' age effectively cuts across various ages ought to have responses that are more diverse.

4.1.4 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.

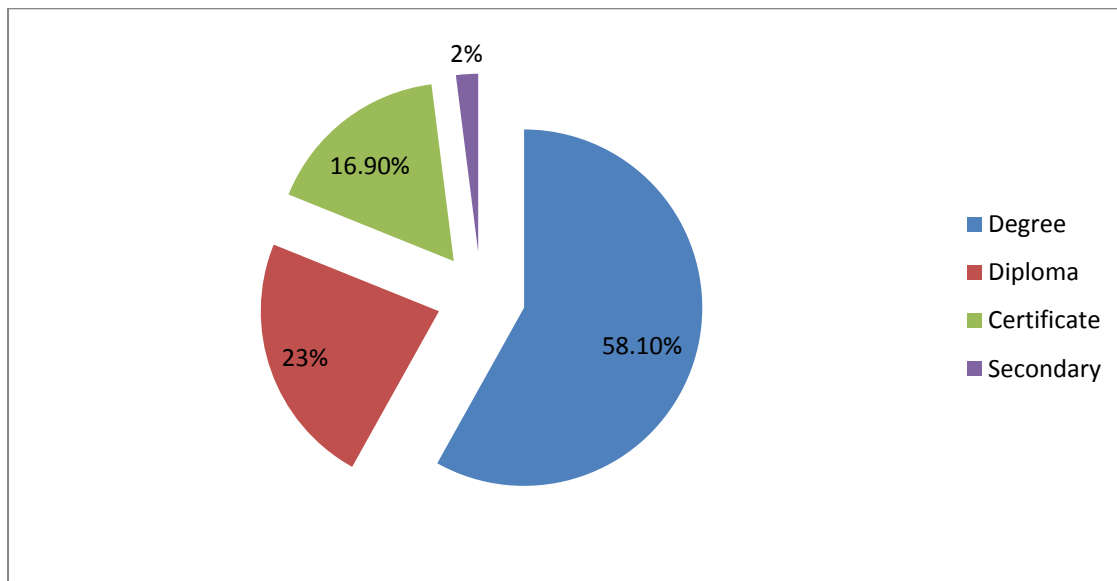


Figure 4.3: Respondents' Level of Education

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.

4.2 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.

4.2.1. Findings for Research Question One

This area of knowledge sought to find out roles that can be undertaken by any head of State in Kenya that can significantly contribute to regional integration. Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agreed on specific statements and their feedback represented on table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Roles played by head of State 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>	%		
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 undecided on whether 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) with 6.6% neither disagreeing nor agreeing 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.

Kennedy (2000) states that the role of any leader is very critical in steering necessary steps towards progression. From the interviews, it is evident that most of the integration agreements are still being violated therefore slowing down the achievement of full regional integration. The head of State has the duty to promote the integration policies.

“You know Kenya has continued imposing non-tariff 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 African Community”

Interviewee001

The study found that by making appointments to relevant departments would to enhance integration since competency and efficiency on integration matters would be dealt with appropriately.

“Through policy formulation as well as legal framework, the head of State can enhance regional integration. This can be done 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.”

Interviewee 001

Leaders are expected to establish direction for a working group of people and in turn motivate them achieve a certain outcome. As a leader of government, the head of State has to play key roles that enhance regional integration and as shown in the findings, 74.5% agree that among other roles, appointments related to regional integration are key. This is in agreement with Ott (1989) who states that the role of a leader among others involves staff selection for all relevant government bodies and also putting in check communication mechanisms.

4.2.2 Findings for Research Question Two

The respondents were asked to give their view on how the different regimes in Kenya have performed with regard to promoting regional integration. The response was in terms of their satisfaction level towards how heads of state transition has impacted on integration as presented in Table 4.3

Table 4.3: Effectiveness in the Participation of the different heads of State

Proposition	VE		E		U		IE		VIE		Mean	Std dev.
	<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	3.2	1.1
Moi's Regime	10	9.4	27	25.5	42	39.6	18	16.98	9	8.5	3.0	1.4
Uhuru Kenyatta Regime	20	18.86	30	28.3	24	22.64	10	9.4	22	20.8	2.6	1.2
Kibaki's Regime	22	20.8	29	27.3	25	23.6	17	16.0	13	12.3	3.1	1.3

From the above, it is evident that 42.5% considered Jomo Kenyatta's regime very effective, 37.7% said it was effective, 14.2% were not sure, 5.7 % (1.9% ineffective and 3.8% found the regime very ineffective in regards to efforts aimed at regional integration. The statement

has a mean of 3.2 and standard deviation of 1.1. On President Moi's regime 9.4% found it very effective, 25.5% effective, 39.9% was undecided while 16.9% saw the efforts of his regime as ineffective and 8.5% as very ineffective. The statement has a mean of 3.0 and standard deviation of 1.4. In President Uhuru Kenyatta's regime on regional integration, 47.16 % of the respondents (18.86% very effective and 28.3% effective, while 22.64% were not sure. 9.4% find the regime ineffective and 20.8% as very ineffective. The statement has a mean of 2.6 and standard deviation of 1.2. Finally, 20.8% found President Kibaki's regime as very effective on regional integration matters, 27.3% effective, while 23.6% were not sure, while 16.0% found it ineffective and 12.3 as very ineffective.

The impact that the different heads of State in Kenya have had towards integrated were echoed by the some of the interviewees.

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

Interviewee 002

“Former President Moi also put a lot of effort on integrating the region, for example the notion of East Africa Co-operation among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania was realized when he was the president. It was also during his regime that the EAC of 1967-77 came to be and its objective was to establish a common market among others”

Interviewee 003

“Former President Kibaki really supported regional integration. When he was the EAC chairperson, he gave an assurance that he would totally commit towards achieving a fully integrated region”

Interviewee 004

“The current regime under President Uhuru has seen major steps undertaken to enhance integration in East Africa. Key areas with regard to integration that his 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 yet”

Interviewee 005

There was the conviction that integration has not been fully attained since Kenya is also a member of other regional blocs hence laxity in fully committing to EAC integration process.

“Kenya is a member of the Common Market for East and Southern Africa which raises concern over her total commitment towards EAC”

Interviewee 006

Leadership succession is considered most visible and salient aspect of the political process. This change of political guard is considered crucial not only because of its power but also because of its impact for change. New leaders may mean new policies, new political style or a change in government performance. The different heads of State in Kenya have performed differently on the regional integration front as the respondents’ satisfaction levels on the same varies as indicated on Table 4.3 and also with the interview responses. One respondent for instance considers President Jomo Kenyatta’s regime to have performed much better as compared to other regimes. This could be attributed to how each head of State chooses to prioritize issues and this is reflected by Baas (1994) who observes that how a leader intervenes on different matters of governance depends mostly on how the leader thinks the system should work.

4.2.3 Findings for Research Question Three

The study sought to establish what the current regime in Kenya can do to speed up the process of regional integration.

4.2.3.1 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. The meetings are considered very important since it is here that it is believed the head of state can come up with comprehensive, concrete as well as sustainable solutions regarding regional integration. The findings are as shown in figure 4.4

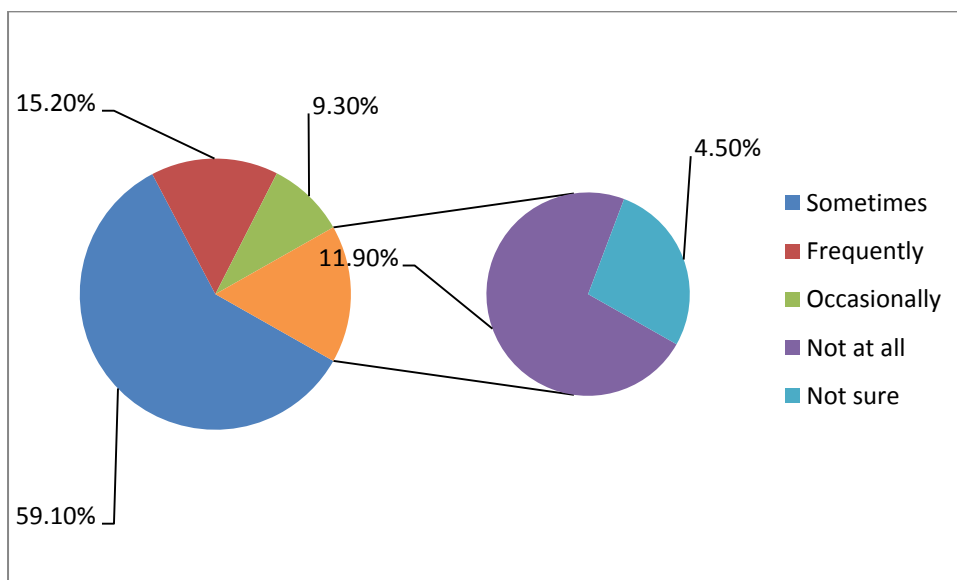


Figure 4.4. The frequency of meetings by the head of state

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.

4.2.3.2 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 4.5 below

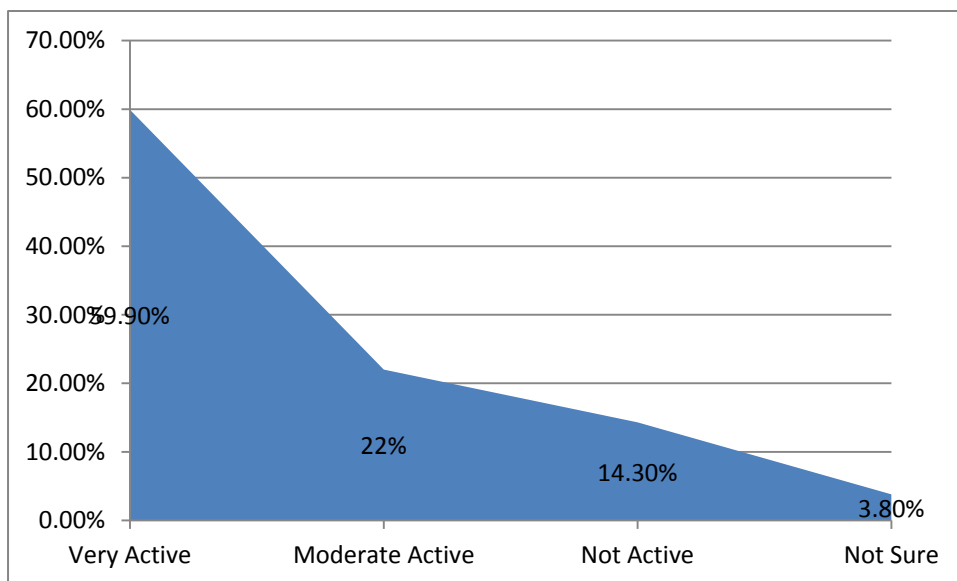


Figure 4.5 Activeness of current Head of state to regional integration

The findings portrayed that majority of respondents said he was very active as represented by 59.9%, 22% said he was moderately active, 14.30% rated him 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. These findings reflect in one of the interviews as well.

“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 the integration process.”

Interviewee 002

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, however, there is still a long way to go.

4.2.3.3 What more 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 4.4 presents the findings

Table 4.4 What the current regime can do 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	55	51.9	37	34.9	2	1.9	7	6.6	5	4.7	3.2	1.0

strategies												
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 of 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.

Conger, (1999) observes that leader effectiveness has the ability to create a vision for the future and to ensure that people are focused on this vision with a commitment to achieve all objectives geared at the success of a state. In one of the propositions on what the current regime can do to enhance regional integration, 80.2% (Strongly agreed and agreed) of the respondents were of the opinion that the current regime should allocate resources towards implementation of the regional integration strategies to speed up the process. This concurs with Baas, (1994) who states that the innovative approach of a leader coupled with implementation of policies can increase chances of success for a leader to attain their vision.

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. Despite the many milestones to be covered to achieve full integration, Kenya should continue playing her role as the region's hegemony, 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. The findings are supported by the SFT in that the inter-dependence 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, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A summary of the research findings as they appear in the previous chapters will be presented here. The chapter also points out the conclusions and recommendations of the study.

5.1 Summary

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%.

5.1.2 Role of Heads of State in Regional Integration

A leader is a change agent who should take the initiative and bring change while in office (Senior & Fleming, 2006). As the leader of government, the head of State is expected to protect both national and regional interests by realizing the benefits that come with regional integration and bring them together to achieve a common goal for the nation (Kayunga 2005). In the findings, respondents stated that promoting policies that enhance regional integration, making appointments that relate to regional integration and presenting national interests at the EAC to have them embedded for the realization of regional integration are key duties of the head of State.

Any head of State with a vision for a fully integrated East African region should lay out strategies on steps to undertake in order to achieve it. According to Baas (1985), having a clear understanding of the strategic objectives of their jurisdiction and identifying the actions needed to reach these objectives is key in leadership.

5.1.3 Effectiveness in the Participation of different Regimes in Kenya

The findings on effects of regime change in Kenya on regional integration point to Berman (1995) who states that frequent turn-over for top leadership exacerbates the problem of incomplete change; though turn-over promotes accountability and ought to drive change, leaders do not have adequate time to fully implement change. In Kenya, a regime goes for five years with a possibility retaining an incumbent head of State through an election. The head of State can serve for a maximum of ten years as per the Kenyan Constitution. The findings point out that each head of State in Kenya has impacted on the EAC integration process but with varied levels of participation on the same. This can be attributed to lack of good political will and suspicion among member states hence the choice to prioritize national interests at the expense of regional interests. Wandia (2008) observes that Kenya 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 election of 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 representation by the government led by former president Moi. The matter was presented at the East African Court of Justice but 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 had observed the EAC Treaty provision 47.

5.1.4 What the Current Regime Can Do to Enhance Regional Integration

To advance the regional integration agenda, the incumbent head of State is considered the panacea to the integration agenda. According to Senior & Fleming, (2006), a leader is a change agent who should take the initiative and foster change. Full implementation of the agreements pertaining regional integration is key and can be achieved when the head of State engages in matters that directly enhance regional integration. Kenya being the East African hegemon, she should take a lead role in advancing the integration agenda on her part as this could in turn motivate other member states to push further for integration hence speeding up the process. Northhouse, (2009) observes that leaders who possess strong leadership attributes have the power to influence others to achieve the goals and objectives of an organization. With the chairmanship of the EAC currently being held by Kenya, the head of State has a pivotal role to lead member states for instance, by embracing common goals and actively participating in consultative meetings with EAC officials and at the EAC summit level.

5.2 Conclusions

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. Each head of State makes an impact towards the regional integration agenda, not all is accomplished by the time one vacates office and this is majorly attributed to the fact that each sitting president will prioritize governance issues depending on how they think the system will work best.

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.

5.3 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 its 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.

5.3.1 Policy Recommendations

It is prudent that measures to address the political constraints in the region are taken in order to enhance the full integration of the EAC. The strength and success of the EAC will be fully realized when its member states are, and most specifically when each of the heads of State in the region demonstrate good will towards the affairs of the regional bloc.

It is imperative that the EAC secretariat undertakes awareness campaigns within the private sector and civil society of the member states in order to thumb up support for the region since political will more often than not be influenced by domestic pressure. When there is a

consciousness on the benefit that countries would reap from regional integration, then political pressure would be mounted on relevant sectors hence support for EAC initiatives.

5.3.2 Recommendations for further research

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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- The Asian Weekly, 18th September 2016
- The Daily Nation, 26th June 2018
- The Diplomat, 10th July 2018
- The East Africa, 29th January 2012
- The East Africa Magazine 14th June 2018

The Financial Tribune, 8th August 2018

The Independent, 16th December 2020

New York Times 26th November 2016

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION LETTER

KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

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

Website: www.ku.ac.ke

P.o. Box 43844, 00100

NAIROBI, KENYA

Tel. 8710901 Ext. 57530

Our Ref: CE/C50/27055/2011

DATE: 23rd May, 2019

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

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION FOR CAROLYNE KARIMI MBITHI - REG.
NO. CE/C50/27055/2011

I write to introduce Carolyn Karimi Mbithi who is a Postgraduate Student of this University. The student is registered for M.A degree programme in the Department of Conflict Resolution & International Relations.

Carolyn intends to conduct research for a M.A Project Proposal entitled, "Regime change and its implications on Eastern Africa Community".

Any assistance given will be highly appreciated.
ated.

Yours faithfully,



PROF. ELISHIBA KIMANI
A.G. DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL



APPENDIX II: INTRODUCTION LETTER TO THE RESPONDENT

Carolyne K. Mbithi

Reg. No. CE/C50/27055/2011

Kenyatta University,

P.O Box 43844-00100,

Nairobi.

E-mail: carolekary@gmail.com

Mobile No: +254 710 644 775

Date: September, 2019.

Dear Respondent,

RE: DATA COLLECTION 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 III: QUESTIONNAIRE ON REGIME CHANGE IN KENYA AND ITS
IMPLICATION ON EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY
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: EFFECTIVENES 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 more do you think the current regime has to do to enhance regional integration?

.....

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX IV: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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 effectively do you think the previous heads of State have enhanced regional integration?
4. How satisfied are you with the previous regimes in 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 V: INTERVIEW CODING

INTERVIEWEE	DATE INTERVIEW CONDUCTED
Interviewee 001	21 st August 2019
Interviewee 002	21 st August 2019
Interviewee 003	10 th September 2019
Interviewee 004	13 th September 2019
Interviewee 005	13 th September 2019

APPENDIX VI: RESEARCH SCHEDULE

Activities	December 2018 to March, 2019		April to July, 2019			August, 2019 to January, 2020		
Theoretical Study and Literature Review								
Proposal Development and Submission								
Proposal Presentation								
Field work and Data Collection								
Data processing, analysis, report writing and submission								

APPENDIX VII: RESEARCH BUDGET

ITEM	UNIT COST	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
Total			53,700

