



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (IDIS)

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) AND THE EAST
AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC) ECONOMIC INTEGRATION MODELS: LESSONS FOR
AFRICA

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International Studies at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies-University of
Nairobi, October 2016**

DECLARATION

I, Samwel Odoyo Njura hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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

Samwel Odoyo Njura

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

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

DR. Patrick Maluki

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to Sondra Myers from the United States of America (USA) who sacrificed her financial resources to pay for my tuition fee so I could get an opportunity to study International Studies at the University of Nairobi in 2014/2016. May the lord bless her life wherever she is since she served the role of a mother and a father to me.....

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ABSTRACT

The study conducted a comparative analysis of the European Union (EU) and the East African Community (EAC) economic integration models to draw some lessons for Africa. This research study focused to explore the principal research problem of: How Europe with specific reference to EU succeeded in regional economic integration and why Africa with specific reference to EAC has not achieved full regional economic integration as compared to its counterpart EU. The interest arose out of the general observation that most regional integration (RI) in Africa are not in the fast track of full integration and have generally fallen short of effectively delivering on their mandates and goals for which they were created. Informed by the theory of *Realist*, the study hypothesized that: the EU integration model was caused by political good will and good economic policies of the member states that formed it; and that the economic integration of the EAC is militated by lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies of the member states forming it; and that the EU integration process offers the best model for EAC to emulate. Based on the evaluation and analysis of the findings, the study discovered that: what has caused the success model of EU integration are: *political goodwill and coherent economic policies*; it is also upheld that *lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies* are the major factors which have militated against the regional integration of the EAC; and the EU is upheld by the findings to be the best regional integration model EAC can learn from. Recommendations have been offered based on the researcher's analysis and observation of the findings of the study.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- (AMU) Arab Maghreb Union
- (AU) African Union
- (AGOA) African Growth and Opportunity Acts
- (ACPGS) African Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
- (AFTA) ASEAN Free Trade Area
- (APEC) Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
- (ASEAN) Association of South East Asian Nations
- (BBC) British Broadcasting Corporation
- (COMESA) Common Market for Eastern and Southern African
- (CU) Custom Union
- (CARICOM) Caribbean Community and Common Market
- (CAP) Common Agricultural Policy
- (CET) Common External Tariff
- (CoW) Coalition of the Willing
- (CM) Common Market
- (EFTA) European Free Trade Association
- (EUFTA) European Free Trade Agreements
- (ECJ) European Court of Justice
- (EACJ) East African Court of Justice
- (EMU) European Monetary Union
- (EMU) Economic and Monetary Union
- (ECOWAS) Economic Community of West African States
- (EEC) European Economic Community

(EU) European Union

(ECM) European Common Market

(ECOWAS) Economic Community for West and South African States

(EAC) East African Community

(EPA) Economic Partnership Agreements

(EEC) European Economic Community

(ECCAS) Economic Community of Central African States

(EEC) European Economic Community

(GDP) Gross Domestic Product

(GNI) Gross National Income

(GATS) General Agreement on Trade and Services

(GSTP) Global System of Trade among Developing Countries

(IGAD) Intergovernmental Authority on Development

(IR) International Relations

(IMF) International Monetary Fund

(INGOs) International Non Governmental Organizations

(MEPs) Members of the European Parliament

(MNCs) Multi National Cooperation

(MNCs) Multinational Corporations

(NAFTA) North America Free Trade Area

(NAFTA) North Atlantic Free Trade Area

(NGOs) Non Governmental Organizations

(OAU) Organization of African Unity

(PTA) Preferential Trade Agreements

(PF) Political Federation
(RECs) Regional Economic Communities
(RIs) Regional Integrations
(REC) Regional Economic Communities
(SAFTA) South Asia Free Trade Association
(SADC) South African Development Community
(TEU) Treaty on European Union
(TEU) Treaty of Maastricht on European Union
(USA) United States of America
(UK) United Kingdom
(UNECA) United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
(VAT) Value Added Tax
(WAEMU) West African Economic Monetary Union
(WAMZ) West African Monetary Zone
(WTO) World Trade Organization
(WB) World Bank

CHAPTER ONE:

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The term regional integration stems from two concepts: *Regionalism* and *integration*. Regionalism involves forming entities of countries with shared political, economic, social, cultural, and geographical demarcations, while integration generally is the process of combining two or more entities of countries so that they work together for political, cultural or economic interest¹. The different forms of regional integration are economic, social and political integration.

Regional integration is defined as the process by which more than two nation-states as political actors agree to co-operate and work closely together to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new center to achieve mutual political, economic and social interest.² Political integration is the process whereby political actors as states agree to work together in cooperation for political and economic benefit.³

Economic integration which is the center of analysis in this study is however the cooperation of states in reducing or eliminating protectionist economic market policies only among participating countries, thus the term *economic integration* refers to either regional or international economic

¹Soderbaum, F. (2004). Modes of Regional Governance in Africa: *Neo-liberalism, Sovereignty boosting and Shadow Networks*. P. 419

² Haas, E. (1971). The Study of Regional Integration: *Reflections on the Joy and Anguish of Pre-theorizing*. In Lindberg and Scheingold (eds.) *Regional Integration Theory and Research*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. p. 3

³ Haas, E. (1958). *The Uniting for Europe: Social and Economic Forces, 1950-1957*, Stanford University Press

integration.⁴ Economic integration therefore results in the uniting of two or more national economies in regional trading agreements. Regional economic integration is therefore defined as the process where different countries or states cooperate on economic basis and objective to reduce or do away with trade barriers.⁵

The ultimate goal of regional economic integration is to merge some or all aspects of the economies of the states concerned. This usually evolves from simple cooperation and coordination of mutually agreed aspects amongst a given number of countries to full integration or merger of the economies in question. Regional economic integration takes different four forms such as: free trade agreements, customs unions, common markets and single markets.⁶

The regional integration history is traced from the European Union dating back from 1951. The integration processes and stages which lead to the formation of the EU after decades were begun after World War II. The integration of EU was began by the creation of a common market in the key area of the coal, iron and steel industry which was eventually marked by the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1951. It later evolved in the creation of a common market within the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957 which eliminated the trade barriers between the states of then.

⁴ Carbaugh, R. (2004). *International Economics*, 9th edition. Australia. Thomson South-Western

⁵ Haas, E. (1968). *The uniting of Europe: 1950-1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

⁶ Aguello, R. (2000). *Economic Integration: An Overview of Basic Economic Theory and Other related issues*. Centro editorial Universidad del Rosario Bogota D.C.

Further steps lead to the creation of the European Union (TEU), which has progressively undertaken new tasks and covered additional issue areas.⁷

On the other hand, the birth of regional integrations in Africa dates back to the original idea to integrate countries and regions in the political movement of 1960s and within the spirit of Pan-Africanism. This led to the first establishment of the original African Continental Organization as the Organization of the African Union (OAU) through a treaty. The Treaty envisaged the establishment of African regional economic communities as regional integration institutions (RIIs) like EAC, COMES, ECOWAS etc. Regional Economic Communities (RECs), was eventually born out of the Abuja Treaty of the then Organization of African Unity (OAU) which was effected in 1994.

These institutions were: South African Development Community (SADC); Economic Community for West and South African States (ECOWAS); Common Market for Eastern and Southern African (COMESA); East African Community (EAC); Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU). African regional economic integrations has been suffering from poor performance and limited results which led to the launch of a brand new organization, the AU in the year 2002.

The objectives of the AU included among others, to accelerate the political and socio-economic integration of the continent; to promote and defend African common positions; and to achieve

⁷ EU Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union: Art. 3

peace and security in Africa.⁸ But surprisingly, Africa has not achieved much economically, socially and politically.

Against this background, this study focuses on a rigorous comparative study of the European Union (EU) and the East African Community (EAC) to establish how Europe succeeded in becoming a global economic integration model and on the other hand find out what Africa needs to learn EU to succeed in the process of regional economic integration. This means the study will evaluate the factors responsible for the resounding success of the European Union in its integration efforts to be a global model, and on the other hand to find out why its counterpart Africa has not achieved much.

The study will achieve this through a vigorous comparative analysis of the variables of success and challenges in the case of EU and EAC respectively since there is no doubt that the geographical, historical, economical, political, religion, and cultural contexts are sufficiently the elements to enhance the paths towards regional economic success.⁹

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

The problems of East African Community started with the first community which collapsed in 1970s. Cooperation of the EAC dates as far back in 19th Century, but collapsed in 1977 due to political, economic and ideological differences of the then states in cooperation. After much

⁸ Constitutive Act of the African Union 2000: Art.3

⁹ Richard, H. (1998).International Political Economy: London: Rutledge. p. 42.

bickering later, a Mediation Agreement was arrived at in 1984.¹⁰ It is vital to point out that this collapse of 1977 was attributed to wide range of political and economic ideological differences among the then three member states: Kenya; Uganda; and Tanzania (*in essence these differences upon a closer scrutiny were differences of a policy nature*).

The EAC was again revived in 2001¹¹ after a number of dialogue and negotiation efforts from as early as 1984 with the signing of the mediation Agreement on Division of Assets and Liabilities. Though EAC was reestablished later, the main problem of great concern even long after its revival is that it has not been able to realize the economic pillar of a region's economic growth and development.

To draw some lessons for Africa, this research study therefore focuses to explore the principal research problem of: How Europe with specific reference EU succeeded in regional economic integration and why Africa with specific reference to EAC has not achieved full regional economic integration as compared to its counterpart EU.

- I. Which factors contributed to the success of EU Economic integration?
- II. What factors militate against economic integration of the EAC?
- III. What are the key similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration?

¹⁰Korwa, G. and Mutahi, N. (1992). The Politics of Integration in East Africa Since Independence, in Walter O. Oyugi (ed.), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, Nairobi: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1992.

¹¹ Summit of the East African Community in Arusha 2001: Rules of Procedure for the Summit of Heads of State and Admission of other countries to the East African Community

1.3 Research Objectives

1.3.1 Main Objective

The main objective of this study is to comparatively analyze the East African Community and European Union economic integration as a success model to draw lessons for Africa.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- I. To determine factors that contributed to EU economic integration success model
- II. To investigate factors that militates against EAC economic integration
- III. To determine outstanding similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration

1.4 Justification

By analyzing the factors that impact on the regional integration of EU and EAC, the study hopes to contribute to the field of academic study of International Relations and especially the sub-field of Regional Integration. This study is significant as it intends to address the gap of research in analyzing the comparative relationship between the institutional framework of RIIs in Europe and Africa in particular case of EU and EAC since it is an area which has not been focused much by the past researchers of regional integrations.

It is hoped that the results from this research study on comparative analysis of the EU and the EAC economic integration models within the European and African contexts particularly in East Africa region, will provide a valuable contribution to the scarce body of a critical knowledge on the areas of factors that militate against fast economic integration of the EAC and on the other hand provide a resounding information on how the EU succeeded on becoming a global

economic model. Furthermore, the results of this survey based on a restricted sample of population will serve as lessons for the entire Africa on the approach the entire Continent and other African regional economic integration bloc projects through the AU should take to reach the level of European Economic Union Model.

Based on the finding factors that have contributed to success and challenges of these regional institutions, this study will contribute to the Policy realization of the achievements of economic integrations in African regional integration bloc of the EAC and thus enable the citizens of the East African Community to experience the full enjoyment and benefits of growth and development. The study also intend to contribute a body of policy revolution within the government sectors and intergovernmental integration regimes on how best RIIs can achieve the effective results of economic integration.

1.5 Literature Review

The literature review used a *systematic literature review* which is a thorough step by step method of thematic review of published information available under the objectives and questions of study. This method of literature review was chosen under this study because its approach answers well the focused questions in the study but also offers both explicit and rigorous criteria to identify and critically evaluate and synthesize all the literature on a particular topic.¹² This likewise also involves both identification and analysis of the past academic publications containing the information related to the research problem of this study and also some materials based on previous dissertations related to the research study.

¹² Parahoo, K. (2006). Research principles, process and issues. 2nd edn. Palgrave, Hounds mill

The literature review of this research study was around three key thematic areas in relation to the research objectives forming the core literature review: the identification of the factors that contributed to the EU integration success model; the investigation of the factors that militate against the economic integration of the EAC within Africa; and the examination of the similarities and differences in EU and EAC integration which specifically involved comparative analysis of the EU and EAC in terms of their conceptual models, rationale, institutional structures, and the major historical turning points of both cases of EU and EAC; and the theoretical understanding of the problem of the research.

There are clear factors that contributed to EU integration success model. Based on the EU goals, objectives at the time of formation, its institutional structure, and contextual history, this area actually identified the key driving engines as factors behind its economic integration achievements for Europe Continent. Further, it also looked at what did state members of the EU do better to make all these achievements which can also be considered to be a lesson to other regions like Africa for emulation.

This section also reviewed the theoretical explanation of the EU success model to help explain and justify the success of EU integration. Specifically, the factors which contributed to the success of the EU model range from political, economic to other social policy issues which are relevant in the promotion of regional economic integration.

Jean Monnet and *Robert Schuman* in their Analysis Paper Series regarding the EU process of integration, both concur that one of the factors that stand out from a comparison of the EU and

other regional integration systems in Africa, Asia and elsewhere is the cardinal importance of its political good will. They further justify that any regional integration organization needs the necessary political will to eliminate barriers to trade, to create common policies and to establish common institutions, and unlike Africa case which indicates failure in such aspects

The instant fast tracking and formation of the single common market (CM) within EU that enhanced fast free movement of goods and services (or without) would also later be seen as a key factor to abolish non-tariff barriers to trade.

Jeffrey, another Analyst author of the EU integration also confirms in the publication '*The European Community in the 1990s: Perspectives on Integration and Institutions*' that other key factors which accelerated the fast integration of the EU are: Economic Policy Convergence and Infrastructure Integration; and the promotion of Public Participation; and the EU Collective Identity.¹³ Economic policy convergence promoted the joint economic policy and the Union budget, which is always not an issue of conflict as compared to other integration region blocs within Africa which is not in the common spirit to harmonize economic policies of the region as required by the IMF to pave the way for creation of a single currency for the region.¹⁴

Other factors include the democratic practice of states forming the EU and the public citizen participation in the EU foreign policy process also comes out as key boosting engine for the EU.

James Caporaso argued that democratic practices within some collective institutions have

¹³ Jeffrey, A. (1990) "The European Community in the 1990s: Perspectives on Integration and Institutions

¹⁴ J, Monnet, and R, Schuman. (2005). Paper series Vol. 5 No. 37. Dec. 2005

strengthened the European identity of citizens greatly.¹⁵ Gray gives an analysis within the publication of *'Policy and Multilevel Governance in the European Community'*, that within the European Council, there are directly elected representatives, so it can be seen as the most democratic EU institution.

The European identity of EU citizens is also strengthened in their rights established by the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice which give right to participate both directly and indirectly in the EU affairs. This creates a sense of ownership and belonging to the people of EU as opposed to the African integration systems which offers little opportunity for its citizens to understand what entails regional integration and how this benefit the citizens of States.

On analysis of the factors that militate against the fast economic integration of the EAC as one of the regional integration groupings within the African Union spirit of wider continental integration. Here, the review focused on the underlying factors based on political, economic, globalization and Socio-structural underpinnings.

According to *Thomas Nzioki* in the report of fast tracking the East African Community integration, argues that the political problem of the East African Community started with the first EAC which collapse in the year 1977 and these political differences were actually based on the ideological differences which existed in the existing global power systems by then-these

¹⁵ Sbragia, M. (1992). Thinking About the European Future: The Uses of Comparison," in Alberta M. ed., *Euro-politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community*

ideological differences with no doubt, still linger in the minds of the current leaders of the EAC.¹⁶

Though it can be argued that the global economic scenario has completely changed of late and the entire region of the EAC is currently considered to be fully capitalist, the economic suspicion still exists among member states and this makes other countries within the region to profile others in a position of economic dominance whenever there is a common agenda being fronted by the Community to benefit the region. This always drug economic common agenda of integration behind

Sezibera while addressing one conference of the EAC on the issue of the latest political problems facing the regional integration of the Community, he decided to put it in organic way, and he notes that the biggest threat to the fast integration are non harmonized policies regarding land issues within the community states, political and social cultural stereotypes held among member states and the political suspicion of dominance by other aggressive states within the Community.¹⁷

The economic factors that militate against fast regional integration of the EAC range from lack of ratification of some of the protocols regarding the economic common market by the member states to poor regional infrastructure. *Stefan, R., and Moritz* states that significant obstacles still up to date remain in the operation of the EAC common market. While agreement was reached to

¹⁶ Thomas, N. (1977). Fast-tracking the East African Community Integration Report

¹⁷ Key Address of EAC Secretary General Dr. Sezibera: East African integration is challenged by the fears of peoples. In Tanzania two dominant fears are the worries about land-grabbing and Kenya's trade dominance

gradually remove non-tariff barriers and mechanisms are in place in each country to monitor implementation, actual progress has been limited.

Globalization which is defined as a system and a process by which the people and the institutions of the world comprising of the technological, socio-cultural and political forces are unified at some levels into a single society to work together, ¹⁸ also plays a very significant role in determining the integration process in any part of the world today including Africa.¹⁹

Globalization as a concept is currently slowly trying to do away with geographical and national boundaries, but ironically these are the confines within which the regional integration and individual nation states operate. The East African Community does not exist in isolation; it exists in the world of global competition and therefore it is also prone to the negative effects of globalization on regional integration as a project-so the question is whether people should concentrate on the larger globalization or confine themselves within the region blocs with restricted trade policies which globalization always puts irrelevant within the policies of the WTO.

In the conceptual models of regional integration, *Ernest Haas* opens the conceptual debate of the regional integration by first analyzing related root terminologies of *Regionalism* and *Integration*

¹⁸ Michael, D. (2003). *Globalization of the World Economy: Potential Benefits and Costs and a Net Assessment*. (Los Angeles: Milken Institute, University of California, 2003), p. 1.

¹⁹ Willem, H. (2001). *Globalization and development: European Bank for Reconstruction and development*. p. 10

which leads to the concepts of classified different forms of integration as: Political integration; Economic integration; and Social integration.²⁰

Since economic integration is the focus of this study, *Haas* eventually defines regional economic integration as a process whereby countries in a geographical region cooperate with one another to reduce or eliminate barriers to the international flow of products, people, or capital.²¹ As outlined by another recognized author *Van Langenhove*, he also outlines the conceptual models of regional integration as: Preferential Trade Area; Free Trade Area; Customs Union; Common Market; and eventually Economic and Monetary Union²²

Based on the general overview and the rationale for the establishment of the regional economic integration institutions both in Europe and Africa, the EU was basically established to promote peace, economic prosperity, and the well-being of its peoples based on the constitutive act of the EU Article 3. When it comes to specific case of the EAC, the rationale behind its establishment as set out in Article 5 of the Treaty for the establishment of the EAC, the rationale is to develop policies aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security and legal and judicial affairs for the mutual benefit.²³

²⁰Soderbaum, F. (2004). Modes of Regional Governance in Africa: *Neoliberalism, Sovereignty boosting and Shadow Networks*. P. 419

²¹ Haas, E. (1968). *The uniting of Europe: 1950-1957*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

²² Suranovic, M. (2005). *International Trade Theory and Policy*: Available at <http://internationalecon.com/Trade/Tch110/T110-2.php> (Accessed on 2nd June 2016). Pp. 1-3

²³ EAC Secretariat, (2002). *The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community*, Arusha: East African Community. Pp. 12-13

Another academic author *John* in the publication of *Understanding the European Union*, specifically outlines that some of the landmark and major historical turning points in the EU history of integration includes: the European Community formation in 1951; the formation of (ECSC) in 1956; the signing of the Treaty of Rome in 1957 by the six countries that had earlier formed the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC); the European Atomic Energy Community (EAEC) in 1958; Formation of the European Confederation of Trade Union in 1973; the Treaty of Maastricht on the European Union (TEU) in 1992; and last the introduction of Euro in 2002, making the EU a full-blown union with a single currency governing a market with the free movement of goods, services, people, and money.²⁴

On the other hand, the historical turning points of the EAC are actually summed up as gains and achievements already recorded since its formation without mentioning its challenges and problems derailing its fast integration. Though not yet outstanding in the scale of the EU milestones and challenges of the EAC also put aside, some of the outlined remarkable turning points within the stages of the economic integration within EAC as a number of steps already taken by member states regarding the integration process. These remarkable steps includes some of the already trade Customs Union and the Common Market protocols ratification by member states of the EAC, however, these will actually be analyzed exhaustively later in the following chapters .²⁵

²⁴John, M. (2008). *Understanding the European Union: A Concise Introduction*, 4th ed. (London: Palgrave Macmillan,).

²⁵ Kibua, N., & Tostensen, A. (2005). *Fast-tracking East African Integration: Assessing the Feasibility of a Political Federation by 2010*, Nairobi: Institute of Policy Analysis and Research (Mimeo). P. 2

1.5.1 Realist Theoretical Explanation of the EU and EAC Model Situations

1.5.2 Introduction of Realist Theory

‘Fundamentals and variables of the Theory are: State; Sovereignty; Interest; and Power;’

The *Realism* theory is defined as an approach to the study and practice of international politics which emphasizes the role of states as the central actors in the national and international politics and not individuals and hold the broad assumption that all nation states are motivated by power and national interests both at the national and international arena.²⁶ Some of the renowned and outstanding Proponents of the Realist Theory are: Thucydides; Machiavelli; Hobbes; Morgenthau; Schelling; and Kenneth Waltz. He believed that insecurity and the quest for power led to wars. The two main branches of realism are: classical realism and neo-realism.

Basic Assumptions of Classical Realism rests on the assumption of understanding human beings and their aspirations for power. This takes the first levels of theoretical analysis within the framework of *‘individual actor-as decision maker’*. On the other hand, *Neorealism* rests on the assumption that states behave in the framework of the international system in the same way as producers and consumers do in economic markets. The “organizing” principle in both cases according to Waltz is anarchy, and the players who are the states behave accordingly. First of all, they develop survival strategies arguments. Its key proponent is Kenneth Waltz. This takes the third and fifth levels of theoretical analysis within the framework of *‘state government and the global international system’*.²⁷

²⁶ Goodin, Robert E. (2010). The oxford handbook of international relations: Oxford university press

²⁷ Waltz, K. (1959). Man, the State and War, New York 1959.

Machiavelli emphasized the use of force to obtain desired goals in his work, he explained —power as the capacity to make someone do something he would not otherwise do, and advised that princes should endeavor to be feared rather than loved.²⁸ *Thomas Hobbes* also shared *Machiavelli*'s pessimistic thinking about human nature. In his work, he contended that in a system without a central overriding authority, sovereigns are in continual suspicion and sense of insecurity.²⁹ *Hans Morgenthau* summarized six principles of realism as follows:

That politics in general like any society is governed by objective laws that have their roots in human nature; *that* political realism finds its way through power; *that* interest defined by power is universally valid; *that* realism is aware of moral significance of political action; *that* realism refuses to identify moral aspirations of another particular nation; *that* the difference between realism and other schools of thought is real and profound.³⁰

Therefore, Political Realist describes how these principles affect and determine the behavior of states and their leaders?³¹ Kenneth Waltz, a leading neo-realist or structural realist placed emphasis on the structure of the system, which is characterized by anarchy (*the absence of an overriding authority*) and the distribution of power or capabilities among powers. While *Morgenthau* saw states as striving for power, Waltz laid importance on their need to search for security in the fear of the anarchic and unbalanced structure.³² Waltz's argument is that survival

²⁸ Nicolle, W., & Salmon, T. (1994). *Understanding the New European Community*: London: Harvester.

²⁹ Thomas, N. (2009). *Understanding Regional Governance in Asia*: In N. Thomas (Ed.), *Governance and Regionalism in Asia: Politics in Asia*. New York:

³⁰ Morgenthau, H. (2006). *Six Principles of Political Realism*: pp.58-62

³¹ Ibid

³² Williams, P. (2006). *Introduction to International Relations: Classic Readings and Contemporary Debates in International Relations*; Boston: Wadsworth. pp. 12-13

is the first goal that all nation states pursue, and therefore survival and maintaining one's own security and power are the most important interests.

Economic power is one of the most important powers within realist theory. To achieve the goals of survival and security in an environment where nation states take autonomous actions, nation states do not necessarily obey moral principles but the principle of pursuing the best outcomes.³³

The core idea of the realists is that international politics is about the interaction of self-interested nation states in an anarchic environment. The most important actors are the rational and unitary states. Their policies are outcomes of minimizing risk and maximizing benefits.³⁴ In classical realism, national interests are defined in terms of survival and any means that influence security.³⁵

Andrew Moravcsik an influential proponent of neorealist theory in his ideological leaning emphasizes the importance of the preferences and power of nation states, and combines liberal arguments. First, the formation of national preference is shaped by domestic pressures and interactions that are associated with economic interdependence. Second, the interstate negotiations are characterized by unequal relationship between nations. Nation states are unitary actors in this stage. Their power determines whose interest matter. Third, the delegated institutions reflect the preferences of national governments rather than the supranational organizations.³⁶

³³ Ibid

³⁴ Rosamond, B. (2000). *Theories of European Integration*: New York: St. Martin's Press. pp.131

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Cini, M. (2003). *European Union Politics*: Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 103-107

1.5.3 The Realist Explanation of the EU Success Model in Europe

The EU integration success model can be explained better by *Neorealist* position as advanced by one proponent *Moravcsik* since there is a clear indication that the EU success is basically based on the positive political behavior and efficiency of state members. This theory as had been analyzed in the immediate last topic above indicates that the most important points of reference which must be made when it comes to regional economic integration success are three.³⁷

The first reference concerns national preference formation which implies that the key ingredients in the integration process must focus that of economic interests and should be the most important. In the second reference, inter-state bargaining should seek to explain the efficiency and distributional outcomes of negotiations on asymmetrical interdependence which means the member states must work harder to influence outcomes in the integration process to make integration institutions have authority of growth and decision, in other words, concession means conceding some of their sovereignty to the integration institution. The third reference point is that of institutional choice which explores the reasons why states decide to create institutions to bargain on their behalf.

Neorealist theory explains the EU success and failures during the period of 1950s when the cooperation was still among six member states during the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) based on the Franco-German partnership. *According to realist*, the theory indicates that, the ECSC and the following European Economic Community (EEC) and European Atomic

³⁷ Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: *A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach*. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 473-523.

Energy Community (EURATOM) were established not because of the community spirit, but simply because the original six had common economic interests. In the postwar world, there was a common feeling of exhaustion of war, economic distress, and worries of the recovering Germany.

Therefore, it was the common concern of European state powers, especially the neighboring countries around France and Germany, to restrict the excessive development of German heavy industry. For the smaller countries, namely the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Belgium, integration was alternative for strengthening peace and contributing to their often-challenged national autonomy and economy.

As aforementioned, within the principle of supra-nationality of the ECSC, they could have an influence disproportionate to their sizes. Further, it would compensate for the disadvantages of their limited national markets.³⁸ As for Italy, its membership in the ECSC and then the European Community (EC) was seen as a stabilizing factor for its democracy with its characteristic governmental instability and the wide differences between its north and south.

In another understanding perspective in the case of EU, the scenario of success indicated that there was later a considerable payoff for political leaders so that they could deepen integration. For example, the EU members were willing to integrate to position themselves well in relation to economic and political power. This indicates that if the states that existed during the preliminary stages of the EU integration had full political power, then they could have not bothered to seek

³⁸ Bossaert, D. (2003). Flexible and Pragmatic Adaption: In Wessels, A., & Mittag, J. (Eds.), *The European Union and its Member States*. Manchester & New York: Manchester University Press.

deeper levels of integration as long as their economies were relatively prosperous.³⁹ But because of economic difficulties that existed after IIWW, it became a condition for these state members to integrate and this was destined to succeed.

1.5.4 The Realist Explanation of the EAC Model Situation in Africa

Realist theory best explains the problems derailing the integration of the EAC by first understanding how the theory explains the problem in a bigger scope beginning from the African level of analysis. The Realist school accepts the view of individuals (states) as self-interested and competitive actors but argues that there is also a willingness to cooperate across international boundaries on the basis of maximizing individual interests in the pursuit of prosperity and increased welfare, which means therefore that for the Realists, Regional Integration Institutions should not wield any power but just stay there to play the interests of member states while retaining and consolidating power status quo.

As applied in Africa integration problems, in the 1950s and 1960s when the cold war was at its peak, big global powers played an important role in determining what kind of integration African countries were to pursue. The influence of colonial countries was noticeable in the early *Pan-Africanist* developments. Britain and France imposed colonial experiments such as the Central African, French West African Federations and the old East African Protectorate. They did contribute to integration among their colonies to a certain degree, for example by imposing a common language for purposes of social advancement. All these were meant for these individual colonial states to benefit and retain powers in Africa even if they were already gone.

³⁹ Mattli, W. (2009). *The Politics of Global Regulation*: Princeton & Oxford; Princeton University Press. P.52

France and the UK maintained bilateral agreements with their former colonies. The scenario is a sure practical case in African Region Integration where EAC falls. The balance of regional powers is a gain seriously emphasized concern of nation states, although the primary objective of the founding fathers of Africa was to fully integrate the regions.

In general, national interests have greatly shaped the outcomes of African integration during the post-colonial era. The main interest why the OAU was established was to end colonialism and consolidate independence or majority rule. After 1963, 21 African states became independent or obtained majority rule. Sovereignty is an important concern of nation states. In the 1950s, African countries were divided into two competing groups debating whether African integration should be —ambitious or —moderate towards full integration since early nation states were not actually willing that after gaining independence and freedom, then the immediate project could be to loss their sovereignty in favour of region integration⁴⁰

At the creation of the OAU, the importance of sovereignty was especially highlighted. Historically, the preservation of sovereignty has been a persistent fragmenting factor. Especially when regional conflicts are reoccurring in Africa, non-interference has been a major principle in the AU and the RECs' decision making mechanism (*hence the priority to protect national sovereignty*). This always clashes with full integration which calls for member states to considerably cede some of their sovereign rights if full regional integration is to be achieved.

⁴⁰ Ajala, A. (1973). *Pan-Africanism: Evolution, Progress and Prospects*. London: Andre Deutsch. p. 23

The AU can intervene in the restoration of order only in grave circumstances that may include war crimes and unconstitutional changes of government. Nation states, rather than the AU, have always been the major actors that govern both domestic and international affairs. Put with clarity with regards to sovereignty, African states are not in any way prepared to cede portions of their sovereignty to any supra-institution to make decision on their behalf and this is a clear indication why regional integration in Africa has not just fully succeeded but has also remained just mere puppets for regional leaders to manipulate.⁴¹

African Regional integration frameworks justify the situation why regional economic integration in Africa still faces challenges from the state members. In relation to the underlying assumption of *Neorealism* is that states are dominant and key actors in IR. In relation to this, African states always want to show dominance and power when dealing with the various economic community blocs.

Within this context, an integrated African community may not seem feasible because individual states are more interested in relative gains from cooperation than absolute gains. This could be the reason why African regional economic integration projects are taking long to fully integrate since the individual member states are not willing to cede part of their sovereignty to be transferred to these community institutions but are ever merely embroiled in unhealthy competition for self interests and survival rather than coin a common interests within the community to be fully economically integrated.⁴²

⁴¹ Makinda, S. M., & Okumu, F. W. (2008). *The African Union: Challenges of Globalization, Security, and Governance*. London & New York: Taylor & Francis Group, Routledge. pp. 11-12

⁴² Waltz, K. (1954). *Man, the State and War: A Theoretical Analysis*. New York: Columbia University Press.

As can be applied in specific reference to the case of EAC, it can be upheld that the differences between the member states of the East African Community which are seen as the militating factors against the fast integration of the community as discussed in earlier chapter, are as a result of the individual state struggles for *national interests* and *Power* around issues of political, economic, and trade policy harmonization.

This was justified in a scenario when in 2013; the so-called “Coalition of the willing” comprising Kenya, Uganda and Rwanda were back again being accused of sidelining the two other East African Community member states namely Tanzania and Burundi in a meeting meant to strategically debate on the collective national economic, tourism, and trade interests of the three states without the participation of the other two disgruntled community members.

As a result of this meeting, the three countries within the same year started issuing a single tourist visa whereby Kenya would take 40 per cent of revenues, with Uganda and Rwanda splitting the rest between them. The scheme was aimed at making the three countries a single tourist destination.

This brought a problem of unity within the members of the EAC. Though things later seemed to have been sorted out in November, 2013 in the EAC Summit in Kampala when the five heads of state reaffirmed their commitment to work together, it still clearly indicated that the individual state economic interests was at play and was overriding the pursuit of any other collective achievements of the five member states forming the EAC.

The motive which pushed the three coalition countries to behave in such a manner to sideline the other two states was obvious because of the priority on the national state material interests and

power to prevail at the EAC Institution. It is not actually surprising that these factors are actually causing back and forth negotiations on the community common agenda towards developing the region on even the latest joint infrastructures development agreed upon earlier and other wider economically sensitive projects that can pull the region towards full integration.

Based on the *Moravcsik* concept of state interests within the international institutions they form, it can be eventually argued further with authority that the success of EAC economic integration will go as far as member states of the region want it to go and EAC institution can only succeed based on the deliberate will of member states to cede some political, economic, and sovereign powers to the integration community institution so that the institution can satisfy their individual state interests and become instrument for achieving member states' objectives.

In summary, the Realist theory indicates that the major actors in the international system are states. The basic assumption of the theory is that all nation states are motivated by power and national interests both at the national and international levels. It is nation states that form the intergovernmental institutions like EU and EAC and are the key decision makers and determines the growth of the integration institutions. From a realist explanation, the EU success is based on the ability of state members to see that their interests could be served well by the institution while on the other hand, it can be assumed that the factors against the fast integration of the community do exist as a result of the realities of individual *state* interests and power struggle

1.6 Research Hypotheses

This study postulates three assumptions as hypotheses to guide this study. These hypotheses are outline below:

- I. The EU integration model was caused by political good will and good economic policies of the member states that formed it
- II. The economic integration of the EAC is derailed by lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies of the member states forming it.
- III. The EU integration process offers the best model for EAC to emulate

1.7 Research Methodology

1.7.1 Research Design

The study applied mixed method research design which is an approach to inquiry that combined both qualitative and quantitative approaches and techniques. The qualitative technique allowed the collection and the management of the descriptive data. Through this method, qualitative elements that do not have standard measures such as attitudes and opinions were analyzed.

The quantitative technique however on the other hand was applied to allow the collection and the management of the numerical data which quantified the variations, predicts relationships, and describes characteristics. This research used a *Concurrent Mixed Method* as appropriate chosen *Research Strategy*. This strategy also allowed a comprehensive description and study of the cases and themes of analytical comparisons within the EU and the EAC as social institutions or units.

1.7.2 Data Collection Procedures

In data collection methodology and procedures, this study applied two sources of research data: primary data; and secondary data. The primary sources of data were obtained through this new study by sourcing new information from selected respondents for the study. Generally, the respondents were drawn from among the employed staffs of the strategic institutions like the

Government of Kenya, the EU, the EAC, and the other African regional integration organizations. The views were also drawn from other key external stakeholders like business community, civil society and the community demos on how they perceive the comparison performance of Europe and Africa integration process and what factors in their view derail the African integrations. The secondary sources of data on the other hand was obtained from previous studies on the same and related topics and other areas of publications, websites and other reports.

1.7.3 Research Data Collection Instruments

The data was collected using the questionnaires as the only appropriate tool in this nature of research in data collection. The questionnaires were mailed to the selected respondents wherever they were for the online response. The questionnaire tools consisted of a number of questions designed based on the principle of multiple choices and open ended to be sent to the respondents by mail, and the respondents were generally expected to respond to structured questions in a general form on their own.

The reason for choosing the questionnaire as the only instrument for data collection was to take care of the limitations of the researcher in terms of physical travel to the exact locations of the selected respondents and also to reach all the selected respondents efficiently. At the same time, it was economical since it was not possible to get resources to travel to Europe or visit all the respondents in all the physical locations to conduct close interview

1.7.4 Research Data Analysis Procedures

Data processing and analysis technically followed the process of editing, coding, classification and tabulations. There was the validation of the data processing through well designed procedures and

techniques. Most of the data analysis was qualitative which involved mainly descriptive and narrative. This specifically involved the computation of certain measures of indices along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups.

The research analyzed the majority views of respondents' regional economic integration and how they perceived the impacts. Other publications regarding the two integration processes of Europe and East Africa Community were also be generally reviewed to enable the research identify a wider picture about factors impacting on the success of regional economic integrations.

1.7.5 Sampling Techniques and Procedures

In the population sampling analysis of this research which is based on analyzing only two cases of Europe and African integration blocs, and given actually the generalization of the contextual elements of two continents each with specific cross-cutting common scenarios, the sampling population size was an optimum size (n) 50.

It meant that this study used a total sampled population of (50) in number as direct respondents to give information to accomplish this research objective with a sample technique as random. This optimum sample size was chosen to give confidence level of estimate and also to help economize the cost of this study. It also helped to fulfill the requirements of efficiency, representativeness, reliability and flexibility.

The population for this study was drawn from the staff members and leaders of the strategic institutions under study such as the EU and EAC. Populations from other institutions within the local Kenya government such as Ministry of foreign Affairs, local foreign missions and others were also targeted. Strategic leaders within the local and international MNCs, INGOs, and NGOs, law

societies, political opinion leaders and citizens were also sampled as critical respondents. Out of the 50 respondents targeted, 42 responded and this helped the research very much

1.7.6 Scope and Limitations

The study was only conducted in Kenya as the location of the researcher but targeted only two institutions: EU and the EAC. The researcher was alive to the limitations posed by this research such as limited resources and means of travels to visit physical locations of the institutions of study both in Europe and Africa regions to collect information or for direct experience but this had been effectively taken care of by the choice of the data information collection methodology which was only based on online questionnaires sent by mails to reach the selected respondents in wherever locations they were.

1.8 Chapters Outline

This research study project was organized into five major chapters including the already done chapter one here which outlines the roadmap and the foundation of this study.

Chapter Two: Factors the Contributed to the EU Success Model

Chapter two basically analyzed the factors which contributed to the EU success model. Factors that formed the focus of analysis here were: political; economical; and social cultural issues.

Chapter Three: Factors that Militate against the EAC Integration

Chapter three analyzed the factors that militate against the fast regional integration of the East African Community. This area focused analysis on the factors based on politics, economic, globalization and public participation in the integration process.

Chapter Four: Analysis of Similarities and Differences in EU and EAC Models

Chapter four actually opened the major literature review debate and analysis of this study. This area generally involved a thorough examination of the outstanding similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration based on the conceptual models of regional economic integration. It also highlighted both the rational and structures of the EU and the EAC in their various contexts and the historical major turning points as the past key milestones of the EU and EAC.

Chapter Five: Data Analysis, Findings, and Concluding Recommendations

This chapter dealt with data analysis and research findings then eventually gave the author of this research study an opportunity to contribute to the knowledge gap. It eventually gave conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the study. The conclusions and recommendations here acted as the learning lessons and what can be done with regard to other regional integration models like Africa and Asia for change and improvement.

CHAPTER TWO:

2.0 FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE EU SUCCESS MODEL

2.1 Introduction

EU is the most known regional integration globally. This review chapter, intends to answer the question: what factors contributed to these success of the EU economic integration? To answer this question, the review will identify factors that contributed to the EU integration success model through the identification of the key driving engines as factors behind its economic integration success within the Europe Continent and how actually it achieved this. In this context, the examination of the critical factors that accelerate the process of fast integration will draw specific reference in determining lessons that the EAC and the entire Africa can learn from. These factors will range from political, economic to other social policy issues which are relevant in the promotion of regional economic integration.

2.2 Political Will of the EU Members

One of the factors that stand out from a comparison of the EU and other regional integration systems in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere is the EU political good will. It is agreed that lack of political goodwill and poor political leadership cannot make regional integration thrive very fast. The leader or leaders must also be willing as well to share power with other partners for give and take in a development framework of integration like in the case of the EU.

One of the basic elements of political will in the case of the EU integration story is how the European member states actually agreed to cede some of their sovereign authorities to the

regional institutions within EU so that some of the most important economic aspects like trade and political aspects like immigration and labour movement could be handled by the supra-institution of the EU.

This scenario is an irony in the case of EAC which actually when analyzed well, it is concluded that member states still want to wield both political and economic power at the nation state levels. This leaves the EAC a structurally weaker institution which only handle very shallow and PR issues for the region but cannot wield power to freely make decision for the community without interference or favour of one or two state members within the region. This factor is said to be one of the pillars of the European fast economic integration.

In the EU's case, these frameworks were in other way achieved through an institutional structure heavily biased in favour of the smaller member states as unopposed to EAC where some economically powerful countries like Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda seem not to easily cede grounds to pull up other smaller countries like Rwanda and Burundi. In EU, there must also be agreement on shared aims among the partners involved. The sequencing of integration is also important among the partners on the shared degree of ambition, the size and diversity, and convergence.⁴³

⁴³ Laursen, F. (2003). Comparing Regional Integration Schemes: *International Regimes or Would-be Politics?* in *Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series, Vol.3, No.8*, Available at: <http://miami.edu/eucenter> (Accessed on May 2016).

2.3 Fast Implementation of the CU and CM Agreements

The EU formed its Customs Union (CU) in the year 1968. After EU custom union formation, the members of the community did not take long to unselectively sign and ratify the protocols within it. The EU model has really been one of a successful customs union with the initial formation of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) that was a successful but which has of now become smaller and smaller.

The next step that the EU undertook was the formation of the single Common Market (CM) where goods/services/capital/people are free to move and trade leading to an economic union with (or without) a common currency first. The CM was already one of the objectives of the Treaty of Rome signed by member states in 1958. These two important steps are recorded in the European integration history as the two major factors and milestones which facilitated the fast economic integration of Europe to form a single trading currency-Euro.

This scenario factor regarding the important role the two stages: CU; and CM, plays in the market integration when compared to the regional integration bloc projects within the African region, where it is evident that most of the integration models are still currently stuck in the stages of the CU and the CM despite taking more than twenty years of existence, and EAC is not spared in this case. Analytically, economic integration involves the merger of the smaller economies to one to become stronger enough to bargain for trade and development as a bloc.

In the specific case of the EAC, most of the CM protocols signed years back have not actually been ratified by member countries simply because of disagreements on how to share the joint

revenues generated by the community. But the worst case in the EAC is the economic suspicion held by some members against other members within the region which make this elusive economic integration a mere PR exercises if not a reality.

2.4. Economic Policy Convergence and Infrastructure Integration

Another vital element that promoted the fast EU economic integration is the agreement on convergence of both economic and infrastructure policies of the relevant common institutions of member states within the EU region. These merged policies singled out include such policies touching on: fiscal; monetary; labour; immigration; rail; air; roads; communication; agriculture and economic trade policies. The member states also gave the political will to create such policy institutions and invest powers with them.

The achievement of an economic union is also based on the joint economic policy and the Union budget, which is always not a common source of friction in the EU as compared to other integration region blocs like the EAC which is not in the common spirit to harmonize economic policies of the region as required by the IMF to pave the way for creation of a single currency for the region. Within the EU, there are also serious plans of allocation – trade, competition, industry, redistribution and common agricultural policy.

There is also a clear regional development policy; and questions of stabilization of the monetary policy. A key element of stabilization is the need to ensure coherence between the removal of trade barriers and the exchange rate regime, monetary and fiscal policies and capital movements. Coherence is maintained in EU through different monetary and exchange rate mechanisms. In

the case of the EU the budget is roughly Euros 100 billion which is just over one percent of EU GDP. Most of the budget is spent on redistribution common agricultural policy and regional trade policy.

The limit on how much can be taken from national treasuries to run the EU is set by the member states themselves.⁴⁴ This case is different in the aspect of the EAC that depends on the state member contributions direct from individual state coffers and not any money generated from the joint economic trade. In even worse scenario, EAC is still struggling on how to harmonize policies on the modalities of sharing even small common revenues generated from the tourist visas visiting different countries within the region at the same time.

As compared to EAC region, the EU region had long ago advanced its regional infrastructure as basic priority towards boosting its economic integration which actually freely connects the entire Europe through the development of the rails, roads, common air aviation policies and strong regional communication networks and this has actually played a key role in both trade and movements of people. Within the EAC case, the current joint infrastructure projects are constantly hitting deadlocks where different member countries are always pulling back and forth based on political disagreements, non harmonized deals and botched trade negotiations always hampered by suspicion of member states of the community.

⁴⁴European Union, (2008). The EU Budget: Available at: http://www.aueb.gr/statistical-institut/europeancitien/budget_en.pdg (Accessed on 10 July 2016).

2.5 Public Participation and the EU Collective Identity

The EU is the only regional integration with a collective identity that is functional despite its versed national dynamisms. The EU citizen members have one passport to travel around, one work permit and almost a unified culture of life. The European identity requires not only some initial common affinity and a strong feeling of common identity reflected in the EU membership, but also the increasing interdependence evident in the completion of the single market and the European Monetary Union (EMU) along with numerous other policies, which can strengthen the connections of both countries and peoples. In *John McCormick's* definition, it means not only a geographical, but also an economic and political region with a large measure of political, economic and social cohesion.⁴⁵

The policies linking peoples together not only include those related to economic transactions, but also those intended to democratize the EU institutions and policies. *James Caporaso* argued that democratic practices within some collective institutions have strengthened the European identity of citizens greatly.⁴⁶ Within the European Council, there are directly elected representatives, so it can be seen as the most democratic EU institution. These entire scenarios entail what the European call the public citizen participation in the EU foreign policy which is missing in almost all the African regional integration blocs.

⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Sbragia, M. (1992). Thinking About the European Future: The Uses of Comparison," in Alberta M. ed., *Euro-politics: Institutions and Policymaking in the 'New' European Community*

The identity of EU citizens within Europe is also strengthened in their rights established by the jurisprudence of the European Court of Justice.⁴⁷ The democratic practices within the EU are distinctive since other regional communities do not have the equivalent institutions and policies. The sense of identity may also derive from common national interests, which, in the case of Europe, is reflected in the postwar era and in the Cold War. —Sixty years ago, a common European identity was the stuff of dreams. Twenty years ago, a united Europe was thought to be dependent on the cold war struggle.⁴⁸

In the contrary, in the case of the EAC, there is a completely missing sense of the collective EAC region identity that creates the common spirit of belonging and togetherness but member states still strongly get embroiled in their different distinct ethnic cultures which are very difficult to harmonize at the EAC level. The process under which the EAC integrates other member states like the South Sudan which already lately applied for the admission is even clouded with a lot of regional political dynamics based on the individual state interests in the region.

There is also a non existence of foreign policy within the EAC which actually deals with the citizen engagements and participation of the member states for the public to know what is going on within the EAC, or the agenda being driven by the institution. Likewise, the member states do not actually articulate and promote well the citizen engagements in the foreign policy processes which should focus on building citizen awareness regarding the benefits of the region integration. In the contrary, these are the areas where the EU has scored most to achieve its economic agenda for the European region.

⁴⁷ Gary, M. (1993). Policy and Multilevel Governance in the European Community

⁴⁸ Ibid

2.6 Chapter Summary

The review under this section has established that the Regional integration of the EU did not happen out of miracle but success was based on clear factors such as: political will and coherence of the individual state members of the EU; fast implementation of the CU and the CM agreements; flexibility in accepting regional economic and other social policy convergence; advanced regional infrastructure; and collective citizen public participation and awareness in the integration process.

State members of the EU had shown the good political will to give the institutions of the EU full political mandate to carry out the integration development matters without any further external political interference. The institutions of the EU therefore were in a position to make up political decisions very fast on behalf of the EU members. Another positive political element within the EU is that members also agreed to easily cede some of their political powers and sovereignty and delegated it the institutions of the EU which then became powerful enough to make decision very fast

Another element in the case of Europe is the quick implementation of the EU customs unions and the common market agreements. Fast ratification of these agreements by the EU members eradicated the trade barriers within a very short time and this element really expedited the process of regional economic integration.

Economic policy convergence and the integrated regional infrastructure projects also played a key role in economic integration. Surprisingly' the EU is the only regional integration institution

in the world with the most elaborate foreign policy which outlines clearly the public participation rights in the integration process; it also empowers the EU public citizens to participate directly in the integration process by allowing citizens to directly elect their representatives for the EU parliamentary institution within the EU.

CHAPTER THREE:

3.0 FACTORS THAT MILITATE AGAINST INTEGRATION OF EAC

3.1 Introduction

The challenges of East African Community dragging behind regional integration started with the first community which collapsed in 1970s. Formal East African co-operation dates as far back as the end of the 19th Century. It is vital to point out that this collapse of 1977 was attributed to wide range of political and economic ideological differences among the then three member states: Kenya; Uganda; and Tanzania.⁴⁹The EAC was again revived in 2001 after a number of dialogue and negotiation efforts from as early as 1984 with the signing of the mediation Agreement on Division of Assets and Liabilities. Article 14 of this agreement committed to explore and identify further areas for future cooperation.

The EAC was therefore re-established with the main purpose being: *“To strengthen Regional Cooperation, infrastructure and development via full political, economic and cultural integration of the member states.”*⁵⁰Despite this effort, the main problem of great concern even long after revival of EAC is that, EAC has not been able to realize the economic its economic dream. It has been caught up in the political pillar of suspicion and this has always presented numerous problems particularly where there is lack of political will. Trade integration has been a central objective of the EAC since its establishment.

⁴⁹ Korwa, G., and Mutahi, N. (1992). The Politics of Integration in East Africa Since Independence, in Walter O. Oyugi (ed.), *Politics and Administration in East Africa*, Nairobi: Konrad Adenauer Foundation, 1992

⁵⁰ The amended Treaty of the East African Community. P. 3

In a bid to realize this however, greater political will to abide by the regional integration objectives has been lacking.

When the collapse of the old community and when the current new integration little achievements are put aside, this chapter will specifically investigate and find out factors responsible for slow economic integration of the EAC as one of the regional integration groupings within the African Union spirit of integration. This chapter will establish why African despite several efforts has never achieved full economic integration compared to its counterpart Europe using the case of the EAC. The analysis will determine some of the current and historical factors as impediments against the fast economic integration of the EAC by focusing on the underlying factors based on economic, political and geo-political factors, globalization and other socio-structural underpinnings.

3.2 Economic Factors

The basic objective of all the African regional integration is to merge economies for the expansion of the development. Nevertheless, the challenges of the African integration are just compounded in its regional ambitious integration grouping projects which are suppose to fulfill the various stages of economic integration, but when judged against their respective objectives, the consensus seems to be that none of the regional integrations groupings in Africa have to date successfully fulfilled the requirements of a functional common market.

For the EAC specific case, its inauguration in the year 2000/2001 as an intergovernmental organization brought the subject of regional integration in East Africa Community back again in the lime-light. But actually in order to achieve the objectives of EAC, the treaty establishing

EAC provides phases of economic integration as: *Custom Union, Common Market and Monetary Union, and eventually, Political Union*. However, for success, integration thus requires strong commitment in implementing these agreed arrangements, fair mechanisms to arbitrate economic disputes and equitable distribution of the gains and costs of integration. This also requires a harmonization of economic policies and political good will of the state member leaders to pave ways for merger, hence convergence for creating and sustaining regional frameworks.

While this new inauguration was correctly deemed a commendable move by the EAC state members that showed the dexterity of the East African political leadership, the incident simultaneously invoked the pertinent question: why did the first EAC that was established in 1967 collapse in 1977? And, are the conditions really changed currently so much such that it can be said to be in the full track of achieving its ultimate goal which is full economic integration.

One of the reasons for the collapse of the previous Organization in 1977 was the perception of disproportionate sharing of economic benefits accruing from regional markets and lack of a formula for dealing with the problem. The customs union was established in 2005, followed by a common market in 2010, internal tariffs on goods from other EAC countries have been eliminated over a five-year period.⁵¹ A common external tariff (CET) was established for imports from third countries. The new tariff structure lowered the maximum tariff rate in each EAC country. EAC member also agreed to eliminate restrictions gradually on trade in services, the

⁵¹ Stefan, R., and Moritz, B. (2011). *The East African Community: regional integration between aspiration and reality*. KAS, International Reports. 2011. p. 121.

free movement of workers, and the right of establishment. In practice, however, significant obstacles still up to date remain in the operation of the EAC common market.

The other economic aspect is the community financing budget which is largely financed by other bodies with special interests. The community budget contributed by the state members does not actually get remitted fully in time but late and partially. Lack of connected infrastructure for goods and people of the EAC to move freely is still a challenge which actually hampers economic growth and serves as an economic challenge.

The other pertinent issue even more complex for the EAC economic integration touches on the global policy areas dynamics of *Equity in Trade Macroeconomic Convergence* and Monetary Coordination which requires the EAC to prepare how to harmonize its regional fiscal and monetary policy within the requirement of the IMF and WB economic policy for the region to move to EAC Economic Union with a single currency. Other further issues borders on the free movement of Goods and Labour within the International Labour Policy and the WTO which is still not fully harmonized within the trade protocols of the Community.

3.3 Regional Politics and Geo-Political Factors

Even though the objectives of the current and vibrant EAC go further to entail developing policies and programs which are aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among partner states in political, economic, social cultural fields, research and technology, defense, security, legal and judicial affairs, for the mutual benefit, it still suffices to argue that the community aims

at basically increasing the social welfare of East African citizens through regional economic integration as opposed to giving attention to the other part of political underpinning issues.

According to *Nzioki Thomas*, in the report of fast-tracking East African integration, he notes that the *political problems of the East African Community which always derail its progress in full economic integration started with the first community which collapsed in 1977.*⁵² He further notes that, the Philip Commission that set the stage for the formation of the EAC in 1967 was cognizant of the equity issues which could be solved better by a political means, however, the three partner states appeared to part political ideological ways in the late 1960s which still lingers not just in the minds of the leaders alone but even cross cut among the citizen members of the all three major partners: Kenya; Uganda; and Tanzania.⁵³

These old political ideological diversities are deep in the mind of the political leaders of the current community states. Just recently, the emergence of the 2013 Coalition of the Willing (CoW) block comprising Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda against Tanzania and Burundi based on disputable steps and procedures of protocols implementations injected a fresh and additional controversy to the on-going region's integration effort. The bold steps to initiate common infrastructure projects among Kenya, Rwanda, and Uganda under the guise of fast-tracking integration by the presidents of Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda against the will of Tanzania and Burundi have demonstrated open political problem of managing interests of all the community members.

⁵² Thomas, N. (1977). Fast-tracking the East African Community Integration Report

⁵³ Ibid

In this dramatic scenario, a move to exclude Tanzania and Burundi has brought the three members: Kenya; Uganda; and Rwanda more tied together.⁵⁴ However, excluding Tanzania in this process, or a lukewarm involvement of Tanzania in the general fast tracked processes, a country which is considered the first political democracy in the community and the second largest economy in the region, can be witnessed as a bigger threat to the integration and can easily dilute all steps already achieved towards full integration.

Political union either, remains a long way off and for the individuals and corporate in the region, the process may seem sluggish because of political suspicion and social distrust between the major partners Tanzania and Burundi. The proposed monetary union will be even far and a more complex matter with economic policy harmonization and conditions waiting ahead to be just harmonized by the political leadership of the member states.

Geopolitically, there were prospects of the EAC forming into a political federation which was predicted to be in effect in 2013 and yet it is far from reaching there, but if successful, this might be a key role where the EAC would play in leading the pack of other African countries. There is concern over the likely reaction of the rest of the world to a Federation of East Africa, which is the ultimate aim of the EAC. Political reality predicts that any attempt to make the EAC become a federation with one economic GDP, one military, and a bigger population is a regional threat to other polar power forces that other already existing powers will never allow to happen

⁵⁴ Citizen Media Reports: 3 member states continue to go it alone despite earlier commitment by regional leaders. The so-called “Coalition of the willing” comprising Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda

3.4 Globalization Trend Factors

Globalization is defined as a system and a process by which the people and the institutions of the world comprising of the technological, socio-cultural and political forces are unified at some levels into a single society to work together.⁵⁵

The phenomenon is driven, first, by technological advances reducing the cost of transportation, mobility and communication, and second, by deliberate political decisions to reduce or even to eliminate man-made barriers to international mobility.⁵⁶ Globalization as a concept is currently driving the steady decline in importance of national and regional boundaries and geographical distance as constraints on mobility, but ironically these are the confines within which the regional integration and individual nation states operate.

However, the concept of globalization is seen in various frameworks which seem to have a direct impact on the regional integration systems all over the world. The East African Community does not exist in isolation; it exists in the world of global competition and therefore it is also prone to the negative effects of globalization on regional integration as a project. With respect to challenges posed by the globalization trends to regional integration institutions, this area is going to analyze these challenges using the conceptual frameworks of globalization as analyzed by *Ault Schulte* in his work on globalization trends:⁵⁷

According to *Schulte*, globalization affects regional integration in four frameworks.

⁵⁵ Michael, D. (2003). *Globalization of the World Economy: Potential Benefits and Costs and a Net Assessment*. (Los Angeles: Milken Institute, University of California, 2003), p. 1.

⁵⁶ Willem, H. (2001). *Globalization and development: European Bank for Reconstruction and development*. p. 10

⁵⁷ Schulte, A. (2000). *Globalization trends: P.40*

The globalization as an internationalization describing cross border relations between countries that singles out the interdependence and the international exchange growth,⁵⁸ this framework means that the exchange of both goods and services should be subjected to international liberalization which allows free movement of goods, services and people like the case of the current European Union (EU).

This actually pose a challenges to regional integration institutions in Africa which are still struggling with the ratification of protocols of the Custom Union and the common markets which actually opens the gates for free movement of goods, services and labour. Because this aspect means that the entire world is moving very fast more that the regional integration institutions in Africa, the dilemma here is whether the EAC member states should concentrate on dealing with confined protocols of the EAC or concentrate on the global trade liberalization within the WTO.

Globalization as liberalization in the framework of being a worldwide process of spreading various objects and experiences to people at all corners of the earth involving telecommunications, cross-border transport using rails and air, international media connections,⁵⁹ this framework means that globalization and liberalization of trade can only thrive where there are drivers such like cross border telecommunication, inter-transport system involving roads, rail and air which connects different boundaries and the international media connections like it happens with CNN, BBC, CCTV and ALGAZERA.

⁵⁸ Ibid. p. 50

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 60

This liberalization destroys the boundaries and makes people from all over the world to walk freely and exchange knowledge experiences through the governed framework of the WTO-GATS (General Agreement on Trade and Service). The question is whether regional integration frameworks should ratify protocols within the GATS for global trade liberalization or concentrate on the regional bloc protocols; this diversifies attention of the state members of the regional integration blocs like the EAC.

Globalization as a westernization or modernization where it is understood as a dynamics of capitalism, industrialization, rationalism and bureaucratic are spread world over⁶⁰ this aspect means that globalization concept can be borrowed by the developing countries in Africa to drive the spirit of integration within the globalization trend but unfortunately most of the developing countries which are mostly within Africa view aspects within globalization trend as a colonial movement which is meant to grab the scarce opportunities meant for the African development.

Globalization as a spread of *supraterritoriality* which entails reconfiguration of geography so that social space is no longer wholly mapped as territorial places, distances and territorial borders⁶¹this means that globalization always contradicts the systems within which regional integration operates. Regional integration institutions only accommodate few states which are only confined within certain geographical regions with specific rules of origin for members. This means that other people from other areas of regions cannot trade or move within certain blocs to do trade, exchange service or seek jobs. This aspect reduces the spirit within which regional

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 70

⁶¹ Ibid. p. 80

integration needs to move since it is becoming irrelevant within the globalization framework day by day.

Specifically in the EAC, the discrepancies in the size and interests of East African states, as well as their varying development level skills, the motivation to fully support integration of some states, constantly creates the dilemma of the EAC states on whether to concentrate more on domestic issues or rather those of the regional body.

3.5 Minimal Public Participation in the EAC Integration Process

Though participation by citizens is at the core of the new East African Community and is always being addressed in several debates, it just involves amorphous strategies by inviting small individual traders and opinion leaders outside the state sectors to attend conferences organized by the EAC secretariat, even though the treaty advocates the need for people-driven and people-centered development.

This is a critical lapse in the EAC foreign policy on how to address the issue of the public engagement in the process of regional integration. The EU community has really succeeded in this area by actually coming up with the foreign policy guidelines which outline mechanisms on how the citizens of the EU must be engaged in the process through direct or indirect decision making in the EU issues

3.6 Socio-Structural Factors

Other politically socio-structural underpinnings are also a contributing factor to a slow pace of regional integration specifically within the EAC. The underlying social structural issues include a combination of crosscutting social factors which are not clearly addressed well at the policy

level within the community but always play a greater role and space in undermining the progress of the community integration of the people. These issues are: social stereotype; integrity; land policy issues; corruption; fear and mistrust among citizens and leaders.

According To the EAC Secretary General Dr. Sezibera while addressing one conference of the EAC on the issue of stereotypes:

“Perceptions take on a reality of their own, on the basis of which people continue to think and act. To the extent that the perceptions are unfounded they need to be dispelled through new experiences. To a much lesser extent the previous ideological differences between ‘socialist’ Tanzania and Uganda and ‘capitalist’ Kenya also remain a reality. At the same time, the ‘statist’ mode of thinking is still pervasive in much of the civil service of the partner countries, particularly in those of Tanzania and Uganda, but also in Kenya’s to some degree. There is reason to believe, however, that with the newfound common platform in a liberal conception of the state and a market-driven economy, it is good to accept that the old mindset is not easily bound to wane and eventually disappear, and it would also be a mistake, however, to presume that bygones are bygones.”⁶²

3.7 Chapter Summary

The review of the literature under this section has established that what derails the economic integration of the EAC can summarily be classified into major strands such as: economical; political; globalization trends; and other social structural issues. One of the economic challenges is actually anchored on the trade aspects where the experience indicates that there has been a

⁶² Key Address of EAC Secretary General Dr. Sezibera. EAC secretariate

slow speed in harmonizing the interstate trade barriers for the free movements of the factors of economic production within the community.

These economic issues include alleged cited unfair mechanisms to arbitrated economic disputes and this always draw suspicion among members. Another economic angle posing a challenge to the Community is the funding budget which is limited but also not gets remitted within the time by the state members. Some of the political problems derailing the speed of the EAC integration is majorly around the old ideological differences which still linger in the psychology of the latest community leaders and the respective civil servants. In terms of globalization, the dilemma is whether the region or individual member states should pursue the bigger dream of globalization or global liberalization or remain to confine themselves to a region in the name of integration with confined trade agreements.

The review also establishes lack of participation of the citizens in the community integration process and other social structural issues not actually clearly addressed by any policy within the Institutions of the EAC as another factor for slow integration. Lack of citizen participation lowers the awareness among the public but awareness can really play a significant role in the public acceptance of the entire process. Socio-structural issues like stereotypes and cultural dynamics not addressed by the Community also still contribute great to slow social interaction, free movements and communication of people across cultures, and these are key elements which can accelerate the social integration as also another major component of the bugger integration project

CHAPTER FOUR:

4.0 ANALYSIS OF SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN EU AND EAC MODELS

4.1 Introduction

This section of review will elaborately deal with the analysis and understanding of the general similarities and variances of the two institutions: the EU; and EAC as the unit cases of analysis. This chapter therefore will comparatively analyze the EU and EAC to establish similarities and differences in terms of the general conceptual models of economic integration, the rationale for their respective establishments, the respective institutional structures, and the history of both cases. The main aim of this chapter is to establish how the institutional structure and model of the two institutions respectively contribute to their success of failure.

Generally, the mainstream concepts of regional integration will actually bring out the economic integration models which exist but also go further to reflect perspectives that determine why states participate in regional integration. The institutional structure will outline how the two institutions are administratively built and organized in terms of operational political organogram, while the historical analysis will reveal the landmark turning points within the process of integration of the two cases.

4.2 Conceptual Models of Regional Economic Integration

Regional economic integration stems from two terminologies: regionalism and integration. Though the definition of two terminologies differs as had been described in the previous chapters, what appears to be a general common agreement among integration scholars is the fact

that there is a merger of separate institutions and communities usually within a specific geographical region. It is at this point that *integration* and *regionalism* meet. For the purpose of this study, regional integration as had been defined before is the coming together of two or more states to economically or politically work together on agreed conditions for mutual benefit.⁶³ Basically, there are several forms of regional integration and these include Political, economic and social integration as had been elaborately dealt with in the introductory chapter of this study.

The conceptual and theoretical aspect of economic integration puts emphasis on trade among member countries and the widening of markets through integration. As stated earlier in the previous sections under this study, economic integration represents a set of concepts and trade theories explaining integration among countries based purely on economic grounds.⁶⁴ Economic integration is recognized as a process and a state of affairs and defined it as measures designed to eliminate discrimination among economic units that belong to different countries.

This definition takes cognizance of the fact that the process could be gradual and continuous. *Suranovic* describes the current outstanding models of economic integration based on the following cooperation arrangements which starts from the simple arrangements of a Free Trade Area (FTA), Customs Union (CU), a Common Market (CM), an Economic Union (EU), and/or ultimately a Political Federation.⁶⁵ Generally speaking, the various economic concept models explaining economic integration are preferential trade areas (PTA), free trade areas (FTA),

⁶³ Ibid

⁶⁴ Balassa, B. (1987). Economic Integration: Entry in *The New Palgrave; A Dictionary of Economics*, New York: Stockton Press, pp. 43-47.

⁶⁵ Suranovic, M. (2005). *International Trade Theory and Policy*: Available at <http://internationalecon.com/Trade/Tch110/T110-2.php> (Accessed on 2nd June 2016). Pp. 1-3

Customs unions (CU), common markets (CM), monetary unions (MU), and economic unions (EU).⁶⁶

Preferential Trade Area (PTA): This is a trade area involving preferential access or reducing tariffs to imported goods by member countries in that cooperation; *Free Trade Area (FTA)*: This involves trade between member countries who have agreed to eliminate tariffs on goods produced by members but still apply to independent trade policies on goods produced outside members of the bloc; *Customs Union (CU)*: This is a trade which applies common tariffs to non members, meaning setting up common trade policies for external trade, there is a uniform rate of charging tariffs; *Common Market (CM)*: this is where there is a free movement of goods and labour through a common policy of the members in addition to custom union policy framework ; *Economic and Monetary Union (EMU)*: This entails all the characteristics of common market, custom union and one unitary currency of operation; *Political Federation (PF)*: this may involve a combination of all the above five levels.⁶⁷

4.3 The Rationale for the Establishments of EU and EAC

Apart from other subsidiary principles and aims of the EU, the basic aim of the organization based on economic aspiration and specifically according to Article 3 of the constitutive act is to promote peace, and economic prosperity and its values and the well-being of its peoples.⁶⁸ The EU provides for its people a free area for free movements, peace, security and asylum if

⁶⁶ Hansen, D., and Nielsen, J. (1997). *An Economic Analysis of the EU*. 2nd ed. London: The McGraw-Hill Companies.

⁶⁷ Ibid

⁶⁸ The European Union Constitutive Acts. Article 3

necessary for its citizens. It also provides an ample environment for its people to competitively acquire employment, social security and protection.

In the case of Africa, the main rationale behind the creation of the EAC is to establish and expand the economic and political cooperation among the member states on specific aspects of economic trade, social, cultural, health, and education, and technology areas. Economically just like any other regional blocs, the EAC seek to benefit from economies of scale, trade creation, product differentiation and efficiency gains through regional trade policies created within the community bloc.

4.4 The EU and EAC Institutional Structures

4.4.1 The EU Institutional Structure

The EU has got multi institutions governing its operations. These institutions do not actually directly represent the government members of the EU but actually operate within the dual supranational and intergovernmental structure. Based on the institutional provision, structures of the EU are:

The European Council: this is composed of the leaders as presidents of the member states plus the president of the European Commission, and this body forms the EU summit;

The European commission: this is the EU executive body, and it is the organ entitled with the management of the EU decisions and common policies. It is composed of 28 members as commissioners, one from each member country;

The council of the European Union: this is also called the council of ministers which is composed of 28 members and bears the responsibility of enacting the legislation. It is comprised of different members from all the member countries;

The European Parliament: it is composed of 751 members directly elected by the European Union member state citizens for five year term and bears the responsibility of representing the citizens and the members of the EU;

Other bodies like the European Court of Justice play the significant role of interpreting the laws for the Union and also have a binding decisions and rulings on members.

4.4.2 The EAC Institutional Structure

There are seven main organs through which the EAC works;

The summit of heads of states: it is composed of the presidents of the member states with the authority to make final decisions on the direction the community needs to take in terms of economic developments and political cooperation;

The council of ministers: it composes of the various ministers of member state governments in charge of the EAC affairs in their respective governments. Its major responsibility is policy direction but also keeps constant review and monitoring of the EAC programs;

The coordination committee: it is composed of the permanent secretaries in various member governments' ministries responsible for the affairs of the EAC. The responsibility of the body is to prepare reports, submit and give recommendations on the implementation of the treaty;

The Sectoral committees: it is composed of senior officials established by the council ministers with the major responsibility of preparing comprehensive implementation programs;

The East Africa Legislative Assembly: it is the legislative arm of the EAC; it debates and approves the community budget;

The Secretariat: this is the administrative organ of the EAC. It is the one responsible for managing the everyday affairs of the EAC but has no powers to decide the direction on which the EAC need to go; this power is reserved for presidents;

The East African Court of Justice: this is the court of the EAC which has the responsibility of interpreting the laws, the treaties and hers the disputes among the party states members.

4.5 A Comparative Analysis and Presentation of the Findings

This section provides data analysis and research findings then eventually give the researcher of this study an opportunity to contribute to the knowledge gap. Most of the data analysis here has been majorly qualitative which involves mainly descriptive and narrative. It eventually gives conclusions and recommendations based on the findings of the study. The conclusions here will act as the learning lessons for other regional integration models in Africa. Recommendations will be based on what Africa should focus on to ensure that regional economic integration in the region is successful.

This research study has focuses to explore the principal research problem of: How Europe with specific reference to EU succeeded in regional economic integration and why Africa with specific reference to EAC has not achieved full regional economic integration as compared to its counterpart EU. The study has been guided by three hypothesized assumptions that:

- i. The EU integration process offers the best model for EAC to emulate
- ii. The EU integration model was caused by political good will and good economic policies of the member states that formed it

- iii. The economic integration of the EAC is derailed by lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies of the member states forming it.

Some of the specific questions which form the major themes that this study explored to seek answer to are: (i) what are the key similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration? (ii) Which factors contributed to the success of EU Economic integration? And lastly, (iii) what factors militate against economic integration of the EAC? In this regard, to find detailed answers to these questions, this study used some selected element factors of analysis below to form sub themes to be explored in the questionnaires that were sent to the respondents to generate answers for the study problem. These element factors of analysis are:

- i. Institutional Model and Rationale Clarity
- ii. State Political Will and Sovereignty
- iii. Economic Policy Convergence and Liberalization
- iv. Public Engagements and Participation
- v. Regional and Geopolitics
- vi. Globalization Trends
- vii. Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes

4.5.1 Presentation of Findings

This area presents the findings from the data gathered from the interviewed respondents. The purpose of the research was to investigate three things: first was to examine outstanding similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration; second was to determine factors that contributed to EU economic integration success model; while the third objective was to

investigate factors that militate against EAC economic integration. In this study, the research applied structured questionnaires to collect information from the selected respondents.

Due to the nature of the research, it collected information directly from employees of EU and the EAC and those who are grounded well with the information regarding the two institutions like the civil servants of the state members of the two institutions. Regional integration and cooperation experts both from Europe and Africa integration and the informed members of the CSOs were also approached. However, it has to be noted that the respondents' reflected their views and perspectives in the EU and EAC based on their personal awareness and experience. Out of the selected 50 respondents, only 42 respondents willingly expressed their views regarding this study.

Lastly the themes coded in this chapter are a resemblance of the themes that were utilized in the master questionnaires. In other words, the evaluation and presentation of the findings were guided by the element factors of analysis that were used as the themes around which the respondents were to provide their answers in the questionnaire sheets. These element factors of analysis fall within the major themes of questions of study.

4.5.2 Institutional Model and Rationale Clarity

The study focused to establish from the respondents how they think the institutional Model structures and the clarity of the objectives of the EU and the EAC contribute to the economic integration mechanisms. It was to establish the relationship which exists between the above variables and the success of regional integration of the EU and the EAC.

From the literature review, it is ascertained that certain variances and some commonalities do exist between the EU and EAC economic integration affairs based on structural model.

In terms of variance, the literature review clarify further that the EU institutional structure is designed in a way that they don't directly represent the member governments but operate within the supranational structural set up. In other words, there is a clear institutional separation of powers between the EU and the political states it represents and do form it. On the other hand, the EAC Secretariat which is the executive organ and which represents regional interests has no decision making power nor can it submit recommendations on the regional integration process. Instead, its role is merely subordinated to implementing regional integration projects and programs as well as implementing decisions of the Summit of Heads of State and the Council of Ministers.

The EU is already a comparison successful model; however, EAC in pursuit of the integration process is so slow and has never taken place fully as predicted to be in 2015. Incidentally, 2015 is gone but the community has not yet accomplished all these goals but instead there are still other challenges building on the way of full economic integration. Based on the literature review and the elements of analysis above which is the institutional model, structure, goal and clarity, the researcher sought to have the general views from the respondents on how they think both the EU and the EAC has achieved their various goals, objectives, and are efficient within their various structural models.

The finding report indicates that 85% of the respondents agree that the EU has achieved its goals and objectives for which it was created and that the EAC has really achieved very little in terms of meeting its goals and mandate. Some of the reasons cited by the respondents for the EU success that seems to be minimal in the EAC case are: clarity of goal purpose; meeting timelines for the development plans; separation of institutional powers; lack of political interference from state parties, and good political will of the leaders, e.t.c.

4.5.3 State Political Will and Sovereignty

Here the study focused to establish from the respondents the relationship with exists between the economic integration success and the above variables of state political will and sovereignty. Literature review in chapter three indicated that success of regional integration projects in any part of the continent is said to be directly anchored on the political behaviors of the state members. One of the factors that stand out from a comparison of the EU and other regional integration systems in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere is the good political will of political leaders but, in the case of the EAC, the review discovered that institution has not been delegated with any devolved political sovereign power to make it have an authority to represent the members fully as in the case of EU.

In this regard, the study posed some questions under these two elements if they also think this is the true scenario position regarding the two institutions and if they also observe it to be true that the alleged positions of the two institutions is what has contributed to their respective integration success and failure. The findings from the 95% respondents interviewed confirmed that the EU

integration is successful because of the political good will of the state members and lack of this is what is actually derailing the fast integration of the EAC.

Some of the supporting arguments recorded by the respondents is that in the case of the EU, state members seemed to have devolved some sovereignty to the EU institution and that is why it is strong enough to make integration decisions on behalf of the community, while the arguments against the EAC was that its secretariat and the entire institution has no mandate to make decision for members but this important role is reserved for political head of states that must agree on common issues. Respondents cite that this is a challenge to the institution because reconciling political and state interests becomes difficult and hampers the speed of reaching on a common decision.

4.5.4 Economic Policy Convergence and Liberalization

Economic policy convergence and trade liberalization is said to be some of the key tools and drivers of economic integration and fast development of the regional integration projects. By 1993, the EU had accomplished its projects of forming a Common Market for its region members. It means the EU only took 25 years to agree on what qualifies a full economic integration as compared to EAC that has taken so long since its formation in 1960s but has not accomplished all its CU and CM agreements.

The other vital element that expedited the fast EU economic integration is the convergence of infrastructure policies of the relevant common institutions of member states within the EU

region. These merged policies in general targeted: fiscal; monetary; labour; immigration; rail; air; roads; communication; agriculture and economic trade policies.

The achievement of an economic union is also based on the joint economic policy as was required by the WB and the IMF, and the EU did not realize this as a common source of friction as compared to other integration region blocs like the EAC which is not in the common spirit to harmonize economic policies of the region. In Europe, the convergence of these policies of individual member states is said to have contributed a lot in forming a single economic currency which actually is the most important aspect of economic integration of a region. The contribution of the EU member states towards the EU budget is more efficient and they do not rely on external support like the EAC. The funding of the EU budget is so efficient from its members' contribution. This situation is different in the EAC where contribution from member states does not come quick to the EY budget.

Based on this analysis, the study sought to get observation from the respondents if they think that the economic policy convergence, funding budgeting, infrastructure integration within the founder members of the EU is what had contributed to its success and if those are the elements working against the fast integration of the EAC. The study findings indicate that 92% of the respondents who responded to these elements of analysis agree that these elements highly worked for the fast integration and success of the EU and are currently the key issues working against the developments of the EAC integration process.

Some of the respondents indicated some of the practical problems of the EAC regarding its budgeting as relying too much on external donors like the EU which also has a string attached interests while giving budget support to the EAC. Some of the respondents well acquainted with the recent developments of the EAC have also cited practical examples of differences which regularly occurs among the EAC member states regarding common infrastructure projects which hall member states that has seen countries like Uganda, Tanzania, and Rwanda pull back on some of the agreements signed to pursue regional infrastructure connection within the community.

4.5.5 Public Engagements and Participation

EU is said to be the only regional integration institution in the world with the most elaborate foreign policy which outlines clearly the public participation rights in the integration process; it also empowers the EU public citizens to participate directly in the integration process by allowing citizens to directly elect their representatives for the EU parliamentary institution within the EU. EU foreign policy also outlines how the Union should relate with other countries in terms of migration, labour, and trade issues.

This element of public engagements in the integration process is so minimal or in any way not realistic in the EAC Surprisingly. EAC has not even developed a foreign policy which outlines its relationship with the community citizens and even the global world. The study sought to establish how this really impacted the EAC integration process by creating an awareness and acceptance among the community citizens.

Out of the percentage of the respondents who responded to the questionnaires, 70% of the respondents agreed that minimal public participation in the process of the regional integration of the EAC a reality and there is low awareness of the process among the ordinary citizens, and there is an agreement that this lack of awareness is derailing the social integration of the peoples of the EAC

4.5.6 Regional and Geopolitics

Regional politics and geopolitics have played games within the region since the first inception of the first EAC. During the cold war period of 1960s and 1970s, the community state members were sharply divided over the geopolitical leanings based on their various colonial political ideologies. One of the issues which have been a thorn in the flesh of the EAC political leaders even up to today is the alignment to both regional and geopolitical underpinnings.

These old political ideological differences still linger in the minds of even the current community leaders. This could be said to be because member states were virtually colonized by different colonial masters and therefore are still aligned to their old masters way of thinking and doing things. This factor always comes to play whenever the member countries of the EAC are negotiating common projects of integrating the region

Regarding this, the study sought to get respondents regarding the regional and geopolitics and how they perceive this affects the regional integration of the EAC. The numbers of respondents with agreements that this also become a factor which derails in one way or the other the regional

integration of the region were 51% of all the participants who responded to the questions under this element of analysis.

4.5.7 Globalization Trends

Globalization trend has been defined in chapter four of this study as a system and a process by which the people and the institutions of the world comprising of the technological, socio-cultural and political forces are unified at some levels into a single society to work together. The review further analyses that the Globalization is the current wave sweeping across the entire world to create a trade liberalization which does away with all forms of restrictions on global trade, free movements of goods, people, services, and it also promotes a global unified culture limiting aggressively the old traditional cultural boundaries of the people from all corners of the continents.

However, regional integration analysts do agree that this aspect is a challenge to the regional integration more so in African continent since region integration run parallel to its philosophy of opening the boundaries for free movements of services and goods because regional integration are still preoccupied in signing regional treaties restricting movements of services and goods within a region. There is an indication that the globalization trends has even confused the spirit of regional integration more than before since the entire world is moving fast towards global liberalization.

Regarding this aspect, the researcher decided to seek the respondents' views if the regional integration is still relevant in this wave of global liberalization trend supported by even the

WTO. Among the respondents who responded regarding the question, 65% said that the world is more inclined to globalization as opposed to regional integration stagnating with the process of liberalizations within confined regions. Though this was their own reflection, the report is indications that even them themselves the respondents were actually demonstrating their interest on the issue.

4.5.8 Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes

Cultural dynamics and Socio-structural stereotypes is a phenomena which is of a concern when it comes to cross cultural interaction in Africa. Issues like stereotypes and cultural dynamics within the EAC are serious issues mentioned by several people as factors which have never been harmonized and addressed within the integration policy of the EAC here in Africa. There is a consensus that this also still contributes great to slow social interaction, free movements and communication of people across cultures in the EAC. In the EU case, this aspect is dealt with seriously within its foreign policy and is no longer a problem since there is a common identity of being a European.

The respondents' views were sought to suggest if this has a negative impacts to the regional integration of the EAC. 76% of the respondents who responded to the questions under this matter agreed that it does negatively affects and delays the process of the integration of the EAC.

4.6 Analysis of Findings and Interpretations

The analysis of finding results and interpretation presented here will address the research questions within the main objective provided in chapter one to address the principal research problem. The principal research problem is how Europe with specific reference EU succeeded in

regional economic integration and why Africa with specific reference to EAC has not achieved full regional economic integration as compared to its counterpart EU. The primary research objective that guided the research study was: to comparatively analyze the East African Community and European Union economic integration as a success model to draw lessons for Africa.

The specific questions which the study sought to answer were: (i) what factors contributed to the success of EU Economic integration? (ii) What factors militate against economic integration of the EAC? And lastly, (iii) what are the key similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration? The assumptions of the study as the hypotheses to be confirmed were three:

- i. The EU integration process offers the best model for EAC to emulate
- ii. The EU integration model was caused by political good will and good economic policies of the member states that formed it
- iii. The economic integration of the EAC is derailed by lack of political good-will.

Therefore, in this section, the literature review framework which contains the secondary data, the applied theory, has been integrated together with the respondents' views, perspectives to constitute the analysis of the findings under the study. The element factors of analysis that guided the evaluation of the findings are the same ones that have generated analysis under the major three themes of the literature review of the study namely: (i) what factors contributed to the success of EU Economic integration? (ii) What factors militate against economic integration of the EAC? And lastly, (iii) what are the key similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration?

4.6.1 Factors that Contributed to the Success of EU Integration

The main aim of this analysis is to determine factors that contributed to this success of the EU economic integration based on the analysis of the study findings from the field, the literature review conducted previously in chapter three, and the theory that was used to help understand why this was possible. One of the factors that stand out from a comparison of the EU and other regional integration systems in Africa, and other places is a political good will of the member leaders.⁶⁹

Chapter three review indicated that one of the basic factors like the political leadership good will and flexibility to share and devolve some sovereign authorities to the regional institutions within EU so that some of the most important economic aspects like trade and political aspects like immigration and labour movement could be handled by the supra-institution of the EU.

The economic and infrastructure policy convergence which targets the integration of both fiscal, monetary and infrastructure also promoted the fast integration of the Union. This also fastened the regional trade liberalization with the rest of the world and among the member states which formed the EU. The economic policy convergences made the European countries to easily harmonize both individual state monetary and fiscal policies as required by the WB and the IMF to pave way for the single currency Euro. The EU has a consolidated budget for its projects contributed efficiently by the members. This budget also focuses on benefiting common policies

⁶⁹ Jean Monnet/Robert Schuman Paper Series Vol.5 No.37 December 2005

of the region like in areas of agricultural developments which has a single regulatory policy within the EU.

The analysis of the chapter three also indicated that the regional integration of EU has also been promoted by wider awareness among the citizen members of the European region. This aspect has been achieved by the EU through strengthening the public engagements and participation directly in the integration process within the EU foreign policy mechanisms.

Based on the literature review and the findings, it is concluded that the factors that actually lead to the EU success model are: State Political Will and Sovereignty; Economic Policy Convergence and Liberalization; Public Engagements and Participation among others. Based on Realist theory which has been applied to understand well the success scenarios of the EU integration success, *Moravcsik*, a strong proponent of *Neorealism* position ascertain that the EU success is basically based on the positive political behavior and efficiency of state members.⁷⁰

This theory as had been analyzed in the immediate last chapter five indicates that the most important points of reference which must be made when it comes to regional economic integration success are three:⁷¹ However, among the three principle choices, the finding of this study is in line with principle number two and three which says respectively that:

⁷⁰ Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: *A Liberal Intergovernmentalist Approach*; *Journal of Common Market Studies*, 31 (4): 473-524.

⁷¹ Moravcsik, A. (1993). Preferences and Power in the European Community: *A Liberal Intergovernmental Approach*. *Journal of Common Market Studies*. Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 473-523.

Inter-state bargaining should seek to explain the efficiency and distributional outcomes of negotiations on asymmetrical interdependence which means the member states must work harder to influence outcomes and have to give more concessions to make integration institution have authority of growth decision, in other words, concession means conceding some of their sovereignty to the integration institution. The third reference point among the three reference points is that of institutional choice which explores the reasons why states choose to delegate or pool decision-making and sovereignty in international institutions. In other words, this means that states delegate and pool sovereignty to get more credible commitments in the integration process.

Theoretically, this confirms the finding that regional integration of the EU was basically among other things influenced and determined by: State Political Will and Sovereignty; Economic Policy Convergence and Liberalization; Public Engagements and Participation.

4.6.2 Factors that Militate Against the EAC Integration

Through the analysis under this section, the aim of this area is to specifically establish the factors responsible for slow economic integration of the EAC as one of the regional integration groupings within the African Union spirit of integration. Based on the previous literature review in chapter four, and findings from the collected information from the respondents who participated in this study, and the theory which was applied to support the study, there is a perceived consensus that some of the element factors among others which has all along militated against the fast regional integration of the EAC are: Lack of political will; Economic constraints; Regional and Geopolitics; Globalization Trends; Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes.

The challenges of East African Community dragging behind its regional integration started with the first community which collapsed in 1970s though it was again revived later.

One of the issues which have been a thorn in the flesh of the EAC political leaders is the alignment to both regional and geopolitical underpinnings. These old political ideological differences still linger in the minds of even the current community leaders. This is said to be because member states were virtually colonized by different colonial masters and therefore are still aligned to their old masters way of thinking and doing things. This factor always comes to play whenever the member countries of the EAC are negotiating common projects of integrating the region.

In order for the EAC and other African regions to fulfill the economic dream, various stages of economic integration must be fully accomplished by member states. Nevertheless, African integration projects when judged against their respective objectives seem to be serious below success indicators. This is a clear indication that African governments do not actually commit themselves to ratify some of the agreements that can push their states through to the full economic integration.

The EAC in specific case has never done better yet it is one of the African regional integration institutions which has been appraised world over to be a head of all the other regional integration models in the African continent and is on an aggressive path of becoming a full common market.

Just like the literature had quoted in earlier chapter of this study, the other pertinent issue even more complex for the EAC economic integration touches on the global policy areas dynamics of *Equity in Trade Macroeconomic Convergence* and Monetary Coordination which requires the EAC to prepare how to harmonize its regional fiscal and monetary policy within the requirement of the IMF and WB economic policy for the region to move to EAC Economic Union with a single currency. This is a dream difficult to peruse under the current EAC system

The review also indicated that Globalization is another current wave sweeping across the entire world to create a liberalization which does away with all forms of restrictions on global trade, free movements of goods, people, services, labour and it also promotes a global unified culture limiting aggressively the old traditional cultural boundaries of the people from all corners of the continents. However, the dilemma is whether the region like the EAC or individuals or member states should pursue the bigger dream of globalization or global liberalization or remain to confine themselves to a region in the name of regional integration with confined trade agreements. This also comes as a challenge on its own.

Stereotypes and perceptions falling under cultural dynamics within the EAC are also serious crosscutting issues mentioned by several people as factors which have never been harmonized and addressed within the integration policy of the EAC here in Africa. There is a consensus that this also still contributes great to slow social interaction, free movements and communication of people across cultures in the EAC.

Based on the literature review and the findings from the data collected from the respondents of this study, it is concluded that the factors that actually militate against EAC economic integration are: Lack of political will; Economic constraints; Regional and Geopolitics; Globalization Trends; Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes.

As can be related to the specific issues derailing the integration of the EAC, it can be upheld that the differences between the member states of the East African Community which are seen as the militating factors against the fast integration of the community as discussed in earlier chapter, are as a result of the individual state struggles for *national interests* and *Power* around issues of political, economic, and trade policy harmonization. A confirmation of *Realism* thought.

From a combination of the Literature review findings, the study findings from the field, and supported by the theory applied in the study, there is a consensus that some of the factors that has militated all along the regional integration of the EAC are: Lack of political will; Economic constraints; Regional and Geopolitics; Globalization Trends; Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes.

4.6.3 Outstanding Similarities and Variances in EU and EAC

The comparative analysis of the EU and EAC focused on identifying similarities and differences in terms of the general conceptual models of economic integration, the rationale for their respective establishments, the respective institutional structures, and the history of both cases. The research study has used the elements within Institutional Model and Rationale Clarity to establish the finding on how this contributes to the integration success.

Under previous chapter two of this study, the review established that the basic aim of the organization of the European Union is based on economic aspiration and specifically according to Article 3 of the constitutive act; the EU rationale for its establishment is to promote peace, and economic prosperity and its values and the well-being of its peoples.⁷² On the other hand, the main objective of the EAC according to Article 5(1) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC is to widen and deepen cooperation among the Partner States in among other areas, political, economic, social, cultural, health, education, science and technology, defence, security, legal and judicial affairs for their mutual benefit⁷³.

A closer scrutiny of the EU treaty also shows that the way the EU institutions are administratively designed to work is completely different from that of the EAC. The constitutive acts of the EU treaty indicate that the EU is governed by several institutions designed within its structure but they do not work directly under governments as member states.

However, the comparative analysis of the EAC relative to EU under the same chapter did reveal that the institutional structure is weakly designed such that the executive body which is the secretariat headed by the Secretary General is only left with office administrative functions but do not make political decisions on behalf of the community. Instead, it is the head of states and the council of ministers, direct government members who are in charge of decision making on behalf of the community. These are direct politicians in member countries that are always guided

⁷² The European Union Constitutive Acts. Article 3

⁷³ EAC, Secretariat. (2002). The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, Arusha: East African Community. p 12

by political self interests which cannot easily drive agenda of the community development impartially.

Based on the institutional rationale, structure, and clarity of purpose of the two cases, it can be generalized that the EU has a very clear and brief objective which is easy to pursue and this has contributed to its integration success. Likewise, the way its administrative structure is designed insulates the institution from the political interference from the member states when making decision and this must have contributed to its fast development towards accomplishing economic development within integration framework. While on the other hand, the objectives of the EAC are over ambitiously constructed to be easily achieved and this contributes the burden of meeting the goal demands within timelines of its development activities.

Surprisingly enough, the EAC has numerous objectives but is currently pursuing only one goal of economic integration and sidelines the other important political objectives that can pull issues very fast. The administrative structure of the EAC is very weak to make serious decisions on behalf of the member states since this important role is still reserved for the sitting presidents of the party members driven by individual political interests. This is one of the institutional problems derailing the integration of the EAC.

Generally, some of the reasons cited by the respondents and supported by the secondary data from the literature review for the EU success that seems to be minimal in the EAC case are: clarity of goal purpose; meeting timelines for the development plans; separation of institutional powers; lack of political interference from state parties, and good political will of the leaders.

4.6.4 Chapter Summary

From the conceptual analysis, it can be established that there are various forms of regional integration such as: political; economical; and social-cultural integration. By demonstration, the conceptual analysis shows that both EU and EAC fall under two common forms of integration: economic; and political integration. This aspect therefore forms a similarity element between the two cases. Similarly, they also both share the same economic conceptual models which begin from the PTA through FTA, CU, CM, to MU. Apart from the similarity scenario above, what only differs in this aspect is the efficiency in each case to move fast through these economic stages to become a fully economic integration where EU has indicated to be more efficient to move through all stages to become an economic integration model in the entire world as compared to its counterpart EAC – in Africa.

Based on the rationale of the two institutions, it can be generalized that both EU and EAC, irrespective of their types of integration models, the ultimate common goal of both is to promote development through economic trade frameworks within the regional trade agreements.

From the analysis of the two cases in terms of the institutional structures of operations, EU comparatively has realistic and effective structures of operation which actually separates and insulates the EU institution from a political manipulation and playing selective interests of power of states as compared to the African integration systems like EAC. In EAC it is as if the direct presidents and the government ministers of respective members are the ones deciding the direction of the institution. These are people who are directly politicians pursuing power and survival and not common economic prosperity. Generally, from a comparative analysis angle,

some of the reasons cited by the respondents and supported by the secondary data from the literature review for the EU success that seems to be minimal in the EAC case are: clarity of goal purpose; meeting timelines for the development plans; separation of institutional powers; lack of political interference from state parties, and good political will of the leaders.

For the general conclusion, it can be confirmed that from the secondary data within the literature review, theory and primary data finding analysis of this study, it is summarized here that regional integration of the EU was basically among other things influenced and determined by: State Political Will and Sovereignty; Economic Policy Convergence and Liberalization; Public Engagements and Participation.

Moreover, from a combination of the Literature review findings, the study findings from the field, and supported by the theory applied in the study, there is a consensus that some of the factors that has militated all along the regional integration of the EAC are: Lack of political will; Economic constraints; Regional and Geopolitics; Globalization Trends; Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes.

CHAPTER FIVE:

5.0 SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Finding Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1.1 Finding Conclusions as Lessons for Africa

The primary research objective that guided this research study was: to comparatively analyze the East African Community and European Union economic integration as a success model to draw lessons for Africa.

This research study focused to explore the principal research problem of: How Europe with specific reference to EU succeeded in regional economic integration and why Africa with specific reference to EAC has not achieved full regional economic integration as compared to its counterpart EU.

The study has been guided by assumptions as hypotheses that: The EU integration process offers the best model for EAC to emulate; the EU integration model was caused by political good will and good economic policies of the member states that formed it; The economic integration of the EAC is derailed by lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies of the member states forming it.

The fundamental questions that this study sought answers for were: (i) what are the key similarities and variances in EU and EAC economic integration? (ii) Which factors contributed

to the success of EU Economic integration? And lastly, (iii) what factors militate against economic integration of the EAC?

The summary of the finding conclusions of the study after the harmonization of both primary data and the secondary data are:

- I. That the factors that contributed to the success of EU integration are: State political good will and sovereignty; economic policy convergence and liberalization; public engagements and participation.

- II. That the factors that militate against the EAC integration are: Lack of political will; Economic constraints; Regional and Geopolitics; Globalization Trends; Cultural Dynamics and Identity Stereotypes.

- III. That based on the outstanding similarities and variances analyzed in EU and EAC based on their institutional models, it is discovered that the EU integration is a successful model because its institution model has a clarity of goal purpose; meeting timelines for the development plans; separation of institutional powers; characteristics all realized so minimal in the case of EAC.

From the above summary of the findings on the study of the '*comparative analysis of the EU and the EAC economic integration Models to generate lessons for Africa*' it is realized that among the other factors which bear impacts on regional integration, '*the political goodwill and economic policy*' appear to be common determinant factors which has direct impact on the

regional integration models. Therefore it can be upheld by this study that what has caused the success model of EU integration are: *political goodwill and economic policies*. This study finding confirms the hypotheses assumptions one.

Generally from the findings, it is also upheld that *lack of political goodwill and poor economic policies* is what has militated against the regional integration of the EAC. This study finding confirms assumption hypothesis two.

Lastly, going by the analyzed outstanding similarities and variances of EU and EAC based on the institutional models of the two, the EU is upheld by the findings to be the best regional integration model other African Countries in Africa can learn from. Therefore, the EU offers the best integration model the EAC can emulate. This confirms an assumption hypothesis three.

5.1.2 Recommendations

Recommendations suggested here are the own views of the researcher of the study based on the findings of the study. Recommendations are suggested for EAC case which is facing challenges towards economic integration of the region.

I. Strengthening the Institutional Structure of the EAC

The EAC institution is facing some internal weaknesses based on how its administrative institutional structure is designed. Strengthening the institution will make the organization reorganize its objectives to be clear and precise and not over ambitious with multiple objectives which are idle and are not being pursued in the region. Strengthening the institution should also

focus on making it possess a political power to make political decisions on behalf of the community on matters that need fast decision making for development. This is a very significant case in the EU success model.

II. State Members to Devolve some Political Power and Sovereignty to EAC

One of the reasons why EAC has derailed its own integration development is because the state members are not willing to cede and devolve some of their political power to EAC institution to become a supra-institution to represent the collective interests of the region well. This will actually give the EAC a political will to make serious decisions without political interferences by heads of the state members as can be witnessed now in the current system. This case of the separation of the institutional power has succeeded well in the EU case and has really contributed to the integration success of the European region.

III. Full Regional Trade Liberalization and Economic Policy Convergence

Full regional trade liberalization will make the community to accomplish all the CU and the CM protocols not yet signed by the member states. This will eliminate completely the trade tariffs still existing in the region. It will create a single work permit in the region, single community passport and also enhance free movements of goods, labour, and services that are so important to regional integration development. This aspect will also strengthen the trade bargain aspect of region with other integrations like EU. It is considered that what propelled the economic liberalization and integration of the EU very fast was the step towards full completion of the CU and the CM by country members

IV. Design EAC Foreign Policy.

This will outline how the EAC as an institution engages with the community citizens CSOs of the region and other important public and private stakeholders of integration development. Like in the case of the EU, the issues of the public awareness creation, direct public engagement and participation, cross cultural interaction to manage issues of stereotypes and perceptions which exist so deep among the dynamic community of the region will be solved. The design of the foreign policy may also be handy to handle community internal migration and labour issues which are still a thorny issue in the region.

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APPENDIX

QUESTIONNAIRE ON THE COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) AND THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC) ECONOMIC INTEGRATION

Dear Respondent,

The purpose of this questionnaire is to collate primary information towards a research project on *'a comparative analysis of the EU and the EAC economic integration.'* This research project is being conducted by the researcher in partial fulfillment of the award of Masters of Arts Degree in International Studies at the University of Nairobi in Kenya. On account of your knowledge and experience of the European Community and East African Community economic integration Affairs, you have intentionally been identified as a potential respondent in this research study. You are assured that any information you provide as the primary information to assist this study will strictly be treated with utmost confidence and solely for academic purposes of this study. It is not a must you provide your name if you feel not to do so. Please, you are requested to feel free to provide information in this questionnaire and get back to the researcher early enough. Please provide your answers by writing on the available space (dotted) or by tickling/circling your answer where appropriate. Where necessary you may attach additional information on a separate sheet of paper to be attached together with this questionnaire.

A. INSTITUTIONAL MODEL AND RATIONALE CLARITY

1. Despite the variances which may exist between the EU and EAC economic integration affairs, the ultimate common goal of both is to benefit from trade creation, economies of scale, product differentiation, and efficiency gains through the policy coordination frameworks within the regional trade agreements. If that is the case, then rate how you think each case has scored in the past in terms of meeting the institutional goal.

i.) EU: poor average; good; best

ii.) EAC: poor average; good; best

2. Give reasons for your ratings in question one above

i.) EU

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ii.) EAC

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3. The basic aim for the establishment of the EU as an integration organization in Europe was based on economic aspiration and specifically according to Article 3 of the constitutive act, the EU is meant to promote peace, and economic prosperity and its values and the well-being of its peoples. According to your opinion, do you think EU has achieved this for the European people? Please provide your reasons for yes or no

i.) Yes

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ii.) No

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4. In specific case of the East African Community, the main objective of the EAC according to Article 5(1) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the EAC, is to widen and deepen cooperation among the Partner States

in among other areas, political, economic, social, cultural, health, education, science and technology, defence, security, legal and judicial affairs for their mutual benefit. Agree or do not agree with a supporting reason if the EAC has really achieved this objective in Africa?

i.) Yes

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ii.) No

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5. The EU institutional structure is designed in a way that they do not correspond directly to the traditional branches of governments or division of power in representative democracies. Rather, they embody the EU's dual supranational and intergovernmental character. In other words, there is a clear institutional separation of powers between the EU and the political states it represents and forms it. How do you think this contributed to the efficiency of the EU to expedite and manage the fast economic integration of the European region?

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6. It can authoritatively be suggested that the organs of the EAC which have been given the most important roles in as far as advancing the regional integration processes are the Summit of Heads of State and the Council of Ministers, since they have a decision making role. Ironically, the EAC Secretariat which is the

executive organ and which represents regional interests has no decision making power nor can it submit recommendations on the regional integration process. Instead, its role is merely subordinated to implementing regional integration projects and programmes as well as implementing decisions of the Summit of Heads of State and the Council of Ministers. Based on this structure in comparison to EU, do you think this can create a flexible environment for the regional integration of the community to move very fast within the timelines? If No or Yes, please give reasons.

i.) Yes

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ii.) No

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7. In pursuit of the integration process of the EAC, the state members already established a Customs Union and are currently negotiating to complete some protocols within the Common Market agreements to be succeeded by a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation. It was indicated within the previous grand strategic plan of the EAC that the full Customs Union was to be attained in January 2010. The Common Market and Monetary Union were expected to be in place by 2012, but this did not take place and it was again extended to be met in 2015. Incidentally, 2015 is gone but the community has not accomplished all these goals but instead there are still other challenges building on the way of full economic integration. In your opinion, is this integration process realistic, and please you give your reasons for Yes, or No.

i.) Yes

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ii.) No

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8. What factors do you think are contributing to the delay of the EAC economic integration process that cannot allow it to accomplish its economic integration agenda as outlined in its grand strategic plan of action?

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B. STATE POLITICAL WILL AND SOVEREIGNTY

1. The success of regional integration projects in any part of the continent is said to be directly anchored on the political behaviors of the state members. One of the factors that stand out from a comparison of the EU and other regional integration systems in Africa, Asia, and elsewhere is the cardinal importance of its political good will of state members and this is said to be a key element in its success story. Is it true or falls? Support your position.

i.) True

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ii.) Falls

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2. The EU has succeeded because it has actually ceded some of its sovereignty powers to supra-institution EU to carry decisions on its behalf. Ironically, in the case of the EAC, the institution has not been delegated with any devolved political sovereign power to make it have an authority to represent the members fully as in the case of EU. Do you think this is what gave the EU an upper hand to build a strong institution which became the global model of today

i.) Yes ii.) No

C. ECONOMIC POLICY CONVERGENCE AND LIBERALIZATION

1. The EU formed its Customs Union (CU) in the year 1968, a free trade area setting up common tariffs and quotas for trade with its non members. By 1993, the EU had accomplished its projects of forming a Common Market for its members. It means the EU only took 25 years to agree on what qualifies a full economic integration as compared to EAC that has taken so long since its formation in 1960s but has not accomplished all its CU and CM agreements. Do you now agree that these two stages are very important to a fast and full economic integration and it is why the EU succeeded very fast as compared to Africa continent?

i.) Yes ii.) No

2. Another vital element that expedited the fast EU economic integration is the agreement on convergence of both economic and infrastructure policies of the relevant common institutions of member states within the EU region. These merged policies targeted: fiscal; monetary; labour; immigration; rail; air; roads; communication; agriculture and economic trade policies. The achievement of an economic union is also based on the joint economic policy and the Union budget, which is always not a common source of friction

in the EU as compared to other integration region blocs like the EAC which is not in the common spirit to harmonize economic policies of the region as required by the IMF to pave the way for creation of a single currency for the region. In Europe, the convergence of these policies of individual member states is said to have contributed a lot in forming a single economic currency which actually is the most important aspect of economic integration of a region. Based on your knowledge and experience, is it true that this aspect really promoted the economic integration of Europe. Please support your position.

i.) True

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ii.) Not true

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3. The European Union's policies, programs and activities are all funded by a budget to which the 28 member states contribute annually based on the individual GDP/GNI strengths of the member states. This situation is unlike the EAC which its Treaty provides for equal contribution to the EAC budget by the Partner States. The contribution of the EU member states towards the EU budget is more efficient and they do not rely on external support like the EAC. This is advantageous to EU and a disadvantage to EAC. Do you agree?

i.) Yes ii.)

4. Give reasons for your choice above

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D. PUBLIC ENGAGEMENTS AND PARTICIPATION

1. The EU is said to be the only regional integration institution in the world with the most elaborate foreign policy which outlines clearly the public participation rights in the integration process; it also empowers the EU public citizens to participate directly in the integration process by allowing citizens to directly elect their representatives for the EU parliamentary institution within the EU. This element of public engagements in the integration process is so minimal or in any way not realistic in the EAC. Do you think this actually contributed to the fast and acceptance of the integration of the EU as opposed to EAC? Support your answer whether this is true or falls

i.) True

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ii.) Falls

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E. REGIONAL AND GEOPOLITICS

1. It is believed that one of the issues which have been a thorn in the flesh of the EAC political leaders is the alignment to both regional and geopolitical underpinnings. These old political ideological differences still linger in the minds of even the current community leaders. This is said to be because member states were virtually colonized by different colonial masters and therefore are still aligned to their old masters way of thinking and doing things. This factor always comes to play whenever the member countries of the EAC are negotiating common projects of integrating the region. Do you also agree that this is actually hampering the speed of the community integration?

i.) Yes ii.) No

2. Are there practical examples you can cite regarding this

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F. GLOBALIZATION TRENDS

1. Globalization is defined as a system and a process by which the people and the institutions of the world comprising of the technological, socio-cultural and political forces are unified at some levels into a single society to work together. Globalization is the current wave sweeping across the entire world to create a liberalization which does away with all forms of restrictions on global trade, free movements of goods, people, services, labour and it also promotes a global unified culture limiting aggressively the old traditional cultural boundaries of the people from all corners of the continents. However, the dilemma is whether the region or individuals or member states should pursue the bigger dream of globalization or global liberalization or remain to confine themselves to a region in the name of regional integration with confined trade agreements. Based on your own perspective regarding this, which wave do you think people and states should prefer currently?

i.) Globalization

ii.) Regional integration

2. Support your answer in the above case whether states and people should pursue globalization or regional integration

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G. CULTURAL DYNAMICS AND IDENTITY STEREOTYPES

1. Socio-structural issues like stereotypes and cultural dynamics within the EAC are serious crosscutting issues mentioned by several people as factors which have never been harmonized and addressed within the integration policy of the EAC here in Africa. There is a consensus that this also still contributes great to

slow social interaction, free movements and communication of people across cultures in the EAC. In the EU case, this aspect is dealt with seriously within its foreign policy and is no longer a problem. Do you agree that this is a derailing factor in the case of EAC towards fast economic integration of the region?

i.) Yes

ii.) No

2. Please shed more light on this aspect within the EAC by even mentioning some practical scenarios to support your choice of Yes or No above.

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3. How do you think the above challenge to EAC can be solved?

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Name of the respondent (not a must).....
Institution represented (not a must).....
Physical location (not a must).....
Date.....

The researcher is sincerely grateful for your cooperation to assist provide information to help this research project to be successful