

Behaviour of Heads of State and Regional Integration. A Case Study of East African Community (EAC Between 1963-2022)

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Abstract: *The study sought to investigate the influence of Heads of State towards regional integration. The objectives of the study were to (i) analyze the role that the heads of State are expected to play towards enhancing policy formulation, implementation on regional integration in East African Community (ii) to examine the effects of insecurity on regional integration in East Africa and (iii) to establish the challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region. In this study, the Hegemonic Stability theory by Keohane (1984) that is based on the presence of a hegemony that ensures stability of the international system and the Structural Functionalism theory by Durkheim (1967) which factors a society as a complex system that constitutes of segments that work together with an intent of achieving a set goal, were used. Descriptive survey design was used in the study. The target population for the study was officers in the Ministry of East African Community, Political Scientists, serving and retired ambassadors. Stratified Random sampling was used to obtain a sample size of 130 respondents. Data was collected by use of self-structured questionnaires as well individual interview schedules. Analysis of the qualitative data was done by use of both the framework analysis and thematic analysis approaches while the quantitative data was analyzed by use of data master sheets and tally sheets. The findings revealed that the extent of Heads of State role in terms of policy formulation and implementation was fairly moderate (average mean=3.41, SD = 1.19), insecurity (average mean=3.72; SD=1.03) and challenges (average mean = 3.53; SD=1.04) all means implying that the Heads of State plays the roles of safeguarding the common values, fundamental interests and independence of the community. The head of State should also spearhead the harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies. The study further found that it is crucial for the head of State to actively participate in consultative meetings that promote the regional integration agenda and present the interests of the country at the EAC. Uganda's main national interest in the EAC is economic growth and development and it is key for the Head of State to actively participate in the summit by advancing the need for the country to attain a larger regional market for her goods and products hence uplifting the living standards of the Ugandan citizens. The study concluded that the EAC state governments can steer efforts towards integration as long as there is a will to plough in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among member states, hence realization of mutual benefit in member states in creation of opportunities for their citizens. It was also concluded that previous heads of State in Uganda have endeavoured to push for the regional integration agenda to some extent, but none has fully overseen the implementation of all agreed integration policies. The study recommends that heads of State should consider giving significant weight to interests that reflect on regional integration and not focusing mostly on national interest, it is also prudent for Uganda to conform with the regional integration laws especially on set political Confederation in order to promote a sounding democracy.*

Introduction

This chapter presents an investigation on the factors relating to how Heads to State influence attainment of a fully integrated East African region. In it, is the background of the study, statement of the problem, purpose, objectives, research questions, scope as well as significance of the study. According to regional integration theory, integration can affect economic growth by raising the economies' competitiveness and accelerating industrialization, and by creating better employment opportunities which lead to poverty decrease in the region. However, regional integration as a whole for African countries have not brought the expected results and some question remains unanswered: Why despite of the advantages of integration, Africa has remained some-how not interested.

Background of the Study

Historical Perspective

Globally, regional integration has increasingly become an important subject among international relations scholars and researchers. The emergence of realities like globalization has forced states to develop ways to remain relevant under this new dispensation (Opiyo, 2014).

In Europe for instance, countries have embraced the European Union (EU) which has seen them grow both politically and social-economically thus majority of them emerging to be among the globally developed merchants. Bertoni (2013) notes that EU is one of the most integrated regions across the globe with most of its members sharing a common benefit and excelling equally.

In Asia, Central Asian Regional Economic Co-operation program (CAREC) is considered another major integrated region in the world with vested economic and political development (Cawthra & Nieuwkerk, 2004). The CAREC incorporates Asian countries such as Japan, India and China which join together to have a common market where trade is enhanced (Bagumhe, 2013).

In Africa, efforts at regional integration are not new. Several experiments have occurred across the continent especially during the colonial period. Different scholars including Anyang' Nyongo (1990); Senghor (1990) write that regional integration and cooperation among African States can enable the continent benefit from large economies of scale of the industrialization process. Regional integration is considered to be one of the key drivers of Africa's economic growth, development and poverty reduction and as such the African Union (AU) has accorded high priority to regional integration. Narrowing down to the African continent, it has been argued that Africa lags behind in development, and one of the reasons raised is the ineffectiveness of regional agreements in existence (Saitoti, 1988). Calls have been made for an African economic and political union with leaders foreseeing a scenario where African countries completely eliminate all forms of trade barriers both qualitative and quantitative, set unified external tariffs, use common currency, have a single monetary authority and even harmonize their macro-economic, industrial and development politics. From the early years of colonialism, around the 1960s when Africans began to occupy responsible political positions, African states have focused on developing new patterns of continental and regional co-operative arrangements. At first, their efforts involved dealing with the existing colonial arrangements in what they referred to as 'a creative destruction' in order to meet African needs and operations. Therefore, with the inspiration of how successful the EU had proven to be and encouraged by the UN-sponsored Economic Commission for Africa (ECA), the first generation of African leaders focused on creating regional entities that hopefully had the capability of promoting regional co-operation and integration. The consciousness of the small -sized countries in the realization that without joining others in larger groups they would be facing serious problems in promoting their development became their motivating factor. They were greatly challenged by the fact if major countries like Germany and France felt the need for regional integration, then such a need was definitely greater for smaller and under-developed countries (Nugent, 2004).

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

The EAC is a regional bloc uniting six partner states with the objective of forming a political federation. It was re-established on 30 November 1999, by the presidents of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda in a treaty signed in Arusha after the collapse of the previous community in 1977 (Mughwai, 2010). Since then, it has become one of the most powerful regional economic blocs in the continent especially after the admission of Rwanda and Burundi as new members in 2007 (Mwaseba, 2010; Mughwai, 2010).

According to Balongo (2015), if the political federation is formed, it would make the bloc the third-largest and second-most populous in Africa. Post-colonial attempts at political federation date as far back to 1963 when Tanzania, Kenya, and Uganda signed the Nairobi Declaration of 1963 (Biira 2017). The declaration was signed by Prime Minister Milton Obote of Uganda, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and President Julius Nyerere of Tanganyika. This however, was never operationalized due to various factors. Uganda for instance was against the high degree of centralization of power, which other members had suggested for the federation (ibid). There were also other national priorities with the governments in the three member states caught up in struggles to dominate national politics and consolidate their regime thus focusing on national priorities and not regional one (Mukandala 2000). This compelled Mwalimu Nyerere to state that;

"A federation of at least Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania should be comparatively easy to achieve. We already have a common market, and run many services through the common services organization which has its own central legislative assembly and an executive composed of the Prime Ministers of the three states. This is the nucleus from which a federation is the natural growth." (Ademola, 1999).

Mwalimu Julius Nyerere made several attempts including offering to delay Tanganyika independence so that Kenya and Uganda could gain their independence in order to form a federation immediately (Biira, 2013). Despite this, the British denied his wish so the East African Countries attained independence at different times on territorial basis hence the federation did not happen

“We the leaders of the people and governments of East Africa assembled in Nairobi on 5th June 1963, pledge ourselves to the political Federation of East Africa. Our meeting today is motivated by the spirit of Pan Africanism and not by mere regional interests. We are nationalists and reject tribalism, racialism, or inward looking policies. This is our day of action in the cause of the ideals that we believe in and the unity and freedom for which we have suffered and sacrificed so much.....We share a common past and are convinced of our common destiny. We have a common history, culture and customs which make our unity both logical and natural.”(Hughes, 1963).

This declaration made by the leaders was a strong wish they had on the basis of Pan Africanism to lead East Africans into African Unity. The leaders believed that through a political federation, Pan African Unity would be achieved. And just as the new EAC leaders have done through devising means of seeing this dream to reality, thus decided to set a committee to lead the drafting of the East Africa federation constitution.

The second document which attempts to establish an EAC federation is the 1999 EAC Treaty (Biira 2017). Articles 123(6) and (7) respectively of the Treaty provide that the Summit is to initiate the Federation process through the Council. In pursuant of Article 123 (6), the EAC Summit in 2004 set up the Wako Committee to come with mechanisms to speed up the integration process (East African Community Secretariat, 2017). The Committee basing on their findings that East Africans felt that the political Federation was an idea, whose time had come, recommended the launching of the East African Federation by 1st January 2010. However, the Committee’s assessment of the process of transforming the EAC into a Political Federation revealed that it was a delicate process due to the various fears and concerns among East Africans.

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

In Kenya, through the Ministry of East Africa (2009), a conformed regional integration policy was formulated and was aimed at seeing the country engage in more open ties with other East African countries and also enhance Kenya’s ability to maximize the utilization of the socio-economic and political opportunities presented by RECs as well as to further integrate into a global economy. The policy also provides a guideline towards attainment of a much flexible Common Trade market, free movement of people across the countries not forgetting improved engaged transactions (Mwengi, 2011). This policy was set to see that the interests of Kenya are protected at the EAC, as much as equality between the countries is pushed for and the share contribution of each country to be recognized. As Lalema (2013) indicates, the projected integration is far from being achieved due to continued lack of trust among the EAC member states and the minimal attention given to the entire integration process by the respective heads of States.

In the case of Uganda, there has always been an interest in integration in eastern Africa. One early attempt was the East African Community of 1967, consisting of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania. Although this early attempt at regionalism was not very successful, recent interest has been spurred by the current wave of regional movements in the world and the recognition of the economic advantages that can be derived from a properly designed and effectively implemented integration policy.

Theoretical Perspective

Two theories were found to be relevant in examining the role of Heads of State towards Regional Integration. The theories that were found to best inform the research constructs are the Hegemonic Stability theory (HST) by Robert Keohane (1984) and Structural Functionalism Theory by Emile Durkheim (1967).

Hegemonic Stability Theory by Keohane (1984)

Hegemonic stability theory (HST) was popularized in the 1980s by international political economy (IPE) scholar Keohane (1984) as a development on the earlier ideas of Kindleberger (1973) and Gilpin (1981). Hegemonic Stability theory (HST), a theory of International relations states that the international system is likely to remain stable when only one nation-state, also known as a hegemony, is the dominant world power. Consequently, when an existing hegemony falls, the stability of the international system lessens thus resulting to disorder. The theory further impresses that when a hegemony exercises leadership either through coercion, persuasion or diplomacy, it is indeed deploying its “preponderance of power” that is, its superiority in influence.

Structural Functionalism Theory by Durkheim (1967)

The structural functionalism theory envisions society as a complex system whose individual parts work together to promote solidarity and stability. Social structures shape us and our surroundings. Each social structure, according to Herbert Spencer, has respective social functions or consequences that impact on the general public. Functionalism addresses society as a whole in terms of the function of its constituent components; namely norms, customs and organizations. A common analogy, advanced by Herbert Spencer, presents these parts of society as "organs" that work towards the proper functioning of the "body" as a whole (Holmwood, 2005).

Conceptual Perspective

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

Modern states, especially emergent nations cannot afford the challenges of isolationism. This is truer and relevant to contiguous and neighbouring states. Hence, integration constitutes an instrument of modern multi-state system. Indeed, a functioning international system necessarily requires a high degree of integration (Mitrany, 1966). While scholars are sharply divided on the definition of integration, there appears to be a consensus that to integrate, in general denotes making a whole out of parts of sovereign regions. In other words, integration turns previously separate units into components of a coherent international system. Integration also designates a relationship among units in which they are mutually interdependent and jointly produce system properties, which they would separately lack. In this study, regional integration was measured in terms of three elements: common tariffs, regional Market and common currency.

The independent variable for this study is the opinion of Heads of State. Head of state has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration. Heads of states play a significant role in enhancing the success of regional integration. Through their role(s) as the representatives of their respective countries, heads of State present the interests of their people and thus push for agenda that seeks to meet such interests. As Kynis (2010) in Holmwood (2005) notes, in USA for instance, former head of State, President Obama, played a key role in enhancing the integration of USA with other Western and Asian economies like China as well as African countries. Through his interventions and enthusiasm, Obama ensured that the USA developed strong ties with other countries. By the time he assumed office in 2009, China's relations with the USA had been strained by President George Bush administration. During his first year in office, President Obama decided to break the rule of thumb (that a sitting American president should not visit China during his first term in office). Instead, he advanced the "return to Asia" policy and through this move diplomatic negotiations were held leading to the revival of business relations between the USA and China. However, the behavior of President Trump was different as during his time, his administration imposed threat of a trade war against China and this ignited a world-wide firestorm of frustration and confusion. In this study, the variable was measured in terms of; enhancement of policy formulation and implementation, fighting insecurity and challenges envisaged.

Contextual Perspective

The East African Community (EAC) dates back to early 1917. A colonialist and imperialist purpose, that of co-ordinated exploitation of East African resources by the British inspired the need for a more united Africa. Later on, Kenya and Uganda came together to promote trade between the two countries and enhance regional transport and movement (Zormelo, 1994). In 1927, Tanzania, then known as Tanganyika, joined the union which translated to East African High commission (EAHC). In the year 1961, the EAHC was converted to East African Common Service Organization (EACSO) which continued to promote regional stability and integrated trade paths until 1967 when EAC was formed. Comprising of three freshly independent countries, the EAC transpired to be a co-joined and well-flourished integrated region where political, economic and social transformations were principle (Kaime, 2004). Since then, there have been tremendous efforts to achieve integration in the region including the creation of supranational authorities and formal economic unions designed to promote intra-regional trade and investment.

Most of the regional co-operation efforts, through the various integration blocs have made major steps. It is undeniable however, that most regional blocs have not been able to fully attain their integration objectives. Accordingly, there are certain factors that contributed to the failure of regional integration efforts in the EAC. Beach and Colette (2007), in Ojo (1985) state that polarization of national development and the perception of unequal gains, inadequacy of compensatory and corrective measures are some of the factors that led to decline of the former EAC. Elsewhere, Keohane & Stanley (2011) note ideological differences as another reason, whereby Kenya being a pro-west capitalist regime was very open to private enterprise, the introduction of foreign investment while

the socialist-oriented regime of Tanzania opted for a self-help strategy known as Ujamaa (socialism) and denounced private enterprise as exploitative and restricted the flow of foreign investment and lastly, there was the impact of foreign influences. The collapse of the EAC in the year 1977 did not see the end of the efforts by the leaders to revive the union. For instance, since the then Kenya's President Daniel Moi was eager to develop the regional market, he reached out to Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere and then Uganda's President Godfrey Binaisa in 1980 and the three held a meeting after ten years since the relations between the three countries had been severely strained leading to the closure of borders and also airspace restrictions. In 1999, the union was revived, and the new EAC came into force in the year 2000 (Rosenau & Ernst-Otto, 2002). With this came the community's zeal to regain its effectiveness and common development agenda including that of expansion of markets and allowing free trade within the member states.

In the year 2009, Burundi and Rwanda joined the union making it a five-member state organization. In the year 2010, Southern Sudan joined the union after it gained its independence from the larger Sudan. Through the secretariat, as the EAC treaty stipulates, it is its responsibility to implement the set policies so as to promote a common interest development agenda. This however has not been the case since most of the implementation duty has been left to the member states who in extension have gone ahead to assign the duty to respective national ministries of the EAC (Shivji, 2009). This has been identified as one of the major challenges that the new EAC has been dealing with and far from that, some of the ministries responsible for the EAC are underfunded and end up not performing their intended mandate (World Bank, 2012). As reported by The Daily Nation (26th June, 2018) a cash crunch has hit EAC integration projects going on in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and South Sudan. The newspaper went on to state that the Northern Corridor projects are at risk of being delayed for rather long unless more money is allocated to them. This was announced during the 14th Summit meeting of the EAC ministers in Nairobi. The EAC budget tabled for the financial year 2018/2019 totals to \$99,770,716 which is a step down from the previous financial year's \$110,130,184. This is according The East Africa, 14th June 2018.

Statement of the problem

For significant growth and development of countries both politically and social-economically, the need for regional integration cannot be ignored. As a result of regional integration, most countries have emerged to become global economic and political giants with their impact being felt across the world. (Wales & Wild, 2012).

The attainment of a fully integrated region among member states of the EAC is paramount since there will be accelerated economic growth and development. The achievement of this greatly depends on the willingness of each of the sitting head of state in their respective countries, to push for the full implementation of all integration policies.

However, as noted by Keohane and Stanley (2011) several factors account for the disintegration of the former EAC. While some are idiosyncratic, others are fundamental in that they affect all integration schemes in the Third World. These factors include polarization of national development and the perception of unequal gains, inadequate compensatory and corrective measures, ideological differences and the rise of economic nationalism; ideological differences often ensure a radically different approach to the concept of development. In the opinion of Keohane and Stanley (2011), ideological differences are sighted among reasons that have slowed down the integration process in the EAC. Former Tanzania President Benjamin Mkapa for instance is said to have been key in accelerating the EAC revival pace and also enforcing harmonized regional trade policies. Former President Magufuli on the other hand was in The East African of October, 2020.

It is thus critical to analyze how the behavior of Heads of State affects regional integration since each head of State will approach integration policies differently. As such, this study has explored the possible role of personal interests towards regional integration.

Research Objectives

Specific objectives included:

- (i) To analyze the role that the heads of State are expected to play towards enhancing policy formulation, implementation on regional integration in East African Community
- (ii) To examine the effects of insecurity on regional integration in East Africa.
- (iii) To establish the challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region.

METHODOLOGY

Research design

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

Study population and Target population

The study population comprised of 432 employees based at the Ministry of East African Community.

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

Sample size

Sample size determination is the act of choosing the number of observations or replicates to include in a sample in an empirical study in which the goal is to make inferences about a population from a sample. This study chose 30% of each category of the target population as the sample size. Mugenda (2008), proposes that considering at least 30% of a stratum in a population reflects an ideal representation of the study population. The sample size for the study was therefore comprised of a total of 130 respondents as portrayed on table 3.1.

Sampling Strategies

According to Bachmann & Sidaway (2010), sampling involves doing a strategic selection of representatives of the target population that will feature in the actual study. The major concern when adopting a sampling technique is to what extent it can be seen as a representative sample of the information needed (Bryman & Bell, 2011). Stratified random sampling was used in the study whereby respondents were divided into smaller sub-groups. With a cumulative number of all officials at the State department for East African integration, random numbers of specific officials who deal with East African integration policies was considered.

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

Table 1: Target population, sample size and sampling methods

Category	Target population	Sample size	Sampling method	Percentage
Department officials on EAC affairs	240	72	Stratified random sampling	30%
Ambassadors	102	31	Purposive sampling	30%
Foreign Policy officials	90	27	Purposive sampling	30%
Total	432	130		30%

Source: Ministry of EAC (2017)

Data collection instruments

In the study, the use of structured questionnaires and an individual interview schedule to get primary data from the respondents in every category in the sample size was adopted in this study. A questionnaire, according to Kothari (2008) consists of a set of questions that have a designed flow and aims at gathering specific information from respondents in an area of interest in a study. The individual interview is a one-on-one interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee and is purposely geared towards eliciting the interviewee's knowledge on a certain topic that is of interest to the interviewer. The questionnaires were administered to the

department officials of EAC affairs and ambassadors. The interview sessions were scheduled for the foreign policy experts. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed. Transcribing was essential to carefully examine the answers of the participants and to lower the risk of my analysis being influenced by my own biasness and values. The questionnaire was divided into four sections whereby the first section focused on the demographic equation, the second, third and fourth sections focused on the first, second and third study questions respectively.

Data processing

The collected data were edited to identify errors, omissions, and ambiguities in the responses. The same data were categorized and entered into the computer for analysis and summarization in form of tables and figures using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS).

Data Analysis

Data collected through the individual interviews, which is qualitative data was analyzed through a combination of two approaches; one is the framework analysis which according to Pope *et al* (2000), is a method that involves examination of the data with a pre-defined framework, which reflects your aims and objectives, the indexing, charting, mapping and finally interpreting the data. This allowed the study to narrow down to a particular answer and forego the rest. The second approach was the thematic analysis and it took a more explanatory approach whereby all data was coded. For the data collected through the structured questionnaire which was quantitative data, data master sheets and tally sheets were used for both open and close-ended questions, information was first summarized in a tabular or statistical form then presented in description using words. Editing of the data would be done to ensure it is uniform and accurate, checked mistakes, omitted information and inconsistencies that may have interfered with the general outlook as presented by the respondents that had been sampled.

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Profile of the respondents

The study sought the respondents’ demographic information which included Gender, age bracket, level of education, and work experience. According to the UN report on East Africa Community, age and gender of the respondents vary depending on the roles and responsibilities they play on matters relating to East Africa Community integration.

Response Rate

The response rate was key in determining whether the study attained a reliable number of respondents to make conclusions and recommendations. The study had a sample of 130 respondents who were surveyed using a structured questionnaire. A response rate of 81.5% (106 respondents) was achieved and the data used for analysis. Therefore, this made the study appropriate to make conclusions and recommendations since according to Creswell (2005), 30-60% response rate in a field of study passes as appropriate for drawing conclusions and giving necessary recommendations. The 24% non-response was due to delays in filling and thus giving back the questionnaires and non-availability of some of the targeted officers for interviews as per the schedules due to work commitments. Table 4.1 below presents the response rate.

Table2:Response Rate

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

Table 3: Demographic Characteristics of Respondents (n=106)

MAIN CATEGORY	SUB-CATEGORY	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Gender	Male	62	58.4%
	Female	44	41.6%
	Total	106	100.0

Age of respondents	18-25	08	7.4%
	26-35	15	14.2%
	36-45	29	27.4%
	46-55	23	21.7%
	56-60	20	18.9%
	61 and Above	11	10.4%
	Total	106	100.0
Highest Education Level	A' Level Certificate	11	10.4%
	Diploma	21	19.8%
	Bachelor	49	46.2%
	Master	25	23.6%
	Total	106	100.0

Source: Primary Data (2022) Table3 illustrates that in respect to gender, the males were 62(58.4%) and female 44(41.6%). The findings imply that the male respondents dominated the study, meaning that they occupy most of the positions in the Ministry of East African Community. Moreover, the findings portray that the sample size was representative of all genders thus promoting diversity in the responses gathered. This finding is in line with Murgia & Poggio (2019), who found out that in a modern social science research, gender is a social variable that cannot be over-looked in any field hence focusing on it gives a clear understanding on how it has been embraced in advocating for equity.

The findings show that 29(27.4%) were between that category of age 36-45 years; 23 (21.7%) of the respondents were between 46-55 years; 20(18.9%) were between 56-60 years; 15(14.2%) were between 26-35 years; whereas 11(10.4%) were aged 61 and above years and those of 18-25 years were 8(7.4%).The findings imply that majority of respondents at the Ministry of East Africa Community offices were middle aged and this means that a good number of them are mature enough to understand and respond objectively to matters relating to integration. A study whose respondents' age effectively cuts across various ages ought to have responses that are more diverse. The finding implies further means that age is a social variable and plays a significant role when it comes to decision making.

Education wise, 49(46.2%) of the respondents had attained degree level qualifications, 25(23.6%) of the respondents were Masters Degree holders, 21(19.8%) of the respondents were at diploma level and the remaining 11(10.4%) of the respondents were holders of A' level certificates. The findings imply that most the respondents serving the EAC ministry in different capacities have their peak level of academics as the university undergraduate degree, thus were considered competent enough to comprehend matters relating to regional integrations. This further suggests that by establishing the level of education of ambassadors as well as officials on EAC affairs, the study would establish whether the information on their level of education could give an upper hand in terms of supporting and pushing for policies that are geared towards a fully integrated East Africa Community.

Descriptive Analysis of the Study Variables and Presentation of findings from the study objectives

The presentation herein shows the analysis of the findings as per the objectives of the study. A systematically presentation of the findings in the order in which the questions appeared on the questionnaire and the main statistics used included standard deviation and means.

Findings for Research Question One

This area of knowledge sought to find out roles that can be undertaken by any head of State in Uganda in terms of enhancing policy formulation and implementation that can significantly contribute to regional integration. Respondents were asked to state to what extent they agreed on specific statements and their feedback represented on table 4.3 below.

Table4:Showing the role that the Heads of State are expected to play towards enhancing policy formulation, implementation and regional integration in East African Community.

INDICATORS	SD	D	N	A	SA	MEAN	ST.DEV
Heads of state have the key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration	8(7.5%)	13(12.3%)	5(4.7%)	22(20.8%)	58(54.7%)	3.01	1.02
Through the appointments made by the heads of state, the regional integration is enhanced	9(8.5%)	11(10.4%)	7(6.6%)	26(24.5%)	53(50.0%)	3.30	1.17
As the head of state, the president has the role of presenting the interests of the country at the commission to have them embedded for better regional integration	6(5.7%)	8(7.5%)	4(3.8%)	38(35.8%)	51(48.1%)	2.90	1.45
You are satisfied with the current regime on their efforts to ensure faster regional integration	7(6.6%)	11(10.4%)	18(17.0%)	41(35.8%)	29(27.3%)	4.12	1.19
You believe that through consultative meetings the Heads of State can enhance the regional integration process	9(8.5%)	10(9.4%)	20(18.9%)	38(39.1%)	29(27.4%)	3.73	1.14
AVERAGE						3.41	1.19

Source: Primary Data (2022)

With the first statement, the findings in Table 4 indicate that 54.7% of the respondents strongly agreed, while 20.8% agreed and 19.8% (12.3% disagreed, 7.5% strongly disagreed) and 4.7% were undecided on whether heads of State have the key role to promote policies that enhance regional integration. The statement had a mean 3.1 and standard deviation of 1.0. On the second statement majority of the respondents agreed as represented by 74.5% , 50% strongly agreed and 24.5% agreed. 6.6% were not sure, while 18.9% (10.4% disagree and 8.5 strongly disagreed) with 6.6% neither disagreeing nor agreeing that through the appointments made by the heads of state, the regional integration is enhanced. The statement has a mean 3.3 and standard deviation of 1.1. On the last statement, a big percentage of the respondents agreed as indicated by 83.9% (48.1% strongly agreed ,35.8% agreed, while 13.2% (7.5% disagreed, 5.7% strongly disagreed. And 3.8% were of undecided opinions that the head of State has a role of presenting the interests of the country at the community to have them embedded for better regional integration. The statement has a mean of 2.9 and standard deviation of 1.4.

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

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

Interviewee 001

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

“Through policy formulation as well as legal framework, the head of State can enhance regional integration. This can be done through the appointment of representatives who have both broad knowledge as well as experience in related fields so that they can present the country’s interests on matters of trade and security that directly impact on regional integration.”

Interviewee 001

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

Findings for Research Question Two

This section mainly concerns responses from the second objective of the study which was to examine the effects of insecurity on regional integration in East Africa. The study results are presented in the table 4.4 below;

Table5:How insecurity affects EAC regional integration

INDICATORS	SD	D	N	A	SA	MEAN	ST.DEV
There has been no security threat posed to affect the spirit of integration	10(9.4%)	12(11.3%)	20(18.9%)	45(42.5%)	39(36.8%)	3.59	1.16
Without cooperation, the acts of terrorism and external attacks can affect the desire for integration	4(3.8%)	2(1.9%)	15(14.2%)	40(37.7%)	45(42.5%)	4.06	.619
You believe that national security is key for a country’s development	6(5.7%)	9(8.5%)	3(2.8%)	25(23.6%)	63(59.4%)	3.30	1.40
You believe that cooperation is very important for the promotion of national security	6(5.6%)	9(8.5%)	3(2.8%)	29(27.4%)	57(53.8%)	3.20	1.00
The national security budget has not increased due to the spirit of solidarity	5(4.7%)	7(6.6%)	2(1.9%)	37(34.9%)	55(51.9%)	3.20	1.00
AVERAGE						3.72	1.03

Source: Primary Data (2022)

From the above Table 5, it is evident that 42.5% agreed that there has been no security threat posed to affect the spirit of integration, 36.8% strongly agreed, 18.9% were not sure, 11.3% disagreed and 9.4% found no security threat posed in regards to efforts aimed at regional integration. The statement has a mean of 3.59 and standard deviation of 1.16.

On whether without cooperation, the acts of terrorism and external attacks can affect the desire for integration 42.5% strongly agreed, 37.7% agreed, 14.2% were not sure while 1.9% disagreed with the statement and 3.8% also strongly disagreed with the statement. The statement has a mean of 4.06 and standard deviation of .619 correspondingly. Finally, 51.9% found out that because of the the spirit of solidarity national security budget has not increased , 34.9% agreed, while 1.9% were not sure, while 6.6% disagreed with the statement and 4.7% also strongly disagreed with the statement. The statement has a mean of 3.20 and standard deviation of 1.00.

The impact of security towards integration was echoed by the some of the interviewees.

“Y.K Museveni regime has done a lot in constructing peace in the region by for example being friendly with his fellow counterparts and where necessary offering troops in other countries so that terrorists can be controlled”.

Findings for Research Question Three

The study sought to establish the challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region. The study results are presented in the table 4.5 below;

Table 6: Challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region.

INDICATORS	SD	D	N	A	SA	MEAN	ST.DEV
You always carry out an assessment to establish the level at which the regional integration should be done	6(5.7%)	9(8.5%)	15(14.2%)	50(47.2%)	26(24.5%)	3.51	1.10

You have set common goals as a State to ensure faster regional integration	5(4.7%)	19(18.0%)	26(24.5%)	35(33.0%)	21(19.9%)	4.01	.514
You believe that the current regime is very active in enhancing regional integration	6(5.7%)	9(8.5%)	25(23.6%)	25(23.6%)	41(38.7%)	3.33	1.47
You believe that the current regime has allocated enough resources to the implantation of the regional integration strategies to speed up the process	10(9.4%)	9(8.5%)	5(4.7%)	39(36.8%)	43(40.6%)	3.27	1.08
AVERAGE						3.53	1.04

Source: Primary Data (2022)

The findings from Table 6 portrayed that majority of the respondents as represented by 47.2% agreed that they always carry out an assessment to establish the level at which the regional integration should be done, 24.5% strongly agreed, 14.2% were undecided. Those who strongly disagreed and disagreed were represented by 5.7% and 8.5% respectively. The findings implied that although an assessment is always done to establish the level of regional integration, little has been done with regard to speedy solving of boarder conflicts especially between Uganda and Rwanda.

Rating on whether States have set common goals to ensure faster regional integration, majority of the respondents as represented by 33.0% agreed, 24.5% were not sure, 19.9% strongly agreed. Those who strongly disagreed and disagreed were represented by 4.7% and 18.0 % respectively.

On whether the current regime is very active in enhancing regional integration majority of the respondents as represented by 38.7% strongly agreed, 23.6% agreed, 23.6% were not sure. Those who strongly disagreed and disagreed were represented by 5.7% and 8.5% respectively.

On believing that the current regime has allocated enough resources to the implantation of the regional integration strategies, the findings above portrayed that 40.6% strongly agreed, 36.8% agreed, 4.7% were not sure whereas 9.4% and 8.5% strongly disagreed and disagreed respectively. The findings implied that the EAC governments can steer effort of integration as long as they are willing to plough in more resources which will go along with creating a friendly environment of trade between and among the states, which will in turn result to mutual benefit of member states.

These findings reflect in one of the interviews as well.

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

Interviewee 002

Conclusions

From the findings of the study, the researcher derived the following conclusions, as per the study objectives.

Roles that the Heads of State are expected to play towards enhancing policy formulation, implementation and regional integration in East African Community

Roles of Heads of State which was rated moderate often has a big significant potential to promote regional integration Even though roles of State was found not being excellent, divergence views can delay the intentions of regional integration. It can therefore be deduced that political will of Heads of State will lead to regional integration success and the reverse is also true.

Effects of insecurity on regional integration in East Africa

Security which was rated moderate often has a big significant potential to promote regional integration. Even though security was found not being excellent, insecurity in some member countries can lead to collapse of regional integration. It can therefore be deduced that fighting insurgence will lead to regional integration success and the reverse is also true.

Challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region

Addressing challenges which was rated moderate often has a big significant potential to promote regional integration. Even though challenges were found not alarming, without addressing political, economic, suspicion and financial challenges can lead to collapse of regional integration. It can therefore be deduced that fixing challenges will lead to regional integration success and the reverse is also true.

Recommendations

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher provides the following recommendations. These recommendations are in line with the study objectives. The Ministry of East African Community need to ensure that they;

Roles that the Heads of State are expected to play towards enhancing policy formulation, implementation and regional integration in East African Community

All Heads of member States need to enhance regional integration. Each head of State needs to make an impact towards the regional integration agenda. Even though not all is accomplished by the time one vacates office, the fact that is that each sitting president should prioritize governance issues that are in line with the desires of all well wishing members. Key aspects which they need to focus on include; fulfilling regional commitments touching on integration as well as establishing linkages between different regional policies and strategies. This will enable harmonization of policies amongst countries.

Effects of insecurity on regional integration in East Africa

Improve security to enhance regional integration. Key aspects that the Ministry of EAC needs to focus on are: collaborative fighting of terrorism, fighting war insurgents, fighting rebels not allowing rebels safe training grounds in other countries. This should be done in form of having joint military trainings, and mutual respect of one another.

Challenges affecting the process of achieving a fully integrated East African region

Address all challenges that affect regional integration dream. Key aspects that the Ministry of EAC needs to focus on are: understanding why Africa was colonized by the whites in the first place, developing the spirit of Pan-Africanism, and addressing corruption. This should be done by having a clear mind set towards the need for regional integration.

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