

Regime Typologies of EAC Member States and Their Impact on East Africa Integration

¹Murumba Wangamati, ²Frank K. Matanga, ³Pontian Godfrey Okoth,
⁴Constancia A. Mumma Martinon

¹Maseno University

²Masinde Muliro University

^{3,4}University of Nairobi

Abstract: Regional integration has been tried worldwide and what makes integration succeed is a phenomenon for research. East Africa Community (EAC) as it was before its collapse in 1977 comprised Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. EAC Treaty signed in 1999 reintroduced integration efforts in the region and eventually opened up for Rwanda and Burundi to join the EAC as member states. Four pillars informing EAC's integration include; a Customs Union, a Common Market, a Monetary Union and a Political Federation. This paper sought to examine the influence of member states regimes on East Africa integration in the context of the revived East Africa Community. The paper examines the variable of 'Regime Types'. The conceptual framework for this study is anchored in the Neo-functional theory that explains regionalism and regional integration. Other frameworks are, Federalism, and the Realist approach. The study employed a descriptive survey design that gave latitude to extensive usage of questionnaires as an instrument of probity given its flexibility. Data collection was purposive at the East Africa Community Secretariat in Arusha, while random sampling was used at border point areas. Data collection instruments were questionnaires. Qualitative data was analyzed thematically and verbatim presented as narratives. Descriptive statistics are presented in form of percentages and frequencies in all objectives. The findings indicate that indeed regime types among the member states influence regional integration negatively. Some recommendations advanced are as follows: Hybrid Regimes make EACs integration vulnerable to the whims of the leaders. Thus the regimes must fully embrace democracy. There is need to harmonize member states constitutions and actualize human rights fully. The newly formed anti-corruption association in East Africa should be fully supported and operationalized in member countries. The Principle of separation of powers between the Judiciary, Legislature and the Executive should be fully adhered to by member states. Electoral processes should meet the thresholds of one man one vote and all votes counted, must count in final outcomes to reflect people's wishes. Civic education must be carried out among member states citizenry for them to know what ideal democracy is all about, i.e. respect for civil liberties. Further, there is an urgent need for Political transitional predictability in Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. However, there is also the need to cherish the importance of diversity on one hand and to sensitize people against its misuse, without necessarily criminalizing ethnic reference. There is an urgent need to address the gap between majority poor and fewer rich through social capitalism ideology since the "welfare state" has failed and has become a 'fare thee well', 'State'.

Keywords: Regime types: Democracy, Stability, Freedoms, Corruption, Ethnicity, Elections, & Influencing Integration.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study:

The focus being East Africa Integration efforts among Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania goes back to the colonial period when Imperial British East Africa Company (IBEA) built the Kenya – Uganda Railway in 1897 to expedite extraction of resources from East Africa. Later, establishment of East African High Commission between 1947 to 1961 was to oversee this extraction [1].

East African High Commission doubled as an administrative and Legislative Assembly, enacting laws for East African Railway and Harbors, East African Post and Telegraph, East African Currency Board set up in 1905 and the Postal Union that had been put in place in 1911. Ormsby Commission recommended setting up of a Customs Union and the harmonization of Commercial Laws [2]

East Africa High Commission was disbanded in 1961 following Tanganyika's independence and in its place, the East African Common Services (EACSO) emerged to oversee operations of external trade, transport, communications, university education, fiscal and monetary policies. Subsequently, a Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation was formed in 1967 which fostered East Africa Community through a treaty for East African Co-operation signed in 1967 [3].

It became difficult to run EAC's affairs, when, Tanzania refused to recognize Idi Amin's regime in Uganda after the overthrow of Milton Obote. Charles Njonjo, then Kenya's Attorney General, summarized her position as one that recognizes states and not governments (Adar and Mutahi, 1994). Further, different political ideologies, inadequate policy implementation, fragile governance and inadequate compensation mechanisms, led to its collapse in 1977 (EAC Dialogue no 4, 2001) Umbrich Mediation talks held in 1984 resulted in division of assets and liabilities among the three member states, who agreed to explore areas of future co-operation [4].

Subsequently, East African Heads of states met in Harare-Zimbabwe, with an objective of reviving East Africa Co-operation. This led to the signing of an agreement of establishing a Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation on 30th November 1993, with a Secretariat in Arusha by 1996 [5].

President Yoweri Kaguta Museveni of Uganda, former President Torotich Arap Moi of Kenya and Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania, at a summit in Arusha on 29th April 1977, directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East Africa Co-operation to be upgraded into a treaty. Consequently, on 22nd January 1999 at another summit in Arusha, they signed a treaty reviving the East African Community (EAC). This Treaty came into force on 7th July 2000 [4].

Rwanda and Burundi formally joined the East African Community, after the fifth extraordinary summit of the heads of state signed the treaties of consent. The summit warmly welcomed the new entrants, whose membership took effect from July 1, 2007 [6].

Introduction of East African Passport was then launched on April 1999. The Colonial High Commission as headed by the last three colonial Governors (Sir Malcom MacDonald-Kenya, Sir Walter Coutts-Uganda and Sir Richard Gordon Turnbull-Tanzania), of East Africa is today headed by respective presidents Uhuru Kenyatta of Kenya, Jakaya Kiwete of Tanzania, Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, Paul Kagame of Rwanda and Pierre Nkurunziza of Burundi. The Court of Appeal for East African Court of Justice and the triumvirate is now the Committee of Ministers who advises the summit [4].

Having perused through the background, it was necessary to state the problem in East Africa in the context of East Africa integration that triggered this study.

1.2 Statement of the problem:

Different political ideologies, inadequate policy implementation, fragile governance, and inadequate compensation mechanisms led to the collapse of the EAC in 1977. Umbrich Mediation talks held in 1984 had a safety valve for member states to explore areas of future Co-operation, [2]. On 22nd January 1999 at a summit in Arusha, Kenya Uganda and Tanzania signed a Treaty re-establishing the East Africa Community which came into force on 7th July 2000 [5]

Introduction of a divide and rule system in Uganda through probing up of Kingdoms and general instability rolls back integration efforts [7]. While botched elections of 2007 in Kenya put her on the brink of a failed state, is preoccupied with soughting out historical injustices, implementation of the 2010 new constitution and actualization of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission report (TJRC report) to rebuild peace [8]. Kagame's consensual democracy did not build a strong coherent nation state and sheer turmoil in Burundi as orchestrated by rebel activities, caved towards instability. Therefore, these regimes were not congruent to the spirit of integration.

Secondly, ethnicity in Eastern Africa manifested itself in Rwanda's genocide of 1994, spilled over to Burundi and ignited passions after a contested 2007 elections in Kenya. In Uganda, probed up Kingdoms based on ethnic affiliations with the Baganda being the largest of them all is questionable. Negative ethnicity beyond national frontiers to a regional level, was

as well the a recipe of the ultimate collapse for the newly revived East African Community, given that leaders in northern Uganda had expressed a possibility of uniting with the fellow Luo in Southern Sudan to form a 'Nile State', one that would find ties in Kenya, where the Luo live as well, [7]. The problem was compounded by fear of most Tanzanians who were afraid that their country risked being infected with ethnicity problems that characterized politics in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi [9].

In the same vein, it is observed that EAC's integration will not bear a populist regional agenda but instead, a spiraling of "tribal" fragmentations to maintain some leaders of the region, in power. He wrote "It is an effort at re-drawing tribal boundaries for larger conflation of ethnic hegemonic practices at the national levels". [10]. The questions that arise are, is ethnicity a challenge to EAC integration efforts? Lastly, will economic disparity between the five EAC member states come back to haunt a revived East Africa Community? Consequently, the following pertinent questions arise which this study sought to address: Do the Regime types of EAC member states enhance integration efforts? Secondly, to what extent is ethnicity a factor in regional integration, within the East Africa Community? Lastly, do differences in investment ability affect regional integration?

Overall then, in as much as EAC has been revived to include Burundi and Rwanda, there are serious concerns that the very challenges that led to the collapse of the old version of EAC, may as well return to haunt the newly revived Community, unless, certain fundamental issues are addressed. Thus below are objectives and the burning questions that the study attempted to address.

1.3 Objectives of the study:

Overall objective was to examine the socio-economic and political challenges facing the integration process within the framework of the newly formed East Africa Community.

1.4 The specific objectives were to:

- i). To examine the influence of existing regime types in East Africa on regional integration.
- ii). To assess the role of ethnicity in East African regional integration.
- iii). To analyze the influence of levels of economic development among member states on regional integration.

1.5 Justification of the Study:

Most researches have focused on the defunct EAC. For instance, Adar and Ngunyi, observed that Tanzania refused to recognize Idi Amin's regime in Uganda and gave political asylum to deposed Milton Obote who had led a coup de tat in Uganda. They cited other causes that led to the collapse of the EAC as follows; different political ideologies, inadequate policy implementation, fragile governance, and inadequate compensation mechanism for the Community's existence. Personality politics among presidents Amin, Nyerere and Kenyatta formed the axis upon which the defunct EAC existed, which became a catharsis to its survival [2]. Further, those studies were done during the cold war era where political ideologies of communism and capitalism between the East and West blocs, were the controlling variables.

On policy justification, this study hopes to assist policy makers to avoid replicating past weaknesses that accounted for the collapse of the defunct EAC. The quest to harmonize policies among member states of the enlarged East Africa Community necessitates the need for such a study. Two treaties have been signed among the Member states that provide for a Common Market and a Customs Union. Domestication of such treaties need policy direction of line Ministries concerned with integration like the Ministries of East Africa Cooperation, Foreign Affairs and other relevant sectoral Ministries, which this study hopes to contribute towards.

1.6 Scope of the Study:

The research was carried out amongst bona-fide member states of the newly formed East African Community. The membership include: Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi. Representatives of the member states are all housed in Arusha-Tanzania, where the researcher was able to get the position on EAC, and corroborated that with responses from the general populace at various border points and border towns and markets within Eastern Africa. The study period is based on the revived EAC which is from 1999. The population of EAC estimated 149,959,317 in 2013 [13]. Probability random sampling was used to arrive at the sample for this study.

II. METHODOLOGY

Table I: Location of Research marked in red: EAC Border point areas

Countries	Kenya	Tanzania	Uganda	Burundi	Rwanda
First stage cluster sample of the Boarder points	Namanga	Horo	*Busia	Nyaviruye	Nyakabanda
	Moshi	Horo	Uganda	Magunzu	*Kanyaru/Rukomo
	Lunga	Masaka	*Gatuna	*Ngozi	*Kigali
	Lunga	*Arusha town	Kafunzo	*Nyanza	
	Busia Kenya	*Namanga	Mukanika		
	*Bungoma		Kikadati		
*Malaba		Ngara			
			Malaba		

Second stage was a sample of respondents within those areas. The Population was divided into clusters based on geographical area, as well as various group occupations that existed around the border areas. Clustering is sometimes introduced after the sampling phase in a process called “post clustering”. This approach is typically implemented due to a lack of prior knowledge of an appropriate clustering variable or when the researcher lacks the necessary information to create a clustering variable during the study [12]. Likewise, with a Target population 130,701,048 and a study population from all border points estimated at 1,000,007, propositions from Mugenda and Mugenda [11] would suffice for sample size determination using the following scientific formula:

$$(N = \frac{Z^2 pq}{d^2})$$

d^2 standard deviation

In the case where the target population with similar experience if more then 10,000 and the desired accuracy is sought at 0.05 levels, the Z statistics is 1.96

Thus, the sample was calculated as stated below using the formula

$$N = \frac{Z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

$$n = \frac{(1.96)^2 (0.5) (0.5)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n = (1.96 \times 1.96 \times 0.5 \times 0.5 \times 0.05 \times 0.05)$$

$$n = 384.16$$

$$n = 384$$

Data collection instruments were questionnaires. According to Kothari, questionnaires are flexible, attract high response rate and affords the researcher an opportunity to collect supplementary information [14]. Therefore, primary data was obtained by use of open ended questions (unstructured), answered through narratives and close ended (structured) questions through multiple choice answers availed to them. The same instrument was used on officials at EAC secretariat. Documents that included Journals, newsletters and books related to EACs integration were read by the researcher for critical policy analysis. Internet based materials were read for more insights on EACs integration, regimes, ethnicity and investment dynamics.

Qualitative data was analyzed thematically and verbatim responses presented as narratives for all the objectives. Coded data from questionnaires were entered into a computer data sheet using a computer software Program: Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) and cross tabulated and presented as frequencies and percentages for all objectives.

Limitations included French and Kiswahili speaking countries that needed language interpretation for successful feedback by respondents. The researcher overcame this through the support of the local research assistants and language friendly questionnaires.

III. FINDINGS

Findings on the regime types of East Africa Community member states and how those typologies affect integration between them was as follows:

Table II: What type of regimes were found in East Africa Community

		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International Non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
Democratic	Count	44	12	14	7	100	43	64	284
	% of Total	11.5%	3.1%	3.6%	1.8%	26.0%	11.2%	16.7%	74.0%
Autocratic	Count	14	7	0	5	25	8	19	78
	% of Total	3.6%	1.8%	.0%	1.3%	6.5%	2.1%	4.9%	20.3%
Totalitarian	Count	0	1	0	3	10	3	5	22
	% of Total	.0%	.3%	.0%	.8%	2.6%	.8%	1.3%	5.7%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100.0%

Source: Field Data

On whether East Africa Community member states were democratic, autocratic or totalitarian, a total aggregate of 284 respondents which is 74%, perceived their country as democratic. A total aggregate of 78 respondents which is 20% opined that their regimes were autocratic while a total aggregate of 22 respondents which is 6% responded that the regimes were totalitarian. In Support of the above findings, was a respondent from Tanzania whose voice captured many other respondents as follows:

‘Kidemokrasia’ meaning ‘Democratic regimes’. ‘Kwa sababu inchi zaendeshwa kidemokrasia’ meaning ‘Because all this countries are on run democratically’.

Further in agreement with above findings was the East Africa Secretariat that observes as follows:

‘member states are working towards greater democratic environment indicated by multi-party elections through transparent and open processes’.

It further observed that democratic consolidation in EAC faced drawbacks from perennial conflicts within the horn of Africa, terrorism, piracy, proliferation of small arms and an influx of refugees into the region [15].

On the contrary, a respondent from Burundi had this to say:

‘Je crois que notre pays est connu comme un pays democrate mais re’ellement il n’y a pas la liberte d’expression’, meaning ‘I believe that our country is known to be democratic but there is really no freedom of expression’.

Diamonds aptly diagnosed regimes that held elections, but were neither democratic nor autocratic, as hybrid [16]. and EAC regimes fall under this typology, except for Rwanda which is autocratic. In his own words “The post-Cold War world has been marked by the proliferation of hybrid political regimes. In different ways, and to varying degrees, politics across much of Africa are Hybrid regimes combining democratic and authoritarian elements”. He further advances that in regimes where elections were authoritarian facade, the ruling or dominant party won almost all the seats as was the case of Rwanda and Uganda.

Tenets of democracy such as freedom of expression and human rights were in jeopardy. Perceptions and practice, acutely contradicted each other as empirically arrived at. A respondent from Rwanda had this to say:

‘Car tous les droits du citoyens ne sont pas remplis’, meaning, ‘not all the rights of citizens are observed’. Yet another from Burundi said ‘Parce que ceux qui veulent parler ou decrocher le secret malheureux sont poursuivis et condamne en prison’, meaning ‘those who want to reveal hidden information, are pursued and imprisoned’.

In past general elections in Tanzania, the ruling party Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM) only gave lip service to democratic procedures. In Zanzibar, the opposition fared much worse than Kenya in 1997 general elections [17].

Political participation was problematic in some member states, as was the case in Rwanda in 2010, where elections were held without viable alternatives to the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Smaller parties like the Democratic Green Party of Rwanda (*Parti Democratique Vert du Rwanda*) or Social Party Imberakuri (*Parti Social Imberakuri, PSI*), were blocked from participation by administrative means. Subsequently, President Kagame was re-elected for a new seven-year term with 93.08% of the vote [18].

Kagame's opponent, Victoire Ingabire, was arrested on arrival at Kigali airport from the Netherlands, for allegedly having contacts with "persons denying participation in genocide" and with rebel groups in eastern DRC [18]. A respondent captured the situation in Rwanda as follows:

'There isn't freedom of expression. Most decisions are made by decree and there isn't room for deliberation. Opposition leaders have been threatened and even imprisoned'.

The nature of EAC regimes reveal that a total aggregate of 267 which is 69% of the respondents held that elections were held frequently, though, a total aggregate of 21 respondents which is 6%, underscored the point that such elections were not free and fair. 'No free elections' a respondent from Uganda wrote claimed. A total aggregate of 80 respondents which is 20% cited ethnically motivated electorate and a total aggregate of 9 respondents which is 2% said violence occurs during elections and a total aggregate of 5 respondents which is 1% cited nationalism. These responses are tabulated below

Table III: Indicators about the nature of EAC Regimes

Why did you say so		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
	Count	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.5%
Elections are held periodically	Count	31	18	10	9	102	34	63	267
	% of Total	8.1%	4.7%	2.6%	2.3%	26.6%	8.9%	16.4%	69.5%
Elections are not free and fair	Count	4	0	0	3	6	3	5	21
	% of Total	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.8%	1.6%	.8%	1.3%	5.5%
Ethnic divisions	Count	18	2	4	2	24	14	16	80
	% of Total	4.7%	.5%	1.0%	.5%	6.3%	3.6%	4.2%	20.8%
Violence occurs during elections	Count	3	0	0	0	2	3	1	9
	% of Total	.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%	.8%	.3%	2.3%
Nationalism	Count	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	5
	% of Total	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.5%	1.3%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

A voice of a respondent from Kenya supports this position as follows:

Kila mwanainchi aliyehitimu miaka kumi na nane ana fursa ya kuchagua kiongozi yeyote'. Meaning 'that any citizen who has attained the age of eighteen has a chance to elect any leader of their choice'. Yet another voice added: 'Unashirikisha mfumo wa vyama vingi kwenya uchaguzi' meaning: "there is participation of many political parties in the electoral process". Yet another voice added as follows: 'Inatoa wabunge wajumuiya' Meaning: 'It nominates leaders to East Africa community'.

Rwanda is case that lacked political competition, and percolation of the state in all realms of society is pathological. He asserted that Rwanda was far from being a "power-sharing consensus democracy", as described by her ruling elite and instead described her as an authoritarian and repressive regime, allergic to ethnic reference christened as "divisionism". Nepotism, self aggrandizement, corruption and political facade laced up with voting by public queuing system, cemented authoritarianism [18].

In line with the above, Walle observed that Africa's south of the Sahara had relatively small number of both democracies and full-blown dictatorships, along with a large number of "hard-to-define regimes" that fit neither category [19]. . In such countries, electoral politics was disappointing as corruption, abuses of power and economic crises continued to plague national life. Democracy with adjectives and election observers straining to qualify multi party politics are the practice in the region.

On the issue of enhancement of integration among EAC regimes, a total aggregate of 218 respondents which is 56% of the respondents, felt that their regimes enhanced integration efforts within the East Africa Community. A total aggregate of 132 respondents which is 34% did not know or did not respond and a total aggregate of 17 respondents which is 4.4% opined that their regimes did not enhance integration efforts. Indeed there has been some progress towards integration but whether that progress is built on solid foundations to avoid a relapse is the pre-occupation of this study based on a critical look at the processes within.

Indicators for enhancement of integration were the signing of the 1999 treaty that reintroduced the East Africa Community and this was cited by a total aggregate of 208 respondents which is 54%. Whilst a total aggregate of 37 respondents which is 10% pointed at participation in state affairs as an indicator, a total aggregate of 109 respondents which is 28.4% did not respond, a total aggregate of 22 respondents which is 5.7% did not know and a total aggregate of 8 respondents which is 2.1% cited unfair elections as an indicator for disintegration. These are illustrated in the table below.

Table IV: Indicators for EAC Integration

What were the indicators?		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
Do not know	Count	7	0	0	0	11	2	2	22
	% of Total	1.8%	.0%	.0%	.0%	2.9%	.5%	.5%	5.7%
Signed EAC agreement	Count	20	11	4	9	79	31	54	208
	% of Total	5.2%	2.9%	1.0%	2.3%	20.6%	8.1%	14.1%	54.2%
Allows people to participate in state affairs	Count	4	5	2	0	12	4	10	37
	% of Total	1.0%	1.3%	.5%	.0%	3.1%	1.0%	2.6%	9.6%
No response	Count	23	4	8	6	30	17	21	109
	% of Total	6.0%	1.0%	2.1%	1.6%	7.8%	4.4%	5.5%	28.4%
Elections are not fair	Count	4	0	0	0	3	0	1	8
	% of Total	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.8%	.0%	.3%	2.1%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: field Data

East Africa Community Treaty was signed on 30th November 1999 and entered into force on 7th July 2000, following ratification by three countries i.e., Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Later, the Republic of Burundi and Rwanda signed the Treaty on 18th June 2007, 1st July 2007 respectively [20].

Electoral processes and challenges of integration within EAC framework:

Probing the scale to which electoral processes within EAC regimes affected integration, a total aggregate of 111 respondents which is 29% opined that it posed a very great challenge on integration because of electoral malpractices. A total aggregate of 42 respondents which is 11% cited minimal effects. Whilst a total aggregate of 91 respondents which is 24% opined that electoral processes within member countries did not affect integration. A total aggregate of 74 respondents which is 19% did not know.

Table V: Respondents vies on electoral processes and Integration

		Organization								
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total	
To what scale did this challenge regional integration within EAC?	None	Count	24	4	5	0	33	6	19	91
	% of Total	6.3%	1.0%	1.3%	.0%	8.6%	1.6%	4.9%	23.7%	
Do not know	Count	4	4	0	8	24	9	25	74	
	% of Total	1.0%	1.0%	.0%	2.1%	6.3%	2.3%	6.5%	19.3%	
Less Great	Count	8	6	1	2	12	6	7	42	
	% of Total	2.1%	1.6%	.3%	.5%	3.1%	1.6%	1.8%	10.9%	
No response	Count	7	1	5	2	14	5	3	37	
	% of Total	1.8%	.3%	1.3%	.5%	3.6%	1.3%	.8%	9.6%	
Great	Count	4	2	1	1	8	3	10	29	
	% of Total	1.0%	.5%	.3%	.3%	2.1%	.8%	2.6%	7.6%	
Greatest	Count	11	3	2	2	44	25	24	111	
	% of Total	2.9%	.8%	.5%	.5%	11.5%	6.5%	6.3%	28.9%	
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384	
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%	

Source: field Data

These findings were corroborated in all five countries that form EAC. Long, affirmed that skewed electoral processes were prevalent in the region and that they were a problem to regional stability. He diagnosed the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK), 2008 electoral outcomes and concluded that it was open to manipulation and presidential results announced were fraudulent. This sparked violence that abated only after signing of a National Accord in February 2008, steered by former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan. Resultantly nearly 1,200 people died, countless injured, and many displaced from their homes [21].

In Uganda, days before votes were cast in the 2011 elections, tanks, fighter jets and anti-riot vehicles roared through the countryside, warning voters of what would happen if elections did not go Museveni's way. On Election Day, soldiers reportedly advised people to vote NRM (Museveni's Party) if they wanted to avoid war. There were also reports of army involvement in ballot stuffing, multiple voting, and theft of ballot boxes. As expected, Museveni's party won, but the flood of cash into the economy during campaigns amplified inflation and prices of beans and *matooke* (bananas) skyrocketed [22].

Consequently, opposition leaders led a "walk-to-work" protest against rising prices of matoke and other daily basics. Museveni's security forces fired on the marchers, killing at least nine, including a two year-old, and wounded hundreds of others. Kizza Besigye, the opposition leader, was arrested four times for walking to work as a protest. In one instance, while in his car, after his legs gave in, the cars window screens were shattered and his eyes sprayed with pepper, and tear gas. He was later charged with "holding an unlawful demonstration" and arraigned before a judge, unable to see, hear, or stand unaided. The judge was shocked and acquitted him at once, [22].

In a 2010 by-election, in Mukono constituency of central Uganda, voters complained about missing names from the final voter register, delays to deliver election materials and at Seeta Church polling station, a voter found that someone had already voted on his behalf [23].

Tanzania's 2009 local elections, encountered problems in identifying names in the voters' register delays in opening some polling stations and lack of election materials such as ink. Due to these problems, some people voted more than once, voters exceeding registered residents, resulting into chaos, destruction of property and rejection of results [24].

In 2010, Kagame's regime banned two newspapers and arrested journalists and opposition leaders in the run-up to the elections which were marred by more than four grenade attacks. Unfortunately, such disturbances, together with the country's brutal history of ethnic massacres, justified Kagame's tight control of society [24]. I do not agree with this position for two wrongs do not justify a right.

Burundi's 2010 elections linked the victorious political party to ballot-box stuffing, vote-buying with state resources, illegal use of proxies and a lack of secrecy in some polling stations and led to 13 opposition parties choosing to boycott presidential race, leaving President Pierre Nkurunziza as the only contestant. Later opposition called for the replacement of the electoral commission, [25].

Presidential term limits and EAC integration phenomena:

Regarding the issue of presidential term limits, a total aggregate of 116 respondents which is 30% of the respondents held that there was no presidential term limit in their country and a total aggregate of 133 respondents which is 34.6% responded in affirmation while a total aggregate of 111 respondents which is 28.9% did not know as shown below. Those who cited lack of presidential term limit were largely Ugandans.

These findings corroborated concerns of evident authoritarianism in Uganda, and changing the constitution for infinite presidency, [26]. Consequently, presidential term limit was removed in Uganda. Below is President Museveni on a meet the people tour in the western part of Uganda and amongst some, he is revered as the soul provider of Uganda's stability.

In Rwanda, article 101 of the 2003 Rwandan Constitution, states that the President is elected for a term of seven years, renewable only once. Supporters of President Paul Kagame urge him to run for a third term. Among them were Internal Security minister and leader of Idealist Democratic Party, Sheikh Fazil Musa Harerimana. He wanted presidential term limit expunged to allow Kagame run for office after his constitutional term ended in 2017. In an interview published by "The Chronicles Newspaper of Rwanda, Mr Harerimana said the following:

"The constitution should be amended so that people can decide if Kagame stood again, we would vote for him". Shortly after his re-election in 2010, Kagame said "Personally I don't want to be involved in or changing the constitution so that I stay in power and particularly changing the constitution for that purpose. I would hate it".

The contradictions abound, President Paul Kagame while in Kenya as guest speaker addressing Kenyan Governors in Naivasha on "post conflict rebuilding: lessons drawn from Rwanda", during a sidelines interview with Kenya's Nation Television, he responded to the transition issue by saying that Rwandans will decide whether he should exit or not since they reserve the power to change the constitution.

Whether lack of a presidential term limit in member nation state affected integration, a total aggregate of 104 respondents which is 27% responded that it so greatly. A total aggregate of 96 respondents which is 25% said it averagely did so. A total aggregate of 68 respondents which is 18% opined a minimal or less effect and a total aggregate of 21 respondents which translates to 6% did not respond. Whilst a total aggregate of 38 respondents which is 10% did not know, a total aggregate of 57 respondents which is 15% did not see any effect as tabulated below.

Table VI: Effects of Presidential term limits on EAC Integration

To what scale did this challenge regional integration within EAC		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
None	Count	6	1	3	5	15	16	11	57
	% of Total	1.6%	.3%	.8%	1.3%	3.9%	4.2%	2.9%	14.8%
Do not know	Count	2	3	4	3	14	3	9	38
	% of Total	.5%	.8%	1.0%	.8%	3.6%	.8%	2.3%	9.9%
Less Great	Count	8	6	2	3	26	9	14	68
	% of Total	2.1%	1.6%	.5%	.8%	6.8%	2.3%	3.6%	17.7%
No response	Count	3	0	1	1	12	2	2	21
	% of Total	.8%	.0%	.3%	.3%	3.1%	.5%	.5%	5.5%
Great	Count	25	7	0	0	34	8	22	96
	% of Total	6.5%	1.8%	.0%	.0%	8.9%	2.1%	5.7%	25.0%
Greatest	Count	14	3	4	3	34	16	30	104
	% of Total	3.6%	.8%	1.0%	.8%	8.9%	4.2%	7.8%	27.1%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: field Data

In agreement with above findings is an [39]. whose methodology is not clear, which states that there has been a growing concern over democratic deficit in the region, lack of accountability, difference in political systems and constitutions, which resultantly affect integration efforts. Further, that failure to observe constitutionalism, the rule of law, bad governance, corruption and human rights abuse, may spillover to partner states with better governance records. In their view, this could undo progress made at national level and by extension, regional integration.

Stability and Turmoil within EAC Member states and their impact on Integration:

An inquiry on stability within EAC member states, a total aggregate of 201 respondents which is 52% confirmed stability, a total aggregate of 76 respondents which is 20% did not know while a total aggregate of 107 respondents which is 28% responded that there was instability in the region.

In agreement with this findings was a voice from a Tanzanian nationality who aptly said it as follows:

‘Utulivu wa Kisiasa na ustawi wa uchumi unaoendelea kuonekana sasa, japo ni kwa ngazi ya kitaifa hasa’ meaning ‘Peaceful politics and economic development is being seen currently, even though its only at the national level’.

On the contrary, a brief at Nyerere Educational Resource Centre alluded to both semblance of stability and turmoil within member states of EAC. For example, Tanzania’s political stability and peaceful history is bereft in the region. The contradiction to this manifested in Rwanda and Burundi that faced a specter of horrific ethnic violence, leaving the populace in utter revulsions [27]. Kenya had a stint of violence in 2007/2008 and Uganda is still less stable with structural violence to deal with.

Indicators for instability within the region showed a total aggregate of 149 respondents which is 39%, citing public discontent through demonstrations which are brutally suppressed by government organs. A total aggregate of 69 respondents which is 18% cited improved standards of living having contributed to stability. Regarding other indicators of instability, a total aggregate of 41 respondents which 10.7%, cited prevalence is of rebel activities A total aggregate of 6 respondents which is 2% pointed at ethnic-based politics and clashes. A total aggregate of 2 respondents which is 0.5% mentioned illiteracy, 2 respondents which is 0.5% said there were no tribal clashes and 53 respondents which is 13.8% did not respond. These responses are illustrated below.

Table VII: Indicators of instability in EAC member states

Based on what they had said above, what were the indicators?		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
Free Elections	Count	10	0	3	0	4	1	4	22
	% of Total	2.6%	.0%	.8%	.0%	1.0%	.3%	1.0%	5.7%
Public demonstrations are suppressed	Count	14	7	3	10	50	36	29	149
	% of Total	3.6%	1.8%	.8%	2.6%	13.0%	9.4%	7.6%	38.8%
Rebel activities associated with tribalism	Count	5	5	1	0	19	0	11	41
	% of Total	1.3%	1.3%	.3%	.0%	4.9%	.0%	2.9%	10.7%
No response	Count	5	2	1	4	21	7	13	53
	% of Total	1.3%	.5%	.3%	1.0%	5.5%	1.8%	3.4%	13.8%
Negotiations are ongoing	Count	6	0	1	1	6	0	5	19
	% of Total	1.6%	.0%	.3%	.3%	1.6%	.0%	1.3%	4.9%
Illiteracy	Count	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	% of Total	.5%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%
Improved standards of living	Count	13	6	1	0	22	9	18	69
	% of Total	3.4%	1.6%	.3%	.0%	5.7%	2.3%	4.7%	18.0%
Tribal political clashes	Count	0	0	1	0	3	0	2	6
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.8%	.0%	.5%	1.6%
No rebel or tribal clashes	Count	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2
	% of Total	.0%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.3%	.5%
Elections held periodically	Count	3	0	3	0	9	1	5	21
	% of Total	.8%	.0%	.8%	.0%	2.3%	.3%	1.3%	5.5%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

From Kenya we heard:

‘Uchaguzi hufuatiwa na ghassia za ukabila’ Meaning “Elections are more often than not, followed by post election violence”. Another added ‘Wananchi tunalalamika moyoni, vurugu mara kwa mara, maandamano na migomo isiyoyana kikomo’. Meaning, ‘As citizens we are riddled by silent complains in our hearts, skirmishes every time, protests and endless picketing and protests’. From Burundi was a voice that retorted: ‘Les corruptions, e’injustice meaning ‘corruption and injustice’

A respondent from Tanzania confirmed existence of stability by saying the following: “Hatuna waasi waliopo nchi kwangu” meaning “we don’t have rebels in our country”.

On the contrary, above findings showed that stability in the EAC region was maintained through the use of excessive force to quell descent that manifests in the form of public protests. This is not a democratic practice and as such, these countries cannot pass as being stable. In the same vein, Huntington observed these intervening phenomena as follows “liberalized authoritarianism is not a stable equilibrium” [28]. According to the African Development Bank report, political strife is a regional curse that frightens investors, inhibits development and stifles economic growth [29].

Whether instability affected integration and on what scale, a total aggregate of 117 respondents which is 30% of the respondents revealed that there was no challenge to integration as far as stability in their countries was concerned. A majority at a total aggregate of 123 respondents which is 32% opined that instability in their countries challenges severely integration efforts in East Africa. Further at a total aggregate of 33 respondents which is 8% opined an average effect, Forty respondents which is 10% opined a minimal effect and a total aggregate of 48 respondents which is 12% did not know. These responses are captured in a table below.

Table VIII: Impact of instability on EAC Integration

To what degree did this pose a challenge to EAC's integration		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
None	Count	30	2	11	3	36	13	22	117
	% of Total	7.8%	.5%	2.9%	.8%	9.4%	3.4%	5.7%	30.5%
Do not know	Count	5	2	2	2	20	4	13	48
	% of Total	1.3%	.5%	.5%	.5%	5.2%	1.0%	3.4%	12.5%
Less severe	Count	5	7	1	2	11	3	11	40
	% of Total	1.3%	1.8%	.3%	.5%	2.9%	.8%	2.9%	10.4%
No response	Count	7	0	0	1	10	2	3	23
	% of Total	1.8%	.0%	.0%	.3%	2.6%	.5%	.8%	6.0%
Severe	Count	1	4	0	2	16	7	3	33
	% of Total	.3%	1.0%	.0%	.5%	4.2%	1.8%	.8%	8.6%
Very severe	Count	10	5	0	5	42	25	36	123
	% of Total	2.6%	1.3%	.0%	1.3%	10.9%	6.5%	9.4%	32.0%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

A voice from Kenya supports this findings by simply underlining that: “Ukosefu wa amani husababisha kutokuwepo kwa soko huru” meaning “Lack of peace causes lack of free liberal markets”.

These findings corroborate rebuilding efforts in Burundi, following a 13-year civil war. Kenya has been grappling with historical injustices, while Uganda is yet to contain fear from Joseph Kony, the leadership of the Lords Resistance Army (LRA). Tanzania has been relatively peaceful but absence of structural violence that equals positive peace is far from being achieved. Rwanda experiences utter revulsions whenever it observes genocide day memorials and the ever present fear from the Intarahamwe members exiled in the DRC [30]. Even though EAC has initiated joint exercises on peacekeeping operations, counterterrorism and military level participation in disaster response, dividends of such an initiative may only be felt in the long term, [30].

Impact of Corruption and Human Rights Violation on EAC Integration:

On prevalence of corruption among EAC member states, a total aggregate of 90 respondents which is 23% said there was no political or economic accountability within their countries while a total aggregate of 127 respondents which is 33% affirmed that there was accountability. a total aggregate of 146 respondents which is 38% did not know and the reason was that they had no information on how their governments spends taxes. These are reflected in the table below.

Table IX: Respondents views on prevalence of corruption in EAC member states

Was there economic and political accountability within your country?		Organization							Total
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmers	Traders	
No	Count	22	2	1	1	32	10	22	90
	% of Total	5.7%	.5%	.3%	.3%	8.3%	2.6%	5.7%	23.4%
Do not know	Count	7	8	5	11	56	25	34	146
	% of Total	1.8%	2.1%	1.3%	2.9%	14.6%	6.5%	8.9%	38.0%
N/A	Count	1	0	0	1	10	1	8	21
	% of Total	.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%	2.6%	.3%	2.1%	5.5%
Yes	Count	28	10	8	2	37	18	24	127
	% of Total	7.3%	2.6%	2.1%	.5%	9.6%	4.7%	6.3%	33.1%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

According to a corruption index report released by Transparency International, Kenya and Uganda respectively were found to be the most corrupt countries in the East Africa region. Global barometer survey, ranked Kenya fourth among the most corrupt countries in the world, while Uganda was number 17 in the world [31].

In congruence is Wrong narrates how John Githongo, a former anti-corruption permanent secretary in the office of the president, was on the run after Kenya's government faltered and backtracked on sleaze and techniques of pilfering public funds with impunity and non accountability of the political class on Anglo leasing commitments that led to billions of shillings being siphoned offshore into dubious accounts [32].

Regarding indicators for political and economic accountability, majority of respondents at a total aggregate of 163 which is 42 % revealed that there was no transparency in political and economic matters. a total aggregate of 49 respondents which is 13% said that there was accountability because of the presence of oversight commissions and a total aggregate of 27 respondents which is 7% cited tax payment as an indicator for economic and political accountability. A total aggregate of 9 respondents which is 2% responded that there was accountability because youths and women groups received government support. Whilst 19 respondents which is 5% mentioned corruption as an indicator for lack of accountability One hundred and seventeen respondents which is 30% gave no response.

Indeed this was an indictment on good governance within the region and I agree with sentiments from the respondents to that effect. On this the study captured several voices as narrated overleaf from Kenya and Tanzania.

From Kenya the study captured a voice revealing that:

‘Uchumi unapanda kila siku na umasikini unaongezeka kwa wananchi. Meaning ‘The high cost of living skyrockets everyday while poverty rises against the common man’. Yet another said: “kuna ufisadi mkubwa mno” Meaning “there is too much corruption’.

A respondent from Tanzania captured these findings by saying:

“matokeo ya uchaguzi mbali mbali kutokuwa ya ukweli, viongozi wa kisiasa kutoajibishwa pindi wanapokosea” meaning “election results from different polling stations is fraudulent, unaccountable leaders whenever they commit wrongs”.

In part agreement to the above findings, Callamard aptly observes that to say, “corruption reforms are unfinished is a misnomer, since transparency reforms have hardly begun in most of Africa” [33]. Lack of transparency was heavily underscored in these findings.

How lack of political and economic accountability posed a challenge to integration, a total aggregate of 45 respondents which is 12% observed that it did so very severely, a total aggregate of 46 respondents which is 12% opined an average challenge and a total aggregate of 88 respondents which is 23% felt that the challenge was less severe. A total aggregate of 45 respondents which is 14% did not see any challenge while 117 respondents which is 30.5% did not know. These are tabulated in the table below.

Table X: How lack of political and economic accountability impacts on EAC Integration

To what degree did they think this posed a challenge to EACs integration?		Organization							Total
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	
None	Count	14	3	5	0	13	6	14	55
	% of Total	3.6%	.8%	1.3%	.0%	3.4%	1.6%	3.6%	14.3%
Do not know	Count	8	2	2	5	56	19	25	117
	% of Total	2.1%	.5%	.5%	1.3%	14.6%	4.9%	6.5%	30.5%
Less severe	Count	6	11	3	6	18	18	26	88
	% of Total	1.6%	2.9%	.8%	1.6%	4.7%	4.7%	6.8%	22.9%
No response	Count	8	0	0	3	15	3	4	33
	% of Total	2.1%	.0%	.0%	.8%	3.9%	.8%	1.0%	8.6%
Severe	Count	11	3	0	0	16	4	12	46
	% of Total	2.9%	.8%	.0%	.0%	4.2%	1.0%	3.1%	12.0%
Very severe	Count	11	1	4	1	17	4	7	45
	% of Total	2.9%	.3%	1.0%	.3%	4.4%	1.0%	1.8%	11.7%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

These findings are congruent with the World Economic Forum on Africa report, which postulated that inefficient bureaucracies needed to be reduced, transparency and accountability improved and burdensome regulations kept in check [34]. These findings passed yet another indictment on East Africa member states as far as corruption goes and how it contributes to roll backs on integration.

On human rights record, it was found out be dismal and 106 respondents which is 28%, nodded. A total aggregate of 147 respondents which is 38%, felt that human rights were averagely observed. A total aggregate of 54 respondents which is 14% opined that observance was good while 6 respondents which is 2% felt that fostering of their rights was very good. A total aggregate of 60 respondents which is 16% did not know.

On the contrary, Freedom House [34], published by Stein & Stein, [35] found the five EAC member states being either partly free or not free at all. Each country was assigned a numerical rating, on a scale of 1 to 7, for political rights and an analogous rating for civil liberties. A rating of 1, indicated highest degree of freedom and 7, lowest level of the same. The aggregate status for EAC member states were below average as shown below.

Country	Political Rights	Civil Rights	Aggregate Status
1.Burundi	Political Rights 4	Civil Liberties 5	Partly Free
2.Kenya	Political Rights 4	Civil Liberties 3	Partly Free
3.Rwanda	Political Rights 6	Civil Liberties 5	Not Free
4.Tanzania	Political Rights 4	Civil Liberties 3	Partly Free
5.Uganda	Political Rights 5	Civil Liberties 4	Partly Free

A total aggregate of 239 respondents which is 62% responded that violation of Human Rights is posed a challenge to integration efforts. While a total aggregate of 29 respondents which is 8 % opined that there was agitation for human

Rights. A total aggregate of 102 respondents which is 27% did not know. Thirteen respondents which is 3.4% said there was freedom of movement across borders and 1 respondent which is .3%, simply answered that integration was good. These have been tabulated below.

Table XI: How human Rights violations affected integration in East Africa

Why did they say so and what challenge did this have on East African Integration?	Organization								Total
	Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders		
Violation of human rights prevalent	Count of 34 % of 8.9%	Count of 10 % of 2.6%	Count of 4 % of 1.0%	Count of 9 % of 2.3%	Count of 89 % of 23.2%	Count of 40 % of 10.4%	Count of 53 % of 13.8%	Count of 239 % of 62.2%	
Freedom of movement across boarders	Count of 1 % of .3%	Count of 1 % of .3%	Count of 1 % of .3%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 6 % of 1.6%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 4 % of 1.0%	Count of 13 % of 3.4%	
No response	Count of 16 % of 4.2%	Count of 6 % of 1.6%	Count of 6 % of 1.6%	Count of 6 % of 1.6%	Count of 27 % of 7.0%	Count of 14 % of 3.6%	Count of 27 % of 7.0%	Count of 102 % of 26.6%	
Human rights agitation has increased	Count of 7 % of 1.8%	Count of 2 % of .5%	Count of 3 % of .8%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 13 % of 3.4%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 4 % of 1.0%	Count of 29 % of 7.6%	
Integration is good	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 1 % of .3%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 0 % of .0%	Count of 1 % of .3%	
Total	Count of 58 % of Total 15.1%	Count of 20 % of Total 5.2%	Count of 14 % of Total 3.6%	Count of 15 % of Total 3.9%	Count of 135 % of Total 35.2%	Count of 54 % of Total 14.1%	Count of 88 % of Total 22.9%	Count of 384 % of Total 100%	

Source: Field Data

A responded aptly said 'Human rights violation is the order of the day', citing police brutality in Uganda. In Rwanda, the government intimidated and arrested journalists who criticized the government. Punitive laws prohibiting 'divisionism', genocide ideology and genocide denial, discouraged citizens from expressing viewpoints that may be construed as promoting societal divisions [35].

From Kenya, the study captured the following:

Mauaji kwa watu wasio na hatia na utekaji wanaodai haki huathiri Africa Mashariki. Wanainchi kutokuwa na imani na nchi yao". Meaning "Killings of people who have committed no crime or offence destroys the spirit of EAC. Citizens to be unpatriotic and lose of faith in their country'. Yet another: 'Uhuru unakosekana' meaning 'lack of freedom'. Mahakama haziko Huru' Meaning 'the judiciary is not independent'. From Burundi a voice that asserted: 'Execution extra judiciai're' meaning 'extra judicial executions'.

From Tanzania the study captured the following:

'Uvunjivu wa amani unaotokana na jeshi la polisi kuuwa raia hovyoy, na kupoteza uamini kati ya inchi baina ya wanachama kwenye Jumuiya nyingine meaning 'Break up of peace due to police killing citizens aimlessly, and lack of trust among member states of EAC who belong to other regional arrangements'.

This confirms that the foundations of good governance are lacking in the region which in turn cripples the values upon which the integration of the region is supposed to rely on for its success.

Functioning of Governance institutions and its attendant impact on integration:

Governance institutions were found not functioning democratically and overwhelming responses at a total aggregate of 135 respondents which is 35% confirmed. A minority at a total aggregate of 89 respondents which is 23% responded otherwise and a total aggregate of 122 respondents which is 40% did not know. This has been captured in the table below.

Table XII: Functioning of Governance institutions

Did governance institutions in their country function democratically?		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmers	Traders	Total
No	Count	38	9	2	0	52	8	26	135
	% of Total	9.9%	2.3%	.5%	.0%	13.5%	2.1%	6.8%	35.2%
Do not know	Count	5	4	3	9	41	30	30	122
	% of Total	1.3%	1.0%	.8%	2.3%	10.7%	7.8%	7.8%	31.8%
N/A	Count	7	1	3	3	14	4	6	38
	% of Total	1.8%	.3%	.8%	.8%	3.6%	1.0%	1.6%	9.9%
Yes	Count	8	6	6	3	28	12	26	89
	% of Total	2.1%	1.6%	1.6%	.8%	7.3%	3.1%	6.8%	23.2%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

A respondent's voice captured it as follows: "There is always dependency on a superior decision making centre that controlled remotely, the functioning decision making processes".

In Rwanda, an authoritarian inner circle controls and disciplines administration from top to bottom by use of ubiquitous secret service. This was bolstered by RPF structures at local level. Deputies and senators, particularly those from coalition parties were under surveillance. The political discourse tended to confine itself to the question of who praises the president, an all powerful individual. Consequently, the exiled opposition has radicalized [42].

Indicators for undemocratic performance of governance institutions were evident enough, where a majority a total aggregate of 238 respondents which is 62% triangulated the position above by asserting that the executive branches of governments were overbearing on the other institutions. A total aggregate of 46 respondents which is 12% opined a free hand in decision making and 25 respondents which is 6% did not know. Negative ethnicity was given as an indicator for undemocratic institutions by a total aggregate of 2 respondents which is .5% of the respondents. A total aggregate of 79 respondents which is 19% did not respond.

Adding a voice in affirmation, a respondent from Tanzania had this to say:

Ubinafsi uliokithiri unaoambatana na rushwa, na pia majibu machafu yaonaotolewa na wakuu au watendaji wa taasisi za kiutawala" meaning 'selfishness is rampant as coated by corruption and arrogant civil servants in various institutions of governance'.

Contradicting the above position, another respondent from Tanzania said: "Sababu ya amani katika inchi yetu" meaning "because of peace in our country".

Yet in Kenya we heard: "maamuzi binafsi na utawala binafsi" meaning "egocentric decisions and leadership based on selfishness".

From Uganda, a respondent had this to say "Some institutions are influenced by the key political officials like the president". This observation is valid to the extend that Presidents in this region tend to be overbearing in nature which manifests itself in flouting of constitutional provisions because the same constitutions protect their omissions while in office.

This pathology of executive branches of the various governments in the region was recently demonstrated at an African Union meeting where Africa's Presidents except Botswana's, threatened to exit the Rome Statute, which formed the International Criminal Court, a complimentary institution of Justice, for punishing those who bare the highest responsibility in Human Crimes and forceful evictions. Akokpari, observed that African leaders condone and support, rather than condemn and oppose, peers in clear instances of bad governance and decimating hopes for good governance [36].

The scale of how undemocratic institutions affected integration, 58 respondents which is 15% of the respondents affirmed that failure of institutions to function democratically affected integration very severely. Eighty eight respondents which is 22% opined an averagely challenge, and 74 respondents which is 19% observed that it affected integration less severely. Notably 51 respondents which is 13% did not see any challenge, while 86 respondents which is 22% did not know. Overall, respondents confirmed that undemocratic institutions at the national level affect EAC's integration as is captured below.

Table XIII: The scale to which undemocratic institutions impact on EAC integration

To what degree did they think this challenged EAC integration		Organization							Total
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business persons	Farmer	Trader	
None	Count	10	0	7	1	12	11	10	51
	% of Total	2.6%	.0%	1.8%	.3%	3.1%	2.9%	2.6%	13.3%
Do not know	Count	0	4	2	9	38	13	20	86
	% of Total	.0%	1.0%	.5%	2.3%	9.9%	3.4%	5.2%	22.4%
Less severe	Count	3	8	3	1	19	18	22	74
	% of Total	.8%	2.1%	.8%	.3%	4.9%	4.7%	5.7%	19.3%
No response	Count	8	1	1	4	10	2	3	29
	% of Total	2.1%	.3%	.3%	1.0%	2.6%	.5%	.8%	7.6%
Severe	Count	17	5	0	0	34	5	24	85
	% of Total	4.4%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	8.9%	1.3%	6.3%	22.1%
Very severe	Count	20	2	1	0	22	5	8	58
	% of Total	5.2%	.5%	.3%	.0%	5.7%	1.3%	2.1%	15.1%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

Billow Kerrow, aptly put that Egypt coup exposed Africa's weak democratic institutions. [13].

Military participation in decision making among member states was discounted by a majority at a total aggregate of 177 respondents which is 46%, asserting that the military does not participate in decision making in their country. A total aggregate of 143 respondents which is 37% confirmed that the military participated, while a total aggregate of 60 respondents which is 15.6% did not know or did not respond. A total of 4 non responses which is equivalent to 1%.

Contrary to above findings, some EAC member states use the military to cement their authority. For example, I observed that President Paul Kagame of Rwanda deploys military forces on the streets of Kigali (Capital City) every day at 4 o'clock. According to Kakuba, President Museveni leads through the National Resistance Movement caucus in Parliament to get his will done, weakening the institution of parliament [14]. Ugandan constitution, under chapter 6 allows up to 10 army representatives to sit in Parliament. This, accordingly, compromises the concept of a civilian government [15]. This was confirmed by the deputy speaker of Ugandan Parliament verbatim 'Constitution allows military personnel to be nominated to parliament'.

Reports of disappearances and politically motivated abductions or kidnappings in Rwanda, from Amnesty International, the Rwandan League for the Promotion and Defense of Human Rights, alleged that Rwanda Defense Forces (RDF), J-2 Military Intelligence Directorate, the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS), and the Rwanda's National Police (RNP)- Criminal Investigations Division, orchestrated the disappearances [18].

To what extend military participation posed a challenge to EACs integration, a total aggregate of 17 respondents which is 4% responded that it doesn't. Eight respondents which is 2% responded that it challenged integration very severely. A total aggregate of 18 respondents which is 5% noted that it averagely affected integration. A total aggregate of 12 respondents which is 3% indicated a less effect on integration and a total aggregate of 324 respondents which is 85% did not know. On the whole, military participation was underscored and whenever it may have had a role, severe consequences for integration were noted as per the table below.

Table XIV: Challenge of military participation in decision making within member states on EAC Integration

To what degree did they think this posed a challenge to EAC's integration		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International non governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmer	Trader	Total
None	Count	3	1	1	0	4	3	5	17
	% of Total	.8%	.3%	.3%	.0%	1.0%	.8%	1.3%	4.4%
Do not know	Count	47	13	12	14	115	46	77	324
	% of Total	12.2%	3.4%	3.1%	3.6%	29.9%	12.0%	20.1%	84.4%
Less severe	Count	2	4	0	0	2	1	3	12
	% of Total	.5%	1.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%	.3%	.8%	3.1%
No response	Count	1	0	0	1	0	2	1	5
	% of Total	.3%	.0%	.0%	.3%	.0%	.5%	.3%	1.3%
Severe	Count	5	1	0	0	11	0	1	18
	% of Total	1.3%	.3%	.0%	.0%	2.9%	.0%	.3%	4.7%
Very severe	Count	0	1	1	0	3	2	1	8
	% of Total	.0%	.3%	.3%	.0%	.8%	.5%	.3%	2.1%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Data

On free and fair elections and electoral processes and its impact on EAC Integration:

A majority at a total aggregate of 184 respondents which is 47.9% responded that elections were not free and fair among EAC countries. A total aggregate of 134 respondents which is 35% responded otherwise and a total aggregate of 45 respondents which is 11.7% did not know.

These findings were corroborated in a report edited by Stiftung, which unearthed electoral rot in three EAC member states as follows:

In Kenya the rot during elections manifests through these vices:

Battery, assassinations, destruction, looting, damage of property, arson, threats of violence, violent or physical disruption of public meetings and campaign rallies by goons, torture, hijacking, confinement, rape, sexual harassment, hate speeches, defamation, closure or burning down of party/campaign offices or premises, economic repression, sabotage, eviction, and displacement. [18].

In Uganda the rot manifests through:

Beatings, killings, malicious damage to property, death threats, torture, extra judicial executions, arbitrary detention, abduction and kidnapping, arrest without warrants, personal humiliation by stripping to nakedness, shooting, chasing away of voters from polling stations on the pretext that they were non-Ugandans or under-age [18].

In Tanzania, the report found out the following electoral related crimes:

Assault, murder, attempted murder, malicious or wanton damage of property, arson, threats to violence, deaths threats, bombings, disruption of political campaign rallies, hooliganism and the use of the Police or disciplined forces to protect the processes [18].

Welch, observed that Rwandan elections were indeed a tightly government-controlled affair, shadowing civil society, and paving the way for full fledged authoritarianism. A respondent aptly put it "Campaign process is a one man show. Opposition leaders are highly suppressed. The party in power has all the resources and ability to coerce. Citizens are judged basing on what party they support and if not the party in power, they are branded enemies". According to Welch, Burundi's, civil society bore threats and abuse from the government during elections. [40].

Indicators triangulate information on the manner of elections in respective countries, a majority at total aggregate of 259 respondents which is 67% responded that elections in their countries were riddled with malpractices. A total of a total aggregate of 10 respondents which is 3% felt that their civil liberty of free expression was suppressed and 25 respondents which is 6% indicated presence of post-election violence and IDPs. Only a total aggregate of 13 respondents which is 3% of the total respondents felt that there was free will in elections. Sixty seven respondents which is 17.4% did not respond and a total aggregate of 10 respondents which is 2.6% did not know. These findings correspond with the earlier analysis of electoral related crimes committed in individual member states of EAC.

Contradicting the above position was a dissenting voice from a Tanzanian respondent who aptly put it that ‘Hakujawahi kutokea machafuko na vita sababu ya uchaguzi’ meaning ‘We have never experienced violence as a result of elections’.

In agreement with the findings was another respondent from Tanzania who responded as follows: ‘Vurugu zinazofanywa na wanasiasa na pia jeshi la polisi’ meaning “Violence as orchestrated by politicians and the police”.

A respondent from Uganda expressed concern on how elections are conducted as follows ‘Elections are not free and fair because there is intimidation and malpractice during the election exercise’.

A Kenyan added: ‘Kuibiana Kura’ meaning ‘Stealing of votes in an election’. Yet another said: ‘wakati mwingine vurugu hutokea na hata wengine kuuwawa’ meaning ‘sometimes there are election related skirmishes which more often causes deaths’. An indictment of sorts came down yet again: ‘mkurugenzi mkuu wa tume huchanguliwa na Rais ambaye anatoka kwenye chama kimoja cha siasa, kwa hiyo hawezi akatekeleza majukumu yake kwa uhuru. Mkurugenzi wa tume ya uchaguzi achanguliwe na umma’ meaning the chairman of the electoral commission more often is chosen by the president, from the political party of the same incumbent president. The chairman of the electoral commission should be chosen by the public.

Consequently, 107 respondents which is 28% affirmed that lack of free and fair elections among EAC member states, affected regional integration very severely. A total aggregate of 59 respondents which is 15% responded it averagely affects integration. A total aggregate of 55 respondents which is 14% felt that the effect was less severe. A total aggregate of 40 respondents which is whereas 10.4% did not know or did not respond, 78 respondents which is 20% did not see any effect.

Table XV: How lack of free and fair elections affected EAC Integration

To what degree did they think this posed a challenge to EACs integration		Organization							
		Government Ministry	International Governmental organization	non Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmer	Trader	Total
None	Count	11	0	9	4	26	18	10	78
	% of Total	2.9%	.0%	2.3%	1.0%	6.8%	4.7%	2.6%	20.3%
Do not know	Count	5	4	1	2	19	2	12	45
	% of Total	1.3%	1.0%	.3%	.5%	4.9%	.5%	3.1%	11.7%
Less severe	Count	5	0	0	0	18	12	20	55
	% of Total	1.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	4.7%	3.1%	5.2%	14.3%
No response	Count	18	0	1	2	13	2	4	40
	% of Total	4.7%	.0%	.3%	.5%	3.4%	.5%	1.0%	10.4%
Severe	Count	14	8	0	2	23	2	10	59
	% of Total	3.6%	2.1%	.0%	.5%	6.0%	.5%	2.6%	15.4%
Very severe	Count	5	8	3	5	36	18	32	107
	% of Total	1.3%	2.1%	.8%	1.3%	9.4%	4.7%	8.3%	27.9%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

Source: Field Study

Indeed, East Africa region has been having elections periodically but the extend to which those have been credible is questionable and the responses above confirm rife malpractices of which characterize pre-determined election outcomes. This can not pass a democratic test and eventually from this study we diagnose that spills over to affect the realization of a regional supranational project that is East Africa Integration.

A question on whether national discourse among EAC member countries pointed towards integration, a total aggregate of 242 respondents which is 63 % responded in affirmation. Eighty respondents which is 20% responded that the discourse was characteristic of nationalism, while a total aggregate of 15 respondents which is 4% did not know and a total aggregate of 20 respondents which is 5% cited historical differences among member states.

On the contrary, Kenya's, national discourse was about the President and his Deputy having been indicted for crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Court. Further, the implementation of the new constitution has been having teething problems to the extend it is misinterpreted and in other instances it is being mutilated by national legislation. More so, is the provision on devolution which carry the common mans spirit but the realization of that spirit is being stifled by the unwillingness of the national government to devolve more than 50% of annually collected revenues to the devolved governments and the little devolved is being misused on non-priority sectors, luxuries, trips abroad, office tea, furniture flowers and Television sets almost in every office much to the bewilderment of the general citizenry.

In Uganda, national discourse was about who will succeed Museveni. There are founded fears that Muhoozi Kainerugaba (President Museveni's son) promotion from a "village guard" to the military in 1997 and now a brigadier, a decade later, amounts to grooming him to take over his father's reigns, setting in undemocratic transitions. He is in charge of a special force that guards his father [41]. While in Rwanda, political uncertainty loomed and questions abound on if President Paul Kagame were to step down, it would be hard to imagine that RPF would countenance any election process that might entail their defeat [42].

Whether respondents knew of any signed agreements, a total aggregate of 177 which is 46% responded in affirmation and 85 respondents which is 22% did not know about any agreements signed. A total aggregate of 177 respondents which is 46% confirmed knowing while a total aggregate of 78 respondents which is 20.3% were simply not aware. A total aggregate of 44 respondents which is 11.5% did not respond at all. This implies a fair knowledge on EAC by borer point residents which is good for integration processes.

Most of the respondents cited the Common Market protocol that was signed in 2009 and came into force on 1 July 2010, following ratification by all the five member states, Respondents equally mentioned the Customs Union that was signed in Arusha on 2nd March 2004 and came into force on 1st January 2005 [43].

As to what extent integration process has been inclusive, a total aggregate of 94 respondents which is 24.5% did not know. A total aggregate of 9 respondents which is 2% did not respond and a total aggregate of 92 respondents which is 24% felt that there was moderate inclusivity. A total aggregate of 24 respondents which is 6% affirmed wide scale inclusivity on the subject matter. One hundred and nineteen respondents which is 31% did not respond and this has been tabulated below.

Table XVI: Shows the extend has EAC Integration been inclusive

If yes, to what degree had the process been widely inclusive?		Organization							Total
		Government Ministry	International non Governmental organization	Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmer	Trader	
None	Count	1	1	1	1	5	0	0	9
	% of Total	.3%	.3%	.3%	.3%	1.3%	.0%	.0%	2.3%
Do not know	Count	10	7	0	7	28	14	28	94
	% of Total	2.6%	1.8%	.0%	1.8%	7.3%	3.6%	7.3%	24.5%
Less inclusive	Count	4	7	2	0	17	10	6	46
	% of Total	1.0%	1.8%	.5%	.0%	4.4%	2.6%	1.6%	12.0%
No response	Count	23	0	4	2	47	25	18	119
	% of Total	6.0%	.0%	1.0%	.5%	12.2%	6.5%	4.7%	31.0%
Moderately inclusive	Count	19	4	4	4	32	5	24	92
	% of Total	4.9%	1.0%	1.0%	1.0%	8.3%	1.3%	6.3%	24.0%
Very inclusive	Count	1	1	3	1	6	0	12	24
	% of Total	.3%	.3%	.8%	.3%	1.6%	.0%	3.1%	6.3%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

These findings unequivocally showed less participation by citizens of EAC states in the regional integration project. In congruence with these findings, is Adar's article that compares democracy in EAC and SADC, he concludes that there is reluctance among EAC member states to steer participation by East African electorates in EAC activities either through direct elections or referendum. In line with Adar is Gathara, [44], who held that EAC's reincarnation, proved to be little different from the defunct EAC of 1977. He observed that, 126 million people were not aware of the benefits of regional integration, let alone the process, with most citizens viewing it as an elite project. In his own words, "The project has a lot of goodwill from ordinary citizens but lack of active involvement has left it standing solely on the political pillar, without the critical social and economic relevance that would make it a reality in people's lives".

Whether respondents new why the erstwhile integration efforts collapsed in 1977, a majority at a total aggregate of 334 respondents which is 87% answered in affirmation over ideological differences while a total aggregate of 50 respondents which is 13% opined that it was due to bereft freedom of expression.

This is in agreement with the findings Adar and Ngunyi [2]. Though it should be noted that their research was heavily controlled by international politics of the time which was characterized by Pax Americana and Pax Sovietica dynamics of the cold war

Whether respondents knew if differences that led to the collapse of EAC in 1977, had since been resolved, a total aggregate of 189 respondents which is 49% answered in affirmation while a total aggregate of 141 respondents which is 37% opined that ideological differences persisted and total aggregate of 54 respondents which is 14% did not know.

Indeed with the end of the cold war, the new world order presents different scenarios of engagement. President Putin resent acquisition of Crimea being part of the territory of Ukraine does not bring back the cold war since the loss in territory (Former Soviet Union), reduced Russia's military prowess, coupled with the fact that technology of unmanned drones capability of the USA gives the her higher power leverage. Thus post cold war scenario is bedeviled more by terrorism and radicalization, global warming, diseases, ethnic conflicts, poverty, youth unemployment and a whole plethora of global commons against humanity, and thus Ideological differences has receded to the back stage in critical analysis on regional integration within East Africa.

Contrary to these findings, EAC Secretariat report on fast Tracking EAC'S Integration identified newer challenges and it observed that there will be no immediate economic benefits to all the partner states. But that eventually all will benefit through participation in European Union trade arrangements as a single trading block and the United States of America - African Growth and Opportunity Act. The report cited political challenges as being the fear of loss of sovereignty and relegation of member states to mere provinces within the Federation [45].

Social issues and participation by citizens were identified as a challenge because the treaty advocates the need for people-driven and people-centered development. In 2006, the EAC established a fund to help in financing projects that will benefit partner states and to some extent act as a compensatory mechanism for those at the periphery of the community with poor infrastructure and underdeveloped industrial sector. The challenge to that is whether partner states will live up to their commitment of contributing the agreed amount of funds to the community [45].

Knowledge and functions of the East Africa Court of Justice:

When respondents were asked whether they knew the East African Court of Justice, an overwhelming total aggregate of 193 respondents which is 50.3% did not know. A total aggregate of 99 respondents which is 25.8% were not aware and a total aggregate of 92 respondents which is 24% new its existence, as tabulated below.

Table XVII: Shows awareness levels on the East Africa Court of Justice

Did they know the East African Court of Justice?		Organization							Total
		Government Ministry	International Governmental organization	non Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmer	Trader	
Not aware	Count	17	9	7	4	32	10	20	99
	% of Total	4.4%	2.3%	1.8%	1.0%	8.3%	2.6%	5.2%	25.8%

Do not know	Count	24	7	6	10	67	34	45	193
	% of Total	6.3%	1.8%	1.6%	2.6%	17.4%	8.9%	11.7%	50.3%
Yes	Count	17	4	1	1	36	10	23	92
	% of Total	4.4%	1.0%	.3%	.3%	9.4%	2.6%	6.0%	24.0%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

In our case, citizens of EAC need to know all the supranational institutions that seek to serve them within the East Africa Community. According to the findings this was lacking and only strengthens an earlier observation that new integration efforts largely remained elitist to a great extent. Branson, in her “An Adaptation: The Role of Civic Education” underscores the need for civic education [46].

Among those who responded that they knew (EACJ), a total aggregate of 151 respondents which is 39.3% said that the Court role had been to solve conflicts within the region, while 17 respondents which is 4.4%, could not decipher the Courts role. A total aggregate of 216 respondents which is 56.7% did not know the Courts role.

The Court has neither been a complimentary aid to National courts on matters criminal and the reason why genocide perpetrators of Rwanda are at the Tribunal court in Tanzania and Kenyan leaders seeking justice at the International Criminal Court. Contrary to these findings, is Ruhangisa, who states that when a partner state considered that another partner state or community organ failed to fulfill treaty obligations, the aggrieved state invokes the interpretation of the treaty that formed the EAC [47].

Towards a scale at which EACJ contributes to EAC’s integration, a total aggregate of 107 respondents which is 28% of the respondents opined that EACJ contributes nothing to East Africa Integration. A total aggregate of 140 respondents which is 36% did not know. A further total aggregate of 10 respondents which is 3% held that the court had contributed very highly. A total aggregate of 49 respondents which is 12% opined an average contribution while a total aggregate of 29 respondents which is 8% observed that there was minimal contribution. A total aggregate of 49 respondents which is 13% did not respond.

Deputy speaker of Uganda’s Parliament wished that EACJ would not have just been a court of first instance and limited to EAC matters, but it should have been an appellate jurisdiction in all matters for member states. Given that the regions crime rate has been on an upward trajectory trend, I did agree with the sentiments of the deputy speaker of Uganda.

The observance of freedom of expression by EAC member States and its impact on Regional Integration:

Further, the study establishes that freedom of expression was lacking. A majority of respondents at a total aggregate of 125 respondents which is 33% expressed a poor observation of freedom in their countries, A total aggregate of 66 respondents which is 17.2% did not know. A total aggregate of 70 respondents which is 18% felt that there was a fair practice on the same, while a total aggregate of 50 respondents which is 13% and a total aggregate of 31 respondents which is 8% responded that it was good and very good respectively.

In agreement with the findings on fair practice of human rights, is Maina, who underscored milestones that the media had made. He cited that in Kenya, it was the media that first reported Goldenberg scandal in the 1990s and the Anglo-Leasing scandal in 2004. Similarly, investigative papers in Tanzania brought to light overpriced radar purchased by the state. In Uganda, it was the media that publicized scandalous expenses and spending for Commonwealth Heads of Governments Meeting, where state resources were pilfered [48].

How the absence of freedom of expression affected East African Integration, a total aggregate of 38 respondents which is 10% felt it was very severe. A total aggregate of 60 respondents which is 16% of the respondents opined averagely severe. A total aggregate of 70 respondents which is 20% felt that the effect was minimal. Whilst a total aggregate of 166 respondents which is 43% did not know A total aggregate of 37 respondents which is 10% opined a nay effect. These have been tabulated below in the table below.

Table XVIII: How absence of freedom of expression impacts on EAC Integration

To what degree they thought it affects African Integration?		Organization							
		East Government Ministry	International Governmental organization	non Regional Organization	Civil Society	Business person	Farmer	Trader	Total
None	Count	3	1	5	0	16	6	6	37
	% of Total	.8%	.3%	1.3%	.0%	4.2%	1.6%	1.6%	9.6%
Do not know	Count	30	6	6	6	51	24	43	166
	% of Total	7.8%	1.6%	1.6%	1.6%	13.3%	6.3%	11.2%	43.2%
Less severe	Count	2	8	1	7	26	13	20	77
	% of Total	.5%	2.1%	.3%	1.8%	6.8%	3.4%	5.2%	20.1%
No response	Count	1	0	0	0	2	2	1	6
	% of Total	.3%	.0%	.0%	.0%	.5%	.5%	.3%	1.6%
Severe	Count	18	2	0	1	28	3	8	60
	% of Total	4.7%	.5%	.0%	.3%	7.3%	.8%	2.1%	15.6%
Very severe	Count	4	3	2	1	12	6	10	38
	% of Total	1.0%	.8%	.5%	.3%	3.1%	1.6%	2.6%	9.9%
Total	Count	58	20	14	15	135	54	88	384
	% of Total	15.1%	5.2%	3.6%	3.9%	35.2%	14.1%	22.9%	100%

In line with these findings, Freedom House's finds significant declines in practice of freedom in Sub-Saharan Africa [38]. A special rapporteur on freedom of expression for Africa attributed this regression to the adoption of restrictive media legislation that punished or harassed journalists and media practitioners who published articles that questioned morality of government.

In Uganda, restrictive laws that regulated media (the Press and Journalist Act), dating to 1995 were found retrogressive. Oversight bodies provided for by those laws, in particular the Council and Disciplinary Committee, lacked necessary independence from government. In 2009, the Uganda government closed down four radio stations and banned open-air public radio debates on Kampala riots, in which 21 people died and many others were injured. At the height of it, in 2010 two journalists were murdered, Paul Kiggundu and Dickson Ssentongo were murdered [39].

Rwanda's laws on defamation, genocide ideology, and other restrictive media legislation have ensured an absence of media pluralism and media independence. In the months preceding the 2010 elections, journalists and political opponents were harassed, intimidated, and some killed, [49]. That today, Tutsi as a group are thus able to restructure State and space to maximize their physical, economic, and political security, and to reconstitute supremacy in use of natural and state resources. There is therefore, emergence of an ethnio-Etat which is by far less hospitable to the majority of Rwandans than the former parti-Etat, and of a sharp contradiction between it and the masses it is supposed to serve. The price for maximum security for one ethnic group is maximum tension for society at large and insecurity of individuals. The slogans of liberation war give way to realities of war of conquest. Spoils of war include not only real estate and equipment belonging to Hutu, but State as well [50].

In Kenya, the Kenya Television Network and its Standard Newspaper was invaded by government mercenaries led by the Artur Sargasian and Artur Marigarian, in which it was alleged that the standard newspaper was about to publish very damaging information on the Kenyan government. The minister in charge of internal security in President Emilio Mwai Kibaki's government, an unapologetic the late Michuki justified the raid, saying: "If you rattle a snake (the government) you must be ready to be bitten by it."

Sometime after midnight on 2 March, 2006, armed and hooded people raided the group's offices at I & M Bank Towers in Nairobi as well as the printing press on Likoni Road. The raiders, who were later identified as police officers led by shadowy Armenian brothers, Artur Margaryan and Artur Sargasyan — destroyed broadcasting equipment which, consequently, put KTN off air, confiscated broadcasting equipment, and detained and harassed the journalists who were

on duty. At Likoni Road, they broke down doors to access the printing press and seized items from the premises before setting the day's issue of The Standard newspaper on fire. Internal Security minister John Michuki later said the Standard Group was raided because they were planning to publish and broadcast a series of stories that were damaging to the government and would compromise national security [51].

IV. CONCLUSION

As much as respondents overwhelmingly responded that they had democratic regimes, indicators for the same did not triangulate that position and instead pointed towards hybrid convergence. Conclusively then East Africa Community comprises 'Hybrid Regimes' which make EACs integration vulnerable to the whims of the leaders who must nod in affirmation for any form of limited integration within the region. Elections are bedeviled with malpractices and thus disqualify member states from the category of democracies. Civil liberties are largely compromised by high handed regimes, perpetually mooting for survival. This affects regional integration severely.

There has been uncertainty in regime transition in Uganda where there is no presidential term limit and schemes of grooming the incumbents son was on course. In Rwanda there were calls for Kagame to seek re-election after 2017. Burundi was largely unstable and peace was not predictable.

Instability was prevalent and affected EACs integration. Corruption coupled with weak institutions of governance was found to be a drawback for regional integration. The military was not found to be a major decision maker within the region but it was noted that military bolstered civilian leadership in Uganda and Rwanda. Thus instability, corruption and weak governance institutions affected EACs integration severely.

The East African Court of Justice had neither complimentary aid to national courts on matters criminal and the reason why genocide perpetrators of Rwanda were at the tribunal court in Tanzania and Kenyan leaders seeking justice at the International Criminal Court.

That ethnic transnational jingoism seeking for separatist states for ethnic transcendence had not come into fruition and thus it did not affect integration. However negative ethnicity among member states caused instability and that had a ripple effect on regional integration, affecting it severely, averagely or less severely. This manifested itself in ethnic clashes or in pursuance of parochial ethnic interests.

On economic imbalances, high leverage power of investment by individual member states had no effect on regional integration. However, wealth distribution and redistribution among member states was found problematic and this affected integration greatly. Skewed Wealth distribution and redistribution in favor of a smaller number of East Africans, limited the ability of many East Africans to participate ably in integration. People could not afford goods and services as availed to them, courtesy of the East Africa Community, resultantly not gaining from economies of scale as envisaged.

That there was saturation of the capitalist mode of production in some member states and needed being exported across the borders. This was done through banks, insurance companies, institutions of learning and commodity production companies.

Harmonization of domestic tax regimes in the region was a major impediment to trade in the region. Different VAT and Excise duty in partner states hindered cross border transactions and eventual investment. That there was need for a paradigm shift in integration, a people centered regional integration as opposed to bourgeoisie integration

REFERENCES

- [1] National media Group, (2009) "Fast track east Africa community", Nov 20th, Sunday Nation page, 10
- [2] Adar, K and Mutahi, G, 1994 "The politics of Integration in East Africa Since Independence", in W, Oyugi, ed. Politics and Administration in East Africa, Nairobi, East African Educational Publishers.
- [3] Treaty for East African Co-operation, (1967), Government printers, Nairobi
- [4] Kamp Wester, eds., (2009), (unpublished), "African Union: EA Community; Regional Corporation in the great lake region, Initiative for peace Building", USA.

- [5] EAC Treaty (1999), "Treaty establishing the East Africa Community: About the Treaty, communication and public Affairs", Arusha. Can also be found at: <http://www.eac.int/treaty/>
- [6] Osike and Wasike, (2007), East Africa: Rwanda, Burundi join East Africa Union, New Vision Newspaper, Uganda
- [7] Malingha, N. (2010), Unpublished, "New ethno-centric political order for East Africa"
- [8] Okoth, P.G, (2008), Peace and Conflict Studies in Global context, Kakamega, MMUST press
- [9] The Standard Media Group, (2006), Tanzanians afraid that their country risked being infected with ethnicity problems that characterize politics in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, The Standard Newspaper
- [10] Oyugi, E, (2010), (unpublished), "East Africa: Challenges for Integration", Paper prepared for the Working Group in African Political Economy (WGAPE) meeting, April Pomona College, West Port, USA.
- [11] Mugenda, O. and Mugenda, A. (2003) Research methods, quantitative and Qualitative approaches, Act press, Nairobi
- [12] Mugenda, G, (2008), Social Science Research: Theory and Principles, Act press, Nairobi
- [13] East African Community Facts and Figures, 2009
- [14] Kothari, C. R, (2009), Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques, New Age Publishers, New Delhi
- [15] EAC report (2011), "Addressing the Fears, Concerns and Challenges of the East African Federation", The Report of Team of Experts, EAC Secretariat, Arusha
- [16] Diamond, Larry (2002). "Elections without Democracy: Thinking about Hybrid Regimes", Journal of Democracy Vol. 13 No. 2 : 21-35
- [17] Nyong'o Peter Anyang', (2001), "Preconditions and Prospects of an African Renaissance: A View from East Africa", paper presented at the conference "Africa works?!" November 21-22, 2000 in Munich, Deutsche Stiftung für internationale Entwicklung Frankfurt, Germany.
- [18] Stiftung Bertelsmann, Gutersloh BTI (2012), Rwanda Country Report
- [19] Walle, Nicolas Van de, (2002), "Elections without democracy: Africa's Range of Regimes", Journal of Democracy Volume 13, Number 2: 66-80
- [20] EAC Report (2013), "East African Community: Towards a common Market; An overview", East African Secretariat, Arusha
- [21] Long, D. James, (2011), "Electoral Fraud and the Erosion of Democratic Gains in Kenya", Paper prepared for the Working Group On African Political Economy, Pomona College, San Diego, USA.
- [22] Epstein, Helen (2011), "What the US is ignoring in Uganda", New York Review.
- [23] Sekaggya, Margret, (2010), "Uganda Management of elections", Open Society Foundations, Nairobi
- [24] Kipobota, Clarence, (2010), Tanzania Human Rights Report, 2009, Legal and Human Rights Centre, Dar-es lam, Tanzania
- [25] Nyambura G. (Undated), "It's unfortunate how the elections have progressed thus far in Burundi", The Institute for Security Studies.
- [26] Barkan D. Joel & Amb. Jonnie Carson, (2005), "Challenges and Change in Uganda: Uganda, an African Success past its Prime "Conference held in June 2005, Woodrow Wilson international centre for scholars African program
- [27] Nyerere Educational Resource Centre, Undated, Unpublished
- [28] Huntington, Samuel P (1991), The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century, University of Oklahoma Press.
- [29] African Development Bank, (2011), "African development fund: Eastern Africa regional integration strategy paper 2011-2015, Regional departments –East 1 & East 11,Orea/Oreb"

- [30] UN Dept. of Political Affairs, (2010). On the internet it can also be found at: http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/undpa/main/activities_by_region/africa
- [31] Sudan Tribune, (2013), “Kenya and Uganda most corrupt in East Africa says Transparency International”. Can also be found at: <http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article47247>
- [32] Wrong, Michela, (2009), *It’s our Turn to Eat: The story of a Kenya Whistle Blower*, Herper Collins, London
- [33] Callamard, Agnes (2010), “Accountability, Transparency and freedom of expression in Africa”, *Social Research* vol.77, no 4, winter, pp. 1211-1240
- [34] Freedom House (2010), “Freedom of the Press Index” Washington, D.C. Can also be found at: <http://www.freedomhouse.org/emplat.cfm?page=16>.
- [35] Stein Peter & Stein Brothers (2010), “The economics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda”, Swedfund International Spring
- [36] Akokpari, John k (2004), the AU, “Nepad and the Promotion of Good Governance in Africa”, University of Cape Town, South Africa
- [37] Billow, Kerrow (2013), Unpublished, Egypt coup exposed Africa’s weak democratic institutions.
- [38] Kakuba Sultan, Juma (2010), “Multiparty Politics: Dynamics in Uganda”, *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* Vol. 4 No. 3.
- [39] Katundu, Abdu (2013), “Nyakairima Can’t Serve Army and Cabinet”, *The Observer*, Kampala.
- [40] Welch, Nancy, (2010), “Elections Review: Rwanda & Burundi”, Great Lakes Policy Forum, Johns Hopkins School for Advanced International Studies &, National Endowment for Democracy Washington DC. Can also be found at: <http://www.ned.org/elections-review-rwanda-burundi>
- [41] Madanga, Godfrey, Atta Prince Ofori, (2012), “Museveni’s speedy promotion of son and a new African trend”, *The Africa Report*. Can also be found at: <http://www.theafricareport.com/News-Analysis/musevenis-speedy-promotion-of-son-and-a-new-african-trend.html>
- [42] Cookie Jennifer G. (2011), “Rwanda: Assessing Risks to stability”, Africa program report, by the center for strategic and international studies (CSIS), Washington DC. Can also be found online at: www.csis.org
- [43] Institute of Economic Affairs, (2005), “The East Africa Community: Customs Union”, Nairobi
- [44] Gathara, Patrick (2009), “Seek Ye First The Popular Kingdom”, The Norwegian Council for Africa, Oslo
- [45] Kamala, Diodorus Buberwa (2006), “The Achievements and Challenges of the New East African Community Co-operation”, An Open Lecture May 3, 2006 at: The Business School University of Hull, UK
- [46] Branson Margaret S (1998), “An Adaptation: The Role of Civic Education”, A Forthcoming Education Policy Task Force, Position Paper from the Communitarian Network, Center for Civic Education, Washington, DC.
- [47] Ruhangisa, John Eudes, (2011), “The East African Court of Justice: Ten years of operation; achievements and challenges”, A Paper for Presentation During the Sensitization Workshop on the Role of the EACJ in the EAC Integration, Imperial Royale Hotel, Kampala, Uganda, 1st – 2nd November
- [48] Maina, H. (2010) “The Role of the Media in Promoting Good Governance in the Region” Paper presented at the 2nd EAC Conference on Good Governance, August, Nairobi, Kenya.
- [49] Human Rights Watch, (2010), “Rwanda: Silencing Dissent Ahead of Elections.” New York.
- [50] Batware, Billy, (2012), *Rwandan ethnic conflicts: A historical look at root causes*, MA Peace and Conflicts Studies, European Peace University, Austria.
- [51] Daily Nation (2013), Attack on Standard Group shakes media: As Kenyans debate the two laws that will have a negative impact on media operations, many will, Sunday, November 24, Nation Media Group, Nairobi.