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**The Structural Impediments to African Reintegration: A Comparative Analysis of EAC,  
ECOWAS and SADC**

**by**

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## **Declaration**

I now declare that:

This dissertation with the title “The Structural Impediments to African Reintegration: A Comparative Analysis of EAC, ECOWAS and SADC” Reintegration submitted to the University of Pretoria is my original work and has not been presented before to any other degree or examination in any other university. All sources of materials for this thesis have been fully acknowledged utilizing a comprehensive list of references.

2018/12/10

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Signed:      Date

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## Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
ARIA	Assessment of Regional Reintegration in Africa
AU	African Union
CEN-SAD	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
COMESA	Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa
CWAF	Central West African Federation
CWAS	Central West African States
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
EAS	East Africa States
ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IAS	Island African States
IGAD	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IOC	Indian Ocean Community
LAS	League of Arab States
LGA	Liptako–Gourma Authority
MIP	Minimum Reintegration Program
MRU	Mano River Union
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
NWAS	North West African States
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
SADC	Southern African Development Community
RII	Regional Reintegration Institutions



## **Abstract**

This study aims to analyse the structural factors for the slow implementation of integration in Africa. The dissertation is attempting to introduce a proposition, reintegration, as a conceptual framework to provide an alternative unification theory that has a provision for peace, development, and welfare. The fundamentals of this proposition is based on six pillars that are: historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural context. The very objective is to make an obtainable alternative solution to the current Regional Economic Community (RECs) arrangement. The scheme feeds the research work with comparative analysis of three of the RECs, namely the East African Community (EAC), the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The study is qualitative research with a comparative case of selected RECs. The research focus is to identify the structural challenges in RECs and specific policy limitations and implementation impediments. The study analyses political, economic, social and cultural factors of structural impediments that RECs gleaned from the experiences of ECOWAS, EAC and SADC in the scope of this study. The purpose of this study is to introduce a paradigm shift and rethinking about the current RECs by recommending a different arrangement for better ways of achieving reintegration in Africa.

**Keywords:** African RECs, Reintegration and Structural impediments.

# **1. CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

## **1.1 CONCEPTUAL OUTLINE AND OBJECTIVE OF THE DISSERTATION**

The quest of African economic and political integration is not new. It came up at the rise of the Pan African movement and started being practised at the dawn of independence. The inspiration and commitment both from elite intellectuals and the African leaders are to staunch the adverse effects of Africa's balkanisation. The initiative was driven by the political and economic reactions challenging the adverse effects of a colonial distraction of local knowledge. The ingenuity triggered conceived the establishment of a large number of intergovernmental agencies operating in the field of restoration to enable African countries to speak with one voice and to ease the restraints linked to the limited size of national markets.

Nonetheless, after so many decades the aspiration of political leaders and ordinary citizens has not produced desired results. The puzzle is neither the theory nor the implementation mechanisms which were not in favour of the original objectives. Berman, (2002) underline that without the participation of local people and knowledge change is unattainable. Thus the study has focused by emphasizing the fundamental of African societal damage during the colonial era. African society has been disenfranchised and self-rule and community cooperation were destructed during the colonial period. Hence, without restoration the ownership of the economic modes of production and political emancipation change are unthinkable. Therefore, looking back to the pre-colonial era and evaluating the historical, psychological and philosophical contexts to understand the society and the consequence of damage is vital to project the future.

Meanwhile, examining both the pre- and postcolonial era of political, economic and sociocultural context will edify the full picture of social shape and understanding. With this understanding, returning back to Africa's original being of unification leads us to reintegration as a theoretical proposition for African integration. Besides, the study

examines structural impediments in selected RECs and their relation to locally produced policy documents.

Studies on African reintegration in general advance three primary objectives. Firstly, they attempt to analyse historical injustices and how it may be the cause of the arbitrary fragmentation of the continent imposed through the partition of Africa. Secondly, they investigate holistic development challenges, such as market access, weak states, artificial borders and limited intra-African trade. Lastly, they reclaim the African common identity and citizenship that is one of the fundamentals of reintegration. The above aims were made more visible by the Pan African movement that enabled the formation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), as well as the development of the supporting policy documents of the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the Final Act of Lagos and the Abuja Treaty of 1980 and 1991, aimed at establishing the African Economic Community (OAU 1980). The African reintegration and development policy plan is envisaged through Regional Economic Communities (RECs) to challenge the under development and artificial borders. It is also evident in the AU's recently adopted Agenda 2063, a fifty-year development and reintegration plan that advances the reintegration project.

While the literature agrees that there has been slow progress in translating these noble goals and ideas into reality, not enough analysis has been done to understand the structural impediments to reintegration and the need for a paradigm shift as an alternative conceptual framework. This document outlines the proposed study of these impediments from this alternative paradigm using EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC as cases in point. The literature is silent about how to describe and articulate the structural challenge of the Regional Economic Communities concerning political, economic, social and cultural contexts. The three main issues may be raised here: the structural problems of reintegration, the social and cultural context of Africa in reintegration and the reintegration claim itself to achieve its citizens' aspirations. Firstly, the African economic and political reintegration extensively refers to the European regional integration model while it differs in many ways from the European region and other

continents as the result of the colonial heritage, which has affected the political, social, cultural and economic dimensions of the African societies deeply. Secondly, the political, economic and social configurations differ in a greater extent between the ineffective decision making processes, lack of social infrastructure and multiplicity of RECs. Thirdly, weak implementation of protocols, weak institutions, artificial borders, the mix of sovereignty and nationalism, limited intra-African trade and low political participation among the people are reasons for the severe problems experienced in the African reintegration process.

### **1.1.1 Research Aim**

- The study aims to critically analyse the structural factors that negatively affect the African reintegration with the specific reference to the experience of ECOWAS, EAC and SADC.

### **1.1.2 Objectives**

- To describe the historical evolution of Regional Economic Communities especially ECOWAS, EAC and SADC.
- To analyse the political, economic, social and cultural factors of the three RECs.
- To discuss ways to solutions for a new trajectory on African reintegration.

### **1.1.3 Research Question**

- What are the structural challenges and impediments to African reintegration with reference to ECOWAS, EAC and SADC?

#### *1.3.1.1 Sub-questions*

- What do the experiences of SADC, EAC and ECOWAS tell us about the evolution of African reintegration?
- What are the political, economic, socials and cultural factors hindering the reintegration process?
- What can be done differently to achieve African unification?

## **1.2 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY**

The study contributes to the Africa reintegration agenda by identifying the historical and current challenges and by indicating the way forward. The study specifically focuses on structural challenges that currently besiege the RECs. The study utilises a case study to analyse the EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC. The output proposes a regrouping providing a viable formation based on common consanguinities, geographical proximity and common languages and cultures. In addition, the study contributes as a premise for further research and serves to provide a departure point for policymakers to revisit the current REC structures.

## **1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The study will take a qualitative analytical approach. It will be a critical analysis in the sense that it is designed to question the conceptual and theoretical aspects of the discussion. It particularly focuses on the failure of African reintegration and the inability of the regional economic communities' arrangement. The goal of the comparative analysis is to examine the relationship between two and more variables, current treatment or exposure and effectiveness or outcome (Teune and Przeworski 1970). The research will take a comparative approach among three RECs namely, EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC. The conceptual framework is based on reintegration from the historical, philosophical, psychological, political and economic context of Africa. The choice of qualitative research in this study allows a broader benefit to qualify the arguments raised from ontology, epistemology, axiology, rhetorical and methodological expectations. Mahoney and Goertz (2006), Rapley (2007) and Corbin and Strauss (2008) underline that, like other analytical methods in qualitative research, data and document analysis is part of qualitative research methods, which examine data and interpret documents to produce meaningful research, and develop empirical knowledge.

### **1.3.1 Data and Analysis**

This study will rely on available secondary literature in the form of books, journal articles, newspapers and reports that are in the public domain. It will also source

primary documents like project reports, speeches and memos that have crucial data about the thinking, discussions and activities of the three RECs. The methodology of literature review critically analyses the strengths and weaknesses of research made before this dissertation. The advantage of document analysis is that it is less time consuming and therefore more efficient than other research methods. As Bailey (1982) stated, the advantage of document research is that the researcher can obtain data without being present in the field. Data analysis is a crucial technique by which data is extracted from data sources, which in this case will be documents rather than interviews or focus groups.

### **1.3.2 Ethical Implications**

The researcher undertakes to comply with all the academic norms and the standards based on University of Pretoria rules towards the researcher intending to uphold high standards of ethical consideration. The approval of the final proposal document will be obtained from the supervisor. The key sources will be treated in an ethical manner and their consent will be attained before interviews. Individual privacy and confidentiality will be maintained throughout the research process and periods after that. The study will be based upon literature/documents; there are no participants to whom we must apply the principles of anonymity, informed consent and confidentiality. Secondly, the documents to be used are in the public domain, materials such as annual reports, speeches, reports of RECs, so no permission will be necessary to access them. The study will adhere to the research ethics policy of the University of Pretoria whenever ethical issues arise.

### **1.3.3 Theoretical and conceptual framework**

The traditional regional reintegration theoretical framework includes theories that advocate market-based reintegration (economic reintegration). The theories are functionalism, neo-functionalism, inter-governmentalism, federalism and pluralism. These theories concentrate on the progressive economic development of reintegration rather than on the structural formation. The concept of reintegration this dissertation

advocates is firstly, that Africa should engage in a structural formation and secondly the reintegration theory should be indigenous. The existing theories, like functionalism, developed out of an interdisciplinary economic development enterprise that focused on maintaining international economic order (Mitrany 1946). In addition, “neo-functionalism - the advanced notion of functionalism, emphasised the autonomy of institutional structures in the economic and social sectors” (Haas 1968; Schmitter 1970). Furthermore, inter-governmentalism emphasised the role of the nation-state in regional integration argued that sovereignty is not becoming obsolete (Hoffmann 1966; Moravcsik 1998). This study maintains that these theoretical frameworks are well articulated in favour of the European reintegration agenda. However, adopting these theories in the African situation creates structural impediments.

This study is therefore based on an alternative unification concept, called reintegration. Reintegration as implementation methodology has been introduced by ongoing European Union expansion to Eastern European States. The aim was to strengthen European unity and to share the prospects of participating in the wealth and security of a united Europe (Baldwin 1995). The same understanding is applied to the African reintegration agenda. It is not only demanding fair and equitable participation in the global market and economic opportunities, but also the restoration of its social, cultural and political identity and meeting the aspirations of its citizens, “an integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its citizens and representing a dynamic force in the global arena.” (The South African Institute of International Affairs (SAIIA 2015). The argument is that the African reintegration theoretical framework should look at indigenous knowledge and respond to the local realities. Therefore, the conceptual structure of this study introduces a paradigm shift, a new approach to the political reintegration model that is based on consanguinity, geographic proximity, language commonality, cultural similitude, historical connection, market and accessible administrative resources, trade facilities and most importantly a similar psychological makeup.

### **1.3.4 Scope and Limitations of the study**

The scope of the study covers three regional economic communities: ECOWAS, EAC, and SADC. It does not cover everything about these RECs, but only the structural impediments to reintegration as they relate to four variables: political, economic, social and cultural factors. It does not consider other factors that may be put forward beyond the four variables. Among the study's limitations is that time and resources will not permit an extensive review of the regional economic community structures and interviewing key officials, but this will be a literature-based study of a comparative nature.

### **1.3.6 Study outline**

Chapter 1 introduces the study and provides its rationale, gap analyses, objectives, questions and a broad argument. It also outlines the research methodology.

Chapter 2 elaborates on the key literature discussions and debates on issues related to the study theme and comments on gaps and weaknesses in the literature in respect of factors this study wants to focus on.

Chapter 3 outlines the concept of reintegration as the analytical framework of this study. It also considers the theoretical framework including critical arguments by Haas, Schmitter, Osei-Kwame, and Nkrumah. On this basis, it frames how the analysis will be conducted.

Chapter 4 discusses the structural factors that have impeded reintegration efforts in the recent past. It will examine in particular the experiences of EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC with structural factors that impede progress towards reintegration.

Chapter 5 provides the conclusion and summarises the discussion in Chapter 3 and 4. In addition the section includes policy recommendations and policy reconsideration that is based on the consideration of reintegration.



## **2. CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1: INTRODUCTION**

This study draws from existing literature on the subject of the impediments to African reintegration with the focus on the East Africa Community's (EAC), the Economic Communities of West Africa (ECOWAS), and the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). The chapter reviews existing academic literature: policy documents, publications and constitutive acts that are the foundations for the formation of the sub-regional and regional organisations including Regional Economic Communities (RECs). The chapter is an attempt to identify discussions directly or indirectly on the structural challenges and reintegration impediments in the current RECs arrangements.

The conceptual framework in this study examines the current reintegration models within the scope of existing structured literature by amalgamating the research findings. The following subsections of the literature review compile and explain the existing literature that is relevant to the subject matter, besides discussing the contemporary regional reintegration experiences in Africa and homegrown reintegration policy frameworks such as the Lagos Plan of Action, Abuja Treaty and the Final Act of Lagos. The literature review further discusses the economic reintegration versus the political reintegration of the continent. The need for collective African identity and citizenship is part of the discussion alongside the social and cultural context of reintegration in Africa and the structure and agency issue relevance in the reintegration process. The importance of language as factor in identifying the sub-regional reintegration and political will in the reintegration agenda are the main discussion subjects.

#### **2.1.1: The historical perspective of regional organization formations**

Africa has come a long way to be united even before independence. The inception of African political and economic union originates as early as the 1930s and 1940s (Dinka,

Tesfaye and Kennes 2007). Since the 1930s/1940s the unification process in Africa has been headed by the Pan-African movement while the fight against colonial rule from the continent went on. The Pan-African movement visualised, developed and promoted the unification agenda from the start. Such vision and commitment to regionalism were behind the creation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963. However, the formation of the OAU was not an easy journey considering the colonial power has a presence and upper hand by all standards. Kornegay, Rule and Genge (2000) discuss the establishment and the aspirations of three blocks, which had emerged in 1960 and 1961 to establish the "Federation of African States" or a "United States of Africa."

The first block was the Casablanca Group consisting of Ghana, Mali, Guinea, the United Arab Republic of Egypt, and the Algerian Provisional Government. This group was led by the then President of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah and was formed on 7 January 1961. This association was considered as revolutionary and radical Pan-Africanist. The second bloc was the Brazzaville Group mainly comprised of former French colonies: the Central African Republic, Cameroon, Ivory Coast, People's Republic of Congo, Dahomey (present-day Benin), Mauritania, Gabon, Upper Volta (present-day Burkina Faso), Senegal, Niger, Chad, and Madagascar. This group stood for a gradualist approach to the concept of African unity, starting with regional economic and cultural co-operation. It signed its Brazzaville Charter on 19 December 1960 and became operational on 12 September 1961. The third bloc was the Monrovia Group consisting of Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Liberia, Togo, Ivory Coast, Cameroon, Senegal, Malagasy Republic, Chad, Upper Volta, Niger, the People's Republic of Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Ethiopia, Somalia and Tunisia. The Monrovia Group officially formed in May 1961. This group preferred a gradualist approach, like the Brazzaville Group, they were looking at the African unity without a doubt.

According to Desta (2013), after a series of diplomacy and negotiations, the three groups consolidated into two, the Casablanca group and the Monrovia powers. The only distinct difference between the Casablanca group and the Monrovia powers was the

formation and matrix of a unified Africa. The Casablanca group was considering a rapid revolutionary move towards the unification by forming a unity government led by the continental head of States, a joint African Military high command and the like. On the other hand, the Monrovia group was promoting a slower pace to start with economic, cultural, education and political cooperation that gradually develops into a unified African government. Nevertheless, on the basic principle, both groups favoured rapid decolonisation and the removal of apartheid and acceleration in the formation of Pan-African institutions that worked for the aspirations of the people of Africa. In the end, the two groups, after a long effort, established the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, at the end of May 1963. Although, the OAU has not achieved much in expediting the reintegration process it has done a lot in the decolonisation and removing the apartheid government. Afterward, to meet the reintegration agenda, the OAU transformed into the African Union (AU) in Durban, South Africa, in 2002. Consecutively, to strengthen the reintegration process other fundamental regional organisation bodies were established such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Pan African Parliament (PAP) and The Economic, Social and Cultural Council and others.

### **2.1.2: The African reintegration impediments and practices**

Greater African unity has long been treasured; however, it has become an elusive goal. There are now frequently a renewed impetus to establish closer economic and political connections among the African states, based on a heightened appreciation of the need for unity and a clearer understanding of the reasons for past failures. Adetula (2004) says that, in post-colonial Africa, the reintegration has been one of the priority agendas that include broader economic, social and political cooperation leading to unified statehood. Independent African countries have demonstrated an unwavering interest in constructing reintegration schemes on the continent. Alesina and Zhuravskaya (2011) state that the African continent has nevertheless remained the least integrated region in the world because of structural impediments. As a result, Africa has exhibited slow progress in intra African trade, and it is the least enlightened beneficiary in the world

trade market. The regional development trajectory is one of the weakest in the world. Consequentially, a large section of the African population lives in poverty, while the continent continues to be on the periphery of global affairs.

Geda and Kebret (2002) underline that the reintegration agenda of Africa faces two interconnected problems: the first one is the absence of proper implementation protocols and treaties, related to political will and lack of capacity. The second problem is the technical and implementation approaches to the problem. The lack of institutional capacity, existing economic reintegration policy frameworks and inadequate evaluation and monitoring mechanisms are the main constraints to the reintegration. The methodology constraint refers to the model that is not compatible and not according to the condition of the African economic reintegration.

Aremu (2011) holds forth that the formation of a Union of African States; with a centralized Government structure, has been a dream for many Pan-Africanist leaders and was uniquely advocated by Kwame Nkrumah. The optimism and idea never became a reality due to formidable resistance from newly emerged African leaders, as well as greed, anxiety, and fear of losing established national sovereignty. The ideas of unification were and still are the best option to overcome the vicious circle of socioeconomic and political catastrophes and to avoid sporadic wars, ethnic conflicts, poverty and exploitation of natural resources by the global north.

On the other hand, Etzioni (1962), Friedrich (1968) and Campbell (1970), have analysed the concept of political reintegration and the unification paradigm. These social perspectives are a shared value system, effective configuration, a sequence of reintegration and the spill over based upon the undermining of the exclusiveness of nation-state. Most political and economic reintegration literature is silent on addressing and diagnosing the structural challenge of RECs, the reintegration claim and social and cultural context of reintegration in Africa. The conceptual framework of reintegration is based on a broader concept of economic or political reintegration. The reintegration concept has six pillars that are historical claims embedded with the philosophical,

political, economic, psychological and sociocultural context of the African people. Most importantly, the current regional economic community configuration should be revisited to address the issue of administrative, social, cultural, economic, political, language and common consanguinity as the way forward.

### **2.1.3: Homegrown policy framework toward reintegration**

Since the central objective of this study is to analyse and find the regional economic communities' impediments, it is critical to investigate the policy documents that created the RECs. The first task is to assess the regional reintegration policy documents such as the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final Act of Lagos (1980), the Abuja Treaty (1991) and related literatures (OAU 1980; OAU 1991). The literature review in these policy documents is mainly aimed at three areas: firstly, the policy gap or constraint; secondly, the practicality, and thirdly the implementation impediments.

### **2.1.4: The Abuja Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC)**

A new chapter in the history of African reintegration opened in Abuja, Nigeria, on 3 June 1991 (OAU 1991). Indeed, 49 out of 51 states signed the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community. The OAU Council of Ministers, in its Resolution CM/Res.464 (XXVI), divided the continent into "five regional areas: North Africa, West Africa, South Africa, East Africa and Central Africa, for the establishment of the AEC in six phases over 34 years (1994-2027)" (OAU 1991). The Treaty entered into force on the 12<sup>th</sup> May 1994. The establishment of the Community was based on a number of key integrating sectors such as "transport and communication, industry, agriculture, energy, education, science and technology, trade, money and finance" (OAU 1991). Considering that regional economic communities are cornerstones for development and a sustainable livelihood, the pillars of or the peculiar framework of the Abuja Treaty were to create viable opportunities for African countries to promote their economic activities (ibid). The AEC project, according to its inception plan, is left less than a decade but progress and achievements remain at a bare minimal. However, the major regional bodies serving the African Union as an economic wing of the continent are as follows:

- i. Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS);
- ii. The Common Market of East and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- iii. The Communauté économique des États de l'Afrique Centrale (CEEAC);
- iv. The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU);
- v. The Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD);
- vi. The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC);
- vii. The Communauté des États Sahélo-Sahariens (CEN-SAD); and
- viii. The East African Community (EAC).” (ECA 2018)

The fundamental objectives of the Abuja Treaty were to have a regional economic community based on geographical distribution. The reason behind it is to accelerate the economic, social and cultural development as well as African economic reintegration. The Abuja Treaty, Article 1 section B states that “Region shall mean an OAU region as defined by Resolution CM/Res.464 QCXVI) of the OAU Council of Ministers concerning the Division of Africa into five (5) regions namely North Africa, West Africa, Central Africa, East Africa and Southern Africa.” (OAU 1991). This is with the current configuration or AU endorsed RECs, either some RECs are beyond the proposed geographic coverage or other RECs constituted without a geographic base. The study further argues that currently none of the Regional Economic Communities (RECs) tallies with the geographical arrangements. Out of the 55 countries, 26 retain dual membership; 20 are members of three RECs; the DRC belongs to four RECs, and only six states maintain singular membership (ECA 2006).

According to Mutai (2007), Africa's reintegration strategy is designed based on the use of the RECs arrangement. The Abuja Treaty was aimed at the creation of the African Economic Community (AEC) and as stated in Article 1 (d) of provides for the formation of five RECs. The Treaty was aiming to create the AEC towards the end of its implementation by 2028, through the five RECs, through this arrangement to transform the Organization of African Unity (OAU) into one economic community, by introducing a monetary union, African Central Bank, a single currency and Pan-African passport.

Maruping (2005) defends the RECs arrangement, arguing that, “with all their inadequacies, RECs have achieved various milestones in defining reintegration agendas.” The limitations are a lack of effective policy coordination, inadequate funding and overambitious and unrealistic goals in the timeframes of projects.

Meanwhile, Olu-Adeyemi and Ayodele, (2007) argue that “the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) is an extension of the LPA and the Abuja Treaty.” The NEPAD initiative has been well received by the donor community and especially the Bretton Woods institutions, unlike the LAP and Abuja Treaty. However, there is no policy document that clarifies the assumption that NEPAD is the extension programme of the LPA, and the Abuja Treaty. The reasons are that NEPAD embedded a neo-liberal agenda. The NEPAD project is meant to be an attempt to address Africa’s vast development challenges and is considered as the “Marshall Plan” for Africa. (ibid 2007) The NEPAD Initiative came a year after the adoption of the Constitutive Act, which established the African Union in conformity with the ultimate objectives of the OAU Charter and the Abuja Treaty, establishing the African Economic Community. The NEPAD initiative has been heralded by its sponsors as superseding all other partnership initiatives. In a similar fashion, the African Union has been perceived as the most pre-eminent initiative that has emanated from Africa since independence. If it is successful, the AU will accelerate the process of implementing the Abuja Treaty of 1991 and the Final Act of Lagos of 1980. The logic of NEPAD is thus to create a clear link between development and stability. NEPAD singles out three prerequisites for social and economic regeneration, poverty alleviation and empowerment: Peace and Security; Democracy and Political Governance and Economic and Corporate Governance. That is considered and illustrated by the dictum: “no peace without development; no development without peace.” (Olu-Adeyemi and Ayodele 2007).

The study claims that there are many home-grown reintegration policy frameworks. Among these documents, the most important and relevant for our research purposes to evaluate are the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA), the Final Act of Lagos (1980), the Abuja

Treaty (1991) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which have direct and indirect relationships in the process of the reintegration agenda (OAU 1991). Primarily, it is vital to look at the limitations of these documents versus the vision and the expectation from the initial premises. For NEPAD, as part of the AU, there is a need to be either a planning or implementing organ for the reintegration and development process. The framework of NEPAD should harmonize with other AU Organs, to avoid duplication of effort and unnecessary wastages of human, financial and other resources.

## **2.2: ECONOMIC VERSUS POLITICAL REINTEGRATION**

The African reintegration policy and strategy process is guided by an economic reintegration pattern; yet the reintegration is often driven by political rather than economic factors (EAC 2010). African regional economic communities have not generated the expected benefits. Regional reintegration in the African continent has faced several obstacles. It is believed that this is partly due to the wrong policy direction, which is not considering the socioeconomic and political situation of the continent.

### **2.2.1: Economic reintegration**

Economic reintegration is widely considering, as infrastructure development and inclusive economic development industrialization, private sector-led intra-African Trade and the sustainable utilization of natural resources created. According to Balassa (1961), "The Theory of Economic Reintegration" is a one-way prescription, which recommends a topology of sequential progress. The description includes the four different stages of economic reintegration: a free trade area (FTA), Customs Union (CU), a common market and economic union. Economic reintegration has been widely promoted in different regional blocs. Besides, Balassa (1961) submits that economic reintegration is defined as "the abolition of discrimination within an area." This is opposed to Kamara (1970) who defines economic reintegration as the process of progressively removing those discriminations that occur at national borders, to facilitate free movement of goods and people. On a similar note, Reddy (2010) considers the regional economic reintegration as the cooperation or coordination between group



countries or neighbouring states, addressing the fact that individual states cannot achieve their economic goals in isolation from their neighbours. Rye (1968), Hanson (1969) and Saenz (1966) observe that taking further steps for regional economic reintegration are required. African states are regarded as small and weak; nonetheless, Africans share a strong sense of solidarity considering reintegration based on the ideals of Pan Africanism. African economy reintegration focuses on a strategy for achieving sustainable economic growth, competitiveness, restoration and the wellbeing of its citizens.

The study argues that complete economic reintegration is the highest form of economic reintegration that involves a monetary union and synchronization of monetary policy. However, the significant challenges for African economic reintegration are the following: the absence of a monetary union at the sub-regional and regional levels, uneven infrastructural development, trade imbalance and trade barriers. Limited foreign direct investment, wage difference, competitiveness, lack of skilled human resources and the ability of supply chain management are among few obstacles that should be mitigated to address the economic reintegration. One of the critical areas, deeper African economic reintegration, depends on the magnitude to which the question of equitable sharing of benefits among member states in each RECs is addressed. The first remedy for a fair approach is to have in place a working legal framework that ensures all parties of the equitable sharing or benefits.

This should provide a clear theoretical and interpretational basis for the case for justice, and have elaborate provisions spelling out appropriate measures, embodying the negotiated deal agreed by all the members. This should be a legal framework that has been backed by adequate institutional arrangements to adopt and secure implementation of the measures, instead of relying on unlikely initiatives from dissatisfied members. Considering all these infrastructure and legal framework gaps, it is unthinkable to implement the economic reintegration model in the shortest possible time.

### **2.2.2: Political reintegration**

Political reintegration was the Pan-Africanist agenda that was promoted widely to lay the foundation for economic self-reliance and prosperity through political means. Hoppe (2007) and Ilievski (2015) describe the political reintegration model as a social and political contract to establish a political community. The description of political reintegration is identified with establishing a unified law frame, creating formal institutions, developing a decision-making centre and projecting common identity.

Welch (1966) explores “the need of transforming the political map of Africa from random mapping by the colonial powers, that obstructed the political unity of African peoples”, and suggests the need to change to a “workable state formation, which considers citizens at the centre as vital.” Africa’s regional re-integrationists took a gradualist approach, adopted through sub-regional formations that utilised RECs. The socio-economic conditions and scarcity of technology and minimal industrialisation militated against the desired functional output and associations originally envisaged, as outlined by Welch (1966). Concurring with the current configuration of RECs neither resolves the colonial mapping nor advances a significant way of economic self-reliance. It does not promote social, cultural, economic and political space in a coordinated and harmonized manner. He added this pattern would be unthinkable without political support and enforcement. As a result of Africa’s colonial past, the continent remains divided by language; race, culture and most importantly post-colonial governments simply inherited the fragmented and weak colonial economies (ibid 1966).

Meanwhile, the challenges to Africa’s reintegration are two-fold; on the one hand, there is inherent institutional incapability, and on the other hand, there is a meddling interest of parties manipulating weak individual states in Africa. Hence, commentators suggest “the membership overlap renders it difficult to harmonise policies” (Alves, Draper and Halleson 2007). Zafar and Kubota (2003) also argue that internal divisions often hamper the reintegration process within RECs. When the RECs serve as building blocks, then cracks begin to occur, and divisive conditions prevail, and they cannot reach

agreements to move forward. The policy framework does not introduce a comprehensive economic system geared at reintegration within the RECs.

Nkrumah, Arrighi and Napolitano (1963) expounded on the necessity of political reintegration to help Africa enjoy the full benefits of its abundant resources by decolonizing the land and economic system that was established against the will of the African people. Nkrumah's assessment was on the restoration of African reintegration as an immediate step to a political settlement for Africa to move forward as a unified sovereign state. Accordingly Haas (1961) defined integration as "the process whereby political actors ... are persuaded to shift their national loyalties, expectations, and political activities to a new and larger centre. Political integration is a process, which use organized state and non-state actors and move political activities towards establishing a new supranational entity." Kingsolver (2011) gives a clear distinction between political reintegration and economic reintegration. Political reintegration allows member states to share their sovereignty in support of a "common identity" and prosperity as a supranational entity. Similarly, Laffan (1992) and Lodge (1994) explain that reintegration is a political system that requires its member states to surrender some part of their sovereignty to a central authority voluntarily for the harmonisation and security, administration, monetary policy and other common agendas between member-states. As such, Ansah (2013) contends that the purpose of an integrated political system "is mainly focused on the collective political decision making process and shared norms, values, and power among members."

Waltz (1979) gives two central structural arrangements that contribute to state formation and political reintegration. The two structures are anarchy and hierarchy in an organised manner. Thongkholal (2011) advances the argument that "state formation and reintegration are processes that bring together culturally and socially-discrete groups into a single territorial unit." The establishment of a national identity is to establish national central authority over subordinate political units. Tshiyembe (2012) held a similar view that states "the impetus of regional economic or political reintegration is the

contemplation of state formation theories.” Even the father of economic reintegration model academician Balassa (1961) stated “...political reintegration is a necessary prior step of economic reintegration”. In line with the previous argument, “...the economic reintegration models can be evaluated both from the characteristics of reintegration scheme, as well as the scope and content of the reintegration process” (ibid 1961b). This study converges with this view and states that “a coherent reintegration strategy should be inclusive of civil society, the private sector, political parties and other stakeholders to be consulted and invited to participate in formulating and implementing reintegration policies.” (ibid, 1961b). Practically, Europe dominated the theory of both economic and political reintegration that has to change with indigenous knowledge. Africa thought that it could adapt and implement a similar regional reintegration model and cure the ills of post-colonialism plaguing its weak economies and fragile political structures. However, realities on the ground are different and the methodology and solution will never be the same. Two philosophical and ideological differences between the African and European reintegration patterns are noticeable. African economic and political reintegration is meant to be competitive economically in the world stage while resolving and curing the ills of post-colonialism plaguing its weak economies. For Europeans, economic and political reintegration meant to regulate the trade system to assure equitable wealth distribution to avoid a potential conflict that leads to war.

#### *2.2.2.1: 'Political Will' in the reintegration agenda*

The wider understating of political will is related to obliteration of the decision making process. The alternative might be real political will as an instrument for a particular policy solution or specific problem. Although “political will” remains ambiguous as a concept, the study discusses the reintegration policy outcomes. Carter (1966) has highlighted the lack of ‘political will’ as one of the major obstacles to the reintegration process in Africa. The African continent, in contrast with other blocks, is the least integrated area in the world and less integrated than the rest of the world partly due to the heavily diversified nature of identity and leadership philosophies. Some African leaders prioritize their national interests over regional interests to protect their power or

they tend to misunderstand the bigger picture of African reintegration. On a similar note, Nyerere's (1968) reflection reminded African leaders that "the new scramble for Africa is going to make Africa weaker and more divided against itself." Correspondingly, Adepoju, Boulton and Levin (2010) proffer that "the free movement of persons and goods is one of the cornerstones of political reintegration."

African reintegration is a commitment that should be accompanied by sacrifices and win-win strategies. Partly, this is demonstrated in the COMESA (2008) report that most African leaders delayed endorsing; resulting in delayed partnership or cooperation; while at the same time, failing to implement the clauses on which they agreed. The reason in the absence of 'political will' is described as the lack of adequate understanding and inward looking with selfish interests that are not translated to the greater good of African citizens. Thus, introducing a political led reintegration should not be seen as reinventing the wheel; instead, it is creating a platform where everybody can move forward at the same pace.

#### *2.2.2.2: Actors and Systems in the Pursuit of Reintegration*

In order for a system to be operational, actors should set up the pattern and rule of the game to have desirable results. Bevir and Rhodes (2001) write on the beliefs and desires of the relevant actors who should play their part in the reintegration process for the process to happen at a desirable pace. The current political and administrative systems in RECs have characterized the absence of a designated partition of power, which is causing many structural challenges. The fundamental problem has also been the root cause of many deeply entrenched systemic complications within science, epistemology and political rationale. "Indeed, this historical development of seemingly intractable dichotomies between 'individual and society', 'action and structure', 'actor and system', 'part and whole', 'individualism and holism', 'micro and macro' 'voluntarism and determinism', 'subjectivism and objectivism' and so forth has at present evolved into what is often claimed to constitute the central problem in social and political theory" (Carlsnaes 1992).

Gwaza (2015) describes the involvement of civil society organizations in the reintegration process of Africa at a national, sub-regional, and regional level as encouraging. The role of civil society is recognised at RECs and the African Union. The establishment of an economic, social, and cultural council of Africa (ECOSOCC) is the demonstration for recognition by the respective African governments and the AU. The study argues that the current structure does not assure people participation; people's participation is only ensured and their voice is to be heard through vibrant participation in all AU/AUC structures. The broader participation will create belongingness to developments and the reintegration project. The engagement should not be by the only civil society but also the business community, academia, youth and students, worker's unions and the like.

### **2.3: THE SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT OF REINTEGRATION IN AFRICA**

The important role of social and cultural reintegration of African society is central. The aim of this literature review is to emphasise the weight of culture reintegration. What makes African reintegration challenging, exceptional and complex, is the sense of urgent matters that are political, economic, social and cultural, but not exclusive (ECA 2002). With a similar note, the Abuja Treaty emphasised the importance of social and cultural values as the essential tools for the reintegration process. The African Economic Community, Article 4, Objective 1 (a) clearly stated as "To promote economic, social and cultural development and the reintegration of African economies, in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote an endogenous and self-sustained development." The cultural growth and development are prerequisites for a socio-economic and political change of the continent. Fanon (1967) says African unity is a principle and manifestation of collective social and cultural identity that is proposed to achieve the objective of the United States of Africa. Cabral (1966) emphasises the need for social linkages among African countries to fight ever-growing poverty, regressions in education and health. One of the weapons to tackle underdevelopment is to reform economic injustice and exploitation by the effective cultivation of African cultural and social values systems.

According to Biney (2011), the political and social thoughts of Kwame Nkrumah have explained the nature of the contradiction between African and European value systems: “When the African and European cultures meet there is bound to be a crisis, which often results in the cultural dialectic synthesis of the two”. The emphasis of this observation is to show the distinct nature of a cultural value system. Nkrumah considered the psychologically damaging aspect of colonialism and imperialism that imposed on the African culture. Nkrumah’s antidote was the promotion and restoration of African humanity and indigenous forms of cultural expression in his ambition to create a new Africa and new African citizen. Nkrumah pursued his promotion of culture via both “non-statutory cultural policies” and “statutory policies.”

Nkrumah insisted, “The Africana Project must be frankly Afro-centric in its interpretation of African history and of the social and cultural institutions of the African and people of African descent everywhere.” (Birney 2011: 122) It is interesting that he adopted the term “Afrocentric” long before it became a paradigm in North America and Europe for interpreting African history and realities from the 1980s onwards. The study argues that separate political, social, cultural and economic arrangements do not seem sufficient to sustain Africa’s dreams of development and reintegration effectively. However, the combination of all relevant ideas will address the issue of reintegration at national, sub-regional and regional structures. The reintegration vision, claims, reclaim and aspiration can be performed and legitimised with a pragmatic solution. Culture, tradition, art and music should be cultivated and exchanged to understand one another in different corners of Africa. The African continent is a very diverse culturally and socially interconnected society. The African experience requires respecting the autonomy of endogenous processes and their specific cultural characteristics. That requires avoiding interference of outsiders that intend to accelerate or artificially gear the reintegration process. The African renaissance project must form the foundation of the African movement towards development and economic growth. The development of methodologies and philosophy should respect the cultural settings of communities to enjoy support and ownership. Consequentially, it is important to develop the social

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contract and culture as a unifying factor by asking who we are as the citizens of Africa and what our common identity beyond living in the same geographical space is.

### **2.3.1: Common identity and citizenship for the reintegration**

It is critical to explore the type and character of the identity that relates to African reintegration. There are cultural, national, gender, religious, ethnic, language and territorial identities. Identity is classified in an individual, communal and a social context. (Deng 2008). Identity is a real or socially constructed attribute in social groups to distinguish between its members. The classification is into primordial and social categories based on race, ethnicity, religion, language, kinship, clan, and region. However, nationality or citizenship of a country is an identity marker, which distinguishes the citizens of a given country from those of others, while binding together the diverse identities within that country, as a community of citizens, depending on the level of development of nation building. Rugumamu (2004) sees the need to identify an African identity to create common citizenship and to create awareness among African people. Further, he emphasizes that African nationalism is meaningless, anachronistic and dangerous if it is not at the same time include Pan-Africanism and a collective identity. Nevertheless, two significant challenges need to be addressed: (a) a strategy to reconcile the recognition of ethnic identity with Africa identity (b) addressing national identity that is chauvinistic, ethnocractic xenophobic and Afrophobic if chosen over Africanism.

Deng, (2008) argues that race, ethnic, kinship, and clan identities do not necessarily constitute homogeneity. "Like other identity markers, culture also has national (inclusive) and sub-national (exclusive) dimensions, which is inversely related with each other, depending on the level of nation building and the political environment that exists in a country." Beetham and Lord (1998) emphasised creating an Africa common identity. African citizenship is critical to establishing a supranational legal structure at a sub-regional and regional level. The study argues that identity is not only comprised of a social being; there are different identities, which need recognition and equal



participation in the reintegration process. Among these ethnic, language, religion and cultural identities are the significant ones.

### **2.3.2: Language as a factor in reintegration**

Language beyond its communication values is one of the significant identity factors in the social structure of a human being. Ayofe (2011) states that "...the imposition of colonial languages has contributed to the division of the continent into the different zones, Anglophone, Francophone, Lusophone, and Arabphone." Zafar and Kubota (2003) support a similar argument. They hail Ayofe's statement underscoring that "one of the challenges in the current ECOWAS arrangement is the resentment of language politics which is more contentious in West Africa than any other part of Africa." The division between Francophone and Anglophone members of ECOWAS is a bottleneck for further cooperation. Most African countries are highly diverse, concerning some of the exclusive primordial markers, especially ethnicity. If we take language as a proxy for ethnic identity, Nigeria is said to be home to some 470 languages. The Democratic Republic of Congo hosts some 242 languages, Sudan (both North and South) has 134 languages and Ethiopia is known to have 89 languages. Even a small country, like the Gambia, hosts more than ten languages.

The study considers language as an essential aspect of reintegration and as a pivotal component to analyse the configuration process. One of the significant examples is cross-border language similarity and interconnection that reflect the African context. Africa is a land that has over 2000 languages and dialects. For example, the Luo live in Kenya, Uganda, Sudan, Ethiopia and Tanzania. As noted, some of the primordial markers are also not rigid over time. One problem stemming from the underdevelopment of social identity markers is that many political parties are organised along the lines of primordial identity markers, such as ethnicity, religion, or region. The Afar people, for example, are marginalized as minorities in Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea, and so are the Baja in Sudan and Eritrea, while the Somalis are fragmented into four of the Horn of African countries.

## **2.3 CHALLENGES, EVOLUTIONS AND INITIATIVES**

African reintegration has many faces and challenges. The challenges are structural and have a fundamental impact on the economic, political and social development of countries. African reintegration, despite the numerous efforts by African states to form regional trading blocks, has never materialised due to an internal capacity problem and external interventions. As a result, the existing Regional Economic Communities have not been successful in achieving their intended objectives of poverty reduction and economic development that leads to regional reintegration. In Africa, the challenges are many, and the opportunities are few.

### **2.3.1: Evolution of RECs**

The sixth theme in the literature review is how the literature explains the evolution of the RECs and how this reveals something about their status. As observed by Davies (2008) the East Africa Community (EAC), from humble beginnings as a Customs Union, has grown from three countries with a Federal concept to five member states. Twagira (2012) argues that although there are ideological rifts that exist between the free market economy advocates in the form of Kenya and the promotion of state development by Tanzania, the two still maintain the common agenda that overrides the political difference. Nantchoung (2014) argues that, among others, the EAC challenges are overlapping membership, national sovereignty, harmonisation of EAC economic policy and national interests, to mention only a few.

Piccolino (2014) argues “ECOWAS has many challenges that affect the contribution to resolving conflicts in the region. The high percentage of poverty, mismanagement of natural resources and unemployment are some of the contributing factors to disputes in that region.” Nevertheless, ECOWAS is endowed with oil, gold, uranium, diamonds, and titanium as well as agricultural resources: cocoa, coffee, cotton, and palm oil. In a United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2013) study, “out of 49 groups of countries among the least developed countries of the World, eight (8) are from West Africa”. Khobe (2000) also observes that “security threats to the governments

of ECOWAS have centred mainly on internal rebellions against ruling governments. Member-states have a non-standing military force consisting of land, sea and air units and a well-equipped armed force. ECOWAS has faced some of the most daunting security challenges compared to the rest of Africa.”

According to Simon (1998), “SADC has already grown beyond the natural borders of southern Africa as a demonstration of economic and political advantage over regional interest.” Vale, Swatuk and Oden (2001) argue that from RECs membership it increasingly becomes clear that competition rather than cooperation exists between different RECs. The Democratic Republic of Congo, Mauritius, Tanzania and the Seychelles provide interesting cases of the study of how the RECs organised beyond geographical proximity and common-market accessibility. The Republic of South Africa for its political and economic advantage mostly champions the memberships of these countries. RECs are initiated based on policy frameworks and treaties that lack support by member states to enforce the protocols with political commitment. Such gaps created institutional incompetence and complacency in the RECs structure. As a result, “...the initiative of RECs, coupled with structural challenges such as overlapping membership, lack of political will and proper mandates, policy and ideology preferences and differences among members, hegemony, political instability, insufficiency of material and financial support, poor design of RECs formation, and exclusion of key stakeholders have resulted in several challenges in its operationalization” (De Melo and Tsikata 2014).

The study argues that the current RECs evolution and configuration in an unsynchronized manner resulted in a complex web of overlapping communities. Subsequently, it commanded an institutional overlap, caused duplication of efforts, waste of resource and missed the fundamental objective of RECs. Among many challenges of membership duplications, the major ones are that member countries have difficulties to meet their contributions and obligations to the various regional economic

communities, less commitment, low attendance to execution of programmes and duplicated or conflicting programme implementation.

### **2.3.2: The structure and agency theory in the reintegration process**

The downfall of states and their restoration in different eras within new borders geographically, politically and culturally is nothing new although it has arguably gained newly found importance through state formation and reintegration (Herbst 2004). According to Mansfield and Pevehouse (2000) reintegration is two and more countries engaging in a collective decision-making process that implements and assesses the choices of the states within the existing structure of that relationship. Combinations rise and fall under many conditions. The rises revealed enhanced strong structural conditions with adequate power distribution and status quo satisfaction among countries in the reintegration process. The fall of reintegration happens on the dissatisfaction of member states and the material condition of the reintegration process. Hay (2000) explains that structural challenges can be defined as a material condition that could not allow utilisation of the ability of significant actors and stakeholders to play their roles as the result of political, economic and social uncertain conditions. The process of political, economic and social change regarding the transformation of states, require a “re-thinking of socioeconomic, cultural and political change. Considering these facts and analysing the reintegration concept in Africa, there are signals of the structural challenge confronting the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions” (Hay 1996).

This study underscores the structural challenges to Africa’s reintegration and further highlights how the reintegration agenda created self-correcting practices. In doing so, the study will look into concisely the four dimensions of reintegration, namely: the political, economic, social and cultural aspects and contexts. The study further argues that the structure and agency application helps to study the RECs structural challenges from the relationship between the political and policy actors as well as the environment in which they operate. The determinate variables are the human actors’ intervention and

institutional framework. The human experience, understanding, dedication, commitment, and action are determining factors to create an enabling environment. The institutional framework requires avoiding duplication of effort while transparency, adequacy, capability, delegation and implementation strategy are important factors. When human agencies and institutional structures create synergy, the political conduct starts to shape the political context. The study is designed to make a comparative examination that involves the structure and agency. The structural study emphasis is on contextual realities comprising geographical proximity, economic viability, language resemblance, social structure and psychological makeup. The agency analyses the conduct of an individual or collective diligence in response to their environment and the action and the choices are important factors.

### **2.3.3: Multiplicity and overlapping memberships**

African reintegration has been characterised by overlapping memberships of countries in many economic communities, rendering them inefficient. Mareike (2006) argues that multiple memberships of RECs are the primary constraint hindering deeper reintegration. In Africa, about 95% of members of one REC also belong to another. Countries becoming RECs members outside of their geographic location is one reason for overlapping. The results of a survey conducted by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) show that 25% of countries consider multiple memberships as the reason for their arrears in contributions to the different RECs. Countries' multiple memberships are the basis for low program implementation (23%), low level of attendance at meetings (16%) and duplication and conflicting programme implementation (16%). According to the EAC and AU (2006), one of the most significant challenges in the reintegration effort of Africa is a multiplicity of memberships in the continent. With at least fourteen currently existing RECs and most countries belonging to at least two of them, regional reintegration in Africa is a very complicated and confusing affair, what Alves, Draper and Halleson (2007) characterise as "a spaghetti bowl that hinders regional reintegration by creating a complex entanglement of political commitments and institutional requirements." As documented in many studies, multiple

and overlapping memberships in RECs have created a complicated web of competing commitments which, combined with different rules, result in high costs of trade between African countries, in effect undermining reintegration. “Multiple and overlapping memberships occasion resource and effort wastage due to duplication/multiplication of effort.” (ECA 2006). It complicates harmonisation and coordination among member states and thus “tend to muddy the goals of reintegration leading to counterproductive competition among countries and institutions.” Political and economic reasons are the overriding motivation for this multiplicity of memberships in RECs.

The study argues that most member countries belong to more than one regional economic community. The multiplicity of memberships in different RECs leads to wasteful duplication. Essentially, robust reintegration requires having a strategic direction and a determination to implement by its members. Members’ values have a direct reflection in the Union, transparency, democratization, deliverance, good governance and implementation capacity. The status quo of the African Union is a true exhibition of its members. Hence, there are two ways of pulling and pushing to strengthen the living conditions in the sub-regional and regional structures. Preferably, strong members can introduce and pursue their agenda, on the other hand, the creation of an institution will correct members’ destiny. However, the last half a century in the RECs journey has been sluggish and unsuccessful. The African Union and its organs have to learn from the past. The structure and agency philosophical framework contribute a significant input in the reintegration conceptualisation by providing different options, choice, control mechanism, and power devolution horizontally and vertically. “Thinking outside of the existing system.”

#### **2.3.4: Free movement of persons and goods**

The free movement of persons, right of residence and freedom of establishment in the Member States shall be guided by the principles governing the African Union provided in article 4 of the Constitutive Act. The protocol is composed to deliver significant gains for Africa. It embodies the spirit of African reintegration and marks progress in regional

partnerships. It promises excellent investment and trade opportunities, as well as the possibility to boost physical infrastructure. The UN (1948) Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirmation articulates in the Article 13 'free movement of persons.' "Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state." The underscoring factor is the right to any migration and returns migration without any inhibition. Article 14 states that "everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution." Pécoud and de Guchteneire (2007) state that in Africa immigration and human rights matter, indeed are a national sovereignty issue. These inequalities between African people happen with the countries from which you originate mattering the most. African nationals from less developed countries cannot travel and settle based on their preferences. This observation lies at the core that makes the reintegration process problematic. Pécoud and de Guchteneire (2007) added, theoretically, "there is no economic case against free movement of people." Preferably having the extra work force and brain gain is an incentive. African RECs have not hesitated implementing a policy direction that shows the economic disparities that exist between the Member States, with some states supplying labour and others attracting it. On the contrary, arguably considerable progress has been made in enhancing the movement of people across regional borders in these three RECs, CEMAC and ECOWAS (ECA 2006). "Indeed, the latter two have instituted regional passports. In practice, however, the movement of people is less free than it is supposed to be, with reported instances of harassment of travellers at border crossings and along interstate roads. There is reported progress in implementing the protocols on the right of residence. However, the labour market and business environment in some member countries pose greater difficulties for immigrants than nationals". According to Munang and Mgendi (2015), "African countries have the most visa requirements in the world." Only 11 of the 54 countries on the continent offer 100% liberal access to all African citizens – The Seychelles, Uganda, Cape Verde, Togo, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritania, Rwanda, Comoros, Djibouti, Madagascar and Somalia. Another seven countries – Mozambique, Mauritius, Kenya, Senegal, Tanzania, Gambia, and Burkina Faso, offer

liberal access to citizens from at least 50% of the countries on the continent. These are in stark contrast to the European Union (EU), which offers complete freedom of movement to all citizens from its member states”.

The ECA (2006) survey states that 90% of countries had abolished entry visas for all or some of the REC members whereas only 65% of countries favour the right of establishment.

Deutsch. (2015) explains that reintegration is attainment to create a sense of community within a given territory. It tells why descriptions of identity that we call ‘European,’ ‘Asian,’ ‘African,’ ‘Latin American’ and ‘Caribbean’ define respective communities of their Member States (Oucho 2009). The study argues that enhancing reintegration is beneficial on all fronts, the movement of people and goods, industrialisation, African tourism within Africa, service industry, cultural exchange, art and music will develop tremendously and as a result, African self-reliance will be assured. The study believes the fundamentals of reintegration require a policy direction to mitigate migration and displacement and have to be addressed in a comprehensive migration policy across the board to assure the freedom of movement in the continent. The fundamental objective and achievement of a reintegration project should be removing the obstacles of free movement of persons, services, goods, and capital among member states.

### **2.3.5: Peace and security for African reintegration**

Peace and security are vital components in any reintegration, and they have to be contained in some guise to address challenges in most of Africa. Rosamond (2000) illustrates that peace and security are the cornerstone of any development and reintegration. Africa remains a hotbed of conflicts, some of them extremely violent as the result of unsolved inequality, poverty, ethnic and religious issues. Karamgizi (2001) described that some RECs established to pursue economic development are primarily preoccupied with peacekeeping operations. For example, given the numerous violent conflicts in West Africa, ECOWAS addresses issues of peace and security through ECOMOG. Furthermore, its ability to concentrate on its initial mandate of enhancing the



economic prosperity of the sub-region is constrained by the absence of order. The Great Lakes region and the Horn of Africa have had their fair share of protracted violent conflicts. Buzan (2003) stated that the significant effects of these conflicts in the sub-region are the substantial loss in lives, destruction of the socio-political order in the region, widespread looting of economic resources, the erosion of states' legitimacy, the weakening of international borders, the growth of militia and private armies and the massive displacement of persons. Sustainable peace remains elusive despite peace efforts. Therefore, significant progress in reintegration is limited by the inability or unwillingness to prevent and decisively resolve numerous conflicts across the continent.

According to Aleksovski, Bakreski and Avramovska (2014) the African Union peace and security arrangement under the framework of the AU's African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) and the African Standby Forces (ASF) in every REC is a shred of evidence that collective security has given recognition to advance reintegration. The study argues that peace and security are not only silencing the gun but also strategically alleviating political, economic and social problems with the established system are crucial. Furthermore, one of the benefits of reintegration is to create a conducive working environment by improving the security situation in all corners of Africa. The member States have to manage the peace and security individually and collectively to promote and assure the security and stability as well as resolving conflicts.

### **2.3.6: Africa Reintegration new Initiatives**

Africa has introduced several regional integration models and initiatives over the last fifty years. Nonetheless, the Agenda 2063 is more comprehensive and target oriented. SAIIA (2015) stated that the African Union's emerging fifty-year development plan, called Agenda 2063, aims to advance half a century and to transform the continent. A central theme is the reintegration of the AU's 54 member states, opening up borders, merging markets and speaking with a collective voice in global forums. This is a long-held position of the AU, and of its predecessor, the OAU whose very name invoked this aspiration. Although featured in each of Africa's numerous development initiatives over

the years, reintegration processes in its various Regional Economic Communities (RECs) have proceeded unevenly. Africa's practical achievements on reintegration has not matched that of its rhetoric or ideological commitment. Currently, most African countries trade more with countries outside the continent than with their regional neighbours. This situation especially affects landlocked countries on the continent very negatively.

This study envisages the reintegration efforts highlighted in the Agenda 2063 and by enlightened Pan African leaders. However, revisiting the existing policy and correcting towards swift implementation is vital. The Abuja Treaty designates Africa's RECs as the building blocks intended as a foundation for the creation of reintegrated society, both politically and economically focused towards the reintegration of Africa. Africa's RECs are in the process of making progress even though the AU recognises only eight RECs. The continent currently hosts fourteen inter-governmental organisations, working on the reintegration agenda with various objectives. The membership overlaps not only within the AU's unrecognized RECs but those who are recognized also have a similar problem of overlapping membership, a situation that can only be described as the "the Spaghetti Bowl Effect." The African Union should be aware that such multiplicity of REC memberships is a phenomenon that creates structural impediments that result in impasse. The reintegration challenges and success are measurable. The multiplicity or overlapping memberships in the RECs that undermine the national and sub-regional interests, burdening self-financing mechanisms for the RECs, exacerbate lack of infrastructure and slow implementation of intra-African trades.

#### **2.4: CONCLUSION**

This chapter has organized the literature review in three major parts; the first part is dealing with the historical and contemporary African reintegration journey including the evolution of different sub-regional and regional formations. The second part is an indicative literature review that needs a critical comparative assessment between the different RECs. The third part of the literature reviews how the current challenges are

manifested and what kinds of policy direction should be included. With the same approach, the literature review will be used as a guiding code to address all raised critical assessments to get proper attention and recommendations. The significant finding in literature is the silence about the structural challenges, in particular the current RECs configuration. With this understanding, the structural impediments and policy implementation problem will be elaborated and defined within the context of reintegration. These concepts will be assessed in depth in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4. To elaborate on the idea of reintegration as the analytical framework of this study, Chapter 4 examines the structural factors that have impeded reintegration efforts with the particular experiences of EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC. Chapter 5 will indicate a solution to the reintegration plan by providing necessary recommendations.

### **3. CHAPTER THREE: CONCEPTUALIZING REINTEGRATION**

#### **3.1: INTRODUCTION**

This chapter outlines the concept of reintegration as the analytical framework of the study. It further considers and analyses the theoretical framework of regionalism and reintegration for a better articulation of the findings. Some critical arguments as advanced by credible scholars and politicians will be debated including but not limited to, Haas, Schmitter, Daniel C. Bach, Osei-Kwame, Kenneth Waltz, Kwame Nkrumah, Frantz Fanon and Amilcar Cabral. Its historical pattern will receive special note because reintegration has been a dominant factor of amalgamation theory, this theory has gained prominence across the globe. Africa has been adopting and implementing reintegration theories for the last five decades without considering the economic, geopolitical and socio-cultural interrelated and interconnected relationship of the continent. The chapter conceptualises the reintegration paradigm with six pillars and will thoroughly analyse the shortfalls of this theory to establish why it is not yielding satisfactory results for the continent.

#### **3.2: THE CONCEPTUALISATION OF REINTEGRATION IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT**

The necessity of defining or conceptualisation of reintegration is a shift in thinking and introducing a new comprehensive approach. The study intends to introduce African reintegration based on six pillars that are historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural perspectives. Why is reintegration essential as a concept to redefine African unification? What makes it different from the regional integration? What is the conceptual framework that defines reintegration? How can a transformative reintegration philosophy be promoted vis-à-vis the status quo? Who will play a significant role in promoting and implementing the idea? How can we introduce the concept to advance the theory? These vital questions will be addressed in this chapter. This study turns to look at regional reintegration as a derivative of two origins. The first one is regional meaning geographical, topographical, zonal and territorial. The second one is reintegration as the amalgamation of political, economic, social, cultural

and policy contexts to form a single community based on agreeable political and legal modality.

Glaser (1998) sees conceptualisation as a careful analysis of general ideas into the intellectual process. McClelland and Rumelhart (1981) and Clark (2013) argue that it is a natural chronological pattern of accounts that contextualises knowledge with the aim of inference with distorted norms and perception. With this proposed pattern, the study introduces reintegration as a new theoretical and methodological approach as well as a philosophical paradigm shift in the study of the African unification process. According to Baldwin (1995), reintegration has been introduced as implementation methodology in East European expansion on the Balkan States. Moreover, the definition from language perspective; the Merriam Webster dictionary defines reintegration as “the action or process of restoring elements regarded as disparate to unity.”

This study conceptualises reintegration into two categories. First, as an essential conceptual tool, which refers to the past, present and the future of the African unification process. Secondly, as an academic discipline that is interlinked with politics, economics, international relations, psychology, philosophy and the sociological component of studies. The aim is to address the broader angles of African studies to restore Africa’s past glorious moments and to study African reintegration in depth. Reintegration as a concept is focused on reshaping, re-addressing, redefining and rebuilding the African unification process. The idea is configured into two prongs, the first being a political and economic context which is treated as the independent variable while the second prong is the sociological and cultural contexts as some dependent variables. Theoretically, reintegration is a historical claim of Africa to restore its glorious past in the present and continue to triumph in the future.

Reintegration is a paradigm shift that can serve uniquely in the context of Africa’s unification. The purpose remains logical unification that encompasses continental development while driving regional economic enhancements. Reintegration is premised on the development of indigenous economies. The idea is to be indigenously as

compatible as possible with African realities. A combination of interdisciplinary conceptualisation like political science, international relation, legal, economic, development and other various disciplines are highly required. The re-reintegration theoretical framework has to be supportive of the logic and patterns based on ontological and epistemological foundations following a specific methodology, purposely in the perspectives that reach a broad conclusion. With this understanding, the study discusses the six pillars of reintegration to provide a solid foundation for the study arguments.

### **3.2.1: The historical perspective of reintegration in African context**

The historical perspective of Africa reintegration is the first pillar that defines the African context. Looking back to pre-colonial African geography, administration, political and economic systems should be the basis to decolonize the mind-set of Africans and help to reconfigure the continent to triumph for its people in all sectors. In Africa, there was a well flourishing communal system, predominantly a mixed arrangement of a centralised and decentralised system in different part of Africa. Looking back at the historical context of Africa to demonstrate that Africa had its governing philosophy until the colonial interruption. Gennaioli and Rainer (2007), Michalopoulos and Papaioannou (2011), demonstrate that in the pre-colonial period, some parts of Africa practiced a highly centralised political system of governance. This governing system experienced a better public provision, had, and enjoyed an effective economic dispensation that equitably worked for all. However, some parts of Africa were less centralised than others. Considering that wars, conflicts of all sorts and violent confrontations dominated geopolitics, Africans were not only well organized; they still enjoyed an organized, strong administration of the factors of production and societies were more humane in the midst of a war than the current westernised democracy which does not work for Africa. Conflict affected areas were more centralised and well organised than less affected areas, but they all assembled on the basis of communalism, that was primarily the social norms and realities of the time, and it was effective. The African economy flourished over centuries, governed by great emperors. For all these centuries, the

continent lived in relative peace and harmony with minor interruption until the Berlin conference and its resolution for partition. According to Rodney (1972) ancient Africa around the period 10 000 BC was predominantly a nomadic society until they started settling along the banks of River Nile where they began developing political structures and organizing themselves into kingdoms and chiefdoms. Food production and agriculture were formally organised with the use of irrigation. Ultimately, villages were established and communities began developing a common interest Community bonds were equally organised. Developed villages joined different communities to form a confederation or conquest for purposes of commerce and or defence. Kisangani (2010) argues that a communal society value system drives African development. Ancient African empires, kingdoms, and chieftaincies emerged. During this period two types of administrative systems developed, hierarchical political systems and horizontal or acephalous societies, to form stable communities and nurture prosperity (ibid).

According to Büttner (1980), tropical Africa experienced relatively high living standards and advanced development for most parts of Africa. This standard of living and high-level development existed in most corners of Africa, many centuries before the partition of the continent by western nations. This partition saw the emergence of many countries to suit the greed of western powers. One of the most important nations created was the present day Ghana. The empire of Ghana was at its peak from the 9th to 11th centuries, Mali 13th to 14th centuries, the city-states of Ifç and Benin on the Guinean Coast as well as Kilwa, Mombasa, Malindi, Sofala etc. on the East African Coast 13th- 16th centuries, and in some cases earlier, the feudal Ethiopian Empire from the 13th century, Songhai, Bornu, Congo, Loango and Lunda Empires, Monomotapa i.e. Mwene Mutapa and also Monoemugi; were at their best between the 5th-17th centuries. The 18th and early 19th centuries saw the creation of the recent feudal states, viz. the states of Buganda, Rwanda, Urundi, Dahomey, the Fulani and Toucouleur Islamic states, Futa Toro, Futa Jalon, Massina, Sokoto and many others to name a few. Late tribal organisations of the Zulus, Matabele, and Ashanti testify to the relatively high standard

of development and the abundant present of productive forces, of economic, social and cultural differentiation. (Clark 1982).

Medieval African leaders attempted an administrative system that would have balanced local traditions and regional autonomy. Such an attempt was in response to societal needs, development and consolidation of power in their respective large-scale kingdoms and empires for purposes of trade and or defence. Clark (1982) says one of the symbolic ventures happened from 1800-1885; there was a movement toward monopolisation of power and expanded commercial linkages throughout the region, from Ethiopia's Highlands up to the Limpopo River in Southern Africa. Kisangani (2010) states that pre-colonial African governance differs in nature from that of the western governance model because it was pluralistic and autonomous. The government consisted of the smaller administrative organ within the bigger umbrella. The reason behind such an arrangement was that the continent of Africa is vast in size and the administration zones were based in sociocultural makeup. Elias and Akinijde (1972) confirm that there were checks and balances during this era, uniquely; these checks and balances in political authorities played a vital role in societal development. Political governance was structured to create mutual support between the people and the rulers. During the colonial era, the governance system was employed to serve colonial interests. Colonial authorities, in some parts of Africa, engaged and ruled society through these existing political structures. In some parts of Africa, they abolished the African governance model and replaced it with the European systems and structures. However, these efforts did not achieve the complete obliteration of African social, legal and political cultures (Brownlie and Burns 1979).

The study argues that Africa's historical perspective embedded in many traditions indicates why reintegration and restoration are vital. History is a crucial element in human being cycles. To construct today and tomorrow we should reference yesterday. Africa's history is part of world history. African history is the basis and evidence for the current African existence and the triumph of being. The historical evidence shows that



Africans fought subjugation and all forms of foreign intervention to preserve a collective identity and wellbeing. One of the reasons is that Africa has an abundance of naturally fertile land and massive natural resources and mineral deposits. Citizens live with highly esteemed value systems with an open door policy. The continent embraces humanity, diversity, and innovation. Peace and tranquillity were part of the art of living. Freedom of movement and assimilation was part of ancient Africans. These historical facts led to today's theorization about reintegration, also favoured to resolve a human-made problem. The historical claim of reintegration is to reverse the historical damages caused by the colonial minority, historical marginalisation, dominance and exploitation by foreign powers that have created common anger and a desire for retribution among Africans. Political and economic union emanated from the historical context as well as the contemporary realities in the world. The Pan-African movement was developed and promoted as a vision for African renaissances for the first time in the 1930s and 1940s. While they had their priorities right in that they pushed for the liberation of Africa from colonial rule as the first order of business, bringing the liberated African states under a continent-wide umbrella was always on the radar. This vision was behind the creation of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.

### **3.2.2: The philosophical perspective of reintegration in the African context**

The second pillar of the reintegration claim is an African philosophy that has been profoundly exhibited as a way of living, embracing one another in communalism. These principles reflect through the folklore, myths, sayings, religion and sociocultural relevance. The concept of Ubuntu, human interdependence and living together with harmony, has been in vogue in Africa for many years. Ubuntu as African philosophy has gained academic recognition under the leadership of the then South African president, Thabo Mbeki. Mbeki's intent was to promote the idea of African unity and renewal in a quest to advocate a case for Africa's intellectual, political and economic independence (Waghid 2016). The Africa reintegration concept is derived from the African philosophy. The consideration is about reintegration pillars that assist in the ultimate African unification and to consider the deep African philosophical interrelation that translates

into an intrastate formation. Africans have unique cultures to live together on the African continent. This is demonstrated in the way in which people live and respect one another in response to other human beings and the environment. Political and socio-economic contexts are identical to patterns of human arrangement that are often embedded as people's indigenous sociocultural value systems. According to Oruka (2002), the fundamental, African philosophical theory is about affirming their humanity, values, religion, history, politics, culture and traditions. Oruka observes African philosophy "with regarding Africa's past, current, or potential contributions to philosophy in the strict meaning of the term." Eze (1997) argues that the root idea of African philosophy is to debrief the past to combat political and economic exploitations and to examine the question of identities stolen by foreign powers.

According to Nkrumah (1998), African philosophy and consciences are based on communalism and traditional African value systems. Nkrumah believed that in introducing African socialism, a new dimension of philosophy would assure the restoration of Africa's countries and the dignity of its people, hence, the rebirth and renewal. Nkrumah believed that the shared philosophy and wisdom assisted in many ways to resist the exploitation and oppression of Africans as well as accelerating the process of restoration and unity. Du Bois (1897) sees Pan-Africanism as an ethical ideology that traces its origins from ancient times, promotes an African value system, and struggles for the wellbeing of Africans. The intent and the objective is to protect and preserve the African civilization and the struggles against slavery, racism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism.

The study argues that African reintegration, as a concept and African renewal should be based on African philosophy. Africa would be elevated to restore the collective wisdom if the African philosophical notion was respected and applied. African philosophy goes all the way to an ontological, cosmological and anthropological basis for African unity, and it is essential to believe that Africa can bring about the constant desire for humanity's unity at all levels. At every major stage of human civilization, trade has

always played a pivotal role. Reintegration, as a new theoretical framework, is to introduce an indigenous intra-nation building system. Reintegration as a conceptual framework has a historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific and philosophical reconnection of Africans' humanity from the past times with the present. Generally, the Africa reintegration concept has a historical claim that is implanted with the philosophical, political, economic, psychological, social and cultural context of the African people.

### **3.2.3: The psychological perspective of reintegration in the African context**

The third pillar of Africa reintegration is a similar psychological makeup implanted in a broader perspective and principles, which mainly encompasses religion and spirituality. Ordinarily, African society values family structures, thrive in their communal ideologies, and share their joy and sorrows with the extended family lineage. They structure themselves in consensus and cooperation not in competition (Jones 1991). To Nwoye (2015), the African psychological makeup should be recognised. African psychology should not be understood only from African indigenous psychological perspectives but also from the human condition, including the culture and mind-set of contemporary Africa.

What are the mind-set and psychological makeup of an African? Nwoye (2017) described it as a representation of the fundamental indigenous African knowledge. One of the best descriptions is the philosophical and psychological exposition of Africans. Common traditions, culture, and proverbs are everywhere although the language varies. The famous Nguni proverb, which is shared among the majority of Africans, is “umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu” (often translated as “a person is a person through other persons”). These distinctive approaches are widely used in Africa in resolving societal problems.

The following broadly sets out some moral value systems, visions and social processes. According to Mkhize (2004), an African identity is based on a collective being and rejects the individualistic approach of Western society. African worldview emphasises the idea of humans as self-contained units, in total control and charge of their destiny.

Makwe (1985) argues that the African worldview serves as a source of moral visions for the African person. The assumptions and perceptions that constitute the peoples of Africa are the shared psychological patterns, spiritualist beliefs and knowledge. According to Idemudia (2012), Africans remain largely ethnocentric in their thoughts, ideas, beliefs, understanding and knowledge based on a complex unit of analysis called cognitive schemas. Boahen (1985) postulates that African psychological makeup is a derivative of the past, includes the period of the slave trade, colonization and racial stereotypes, which leads to political, economic and psychological deprivation. This pattern of bogus identification that was imposed by the colonial powers demoted the history of African peoples.

This study is not the definition of African psychology or psychological makeup, nor is it about trying to homogenize or position the mind-set of Africans. Despite the vibrant and multicultural nature of its societies, there is still a sense of association with African identity. Africanism claims symbolic representations of psychology from an ideological perspective. The intricacies of psychological makeup emanated and developed resisting all forms of repression. Such resistance potentially translates into political and socio-cultural norms. The common psychological makeup and understanding might be linked to a shared colonial history across Africa. The common denominator for Africans is that the entire continent was living for decades under subjugation by foreign powers. African societies are introducing unique opportunities to the world on how diversity and social complexity can strengthen unity.

#### **3.2.4: The political perspective of reintegration in African context**

The fourth pillar of reintegration is the political context of Africa. Political reintegration projects were based on the core philosophy of the Pan-Africanism principle beyond the conventional understanding. Nonetheless, the political reintegration has not led to the unification process; instead, the economic reintegration model has been the driving factor for the last five decades. According to Kingsolver (2011), political reintegration is the highest form of reintegration. It requires states to surrender their sovereignty to form

a supra-national entity with other member states. De Melo and Tsikata, (2014) argue that political reintegration is required to promote member states' compliance with having or developing common political values and systems. Besides, states should develop legitimate and democratic institutions, to establish peace and security among member states. Ilievski (2015) describes part of the task as harmonising policies to connect at a higher level. Policy harmonisation and decentralisation should be in line. Likewise, political reintegration could not always be a condition for elements establishing a unified law, creating a conventional institution, developing decision-making centres and projecting a common identity.

The study argues that African political reintegration should incorporate four major pillars. The reintegration should be led mainly by the political programme in order to address economic, social and cultural paradigms. Firstly, the political reintegration theory should be embedded in the local indigenous systems to perform rapidly with the functional organisational setup. Secondly, it should form an institution that interprets and leads the national, sub-regional and regional level based on indigenous reintegration theory. Thirdly, reengineering the current regional economic community concept and replacing political led institutions that include the economic, social and cultural sectors is required. Fourthly, the reintegration structure should be led by elected officials in favour of the political decisions to be implemented with ownership. Reintegration as indigenous theory and new paradigm embraces the following:

- A- Africa reintegration based on the indigenous knowledge system;
- B- Institutionalisation based on core principles of reintegration.
- C- Re-engineering of national, sub regional and regional structures based on common consanguinities.
- D- The ownership of all regional and sub-regional political structures occupied by elected officials.

Four concepts; indigenisation, institutionalisation, re-engineering and ownership are the central pillars on which the political context supporting reintegration must be cemented,

Haas (1968) defines integration dominantly in a political context in which he says it's an analytical instrument to enhance cooperation through an institutional framework and a legal system of states of the same region. According to Lindberg (1971), integration refers to a process that has effective results or consequences without formal, authoritative intervention. However, Wallace (1990) argues that cooperation of non-state actors can also create the necessary tools for reintegration. Global Reintegration is often used in a confusing manner because, in everyday language, theories related to reintegration are used to describe both a process as well as the end of an operation conducted by the state or states.

The study further argues that the failure of political reintegration in the continent has been because of indigenous methods being ignored in addressing political, economic, social and cultural challenges. The structural challenges, such as RECs overlap, the weight of sovereignty at the national level, the absence of popular participation and recurrent conflicts are a direct result of implementing wrong concepts. Similarly, on the economic front, there is a shallow level of trade among African countries. There is low development of industries and unemployment is unacceptably high. From a social perspective, there is extreme poverty, a colonised educational system that does not address local economic and social challenges; this means students are often not trained to treat the need of their communities. There is absence of free movement within Africa at the cultural level. Results are always expected from the government and public institutions, negatively affecting political participation in sub-regional and regional structures. These are a few of the economic and social issues.

To achieve a genuine political reintegration, a robust political consensus among leaders and the people should emerge. The critical aspect of political reintegration is positioning Africa based on the contextual importance of societal structure and governance capacity. Politics can play a central role in leading the economy and sociological and cultural apparatus, considering strong institutions are in place.

### **3.2.5: The economic perspective of reintegration in an African context**

The fifth pillar of a conceptual framework of reintegration is the economic perspective of Africa. An economy is a lifeline of an individual, household and society in general. Having a prospective economy in the continent is a motivating factor for reintegration. In the absence of a vibrant economy, the formation of economic reintegration is a question of “horse before the cart or cart before the horse.” According to Salvatore (2010), economic integration is a way of advancing the development agenda through trade and commercial policy. This operation is capable of reducing the discrimination of a protectionist policy among participatory member states. The focus is to widen market opportunities and specialisation in specific sectors. Lee (2002) argues that regional economic cooperation involves different countries with a shared interest introducing economic policy harmonisation, joint development schemes and utilising common natural resources. Haas (1968) argues that the political process should support economic integration. In the process, political actors in distinct national settings need to be convinced to shift or surrender their loyalties and political activities toward a new centre.

The African economic and political reintegration agenda emerged with the establishment of the Organization of African Union (OAU). The OAU charter (1963) Article II states the objectives as the “promotion of unity, intensifying co-operation, defence of territorial integrity and eradication of all forms of colonialism.” Since the primary goal was the political emancipation of the continent, there has been less priority for economic cooperation. The OAU entered the realm of economic reintegration in 1991 with the signing of the Treaty, establishing the African Economic Community (AEC), by the OAU Heads of State. The government articulation regarding the institutional patterns of economic and political reintegration in Africa was done afterwards. The Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos were the primary policy documents introducing the economic reintegration ambition of Africa (OAU 1980). While the LPA described in detail how “Africa would achieve development and contained a long list of measures for this purpose, the Final Act envisaged the establishment of an

African Economic Community by the year 2000. The AEC treaty was ratified in May 1994; the AEC envisaged an economically integrated area covering the whole of Africa.” (OAU 1980) The means to realise this objective is “to gear the activities of all regional economic communities to this purpose.” (OAU 1980).

The study argues that the first critical question in the context of Africa is how the economic reintegration model can be implemented in the absence of a viable and vibrant economy. Secondly, in the lack of free movement of people and goods it is unclear how the economic reintegration can make sense or can be applied. Thirdly, the political hegemony in Africa is enormous, sovereignty is a priority within the continent, and the market is not a leading factor for political office or public service. With this situation, how can economic reintegration be a priority on the agenda? The concept of African economic reintegration has been shaped through time. The colonial masters have distorted the African economy as the result of a historical economic setup. The African economy inherited insufficient and ineffective economic relationships among African countries. Besides these challenges, small and underdeveloped market pull, lack of industrial development and unsuitable trading and commerce systems were additional burdens. Economic reintegration policies were challenged from the beginning while it was affected by a dozen meshed problems. The need for economic reintegration is to expedite the development process for the betterment of its citizens. What remains to be done, is to translate the commitments made in the field of reintegration into action and highlight the supremacy of community considerations over national self-interest.

The study argues that there are considerable context gaps between the political and economic reintegration agendas in Africa. Perhaps their distinct features, for instance, the power structure within politics, has made Africa’s unification a challenge. Economic processes, procedures, and policies would have been more receptive and practical if the political process was supportive. The acceptance of foreign cultures and values resulted in the continent’s impoverishment, not because Africans are becoming lazier or inferior but because new economic and political structures are at loggerheads. Anti-



African developments and systematic counter productivity, exploitative in an unimaginable way, thrive in these new systems on distorted history written by the victors. Thus, global systems and the geopolitical atmosphere block, limit or reduce intra-African trade and peoples' relationships and movements to the bare minimum. In the absence of political will for real reintegration, the survival of the indigenous people becomes a continental disaster.

### **3.2.6: The sociocultural perspective of reintegration in the African context**

The sixth pillar of reintegration is the sociocultural context of Africa. Reintegration proponents seem undermined by the sociocultural importance in the society. Sociocultural reintegration is interlinked with different concepts of administrative orientations. (Patterson, Harrison and Huntington 2001). This underlines various elements that would affect governance structures in most African states. Some of these would include sociocultural factors that are well respected in society. Sociocultural reintegration is an essential aspect of societal makeup that needs to be considered as the best method for cohesion. According to Clark (1992), culture is universally defined as that shared value system that is given uniquely to an organisation or communities. Schein (1983) argues that culture is an integrating mechanism for a specific group or identity. According to Geertz (1973) and Schein (1983), sociocultural values are normative glue that creates bondage and holds together a potentially diverse group of society or organisational members. Schein further argues that culture is a dependent on and has a reciprocal correlation with the economic and political factors in the behaviours of human societies.

The role of the African Union and RECs included a comprehensive reintegration strategy translated as a sociocultural reintegration from a political sense (ECA 2002). African unity as portrayed by Fanon (1967) is a matter of principle and manifestation of shared identity that is based on the sociocultural context of the continent. The sociocultural relationship among people of Africa need to promoted, cultivated, lived and sustained, not fragmented at any given point. Cabral (1966) emphasises that social

linkages among African countries are needed to fight the ever-growing poverty and ever increasing regressions in education and health systems. The fundamental causes of these regressions include but are not limited to underdevelopment, economic injustice, neo-colonialism and acculturation.

Society can be labelled based on the structure of sociocultural development. Sociocultural reintegration is a manifestation of re-emerging societal prudence and living together in harmony. According to Harloov (1997), economic and political reintegration, social development and cohesion are the priorities in paving the way forward for African development. The cooperative efforts from the primary stage up to a high technical systematic framework require inclusion of the sociological aspect of reintegration. Regional cooperation may involve the execution of joint projects, for instance in education, health, public service and collaboration in other sectors that matter.

Similarly, policy harmonisation; cooperation in the development of shared natural resources and a common understanding are required in the development of social structures within member states. Nye (1968) indicated that reintegration could be structured to include or constitute sociocultural reintegration which leads to the formation of a transnational society and political reintegration; enabling the creation of transnational political structures within member countries that make regional politics interdependent. Ake (1966) states that the “view of political reintegration leans towards the consensus theory of social reintegration, which sees value consensus as of the pervasive character of society and for which the role of coercion in social reintegration is the subordinate one of controlling deviancy.” Nye (1968) further states that the concept of reintegration is the constitution of parts into a whole and by default creating inter-dependency. Reintegration can be economic reintegration, meaning the formation of a multinational economic structure. Social and political reintegration are processes and procedures that link up structures and make them inter-dependent for effective and efficient performance. This also helps in the improvement of the lives and livelihood of

the inhabitants. A brief focus on sociocultural reintegration as analysed by Waltz (1967) finds that sociocultural reintegration broadly speaking encompasses the service industry, but he specifically zooms into health and educational services. He insists that social services to be included must not be limited but should include tourism, postal services, telecommunication, electricity and water, while in the 21st century, the Internet of things would be critically important. The study argues that social reintegration plays a more significant role in enhancing people-to-people relationships. Although social reintegration is economically a dependent variable, in a unique manner it possesses great powers in changing social realities in communities and society. The emergence and influence of social media bear witness to this claim. Partial social reintegration impact does not have a measurable element, for instance, social cohesion between different communities, sense of belongingness, voluntary service and patriotism for the neighbourhood, etc.

Cabral (1979) sees African culture differently from the perspective that endures for struggle emancipation and the unification point of view. Collective culture, as in Africa, is a weapon of life as an element of resistance against alien power domination within and outside. According to Cabral, “culture, history and social value systems are stimulants to keep the relations between humans and the environment.” Nkrumah (1966) enlightened that making culture relevant to meet societal needs and aspirations naturally protects against foreign interventions. African culture is defined as “all the material and spiritual values of the African people in the course of history and characterizing the historical stage attained by Africa in her developments” by Idang (2009).

The study argues that the political and economic reintegration process does not seem sufficiently inclusive, sociocultural inclusion is not enough to address development in Africa effectively. The African sociocultural value system is a tool for promoting a more dynamic and effective reintegration and for tackling economic, political, social and security challenges. It is important to identify a common philosophy in order to build an African identity and citizenship. Harnessing Africans’ rich sociocultural diversity is a way

to strengthen the position of this continent to cultivate similarities and shared value systems by many African societies, which helps to narrow the gap of difference.

### **3.3: CONCLUSION**

This chapter concisely appraised the six pillars of reintegration conceptualisation. The conceptualization exercise tried to see horizontal and vertical issues that consolidate the arguments. The study argues that the African reintegration initiatives have so far taken a common denominator, i.e., the popular enthusiasm of the public and desire to develop and to have a decent life in the continent Africa. In addition, this includes free movement of persons and goods in all parts of Africa and having a collective voice in the world stage. In addition, to enjoy a democratic dispensation at all levels and to have business opportunities are among the major motivators. The conceptualisation of reintegration is to answer what the political, economic, social and cultural factors hindering the reintegration process in Africa are. In addition, we should ask what could be done differently to achieve African unification. The conceptualisation of reintegration tried to demonstrate how the continent should take a continuous path for a better socioeconomic and political advancement, as well as introducing indigenous reintegration strategies. Africa has every chance and capacity to carry out its economic, political, social and cultural reintegration successfully. The execution requires distinctive ingenuities with a genuine understanding of the plights of the Africans at heart, considering the daily realities of the African people, for example, their socioeconomic and political pattern of the continent. The initiative is supposed to contribute a fresh impetus to the reintegration process and implementation.

## **4. CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF IMPEDIMENTS TO REINTEGRATION**

### **4.1: INTRODUCTION**

This chapter discusses three fundamental issues; namely, the role of regional economic communities (RECs) in the integration process of the continent, the structural impediment of RECs that slow down the regional integration and the manifestation of obstacles, cause and effect. The chapter is designed to investigate the structural barriers of the selected regional economic communities. The formation structures of regional economic communities are discussed. This includes the initiatives from the beginning, the policy formation process and the actors who played a major significant role in rolling out the project. The research section analyses the structural impediment of the policy documents that intended to create regional economic communities. This comprises the examination of the particular experiences of the East African Community, the Economic Community of West African States and the Southern African Development Community. This section mainly discusses the policy documents; namely, the Lagos Plan of Action, the Final Act of Lagos and the Abuja Treaty that aimed to establish the African Economic Community (AEC) towards economic reintegration. Within this scope, the research elaborates the political, economic, social and cultural impediments in the three selected RECs. This exercise will discuss the nature of structural impediments. The research focuses on examining the role of the six pillars that are historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural factors, in hindering the reintegration. The chapter will discuss the manifestations of the structural impediments. This section explicitly tries to indicate the main hindrances that created barriers in the configuration of the RECs and the bottlenecks in the growth of the regional economic communities.

## **4.2: ANALYSING THE FORMATION OF RECS**

The formation of RECs and the associated guiding principles are the core issues to analyse and so get a clearer picture of whether the structural impediments exist or not, and what they are. According to Asante (1997), the evolution and advent of African regional economic communities are considered as the second wave of region building emerging following a new political independence and dispensation in Africa. This reality was not unique to the African regional blocks nurtured just before the end of the cold war. The revitalization of regionalism started in 1991, with the signing of the Abuja Treaty. Before the Abuja Treaty, the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) was introduced in 1980, with the aim of the realization of an African common market by the year 2000. The LPA introduced the idea that regional reintegration initiatives would gradually converge towards a single Pan-African arrangement. Both initiatives were introduced to promote the political and economic growth of the continent. The regional building effort went beyond trade and security relevance, instead being geared towards a multi-dimensional approach towards economic, political, social and cultural reintegration. According to Dinka, Tesfaye and Kennes (2007), regional economic communities are the policy result of the Abuja Treaty. The Treaty's central argument was not articulating the RECs, but instead, the focus was the establishment of the African Economic Community (AEC). However, the notion of Regional Economic Communities (RECs) is designed in a way to provide the building blocks of the AEC. In the meantime, the Abuja Treaty did not specify countries based on appropriate geographical proximity that should be a member of specific RECs. However, the Treaty indicated that the regional communities would finalise the organisation of North, West, Central, Eastern and Southern Africa.

The study argues that the concept of RECs is not new in Africa. One of the examples is the oldest customs union, not only in Africa, but also in the world, the Southern Africa Customs Union (SACU). However, the idea was widespread across the continent in the eighties and nineties. Following on this, those RECs emerged on their merit and organised themselves as interested parties with and without geographic proximity or

common consanguinity. The Abuja Treaty recommendation was that RECs should be established based on the geographical configuration; namely, North, West, Central, East, and South. Even though the Treaty proposed five geographical regions, it has never been indicated in the policy documents which country fell in which geographical category. However, at the later stage the African Union (AU) decided to configure the countries “based on the geographical locations.” The process will be discussed in the following sections.

Currently, the AU recognizes only eight RECs out of the fourteen or more RECs as building blocks. Six of these RECs are: The East African Community (EAC), geographically East; the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), geographically the Horn of Africa; the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), geographically North Africa excluding the Arab the Republic of Egypt; the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), geographically the central region; the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), geographically Western Africa and the Southern African Development Community (SADC), geographically located in Southern Africa. However, this does not mean that these configurations and the member countries of these RECs are strictly in this geographical space or have proximity requirements.

Besides the above, there are two more RECs that are recognised by the African Union and which are not geographically based RECs, but rather RECs based on specific interests. Out of these, the Community of Sahel Saharan States (CEN-SAD) is a non-geographic based REC, which was established by the late President of Libya, Colonel Muammar al Kaddafi. The objective of this REC included a community development plan that complemented the local development plans of member States and which comprised of the various fields of sustained socio-economic development: agriculture, industry, energy, social, culture and health. The second REC based on the Abuja Treaty recommendation is the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA). The name implies that the membership mandate belongs to Eastern and Southern African countries. However, this organisation extends into North and Central Africa. The

primary objectives of this REC are “to attain sustainable growth and development; promote development in all fields of economic activities; cooperate in the creation of an enabling environment for foreign, cross-border and domestic investment; and cooperate in strengthening relations between the Common Market and the rest of the world” (COMESA 2007).

One of the founding architects of the REC, Adedeji (1993), noted and reiterated on several occasions that the widely advocated political, economic, social and cultural reintegration, as well as institutional collaboration, could not take its course because the actual implementation of agreements has not matched the loftiness of the objectives. The reintegration development has not moved as expected due to a lack of political will, institutional incapacity and resource constraints. Adedeji (1991) described that promoting supranationalism remained the biggest challenge in Africa after the enforcement of “good governance,” and the rule of law. Regionalism, if it is to take root, requires a strong and sustained political commitment, in order to develop and prosper on the continent.

This study argues that the regional integration path has never been accessible, a series of significant initiatives and political decisions are required to infuse new momentum. From the attempts mostly mixed result remain. Whereas certain RECs have achieved tangible outcomes in some specific sectors, and others comparatively discouraging results, some remain on the shelf. There are three significant structural challenges that the African Union should confront first, and the primary challenge is the structural chain or affiliation between the AU and RECs. Secondly, RECs are not able to implement their programmes and initiatives because of inadequate financial and human resources. Thirdly, there is an issue related to the power and authority within the scope to implement, coordinate, harmonize and monitor their activities, projects and programmes destined to boost reintegration. It is explained that professional, not elected officials, are involved in leading the third set of issues in the RECs, and they are not fully designated to initiate, plan and execute the programs that are beneficial for the reintegration



process. Instead, they follow a long process to initiate, plan and execute approval from the head of State or designated Ministry. Moreover, the relationship between the AU and RECs is not defined in a holistic way, and there is a command line between these two institutions that are working towards the unity government of Africa resulting in a massive gap in the process of reintegration.

### **4.3: THE CONSTRUCT OF REGIONAL ECONOMIC COMMUNITIES**

The birth of regional blocks emerged to resolve African challenges in a significant way, including social and economic structures and physical infrastructure to expedite the development. However, the missing link between economic regionalisation and development could not prioritise addressing the structural challenges that prevented the socioeconomic transformation. Making the regional structures flawless and reflecting one, another is a priority before starting the actual task. Nye (1965), Povolny (1966), Wild (1971), Agyeman (1975) and Nabudere (2009) posit that RECs were born out of a decision taken in Libreville in July 1977, endorsed in the Kinshasa declaration and adopted by the Council of Ministers in 1976. Consecutively, the Lagos Plan of Action, the Final Act of Lagos and the Abuja Treaty adapted the building blocks with their aim of continental unity. The regional blocks were aimed at ultimately leading to the African Economic Community and intended to foster the economic, social and cultural reintegration of the continent. Uzodike (2009) underscores that the RECs' objectives are multi-directional and include three major areas; namely, economic, political and sociocultural issues. From the economic perspectives, RECs organise trade and investment promotion, industry planning, monitoring and evaluation, macroeconomic convergence and infrastructure development. From the political angle free movement of persons, peace and security and policy harmonisation and agriculture and from the sociocultural side education, health, food security, social affairs and promoting tourism are among the major areas addressed. Nevertheless, none of these objectives have been achieved convincingly for the forty years of its existence.

The RECs' working relationship with the African Union, according to the Africa Union (2009), goes beyond partnership. As the building blocks and implementing arms of the African Union (AU), the RECs have been central to various transformative programmes of the continent. However, there is no binding structural relationship with the AU of any form apart from a memorandum of understanding. RECs have the immense challenge of working with civil society and the AU Commission. Partly, there is a political structure that allows non-state actors to be part of the process. This study argues that the overall premise of the current RECs' configuration and regional institutional framework is open to all interested parties based on their geopolitical interest, rather than following the Abuja Treaty recommendations or being contiguous of member countries. Consequently, each REC has its unique institutional mechanisms and representation, thereby becoming actors in their own right. However, this does not mean that all RECs have similar reintegration agendas than those recognised by the AU. Some RECs organised themselves to respond to particular social, political or economic interests. The simple comparison between SADC and SACU will explain the matter vividly. SADC is an AU recognised REC unlike SACU, but when we compare the programme, which these two RECs are following towards reintegration; SACU has a more logical approach and a better chance and programme than SADC according to this dissertation's assessment. This statement will be explained in the structural impediment section. Although the study focuses on analysing three RECs, to have a clearer picture of how REC formation is in a much challenged position, Table 4.1 describes the overall situation comprehensively.

**Table 4-1: Recognised and unrecognized RECs. (ECA 2018).**

#	RECs recognized by AU	RECs not recognized by AU
1	AMU (Arab Maghreb Union)	Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL)
	Members: Algeria, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco and Tunisia.	Members: Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo and Rwanda
2	CEN-SAD (Community of Sahel Sahara States)	CEMAC (Central African Economic and Monetary Community)
	Members: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Chad, Central African Republic, Comoros, Egypt, Eritrea, Djibouti, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Kenya, Morocco, Mauritania, Nigeria, Mali, Niger, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Libya, São Tomé and Príncipe, Senegal, Sudan, Somalia, Sierra Leone, Tunisia and Togo.	Members: Gabon, Cameroon, the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, the Republic of the Congo and Equatorial Guinea.
3	COMESA (Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa)	The International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)
	Members: Burundi, the Comoros, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Egypt, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Libya, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Rwanda, Sudan, Swaziland, Seychelles, Somalia, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia and Zimbabwe.	Members: Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, Republic of Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, Republic of South Sudan, Sudan, Tanzania, Zambia.
4	EAC (East African Community)	Greater Arab Free Trade Area (GAFTA)
	Members: Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda.	Members: Egypt, Libya, Mauritania, Sudan, Somalia and Tunisia. NB: there are non-African States, but Arab countries that are a member of this Organization.

5	ECCAS (Economic Community of Central African States)	MRU (Mano River Union)
	Members: Angola, Burundi, Cameroon, the Central African Republic (CAR), Chad, Congo Brazzaville, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea Sao Tomé Príncipe and Rwanda.	Members: Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire.
6	ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States)	Liptako-Gourma Authority (LGA)
	Members: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde, Côte D'ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.	Members: Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger
7	IGAD (Intergovernmental Authority for Development)	IOC (Indian Ocean Commission)
	Members: Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, South Sudan and Uganda.	Members: Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles and Reunion is a European ultra-peripheral region (OR) indirectly France is represented in this RECs
8	SADC (Southern African Development Community)	SACU (Southern African Customs Union)
	Members: Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius,	Members: Botswana, The Kingdom of Eswatini, The Kingdom of Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa.

	Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, Eswatini, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.	
9		UEMOAWAEMU (West African Economic and Monetary Union)
		Members: Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo.
10		Senegal River Basin Development Authority (SRBDA).
		Members: Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and Guinea.
11		West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ)
		Members: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. Cape Verde joined the community in 1976 and Mauritania left in 2000.

The study further argues that currently, there are more than twenty Regional Economic Communities in Africa that are operational, semi-operational and some are on the verge of dying. The RECs' arrangement contains many controversial matters, such as the Western Sahrawi Arab Republic does not belong to any of the RECs, which means the country is not benefiting from AU development programmes. Similarly, the Arab Republic of Egypt is not a member of the Arab Maghreb Union, only of COMESA, a regional treaty block, not a political reintegration arrangement. According to the AU (2009), the AMU, though recolonised by the AU, has not yet signed the Protocol on Relations between the AEC and the RECs. Not only is a formal agreement with AU protocol lacking, but it is also considered one of the weakest regional arrangements in the continent. A thriving regional economic community requires a robust institutional

framework that is geared towards the fundamental objectives. Most importantly, the participation of civil society and broad support of the population are crucial. On the other hand, unwavering commitment from the government side is vital. Only then will the potential indeed be unlocked.

#### **4.3.1: Analysing the east African community**

The East African Community reintegration analysis is based on the six pillars; the historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural contexts of the community.

**Historical:** According to the African Union (2009), the evolution of the East African Communities (EAC) is explained as follows: The EAC was initially founded in 1967 but liquidated in 1977 due to political disagreement among the member states of Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. Its mission is “to widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural reintegration in order to improve the quality of life of East African people through increased competitiveness and value-added production, trade, and investments” (ECA 2006). The members are Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, South Sudan and the United Republic of Tanzania and Uganda.

**Philosophical:** The East African Community reintegration philosophy is “one people, one destiny.” This philosophical manifestation is a concept of the highest possible level of recognition and idealisation in the context of society. The idea of unity and renewal is in a quest to advocate a case for Africa’s intellectual, political and economic independence (Waghid 2016). By having a common philosophy and understanding the importance, the EAC is in the right direction for reintegration.

**Psychological:** Member states of the EAC are, by all standards, closing the gap and assertively moving towards unity. This is helped by much consanguinity in the region while ethnic, cultural, religious identities and similar psychological makeup are contributing factors. According to Mazrui and Mazrui (1995:1-3) in the EAC Kiswahili, as a common African language, has promoted "detrribalization" in East Africa in the

appreciation of "declining ethnic behaviour and developing common psychological makeup."

Politically, the EAC has enshrined the political union as the ultimate goal of the East African Community in its founding treaty (EAC 2010). According to the EAC Treaty (2010) "The Political Federation is the ultimate goal of the EAC Regional Integration, the fourth step after the Customs Union, Common Market and Monetary Union. It is provided for under Article 5(2) of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community and founded on three pillars: common foreign and security policies, good governance and effective implementation of the prior stages of Regional Integration". The EAC (2011) indicated the establishment of a Committee for fast tracking the East African Federation, which will be commissioned by the Secretariat. Considering these facts, the decision to have the political union regarded as a cornerstone for the reintegration agenda and an example of a critical strategic decision is a lesson for other RECs to follow.

**Economic:** The EAC has the most advanced economic integration status of the RECs. According to EAC (2010) the EAC Customs Union Protocol has enhanced trade within the EAC region significantly. Additionally, the EAC guides "the free movement of goods, people, labour, services and capital from one Partner State to another as well as supporting the rights of establishment and residence without restrictions. The East African Monetary Union Protocol provides for the attainment of a single currency for daily transactions within the Common Market." (EAC 2010). The EAC is ahead of other RECs concerning economic policy harmonisation and reintegration.

**Sociocultural:** According to Article 119 of the EAC "the promotion of cultural activities, including the fine arts, literature, music, the performing arts, and other artistic creations and the conservation, safeguarding, and development of the cultural heritage of the Partner States including, historical materials and antiquities" is an objective. The East

African Community Arts and Culture Festival (Jumuiya ya Afrika Mashariki Utamaduni Festival - JAMAFEST), which is taking place in each member state, is a commitment towards sociocultural nurturing of the community by supporting music, dance and movement, poetry, storytelling, drama and acrobatics, among others. Popular traditional games within the region such as bao-ajua, kora and wrestling are on the list as part of these initiatives. The EAC in many respects is well advanced compared to other African RECs (EAC 2010). The EAC decision related to common language issues, Article 137 of the EAC treaty stipulates and states that the official languages of the community would be English and Kiswahili. The unique advantage of this decision is that almost all community member countries speak both English and Kiswahili.

#### **4.3.2: Analysing the Economic Community of West African**

The Economic Community of West Africa reintegration analysis is based on the six pillars; historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural contexts of the community.

**Historical:** According to the African Union (2009), the evolution of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) started back in 28 May 1975 when the Lagos Treaty was established. The member countries are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cabo Verde Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. ECOWAS states that, as a community the objective are the “establishment of an economic union through the adoption of common policies in the economic, financial, social and cultural sectors, and the creation of a monetary union.” (ECOWAS 1993) In 1993, the Treaty was revised to accelerate the regional integration process. According to the provisions of the treaty establishing the ECOWAS, its objectives are the economic integration, the adoption of the principle of supranationality, the designation of ECOWAS as the single economic community for regional integration in West Africa and the approval of mechanisms for regional peace, stability, and security (ECOWAS 1993).



**Philosophical:** According to the ECOWAS strategic plan (2011-2015), ECOWAS is refocusing its activities to align with the vision set by the Authority of Heads of State and Government, to come up with the philosophy that serves in re-energizing an ECOWAS of People. Apart from this statement, ECOWAS as a bloc does not have a shared philosophy.

**Psychological:** The political history of Africa in general and in particular the West African States indicates that inherent differences from the colonial era in their ethnic, socio-cultural, religious and language make-up have been playing a negative role even till today (Piccolino 2014). Hymans (2010) called Lebow's theory "psychological constructivism that draws on ancient and modern insights into the psychology of identity to produce a radical break from our conventional understandings of the dynamics of international politics." The study argues that the ECOWAS region is to diversify from ethnic, language, culture and psychological makeup. The diversity of this region is an asset; however, what makes it difficult is delivering the necessary administrative and social service, considering limited resources and infrastructure.

**Political:** The revised ECOWAS treaty (2010) states that "the signatory States to the Protocol on Non-Aggression, the Protocol on Mutual Assistance on Defence, the Community Declaration of Political Principles and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights agree to co-operate to realise the objectives of these instruments." (ECOWAS 2010). The ECOWAS declaration of the authority of Heads of State adopted in Abuja on 6 July, 1991 considered consolidation of a democratic system of governance in each Member State as envisaged by the Declaration of Political Principles. ECOWAS has registered significant achievements such as free movement of people with the ECOWAS passport, as well as regional security and political governance. However, the challenges remain the same concerning a common currency and disagreements on the use of CFA and other currencies. According to Engel and Jouanjean (2013), ECOWAS has developed a comprehensive institutional framework

that assists to fast track trade policy that aims to improve trade between their member states.

**Economic:** ECOWAS, with all the challenges towards economic amalgamation, has done quite remarkable work on the economic front. According to the revised ECOWAS treaty (2010), the member states undertake to “adopt, individually and collectively, national population policies and mechanisms and take all necessary measures in order to ensure a balance between demographic factors and socio-economic development” (ECOWAS 2010). Besides, “the region shall constitute an essential component of the integration of the African Continent. The Member States undertake to facilitate the coordination and harmonisation of the policies and programmes of the Community with those of the African Economic Community” (ECOWAS 2010). It revolves around the need to achieve a region-wide functioning customs union through effective implementation of the ECOWAS common external tariffs and complete removal of the remaining non-tariff impediments to intra-ECOWAS trade” (ECOWAS 2011). The Community intends to “mobilize the human and material resources for the economic integration of the region, shall co-operate with regional non-governmental organisations and voluntary developmental organisations in order to encourage the involvement of the peoples of the region in the process of economic integration and mobilise their technical, material and financial support.” (ECOWAS 2011).

The ECOWAS treaty has special supervision of member States, considering the economic and social difficulties that may arise in individual member states, particularly island and land-locked States, agreeing to grant them special treatment “where appropriate in respect of the application of certain provisions of the Treaty and to accord them any other assistance that they may need” (ECOWAS 2010). According to Byiers, Vanheukelom and Roquefeuil. (2013), there are numerous structural or foundational factors that one can relate to ECOWAS’ limitations. After forty years’ existence, ECOWAS remains very poorly connected internally and regional cohesion is at a low level. ECOWAS has not transformed in the forty years. The population of the region is

still suffering significantly from poverty, malnutrition, and diseases. According to the UNDP Human Development index of 2006, the region has the lowest standards of living in the world. “Thirteen out of the fifteen members of ECOWAS are among the last 30 bottom-listed countries in the world.” However, ECOWAS is an economic and political block endowed with massive natural and human resources that could change the life of the population in the region and beyond. A considerable advantage is the human capital, which is estimated as a population of over 245 million living in the region. There is massive potential for growth and contribution for the good of the continent; this region is rich in strategic minerals and agricultural products like cocoa, cotton, palm oil and animal husbandry and above all abundant natural tropical forestry make it more attractive. The other potential areas are the blue economy and having a variety of natural resources like gold, diamonds; oil, uranium, natural gas, copper and iron ore among many mineral resources.

**Sociocultural:** The ECOWAS treaty article 60 and other articles provide a number of sociocultural provisions. The ECOWAS treaty is portraying and promoting the socio-cultural values of the region. The member states undertake to co-operate intending to mobilise the various sections of the population and ensuring their active involvement in the social development of the region. Furthermore, the ECOWAS treaty undertakes to formulate, harmonise, coordinate and establish appropriate policies and mechanisms for the enhancement of the economic, social and cultural conditions of women. They support the most rapid and optimum expansion of the region's productive capacity; determining the general policy and essential guidelines of the community, giving directives and harmonising and coordinating the economic, scientific, technical, cultural and social systems of member states ECOWAS (2010).

#### **4.3.3: Analysing the Southern African Development Community**

The Southern African Development Community reintegration analysis is based on the six pillars; namely the historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural context of the community.

**Historical:** The Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) was established in 1980 in Lusaka, Zambia. The transformation from SADCC to SADC materialised in 1992 through the restructuring from a loose association into a legally binding arrangement and a formalised intention to spearhead the economic reintegration. Following the Lusaka Declaration on the topic “Southern Africa: Towards economic liberation” the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) was formed on 1 April 1980. The SADCC comprised “Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, (joined after its independence in 1990), Swaziland, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe. The basic aim of SADCC was to reduce its members’ economic dependence on South Africa and to promote the members’ economic development. The SADCC mainly addressed issues pertaining to infrastructure deficiencies and creating a platform to promote dialogue and obtain funding from foreign donors. The current member states are: Angola, Botswana, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, South Africa, the United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia, and Zimbabwe” (SADC 2017).

**Philosophical:** Having a philosophy at personal, organisation and community level aims at providing a collective motto that helps to look at the big picture. According to Msila (2008) “The five key social values are known as the collective finger theory that underpins Ubuntu philosophy; survival, solidarity, compassion, respect and dignity, Ubuntu puts emphasis on how an individual contributes to the good of the collective values.” However, SADC does not have a philosophy in the treaty or other official documents as a collective that allows connecting and evaluating the shared value system.

**Psychological:** The Southern African Development Community is working towards shared democratic values and identity (Aggestam 1999). Creating a common regional identity should be at the core of any project to secure a common regional identity in

SADC. SADC as a region, which is a more complex social entity, “acquire and maintain identities based on the degree to which both internal and external audiences develop shared understandings about the key features of life and work in a region” (Romanelli and Khessina 2005). Identity is considered “an essential ingredient for social learning to take place in different actors and to develop fundamental beliefs and values systems in the region. SADC leaders and political elites have attempted to forge a common regional identity and collective being to foster the regional unity” (Aggestam 1999).

**Political:** SADC treaty Article 5 “promotes common political values, systems and other shared values, which are transmitted through institutions, which are democratic, legitimate and effective”. SADC and member states shall not discriminate against any person on grounds of gender; religion, political views, race, ethnic origin, culture, ill health, disability, or such other ground as may be determined by the Summit.

According to Hansohm and Shilimela, (2005), SADC operations are also characterized by overambitious programmes despite the evident fissures within the regional grouping. Among many challenges that SADC is facing, the major ones are: Over-ambitious targets and regional economic reintegration while suffering multiple and concurrent memberships of different regional economic communities; disparity in the economies of the SADC members and an uneven economic environment and duplication of effort that is emanating from the activities of the SACU and the SADC; the intricacies and variation of rules of origin; livelihood and human and capital development discrepancies within SADC member states and an expansive region made up of fourteen countries of varying sizes and levels of development.

**Economic:** SADC Article 21 states that the Member States “shall, through appropriate institutions of SADC, coordinate, rationalise and harmonise their overall macroeconomic policies and strategies, programmes and projects in the areas of co-operation.” The initiative is to alleviate poverty, with the ultimate objective of sustainable economic growth and development. In addition, to promote sustainable and equitable economic growth and socio-economic development. Business Report SA (2006) described that

one of the most successful development initiatives undertaken by SADC was the Maputo Development Corridor (MDC), linking the Gauteng area in South Africa with the Maputo Port in Mozambique.

Furthermore, according to the SADC report in 2016, the estimated population of the region reached 327.2 million with a 2.6% annual population growth rate. The largest population share in the region is the DRC (26.6%), followed by South Africa (17.1%) and Tanzania (15.3%). This massive human resource can translate into a market and growth opportunity. The region is endowed with substantial mineral reserves including big oil fields, giant tropical forests, a vast river on the continent, copper, diamonds and natural gas. In the area of tourism, the region includes the Victoria Falls and long seashores, both for the blue economy and the tourism industry. Vast agriculture land and natural forests, as well as a potential blue ocean economy, are among a few other opportunities.

Yang (2003) argues that “the problem for many African countries is not lack of trade with developed countries, but the structure of trade with cheap raw materials in exchange for value-added manufactured goods and sometimes even for food supplies.”

**Sociocultural:** SADC as a community encourages the people of the region to participate in the sociocultural initiatives. Member States are encouraged to “develop sociocultural ties across the region and to participate fully in the implementation of the programmes and projects of SADC” (SADC 2010). Furthermore, Article 5-h undertakes “...to strengthen and consolidate the long-standing historical, social and cultural affinities and links among the people of the Region.” (SADC 2010).

#### **4.4: STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS IN EAC, ECOWAS AND SADC**

The comparative analysis is aimed at ascertaining the structural impediment of the slow process of African reintegration. Since the reintegration process is a multidimensional phenomenon, the study will look at the political, economic, social and cultural context of

the reintegration approaches in the African continent. However, the study focus is to answer the fundamental question: What are the structural challenges and impediments to African reintegration with reference to ECOWAS, EAC and SADC? Considering this central question of the research defines and analyses the structural impediment specifically in relation to African reintegration. This study will try to evaluate in each REC the achievement, constraint, and the opportunities in relation to the reintegration process.

#### **4.4.1: Description of structural impediment**

The Glosbe online dictionary defines structural impediment as “the most significant obstacle affecting the service initiatives,” i.e., incompatibilities between management improvements and pre-existing structures and procedures. The barriers are interrelated and have varying degrees of effect on the creation of the trade imbalance. According to the Free Online Dictionary of Law Terms and Legal Definitions (Free Online Dictionary 2019), the structural impediments are described from the global commerce policy perspective as follows: “structural features of an economy seen as impeding the emergence of fully competitive markets. These can result from inappropriate or excessive regulation, widespread use of subsidies, the existence of private or government monopolies, rigid labour markets, inadequate disciplines on restrictive business practices and other”.

Magnus et al. (2003) stated that one of the critical times that structural challenges became the centre of the policy framework was during the Japanese economic stagnation. The government came up with the policy of a structural impediment initiative to address the budget deficit concerning the US and Japanese trade imbalance.

In the context of reintegration, the role actors and agents' synchronization play a crucial part to interact within the structural frameworks. In this context, there are three agents: political elites, state and regional bureaucrats. The actors include civil society groups, firms, farms, and households (Vanheukelom, Byiers and Roquefeuil 2013). In the

absence of harmonisation between these groups and a functioning policy framework, structural challenge is evident.

Hay (2002) argues that in broader terms the structure and agency context can be seen out of structural challenges. Further, he explains that structural impediments can be defined as a material condition that could not allow utilization of the ability of the major actors and stakeholders to play their roles as the result of political, economic and social uncertainties. The political, socioeconomic and cultural transformation of states requires a fundamental structural re-engineering and alterations to attain a socioeconomic, cultural and political makeover. Considering these facts and analysing the reintegration concept in Africa, there are signals of the structural challenge confronting the political, economic, social and cultural dimensions.

This study argues that the structural impediment in the context of Africa reintegration can be explained as follows: it is the absence of proper delegation to plan, interpret and implement regulations. The causes include organization process, loose connections, unbalanced relationships, over-ambitious and unrealistic approaches, lack of interlinking between organizational structures at national sub-regional and regional level and ideological gaps. Serious structural impediments also transpire from pervasive poverty, low economic growth, low levels of human development, inequality, lack of free enterprise and democratic systems and high exposure to shocks and disasters.

#### **4.4.2: Analysing multiplicity of membership**

Membership overlap is not the only structural impediment that African reintegration faces but the most counterproductive, and it became problematical to reform and uninstall from the continent. The main challenges are imposing selfish interest on others member states, causing members to lose focus; financial commitments causing unnecessary spending by the countries; RECs that are not getting adequate support from member states; a duplication of efforts and the contradiction of policies engaging with different RECs. According to the Abuja treaty, at least one REC is expected to exist in each one of the five Africa's sub-regional configurations, as set out in Table 4-2.





**Table 4-2: The Five African Regions according to the Abuja Treaty (ECA 2018)**

#	Regions	Countries
1	North Africa (6)	Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and Western Sahara
2	West Africa (18)	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Cape Verde, Chad, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.
3	Central Africa (6)	Central African Republic, Congo, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, and São Tomé and Príncipe.
4	East Africa (14)	Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Djibouti), plus Sudan, Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi plus the islands (Comoros, Mauritius, Seychelles, and Madagascar).
5	Southern Africa (10)	Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.



**Figure 4-1: The Five African Regions**

(Wikipedia 2018).

The Abuja Treaty's approach was not a satisfactory solution for establishing regional economic communities, but it was a good start. Advocating having five defined sub-regions and rationalisation based on the geographic setup was impressive. However, the challenge was the size, the sub-region was too big, the geographic spread not logical and other parameters were not considered to be addressed in a scientific way. One of the rationalising methodologies that configured or suggested one REC per region and each country belonging to only one REC was a profoundly correct preposition.

#### **Multiplicity of membership in EAC, ECOWAS and SADC**

ECA, ECOWAS, and SADC as RECs cover the most significant portion of the sub-regional configuration in the continent. These RECs are facing a considerable amount of structural impediment out of the multiplicity of membership. There are three reasons forming the root cause; firstly, these RECs are partly playing an unhelpful role in the

duplication, by allowing entities with similar objective to conduct business on their jurisdiction. Secondly, they suffer from membership multiplicity, lack of commitment and resource sharing, leading to effort duplication. Thirdly, they do not have a clear strategy to stop the overlap of RECs. The membership overlap is shown in Table 4-3.

Membership Overlap in EAC, ECOWAS and SADC

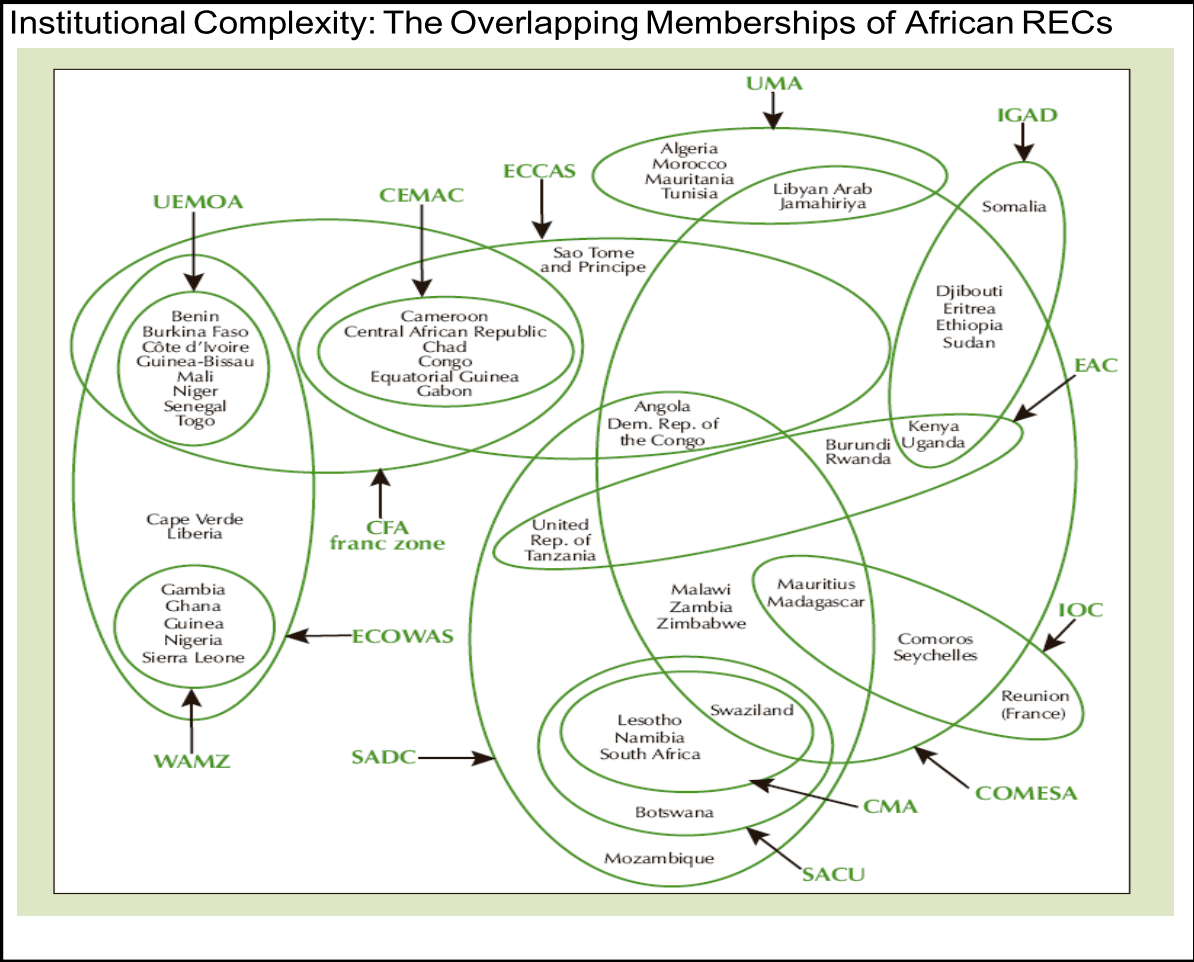
**Table 4-3: Membership Overlap in EAC, ECOWAS and SADC (ECA 2018)**

Other RECs	EAC	ECOWAS	SADC
Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA)	Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda,		Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Swaziland, Seychelles, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
Community of Sahel Sahara States (CEN-SAD)	Kenya	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Mauritania, Nigeria, Niger, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.	Comoros,
Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)	Burundi and Rwanda.		Angola, and Democratic Republic of Congo
Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries (CEPGL)	Burundi, and Rwanda		Democratic Republic of Congo
Mano River Union (MRU)		Sierra Leone, Liberia, Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire.	
International Conference on the Great Lakes Region (ICGLR)	Burundi, Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Tanzania		Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tanzania, and Zambia.
Intergovernmental Authority for Development (IGAD)	Kenya, South Sudan and Uganda.		

Indian Ocean Commission (IOC)			Comoros, Madagascar, Mauritius, Seychelles
Senegal River Basin Development Authority (SRBDA).		Mali, Mauritania, Senegal and Guinea	
Southern African Customs Union (SACU)			Botswana, The Kingdom of Eswatini, The Kingdom of Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa.
Liptako-Gourma Authority (LGA)		Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger	
West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA/WAEMU)		Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo	
West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ)		Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. Cape Verde	
14	18	55	26

This study argues that from the above assessment duplication within EAC, ECOWAS and SADC and with the other AU recognized and unrecognized regional structures is clear. In this assessment, there are three basic lessons. The first one is how the RECs are working in a very complex environment. Second, the bigger our constituency, the more it becomes unmanageable. Reconfiguration and transformation are more crucial than ever.

Institutional Complexity: The Overlapping Memberships of African RECs



**Figure 4-2: Institutional Complexity: The Overlapping Memberships of African RECs**

(ECA 2006:79.)

Note: Egypt and the Saharawi Republic as countries are not included in the spaghetti bowl and CEPGL, CEMAC, ICGLR, GAFTA, MRU, LGA, SRBDA and UEMOA/WAEMU as unrecognized RECs are not in the bowl.

#### **4.4.3: Economic structural impediment**

Africa's economic structural impediments occurrence has so many reasons and frontiers as the result of its historical and colonial past. This fundamental deficiency is a major contributing factor to slow economic unification in the continent. One of the reasons is dependence on a few primary commodity products rather than value-added exports. The African economy is described as small, fragmented and isolated economies with resources distributed very unequally. African countries need to integrate regionally to reap efficiency gains, exploit economies of scale and reduce the firmness of borders. At the same time, as emphasized in this survey, in the absence of compensation mechanisms the unequal distribution of gains has hampered progress. The economic situation has historical and colonial origins, Africa's major export markets have never changed significantly and are identical, a fact that causes problems. Other reasons are that the mode of production has never changed after independence, policy rigidities, lack of the capital-intensive output and underdevelopment of human capabilities.

The UN 2013 Economic report on Africa recognizes the problems and economic sluggishness. Consequentially, these problems cause insufficient job creation and aggravate poverty levels in the continent, considering most of the African marketplace is based on primary product and targeting similar market revenue rather than diversifying the market access within the continent. Poverty and underdevelopment indicate a growing challenge to realize the economic unification in the continent of Africa. Poverty is becoming identical with the face of Africa, and eradicating poverty from its root primarily an African challenge. Ambition and realities are two extreme in the African reintegration agenda. Reintegration demands a fundamental matrix and coordination to move forward and consolidate economic ties among countries. Among the human capabilities, the investment environment, infrastructure, innovation and institutional capacity are critical. The deficiency of human skills is the leading dimension of structural impediment for the reintegration process. The human ability can be improved in many ways, first providing an appropriate skill that is required and with a holistic



transformation changing into real-world requirements. Sen (1999) describes that when human agency is involved in a particular way, economic development relates to human capabilities and that means the economic dynamics are not considered as one of the parameters or variables. According to Kabede, (2004) Africans have self-imposed and endorsed the colonial discourse as the way they defend themselves concerning a Western belief system or theoretical assumption. These sentiments have played a negative role with Africans themselves articulating their rational being. Locking yourself into the racial or ethnic identity downgrades your capability and rationality. The decisive factor that triggers the human capacity to higher stamina that is a requirement of innovativeness, is to be able to translate human ability to achievement through utilizing science and technology.

The absence of a favourable investment environment is a bottleneck for economic growth and consolidating the financial house. Economic unification is all about merging nations' endowment to build strong financial and political capacity to create some broader opportunities. However, the merger is not always bringing just the good elements but shares the burden of the parties who are building a common marketplace, correcting or amending policies to make it right. Qualified investment needs a peaceful environment, a working procedure, transparency of government officials, the rule of law and a healthy financial system. Rostow (1959) describes that one of the preconditions for economic development is take-off, a stage that requires productive investments, which can come from banks, capital markets, government bonds, stock markets, foreign trade and the direct foreign capital investment. The absence of investment from local or international sources is creating a deficiency of development. Africa lacks both; however, in the absence of a solution it would require the public aid to grow in the form of capital, technology and expertise.

Economic development has a direct interrelation with infrastructure development. Traditionally, infrastructure development has only one dimension, however it may have many dimensions: physical structure, system structure, virtual structure and institutional

facilities structure. Ordinarily, infrastructure relates to physical structure like roads, bridges, highways, rail, airports and ports. However, structure is broader than that. Deficiency of infrastructure in place creates structural impediments to the economic amalgamation of African countries. According to Kebede (1999), development has manifested in two ways, visible and invisible. The depiction of development regarding the mere satisfaction of human needs rather than validation of beliefs largely explains the underdevelopment of Africa. The second reason relates to the link between cultural value systems and economic development indicators. As far as Africa is concerned is, the fact is that economic development seems to have been successful where it has been a validation or a substantiation of people's beliefs and values. However, the mere fact is that development benchmarks are based not African value systems, rather they belong to the Western world (Kebede 1999).

According to Stiglitz (2011), innovation primarily emphasises investment in information technology and skill formation at all level of the education system. Innovation is a way to redefine the development of economic growth and structural challenge. There is strong empirical evidence that shows that investment in ICT and investing in education boost competitiveness, making both critical parts of the growth agenda. African countries can make a huge leap forward and over antiquated technology by exploiting the ICT technological advantages as late starters, promoting innovation by investing in ICT and higher education to increase competitiveness in the global knowledge-based economy. Africa should look into an innovative system to change the welfare of individuals and how natural resources translate to material benefits for the African citizens. According to Nelson (1993), innovation is the best instrument to enhance productivity and competitiveness. It has a direct connection to improved structural impediments at all levels by working innovatively. The economic structure and the current institutional setup, both with historical roots, need to be analysed and understood to set policy priorities. The potential comparative advantage of low wages in Africa can be dismissed because of low productivity. Surveys of investors show that labour is not cheap where

productivity is low. Information and communication technology (ICT) are now the primary drivers for productivity growth.

This study argues that to address economic structural impediments, there are key considerations to be addressed in a holistic approach. Most of these are human inability, lack of investment, deficiency of infrastructure, the absence of innovation and institutional capacity. With these impediments, the reintegration agenda will not move anywhere. The key consideration in contemporary Africa is that the economy cannot get in position to lead the reintegration process. The mere fact is the economy is dependent on the political development. For the economy to play its role in a meaningful way there are vital areas that should transform outright. These are free enterprise development, healthy competition, favourable business environment, the supremacy of law, trade diversification, free movement of people and goods, marketplace development and having consistent and robust taxation and custom systems that are essential. The institutional capacity building at all level is one of the key elements to implement any projects including economic unification or merger between countries. Economic development assurance means that a particular party or parties design and implement public policies in a coherent way through institutionalism that can deliver and sustain the system.

Nonetheless, in the absence of institutional capacity, the Africa reintegration agenda has been suffering and much has not changed since independence. Reintegration is presumed to be a requirement to accomplish and consolidate human resource, economic advantage and fair marketplace in the short term. Moreover, in the longer term it is expected to create a supportive business environment, investment climate and foster competition. In the meantime, it promotes access to broader markets, free movement of goods and services, capital and labour and enhances socio-economic policy coordination and harmonisation. To achieve a sustainable business environment there is a fundamental area that should change in Africa. Firstly, politicians should

refrain from manipulating the business environment and secondly government should be in business regulation not business operation.

The study further argues that to advance economic reintegration processes there is a need to address the past. This will lay a proper foundation from which to move forward for better economic prosperity. Areas needing attention are political and economic factors of reintegration. Firstly, establish a robust and independent institutional framework. Secondly, government and business relationship should be limited. The government should only be involved in policy management and regulation. Developing independent, responsible and robust institutions are essential. A political will is vital. Political will can support not getting involved in every economic matter, avoiding the obstacles of business and creating a conducive economic environment. As for the legal factors, the legal regime includes the free movement of goods, capital, services and labour and enforcement of obligations at the sub-regional and regional level, easing cross-border trade, the establishment of enterprises and provisions for the supply of goods and services, among others.

#### **4.4.4: Sociocultural structural impediment of reintegration**

The African reintegration effort recognised the need to promote political, economic, social and cultural reintegration and development comprehensively at an early stage. Nonetheless, the project of regionalisation has failed because of massive poverty and underdevelopment, political instability and weak infrastructures. The reintegration impediments are related to structural, human made issues as well as the sociocultural situation of the continent. Understanding these veracities, the Abuja Treaty has provided more emphasis in its Article 4. Objective 1. (a) States: "To promote economic, social and cultural development and the reintegration of African economies, in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote an endogenous and self-sustained development." According to Oyejide (2000), regional economic communities (RECs) have a greater mandate, which is given by the Lagos Plan of Action and Abuja Treaty, an opportunity to change the reality on the ground. Nevertheless, RECs themselves

have become more problematic and the problem itself. The RECs were aimed to be agents of continental reintegration by promoting economic, social and cultural changes. However, the RECs often pursue narrow aims and there is no way of ensuring that all will work towards collectively agreed objectives because of weak links between regions and ordinary people. Social and cultural reintegration only happens on the ground with social and cultural cohesion. Regional economic blocks are the remaining legacy of the Lagos Plan of Action and, cast in a mould similar to that of Europe, are still the instruments in which state elites place their faith for Africa's development.

According to Harloov, (1997) the social infrastructure is related to health, education, and social welfare, while culture is encompassing language, religion, social habits, music, arts and heritage. The developmental reintegration philosophy, considering the centre of reintegration, is human development and welfare. In the absence of conscious, healthy and productive citizens, let alone accelerating the social and economic reintegration, any development project is nearly impossible. Social and cultural reintegration requires a political commitment at the start of the reintegration process. Policy planning and implementation to have a result ordained reintegration process must back up the socio-cultural policies that can correct the significant problems. The essence of reintegration is to join forces through reintegration to achieve a broader market; larger labour force, technological and skills transfer, free capital mobility, and promote free movement of persons, rights of residence and the right of establishment, single tourist visas and regional passports.

#### **4.5: CONCLUSION**

The chapter tried to analyse the regional economic community based on the six pillars. In addition, the study discussed the political, economic and sociocultural impediments in the continent with special emphasis on EAC, ECOWAS and SADC. The study tried to define the structural impediments in relation to African reintegration. The study identified and discussed the main structural impediments methodically, like the issue of sovereignty and multiplicity of REC memberships. In conjunction, the study concisely

examined the manifestation of the structural impediment concerning coordination, implementation and monitoring mechanisms. The sociocultural impediment was discussed by analysing the treaty of each of the RECs and the emphasis of the subject matter.

## **5. CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION**

### **5.1: INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this final chapter is to summarise the critical findings of the dissertation and to propose recommendations related to a new reintegration process. The section offers the summarised version of the conceptualisation of reintegration and the analysis of the structural impediment of the RECs. The conceptualisation of Africa's reintegration has six pillars; namely, historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic, social and cultural context. The structural impediment was discussed with a particular focus on a comparison between the EAC, ECOWAS and SADC. The chapter also discusses what paradigm of research was implemented and how the study contributes to knowledge. Furthermore, the policy recommendations and policy reconsideration are based in relation to reintegration.

### **5.2: STUDY APPROACH IN SUMMARY**

The research approach used the critical approach theory to discuss both the reintegration paradigm and in analysing the structural challenges. The study touched on the most important aspects of this approach that is looking past present and future. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007) the motive for using the critical approach is that highest possible cognitive level for human beings to criticize and challenge the nature of existing society. This approach agrees in many ways with critically reviewing social structures that make assessments about the status quo (Neuman 2011).

The key findings of the African reintegration conceptualisation are made based on six pillars. These are historical, philosophical, psychological, political, economic and sociocultural context. The conceptualisation of reintegration was instrumental in investigating the selected RECs. The analysis of structural impediment defined how and why structural impediment happens in regional structure formations. The three selected

RECs discussed are EAC, ECOWAS and SADC. The study identifies the limitations and shortcomings, mainly the absence of adequate support regarding the political, financial and human resources. However, the main impediment goes beyond economic and political provision. The African reintegration process needs to be reviewed outside of the conventional methodology to find the primary but essential ingredient for Africanism. The historical African connection is seen at the centre of reintegration, but instead, the focus should rather be on the material and economic benefits downplayed by the Pan African ideals. Culture and common value systems remain largely ignored, and the regionalisation focus becomes dependent on imported and alien models not able to mobilise the African society as required. The sociocultural reintegration and intra-African State formations need to be scrutinised further to determine the best prescription for reintegration. The promise of a successful reintegration lies in the developmental benefits that would accrue to the continent, and this constitutes a sufficient reason why a sense of urgency ought to be associated with the accomplishment of the objective of increasing the pace of reintegration and harnessing the associated benefits.

### **5.3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK USED IN SUMMARY**

The conceptualisation of reintegration has attempted to look back at the primary challenges of the continent from different scopes. The main areas of assessment concerned a political and economic integration paradigm used for the last fifty years after African States received their independence and formed the Organisation of African Union (OAU). The regional organisations were aimed at unifying the continent and struggle for total freedom and have achieved some of their goals; however, the unification has been tampered by a number of challenges. The study has tried to see horizontal and vertical issues that created problems. The African reintegration has faced numerous challenges; lack of adequate financing and human resource, the absence of political will to promote agreed proclamations and treaties, dependence on foreign aid syndrome, political instability and civil war in the continent, among others. In addition to the above facts, the regional economic communities, which have been proposed amorphous and shaped in a random manner, have caused significant damage to the



undelivered promise to the African people. The conceptualisation of reintegration has tried to answer these challenges in a logical approach. The first step attempted to constitute the main pillars that were possible to explain based on the fundamental on the ground. The conceptualisation considered geographic proximity, sociocultural similitude, economic standards and common consanguinity. The conceptualisation of reintegration aimed to improve socioeconomic and political advancement in the continent. Moreover, it attempted to introduce indigenous reintegration strategies that are African.

#### **5.4: STRUCTURAL IMPEDIMENTS IN THE RECS: SUMMARY**

The study has attempted to address two fundamental concerns, first defining the structural impediment and its manifestations and secondly analysing how it can be addressed methodologically. Some are visible and noticeable; some are complicated and need more profound analysis. Some of these structural impediments are the systemic problems that impede the development of national economies and hinder the regional economic communities. The reluctance by the member states to endorse the RECs' activities unreservedly is because of members not being able to see the bigger picture of reintegration. The most significant structural impediments in the African reintegration context are; the size of a regional economic community that is too big and too complicated, lack of common philosophy, the absence of similar vision and understanding about the RECs, lack of political will and membership overlaps. Furthermore, a critical aspect of impediment might be encompassing the geographical difference between member states; the configurations of these RECs make it challenging to reach out to the populations because of the vastness of geographic coverage. The unresolved institutional mix is another massive challenge within the RECs and the continental structures.

#### **5.5: CONTRIBUTION OF THE STUDY TO KNOWLEDGE**

The dissertation aims to study the structural impediments to African reintegration with a comparative analysis of EAC, ECOWAS, and SADC and contributes crucial knowledge

in in these regards. The study considered contributing a missing element in Africa's regional integration process concerning theoretical postulations. The knowledge contribution can be evaluated from two angles: the first one is the conceptualisation of a novel paradigm from integration to reintegration that considers a theoretical contribution towards intra-state, formation, intergovernmentalism and supranational formation. Furthermore, the study attempted to introduce analytical and methodical information of a structural impediment concerning reintegration in Africa. These approaches contribute how and why vital free movement, cross-border labour mobility and economic interconnectedness require formulating indigenous knowledge systems to support the administrative solution for Africa. Lastly, it is assumed that the combination of both propositions contributes to unleashing human potential.

## **5.6: POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS**

The policy direction is looking at the essence of both the reintegration concept and the structural impediment of reintegration from the study perspective. The policy direction is proposing new architectural states or alliances, which are different from the Regional Community States, both from the structural and organisational viewpoint. The assumption is that the structural impediments of RECs that have been discussed in this study will be addressed in the proposed model. Accordingly, EAC, ECOWAS and SADC should be reconfigured as follows:

EAC: Proposed configuration with member states of Burundi, Rwanda, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda.

ECOWAS: Proposed configuration with

- North West African States (NWAS) with member states encompassing, Mauritania, Mali and Sahrawi;
- West African States (WAS) with member states, Cabo Verde, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone;

- Central West African States (CWAS): member states encompassing, Chad, the Central Africa Rep, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Niger;
- West South African States (WSAS) with member states encompassing, Burkina Faso, Benin, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, and Togo.

SADC: Proposed reconfiguration with

- South East African States (SEAS) with member states encompassing Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe;
- South West African States (SWAS) with member states encompassing Angola, the DRC Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Rep. of the Congo and Sao Tomé and Príncipe;
- Southern African States (SAS) with member states encompassing Botswana, Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa.

### **5.5.1 Recommendation**

Recommendations on reintegration: Predominantly, the unification concept should get the highest priority off all the African projects. The institutional mechanisms should be set up with an appropriate mandate of an implementation legislative tool. A mechanism should be designed to make reintegration mainstream in all formal African government and intra government structures. Considering the current RECs' dysfunctional structures that are not serving the best interests of the citizens in assuring the reintegration process, this should be transformed to implement the new approach. This includes organisational capacity building and human and financial policy arrangements for the new structures. The underlying structural constraints should be removed, including conflicting interests of member states, which fundamentally limit the depth and progress in reintegration. Furthermore, enhanced policy convergence within newly formed member states of the group and coordination between other member countries are required. The reintegration architecture should be creative and innovative to secure political will and stakeholders' supranational organisation and to mobilize support from

the citizens at large. The mechanisms to ensure the development of continental reintegration should be led by an exclusive agency that gets complimentary support from the African Union for reintegration efforts.

#### *5.5.1.2: Policy Reconsideration*

Issues: Africa's reintegration project encountered an absence of a grand design of an effective reintegration model, which sounds African; speaks African; listens African and pays attention to the historical, philosophical, cultural and economic need of African citizens. This model should be is good enough to process a functional political reintegration through a smooth transitional process, and have a policy consideration, which resolves the current structural challenges of African reintegration. The guiding vision for Agenda 2063 is the AU Vision of "An integrated, prosperous and peaceful Africa, driven by its own citizens and representing a dynamic force in the international arena" (The AU Agenda 2063).

Reconsiderations:

- A- Revising all the strategic decisions related to the formation of regional economic communities and implementation strategy.
- B- The Regional reintegration requires the participation of government, civil society, the private sector and development partners at all levels and the current resolutions should be revised in such a way.
- C- Mainstreaming Regional Reintegration and developing a Model Ministry in charge of Regional Reintegration Matters.
- D- Capacity Building in Financial Resources. Mobilization of Financial resources is a key challenge of the AUC.

Rationale: For every challenge, there is a reaction based on the accurate assessment of the challenges. Ideas matter, in other words knowing your disease is halfway to a cure for your disease. The African Heads of States and Governments have made many resolutions, but still, the process of reintegration is not moving forward in tackling its key

areas of challenges. The issues here led us to believe that either the decisions or the implementation have a problem or both has been unrealistic, over ambitious and have not considered the reality on the ground. Therefore, revising the resolution and treaties are essential. Moreover, the public, not only a few, needs participation regarding ownership, responsibility, accountability, authority and decisions, and transparency and delivery matters. Thus, the policy reconsideration is included.

#### *5.5.1.2: Policy Recommendation*

Issues: The African Union is “supranational” and the owner of the reintegration project of Africa; nonetheless, the structural impediment is high, the mandate of the organisation is limited, the decision process is awkward, it lacks clarity and focus and there is no proper accountability in relation to the RECs.

#### Recommendations

- A. Revising the current regional structure policy and directives including the Abuja Treaty.
- B. Establishing a formal and solid relationship between the AU and RECs.
- C. Forming a reintegration commission, which is mandated, to plan, organize and implement. Similarly, member States should create dedicated ministries of reintegration with a full mandate to run the day-to-day business as well as to implement on the ground.
- D. The sub-regional structures should have effective delivery; they have to be guided by elected representative of respective member states.

Rationale: The RECs should revise their major policy decisions to align with the current challenges that they are facing in implementing the reintegration agenda. The decisions should be synchronized and focused. The regional configuration has to be compatible with the ultimate unification goal. Duplication of effort by member states, sub-regional organisations and the union should be avoided by being consistent and harmonised. The reintegration model has to be based on the reality of the continent. The

administration system should consider the indigenous knowledge system. Accountability, transparency, authority and responsibility should emanate from the elected officials and civil society, and all segments of the community should get representation.

## **5.7 CONCLUSION**

The chapter is a summary of the key findings in Chapter 3 regarding reintegration conceptualisation and Chapter 4 with an analysis of structural impediment. The pattern of the study that was applied was moving from complex argument and approach to simplification and acceptable solutions. The reintegration concept has never been in the regional reintegration study up to this point; however, introducing the unique nature of the African unification project by analysing and conceptualising was essential. The research has been done to look at the brief historical pattern of Africa's reintegration, disintegration, and reintegration. The study has shown the reintegration is not only a belief system, but it is a reclaiming of African reintegration or unification. The study substantially argued why it is necessary for reintegration to be planned based on historical, philosophical and psychological contexts. Furthermore, along with these facts, it is also vital to have a comprehensive study that includes the political, economic, social and cultural context of Africa.

Similarly, the study has analysed the unification process challenges that have been unresolved for the last half a century since independence. The critical structural impediment areas have been identified and explained with practical examples. The study has tried to make a comparative analysis of the regional economic communities that are EAC, ECOWAS and SADC to look at the achievement and constraints they are facing. The study has identified the language, cultural, political and African identity and citizenship quest to reintegration context. The emphasis has been that Africa requires a different kind of transition with decolonised minds that transform to the new era for the benefit of African citizens, a period that implements Africa's sovereignty, not just individual state power. The vision is the implementation of free movement imbued with

the values and ideals of Pan Africanism and genuinely committed to the unity, independence and sovereignty of Africa.

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