Globalisation and the New Pan East Africanism: Exploring Borderland Research and Theoretical Issues in the Study of Regional Integration

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Abstract

Intellectual discourses on regional integration in Africa have continued to generate diverse and often contradictory debates and responses. A common convergence in these debates, as they have increasingly come to be associated with the current process of globalisation, is that regional integration is not only desirable but also necessary. The latter consensus seems to be justified on the premise that individual states cannot readily achieve their social, economic and political goals in isolation from their neighbours. Thus, the desirability of promoting regional integration continue to be widely acknowledged by multilateral agencies, Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs), national governments and academics on the continent. The concept of Pan-East Africanism, seen as the new initiative to integrate the East African states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania is contextualized within the emerging global realities and trends. This paper sets out to review the state of regional integration efforts in East Africa. Viewed within the context of Pan-East Africanism, the paper explores some of the theoretical and methodological backgrounds informing current research on regional integration. Away from the often-accepted state-centric and mainly economistic theoretical formulations, the paper offers some critical reflections on regional integration based on the new emerging borderland perspectives. It specifically argues that people centred top-up theoretical perspectives offer a more informed and practical approach to regional integration in East Africa.

Globalisation and Regional Integration in Africa: An Introduction

There is perhaps no term that has received much scholarly attention in the contemporary discourse than globalisation. Indeed, as a world phenomenon, globalisation has generated numerous definitional variants to warrant any specific benchmarks. More generally however, globalisation as a world process has been defined as involving a steady decline in the importance of national boundaries and geographical distance as constraints on the mobility of people, goods and services. The process of globalisation is thus said to correspond to an unprecedented contraction of space and elimination of great distances and time through the development of new means of communication and information technologies across the planet (Zeleza, 2003).

Key concepts within the foregoing definition are important to our understanding of the link between globalisation and regional integration. These include the contraction of spaces and decline in the importance of boundaries. Both processes of globalisation and regional integration are concerned with spaces of interaction either at global or regional levels. The scope of such interactions aims at providing mutual relevance to specific entities upon which frequency of contacts, transactions, common aims or attributes, economic complementarity

etc. are enhanced among various units. Like globalisation therefore, regional integration is concerned not only about space generally but also, and more specifically, with the boundaries of specific states in a particular region. According to Adetula (2004: 2), regional integration may be taken as a dialectical unity of social, economic and political processes. Simply put, it represents a situation in which states become interdependent in whatever aspects of their relations as they aspire. Its constitutionality should, according to Ochwada (2004: 54), be worked out in terms of a reasonable theory of integration that provides for a shared space to pursue socio-political and economic activities across national borders, a space that transcends the concerns and interests of top political leaders.

Globalisation and regional integration are concepts whose linkage deserves some historical hindsight. Especially within the African context, such a historical consideration must reveal the nature and emergence of these concepts in relation to the social, economic and political realities on the continent and the latter's incorporation into the metropolitan dominated world capitalist system. Globalisation and efforts towards regional integration are not new since communities, nations and indeed continents have historically been in touch with each other. However it should neither be argued that the present globalisation and trends towards regional integration have no marked differences with those in the past, nor are they packaged with numerous contradictions.

It is instructive, for instance, to observe that in regard to boundaries and borderland communities, globalisation and regionalism seem to be opening up new avenues for unequal interaction between the various states and peoples. Current trends towards regionalism, although benefiting from contemporary global trends, do not only minimally pay attention to historical dynamics in the region but also present numerous theoretical contradictions and challenges.

African Regional Integration: Pre-colonial and Colonial Debates

Most African regional integration analyses have erroneously commenced their efforts with postcolonial developments and initiatives. Yet, it is historically evident that various forms of social, economic and political integration initiatives predate colonialism and the nation state in Africa. Throughout Africa, people interacted with one another and with the outside world long before the onset of colonialism. In these interactions, various forms of social, economic and political exchanges allowed for the free movement of people, goods and services. Ochwada (2004) has elaborately pointed out how such pre-colonial networks of relations need to form the basis of understanding regional integration efforts within the East African context. The author particularly argues that, despite the existence of diverse political organisations, people moved freely without the inhibitions and restrictions of artificial boundaries that were to characterize later these regions, following the onset of colonialism. With the expansive trading networks in the sub-region, the area had become regionally integrated through commerce and through other social and political networks that enhanced good neighbourliness. Like in East Africa, this trend has been observed throughout Africa (Zeleza, 1993).

African pre-colonial integration mechanisms, though less documented, provide an important basis for understanding current initiatives, their progress and challenges. Any meaningful historical trajectory on regionalism in Africa, starting with the pre-colonial period must of necessity also consider colonial developments. With the onset of colonialism various social, economic and political forms of transformation of African lives were initiated which, in turn, had a profound impact on the nature of interaction between the various peoples on the continent. Perhaps the most important colonial impact in this case was the creation of colonial boundaries. These boundaries were drawn, in most cases,

across well established lines of interaction between different African communities. As Asiwaju (1992) has argued, the boundaries disrupted forms of inter-social relations, including, in every case, a dominant or active sense of community based on traditions concerning common ancestry, usually very strong kinship ties, shared socio-political institutions and economic resources, common customs and practices and sometimes acceptance of a common political control. The foregoing historical issues form the basis upon which any understanding of regional integration initiatives in Africa ought to be located. Indeed, most of the colonial efforts towards regionalism in Africa were based on these historical realities despite their objectives being geared towards serving colonial interests.

Specifically within the colonial period, the persistence of the pre-colonial informal integration networks was visible in spite of the colonial policy of divide and rule that worked against any tendency towards regional integration. The various colonial administrators viewed the latter initiatives as a constant threat to the very existence of colonialism and its hegemonic policy of integrating African economies to the metropole. At best, African colonial entities were meant to serve as strategic sources of raw materials, provide market for European manufactures and the human resources whose aim was to create wealth to alleviate the economic problems of metropolitan Europe. These colonial objectives could only be effectively met within a disunited arena where opposition to colonialism could not thrive. Any broad based informal integration schemes were thus curtailed through colonial policy or blatant force.

Formally, several regional integration initiatives under the stewardship of the various colonial administrations appeared throughout the African continent during the colonial period. Within the East African region specifically, efforts towards the creation of the East African federation were on course beginning the early XX century. The idea behind the federation that would bring together Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (present Tanzania) was justified on the reality that the three territories shared common historical and political features that could better be exploited for the common economic benefit of the British colonialists. The colonialists argued that a stronger political union would be a prerequisite for the economic integration of East Africa. In 1902, the British established the court of appeal for East Africa, followed by the setting up of the East African Currency Board, in 1905, and the Postal union between Kenya and Uganda, in 1911. In 1917, the British colonial administration established a customs union (Ochwada, 2004). By 1920, the East African Currency Board (EACB) was already issuing a single regional currency. These concerted efforts towards the East African federalism necessitated serious colonial policy reflections on their realities. These policy reflections culminated into the various committees and reports, of which the most important ones included the Ormsby-Gore commission of 1924 and the Sir Hilton Young commission of 1927.

The British colonial efforts were directed towards regional integration to the consolidation of the East African services (EAS) in areas of air transport, meteorology, customs, excise and income tax departments. Within the post II World War period, further campaigns for integration were fostered through the various interested groups, especially the White business community. The Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of East Africa, for instance, was critical of the system in the region that vested power in the institutions of individual territories. The association's economic arguments therefore fronted for more harmonisation of commercial activities in the region. It is not by sheer coincidence that in 1945 the various interest groups pushed through the House of Commons the publication of the White paper on Inter-territorial Organisation in East Africa (Rotchild, 1968: 47). The White paper, among other things, represented the official colonial policy on the federation and spelled out ways in which the region could be economically controlled and linked to the international political economy.

Much as the official political rhetoric for the integration of the East Africa made several gains, its future looked bleak since such efforts were merely crafted with the sole purpose of maintaining British colonial interests. It is no wonder, therefore, that they were short lived and severely criticised by the strong nationalist wave that evolved in the region. The policies hardly paid any attention to the unique experiences and institutions of governance within the then British East African. Even with the establishment of the East African High Commission towards the sixties, African nationalist leaders from the three East African territories felt short-changed in the process. Thus, as the formal colonial exploitative mechanisms of integration gathered momentum in the region, there were equally active African informal initiatives that evolved throughout the continent. The latter initiatives benefited mainly from the nationalist wave and specifically the Pan-African movement. It is therefore not possible to divorce such informal continent based African initiatives from the integration debates that were taking place during the colonial period.

Pan-Africanism was perhaps the most visible component of the African integration initiatives across the continent in the fifties. Pan-Africanism, as a movement, sought to emphasize the unity and solidarity of Africans and African countries. As Mazrui (1977) argues, Pan-Africanism had the economic potentials for economic rewards and overall development of the African continent. African nationalist leaders, including Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya and Sekou Toure of Guinea among others, advocated for the political unification of the African continent as a strategic variable in the struggle for the cultural and social development of the African peoples. Indeed as early as the twenties, several movements had emerged in West Africa promoting the ideal of Pan Africanism. As Adetula (2004: 9) observes, such movements had witnessed the formation of a British West African University, a West African Press Union and a British West African co-operative Association. Generally, such and other Pan-African unions throughout the continent succeeded in uniting Africans, especially the elites in their anti-colonial dispositions and in fostering a common front towards the colonialists.

The centrality of the Pan-African ideal, though strong during the colonial period, did not live to see the light of the postcolonial state in Africa. With the attainment of independence in Africa, the Pan-African consciousness that had been strong among the power elite suffered several setbacks. The concern for national development within their individual borders seized most of the newly independent states, and the pursuit of separate development plans and fragmented projects became more fashionable (Adetula, 2004: 10). Thus, with the attainment of independence, both the Pan-African and the colonial initiatives towards regional integration on the continent froze within the fragmented national projects of individual countries. Yet the consensus on the need to promote unity among various countries and regions of the continent lived on.

Economism, Regionalism and the Theoretical Debates in the Post-Independent Period

As could be gleaned from the foregoing, the earliest formal colonial regional integration initiatives in Africa were mainly economic in objectives. The economic justification for regionalism was overwhelmingly emphasized almost at the exclusion of other possible intervening variables. The economic arguments insisted that by joining together, states are in a position to exploit larger scale economies and, at the same time, restructure the regional economy in a way that benefits the production base of a given region (Clapham, 2001). Imbued with the western developmental arguments and conjured within modernization theoretical assump-

tions, regional integration was conceptualised as a mechanism of economic control that was to unequally link the centre and the colonial periphery. International economic relations and colonial state dynamics were mainly emphasized without paying attention to internal realities that concerned the local populations.

The attainment of independence in most African countries, in the early sixties, marked an important watershed in the evolution of regional integration schemes in Africa. Unlike the colonial period, the new political elite that took over power in most African states viewed regional integration as a way of liberating their respective states from the throes of economic malaise. By encouraging regional integration, African leaders hoped to create common markets that would allow the free movement of people, capital, services and goods within and between their respective countries to avoid their chronic dependency on the North. As Mazrui (1977) has argued, regional integration efforts were seen as a struggle against the dependency situation imposed upon the continent by its colonial historical experience. Thus, African regionalism was acknowledged as a viable strategy through which the different African countries would adopt to combat foreign dependency and underdevelopment.

Used rather loosely, regional integration came to characterize various broad social, economic and political initiatives that were hoped to increase the bargaining power of the respective countries within the international political economy. As Clapham (2001: 59) has argued, the uniting strand within such initiatives was the sense that as individual states, they could not readily achieve their goals in isolation with their neighbours. This, as the author further argues, explains why integration schemes were particularly characteristic of groups of states that were aware of both their common identities and of their least relatively small size and individual weaknesses. Since most African countries were seen as being exceptionally small and weak, at least in reference to those in the North, regional integration was projected as the panacea to their numerous problems. Again, the realities in most African states, projected through shared histories and at least a strong sense of continental solidarity expressed through pan-Africanism and other movements, especially during the colonial period, made the integration schemes and initiatives towards them appear sacrosanct.

The Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) was the earliest formal apostle of regional cooperation on the continent in the post-independent period. Through its mainly economic arguments, ECA had perceived the internal markets of Africa as generally too small and, therefore, a constraint on industrialization and development (Adetula, 2004: 11). Consequently, the creation of an effective regional market was strongly advocated. Right from its inception, economic cooperation and regional integration in Africa were the main agendas of ECA. Various African countries were expected to establish or strengthen their multinational institutional machinery to facilitate the crystallization of common economic policies and projects.

It is important to point out that ECA's programme of promoting economic integration in Africa formed the basis for the later emergence of numerous regional and sub-regional integration organisations. From the sixties, ECA's efforts of building economic links among African countries were accorded prominence by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). The OAU and the ECA remained the only formal forums for fostering political and economic integration initiatives in Africa. The OAU, which was formed in 1963, strongly favoured ECA's programme for self-reliance and autonomous growth in Africa through the formation of sub-regional groupings.

The continued collaboration between ECA and OAU, especially after the seventies, ushered in a new phase of regional integration in Africa. This phase witnessed the adoption of numerous policy documents, including the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) and the Final act of Lagos (FAL) that collectively envisaged the

formation of the African common market, free trade areas and economic union. The plan envisaged the accomplishment of the foregoing objectives in phases within the three sub-regions of Eastern and Southern Africa, Central Africa and West Africa. According to Browne and Cummings (1984), the LPA provided the first comprehensive continent-wide formulation and articulation of the preferred long-term economic and development objectives of African countries. The latter objectives, though benefiting from global developments, are usually cited as the precursors of most African regional initiatives, including the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) in Eastern and Southern Africa, transformed to the Common market of eastern and southern Africa (COMESA) in 1993.

The ECA's regional integration initiatives also favoured the colonial period integration goals in various parts of Africa. In West Africa for instance, the movement towards West African Unity that brought together the francophone countries of Ivory Coast, Senegal, Niger, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Mauritania was strongly on course by 1975. With the entry of Nigeria and other Anglophone West African states, the economic community of West African states (ECOWAS), comprising sixteen member countries, came to represent a strong experiment towards regional integration in Africa. Modelled as a customs union, ECOWAS treaty and protocol provided a plethora of integration instrument in the form of several monetary, fiscal, administrative, institutional and legal measures (Adetula, 2004: 16).

In the case of East Africa, regional integration initiatives led to the revival of the colonial economic integrative schemes through the formation of the East African cooperation (EAC). The three East African presidents, Jomo Kenyatta, Julius Nyerere and Milton Obote were determined to refocus the formerly colonial based East African Federation initiatives into a more vibrant bloc to benefit the three states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Although mainly handicapped by their ideological differences and the fear of the economic dominance of Kenya, several gains were made on the political front, beginning with the signing of the treaty for the East African Cooperation in Kampala, in June 1967. This treaty, though inheriting the colonial structures and provisions, appeared to lay down the new strategies for integration (Ochwada, 2004: 66). The treaty hoped to promote a more viable development strategy through the harmonisation of the fiscal incentives offered by each country. These would lead to the transfer tax system, the establishment of the East African Development Bank and, eventually, the East African Common market.

The survival of the East African cooperation did not last long. By 1977, the previously vibrant economic bloc collapsed. According to Clapham (2001), the collapse of the East African Cooperation was due to structural economic problems (notably, the centrality of Kenya) and the ideological differences between the leaders in the region. By 1977, strident economic competition and the strong feelings of nationalism had become a recipe for the growing spirit of acrimony that seemed to spread within the region. The most enduring critique for the failure of the East African Cooperation, like other regional integration schemes in Africa, has been their over-emphasis on economics, as opposed to other intervening variables.

The fact that economic arguments for regional integration provide a series of contradictions for the dismal performance or collapse of regional integration in Africa has been acknowledged by many scholars. The reduction of regional integration goals to strictly economic matters defeats the purpose of regional integration. Such economic based schemes hardly pay attention to the particular social and political histories that inform the various countries whose peoples ought to benefit from the regional integration initiatives. Integration represents much broader and detailed arrangements, which require states to make certain social, political and economic sacrifices and commitments as well as concessions, as well as demonstrate their will towards a redefinition of their

individual and collective participation in the international economy (Adetula, 2004: 21). Thus, by conceiving regional integration in purely economic terms, their operations ignore the wider realities at play. Regional integration becomes mere avenues through which infrastructures are created for the exchange of commodities. The human agency lacks in these initiatives, since exchange and markets that facilitate the movement of goods are the only ones that are over-emphasized. As Adebayo Adedeji argues:

> "It is now clear that the economism of regional cooperation is prin-cipally responsible for the slow progress made during the last forty years. By focussing virtually exclusively on economic cooperation and integration while making the heroic *ceteris paribus* assumption as far as political and social factors are concerned, has contributed significantly to the lack of progress in the actualisation of the vision" (Adedeji, 2002).

Clearly, in spite of the fact that the above critique by Adedeji is true about most economic based regional integration initiatives in Africa, it doesn't offer much more reflection on alternative approaches that can capture the intricacies of regional integration efforts. We propose to explore Pan East Africanism within the prism of emerging borderland approaches and re-examine their relevance to offering alternatives for the study of regional integration.

Pan East Africanism and Borderland Perspectives: Rethinking alternatives

The collapse of the East African cooperation in 1977 did not completely dampen the hopes for regional integration in East Africa. As has already been argued, the reasons for the collapse have been linked to the fact that regional integration schemes were conceived in purely economic terms. Emphasis was mainly laid on economics and the centrality of the state as the principal organisational unit of the affairs of the people. Much of the energy, therefore, was expended on state efforts to erecting economic institutions to foster development within the sub region. For instance, throughout the colonial and post independent periods, emphasis was laid on economic cooperation and integration as was perceived through the state centric mould that encapsulated the political elites and institutions.

The beginning of the Eigthies witnessed a strong wave within the East African region towards the revival of regional integration. This resurgence, as Ochwada (2004: 70) argues, was a response to the dismal development of Africa at the national, sub-regional and international levels. Most African countries, including those in East Africa, were confronted by several socio-economic and political maladies. After several years following the attainment of political inde-pendence, the performance of the countries in the region was not impressive. Hunger, political strife, severe limitation to civil liberties had all grown in intensity, leading some observers to conclude sadly that African independence was an abysmal failure (Davidson, 1992). Many of these negative political conditions, which were increasingly characterised by conflicts, state failures and the crimi-nalization of the structures of authority, heightened the urgency of addressing the situation with a view to offering suggestions and solutions.

Although regional integration appeared a more realistic approach to confront the numerous problems, it was clear that African leaders could not afford to go back to the purely economistic arguments that had led to the past failures of such schemes. Whereas economic cooperation and integration and the building of state institutions appeared plausible approaches, that could give impetus to progress and development in the East African countries, there was need to shift and con-sider initiatives that particularly involved the experiences of the ordinary citizens in

the region, and whose plight the integration schemes targeted. One such effort considers the borderland spaces within which the peoples of East Africa have had a long shared cultural heritage.

Borderland perspectives consider the centrality of geographical space in influencing the various social, economic and political forms of interactions within a given region. As Edward Said has observed

> "Just as none of us is outside or beyond geography, none of us is completely free from the struggle over geography. This struggle is complex and interesting because it is not only about soldiers and cannons but also about ideas, about forms, about images and imaginings" (Said, 1994:6).

The centrality of this quotation, in this context, lies in its emphasis on the vitality of spatial limits expressed in geographical terms and the diverse dynamics that define its myriad forms and characteristics. The notion of geography has important connections with issues of identity, geographical imagination and spatial dynamics.

Borderlands or border regions more generally have been defined, characteristically, as the sub national areas whose social, economic and political life is directly and significantly affected by proximity to an international border (Asiwaju, 1985). These border zones have remained the centre at which questions of territoriality, citizenship and nationhood are contested, negotiated and settled world over. In East Africa like elsewhere in Africa, border zones form the razor's edge on which hang suspended contemporary issues of war or peace and of life and death of nations (Ben Arrous, 2000). The main issue has not so much been the physical location of the boundaries, but rather the meanings and values attached to them and which are related to the historical milieu defining their emergence, development and transformation (Glassner, 1996).

There is little disagreement that the arbitrary nature of African boundaries, due to their largely colonial origins and their transformation over time, provide part of the explanation for the continent's contemporary problems (Wilson and Donnan, 1998). Various scholars have observed that the boundaries between African states share responsibility for the continent's predicaments since more often than not, many of the current African conflicts have arisen from border zones (Asiwaju, 1985). Therefore, since borders are primarily a source of the political conflicts that undermine national peace, they also slow down the pace of international cooperation and integration. At the centre of such conflicts there has been a breakdown of relations between the relevant states and communities traversed by the border. It is necessary, therefore, for the region to respond more effectively to the challenges posed by its borders, in order to directly confront the questions of conflicts, inter-community relations, cross-border cooperation and regional integration. As Ben Arrous (2000: 8) argues, the failure to acknowledge the vitality of African spaces and, most importantly, the cost of this failure in terms of human lives and human suffering, calls for deliberate renewal not only in conceptual tools, but also very practically, for political governance and policy options.

Given the importance of boundaries, questions of nationhood and regional integration need to form relevant analytical considerations for the renewed efforts towards regional integration in East Africa. More important, however, is the analysis of the relations between borderland communities and the implications of such relations towards regionalism. Whether as pretexts or real causes of boundary conflicts, border populations (individually or in groups) and the relations they generate across the boundaries have functioned as catalysts and compelling influences on the quality of communication between the respective political regimes and administrations existing on both sides of the boundary. Yet, diverse and lively as the previous efforts have been, they have neither paid

attention to these border dynamics nor treated the social, economic and political developments within the region in a historical perspective.

The centrality of borderland perspectives lies in their examination of the human factor in Africa's, and specifically East Africa's boundaries in a historical perspective. While a great deal of scholarly concerns have been focused on the economics and politics that govern state relations across boundaries, their theoretical considerations have been lacking, if not showing a marginal interest on border populations and their social, economic and political evolution over time. Regional integration targets people and their relations within the various geographical spaces. Any attempt, therefore, to come to terms with the practical demands of regional integration need to bring on board the realities of border populations and the social, cultural and economic relations they generate across the frontiers. The latter dimension forms an important context in which the laws and politics operate.

Borderland perspectives have offered a more rational critique of the economic and state centric approaches to regional integration. The latter approaches treat the state as the main actor in the international system. Grounded in the power perspective, the economic and state centric perspectives starts from the premise that universal conformity is not possible; therefore, international conflicts must arise and persist, since few nation states want to surrender their sovereignty to international institutions. Each state has the responsibility to promote its interests and those of its people against the opposition of other groups in the international system (Chazan, 1999). In terms of the relations between states in particular, the theory prioritises the power factor as dominant and 'inescapable in the history of international relations of states'. The struggle for power overrides all other factors (Chazan, 1999). Away from such state centred analysis, borderland analysis insists on human agency as the main actor in initiating change, as opposed to the power framework. In terms of relations between states, it is not the political institutions at the level of the state or international realm that are important, but rather the basic units of social, historical and political interaction fostered at the individual and community levels.

By considering the social, economic and political aspects of regional integration within a broader societal framework, borderland perspectives can be able to utilize a variety of ideas to forge an integrative method for understanding the relations between the historical, political, social and economic dimensions of the contemporary realities in East Africa. The framework presumes that the state-society relations are central to understanding the intricacies of regional integration initiatives in East Africa. In this context, both the state centric and borderlands perspectives are harmonized. Individuals and governments are constrained by a variety of demographic, technological, ideological, global, historical and social factors. Changing conditions define available options at any given historical moment. It is within this range that decisions are made, not only by political leaders and state officials, but also by external actors, domestic social organizations and individuals. By looking at the interaction of historical factors, socio-cultural forces, economic activities, formal institutions and prevalent values, it is possible to moot a more realistic framework that better grasps the meaning and direction of the diverse patterns of regional integration schemes while appreciating their myriad challenges over time.

The more integrative borderland approach, therefore, focuses on identifying key theoretical constructs which capture the multiple factors at work within the East African region and, specifically, the dynamics in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial times that explain interactions among the various communities in the region. Within this perspective, the inquiry commences by examining the key components of East African border politics over time, assuming that the sphere is by far broader than the formal state domain and the international

state system. Official institutions, as in the former power framework, are, indeed, significant actors, but so too are individuals, social groups, traditional authority structures, trading networks and multinational corporations. The study of the interests, organization and capacities of these entities affords a better view of the regional integration processes whereby they interrelate and act as key components in the relations between the various states. By approaching regional integration from the many dimensions of political interaction and modes of interchange, it becomes possible to trace more accurately the shifting political patterns in East Africa and their ramifications for socio-cultural and economic interactions between the various countries in the region.

While considering the borderland perspectives it is important to note that although the political factors account for many social and economic realities, they are themselves also informed by historical, demographic, cultural, ecological, ideological and international manifestation of the exercise of choice by multiple actors within existing parameters. This perspective highlights the fluidity of politics and attempts to trace the vacillating political course and its relevance within the debates on regional integration. Any such initiatives takes into consideration the context, including the particular historicity and specificity of the unique human interactions within the various countries, with a view to comprehend the larger milieu in which the groups are organized and in which regional integration initiatives ought to be focused. Hopefully, this will project a more multifaceted picture in which the understanding of regional integration initiatives need to be reflected through a people oriented, bottom up border cooperation and regional integration policy.

Conclusion

This paper has broadly attempted to raise some critical theoretical considerations for research into regional integration in Africa generally and Pan East Africanism specifically. The hope for the sustenance of the new initiatives towards Pan East Africanism, as we have observed, will be determined by the interweaving of a complex web of historical, economic, social and political issues that are both global and regional in character. Regional integration represents much broader and detailed arrangements that will require the states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania to maintain certain social, economic and political sacrifices and commitments, as well as concessions, and demonstrate their will towards a redefinition of their individual and collective participation in the international global economy. Certainly, this commitment needs to go beyond the previous economic and state centric perspectives that have proven to be not only unworkable but which have also led to serious ideological conflicts and eventual collapse of past regional integration schemes. The borderland propositions obviously present lively insights in dealing with the human factor and agency that have missed out in previous integration efforts, that were mainly economic and state centred. Certainly, researchers have overlooked or paid little attention to the link between the ordinary people's background and circumstances and how these, in turn, shape the complex processes that inform theoretical debates towards regional integration. Definitely, efforts towards promoting regional integration need to consider research into borderland issues, especially the people centred initiatives that provide key prospects for consolidating the gains so far made through Pan East Africanism. A unitary analysis of borderland issues, regional integration and globalisation should allow us see the complex and extended human experiences as they have come to be conceived within their historical, social, economic and political aspects. Only through this can we hope to channel meaningful research tools into sustaining the cause of Pan East Africanism.

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