CHAPTER SEVEN

Regional Integration, a Prospect for Development: Lessons from Rwanda's Experience in the East African Community

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Introduction

Development in the context of African society is a contested concept. Most development organizations and donor communities in the Western world believe that African society needs development projects devised outside of Africa. To this end, Indigenous Africanist scholars such as Dei (1993) despondently note that "the impulse of development in Africa is informed by Western hegemonic understandings of what developing societies lack and what they are expected to do or become" (p. 98). In a similar tone, Tucker (1999, p. 3) argued that this model of "development was conceived as economic growth, industrial development and the establishment of complementary social and political institutions designed on the model of the United States. Other cultural formations were viewed primarily as forms of resistance to modernization which had to be overcome." The linear development approach accounts for the failure of most development projects aimed at alleviating African societies from real or perceived poverty. The argument in this chapter is that African societies need a reconstructed development agenda with Africans as its key architects. Such a development paradigm must take into consideration the lived experiences of the local population.

As noted in Dei (1993) and Tucker (1999), the defects of development paradigms coined outside of Africa and imposed on Africa as an engine for socio-economic and political progress are excavated. Development paradigms alien to Africa, which do not value African diversity, have for decades offered deceptive optimism not only for Africa but also for other developing societies. African societies are degenerating because of the imposition of development projects as seen through the lens of 'experts' who do not consider and value the African context. For nearly five decades after the attainment of political independence by most African countries, African scholars and political leaders have been exploring ways of transforming their societies and eliminating abject poverty and associated incongruities. In the process, they have realized that dominant Western paradigms of development have not benefited African societies but instead relegated them into a state of perpetual dependence, having to rely on the same Western societies for aid and loans. Based on this realization, as African scholars theorize knowledge oppositional (Dei, 1998) to Western paradigms of development, they propose the possibility of African-centered initiatives. The political leaders have taken the lead in the implementation of such theorized initiatives. The formation of regional blocks such as COMESA, Southern African Development Community (SADC), ECOWAS, and recently the EAC for trade and possibly political federation are examples. The discussion in this chapter focuses on the East African Community (EAC) as an archetype of an African-centered regional initiative for development. By examining East African regional integration as a prototype of development initiative of African people, the argument is that such enterprise with its most comprehensive charter is more socio-economically effective and derives more benefits accruing from domestic and international trade than individual national markets. Rwanda's economic achievement is examined as the benchmark for development prospects from the EAC.

The chapter is divided into four parts: Part one provides an introduction and a brief overview of the EAC. It examines the formation of the EAC and illustrates how the EAC has been expanding since it was founded in 2000. The second part examines why and how Rwanda, a new entrant, has attained rapid economic progress among all the states that constitute the EAC. Specifically, the part of the chapter examines Rwanda's efforts in overcoming some of the institutional barriers that hamper mobility of goods and services to expedite export and import of goods and services. The section makes recommendations for other member states to follow suit by removing institutional barriers to boost trade and development. The third part discusses the move toward political federation, its possibilities and limitations. The last part provides a conclusion.

Globalization, as a political, social, and economic process, has an impact of creating cosmopolitan scientific and multi-cultural spaces of interaction that are often reflected in most developing societies. As revolution in technology and telecommunication systems embeds globalization, the transfer of Western goods and services, knowledge systems, and cultural practices is increased. The increasing transfer of goods and services, knowledge, and cultural spectrum has the corresponding implication of imposing value systems that work to the detriment of developing countries. In the globalized markets of East Africa, goods and services emanating from foreign countries are given higher value and priorities than are local goods and services. This means the local producers lose value for their products and are exposed to the risks of exiting the production process in the long run. The preference for goods and services from foreign countries, especially Western countries and recently China, has a legacy in colonial ideology in which the Indigenous is vanquished and non-Indigenous is elevated. Tucker (1999) attributes this to an accumulation of European infrastructures and some Western technological skills in the developing world. Internal governmental procedures left behind by colonial administrative policies and carried forward by post-independent states play a detrimental role for development. For context specificity, local business communities in the East African region face double jeopardy because of the existence of multiple internal administrative procedures when it comes to registration of their businesses, acquisition of trading licenses, and exportation of goods and services among others, as pointed out by World Bank (2012) report:

> Entrepreneurs in the East African Community tend to face both weaker legal institutions and more complex and costly regulatory processes, compared to global averages and more developed economies. Yet, institutions and legal processes specifically related to enforcing a contract, protecting investors, and resolving insolvency are stronger among the EAC economies, compared to the broader Sub-Saharan Africa region and South Asia. (p. 9)

These and other factors have significantly affected production of goods and services, hence making foreign-produced goods and services more easily accessible to and desirable by the locals. Although the World Bank report credits the EAC's regulatory processes as being less complex and less costly than that of the sub-Saharan Africa region and South Asia averages, the challenges are still major barriers that need redress in order for locally initiated development efforts to take root and elevate the region from poverty and underdevelopment.

The Formation of the East African Community

To respond to socio-economic development challenges, developing societies in Africa have been scrambling for regional integration. This includes aims to protect the local producers from unfair competition, protect the markets, and promote production in partner states. Regional integration also lobbies for block markets for locally produced goods and services at the international level. Although imitating other successful integration, regional integration can be viewed as a local initiative to redress the multiple social, economic, and political challenges in specific contexts with the architects from those contexts taking leading roles. During the past five decades, the countries of East Africa have been propagating the idea that regional integration and cooperation form a significant mechanism for fostering socio-economic and political development—particularly industrial development at the micro and macro levels. This view contributed to the formation in 1967 of the first meaningful regional body in Africa, commonly known as the East African Community (EAC). The establishment of the first East African Community in 1967 was made possible by the Treaty for East African Cooperation among three countries: Kenya, Tanzania, and Uganda. According to Ravenhill (1979), the EAC was the most sophisticated regional cooperative arrangement undertaken in the Third World. Although the first EAC collapsed in 1977 with no single factor accounting for the failure, it demonstrated that integration can achieve the desired objectives with commitments from member states.

After the collapse of the first EAC and the development challenges that the East African states were confronted with, the need to achieve and consolidate regional co-operation became a priority among member states. Consequently, the East African heads of state, during their Second Summit in 1997, directed the Permanent Tripartite Commission to start the process of upgrading the agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Co-operation in a treaty. The treaty-making process, which involved negotiations among the member states as well as wide participation from the public, was successfully concluded within three years. The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community was signed in Arusha, Tanzania, in 1999. The treaty entered into force on July 7, 2000, following the conclusion of the process of its ratification and deposition of the Instruments of Ratification with the Secretary General by all three partner states. Upon the entry into force of the treaty, the East African Community came into being. In 2007, the Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi acceded to the EAC and became full members that year (EAC, 2011). The formation of the EAC led to increased interest from other states in the region. Following their application, Rwanda and Burundi were approved and became full members seven years after the formation of the community. The entry of new members is a positive sign that the EAC is faring well both domestically and on the international front. Formation of regional bodies is significant for accelerating balanced socio-economic development if there are commitments from partner states. Following the progress made by the EAC, countries such as Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia have formally applied to join the cooperation. The Republic of the Sudan's application was rejected because it does not meet the EAC Procedure for Admission, while the Republic of Somalia and South Sudan applications are pending with the possibility of acceptance. Evidently, the EAC treaty is unique in Africa because its cardinal objectives are centered on the development of policies and programs that focus on strengthening cooperation among the five partner states in the economic, political, and social spectra. In comparison, the objectives of the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) address cooperation within an economic and social framework. The promotion of cooperation and integration in economic, social, and cultural activities is the central objective of the Economic Community of West African States (African Union, 2009). The uniqueness of the EAC is reinforced by the provision of the EAC treaty contained in Article Five (5). Under this provision, the EAC members made a commitment to establish a Custom Union, a Common Market, a Monetary Union, and a Political Federation (EAC, 2000). Of all the known regional integration models in the world including the European Union and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), only the EAC has solemnly bound itself in a treaty to move into a political federation ("Hurdles to E.A.," 2012). Perhaps it's because of the uniqueness of the EAC's long-term objectives that neighboring states are taking particular interest in joining the bloc. The failure of the first EAC should set a stage for member countries of the present bloc to develop mechanisms for holding each other accountable in making collective efforts to achieve its social, economic, and political objectives.

With the new EAC quickly gaining prominence and expanding because of the interest of neighboring states in joining, meaningful regional and balanced development can be fully achieved if the member states remove institutional barriers for trade in goods and services and set up a central bank with common regional currency. The prevalence of institutional barriers is unhealthy for business and development. Drawing from examples of member states, specific institutional barriers that hamper smooth and quick implementation of trade and development projects are examined and recommendations offered to strengthen the regional integration for sustained social, economic, and political development. Further, for the EAC to achieve its objectives, member states need to develop political processes that uphold and protect the voices of the population. Specifically, member states such as Uganda, whose constitutional policy on political power transition is at odds, need to harmonize their policies for uniformity. The past five years have witnessed policy makers and legislators in the EAC member states refocusing their priorities on simplifying business start-up processes, refining credit information sharing, strengthening the judiciaries, and enhancing customs procedures to facilitate commerce and trade. The legislators and policy makers have also been very keen on exploring other aspects of integration such as political federation.

Prospects from the East African Community (Lessons from Rwanda)

Since the EAC's formation more than a decade ago, experience shows that the dismantling of economic development barriers among member states requires joint responsibility. Because states such as Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, South Sudan, and Somalia have expressed enormous interest in joining the EAC, the EAC has the impetus to collectively address challenges to socio-economic growth. What, however, remains questionable are the level of commitment of the applicant countries and what they bring to the integration. Interestingly, a country like Rwanda that joined the EAC seven years after its birth is reaping a lion's share of the benefits because of its swiftness in implementing reforms that allow for accelerated flow of goods and services and accessible business registration processes. Such efforts being achieved in Rwanda are still major challenges for the other EAC members. The World Bank (2012) report indicates that continuous improvement of the business environment is important for countries seeking to benefit from increased trade and investment through regional integration. How easy or difficult it is to start and run a business, and how efficient courts and insolvency proceedings are, can influence how quickly firms are able to seize new opportunities. The same report commended Rwanda as one country among the EAC members' states that has made notable progress in reforming internal policies on trade.

Undoubtedly, governments in developing societies need to play leading roles in providing the necessary development climate by ensuring that their administrative and legal procedures serve the development agenda of the current century. Based on this realization, Rwanda improved its business regulatory environment the most in the past five years, followed by Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi, and Kenya. According to the World Bank (2012) most business regulatory reforms in East Africa over the past five years focused on simplifying procedures for starting a business, registering property, and dealing with customs. As a result of the reforms in business registration, the average time to start a business in East Africa fell from 37 days in 2005 to 24 days in 2010 (World Bank, 2012). The implementation of the major reforms has helped expedite trade and commerce among member states as reported by the World Bank (2012):

> Implementing these reforms has helped facilitate trade between the EAC economies and the rest of the world, especially in a region where 3 out of the 5 economies are landlocked. Export time in the region dropped from 40 days, on average, in 2006 to 29 days in 2011. Meanwhile, import time was cut nearly in half—from 60 days in 2006 to 33 days in 2011. Documentation requirements were also streamlined during this period. (p. 10)

The same report credited Rwanda for making the second most progress in closing the gap to the frontier out of 163 countries globally. Rwanda has been able to accomplish so much due to comprehensive and broad regulatory reform programs covering multiple areas of regulation and embedded in a long-term competitiveness strategy. It has implemented 22 reforms making it easier to do business across nine areas of regulation. The economy has undertaken ambitious land and judicial reforms, often years in the making. Since 2001, Rwanda has introduced new corporate, insolvency, civil procedure, and secured transactions laws. And it has streamlined and remodeled institutions and processes for starting a business, registering property, trading across borders, and enforcing a contract through the courts (World Bank, 2012).

The other area where Rwanda has scored highly in economic development is the removal of all non-tariff barriers for free movement of goods and services. In contrast, typically irked by the existence of roadblocks (non-tariff barriers) on Ugandan highways, the trade minister remarked, "The unnecessary roadblocks that I keep seeing along the roads are Non-Tariff Barriers[1] [NTBs] to trade. You find a traffic police officer stopping trucks of goods asking for trading licenses and where the goods are coming from and going. This is not work for traffic policemen [*sic*]. They are supposed to ask about the condition of the vehicles and not where the cattle or Matooke [bananas] on the trucks are destined."[2] The trade minister drew examples from Rwanda where NTBs have been removed and trade is booming because goods move faster from one part of the country to the other. The minister urged Ugandans to spearhead the implementation of the trade policy to transform Uganda into a dynamic and competitive economy. The removal of NTBs coupled with implementation of ease of business registration policies have led to the business community opening up businesses in the region. In agreement, the World Bank (2012) reports indicate that when Rwanda simplified its business registration formalities by 2006, 77% more business firms registered.

Further, the World Bank (2012) report also acclaims Rwanda for taking affirmative steps in easing property registration procedures by decentralizing its land registry to ease land acquisition processes for prospective investors. The decentralization of land registry has helped to eliminate bottlenecks and as result, new branches responsible for properties in their jurisdiction were set up. The regional branches that Rwanda created across the country work collaboratively with local

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1 Non-Tariff Barriers (NTBs) refer to restrictions that result from prohibitions, conditions, or specific market requirements that make importation or exportation of products difficult and or costly.

2 "Highway Roadblocks" (2012).

municipalities and tax agencies. The World Bank (2012) describes magnificent improvement for Rwanda in comparison with the other EAC members in regard to costs associated with property transfers in the region:

> The requirement for a lawyer to draft sale agreements costs entrepreneurs between 1–2% of property value in Uganda. In Tanzania the preparation of the transfer deed and notarization of the sale agreement cost on average 3% of property value. In Burundi, where a lawyer first drafts the sale agreement and a notary verifies it later, the related expense amount to BIF 271,000 (or $225), or approximately 3.2% of property value. The notarization costs are lowest in Rwanda, where a notary from the Ministry of Justice authenticates the agreement for a small flat fee of RWF 7,300 or $13.00. (p. 28)

For Uganda, this is yet to be achieved. For instance, land registry for the entire country is centralized in Entebbe in the southern region. And for company registration, prospective firms still have to travel and wait in the queue in the capital, Kampala, with all associated bureaucratic procedures and costs. The same World Bank report, however, credits Uganda for passing new laws on mortgages and insolvency in 2009, although the law has yet to be implemented.

The level of progress exhibited by Rwanda in reform programs requires a sizable dose of harmonization and commitment to regulatory reform processes. This is lacking in most developing countries and the other four EAC member states have not yet followed this trend. For harmonization purposes, there is a need for EAC members to put in place monitoring and supervisory reform boards that have clearly defined roles and that report directly to the highest bodies and offices in the respective countries. This will ensure that East African citizens get free movement of goods and services and the right to employment in any of the partner states, huge market potentials both domestically and internationally, and improved security for goods and services. The overall objective is a flourishing economy. Above all, member states must carry on extensive consultation with the grassroots community to seek their views on the transition to the currently hot topic of political federation. Otherwise, the well-intentioned federation may not achieve the desired objectives. For the federation to succeed and also achieve development, local communities must play an active role in terms of giving their opinions and having a sense of control as articulated by Dei (1998) that:

> Real and effective community control is possible only if the development agenda seeks to center indigenous knowledge systems in the search for solutions to human problems. This means articulating an alternative conception and praxis of development, one that does not reproduce the existing total local dependency on "expert advice." Local input must be from the grass roots and should tap the diverse views, opinions, and interests manifested in the communities. (p. 144)

Involving local communities in articulating what the federation means to them and how they see their respective communities reflected and represented in the federation is a proactive step to ensure that the community owns the political, social, and economic development initiatives in the federation.

A Move toward Political Federation

Since meaningful regional integration is on a progressive path across the EAC, it is important for members to embark on harmonization of political programs with the potential of creating a functional political and business environment at regional levels. This would result in a resolutely sound political and sustainable federation. Political federation has the potential of broad improvement of the quality and relevance of social, economic, and political services, which are a prerequisite for development in the 21st century. This is one step for attainment of socio-economic and political development that requires equitable and transparent policies accessible to all. Obviously, the campaign for a political federation among members of the EAC is not a new concept. Apuuli (2004) argued that the momentum increased after the signing of the East African Community Treaty. The demand to establish a political federation of the member states has been taken up by the East African Legislative Assembly. The debate was launched in Nairobi in June 2002, during the assembly's session in Kenya. The president of Uganda (Yoweri Museveni) and his Kenyan counterpart (Mwai Kibaki) are reportedly in favor of the political federation of East Africa. The discussion on political federation in the EAC is crucial because at some stage, the people of the EAC may be commissioned to transform the regional body into a functional political entity at the ballot box. As a matter of fact, partner states had anticipated realizing a political federation by 2012 and electing one president by the following year (Apuuli, 2004). This would entail having a federal government, Parliament, and president. However, an attempt to fast-track political federation, which is the fourth pillar in the integration process, has raised fears about member states' commitment.

The progressive debate about the EAC federation is raising dust among prominent politicians and scholars in East Africa. Some of the concerns are so pertinent that the leadership discussing the federation cannot expediently negate them. Some political analysts have predicted that these fears of the unknown could scuttle the process if not handled early enough by the leadership. There are two schools of thought on the proposed political federation, one of which favors the progressive integration process while the other argues that political federation should be fast-tracked ("Hurdles to E.A.," 2012). The urges toward expedited formation of the EAC political federation point to a suspicious political agenda by some of the leadership. Specifically, President Gen. Museveni of Uganda is generally seen to be eyeing the first presidency (Apuuli, 2007) of the political federation of East Africa. The other members of the EAC, however, see Uganda as the odd man out because of the erroneous removal of presidential term limits in 2005 from the constitution to give Mr. Museveni perpetuity in state power. Therefore, the insistence on a speedy political federation is perceived with cynicism by some sections of the East African population. *New Vision* ("Hurdles to E.A.," 2012) pointed out that there are East Africans who think that the community is not people-centered but is instead an insider club of politicians who are taking hasty routes to EAC formation because they want to benefit personally from it. Local people need to be involved in decision making leading to political federation for meaningful and sustained federation to occur. According to Dei (1998), the community must find ways to tap the cultural resource knowledge of local peoples. Such knowledge in traditional African society was the hallmark of Indigenous education and development.

The people's fears and suspicions were corroborated by the statements from the heads of state of Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania in a special summit held in Nairobi from 27 to 29 August 2004. The three heads of state expressed frustration at the slow pace of integration and resolved to examine ways of expediting the process so that the ultimate goal of a political federation is achieved through a fast-track mechanism (EAC Secretariat, 2004). The three heads of state reportedly issued the following statement during the special summit:

> "The balkanization of Africa into 53, mostly sub-optimal States, has meant that Africa cannot have a large internal market under one Political Authority; have no power to negotiate with the rest of the world. This balkanization must stop." H. E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, Uganda's President. "I firmly believe that regional integration is not a choice but a necessary strategy for sustainable development. On a cultural level, regional integration solidifies the unity of communities with personal ties and common history, language and culture." Kenyan President, H. E. Mwai Kibaki. "We have everything to gain in East African Federation in terms of political stability, greater feeling in safety in numbers, and as an economic entity better able to fight poverty." President of Tanzania, H. E. Benjamin William Mkapa. (p. 4)

Although the visionary objectives for the establishment of the East African Federation is the accelerated economic development for all, to enable the region to move away from a Least Developed Region to a Developed Region in the shortest possible time (EAC Secretariat, 2004), this vision may not materialize if the discrepancies in political systems of member states are not synchronized and broadly extensive consultations with the local community conducted. With consultation of the masses in their jurisdictions, the member states need to come to a common understanding of how or what political system (system of authority) will govern the federation. The question of how a head of state will be elected and the mechanism for removal of unpopular leaders without resorting to military action needs to be clearly articulated. For instance, Uganda is going through an acrimonious experience in which the entire population (approximately 36 million people) are stuck with an unpopular regime because of the manipulation of the constitution to meet the self-centered interests of a few in the ruling class.

As the EAC members push for expedited political federation, it is imperative that evaluation of the current political and administrative systems of the respective countries are taken into consideration and reform made where discrepancies are evident. Clearly, almost all the member states have extended a political system from the colonial masters after close to five decades of independence. With this, the anticipated political federation and its common market under the EAC arrangement risk functioning within the broader framework of a capital model of a market and political economy. This may result in the inability to effectively transform the EAC societies into independent status without reliance on external aid. Drawing from the first East African Community, Agrippah (1978) argued that the East African Common Market has helped to open up the region to more effective exploitation by international capital while avoiding altogether the crucial issue of resolving the root causes of poverty (p. 266). Although Agrippah does not negate the fact that the partner states had invariably benefited from pursuing different objectives within a wider market framework rather than on a purely national basis, their failure to address the serious problem of underdevelopment was strikingly conspicuous. For the political federation to stand on firm ground and achieve its objectives, the formation of institutions such as the East African Court of Justice and the East African Legislative Assembly in 2011 must serve as benchmarks that guide the activities and regulate excesses of power that political leaders in the federation will command.

On a positive note, political federation debates have been significant in pointing out some of the challenges that need serious attention before the federation can materialize. In particular, the different political systems in member countries are not a major hindrance that needs to be addressed. For instance, Uganda removed the presidential term limit from the constitution in 2005. This was hastily done in a process that was marred by open bribery of members of Parliament to vote in favor of lifting the term limit. The implication is that a sitting head of state in Uganda can run for the presidency in perpetuity. With the weaknesses in the electoral system, this particular loophole in part accounts for the 27 years of one-person rule in Uganda since 1986. Conversely, although Tanzania, Rwanda, Kenya, and Burundi have presidential term limits, Rwanda has a longer term (seven years) compared with all the other four members, which have five-year terms. Transition to a political federation may require streamlining the differences in political systems of member states into a uniform system. To avoid repetition of similar mistakes, a political federation needs to reflect and learn from the experiences of the first East African Community, identify some of the challenges that led to its failure, and establish mechanisms to address them before actual entry into the federation.

When the inadequacies that contributed to the failure of the first EAC in 1976 are positively identified and mechanisms to address them are put in place, there will be some prospect that the new integration will address the economic imbalance among the partner states. So far, every indication of preparation for the political federation points to progress. *New Vision* ("Hurdles to E.A.," 2012) reports that for the proposed political federation to be successful, fears being raised by the citizens of member states need to be tackled head-on. Awareness levels about the political integration and benefits accruing from it need to be increased so that people at the grassroots level can contribute ideologically. To reiterate this view, Africanist scholar Dei (1993) warned that "many views of development have failed to recognize that local peoples do theorize in their communities as part of community life not just to articulate but also to interpret their experiences.... Local peoples can give their own accounts of what is happening to them and what they are doing, can do and intend to do about it" (p. 99). Dei's perspective is a direct reiteration of the importance of massive involvement of the local people on political federation debate if it is to achieve the expected outcome.

Conclusion

The experience of Rwanda in the EAC provides an excellent example of how visionary leadership can transform societies with local initiatives. Rwanda's substantial parting from the old administrative system in which bureaucracies hindered trade and development imply that for the EAC to achieve sustainable development, enactment of all its policies needs to be uniformly implemented by member states. Compared with the other four members, Rwanda has recently emerged from a violent genocide (of 1994) that so disrupted all development projects, infrastructures, and provision of social services that one would not expect much to date. However, Rwanda's progress to create functional structures for trade and commerce and other social service delivery is not by abstraction but rather attributed to an effective decision-making process, monitoring and evaluating systems, and motivating local citizens to actively participate in rebuilding the country. Motivating citizens to actively participate in national development requires more than opening up opportunities for participation in an election. It involves creating a broad opportunity structure for society that supersedes mere promise of democracy. The motivation encompasses broadening opportunity for service in public offices, establishing institutions for accountability in government, improving access to justice, augmenting civil society advocacy participation, and providing social services to citizenry, among others. There is no doubt the EAC can achieve this, given the progress registered thus far by member states since the EAC's inception in 2000. According to Dei (1998), this is an engagement in progressive academic and community politics to change the status quo in development practice to that which requires a communal endeavor.

Finally, because of the fundamental role that education plays in any society, the progression toward political federation of the EAC cannot afford to negate this significant aspect of human society. Because of the differences in the formal education systems of member states, it is important that the EAC members streamline and harmonize their education systems to be adopted in the political federation. The ultimate role of education, especially traditional African education, must be properly engaged and its place in the political federation articulated. The trend at the moment is that Uganda is generally perceived as offering the best formal education system in the region. This has seen the influx in recent years of international students from neighboring states, especially Kenya and Tanzania, for university education in Uganda. With the dream of political federation materializing, this trend must be reversed. Quality and uniform education must be made accessible to all members of the EAC regardless of the geographical location in which they live. Articulating the place of Indigenous education and knowledge in educational harmonization signifies involvement of local communities in educating the young generation for development. Accordingly, Dei (1998, p. 144) referred to it as "African-centered development." It is development that reflects the lived realities, goals, and aspirations of the local African communities. This form of development is rooted in African people's knowledge, education, politics, economics, and moral and spiritual values and it is the central connection between social and natural worlds.

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