



WHAT DO WE WANT? WHAT WE WILL BECOME?

IMAGINING THE FUTURE OF EAST AFRICA



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The Society for International Development

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ABOUT THE EAST AFRICAN SCENARIOS PROJECT

The East African Scenarios Project is an initiative of the Society for International Development (SID). It aims to generate and sustain dialogue amongst East Africa's citizens, leaders and friends on the possible alternative futures that the East African region might have to confront in the next few decades.

Scenario stories explore alternative possible futures. They are used by leadership and executive groups, communities and individuals to imagine, rehearse and refine important strategic decisions. The unique feature of scenario stories is that they represent futures that might have to be faced, regardless of preferences. The stories tend neither to be about unattainable utopias nor are they irredeemably apocalyptic. They are founded on solid, wide-ranging research and thus seek to combine an understanding of current trends and patterns with informed anticipation of likely events and other relevant variables to explore possible future outcomes.

Since 1998, working with local partners and through its national chapters in East Africa, SID pioneered large-scale, national public interest scenarios as a means of engaging leaders and citizens to focus on alternative possible futures. Kenya at the Crossroads was launched in 1999, Tutafika Tanzania in 2003 and The Story of Uganda in 2004. With the successful completion of the three country scenario exercises, an opportunity presents itself now to explore how the lessons and key messages from the individual countries could be useful at a regional level.

The project was launched in February 2005 and has developed within the context of a deepening and widening East African regional integration process. It has produced two State of East Africa Reports. The first report, published in April 2006 is on Trends, Tensions and Contradictions: The Leadership Challenge (2006). The second report published in 2007 is entitled Searching for the Soul of East Africa (2007). A detailed Research Compendium provides the background analysis which informs the scenario stories in this publication.

The hope is that that the reports, research and scenario stories that the project has produced will be used by citizens, policy makers, technocrats, development partners and others working at the regional level to discuss the fundamental ideas and issues that will affect the evolution and shape of regional integration into the future.

OVERVIEW

A region of peoples

East Africa has traditionally been viewed primarily as a political space. Its most visible manifestation is the East African Community (EAC) comprising of the five member states of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. This project, however found it more useful to expand the definition of the region beyond its political units and to view East Africa as a 'region of peoples' bounded loosely within a 'Swahili line'. The boundaries stretch as far north as southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. To the west, large areas of eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are included. The 'boundary' stretches as far south as northern Mozambique and the Indian Ocean to the east.

East Africa is a region of peoples who live close to the land and whose identity is shaped by and largely linked to their relationship with it. With an estimated population in 2008 of more than 110 million people and speaking over 200 distinct languages, it is a region characterized by tremendous diversity.

Fragile peace and economic growth

In recent years, the region seemed to be experiencing an outbreak of peace, albeit a fragile one. The major internal and cross-border military upheavals that resulted in violent conflict and loss of life and livelihood seemed largely in the past. We had the largest number of East Africans living in relative tranquillity under elected governments in over 30 years. However, Kenya's post-election violence which occurred over a short eight-week period after December 28, 2007 and killed over 1,000 people and displaced over 500,000 was a sudden and dramatic warning against complacency.

Relative peace and stability has resulted in economic growth and new opportunities. East Africa's average economic growth rates reached a respectable 5–6 per cent per annum, inflation rates fell steadily to single digits, and exchange rates stabilised at more-or-less market-determined rates. Foreign direct investment returned, attracted by the region's natural resources and its fast emerging service sector. But rural economies are struggling and the result is an exodus as people, young and old, who flock to urban areas to seek new opportunities.

Demographic pressure

Three fundamental trends are discernible. East Africa faces a massive demographic challenge. In 2005, over half of East Africa's population (some 53 million people), was made up of children younger than 16 years of age. East Africa also has one of the fastest rates of urbanization in the world. At 5.0% annually in 2005 it was more than double the global average of 2.1%. Some 29 million East Africans (27% of the population) live in urban areas. But 24 million of them (84% of the total) are concentrated in slums where access to essential services is at best patchy, at worst non-existent. The structure of the region's economy is changing. While agriculture remains the largest employer in the region's economy, its importance is shrinking. The share of industry in East

Africa's economies has declined, which does not bode well for a regional industrialization strategy. The service sector everywhere is experiencing significant growth, driven by transport and telecommunications, finance, tourism and business services.

East Africa is young, increasingly urban, aspirational, and unemployed. As the economy transforms itself, where will jobs come from? With a rapidly growing labour force, can the region's economy create enough jobs to absorb the millions of new job seekers each year? If not, what does this mean?

Distant institutions in a dangerous neighbourhood

Formal institutions seem distant and alien to the majority of East Africans. The national and regional policy processes remains detached from the daily reality of most citizens. While the establishment and deepening of the East African Community is a people-centred process, it seems to be driven far from public view. Its rationale remains unclear and its benefits uncertain for most East Africans. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that public opinion on accelerating the process of political federation was unenthusiastic.

The region is surrounded by the threat and reality of violent conflict and are carrying much of the humanitarian burden. Those who flee the fighting in their homelands come to seek safety and comfort within our borders. In 2006 Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania collectively hosted 1.1 million refugees mainly from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan.

But there are also conflicts within the region that are displacing people, disrupting livelihoods and costing lives. In early 2008, the violence in Kenya created 300,000 new internal refugees in just three weeks. The fighting in northern Uganda lasted for over 20 years and generated almost 1.6 million internally displaced persons by 2006. Various resource conflicts in Tanzania have pitted local communities against investors and each other. The recurrent nature of these conflicts suggests that their underlying causes are yet to be addressed.

Suboptimal economic relationships

The region's economic relationships might be described as passive, abortive, disjointed and ultimately sub-optimal. Donor funds are accompanied by lectures on good governance. Most international treaties are negotiated from a point of weakness, and huge concessions are made to accommodate investors who seem unwilling to reciprocate when they have made handsome profits. But there is also a recognition that there is strength in unity. In negotiating as a united bloc, the East African Community secured concessions from the European Union in the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) which might not have otherwise been forthcoming had the countries negotiated individually. However, the debate on whether EPAs are ultimately helpful or harmful is yet to be concluded.

The region's own internal relationships are fractious and contradictory. A Customs Union is in force but it seems starved of a full, vibrant life through exemptions, an ignorance of its provisions or their selective implementation. Tariffs have been replaced by other administrative non-tariff barriers to cross-border trade, labour arrangements are opaque and laws are applied arbitrarily.

While the region shares many common challenges, its leaders appear to have divergent ambitions. Mutual suspicion clouds collective judgment.

Duality - The Tension of Two Worlds

Is there a fundamental worldview that influences East Africans' thoughts, assumptions behaviours and organizations? East Africans straddle two worlds. One is informed by deep African histories, holistic cosmologies and cultures. The other is shaped by the European perspective of Newtonian mechanics, Enlightenment rationality and Cartesian logic. This straddling is reflected in our daily duet and duel between the 'formal' and the 'informal'. There is a constant navigation and negotiation between multiple beliefs, identities, languages and realities. These worlds which co-exist simultaneously, with varying visibility and influence, but neither can be ignored.

Systemic pressures, inadequate institutions

Perhaps the deepest assumption is about the path to prosperity. The received wisdom is that prosperity and modernization – development – will flow from industrialization and a more complete immersion into the global economy. But a tangible improvement in the lives of most East Africans remains perennially elusive. Despite the impressive economic growth rates recorded, the absolute number of East Africans living in poverty has remained largely unchanged. East Africans face a tremendous complexity of systemic pressures. However, it is far from clear that their institutions are up to the task of discerning and articulating the choices, navigating and arbitrating between competing interests, resolving conflict and finding common ground on which to enlarge the space for vision and action.

'What do we want? What will we become?'

How can East Africa respond to the multi-dimensional challenges and complex of opportunities it faces? Given its most fervent wishes and best efforts, how will the world shape its future?

Three Fables of the Future

'**I want to be a Star**' is a story about the seduction of beauty and wealth. It tells of an East Africa that is so spellbound by the promise of her natural beauty and resource wealth that she welcomes all suitors and relinquishes to them all control over her destiny. By 2040, she is deeply disappointed.

In '**I want a Visa**' East Africa's executive elite, motivated by enlightened self-interest, deploys its intellectual skills and state power to deliver development through the coordinated execution of what appears to be a visionary and progressive strategy. In 2040, it discovers that confidence in its ability to control outcomes has its limits.

The third story, **Usiniharakishe** (Don't rush me!) explores ordinary East Africans' struggle to retain and reclaim control over their most local assets – land, water, trees, creativity – in an effort to shape their own futures. By 2040, success is by no means assured as small units grapple with and risk being overwhelmed by the big challenges.

THE PICTURE OF NOW: EAST AFRICA IN 2008

A Region of Peoples

East Africa has traditionally been viewed primarily as a political space. Its most visible manifestation is the East African Community (EAC) comprising of the five member states of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. This project, however found it more useful to expand the definition of the region beyond its political units and to view East Africa as a 'region of peoples' bounded loosely within a 'Swahili line'. The boundaries stretch as far north as southern Sudan, Ethiopia and Somalia. To the west, large areas of eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) are included. The 'boundary' stretches as far south as northern Mozambique and the Indian Ocean to the east.

East Africa is a region of peoples who live close to the land and whose identity is shaped by and largely linked to their relationship with it. With an estimated population in 2008 of more than 110 million people and speaking over 200 distinct languages¹, ours is a region characterized by diversity. It is at once complex and intriguing, a place of paradox and contradiction and one whose natural physical beauty contrasts sharply with the often very difficult living conditions of its peoples.



Figure 1. The Swahili line

An outbreak of fragile peace and economic growth

Prior to December 28, 2007, the region seemed to be experiencing an outbreak of peace, albeit a fragile one. The major internal and cross-border military upheavals that resulted in violent conflict and loss of life and livelihood seemed largely in the past. Uganda's peace negotiations to secure a permanent settlement to the two-decade long conflict in the north was nearing a successful conclusion. Burundi's peace accord was holding. We had the largest number of East Africans living in relative tranquillity under elected

1. See Ethnologue website at http://www.ethnologue.com/country_index.asp?place=Africa

governments in over 30 years. However, Kenya's post-election violence which occurred over an eight week-period after December 28, 2007 and killed over 1,000 people and displaced over 500,000 was a sudden and dramatic warning against complacency.

However, the speedy political resolution that was mediated, in part, by regional leaders, showed that we are slowly perfecting our ability to solve our own problems internally. The earlier Sudan and Somalia peace talks had taken place in Kenya, while Tanzania hosted the Burundi peace talks. This is an unsung record of successful regional peace mediation. Within such examples lie the foundations for lasting political agreement that can be built upon for the future. But the fragility of the peace agreements should not escape our attention and care is needed to shield them from disruption and reversal. Yesterday's macro conflicts have been replaced by more localized 'clashes'.

Relative peace and stability has also brought with it economic growth and new opportunities. During the last decade, the region's average economic growth rates have reached a respectable 5–6 per cent per annum, inflation rates have fallen steadily to the single digits, and exchange rates have stabilised at more-or-less market-determined rates. Foreign direct investment has returned, attracted by the region's natural resources and its fast emerging service sector.

We are on the move...

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As East Africans, we are constantly on the move as we seek to take advantage of the emerging opportunities to improve our standards of living. Our East African towns and cities bear witness to pulsating market places, a burgeoning informal sector, women and men innovating on small and larger scale to provide needed goods and services.

But behind this vibrancy, there is a side of life that is not considered much. Rural economies are struggling and the result is an exodus as people, young and old, flock to urban areas to seek new opportunities to eke out a decent living. The vast majority who congregate in the explosion of urban slums rely on their wits for survival. Consider these facts and trends:

- East Africa faces a massive demographic challenge. In 2005, over half of East Africa's population (some 53 million people), is made up of children younger than 16 years of age.

- East Africa has one of the fastest rates of urbanization in the world. At 5.0% annually in 2005 it was more than double the global average of 2.1%. Some 29 million East Africans (27% of the population) live in urban areas. But 24 million of them (84% of the total) are concentrated in slums where access to essential services is at best patchy, at worst non-existent.

- The structure of the region's economy is changing. While agriculture remains the largest employer in the region's economy, its importance is shrinking. The share of industry in East Africa's economies has declined, which does not bode well for a regional industrialization strategy. The service sector everywhere is experiencing significant growth, driven by transport and telecommunications, finance, tourism and business services.

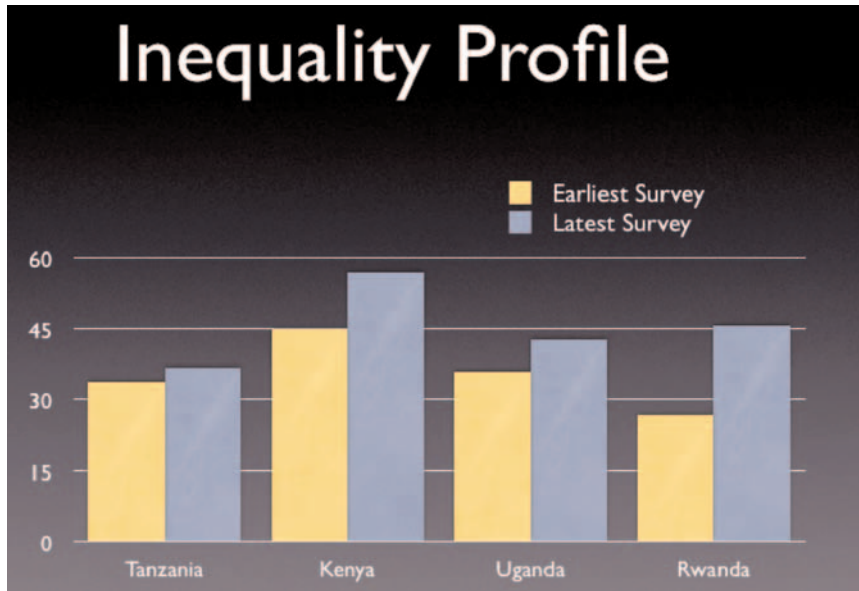
East Africa is young, increasingly urban, aspirational, and unemployed. As the economy transforms itself, where will jobs come from? With a rapidly growing labour force, can our economies create enough jobs to absorb the millions of new job seekers each year? If not, what does this mean?

The image is a screenshot of a BBC News website page from December 17, 2007. The main headline is "African migrants drown off Yemen". The article text states that about 180 African migrants are believed to have died in the Red Sea in the last few days while trying to reach Yemen, according to a Somali diplomat. It also mentions that two boats had capsized off the Yemeni coast, carrying 56 Africans, and that nearly 28,000 Somalis have crossed to Yemen this year to escape fighting in Somalia or seek work. The page includes a navigation menu on the left, a "SEE ALSO" section with related links, and a "RELATED INTERNET LINKS" section.

As more and more people are unable to find jobs around the urban sinks, they are expanding their search horizon. Migration is increasingly an option for many young people who, aware of how difficult it is to find work locally, are crossing borders – legally or otherwise – in search of livelihoods. The long queues of young people around foreign (western) embassies looking for visas to travel abroad are not a distant memory². The lucky ones leave with visas in hand, but there is an ever expanding number of those who are willing to risk life and limb to leave the region, frequently paying human traffickers to make perilous journeys across deserts and oceans. Many lose their lives. Those who make it to the other side, find themselves constantly having to dodge immigration authorities and live in the underworld – with no documents and no access to most essential social services.

2. The queues have not disappeared. They have been merely 'decentralized' as most foreign missions have established screening processes located away from the embassies and visa applicants are required to seek prior appointments.

...but pulling apart



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Linked to economic growth and structural transformation is growing income inequality.

Our societies are pulling apart. Livelihoods across the region remain equally precarious for the poor and the elites and both groups employ hand-to-mouth strategies. Corruption is often spoken about and condemned but rarely punished. This is particularly true of high-level corruption. The theft of public resources for private benefit has almost been legitimized and it is expected that proximity to power inevitably results in such behaviour.



Formal institutions seem distant and alien to the majority of East Africans. The national and regional policy processes remains detached from the daily reality of most citizens. While the establishment and deepening of the East African Community is a people-centered process, it seems to be driven far from public view. Its rationale remains unclear and its benefits uncertain for most East Africans. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that public opinion on accelerating the process of political federation was unenthusiastic.

Our dangerous neighbourhood

The region is surrounded by the threat and reality of violent conflict and are carrying much of the humanitarian burden. Those who flee the fighting in their homelands come to seek safety and comfort within our borders. In 2006 Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania collectively hosted 1.1 million refugees³ mainly from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia and Sudan.

We are not immune from the side-effects of larger conflicts that are taking place elsewhere in the world and we have experienced the devastation of terrorist attacks aimed at foreign powers. We also host foreign military bases on our soil and there is a risk that given the current global security climate, we might find ourselves involved in some of these larger conflicts by proxy or by accident.

We also have many conflicts within our borders that are displacing people, disrupting livelihoods and costing lives. In early 2008, the violence in Kenya created 300,000 new internal refugees in just three weeks. The fighting in northern Uganda lasted for over 20 years and generated almost 1.6 million internally displaced persons by 2006 – equivalent to 5% of Uganda's population. Various resource conflicts in Tanzania have pitted local communities against 'investor' groups or amongst fellow citizens. The intractable and recurrent nature of these conflicts suggests that their underlying causes are yet to be addressed.

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Our sub-optimal relationships

Our economic relationships with outsiders might be described as passive, abortive, disjointed and ultimately sub-optimal. In exchange for donor funds, we endure lectures on good governance, some from those whose moral platforms are shaky. We negotiate most international treaties from a point of weakness. And on many occasions, we have bent over backwards to accommodate investors who seem unwilling to reciprocate as they make handsome profits.

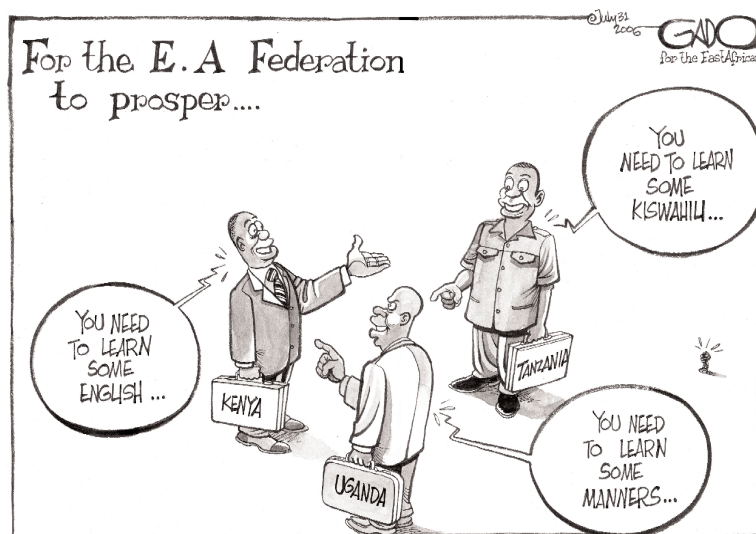
But perhaps we are learning that there is strength in unity. In negotiating as a united bloc the East African Community secured concessions from the European Union in the Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) which might not have otherwise been forthcoming had the countries negotiated individually. However, the debate on whether EPAs are ultimately helpful or harmful is yet to be concluded.

3. UNHCR (2006 *Global Trends: Refugees, Asylum-seekers, Returnees, Internally Displaced and Stateless Persons*) - <http://www.unhcr.org/statistics/STATISTICS/4676a71d4.pdf>



Our own internal relationships are also fractious and contradictory. For example, we have signed and ratified a Customs Union but seem to starve it of a full, vibrant life by seeking exemptions, ignoring its provisions or implementing it selectively. We replace tariffs with other administrative non-tariff barriers to cross-border trade; we have opaque labour arrangements and we apply laws arbitrarily.

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Ours is a region that shares many challenges, but we also appear to have divergent ambitions and we allow mutual suspicion to cloud our collective judgment. However, where there seems to be something of direct benefit to the ruling elites, agreement seems to emerge rapidly.

Our operating assumptions

In organizing our individual, national and regional lives and relationships, we seem to be proceeding from the following generic set of operating assumptions:

a) Where we live

- The natural environment will always support us
- Population growth is not a problem – we can handle it

b) How we will survive

- Economic growth will solve all problems.
- Traditional safety nets will always be there

c) Our political order

- The region will always be peaceful
- Modern societies require strong centralized states
- The formal is always more important than the informal
- Corruption is a normal part of daily life, regrettable, but unavoidable

d) What we believe in

- All technology is good
- African culture and knowledge are irrelevant in a modern world
- 'Modern' monotheisms are better than African traditional beliefs

e) Our relationships with the wider world

- The donors will always be with us and willing to pay
- Global markets are and will remain friendly and open
- Asian (Indian and Chinese) influence will be good for us

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These stylized statements often provide the invisible, subconscious context for the policy discourse. They enjoy frequent mention in policy forums and amongst the political and business elites in the region. They are embedded in our national development visions and strategies. They reveal a viewpoint that the world is largely benign and manageable. How robust are these assumptions?

Duality - The Tension of Two Worlds

Is there a more fundamental worldview that influences our thoughts and actions? What are the effects of the internal and personal conversation between our deep African cultures and the different legacy of western culture and colonization, both of which shape our assumptions, behaviours and modes of organization?

We straddle two worlds. One is informed by our deep African histories, holistic cosmologies and cultures. The other is shaped by the European perspective of Newtonian mechanics, Enlightenment rationality and Cartesian logic. At the risk of over-simplification the core difference between the two cosmologies emerges from their different perspectives on the relationship between humanity and the natural world. If this relationship is one of dominion in the European cosmology, for Africans it is one of interdependence. In the European legacy, the natural world and its extremities are to be conquered and managed. In the African legacy, nature was a partner in everyday life, albeit

a troublesome one at times. Where some dismiss the 'resignation', 'passivity' and 'fatalism' of the African perspective, others recognize its adaptability and resilience.

We straddle these two worlds. This straddling is reflected in our daily duet and duel between the 'formal' and the 'informal'. It is echoed in our ways of being, our relationships and institutions. We are constantly navigating and negotiating between these two worlds; they co-exist simultaneously, with varying visibility and influence, but neither can be ignored. We juggle multiple beliefs, identities, languages and realities on an ongoing basis.

Systemic Pressures, Inadequate Institutions

Perhaps the deepest assumption is about the path to prosperity. We are convinced that prosperity and modernization – development – will flow from industrialization and a more complete immersion into the global economy. So, we try to add value to our subsistence agriculture through agro-businesses. We are keen to upgrade our infrastructure to reduce the costs of doing business and to attract investors. And enhancing our human capacity occupies an important place in our discourse, but less so in our actions.

And yet a tangible improvement in the standards of living for most of us is perennially elusive. We revel in economic growth statistics, oblivious to the risk they carry of both seducing and sedating us. We are dazzled by the ratios and percentages, but pay scant attention to the absolute numbers of real people that they represent and where the true picture is most visible. Despite the impressive growth rates recorded, the absolute number of East Africans living in poverty has remained largely unchanged at best, and may have even increased over the decades.

Is the current development model working? As the cost to our natural environment becomes increasingly apparent, and our social fabric is strained to breaking point by rising inequality, we are beginning to count the cost of development.

East Africans face a tremendous complexity of systemic pressures. However, it is far from clear that our institutions are up to the task of discerning and



articulating the choices, navigating and arbitrating between competing interests, resolving conflict and mobilizing us by finding common ground on which to enlarge the space for vision and action. As we face the future, we must find a clear answer to the question ‘what kind of society do we want to create?’

What do we want? What will we become?

Perhaps we need a new set of eyes through which to look at our societies, the way they are changing and how we need to respond to their needs. This book looks forward to the next three decades and, using three different stories, invites the reader on a journey to explore the following questions: What do we want? What will we become?

‘**I want to be a Star**’ is about the seduction of beauty and wealth, and tells of an East Africa that is so spellbound by the promise of her natural beauty and resource wealth that she welcomes all suitors and relinquishes to them all control over her destiny.

In ‘**I want a Visa**’ East Africa’s executive elite, motivated by enlightened self-interest, deploys its intellectual skills and state power to deliver development through the coordinated execution of what appears to be a visionary and progressive strategy. It too finds that a confidence in control can only take one so far.

The third story, **Usiniharakishe (Don’t rush me)** explores ordinary East Africans’ struggle to retain and reclaim control over their most local assets – land, water, trees, creativity – in an effort to determine their own futures. Success is by no means assured as small units grapple with and risk being overwhelmed by the big challenges.

These stories are placed in the public domain in an effort to catalyse dialogue, at all levels of East African society, on what is needed for the region to face the future with confidence. It is a first step on an adventurous journey of exploration and discovery, a journey which all East Africans are invited to join. The future is our common destination.

I WANT TO BE A STAR!



Source: 'Europe Woos Africa' *The Economist*, December 8 2007

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The Set up (2007 - 2012)

Fatal Attraction

This is the story of a region gifted by nature. Rich in plant and animal wealth on the surface and minerals below it, she is world famous for the exquisite beauty of her landscape – the peaks and valleys, endless plains and curvy coastlines - and the majesty of her people. She is called Cea.

Cea is aware of her beauty because of the steady stream of admirers and suitors who come calling. Some bring beautifully wrapped fashions (colonialists and donors), others offer sweet promises and proposals (investors), and still more come simply to bask in her warmth and hospitality (tourists).

Cea's elders make many of the decisions that affect her and they work hard to plan and agree on what is best for her future. But there are a powerful few among them, the *pimping politicians*, who want to use her for their personal ambitions. There are also the *fashion advisers* who offer the latest management techniques, technology and money in the earnest conviction that these will work for Cea's benefit too. Cea also has a large group of diverse friends who know how special and valuable she is. They are her *chorus of conscience* and are how easily she can be taken in by admirers promising to create a dazzlingly bright future for her. They worry that many promises sound too good to be true. But their chorus of warnings sounds dull and discordant compared to the sweet melody of the suitors.

Seduced by all the attention Cea has become proud, almost vain. But she is also insecure and somewhat blind to her intrinsic value. While she appreciates that her distinct character and culture are a valuable inheritance from her ancestors' wisdom and stewardship, she feels it is somewhat backward and out of step with modern ideas and identities.

Cea has one big desire - to turn her natural beauty and wealth into riches and success. She has seen others, much less attractive than her, who have really made it big. Others are well on their way to riches and a good life. They are being celebrated all over the world and invited to the best parties in New York, London and Davos. She too wants to enjoy the lifestyle of the rich and famous. She wants to be a star!

Positioning and branding

The future looks bright for Cea. The global market has a healthy and growing appetite for much of what she has on offer. As her near and distant neighbours become richer, their rising spending on gourmet drinks, shiny jewellery and high technology gadgets are increasing the demand for her coffee and solid minerals. Recent discoveries of oil and gas on her eastern and western peripheries have only made her that much more desirable to investors. And the growing concern about global climate change has made her vast tracts of land valuable for growing carbon absorbing trees and plants for bio-fuels.

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The pimping politicians jockey for position and access to the choicest assets. They acquire title deeds and prospecting licenses for the best land, open new banks, sell government shareholding in public companies. Some of the most appealing bits are in the hard-to-reach places or have some 'inconvenient' prior claims on them. Using 'official' directives and muscle, the pimping politicians move in to stake and secure their claims. Cea's many friends understand what she is being set up for and sound the alarm, but their uncoordinated warnings clash with each other to create a discordant sound.

Cea is advised to create a 'personal brand' to show off her best features. The fashion consultants recommend a brand image exuding warmth, kindness and generosity. And this image must be a single, united one to avoid confusing the potential suitors she wants to attract. Following a series of closed-door discussions between Cea's elders, financed by the consultants and driven by intense pressure from investors, a joint economic partnership agreement between Cea and the EU is signed. The foreign press is full of praise for this move. Cea's global brand value as a single commercial zone increases.

Cea also works very hard at reconciling those among her peoples who are quarrelling for various reasons, and with often deadly results. Her success at this is tenuous, so she has to manage the occasional flare-ups. The 2009 clashes between Uganda- and Rwanda-backed militia take place entirely in Eastern DRC are mercifully short-lived, but hundreds of thousands are forced to flee to refugee camps after losing their homes and livelihoods.

The Great Grab (2013 – 2025)

Cea is in a party mood on January 1, 2013. The five 'supreme' elders are guests of honour at the official commissioning of the Dar – Kigali railway line. What is even more impressive, apart from the speed with which the line from Isaka (Tanzania) to Kigali was built, is the fact that the commissioning is broadcast live through an internet-enabled video-link. The completion in 2010 of the high-speed fibre optic cable connecting Zanzibar, Mombasa, Dar, Kampala, Kigali and Bujumbura allows the dignitaries to participate in the live ceremony from their capitals. The Indian concessionaire for the railway line and Chinese suppliers of broadband internet technology are particularly pleased with their achievements. Cea is looking and feeling increasingly modern and 'with it.'

The flow of commodities (cassiterite, cobalt and nickel, timber, fish, coffee, tea) from the Cea's interior to her coastal ports grows. As her mines and plantations expand, many of Cea's people flock to them in the form of work gangs organised and brokered by middle-men. Large settlements mushroom overnight in the remote areas where the mines and plantations are located. The surrounding countryside is quickly stripped of its trees for charcoal, the water sources dry up.

Cea celebrates again in July 2015 as the first barrel of crude oil flows from Western Uganda to the new refineries on the coast through the new Fort Portal, Malaba, Eldoret, Mombasa, Tanga pipeline. Global oil prices hit \$250! Cea's leading journalists are treated to exclusive access to the facilities and their promoters. The politicians who accompany them remark enthusiastically about the many jobs created by the industry, especially for the thousands of young men who provide security along the 3,000 km length of pipeline.

The ugly incidents in October 2014 when a few hundred are killed protesting their eviction from their ancestral lands to make room for the pipeline are not mentioned in the speeches which are full of praise for Cea's elders for having the vision to join the club of oil-producers. After all, the learned judges of the East African Court of Commercial Justice (EACCJ) ruled that contracts were sacred and private property claims had to be established through written documents. Cea feels much better.

A group of Cea's friends circulate an extract of a contract which seems to suggest that she is not getting as much of the \$250 per barrel oil price as she had imagined. It would appear that 87% of the payment for the refined oil remains in the banks which had lent the money to build the pipeline and refineries. An additional 10% is earmarked for 'facilitation and stability' payments for a 15-year period to 2030. Just 3% of oil revenues are mentioned as part of Cea's budgets.

The 'outsiders'

Cea's people are confused. The political conventions and election campaigns across the region in 2015 and 2016 are very slick. The banners and broadcasts on TV, internet and text messages boast of Cea's elders' 'great' achievements in attracting huge amounts of foreign direct investment,

increasing exports by more than five times and cutting foreign debt by half. Smooth roads, beautiful parks, new houses and offices are mushrooming in her big cities.

So why don't they feel better? Why do they find shops full of food and clothes and furniture and other goods, but none of these come from their farms and businesses? Why can't they also enjoy the nice green spaces in the cities without paying an entry fee or being a member of one club or other? Why do they have to live on the dirty, poor distant edges of the towns? Why do most of the jobs involve protecting, serving or cleaning after rich people? Why do they feel like such outsiders?

In September 2018 the gas pipeline from Lake Kivu to Kigali through the KamJinja, Naithika and the east coast cities is targeted in a series of bomb attacks. An underground group calling itself Friends of Cea claims responsibility and dedicate the attacks to the memory those who died protesting its construction in 2014. Gas supplies for power generation are interrupted, and large sections of Cea's huge cities are plunged into darkness for several days. Looting and riots cause extensive damage in the cities.

Cea's elders are incensed. So are the investors, financiers and pimping politicians. They form a new public-private partnership called Secure Transport Corridor (SETRANCOR) Inc to protect all physical assets and critical personnel. The company hires extensively, offering several thousand young people better and living conditions, compared to the work gangs in the mines and plantations, or the jobless outsiders in the slums surrounding the cities. The lines of eager young job-seekers stretch for miles!

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Carbon Refugees

In 2015, Cea's natural forests are placed under management by a single entity to comply with the international Avoided Deforestation Protocol (ADP). Cea's ADP Foundation – the manager - hires thousands of armed guards to keep local populations from accessing them and uses satellite technology to monitor any unauthorised activity. It earns revenue by selling bio-diversity services and access to the forests to pharmaceutical firms. It is, however, not able to negotiate for royalties for the medical products deriving from its plants.

Efforts to mobilise action against the denial of access and what they called 'bio-theft' by a coalition of Cea's environmental and human rights activists fail to gather momentum. The issue is too technical for most people. The ADP Foundation's brilliantly executed and highly successful public relations campaign focuses on its role as protector of the region's natural forests.

By 2020, Cea's best land is used for two major activities. The first is carbon absorption and sequestration services. The increasingly erratic rainfall patterns have made it very risky for individuals and families to grow crops for a living. Starting in 2015, big companies, flush with cash from the booming international carbon trading markets, buy out virtually all small farmers and turn their land into massive tree plantations. Enormous irrigation schemes using water from Cea's largest lakes and rivers are used to water the plantations. The second major land use is for bio-diesel plantations and the

oil mills which process the seeds and fibres into crude oil. The plantations are also irrigated by lake and river water.

Gated City States

By 2030, Cea's people number almost 175 million. Over 100 million live in the three major metropolis' of KamJinja (Kampala and Jinja), NaiThika (Nairobi and Thika) and Dar-es-moyo (Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo). The oil industry around Fort Portal has created a new city. Mwanza is the region's mining centre. Several million more live in these centres and surrounding areas. The unpredictable crop output of earlier years and subsequent land purchases for the plantations pushed most people off the land and into the urban areas. They have also been pulled by the promise of work in personal and private protection services.

The gated communities where the rich elites live have formed powerful associations and lobby successfully for various concessions, including lower income and property tax rates and the right to deny entry (effectively the right to issue residence passes/permits to their areas). They share the costs of beautification and protection from outsiders.

Cea's culture is purely for entertainment and consumption. The people's popular artistic expression – music, multimedia, literature – emerges from the outsiders' ghettos and embodies a raw energy, vibrancy and resonance with the people's daily experience. It is also appealing to the elites seeking a vicarious experience of the outsiders' realities. It becomes fashionable, and in a 'talent grab' Cea's leading artists are lured into the commercial culture machine.

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Water runs out

2034 marks the fourth year of drought across Cea. Her big rivers have become small trickles and the lake levels have fallen by an average of 20%, but shallower ones have dried up completely. Irrigation is now impossible. The bio-diesel crop fails and investors pack up and leave, having made a good profit from the business since the first plantings in 2015. The prolonged drought reduces the carbon absorption capacity of the plantations which cause their value in the global carbon markets to drop sharply. They are cut down and sold for timber. Vast tracts of Cea's landscape are bare with the exception of the heavily guarded natural forests where the penalty for trespassing is summary execution. Cea looks weathered and worn.

The reduction in the quantity and quality of available water for the cities makes life for the elites uncomfortable. The lawns and parks turn brown and sandy, and water for household use is rationed, at a very high price. The very rich who live on the coast install desalination plants powered by the gas-fired electricity grid.

But life is unbearable for the outsiders. With no water for sanitation, diseases spread quickly through their ghettos. Given its high price, water-theft from the rich becomes a deadly but lucrative business for young people. Pipes

are tapped and tankers hijacked. Many of them are killed or maimed in the running battles with Setrancor Inc's armed guards. Access to the elite cities is made even more difficult - only those providing personal services and protection are allowed in - and unauthorised entry leads is punishable by banishment to the barrenness of Cea's interior.

The Fallout (2030 - 2040)

In 2038 Cea's mines are running low on exploitable reserves of industrial metals, its most valuable trees have been cut down, its role in the global carbon trading industry is negligible. Big business is leaving in droves to look for better prospects elsewhere. The drought has scorched Cea's landscape and decimated the herds of wild animals. Tourists no longer flock to her parks. Her best beaches are peppered with ugly desalination plants and have been made unsafe by the desperation of a people eking a living any way they can.

Cea's politics are city politics. Her elites have organised themselves around a loose federation of prosperous, largely autonomous cities connected by physical (air, road and rail) and digital corridors. Movement along the land corridors is by convoy escorted by armed guards and air cover provided by the rich and powerful firm Setrancor Inc.

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In Bits and Pieces: The New Slave Trade

With Cea's natural resources and beauty diminished, she survives on two 'renewable' resources: her now-fortified natural forests and her people. The world's population of very wealthy octogenarians numbers in the millions, especially in Asia. Their demand for life-prolonging products and services is booming. Some of the most valuable natural extracts are sourced from Cea's remaining forests.

Cea's second renewable resource, serving the same market, are her people. Healthy, youthful citizens are in high demand by the human organ and tissue brokers. While a small number are licensed by Cea's elders to carry out the required 'extractive' surgery, many quacks have set up shop in the 'outsider' ghettos and offer cash for a quick 'harvest'. In 2039, the Coalition for Human Dignity an umbrella body of Cea's faith groups, and human rights activists publishes a graphic multimedia report: 'In Bits and Pieces: The New Slave Trade.' It is largely ignored.

In 2007, Cea had imagined a bright future as a beautiful, rich star on the global stage. By 2040 she has given everything she had to achieve this dream: her beauty, her wealth and her people. In return, Cea was raped.

I WANT A VISA!



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This is a story of an executive elite, the enlightened regional leaders in government and business who consolidate different long-term visions into a common plan and set out to deploy state power in a dynamic, ambitious and well-intentioned manner.

SWOT Analysis

In 2008, the executive elite surveys the strategic landscape. They review East Africa's strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) and assess the challenges the region faces: rapid population growth; increasing but poor quality urbanization; an inexorable restructuring of the local economy from agriculture to services, and the imperative to be plugged into the global marketplace of ideas, products and relationships.

The executive elite appraises its own role and interests, and determines that the challenges must be handled in a new way. Inaction or timid tinkering at the margins of the issues will lead to the elite's own irrelevance, marginalization and perhaps even being fired by their citizens and shareholders.

The elite is convinced that the fundamental problem is not a lack of ideas, strategies and plans. Indeed, the region has a handful of similar visions for 2020, 2025 and 2030, whose common goal can be summarized as follows: a dynamic, prosperous and democratic East Africa. They believe that it is possible, within one generation, for a significant share of the population to attain the middle class dream of one wife, two children, a three-bedroom house and a four-wheel drive car (1-2-3-4). They can create an influential middle class with a significant stake in stability and progress.

It is not unreasonable expectation. Other countries have achieved such prosperity thanks to flawless implementation of clear visions and robust strategies by the best and brightest. In return, the world rewarded them with profitable trading relationships, foreign direct and financial portfolio investment, an unprecedented pace of economic growth, upward mobility and even personal admiration and respect for the elite. East Africa can do the same.

The challenge is simple. Execution.

At the end of the SWOT analysis, the region's executive elite concludes that superior execution can and shall be done. East Africa has abundant natural resources, is experiencing economic convergence, and is consolidating political stability. The rewards for successful execution include privileged access to the global business class, complete with VISA credit cards and multi-year, multiple-entry visas to the rich countries of the world.

Start-up (2008 – 2012): Professionalization and Consolidation

Professionalisation

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In early 2008, the post-election crisis in Kenya exposes the high degree of the region's economic and political interdependence. The nakedness of the region's infrastructure is glaringly and embarrassingly obvious. The messages, in particular to the executive elite, are clear: **we are each others' keepers and we must deliver.**

The series of cabinet reshuffles in 2008 and 2009 reorganize cabinets and bring in more women and younger ministers. Governing coalitions are discussed and implemented to bridge the political divisions in Kenya and Zanzibar. The civil service is evaluated and professionalized with fewer political appointments being made. Minimum educational qualifications, which had previously been ignored, are enforced and performance contracts and voluntary early retirement schemes are aggressively executed. As a result, and with more transparent recruitment processes, younger graduates are enticed and find it easier to work in the public sector. The promise of a generational change in government begins to take tangible shape. However there is also a concomitant increase in the number of advisory portfolios created to lead the transformation effort.

Consolidation

Driven by the obvious illustration of interdependence, the regional integration agenda is pursued with more energy. On the sidelines of an October 2008 Tripartite EAC/SADC/COMESA Summit, the East African Community presidents commit to concluding the EAC-EU Economic Partnership Agreements as a regional bloc, and a final joint EPA is signed in December 2008.

The difficulties surrounding the freedom of movement of people are resolved with a compromise in which work permits for East Africans are waived across the region. Two renewals are automatic, but the right of permanent residence remains subject to domestic control. The EAC Common Market negotiations are concluded in 2009 and the protocol enters into force across East Africa on July 1, 2010.

Connection

In 2008, the region's 'ringtone' economy takes on a new dimension as many thousands of East Africans, who are treated as Kenyans for the purposes of buying shares in the largest initial public offering (IPO). In the process, East Africans shift from being consumers to owning shares in the most profitable company and in the fastest growing business in the region. The mobile phone, which brought people together through cheaper communication and instant cash transfers now binds them closer as co-shareholders.

By 2010, three fibre-optic cables landing in Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar and Mombasa connect the region to the global internet delivering a huge increase in capacity and speed and a massive drop in prices. For the first time, in 2011, the Zanzibar International Film Festival is broadcast live across the internet to an admiring global audience.

In 2011, South Sudan votes in a referendum to become an independent sovereign nation, and one of the first acts of the new country's government is to apply for associate membership of the EAC, which is rapidly granted. Pragmatic China follows the oil and supports the new government.

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Crisis

The region has been witnessing the effects of a changing climate. Shorter drought and famine cycles and erratic rainfall patterns are becoming the norm. In 2011, the rains fail completely for the second year across the region. Food prices shoot up. Already high due to the global demand for grains for bio-fuel and animal feed production, wheat and maize prices put these staples beyond the reach of the majority.

When the rains return in March 2012, they are heavy and destructive, causing massive flooding in the coastal regions and along the river valleys. Large parts of Dar es Salaam and Nairobi are under water for days. Landslides are triggered in the densely populated hillsides of Kampala, Kigali and Mwanza. Hundreds are swept away, thousands lose their homes and livelihoods, and millions face severe and prolonged hunger and disease. The ports are unable to process the massive amounts of food aid; the roads and railways needed to transport the relief are useless as bridges are washed away. Food riots break out and diarrhoeal diseases kill thousands of small children. The executive elite faces a serious crisis.

In response to the widespread humanitarian crisis, the region's executive elite launches a rapid response initiative. It agrees to pool and deploy its military assets to carry out two tasks. The first is to airlift food, water and

medicine to the worst stricken communities and lift people out of flooded areas. The second is to create a short-term and unarmed Rapid Infrastructure Repair Army (RIRA) to clean up and repair the damaged roads, rail, bridges, drain the urban areas and reconnect power and communications lines.

Impressed by the unprecedented and creative response to the crisis, the international community underwrites the cost and the telecoms companies finance the costs of repairing the communications infrastructure. Within a few weeks, all food-vulnerable populations are supplied, but not before several thousand have died of starvation. The RIRA force of 25,000 soldiers drawn from all the EAC members, repairs the most serious damage within three months. People applaud their leaders with enthusiasm. Finally someone is paying attention to them.

Strategy and Execution (2013–2023): Formalise, Urbanise, Regionalise, Globalise

The Strategy

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The immediate crisis over, the executive elite is proud of its teamwork which proves that decisive joint execution can work. But this success does not hide the fact that for the second time in five years, the region's infrastructure has been found catastrophically inadequate. Its extreme weakness in the face of human and natural pressure needs a permanent and jointly strategised, financed and executed solution. Furthermore, the people's vulnerability to hunger and volatile global food prices, driven in part by low incomes, must be reduced through an acceleration of the rate of economic growth and expansion of the formal sector, particularly in the urban areas.

Following a 4-day retreat, the Extraordinary EAC Summit in November 2013 agrees an Regional Accelerated Development Strategy for East Africa (RADSEA) organised around four targets: to **Formalise, Urbanise, Regionalise and Globalise**. The first two sets of activities are to happen domestically and the last two collectively at the regional level under the EAC banner.

The executive elite is convinced that success in meeting its targets depends on one factor: the infrastructure 'triad' in its commercial, physical and institutional dimensions.

The Execution

Commercial Infrastructure

At the domestic level, the executive elite aggressively reviews the business environment for micro, small and medium enterprises (MSMEs). In response to the demographic pressure and the need to absorb the regions youth in gainful employment, the elite sets a target of 2 million new formal sector jobs annually for the next decade. Recognising that laws and regulations, some dating to pre-independence and designed to keep local populations out the

urban areas, have discouraged formal business activity, it engages in a *tsunami* of deregulation.

Across the region, the process of business registration, licensing and taxation is dramatically simplified. A regional e-platform is deployed and used extensively for business formation and fee collection transactions. Central bank regulators approve virtual addresses for regulatory purposes and banks seek out new customers in previously unreachable areas. As formalisation becomes easier, many small and medium-size businesses take advantage of the new rules. Encouraged by this success, official policy discourages and penalises all activities aimed at assisting the informal sector, which is expected to die off.

On the regional economic front, following months of intense negotiations, East Africa's currencies are anchored to the Kenya shilling at the rate prevailing on June 30, 2014. An East African Central Bank is formed and headquartered in Kigali from where the region's monetary policy and inflation are regulated in real time.

As the integration of the region's monetary regime is concluded, so too is the structuring of a \$100 billion, multi-currency, 30-year EA Infrastructure Bond (EAIB). Greeted as almost recklessly ambitious in its size and duration by sections of the global financial markets, it is warmly received by the big sovereign wealth funds from the Middle East and Asia. They understand the sentiment behind the EAIB – to wean the region off donor-dependency by leveraging its natural and human resource endowment. Seeing this, earlier sceptics buy the bond so as not to miss out on the next big emerging market story. The EAIB is fully subscribed in December 2014.

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The Construction Decade

Starting January 2015 and over the next 10 years, the infrastructure bond injects cash, employs millions and accelerates the economic growth rates in the region.

The power generation capacity expands as the huge gas and coal reserves in southern Tanzania and Lake Kivu are exploited and work to complete the interconnection of the regional grid is intensified. The ports of Mombasa, Tanga, Dar es Salaam and Mtwara undergo a massive rehabilitation and expansion under the Ports East Africa Initiative. Within six years, new container terminals are in operation and Mtwara is expanded to be able to berth and service the worlds largest container vessel class, the Post-Panamax class. Mtwara's capacity now exceeds that of Durban and Port Elizabeth combined. East Africa's coast is the logistics hub for East and Central Africa. The internal freight and passenger rail system is expanded and a high-speed passenger rail link between Nairobi and Dar-es-Salaam via Arusha is inaugurated in 2022.

The existing network of east-west trunk roads Mombasa to Mbarara and Dar es Salaam to Kigali are upgraded and boast multiple lanes for traffic and a continental-first: dedicated lanes for commuter buses. Two north-south road links are completed: Mtwara to Mogadishu via Mandera, and Mbeya to Juba through Bujumbura, Kigali, Kampala and Gulu.

By 2020, 2 million low cost housing units have been built and occupied in new high-density suburbs. However as the new home owners depart the slums and settle in, many more flock in from the rural areas to replace them. Matatus are banished to the periphery as Dar-es-Salaam and Nairobi build rapid mass transport systems (light rail/trams and underground) to move the hundreds of thousands of daily commuters.

In a bid to further support the economy, the cost of energy for transportation is subsidised by cheap oil deposits from Uganda and South Sudan. The pressure on budgets is offset by rising revenues as the tax base expands and from sales of energy to Southern Africa and Asia. The executive elite is pleased to report as often as it can that bond repayments are current and the region's supra-sovereign credit rating remains strong. Global pundits who had forecast doom silently eat their words and provide guarded praise for the executive elite.

Institutional Infrastructure

In the region's political arena, governance models are transferred across borders. Constituency Development Funds are widely used across the region. Uganda's Local Council (LC) system of local accountability is also imitated. In Kenya, the Prime Minister's office has been enshrined in the constitution and the 2015 elections in Zanzibar results in the formation of a coalition government. Indeed, the EA Election Observer Missions gain pre-eminence. Analysts observe that this cross-fertilisation of governance models is a very innovative '*political integration without federation.*'

In 2014, after three years of associate membership, South Sudan is admitted as the sixth full member of the EAC. The admission of South Sudan provides an opportunity to revise and amend the EAC Treaty. The Secretariat is converted into an East African Commission headed by a President and granted a narrow set of executive powers focused on inter-regional economic issues.

An Eastern African Security Compact is signed among member states to enshrine the principles of collective defence and non-indifference in internal affairs. A joint force and command of 25,000 troops is formed and headquartered in Juba (South Sudan). The US and EU welcome the Compact as a partner in the fight against terrorism and provide technical support.

In 2017, Djibouti, Eritrea, Somaliland and Puntland successfully submit their applications for associate membership.

East Africa is shining!

By 2024, the major construction, rehabilitation and upgrading of the region's hardware – its physical infrastructure – is nearing an end. And the region has a new shine to it. The deregulation and focus on formalization has energized and expanded the small business ecosystem.

The region's cities have specialized in certain core activities: information technology in Kigali and Zanzibar, logistics in Mombasa, Dar es Salaam and

Mtwara; agro-processing in Kampala and Bujumbura, finance in Nairobi, diplomacy and community regulation in Arusha.

With improved infrastructure, regional standardization of business regimes, institutional symmetry and a common voice in foreign trade and diplomatic, East Africa feels well and truly connected.

Profits, Losses and Dividends (2024 – 2030)

By 2025, the number of East Africans is over 200 million, with over 120 million of them under the age of 24. The region's urban concentrations are home to over 97 million people. Although 110 million still live in rural areas, the majority of these are frequent visitors to the conurbations thanks to the easy transport links across the region. Many of them aspire to relocate permanently to the towns and cities as soon as an opportunity arises.

Strategic flaws

As the executive elite focused on the infrastructure triad in order to reach the targets of formalization, urbanization, regionalization and globalization, a critical flaw in the execution is increasingly evident. The intention had been to concentrate on building up the physical and institutional foundations for development (hardware), and encourage private investment for social infrastructure primarily in education and health (software). Regulations are diluted or ignored in a bid to encourage this investment.

Due to quality assurance concerns and reduced donor support, enthusiasm for sustained public investment in education diminishes early. Entrepreneurs fill the gap by establishing a plethora of poorly regulated colleges and universities. The commodification of this training results in a glut of graduates with sub-standard qualifications which are not recognised. As the graduates confront this reality, their frustration and anger rises.

The healthcare system has been largely privatised, with primary healthcare spun off to medical entrepreneurs. The Hippocratic oath defers to the market. In 2016, a five-year regional tender to immunise all infants is awarded to Healthy Active Tots East Africa (HATEA) Inc. The initial years of the tender confirm the wisdom of this arrangement as immunisation rates rise beyond expectation. International health experts hail this as a successful public-private partnership. In 2021 HATEA Inc. wins a second five-year contract. In the same year, HATEA posts record profits and moots a listing on the East African Stock Exchange.

An outbreak of polio is recorded in Rwanda and spreads rapidly eastwards. As epidemiologists search for the cause, another outbreak is reported in Hargeisa, Somalia. The disease spreads quickly, parents panic and travel restrictions are imposed regionally and abroad. A test of the vaccines delivered by HATEA Inc. reveal that the firm has been knowingly importing counterfeit vaccine to save costs and forging certificates of authenticity. Public trust in

private providers collapses, fingers are pointed and a class action suit targets senior members of the executive elite and HATEA's management and shareholders. But the region is burdened with thousands of handicapped children, whose futures have been ruined by expedience.

Exclusive formalisation, unequal integration...

The effort to urbanize through the concentration in urban centres attracted huge numbers into the cities. While the majority of East Africans continue to live in rural areas where life is getting tougher, many move to the cities where low-cost housing and services are concentrated. For the unskilled, urban life is not easy. Most new immigrants are joining the informal sector which struggles to absorb all the labour pouring in. As migration continues, the informal sector mushrooms, despite being ignored or actively discouraged by an executive elite focused on the **formalization** of business. Inevitably, as those in the formal economy thrive, the informal sector forces many to work harder for fewer returns. This causes resentment of the formal economy.

In 2034 the region faces a water crisis. The rains have failed for the third consecutive year running. Years of explosive urban expansion have severely depleted the underground sources which were tapped to provide water. During the construction boom, boreholes were sunk everywhere to supply the residential and commercial water requirements. As the price of clean water spirals, illegal tapping of water abounds in the shanty towns. Despite the efforts to treat it, pollution from urban effluent enters the rivers causing major problems downstream. The pressure on the sewerage systems of East Africa's millions in the new urban shanty towns is overwhelming. Sewage spillages and outbreaks of waterborne disease increase constantly.

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...and unfair dividends

Belatedly, the executive elite realise they made a mistake. They had been anxious to maximize the returns from East Africa's infrastructural renewal in order to repay the Infrastructure Bond. They therefore concentrated their efforts on upgrading, and construction that connected wealthy, high-potential areas and markets. This **regionalization** strategy, however, creates an uneven distribution of benefits. Those who lived in or around the regional corridors/hubs and service centres prosper, but those on the fringes still languish in poverty. The **globalisation** strategy had produced the same division of profits for the few and losses for the majority.

By 2030, the labour-intensive construction decade is essentially over. As their jobs end, people flood the labour market looking for new work and pushing up unemployment figures. Many come to the cities. Over 100 million East Africans are living in the region's towns and cities. Despite having had work during the construction boom, many find themselves with no savings to depend on. They slide from formal employment into informal subsistence. The widening chasm between their expectations of achieving the middle-class dream and the harsh reality of their daily life is a constant source of anger and frustration. While the region's executive elite celebrates the economic growth, driven by a large, vibrant formalised services sector, many ordinary people are asking: where is my dividend?

Balance Sheet (2035-2040)

Hard-won Assets

In 2035, the executive elite reviews the strategic landscape. East Africa's physical infrastructure - power, transport and telecommunications - has been upgraded to international standards. Business activity remains lightly regulated and vibrant and the high rate of urbanisation has improved the efficiency of service provision – at least to those in the formal economy. The regional community has also expanded in membership and is governed by stronger institutions.

But the outlook is highly uncertain. The pace of economic growth slows as the multiplier effect of the construction boom disappears. The high rate at which domestic firms start up and fail due to the bracing winds of global competition is deeply frustrating. Fiscal pressures increase in the face of slowing tax revenue collections combined with the continuing energy subsidies. The EA Infrastructure Bond remains outstanding and bondholders expect prompt and full repayment.

Fundamental Liabilities

But, the quality of urban life is under threat as air and water pollution reach alarming levels. Rich countries issue travel advisories on East African cities after a global study finds a very high incidence of respiratory diseases among the region's urban residents. The incidence of crime is also increasing as youth unemployment levels remain unshakeably high. Business and leisure travel to EA enters a permanent decline. And the agitation for greater political autonomy from some areas is threatening regional cohesion.

The fallout from the HATEA Inc incident has fundamentally undermined trust in regional regulation. Growing demands for local autonomy are justified by a conviction that local leaders can do better and are confident in their ability to perform. Indeed, to back up their demands, a number of local governments withhold their tax remittances to the central finance ministries.

As the economy slows, tax revenues decline, the clamour for jobs and sub-regional autonomy gets louder, and tensions in the community increase. The executive elite acknowledges the imperative of investing in the region's citizens. But it is faced with stark choices.

Which visa?

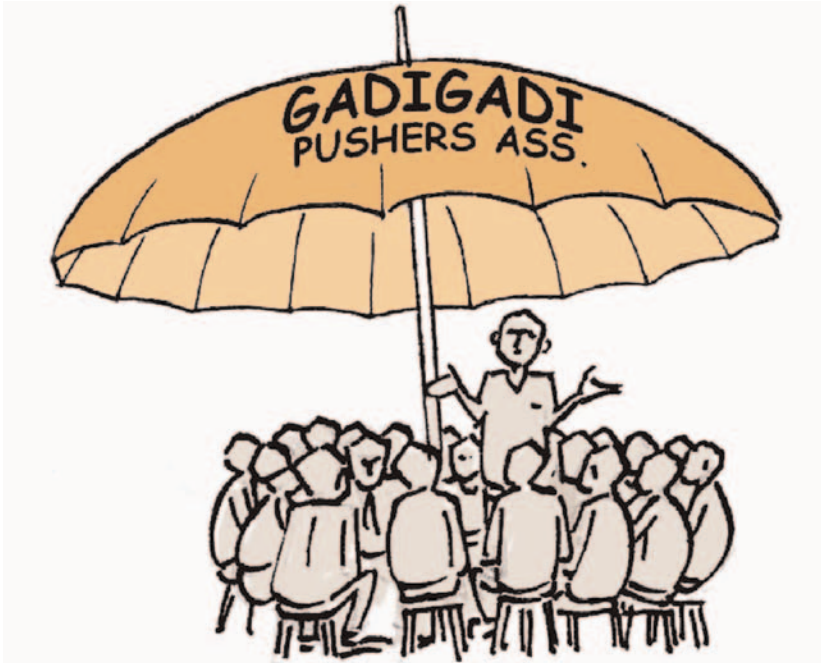
They could default on the EA Infrastructure Bond payments and reinvest the savings in social infrastructure. The risk is that might be too little, too late. Defaulting has a high and instantaneous cost: expulsion from the global financial system. The returns to the social investments take many years to emerge and the people's patience is already very thin.

Or they could dig in, tighten the people's belts by cancelling the energy subsidies and raising taxes. The bond repayments would continue, its collective international credit rating would remain intact, and another bond could be

floated to finance the social infrastructure. But can they persuade the vast majority of the people to be patient for a little while longer? Or will they face a rebellion?

Which visa do they use now?

USINIHARAKISHE! (Don't Rush Me!)



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Preamble: The promise of the shoeshine boundary

You promised my farm would be better if I used
new fertilisers,
new pesticides,
new vaccines
new crops
new water.

You said my children would be happier if I gave them
their shots
their shoes
their books
their schools.

You promised that my life would improve if I sold you
my land
my trees
my labour

my beads
my honey
my goats
my baskets
my votes.

You told me I should
buy your tools
welcome your experts
attend your workshops
obey your rules.

You promised if I went to town I would find
a new shine to my shoe
a new job to do
a new income to spend
a new house to mend.

You said
I could cross the shoeshine line
and be rich like you.

But now
My land is tired and poor.
My debts are heavy
And my well runs dry.
I sent my children to school,
but they have nothing to do.

We have run from the teeth of the hyena
into the jaws of the crocodile.

What can you promise me now?

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Running Risks, Harder Times (2008-2012)

The lions' warning

'Things are getting harder these days, both on the land and in town. We send people there, but they struggle to send anything back to us. Perhaps they should just come home. But what can we offer them here? When the land is sickly the people are sickly. So the cities just get bigger and bigger.

My cousin's eldest son is a driver in the President's Office. He tells me that there are dealmakers coming to the compound every day, especially the *Wahindi* and Chinese. The *Wazungu* dealmakers are struggling these days but all of them still want our land, our timber, our mines, our farms. They just take, they don't share. Why should we do business with them? Some want to throw us off our land to plant 'Carbon Farms'. Who eats carbon?

What we need is new fast-growing seeds because the seasons are getting shorter. I hear there are more floods in Kenya and more Rift Valley Fever. In Uganda they are importing food again. How can that be? Uganda is so fertile they should be feeding us all! The tourists tell me that East African lions are on the 'Endangered' list. Good. We don't need more lions around here. But without the lions, will the tourists still come?

Some say the lions have left as a warning to us.

New environmental markets, experiments in carbon trading

I wish we lived near the Parc des Volcans in Rwanda. Did you know that each tourist pays \$900 just to see the gorillas? The government gets half of that and shares it with people near the park. I wish we had gorillas, but we don't even have a forest any more. Some new *wazungu* came and gave us better stoves and solar panels. They also gave us tree seedlings but said we could not cut them down for twenty years. They say the trees suck up the smoke in the air and we need to leave them there. But do the trees belong to us or not?

Creativity of Ordinary Lives

It is not easy to survive so we try everything. We cultivate new areas and plant many different crops in the same field because there is little land these days and it is very tired. We gather things from the wild, but these are also getting scarce. We send people to the cities to get an education. We help each other and we create new businesses and associations. Did you know that Mungiki has its own tax regime? Maybe we should do the same.

We make sure some go to university. I wanted to go, but my parents needed me here, so we sent my younger brother. We need that *wazungu* knowledge here because the rains are so changeable. Each year the heavens decides whether we will be ruined with floods or suffer thirst. Nothing is normal any more. That is why our young men keep running away to the cities. So many families fall apart these days, and so many young ones turn to crime or prostitution.

This is our dream: no more hard times. I hear that in Rwanda they have solar power, mobile telephones and a computer in every village. I wonder if we can learn to manage things with modern tools, but in our own way?

The Trap Tightens (2012-2025)

The power of "No!" as trickle-down breaks down

We are feeling more and more trapped. Everyone wants more: the big men and the little ones. I also want more. Why should my children starve? But what more can I squeeze out of this tired land?

Do you pay your taxes? No? I don't either! If they cannot help us, why should we give them our money? More and more people are saying the same thing. And if our governments go hungry for while, well, maybe they will know what it's like!

After those heavy rains, the bridge is gone again and many roads have suffered. How can we take anything to market? The government says it cannot do any repairs because it does not have enough money. I went to the city to talk to our MP, in his compound which is surrounded by high walls. I asked him to share with us some of the money he has. He refused, saying he already had too many mouths to feed.

I stayed with my relatives in the city, and was shocked by the way they live. They walk a long, long way just to get to work; the roads are bad and their children drink filthy water. Our association in town helps them, but people cheat. Or just cannot afford to contribute when it is their turn.

Now I need money to go home because bus fare is so high. They say it is because of the oil price. Perhaps the MP will give me a lift home next weekend. He said oil used to cost \$50 a barrel, but now, in 2015, it is \$250 a barrel. He must be making a lot of money with that oil trading business he has.

Mushrooming associations, but what does "Yes" mean?

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People have had enough and are saying "No!". More and more people are refusing to give over their land to mines and plantations and national parks. We need that land to look after ourselves! My old uncle tells stories about people stopping a titanium mine in Kwale, a prawn farm in Tanzania, and the sale of a forest to grow sugar cane in Uganda. Everyone knows of these things and they make us stronger. Resistance is everywhere. New groups are forming all the time. Have you heard about the Nilotic Peoples Movement? They are fed up with interference from Kampala and Khartoum and are forming their own association. Some people have their own businesses. They are imitating the waChagga with their *mitumba* market and those Bohra Indians with that glass business.

In our place, we have formed a strong cooperative, but are finding it hard to sell things direct to the market. We will do it, but it will take some time. We have already started our own school. I just hope the merry-go-round money will be enough. But what should our children learn? We want them to read modern books, but do we just throw away the knowledge of the *wazee*?

At least our group is strong, but many groups don't make it. It is not that easy getting organized. We have a good chairwoman who brings people together, and a good secretary with a phone. I have learned how to use a computer and even connect to the internet. That foreigner helped us and gave us one of their machines which can work with the phone. I hear that even the street children are getting organised. Some of their gangs are very strong.

My little brother is such a dreamer. He and his friends started the Nairobi Environmental Exchange in 2011. It hasn't done much yet, but he says one day we will trade our carbon allowances in his exchange, whatever they are. He

also wants us to trade in different kinds of plants and birds, animals and fishes, so we can earn a new income. He says they now know how to make it work, but I am not so sure. I know he is having a few problems with his business partners.

But then, who ever said it was easy to work together? "No!" is simple, but what does "Yes" mean?

Local resilience tested by crises

2017 has been a terrible year. Not even the old ones can remember when things were so bad. One day suddenly, a carpet of dying fish appeared on Lake Victoria, hundreds and thousands of them. The fish must have been poisoned. Perhaps something ran into the lake from those deep gullies you see everywhere. Many will go hungry.

The tourists don't come now. They say the airfare is too expensive and they don't see the Big Five Animals so easily anymore. There have been no snows on Kilimanjaro for five years. The snows of Mt Kenya are also gone. Farmers around all the mountains are suffering because the rivers are so low. Every year the Pangani in Tanzania runs dry and there are bad fires in the Usambaras and Ruwenzoris.

Many people moved to the cities, but then the diseases started. An old *mzungu* says that the city of London used to have plagues that killed more people than were born there. Here in our capital, it started when the bird flu travelled down the Nile from Egypt, jumping from person to person. You know how crowded the place is! We were all scared. When people came from the city they brought the disease with them. Some were even turned away, others were taken in and then went back when the sickness died down. Since then, there are strange new diseases every few years, so people come back again.

I don't know if we can handle all this on our own: the droughts, the disease, the dying fish. These are such big problems...

The last time my younger brother was here, he explained the Global Climate Emergency to us. He knows some of the young civil servants who negotiated the treaty in 2015. He says we are having trouble with the weather because there is too much carbon in the air from our fires and transport and factories and power plants. That is why those others gave us solar panels and new cooking stoves. He also says that trees can soak up the carbon, which is why so many people want our land for trees. Now everything is changing because each one of us will have an allowance of two tons of carbon. But, how can our cooking fires produce two tons of smoke? We do not need two tons, he says, and that is the point. We can sell our smoke allowance to the rich people overseas. He says his Environmental Exchange will offer us a good price. The Exchange is getting stronger and growing every day. My brother even has a new electric car!

Contests & negotiations, elites must choose: "Whose Child Are You?"

It is 2025 and I am thirty-eight, with three children. When I think of my two sons and my daughter, I know we have to take a stand against the big men. For years, every time we did things for ourselves, they sent their *kiboko* thugs to give us trouble. When we traded on the streets, they decide to 'clean up the city'. When our *wazee* settled a land dispute, they told us it must be registered. Then they lost the papers and grabbed the land. When we defended our land, they sent in bulldozers against us. When we set up courts to control the thieves, they closed them down without offering a better judge. When we tried to put in a small dam to they said, 'wait, a big dam is coming. But it never did, and many of us still don't have water or power. What use are they, these people in their fine cars? Do they help us or hinder us?

They are not all bad, but we must argue with them, fight them, negotiate with them. They also cannot avoid us. They need to choose between their own greed and their own kin. "Whose child are you?" we ask them. "Why do you oppose us at every turn?"

That is why we rejected their East African Federation this year, in 2025. We had to remind them who they are and where they come from. They belong to us, not to those others who ignore everything we know.

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Environmental markets create new rights & new deals

Of course, they don't go away, these dealmakers. But now they have to deal with all of us. Some of those young ones we sent to university showed us how to defend our rights. Now, when the mining companies come in, we say, "Hold on, we have the coffin-depth rights – that soil is ours and you cannot destroy it." Since 2020, many of us are claiming our carbon allowance rights. We also have new rights in our local plants and animals. The outsiders don't like it, but we have set up *gacaca*-style negotiations in different places to decide who can do what. Sometimes we see our own *wazee* sitting with university people and outsiders to solve a dispute. Many old customs are coming back into use because we understand them.

The new markets have helped, like my younger brother's environmental exchange. It all started with the carbon allowance. That created many new businesses and gave us a reason to defend our rights. But we had to fight off all those crooks who wanted to use our smoke allowance 'on our behalf'. Sometimes we keep these rights in a community. Sometimes we let one person have them, or a family. All these new rights have created new incomes, which have created new quarrels. Sometimes we can solve them ourselves, but when we cannot agree, we go to Arusha. The old East African Court is still working and they help us decide the hard questions. It is slow, but it is working.

These environmental markets have been good to us. We have a different pride these days. So what if oil is \$350 a barrel today, in 2030? We don't travel around much, but we are making the places where we live much healthier. My MPesa account is fatter as well.

Not Rescue, but Escape (2030-2040)

New generation, new leaders, new strength

Our governments are much smaller now because we rely more on our *Majimbo leaders* who work with us in our businesses and families and associations. There is also a new generation – people we trained right here in our own villages and neighbourhoods. They are educated in several traditions and can talk to the foreigners. They do our negotiating for us, but we watch them closely. We learned to vote politicians out when we did not like what they did and used our telephones to keep them from cheating us. They learned to listen. Some of the time, anyway.

We need these leaders because we cannot separate ourselves from the outside world. But one big thing has changed from when I was much younger: we don't beg any more. We don't lower our heads and hope the outsiders will pay a good price for the things we have. We sit down with them in one place until we all agree. We talk and talk and talk. The outsiders don't just talk to the big men now, they talk to all of us. When they complain, we meet them at the EAC Court. They need us and we know it. If the Chinese don't agree with what we want, we go to the Americans. If the Americans don't agree we go to the Europeans. We are learning and they are flattering us all the time. Who offers the fairest deal?

The debate now: what do we really need to live well? What do we value? Oil is too expensive to be of much use. Who can pay \$400 a barrel these days? It is a rich man's fuel. It is easier to move information than things. So that is what we sell - information. Many of our young leaders watched Rwanda's information revolution and we have all learned something. Who would have thought Rwanda could teach us so much?

Continued damage, but land begins to heal

Life is still tough. The growing seasons are much shorter and it is hotter and drier everywhere. It is almost impossible to live in Dar in December and January now. I don't know how anyone can stay. Many reefs have turned white, and the fishermen have had to change where they fish and what they do. Malaria is common in Nairobi and other highland towns.

But we are learning how to heal the land. Even the wildlife is returning. Many people come to study the Ngorongoro joint management scheme. We are learning what to plant and when to plant it. We know how to seed grasses so that gullies can close over. We have had to adapt the way we use the land and the sea. Many of us are creating small forests and fishing has changed. We learn from each other all the time. The seaweed farmers are making a big difference along the coast. The bad storms don't do as much damage where seaweed farms are strong, and the fish stay closer to shore. The trees are returning to Kilimanjaro and Mt Kenya.

Biodiversity Index hits new high on Nairobi Carbon Exchange - 2040

I am now fifty-three years old and we have two small grandchildren. When my younger brother started his new company to sell our smoke, we thought he was crazy. What is a carbon market, we said, who eats carbon? But he was right and now we are making new money from our smoke, our fish, our birds, the big animals and even our monkeys! My brother always said it was a new business opportunity, but it took a long time to make it work. Our cooperative is a member of the Nairobi Environmental Exchange. We all celebrated when the NEE Index broke last year's record.

So you see, slowly by slowly, we are recovering. We are even becoming a model for others around the world! I just hope my grandchildren never know such hard times.

East Africa in 2040 - Comparing the Scenarios

	I WANT TO BE A STAR!	I WANT A VISA!	USINIHARAKISHE!
<i>A story about...</i>	<i>Abdication of Control (Seduction of wealth)</i>	<i>Confidence in Control (Illusion of certainty)</i>	<i>Struggle for Control (The burden of freedom)</i>
State of the East African Community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - EAC subordinate to national interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - 10 member states, respected regional group - East African Commission headed by a President with narrow executive powers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Club of weak Presidents struggling for relevance in the face of regional and global challenges. - East African Commission headed by a President with narrow executive powers
Nature of Government?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Focused on narrow private and foreign interests, ignores domestic constituencies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Driven by an Executive Elite focused on execution 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Federal governments held accountable by tough citizen groups
Nature of Politics?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organized around prosperous, autonomous urban enclaves - Dangerous tension between the insiders and outsiders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Initially subservient to Executive Elites' targets. - Opposition organized around sub-national entities demanding fairer dividends 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Negotiated - Focus on local understanding of opportunities for regeneration and a new take off - Struggles over resource control and sharing - Invention of new agreements and institutions
Economic foundation and drivers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Massive export-driven, foreign-owned exploitation of mineral deposits, biological wealth, cheap labour and eventually, human organs and tissue. - Struggling informal sector helps outsiders survive 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Infrastructure construction boom, upgraded infrastructure, formal service-based economy in cities; cheap energy - Many still rely on informal activity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - High energy costs localize economies - Informal economy sustains majority - Slow development of new environmental rights and markets - Harvest and international trade of high-value ecological goods, information and knowledge
Quality of the natural environment?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Ravaged by decades of unbridled resource exploitation; widespread pollution of the land, water and air. - Heavily fortified natural forests provide high-value products and services for export. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deliberate, rapid urbanization leads to alarming air and water pollution levels - Sources of water for urban use are running out. - Natural environment is plundered as people lose jobs and their middle-class dreams 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Severe rural degradation and punishing climate change stimulate creative responses - Slow regeneration and recovery but some permanent changes in badly damaged ecosystems.

	I WANT TO BE A STAR!	I WANT A VISA!	USINIHARAKISHE!
Quality of the infrastructure?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Excellent for extractive industries and activities, decaying everywhere else. - Elite served by first class protected transport corridors 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - First class infrastructure throughout the region 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Patchy, highly localised. - Decent in the urban areas but largely fragmentary in the rural areas. - Mobile telephony critical to recovery.
Trends in poverty and inequality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deep, intractable poverty for 'outsiders' in rural areas and on the margins of the cities. - Massive and growing inequality between insiders and outsiders. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Poverty level rises as economic growth slows; unskilled youth are poorest. - Inequality is high and increasingly unmanageable 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Most people remain poor but coping creatively - Small responsive government elite eventually enjoys slightly higher standards of living. - People with new skills in new markets form innovative middle class - Pockets of new income growth begin to move more people out of poverty - Inequality more pronounced between regions than within them.
Nature of social relationships (ethnic, racial, religious, social groups)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Low-intensity conflict between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' - Insider elites protect their wealth, ethnicity and race are unimportant. - Outsiders rely on weakening traditional ties to protect what little dignity they have left. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - As people leave rural areas to settle in cities, infrastructure decade, rapid urbanization, and ease of movement dilutes traditional ties and reinforces social organization around common (consumer) interests. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Built around networks of trust and affection (family, location, ethnicity, religion). - Local origins are privileged - Successful new institutions create new networks of trust.
Duality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Remains a salient feature of life both among the insiders and outsiders. - Healers, seers, quacks and charlatans are making a quick buck as their services are increasingly sought by worried people. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - An important but declining force. - For three decades, the Executive Elite has attacked customs and habits which did not comply with the formalize, urbanize, regionalise and globalize objectives. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A strong driving force. It is the fibre that strengthens the resistance (no campaign) - African knowledge of dispute resolution, land management and institutional agreements gain respect as it is adapted to contemporary crises.

	I WANT TO BE A STAR!	I WANT A VISA!	USINIHARAKISHE!
Who benefits (Winners)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Traders in East Africa's mineral, biological and human products - Well-connected politicians - Security services providers - Multinational corporations and their local representatives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Investors in the East Africa Infrastructure Bond - The Executive Elite - East Africa's regional institutions - The people of East Africa 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Local leaders and entrepreneurs - Information brokers - East African wildlife and ecosystems - The people of East Africa
Who suffers (Losers)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The region as a whole - The vast majority of ordinary East Africans 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Young, unskilled, informal, rural and peri-urban East Africans. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Greedy investors - Unresponsive and inadequate leaders - The people of East Africa
East Africa's relationship with the global community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subservient but troublesome as social unrest escalates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Admired for the bold vision of its Executive Elite, but increasingly mistrusted as risk of a bond default rises. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reputation as a tough negotiator and selectively open for business

East Africa is a region of peoples who live close to the land and whose identity is shaped by and largely linked to their relationship with it. With an estimated population in 2008 of more than 110 million people and speaking over 200 distinct languages, it is a region characterized by tremendous human and natural diversity.

East Africans are young, increasingly urban, aspirational, and unemployed. Half of the region's population is made up of children younger than 16 years of age in 2008. It has one of the fastest rates of urbanization in the world, but 24 million out of 29 million urban East Africans live in slum conditions. The structure of the region's economy is changing as services generate more economic value than agriculture. As the economy transforms itself, where will jobs come from? With a rapidly growing labour force, can the region's economy create enough jobs to absorb the millions of new job seekers each year? If not, what does this mean?

The East African Scenarios Project seeks to provoke wide-ranging conversations on the issues and challenges that the East African region must face in the coming decades. Using scenarios – fables of the future – the project imagines three possible alternative futures for the region. *I want to be a Star* is a story about a region spell-bound by the promise of her natural riches and beauty. She welcomes all suitors and hands them control over her destiny. *I want a Visa* tells of an executive elite which deploys state power with ambition and dynamism, and discovers the limits of its capacity to control. *Usiniharakishe* describes the struggle by ordinary East Africans to retain and reclaim control over their most local assets and who learn that success is not guaranteed.



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