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STUDIES

ROLE OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN SHAPING REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: CASE STUDY OF THE EAST AFRICA COMMUNITY

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for academic award or qualification in any institution of higher learning.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first and foremost, to Allah for giving me the strength, good health and grace towards realizing this output. I also dedicate it to my entire family. Also, I dedicate it to my dear wife for her unconditional love and support throughout this study. Finally, I dedicate it to the East African Community in its pursuit of Regional integration and as well as genuine diplomatic relations with the international community.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Forces
AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
AU	African Union
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CET	Common External Tariff
CISCO	Corps Information Systems Control Officer
CM	Common Market
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CMP	Common Market Protocol
CU	Customs Union
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
EAC	East African Community
EASF	East Africa Standby Force
EABC	East African Business Council
EC	European Community
ECA	United Nations Economic Commission for Africa
ECCAS	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GSM	Global System for Mobile Communications

ICT	Information Communication Technology
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IGOs	Intergovernmental Organisation
IUCEA	Inter University Council of East Africa
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IUCEA	Inter-University Council for East Africa
KTN	Kenya Television Network
LATFA	Latin America Free Trade Area
LPA	Lagos Plan of Action
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MINAFFET	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and EAC
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
OAU	Organization of African Unity
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
RASCOM	Regional African Satellite Communications Organization
RTAs	Regional Trade Agreements
SAARC	South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation
SACU	South Africa Customs Union
SADC	South African Development Coordinating
SADCC	South African Development Coordinating Conference
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes
SASF	South African Standby Force
SPSS	Statistical Packages for Social Sciences
IOC	International Olympic Committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WBS	Wavamunno Broadcasting Station
TV	Television
WASF	Western Africa Standby Force
WTO	World Trade organization

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Diplomacy : It refers to the means by which States throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations. It concerns to the promotion of political, economic, cultural or scientific relations as well as international commitment to defend human rights or peaceful settlement of disputes.

East African Community (EAC): It refers a regional intergovernmental organisation of six Partner States, comprising Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Southern Sudan, Uganda and United Republic of Tanzania, with its headquarters in Arusha Tanzania

Media Diplomacy: It refers to the use of the mass media by policy makers in specific cases to send signals and apply pressure on state and nonstate actors to build confidence and advance negotiations as well as to mobilize public support on regional integration

Regional Integration: It refers to a collective governance and material interdependence between or among states.

ABSTRACT

The media is an increasingly strong channel which interconnects the world. The media serves to develop opinions both at home and abroad. The power of the media is the main propeller of propaganda that has seen certain powers attain and maintain their position in world politics. Thus media is an opinion shaper. But despite all these benefits, the media has not been exploited to the extent that it can shape regional integration in Africa. Therefore, it is against this background that this study sought to establish role of media diplomacy in shaping regional integration with a specific reference to East Africa Community. Specifically, the study was set to assess the impact of media as a diplomatic tool in sub-regional integration processes in Africa; the strategies adopted by the media to foster East Africa Community integration; and the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration within the East Africa Community.

The study employed analytic research design where a purposeful sampling techniques was used to select the interviewees. Agenda setting theory was used to guide the study as it puts emphasis on the role of media diplomacy on the process of regional integration. The hypotheses formulated were that the media can act as a diplomatic tool in sub-regional integration processes in Africa; effective strategies adopted by the media can foster East Africa Community integration and the EAC media had challenges in shaping regional integration.

Based on the analysis of the findings, it was revealed that the media play a critical role to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra-national political institutions, on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other. The media also conferred legitimacy on the actions of the respectful governments, leaders and other actors. Therefore , there is little doubt that the extent to which citizens are engaged with the process of integration depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that was transacted by the media. Thus, it was concluded that through harnessing positive media public opinion can become a good vehicle to promote the integration agenda.

Therefore, the study findings recommends that EAC media houses to take maximum advantage of the global information grid to promote regional integration through agenda setting of public opinions; the EAC economic communities to establish governance institutions to run the affairs of the bloc with powers to formulate policies and biding for treaties, EAC nations to address the challenges of corruption in political leadership in order to improve the principal determinants influencing choices of FDI investors, that the EAC secretariat and supranational institutions strengthened to aid in achieving effectiveness of the process of integration; and also the EAC to competitively participate in multilateralism from a regionalized stand point, to negotiate more effectively for international markets access.

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INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

1.1 Background of the Study

Regional integration occurs when a group of countries get together and develop a formal agreement (by way of treaties) which informs their relations, with greater bias to trade amongst the member countries and relations with other state and non-state actors. According to Ernst Haas,[1] regional integration refers to the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new centre whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result of a process of political integration is a new political community, superimposed over the preexisting ones.

The historical perspective is based on The Logic of Regional Integration's book by Walter Mattli (1998). According to him, the first major voluntary regional integration initiatives appeared in the nineteenth century. In 1828, for example, Prussia established a customs union with Hesse-Darmstadt. This was followed successively by the Bavaria Wuttemberg customs Union, and et cetera. Half a century later, the idea of European integration was re-invented and the process of merging European nation-states into one prosperous economy and stable polity began.

The first step was taken with the creation of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in 1952. In 1957, Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Luxemburg, and the Netherlands signed the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Community (EC). Then, the enlargement

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[1] Ernst H "International Integration: The European and the universal process," (1961) 15 *International Organization* 366

of the EC occurred in 1973, with the accession of the United Kingdom, Denmark, and Ireland. Greece joined in 1981, Spaun and Portugal in 1986. Nine years later, Austria, Finland, and Sweden became the community's newest members. In the meantime, European integration has moved beyond trade.

In 1979, the European Monetary System was established. By November 1993, the community had changed its name to the European Union (EU) to mark the deep level of integration attained. The integration is not an exclusively just European phenomenon. In the 1960s the Latin American Free Trade Association, the Andean Pact, and the Central American Common Market were launched. In the early 1990s, more than half a dozen new integration projects were started in Latin America. In North America, a Free Trade Agreement between the United States and Canada was signed in 1989. This agreement grew into the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). In Asia itself, the most notable regional grouping is the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), formed on 8 August 1967 in Bangkok by the five original member countries: Indonesia, Malaysia, Philipines, Singapore, and Thailand. Brunei Darussalam joined on 8 January 1984, Vietnam on 28 July 1995, Laos and Myanmar on 23 July 1997, and Cambodia on 30 April 1999. In 1992, members agreed to establish gradually an ASEAN Free Trade Area. One of the most rapidly expanding groups is the Asia Pasific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC).

ASEAN organization (Association of Souteast Asian Nations (ASEAN) concists 10 states: Brunei Darussalam, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Myambar, Philipines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam, and including Indonesia. This organization was created by the member states to aim or purpose, (1) accelerating the economic growth, social progress and cultural

development in the region through joint endeavors in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian Nations, and promoting regional peace and stability through abiding or everlasting respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship among countries in the region.[2]

The history of Regional Integration in Africa dates back almost a century, most of which has colonial historical connotations. Indeed since their independence African countries have embraced regional integration as an important component of their development strategies and concluded a very large number of Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs) . African leaders at that time and even now see integration as a rational response to the economic challenges faced by many of their countries. Although regional integration makes sense for Africa; a continent characterized by small countries, small economies and small markets, these agreements have mixed levels of commitment and success rate. Africa's RIAs are generally very ambitious and have unrealistic time frames. They are also mostly neighborhood arrangements.

Regional integration can have both positive and negative effects. This study therefore analyses the role played by media diplomacy in shaping the regional integration in Africa with a specific reference to East Africa Community.

1.1.1 Post-Cold War Development Trends

Whereas regional and sub-regional agencies existed before and during the Cold War, it was after the Cold War that a new wave of cooperation sprouted. This for instance inspired regional integration efforts in the West Africa region, where countries in the region formed the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS); a body which aims at promoting

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[2] Farida M.A(2015).The Regional Integration: The Impact and Implications in Member States' Sovereignty

cooperation and development of the West Africa region. ECOWAS comprises the republics of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote D 'Ivoire, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. In the South African Region, there have been regionalism efforts through the establishment of the South African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC), which brings together countries from the southern geographical region. In Europe, there is the European Union (EU), which came into force in 1993 after the signing of the Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty) bringing together fifteen members; France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Sweden, Finland and United Kingdom. In the East Africa region there is the East Africa Community (EAC), which was formally established by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda on 7 July 2000, when its treaty came into force. Later, the EAC added on Burundi and Rwanda as full members on 1 July 2007.[3]

The role of media has come under scrutiny on what it can do to create understanding and cohesion through raising of awareness on regional integration arrangements. In the case of the EAC there have been claims that there is lack of understanding among member states on the process, lack of consistent information to the members of the public and ultimately an apathetic citizenry. This has raised concerns on how the regional blocs will raise awareness among their member states' on why they should surrender their sovereignty, do away with their borders and unite with an aim to realize the mutual benefits associated with integration. Part of the problem is that the media, a key player in the integration process, has been seen as not participating effectively in integration process.

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[3] 5 Mukhisa Kituyi, MPs "Must Pay More Attention to EAC Common Market", Sunday Nation, 3 October 2010.

The media should be listed as among the key ingredients that will foster and advocate for the EAC integration process and it should be at the forefront on shedding light on any misunderstandings by telling people how they will benefit from the larger regional community. Regional integration efforts for the EAC have previously failed, due to issues attached to lack of information on the proceedings and intended purposes of the Community. Thus, the implementation of communication in the integration process is important to establishing the basic instruments for the integration agenda.

The media helps in creating of a trustworthy picture"of the world that is far beyond reach. Media impacts on public perceptions. The agenda setting theory states that media coverage can elevate the public understanding of issues, people, organizations and institutions.[4] The media has been widely accepted as opinion shapers and it is believed that agendas set off with media campaigns can get those issues into people's direct experiences and hence effect changes in public priorities, because the more concerned people are about an issue, the more they tend to learn about it, the stronger their opinions about it and resultantly they will tend to take more action on it.

However, has the media lived up to exceptions in this quest for East African integration (EAC)? African media are expected among other things to support the African project, without prejudice to their adherence to the truth which must at all times be their guiding principle on issues of continental integrity. Media practitioners in Africa are expected to see the region as their primary constituency and must do anything possible to protect it from invaders. With emphasis on progressive, economic, socio-political and cultural development, as well as mutual

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[4] Cutlip S, Center A & Broom G, Effective Public Relation Eight Edition, (London: Prentice Hall Publishers, 2007) p.261.

co-operation of Africa, there is general consensus that the media has not fully disseminated information that will accelerate regional integration and development.

Therefore, the East African Integration is arguably the most significant socio-cultural, economic and political transformation that should attract the media interest.[5] According to Galtung and Ruge[6] there are five determinants of what editors choose to publish. These are: Prominence, Proximity, Consequence, Human Interest and Oddities. They are collectively referred to as news values in journalistic nomenclature. The East African Integration bears all the values of a newsy subject that warrants systematic, continuous and prominent media coverage. First, the integration process is a local process and therefore proximate not just to Kenyans but all East Africans. It is not only timely (immediate and current) but also timeless as it is an on-going process. It is highly consequential for the reason that a socio-political and economic federation will directly affect all East Africans in various ways; national passports will be replaced by the East African passport, an East African currency will replace the individual national currencies and national boundaries will effectively vanish. Such consequential changes require a constant flow of information to mass audiences – to enable public understanding, appreciation and preparedness. The integration process is also prominent being that prominent personalities in the East African region – including Heads of State - are actively and constantly involved. For these reasons, wide, favorable coverage, regular featuring and systematic analyses of what an integrated East Africa really means, is a subject with tremendous news worth.

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[5] Oyugi, E (2010) EAC: A People Driven or State Driven Regionalization Project? Arusha: EAC Secretariat.
[6] Gatlung, J. and M. Ruge (1965) „the Structure of Foreign News: the Presentation of Congo, Cuba and Cyprus in Four Norwegian Newspapers", Journal of International Peace Research1:64-90.

Integration will also likely to affect East Africans directly - considering monetary and jurisdictional issues and is therefore very high on the impact scale.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The media is an increasingly strong channel which interconnects the world. The media serves to develop opinions both at home and abroad. The power of the media is the main propeller of propaganda that has seen certain powers attain and maintain their position in world politics. Thus media is an opinion shaper. The power of the media has not been exploited to the extent that it can mould the image of the country to the target audience, which is the world at large. Instead, there seems to be more of an avalanche of negative event publicity than there is on the positive, and more of a dependence on international news media to hold not only the brush but the paint as well. The media in the EAC have the potential to shape the destiny of the regional economic bloc. The mass media is instrumental in the formation of elite and public opinion, which are crucial in the legitimatization of political issues. Positive or negative framing and coverage of EAC activities by the regional media will result in favourable public perceptions, opinions and image while negative treatment could undermine the goals and objectives of this important intergovernmental organization.

Consequently, the media has huge role in influencing perspectives and affecting public opinion. In this era of globalization, with increased international dependency as well as competitiveness, media diplomacy serves as a significant tool in wining local and international masses. One of the effects of media diplomacy and regional integration is image building through national branding. An effect which can be utilized by the EAC Partner States, given their deep common history, language, culture and personal ties. Aggressiveness on this front will

serve to ensure EACs objective of a political federation and regional economic giant by the year 2020. Therefore it is against this backdrop that this study arises to bridge the knowledge gap by looking into the role of media diplomacy in shaping regional integration in Africa, with a specific reference to the East African Community.

1.3 Research Questions

1. What has been the role of media as a diplomatic tool in African sub-regional integration processes?

2. What are the strategies adopted by the media to foster East Africa Community integration?

3. What are the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration within the East Africa Community?

1.4. Objectives of the study

The general objective of this study was to establish the role of media diplomacy in shaping regional integration with a specific reference to the East Africa Community (EAC). The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

1. Assess the impact of media as a diplomatic tool in sub-regional integration processes in Africa.

2. Investigate the strategies adopted by the media to foster East Africa Community integration.

3. Analyze the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration within the East Africa Community.

1.5 Literature Review

Information and communications have advanced tremendously as resources and tools for management, organization and development. The invention of speech was the prelude to a succession of improvements in communication skills and capacities in the form of the written, printed and electronic media. Today, information is gathered more systematically and faster; analyzed and processed rapidly, communicated to larger and multi-varied audiences and put to more and more effective use of in society. There is increasing recognition and emphasis of the role of information and communication accelerated by advancements in ICT. After all, the modern society is an information society.

1.5.1 The concept of Regional Integration

Integration can be conceived as a process (dynamic), terminal condition (statistics) or cooperation of both. As a process, integration involves the establishment of common legal rules and legal systems for the citizens.[7] According to Hoskyn [8]African integration is any significant step towards cooperation, harmonization of policy, or joint action in relation between African states themselves or in their dealings with the outside world.

Levy et al argues that the euphoria of regional integration in the world economy dates back from 1980s and 1990s, a time the world witnessed a formation and rebirth of various trading regional blocks within Europe, America, Africa and Asia. In addition, the study states that during this period, promotion of regional integration became a global trend and as a result various regional blocs such as Association of South Asia Eastern Nations (ASEAN), North

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[7] Bach D (2000). Regionalisation in Africa, Integration and Disintegration. New York, Indiana University Press.
[8] Hoskyn, C. (1988). Reasons for the US Dominance of the International Trade in Television programmes' Media Culture and Society, 10:499-515

Atlantic Free Trade Area (NAFTA), the Caribbean Free Trade Association (CARFTA), Latin America Free Trade Area (LATFA), European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) which was transformed to European Economic Community (EEC) and later on the European Union (EU) was formed. Regional integration processes, which include the creation of a customs union, actualization of free trade and free markets areas, were later revived during the trade negotiations, at World Trade Organization (WTO) acknowledging formation of thirty-three new regional blocs from 1990-1994.

Shaw observes that globally, countries are pursuing regional arrangements due to perceived benefits in terms of trade gains and in stimulating economic growth and development. The study further argues that developed countries have achieved much progress as compared to developing countries within their regional arrangements. This has led to increase in intra-regional trade among the partner States leading to higher economic growth and development. Shaw mentions that the European Union (EU) as superior and critical trading blocs within Europe in terms of both export and import trade and the South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), have advanced in regional integration. This is attributed to the fact that it has cooperated with other like-minded countries to promote economic growth. The study further states that in Africa various regional integrations efforts have been established to promote development in Africa.

The ambition of African leaders to integrate Africa, and to develop the continent through import substitution and industrialization, was a key feature of the immediate post-colonial period, and provided the rationale for the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA). The LPA, a brainchild of the Organization of African Unity (OAU), was upheld and endorsed by the African Heads of

State in April 1980, and keenly supported by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

While still in pursuit of the same integration plan, in 1991 the Abuja Treaty provided formidable support for the African integration agenda. This treaty emphasized African solidarity, self-reliance, an intra and international development blue print through industrialization. The proposed framework for African integration and continental industrialization was the division of the continent into regional integration areas that would forge a united African economy, the African Economic Community. In pursuance of this, the Economic Community for Africa (ECA) supported three regional integration arrangements; the Economic Community for West African States (ECOWAS) for West Africa, which was established in 1975, predating the LPA; the Preferential Trade Area (PTA) covering East and Southern Africa, which was the fore-runner of the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA); and the Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) for Central Africa. The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU) was established in 1989, thus completing continental coverage.

Thus, the African continent needs regional integration to broaden its market and attract foreign investments. Africa's failure to attract a fair share of global investment, in spite of its endowment in natural resources has largely been due to the perception of the continent as the world's riskiest place to do business. The high risk of doing business derives not only from the many incidences of conflict and political instability and the good governance deficit, but also from high business costs associated with the inadequacy of transport, communication and power infrastructure. A well-designed and effectively implemented regional integration process can help address these shortcomings.

1.5.2 Media, Diplomacy and Communication

The gathering of information, reporting and sharing have been, across the centuries, the staple diet, so to speak, of diplomats. In ancient Egypt, the Amarna Letters, a collection of cuneiform tablets written in the fourteenth century BC contain references to Egypt's need for intelligence to maintain control of its Asian empire.[9] In the same breath, the Byzantines also saw information gathering as the purpose of all diplomatic exchanges. In the United Nations (UN) Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations of 1961 the function of communication was still emphasized, as it stipulated that the receiving State shall permit and protect free communication on the part of the mission, for all official purposes.[10]

Communication is crucial to diplomatic activity. Over history, virtually any advance in communication technology has affected the practice of diplomacy. More interactive and convenient communication methods have produced a ripple effect in the practice of diplomacy through the acceleration of international relations. This is because of an obliteration of distance resulting from the possibility for messages to travel via cable faster that people could in previous eras. Consequentially, the faster reporting of events has led to an increase in the power of public opinion through mass inclusion and engagement. This has also led to a buildup of pressure on state leaders, politicians as well as diplomats during international crises.[11]

The old style of diplomacy has swiftly undergone a paradigm shift and been replaced by a modern style of diplomacy. In the 1840s, British Foreign Minister Lord Palmerston upon receiving a telegram was astounded and saw this act as an end of diplomacy in itself. His retort

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[9] Littlejohn, Stephen W(2002).*Theories of Human Communication, 7th Ed.*, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Wadsworth.

[10] United Nations, (1961). *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*.

[11] E. Potter (ed.), (2002). Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen"s University Press.

emanated from the advancement of technologies of the day through the enabling of instant communication across distances. In his regard, this rendered the diplomats almost redundant.[12]

The trend in diplomacy has further evolved into the post-modern diplomacy. It is said that the Cold War constituted the last golden era of traditional or modern diplomacy – a time when the representatives of nation states were the principal actors on the international stage. At the close of the 20th century, the development and enhancement of new media as well as internet-based technologies seen through the proliferation in the number of media channels contributed to this revolution in diplomacy. Analogically, the impact of technological advancement on the practice of diplomacy is not the winds of change, but the shifting of tectonic plates.[13]

The growth in communication over the decades is attributed to globalization. Gelinas captures the global utility when he noticed that it could be circumnavigated in different ways: a modern methodology, a system or alibi.[14]The term globalization has experienced numerous controversies, and in spite of all these, there are areas of consensus. Globalization is the most influential phenomenon of the century. It has brought with it changes in daily life, both in the private and public realm. The resulting increased interconnectedness has made us aware of what is happening around the world and in our own countries. This has been made possible through the increased effectiveness of the media. Globalization has also seen the shifting of paradigms of diplomacy from the old diplomacy to the new diplomacy. The new diplomacy is more concerned with the broader global issues whereas the old diplomacy was more concerned with diplomats

[12] Eytan Gilboa,(2010). *Diplomacy and Statecraft,* Vol. 12, Issue. 2, London: Taylor and Francis Group.
[13] Adams, W.C.(1982). Television Coverage of International affairs, Norwood New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.
Jacques Gelinas, (2003). *Juggernaut Politics: Understanding Predatory Globalization,* London: Zed Books

discussing their states' interests. [15] Globalization has an impact in modern diplomacy. Transnational linkages have been formed on the diplomatic nature by the practices and nature of effective diplomats. The role of Non-state actors has also been strengthened due to globalization, thus heightening the cooperation and conflicts in regions. Moreover, globalization has laid more emphasis on the importance of media diplomacy in influencing perceptions, communication as well as directing public opinion in policy formulation. States are becoming more adaptive to molding their foreign policies around media, in order to influence perceptions both at home and abroad.

1.5.3 Media diplomacy and foreign policy

There are three models that are used in diplomacy and media. The first is public diplomacy, which entails using the media by state and non-state actors. They use of the media as a channel of communication to influencing public opinion in the society. Media diplomacy on the other hand is where the media is used by officials in terms of communications with different individuals in the act of setting agendas on foreign policy and promotion of peace in the region. Broker diplomacy of the media is the state where the media field assumes the diplomat's role in the international negotiation.[16]Media diplomacy has been used for the advancement of national interests and propagation of foreign policy by different states.[17]

For a nation to make itself known to the global arena, it must first ensure the international community knows its identity. The implication therefore is that the superiority in communications technology will allow a nation exert some control over the flow of global

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K. Hamilton and R. Langhorn, (1995).*The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration,* London: Routledge.
Eytan Gilboa,(2010). *Diplomacy and Statecraft,* Vol. 12, Iss. 2, London: Taylor and Francis Group
Altschull J.H(1995). *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy,* New York: Longman

information and this will subsequently have an impact on its international image. Therefore, while nations may have power to construct national identity internally through exercising control over domestic forces such as national media, nations with dominant global media advantage stand a higher chance in shaping their international image and consequentially, their place in the global political hierarchy. The global political power of a nation, in this information age, emerges from the interaction between national identity and international image. To this extent, the nation could use the media to align itself in the international arena.

Given this, the dynamics between media diplomacy and foreign policy must be examined in the context of national identity, international image and global political power. It is therefore a solid fact in today's world that media diplomacy is indispensable to foreign policy because of the power the media possess in shaping the international image of a nation.[18]

1.5.4 Media communications for popular participation in EAC

Popular participation is critical to success and sustainability of regional integration and development. Information and communications are central to any form of participation. Modem management of public as well as private enterprise recognizes this fact. Efficiency and effectiveness requires that all participants in the activities of the organization are continually, involved in communications to bring about enlightened support and maximized contribution to the realization of organizational goals and objectives.[19]

The goal of the East African Community is to widen and deepen co-operation in all spheres, for the mutual benefits of the Partner States. The vision of the EAC is to create wealth, raise the

Hoskyns, Catherine, *'Pan-Africanism and Integration'* in Hazzlewood A.(1974). (Ed.), *op-cil.,* p. 354.
Magaga Alot (2008).*Communications and Marketing strategy for the East African community /Federation*, Directorate of Information And Public Relations, East African Community, EAC Secretariat .p. 1

living standards of all the people of East Africa and enhance international competitiveness of the region through increased production, trade and investments by employing the united efforts of the people and states of the region. [20] To this extent, the crucial factor, i.e. the people of the EAC countries and their development partners need to be involved in the essential process of awareness, reflection and action about the mission of the Community. Systematic and dynamic information policy, i.e. an information and communication strategy in which the public and the organization are constantly involved in dialogue and discourse, would yield positively to the designs, projects and programs undertaken within the EAC framework.

The involvement of the public in the information and communication process of the EAC is not only a means to, but also a function of the development objective of the organization. Under-development is therefore both a cause and a consequence of ignorance or lack of awareness. A departure from the state of under-development presupposes the rise in awareness and involvement of the people in the development process.

1.6 Justification of the Study

This study discussed both policy and academic justification with regard to media diplomacy and regional integration.

1.6.1 Academic Justification

East Africa's sustainable socio-economic development lies in the East African Community (EAC) and its organs and institutions playing an effective role in promoting and enhancing partnerships with the private sector. Consequently the Inter-University Council for East Africa (IUCEA) and the East African Business Council (EABC) have agreed to forge a

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Ibid p.5

partnership which will provide the point of connection between knowledge generation and dissemination by higher education institutions to the business community, and the latter's integration of the knowledge and human resource produced by universities into the productive, social and service sectors in the Community.

Therefore this study should hopefully enhance cooperation in education and training within the universities in the region and complement the role of research as a catalyst to fuel innovation in high technology and the knowledge industries that are the primary drivers of successful regional economies of today. Indeed this study will contribute immensely to the existing knowledge of the EAC integration process and offer both media practitioners and integration experts unique aspects of consideration within the EAC with a view to strengthening the process itself. Further, in deepening research on EACs issues, an opportunity emerges for students in the region to share ideas and knowledge that are critical in spurring socio-economic and political growth of the region and an impetus for harmonization of education policies for the partner states.

1.6.2 Policy Justification

The decision to integrate will naturally have significant consequences for economic activities, employment, education, conflict management etc., at the community and even household levels. This study will elucidate on the role played by media diplomacy, its impact and policies and will further inform policy makers on how to best carry out media diplomacy to alleviate fears of the negative consequences of integration.

In the same breadth, findings and recommendations shall inform policy makers on ways to deal with existing and future challenges. Through the findings of this study, policy makers

will also be in a position to appreciate the positive role that media can play in regional integration. This study will contribute to existing literature by giving insights on the contributions of media diplomacy to the process of EAC integration. This study will therefore give a better picture towards placement of media diplomacy in the integration process.

1.7 Study Hypotheses

1. The Media can act as a diplomatic tool in sub-regional integration processes in Africa.

2. Effective strategies adopted by the media can foster East Africa Community integration.

3. EAC media is faced by challenges in shaping regional integration within the East Africa Community

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The researcher adopts the Agenda Setting Theory for further analysis of this study. On assessing the media's impact in the society, several approaches have been advanced. Among these is Agenda setting (and agenda building) advanced by McCombs and Shaw.[21] The media is deemed to have a great effect on mobilization.[22] Agenda setting informs the notion that the media may not dictate to us what to think but it does definitely influence our thinking. They select what to disseminate, where and the language to use to disseminate the information. Agenda setting thus makes an assumption that the media, the government and the citizenry reciprocally influence each other collectively.[23] Thus formulation of policies like the integration process is deeply influenced by this synergy. The second assumption of the theory of agenda setting is that the media consumers independently play a role of choosing and using the media.

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[21] McCombs, M; Shaw, D (1972). "The agenda-setting function of mass media". *Public Opinion Quarterly*36 (2).
[22] Protess ,D.,F.L.Cook,J.C. Doppelt,J.S.Ettema ,M.T.Gordon,D.R.Leff and P.Miller (1991). *The Journalism of Outrage :Investigative Reporting and Agenda Building in America*, New York :The Guilford Press.
[23] Lang ,G. and Lang (1983).*The Battle for Public Opinion ,New York*: Columbia University Press p.8-9.

Therefore media consumers do not consume entirely what is "thrown" at them by media managers and editors. Hence in this case, Africans do not consume media content on the process of integration just because it is available, but on the notion of importance and the utilities derived thereof.[24]

The agenda setting approach also perceives the media as the watchdog. The assumption here is that the media is tasked with the role of monitoring state activity and "fearlessly reporting on the abuse of authority.[25] Therefore besides playing the informative role on the on-goings-in the society, the media ostensibly mobilizes the public, the professional bodies and civil societies to keep leaders accountable to the citizenry. This means that the media may from time to time set the agenda and ensure that journalists often monitor the actions of the various actors in ensuring the success of the process of integration. Such initiatives in turn play the role of promoting accountability, transparency and good governance.

The other assumption is that the media is the platform for people to articulate their positions on various issues. The citizenry of the east African states have a platform through the media to advance their interests in the process to attain full integration. Therefore the EAC secretariat is tasked with offering a platform for the laity to express their issues and ensure their participation in the integration process. This research advances the idea that agenda setting goes a long way in influencing behavior, including how the EAC Citizens view regionalism and embrace the EAC agenda.

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[24] Society for International Development, 2011. *East African Integration:. Dynamics of Equity in Trade*, Media and Labour.p.134.
[25] Curran,J,(2002) *Media and Power ,Routledge*, London. p.217

1.9 Research Methodology

This section discussed research design, target population, sampling procedures and data analysis methods.

1.9.1 Research Design

The design to be used herein was analytic research, seeking a progressive solution to the current situation as opposed to a fundamental one, which seeks to establish trends and acquire knowledge for knowledge sake. Therefore, it sought to identify social, economic as well as political trends of the diplomatic value of media in the promotion of regional integration within the EAC with the aim of getting information, which has a specific application base in the process, and practice of regional integration and media diplomacy.

This research has an empirical basis and it will rely upon recorded data evidence through observation or experience, thus coming up with conclusions and recommendations based on the outcome of data collection and analysis.

1.9.2 Study Population

The study population for this research is the East African Community (EAC), Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Cooperation and EAC (MINAFFET), Corporate Communication and Public Affairs Department at the EAC Secretariat, Ambassadors, Foreign affairs ministers, Commerce and East African Affairs (MTC&EA), as well as the independent policy and consultant institutes in regional integration and the different integration in regional initiatives like SADC and COMESA. Also, in the study, population includes the independent/ privately owned and national media institutions/groups and social networks within the EAC region. Since the research is a purposive one; actors in regional integration, diplomacy as well as in media, the sampling of the

population for this study is specific. Key publications by individuals, institutes and organizations are to be selected from the population because they hold specific knowledge on regional integration; diplomacy and media practice and can therefore provide a representative range of points of view. The respondents are persons, institutes and organizations known to the research in regional integration diplomacy and media sector, as well as various regional economic communities and organizations.

1.9.3 Instruments for Data Collection

This study will use both primary and secondary data where questionnaires, interviews, records, reports, literature and field observations will be adopted. This study will use both qualitative and quantitative data. Using mapping aspects, the various variables will be categorized using ordinal scale. This will provide the most manageable way of measuring the variables in the study. The theme that emerges from the document analysis will form the basis of further data collection and summary. Descriptive method will be used to present data.

1.9.4 Validity and Reliability

The research will carry out a pilot study to ensure reliability and validity of data collection instruments. The pilot study will involve 8 respondents and the data collected will be excluded in the final analysis.

1.9.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a body of methods that helps to describe facts, detect patterns, and develop explanations. It is used in sciences, including social sciences, and can be used in the application of administration and policy. The researcher will analyze the collected data using

both quantitative and qualitative techniques. Statistical Packages for sciences (SPSS version 23.0) will be used to analyze quantitative data.

1.9.6 Ethical considerations

This study will observe the following ethical procedures: Due to sensitivity of some information collected, the researcher holds a moral obligation to treat all information provided with utmost confidentiality. The researcher will ensure that bias or self- deception is avoided or minimized during data analysis, and data interpretation. Respect for intellectual property will be guaranteed by giving proper acknowledgement or credit for all contributions to this study

1.10 Scope and Limitation

The scope of this research is based on the objectives and goals of regional integration as elucidated in the treaty establishing the EAC and media diplomacy as a strong determinant in implementing the four pillars of the community. The research is also limited to the post-modern diplomatic era (with emphasis from the period 1993 to date when second integration process of EAC commenced) during which information technology developed immensely and brought about new considerations in the practice of diplomacy, thus ushering in the advent of media diplomacy. It seeks to reveal the effectiveness of media diplomacy in Kenya's diplomatic practice, and its effects in the promotion of regional integration through its coordination by the MTC&EA in Kenya. EAC is discussed in light of it being a socio-economic and political process through regional integration efforts and one complemented by media diplomacy to achieve its potential in the post-modern diplomacy era. As the EAC slogan states `one people one destiny`.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: Introductory Chapter

Chapter one comprises introduction/ background of study, statement of the problem, research objectives, a review of existing literature, theoretical framework and research methodology

Chapter Two: Trends on the role of media in sub-regional integration in Africa.

This chapter embarks on the historical context of regional integration in Africa. It focuses on the contribution of the media in promoting regional integration in Africa through media diplomacy.

Chapter Three: Media diplomacy and EAC Integration

This chapter seeks to evaluate the correlation between regional integration and media diplomacy in the EAC integration process. This chapter also evaluates the evolution of EAC to date and critical milestones in its integration process.

Chapter Four: Challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration with EAC

The chapter will analyze the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration in the EAC.

Chapter Five: Data Presentation Analysis and Interpretation

In this chapter, data collected will be analyzed by comparing and contrasting with the hypothesis and the theoretical framework that will be used to guide the study, to see if the research meets its objectives and either confirm or nullify the hypothesis of the research.

Chapter Six: Conclusions and Recommendations

The chapter will summarize and provide conclusions of the study. It will then give recommendations and provide citations on the areas for further studies. This study will give recommendations to what has been investigated on the role of media diplomacy in the regional integration of East Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

MEDIA AS A DIPLOMACY TOOL IN AFRICAN SUB-REGIONAL

INTEGRATION PROCESSES

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses media and regional integration of the member states. This section will provide the insights to examine the contribution of the media in promoting regional integration in Africa through media diplomacy.

The disintegration of Africa into several different states with scant economic unity led African leaders to adopt regional integration as a dominant feature of their development approach, following political freedom. The small size and primary structure of production of many African economies gave the justification for adopting mutually beneficial regional integration and economic cooperation specifically among neighboring states.[26] The part of these partner States to create awareness and effectively sensitize their citizens about the process of integration could greatly contribute to economic development. Thus, the media has a big role to play in ensuring that the citizens at the grassroots are well sensitized regarding the process of integration.[27]

2.2 Regional Integration

Lombaerde and Langenhove[28] define regional integration as a worldwide phenomenon of systems in different territories that intensify the exchanges between their components and

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[26] East African Community Industrialization Policy 2012–2032, Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative And Competitive Advantages of the Region (2010).
[27] Ibid
[28] De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove, Regional Integration, Poverty, and Social Policy. Global Social Policy 7

establish forms of organization that are novel and co-existence with customary forms of state-led organization at the national level. This definition plainly depicts states as the chief actors in the integration process. Such an approach has its foundation on the 1648 Westphalian ideology whereby nation-state system dominated international relations. By then, global order depended totally upon the sovereignty of states. Mengisteab and Bereketeab[29] take a different perception regional integration. They consider regional integration to be the process through which nations in a given region upsurge their level of interaction in terms of security, economic, political, as well as cultural and social issues. Therefore, regional integration can be defined as a relationship between states founded on a location in a particular geographical area, for the protection or promotion of the participants' interests, a type of association whose terms are cemented by a treaty.[30]

For many years, the view on regional integration has been that it is a major instrument for economic progress internationally and has been studied extensively, both in generally as well as with regard to developing countries. Regional integration has not received much attention since the Second World War hitherto with questions being raised about the significance of the integration to the individual countries themselves. To understand, regional integration can be viewed in terms of the ranging changes on the national, regional and international level. At the national level, governments have greatly changed the way they regulate and intervene. Regionally, it has been witnessed rising intra-regional trade, regional organizations that are more formal, and other evolving forms of co-operation. On the international level, there has been an

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(3): (2007) 377-383.

[29] Mengisteab, & Bereketeab,. Regional integration, identity, & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series. Boydell &Brewer Ltd. (2012).

[30] Bryant, J. and M. Oliver (eds.). Media Effects: Advances in theory and research, 3rd ed. (Lawrence Erlbaum, New York, 2009).

extension of the multilateral trading system (to new issues such as intellectual property rights, competition, non-tariff barriers, investment, subsidies) and further it has been strengthened after the World Trade Organization (WTO) was established.[31]

The international structure is increasingly becoming more diverse with a range of countries and groups at several degrees or stages of integration. Both globalization and regionalization are evolving in correspondingly.[32] Nevertheless, others see regional integration (RI) more positively, as global integration complementary, as being bridge to global integration, or as facilitating to reduce possible adverse consequences of globalization.[33]

In all worldwide efforts of regional integration, a common feature is the idea that individual states cannot attain their goals readily in isolation from their neighbors. Those countries that are well aware of their relatively small size and resource weakness and are aware of their common identities go for integration schemes. Given that African states are, in general, both exceptionally weak and small, and also given that they share a strong sense of continental cohesion notably depicted through Pan-Africanism, it is expected that the continent has fostered a surplus of schemes aimed at regional integration of one sort or the other. Nevertheless, it has been uncertain what these schemes are actually expected to do. To overcome the economic disadvantages, has given rise to the formation of a plethora of regional institutions and treaties whose dominant objective was the establishment of independent development of member states.[34]

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[31] Antje &Thomas, European integration theory. (Oxford University Press, OUP, 2005)
[32] 36Jacques Gelinas, Juggernaut Politics: Understanding Predatory Globalization (London, Zed Books, 2005).
[33] Rosamond, Theories of European integration. (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000).
[34] The East African handbook, Deepening And Widening Regional Cooperation (2007).

They include, the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) of 1964; the South Africa Customs Union [SACU, (1969)], the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS, (1975)]; East African Community (1967-1977); the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC, (1980)] which was later transformed into the Southern African Development Community [SADC, (1992) [35] and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, [COMESA, (1995)]; the West African Economic Community [CEAO, (1972)], and the West African Economic and Monetary Union [UEMOA, 1994]; the Preferential Trade Area [PTA (1981)] which was later succeeded by COMESA in 1995; and, the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU (1989)]. Additionally to this first section of regional bodies, several subregional organizations have since been created.[36]

2.3 Global Perspectives of Regional Integration

Regionalism has progressively emerged as a prominent feature of the global trading system for numerous years now, partly owing to the relatively slow pace by which multilateral trade negotiations have been taking place under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/World Trade Organization (WTO). The recent proliferation of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs), caused by the market integration of the European Union (EU) which has been the most successful example of regional economic integration for a while, has attracted attention to the need of countries to bolster their ties with other states given the economic advantages that regional integration brings.[37]

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[35] Christopher Clapham,. Regional Integration in South Africa: Comparative International Perspective. Edited by Christopher Clapham, Greg Mills, Anna morner and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos. Published by South African Institute of International Affairs. (2001).

[36] East African Community: Handover report to the new secretary general, (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2006).

[37] Plummer, Michael, "The ASEAN Economic Community and the European Experience. ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration No.1, Asian Development Bank, 2007.

East and South Asia is host to incredible economic diversity. On one hand of the spectrum there are advanced economies of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. On the other hand, there are least-developed economies such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar. Economic integration is most evident in East Asia (South Korea, Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries). As a share of East Asia's total trade, intra-regional trade increased to 54.5% in 2006 from 36.8% in 1980. ASEAN was initially established on 8 August 1967 by the five original member countries (ASEAN-5), namely, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Brunei Darussalam joined on 8th January 1984, Lao PDR and Myanmar on 23rd July 1997, Vietnam on 28th July 1995 and Cambodia on 30th April 1999. Its aims, as stated in the Declaration, are: to fast-track economic growth, cultural development and social progress in the region, and to uphold regional stability and peace through steadfast respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship amongst countries in the region and observance to the principles of the United nations Charter.[38]

As a result of the Asian financial crisis, ASEAN has sought to promote tighter and closer monetary and financial cooperation through an economic policy and review dialogue and the establishment of regional financing arrangements. The ASEAN Surveillance Process, established in October 1998, aims at strengthening the policy-making capacity in the region. ASEAN and the ASEAN+3 Finance Ministers, their deputies and deputies of the central bank convene on

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[38] Rana, Pradumna, "Economic Integration in East Asia: Trends, prospects, and a Possible Roadmap. ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration No.2, Asian Development Bank, 2006.

separate occasions to review regional, individual country and global developments as well as monitoring macroeconomic aggregates and exchange rate, and social and sectorial policies.[39]

In the case of the ASEAN Economic Community, the general strategy involves broadening and deepening economic integration in the product and also the factor markets and fast-tracking the integration process towards a single market and production base. The fasttracking of economic integration commences with the 11 priority sectors. The indicator system then follows three major areas of integration namely: trade in goods and services, skilled labor and investment. Trade in services and goods are facilitated by the elimination of barriers to trade, both non-tariff and tariff barriers, and through harmonization of classifications and procedures. In the area of investment, it is limited to direct investment. In conclusion, with regard to the labor market, integration will concentrate on skilled labor. Indicators comprise of employment and wage rates of ASEAN workers. Indicators relating to financial services that are taken into consideration are credit markets, bond markets, stock markets and the banking sector.[40]

2.4 Regional Integration, media diplomacy and public diplomacy

Public diplomacy has encountered a lot of developments in the post 1945 period. Key amongst these is the communication revolution that begun after the Second World War and that experienced massive advances towards the end of the twentieth century, has enabled citizens to obtain information on what is going on in other countries equally fast or even faster than governments. Consequently the world media has become more and more intrusive thus

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[39] Ibid p. 45.
[40] Ibid p.34.

information is now available to larger publics and has turned public opinion into an increasingly important factor in international relations.

Newly emerging nations after the cold war are against the ideas between the East and west that became targets of advocators for public diplomacy as it acquired a global facet. As the cold war affected many populations in affected countries, as much as their states it became clearer than before that perceptions are significant as reality. In effect this has led to the democratization of access to information that has made citizens to be independent and active participants in politics even on the international platform and the new agenda of diplomacy has intensified the leverage of loosely organized groups of individuals.[41] Indeed public diplomacy is a crucial ingredient in a collaborative model of diplomacy in initiatives of regional integration. Regional integration now depends heavily on the public diplomacy and media for its success.

Media diplomacy is part and parcel of Public Diplomacy; a term still undergoing an evolutionary journey which has led up to its current implication and definition. Conventionally, public diplomacy was a democratic accountability or in other words the need for direct public involvement in diplomacy which was characterized by the advocates of „citizen summitry‟ in what was to be the closing phases of Cold War. The great impacts of this mode of thought were such as Canning, Metternich and Talleyrand who grasped the extent of power that public opinion possesses in the tumult of European politics in the onset of the French Revolution.[42] They sought to manipulate the foreign opinion through the press; referred to as the media.

Globalization has given birth to the reality of a world of co-dependence and hence, interdependence and enhanced communication of the mass publics. The advancements in

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[41] Ibid p.9.
[42] Ibid p.12.

technology that have come about to facilitate communication globally has had an influential impact in the conduct of diplomacy, which has seen the breeding of such terms as cyber-diplomacy. This connects the impact of innovations in information and communication technology to diplomacy and foreign policy.[43] Its media's position has moved from that of being a tool of government's public diplomacy, to being capable of determining foreign policy through the impact of the media on the masses. This has led to the breeding of another term in media diplomacy; the CNN effect, which has been used to refer to the generation of pressure on the policy maker, by the general public, to respond to crisis events.

2.5 The role of media in the integration process

As Grant and Söderbaum postulate, regional integration is having a renaissance in a changing, globalizing world. As countries strive to foster closer political and economic ties with those adjacent to them, regionalism has become necessary, as evidenced in organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Union (EU)[44], among others. Like all other regional blocs, and as stipulated in its mission statement, the EAC aims at widening and deepening political, economic, cultural and social integration in order to improve the quality of life of the East African people through better competitiveness, trade and investment and value added production.[45]

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[43] Potter. Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century, (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002.

[44] De Lombaerde and Schulz (eds.) The EU and World Regionalism: The marketability of regions in the 21st century, Farnham: Ashgate

[45] Geir Lundestad, The Unites States and Western Europe Since 1945: From „Empire" by Invitation to Transatlantic

In this mission, several actors are taken to be pertinent to regional integration. One of these is the media. It helps to make sense, on the public's behalf, the true meaning of regional integration, in addition to drawing attention to the challenges and opportunities of such initiatives by the state. The role of the media is founded on the ground that disseminating concepts of regional integration, how such a regional body functions, and what benefits ensue to the citizenry, would lead to a better regional awareness among the mass population and accordingly generate an EAC culture.[46]

The role is reinforced by the idea that the media, as disseminating agent of integrationist ideas, can aid in initiate integrative trends, and that amplified awareness about the process leads to a satisfactory regional identity. For many years numerous theoretical opinions have been advanced to expound on the effects of the media have on society. Among these are agenda setting and agenda building, mediation between the state and society and ''watchdogism''. The media also have an effect on the deployment and even strengthening of specific viewpoints.[47] Agenda setting as a key role of the media and relates to the idea that the media cannot dictate to us what to think, but it is always effective in telling us what to think about by choosing what content they publish, where they publish it, and the framing (type of language) to apply in the articles. Consequently, agenda setting may bring about agenda building, which is defined as a collective process in which government, media and citizenry reciprocally impact one another, leading to formulation of policies like those related to the EAC. Basically, the way stories are presented means the media can determine what East Africans think about, although the people's

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Drift, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).
[46] East African Community Industrialization Policy 2012–2032, , Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative and Competitive Advantages of the Region (2010).
[47] Antje &Thomas, European Integration Theory, (Oxford University Press, OUP, 2005).

readings or interpretations of the texts are based on cognitive abilities, context, and background and lived experiences, among numerous other factors.[48]

The media plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity and intrepidly exposing abuse of official authority. While in agenda setting the media's role is that of informing the public about the goings-on in society, as a watchdog the media makes sure that wrongdoings are exposed, and that the perpetrators are then subjected to public scrutiny and justice. The media supposedly mobilize the civil society, public, professional bodies and other actors to demand action against organizations or individuals implicated in transgression. As such, the media in Africa may offer information from time to time and also make sure that journalists continuously watch on behalf of the public whatever these actors do, specifically state actors. Such exposure may in turn encourage transparency, accountability and good governance, as the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, held in Nairobi on 19–20 August 2010, recommended. A communiqué issued after the summit acknowledged that East African media as a watchdog institute are crucial in promoting good governance.[49]

2.6 Means of Information Dissemination in the Integration Process

For a given dissemination strategy, the effectiveness depends on such factors as the target audience, the characteristics of the innovation and the information channel. The approach that works better for conveying general information to the masses on the other hand may be unfitting for communicating direct issues to the African State members. The strategy that may work well for disseminating innovations in technology among countries may not be well-suited

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[48] Mengisteab, & Bereketeab, Regional integration, identity & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series. Boydell &Brewer Ltd (2012).
[49] Ibid.

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with dissemination strategies connected to the development of EAC member countries.[50] Strategies designed for reaching a minority group may not be fitting with another minority group. Achieving the perfect fit among the information channel, innovation, purpose, and target audience is vital. While the approach will help ease the dissemination process in ways not conceivable under the old paradigm, it is essential to understand channels for communication and how they are changing to effectively utilize efforts under either paradigm. The channels of information around which to strategize range to mass mailings from mass media, from telephone contacts to face-to-face contacts, from print media to electronic media, purposes include informing and educating. The definitive purpose may be to change behaviors and attitudes. The efficacy of each channel varies for differing stages in the innovation process, for differing innovations and for hard vs. soft technology transfer.

Regional integration Africa utilizes different channels in disseminating information.[51] The channels applied include mass media (for example television, radio, Teletext, newspapers, comics, videotext, magazines), information service systems (for example, online databases, libraries), personal contacts (for example, consultants and change agent), educational and training programs (for example, workshops, professional preparation, computer-assisted), and others (for example, posters, billboards).[52] The channels of communication worthy of note, are: source of knowledge of the audience, message flow, segmentation, feedback, control of the communication flow, degree of interactivity, synchronicity, nonverbal, socio-emotional verses task-related content and privacy afforded.

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[50] Grimshaw, et.al. Effective and efficiency of guideline dissemination and implementation strategies. Health technology assessment 8, (6), (2009) 1-72.

[51] Norris, Identity shift: A case of East Africa countries. (University Press, Oxford University, 2008).

[52] Mengisteab, & Bereketeab, Regional integration, identity & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series. Boydell &Brewer Ltd (2012).

2.6.1 Mass Media

Mass communication includes print and electronic media. With regard to electronic media, included in this category are videotext, television, and radio, Teletext and satellite telecommunications. Print media comprises of newspapers, newsletters, comic, books and magazines. Factually, with new entry of new media into the scene, EAC reconsiders the futures of their respective media. The merits and demerits of each form of communication to the masses provide them the insight for choosing the best medium to apply to the intended audience and the dissemination purpose.[53]

2.6.2 Radio

With their great adaptability and flexibility, radios wake us up, entertain us and inform us. Radio has become more tailored and personalized. Hosts of radio talk shows directly communicate to each listener and at times, caller. Radio is no longer the medium that joins many countries. Very many people now listen to different stations different times of the day and at different locations. Many people also can find a vital number of stations meant for them. [54] The basic content of radio stations circles around news, music and talk. For effective disseminate, the EAC should ensure that their efforts are allied to the station's specific structure and audience.

2.6.3 Television

The television is an expensive medium though it is most fitting for disseminating general information to a majority of people. In modern day EAC, television is in over 98 percent of the homes. One of its merits is that it appeals to more than just one of the five senses and has increasingly become the dominant activity for leisure. It is considered to be the society's mass

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[53] Robinson, Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy, European Journal of Communication 16(4), (2001) 523–44.
[54] Curran. Media and Power, (Routledge, London, 2002).

entertainer, mass persuader, mass educator, and mass informer.[55] The patterns of television viewing have not changed substantially as it has remained negatively related to income, education and occupational status. The disparities between groups, though, have over time reduced on indexes such as occupational status, income, gender and educational level. Generally, those who watch television on regular bases are well-versed than those who do not. Thus, the future of television as a mass communication tool rests on the ability of audiences to use and control it for their own purposes and the community can contribute to that shaping as knowledge utilization proponents.

2.6.4 Teletext & Videotext

Teletext allows persons to select graphic and textual information accessible through standard broadcasting signals. They gain access to this information by using decoders or keypads connected to television sets. [56] The providers of information inject digital data into lines referred to as vertical blanking intervals in television technology. Users are given variety of select pages of information from possible frames of information. Since advertising supports Teletext, the service is practically free to anyone who affords a decoder.[57] On the other hand, videotext is a speedier information service and highly more interactive. For the reason that videotext utilizes telephone lines or cable connectors between the television and data bank instead of on-airbroadcasting to convey information, telephone charges, particularly per frame charges, make videotext more costly. EAC has endeavored to use videotext and Teletext but has failed owing to difficulty in use, the expense of the technology and the lack of citizen comprehension on ways to use them. Nonetheless, some videotext service targets a large number of people in the

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[55] Ibid
[56] Heath, Encyclopedia of Public Relations, (Thousand Oaks, Sage, 2005).
[57] Ibid

community which makes the service accessible to many. [58] People can now access news databases. It offers direct access to information and lowers the need for agents to ay visits to citizens to communicate the latest information.

2.6.5 Newspapers

Newspapers have been traditionally viewed as the fastest medium for conveying the headlines and bulletins of the day. Still, they provide one of the best display and thorough coverage of news and events. There has been a reduction in readers simultaneously with a decrease in the number of newspapers. Studies have established that there is a decrease in readership particularly among younger adults who have no habit reading a newspaper and are unlikely to develop it, as they grow. Companies operating in chain newspaper now own even more newspapers. Specialized weekly and small weekly newspapers serve a distinct ethnic or the local community, professional or cultural groups. Most of the papers are strong financially and circulate to around 2 million. The audiences of the newspaper are millions with whom 2 out of 3 read a newspaper on daily bases, 9 out of 10 adults read at any rate 1 newspaper weekly and 2.2% people read each and every newspaper received by a household. Thus, information dissemination with newspaper is generally more successful than television or radio to its affordability and reach. [59]

2.7 Conclusion

The arguments presented in this chapter acknowledge that the media and journalism play critical roles in region integration process of Africa. In addition, the section has revealed that there is sufficient, albeit modest, interest in African issues not only from media, journalists,

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[58] Ibid
[59] Durban Potter (ed.), Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century, (McGill-Queen''s University Press, Montreal, 2002)

editors and media managers but also from citizens who are increasingly rely on the media to make sense of issues beyond their experiences. In this sense, it is correct to state that the media contribute to people's decisions and levels of engagement with political and other processes in Africa. Although the levels and qualities of media usage vary with the user's socioeconomic status, location (urban or rural), education, age and even gender, it is an inescapable fact that significant sections of the African population regularly and increasingly acquire information about public affairs from the media. Moreover, the media do successfully act as disseminating agents of integrationist ideas, vehicles for filtering, crystallizing and disseminating the collective national conversations within and across borders, thereby facilitating and sustaining regional understanding. Mwapachu"s argument bears this out: that Africans have been "empowered thanks partly to the media", which have a critical role to play in the success of the regional integration.[60]

In effect, in Africa, communication via the media is central to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra-national political institutions, on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other. It would also confer legitimacy on the actions of governments, leaders and other actors. Thus, there is little doubt that the extent to which citizens are engaged with public affairs and the political process depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that is transacted on issues in the public domain. It is this communication that nurtures citizens' interest in public affairs. In fact, there is a correlation between interest in public affairs and exposure to the media, such that the degree of citizens" attention to public affairs can be taken as a measure of their level of contact with the media.[61]

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[60] Mwapachu, interview
[61] Johnson, T., C. Hays and S. Hays (1998). Engaging the Public: How government and the media can

But it certainly would be easier to draw citizens" attention to regional affairs originating outside their own country if, to begin with, they were interested in the affairs of their homeland. A broad-based national conversation would be hard to trigger and sustain with a citizenry that is overwhelmingly apathetic towards public affairs or focused primarily on narrow political issues.[62]

Media and journalism have their own failings, of course, but they have done well thus far, and are in fact becoming increasingly more interested in the African integration process. What's more, there is empirical evidence that they do indeed provide the space and the platform, albeit modest, through which African citizens can engage not only with the issues but also with each other as they endeavour to promote relationships and understanding among the region's disparate nationalities, cultures, histories and states with different political and economic ideologies.

reinvigorate American democracy, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield
[62] Norris, P. (2000). A Virtuous Circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

CHAPTER THREE

REGIONAL INTEGRATION AND MEDIA DIPLOMACY

3.1 Introduction

Regional integration describes the process in which neighboring countries promote and/or reduce barriers by common accord in the management of shared resources and regional goods. The drive for integration in various regions (for example European Union, East African Community, Association of Southeast Asian Nations), has internal (for example regional stability, economic development) and/or external drivers (for example geopolitical weight, trading blocs). The various mechanisms to support the integration process reflect the ultimate goals and the degree of integration.[63] However, in spite of the enthusiasm for and creation of a large number of regional integration organizations, African economies continue to be constrained by political boundaries, marginalized, and remain un-integrated into the rapidly globalizing world economy. Responding to the poor outcome of their initial integration efforts, African countries are showing renewed interests in developing appropriate frameworks for integration in order to realize the benefits of enlarged markets with the attendant opportunities for economic transformation, growth and sustainable development.[64]

The role played by mass communication is important in our society because it serves to inform the public about current as well as past events. Mass communication, in "Mass Media, Mass Culture" is defined as the process whereby professional communicators use technological devices to share messages over great distances to influence large audiences. Within this process,

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[63] Curran, J.(2002)Media and Power, London: Routledge, p.217
[64] Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007

the media which can be in form of print, audio and audiovisual media takes control of what we see, read and hear. This is called Agenda Setting.

The role of the media is as an agenda setter in international politics as well as a gate keeper in determining as well as regulating the flow of information to the public which serve to support the goals and objectives of official diplomacy. Media diplomacy has made it possible for states to brand and rebrand themselves in the global marketplace. In the realist paradigm of international relations, image is important.[65] This was noted by John Hertz in the early 1980s when he suggested that half the power of politics consists of image-making. In this way, the management of national image has shifted from being the responsibility of policy elites to that of the broader mass market, also known as the public.[66] As located among other developing countries within the globalizing world, the EAC project is a powerful intervention to lift the East African region from centuries old marginalization and exploitation by better organized communities in the world society. This marginalization is complex and comprehensive and involves the relegation of the developing world in the global economic as well as information society. The EAC therefore attaches great importance to the role of the Media in promoting awareness, discourse and involvement of the broad range of stakeholders in the East African regional integration process. Indeed, as the regional integration process intensifies, the EAC is challenged more and more today to achieve and demonstrate greater efficiency and effectiveness as well as more visibility of its activities, achievements and competitiveness in the region and beyond.

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[65] Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007
[66] Geir Lundestad, (2003).The United States and Western Europe Since 1945: From „Empire" by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift, Oxford: Oxford University Press, new edition, p.45

3.2 Regional Integration, media diplomacy and public diplomacy

Public diplomacy has encountered a lot of developments in the post 1945 period. Key amongst these is the communication revolution that begun after the Second World War and that experienced massive advances towards the end of the twentieth century, has enabled citizens to obtain information on what is going on in other countries equally fast or even faster than governments. Consequently the world media has become more and more intrusive thus information is now available to larger publics and has turned public opinion into an increasingly important factor in international relations.

Newly emerging nations after the cold war contest of ideas between the East and west became targets of practitioners of public diplomacy as it acquired a global dimension. As the cold war affected many countries populations, as much as their governments it became more apparent than before that perceptions are important as reality. In effect this has resulted to the democratization of access to information that has turned citizens into independent as well as active participants in international politics and the new agenda of diplomacy has only added to the leverage of loosely organized groups of individuals. [67] Indeed public diplomacy is an indispensable ingredient in such a collaborative model of diplomacy in regional integration initiatives.

Indeed regional integration has come to rely heavily on the media and public diplomacy for its success. Media diplomacy is a part of Public Diplomacy; a term that has undergone an evolutionary journey which has led up to its current definition and implication. Traditionally, public diplomacy referred to a democratic accountability or necessity for direct public

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[67] Ibid p.9

involvement in diplomacy which was represented by the advocates of ''citizen summitry'' in what was to prove the closing phases of Cold War. The great influences of this mode of thought were such as Canning, Metternich and Talleyrand who altogether grasped the extent of power that public opinion had in the maelstrom of European politics in the wake of the French Revolution.[68] They thus sought the manipulation of foreign opinion through the use of the press; otherwise referred to broadly as the media.

Globalization has brought about the reality of a world of co-dependence and thus, enhanced communication and interdependence of the mass publics. The technological advancements that have come about to facilitate global communication has had an effect in the conduct of diplomacy, which has seen the development of implicit terms such as „cyber-diplomacy". This links the impact of innovations in communication and information technology to foreign policy and diplomacy.[69] Through the impact of the media on the masses, its position has moved from that of being a tool of government's public diplomacy, to being, by itself, capable of determining foreign policy. This has seen another term in media diplomacy; the CNN effect, which has been used as generator of pressure on the policy maker, by the public, to respond to crisis events.[70]

This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Mr. Peter Munya, when he commented that,

"The flood gates have been flung open. The movement of goods and services across our

borders has intensified even further. Yet this growing integration remains relatively

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[68] Ibid p.12

[69] E. Potter (ed.), (2002). Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen"s University Press.

[70] J Millisen (2005).Wielding Soft power: the new public diplomacy Netherlands institutes of international relations clingendae p. 9.

unknown to many Kenya's. The challenges and opportunities it portends for us remain modestly addressed. Apart from the Ministry of East African Community and members of the associations of business, we remain broadly disengaged in the going-on".[71] The Minister further stated that Inadequate and poor regional transport infrastructure network limit economic growth and trade expansion: Infrastructure bottlenecks such as the poor road network and inefficient railway system must be proactively addressed if Eastern Africa is to integrate further and attain the competitiveness to underpin substantial economic growth through trade expansion. The regional transport infrastructure is weak and laced with missing links and incompatibilities in the regional systems. As a result, the different networks are not optimally utilized thus limiting opportunities to achieve the economies of scale necessary to attract and sustain private investment to distinct sections of network.

3.3 Evolution of East Africa Community

The history of regional cooperation in East Africa goes back to pre-colonial times. As early as 1900 Kenya and Uganda operated a customs union which was later joined by Tanzania, the then Tanganyika, in 1922. More elaborate regional integration arrangements in East Africa have included the East Africa High Commission (1948-1961), the East African common services organization (1961-1967) and the former East African community which lasted from 1967 to 1977.[72]

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[71] Kituyi, Mukisa (2010) „MPs Must Pay More Attention to EA Common Markets. Sunday Nation, 3 October: 2010.
[72] Ibid p.16

The first EAC and the extensive integration which it achieved, was called a success since it had made great strides and was considered the world's model of successful regional integration and development .at its height, the East African community was in all but none, a federal government. The former community operated the common services of over thirty institutions, including the four major corporations – East African posts and Telecommunications and the East African Airways besides a formidable array of joint research institutions. Four major reasons have been cited or its collapse: first, its lack of steering functions, second, the unequal distribution of benefits; third, the purely intergovernmental interstate structure and fourth, the irreconcilable differences of opinion between leading players, especially between the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin and the Tanzanian president Julius Nyerere.[73]

In the years that followed the collapse of the first EAC, the three former members states attempted to regulate economic affairs by means of individual multilateral agreements. Important steps towards establishing a community were taken in 1993 and 1997 at two summits of the heads of state. In 1993 the permanent tripartite commission for co-operation was set up: a coordinating institution that in 1998 produced a draft treaty for the later EAC. Cooperation on security matters was also initiated during their period. In November 1999, the treaty for the establishment of East African community was signed by the heads of state of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. It entered into force on 7th July 2000. Two new members, Rwanda and Burundi joined the community in 2007.[74]

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[73] Cf. Edward Kafeero,(2009). Customs Law of the East African Community in light of WTO Law and the Revised Kyoto Convention Munster, p. 83.
[74] Reith S ,Boltz M,(2011). The East African Community Regional Integration, between aspiration and reality 2011 p.95

East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, concurred with the secondary findings when he stated that,

> The first moves towards cooperation between states were made in 1919. Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda all of them under British administration formed a customs union. Yet even in the first half of the 20th century, the differing economic orientation of the three countries was apparent, paving the way for a wide range of later compatibility problems. Economic links were strengthened in 1948 by the founding of the East African High Commission, which established a unified income tax in addition to a customs union

Ministry's Principal Secretary, Dr Susan Koech stated that,

> Uganda and Tanzania were predominantly export-oriented. Kenya's economy had a more domestic focus. The financial sector therefore developed much sooner in Kenya. In addition, more investment was channeled into Kenya as a colony, whereas Tanzania was merely under British mandate.

3.4 Institutions of East Africa Community

The autonomy of regional organizations is gauged primarily by the independence of their institutions and the corresponding freedom from national state influence. In the case of the East African Community, these institutions are named in Article 9 of the EAC Treaty:[75] the Summit, the Council of Ministers, the Coordinating Committee, the Sectoral Committees, and the East African Court of Justice, the East African Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat. Most of the community's institutions are strongly interstatal.[76] The Summit is at the heart of the EAC. This is

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[75] Ibid p.19
[76] African Infrastructure Country Diagnostic (AICD),(2010). East Africa's Infrastructure: A Regional Perspective.

where the heads of state meet and give general direction. New institutions can be created, members accepted, judges appointed and laws passed. Decisions are taken by consensus, so that the head of state of a member country can block almost all the EAC's activities.

The Summit roughly corresponds to the European Council of the EU, but is far more powerful. The Council consists of the ministers responsible for regional integration in the five member states. Its main task is to support and to monitor the implementation of Council decisions in the national context. The Council also prepares draft legislation for the Legislative Assembly. Like the Summit, the Council is intergovernmental in nature – as are the Coordinating and Sectoral Committees.[77]

The new Secretary General of the EAC Dr. Sezibera has taken a pragmatic step toward this. In a press statement of May 2011, he outlined five priorities.[78] The first of these is strengthening of the customs union, with an emphasis on the removal of natural non-tariff barriers. Secondly, the common market should be established as a functioning reality. Pressure on member states and monitoring of implementation are required here. Thirdly, the monetary union should be implemented on schedule. The fourth priority listed by Sezibera is the strengthening of regional infrastructure. The aim must be to improve the transport network in order to accelerate development of the customs union and the common market. Fifthly, industrialization is to be promoted by involving private stakeholders. The General Secretary

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[77] Ibid p.96-101
[78] Richard Sezibera, "EAC Secretary General Outlines Priorities. Press Statement,"
http://eac.int/abouteac/eacnews/632. html?task=view

stated, however, that in focusing on these critical goals he will not lose sight of the need to involve the population of the member states.[79]

Indeed the secretary general sentiments were in view of the fact that in the long term, the success of the EAC will depend on strengthening the supranational institutions and involving he whole population. Strong institutions, distributive justice and opportunities for participation are critical factors. In addition, the EAC must give critical consideration to its aspirations and image. A challenge, in a first technological savvy and globalized world.

According to Adan Mohamed, the Cabinet Secretary for East African Community & Regional Development, he stated that;

> Most of the community's institutions are strongly interstatal. The Summit is at the heart of the EAC. This is where the heads of state meet and give general direction. New institutions can be created, members accepted, judges appointed and laws passed. Decisions are taken by consensus, so that the head of state of a member country can block almost all the EAC's activities. The Summit roughly corresponds to the European Council of the EU, but is far more powerful.

The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development, Kenya, Dr. Margret Mwakima, - stated that;

> The Council consists of the ministers responsible for regional integration in the five member states. Its main task is to support and to monitor the implementation of Council decisions in the national context. The Council also prepares draft legislation for the

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[79] Ibid

Legislative Assembly. Like the Summit, the Council is intergovernmental in nature as are the Coordinating and Sectoral Committees. The other institutions have greater, although still circumscribed, autonomy from national state influence. The East African Court of Justice supervises application of the Treaty and compliance with it. However, the independence of the judiciary is open to doubt.

3.5 East Africa Community Achievements

The EAC Partner States, like many other developing countries, aspire to transform their economies to a modern and industrialized status that can sustainably generate sufficient outputs to satisfy both domestic and export markets and rapidly increase per capita incomes to improve the living standards of its people. [80]

The EAC was established to spearhead the East African economic, social and political integration agenda. Pursuant to the provisions of paragraph 1 of article 5, the partner states undertook to establish a customs union, a common market, subsequently a monetary union and ultimately a political federation in order to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social and political relations.[81] The Customs Union came into force in 2005 while the EAC Common Market entered into force on 1st July 2010.[82] The EAC regional integration process has evolved into a five-nation common market of 133.5 million people (2009) with an estimated USD 74.5 billion GDP and average GDP per capita of $558 (EAC Secretariat, 2010). Between 2005 and 2010, the EAC implemented a Customs Union which

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[80] 6Jaime De Melo and Arvind Panagariya (1992). "New Dimensions in Regional Integration", Centre for Economic Policy Research. p.250

[81] Republic of Kenya, (2012). Ministry of the East African community ,on perceptions and views level of knowledge, plus awareness and preparedness for the implementation of EACs customs Union, common market: the proposed monetary union and political federation, Survey Report p. 2.

[82] Monetary Affairs Committee (MAC) – Committee of EAC Central Bank Governors – Communique of the 13th MAC Meeting held in Arusha, Tanzania, May 10, 2010.

focused on: A Common External Tariff (CET) on imports from third countries - raw materials (0%), intermediate products (10%) and finished goods (25%), the latter percentage being fixed as the maximum; Duty-free trade between the Partner States; Common customs procedures.[83]

In 2010, the EAC Partner States signed a Common Market Protocol (CMP) which, among other objectives, focuses on accelerating regional economic growth and development by introducing the free movement of goods, persons and labour, the right of establishment and residence, and the free movement of services and capital. The Protocol provides for four freedoms of movement for goods, people and labour, services and capital as well as two rights to reside or establish oneself or business venture anywhere within the boundaries of the Community.[84]

In addition, the EAC Common Market is expected to strengthen, coordinate and regulate the economic and trade relations among the Partner States in order to promote accelerated, harmonious and balanced development.[85] The Customs Union (CU) complementation with the Common Market (CM) has achieved a framework of trade /investment liberalization, policy convergence, and joint approach to programming and enhanced competitiveness across all different sectors. Negotiations and talks on the Monetary Union MU pillar are at an advanced stage. Keeping in mind the MU was supposed to be in place by the year 2012 and full political federation and union by the year 2015.

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[83] Ibid p.251

[84] Victor O. (2012). Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of the EAC Common Market Protocol in Kenya: case of Free Movement of Labour,p.8

[85] East African Community Industrialization Policy (2012) Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative and Competitive Advantages of the Region p.1

According to East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya is that;

East African Community is a strong regional organization with extensive competences and major ambitions. Parallel integration, in far more than economic matters, is on the agenda. Expectations of the benefits to be derived from the Community are high and out of proportion to the advantages whether political or economic that have actually accrued. Potentials and opportunities are in almost all cases tied to particular conditions and are often beset by major obstacles. Lack of supranationality, national self-interest and the absence of societal anchoring undermine progress towards unity.

In addition, The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development, Kenya, Dr. Margret Mwakima, added that,

In the long term, the success of the EAC will depend on strengthening the supranational institutions and involving the whole population. Strong institutions, distributive justice and opportunities for participation are critical factors. In addition, the EAC must give critical consideration to its aspirations and image.

3.6 Regional Strategic Objectives and the Media

The media has increasingly become an integral part in the dissemination of EACs regional integration objectives in strategic key areas as discussed below with a view of expanding and creating new markets and partnerships.

3.6.1 The Tripartite Arrangement COMESA-EAC-SADC (CES)

In the medium- to long-term, the regional integration agenda in Eastern and Southern Africa will be driven by the COMESA-EAC-SADC (CES) Tripartite Agreement, which has as

its vision an expanded market and merger of the three Regional Economic Communities (RECs) into one at an unspecified future date. The tripartite arrangement which covers 26 countries accounting for about 56% of the population and some 58% of the combined GDP of Africa in 2008 is a bold step to resolve the problem of multiple country membership in the three RECs. Its strategic objectives include the expansion of intra-regional trade and the promotion of inter-RECs collaboration in the form of joint planning, resource mobilization and project/program implementation.[86] The key provisions of the Tripartite Arrangement are: establishment of the CES Tripartite Free Trade Area (FTA) to promote deeper trade integration; development of joint infrastructure programs, financing and implementation; design of joint programs for agricultural development and food security; development of programs to enhance movement of business persons, labour and services across the region; harmonization of legal and institutional framework; and preparation of common regional positions and strategies in multilateral and international trade negotiations.[87]

The draft FTA Agreement prepared by the Joint Task Force proposes the following roadmap: a preparatory period for consultations at national, regional and the tripartite level from early 2010 up to June 2011; a final Tripartite FTA Agreement by June 2011 and signature by July 2011; the launching of the Tripartite FTA in January 2012; and putting in place an autonomous CES Tripartite FTA Secretariat in January 2013. This timeframe however appears too ambitious and some of the timelines have already been missed. The roadmap is being revised to shift the launching of the FTA to 2014 or 2015. More details in the Tripartite Arrangement, including achievements to date.

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[86] Eastern Africa Regional Integration Strategy Paper 2011 – 2015-(2010) Revised Draft For Regional Team Meeting, Regional Departments East(Orea/Oreb) October 2010 p.12
[87] Ibid 113

According to The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development, Kenya, Dr. Margret Mwakima indicated that;

COMESA-EAC-SADC Tripartite was to strengthen and deepen economic integration of the southern and eastern Africa region. This was achieved through the harmonization of policies and programs across the three Regional Economic Communities (RECs) in the areas of trade, customs and infrastructure development. This mechanism of solving constraints, with originality and a sense of inclusive commitment and accurate solutions, represented great achievement and an experience to be considered by other integration blocs globally".

Amb Jean Rigi, the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of EAC Affairs, Burundi stated that;

"The agreement signed by 26 countries from within the African continent, representing a population of about 600 million people (almost half of the continent) and total Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of approximately US$1.3 trillion (European Parliamentary Research Service, 2015), the Tripartite Agreement currently the agreement with the broadest regional impact globally and a very significant step in overcoming the constraints faced by SADC during the implementation of its Strategic Indicative Plan for Regional Development (2008-2018), which was revised and updated recently predicting the scope of Economic and Monetary Union in 2018 and other challenges faced by other member states".

3.7 EAC Strategic Framework

The EAC integration process is guided by the Treaty establishing the Community, which entered into force on 7 July 2000. The vision of EAC is to have a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united Eastern Africa. The objective according to Article 5 (1) of the Treaty, is to develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening cooperation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and legal and judicial affairs for mutual benefit.[88] The EAC Development Strategy (DS), 2006-2010, the third in the planning cycle, spells out the policy guidelines and priority programmes of the Community.[89] The DS emphasizes economic cooperation and development with a strong focus on infrastructure, social dimension and the role of the private sector and civil society in the regional integration and development process. The EAC Common Market Protocol, which entered into force on 1 July 2010, calls for the scaling up of the services sector and making it more robust and buoyant, cross-border capital movements, free movement of labour, and free movement of people within the region. The groundwork for the EAC Monetary Union is also being prepared by ensuring macroeconomic convergence, harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies, and financial markets integration.[90]

According to Amb Jean Rigi, the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of EAC Affairs, Burundi;

"This strategic framework is informed by global, Pan-African, regional and national commitments and in particular global issues of climate change and its effects on the

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[88] EAC Treaty p.12-14

[89] Third EAC Development Strategy Paper, EAC Resource Centre (2006-2010)

[90] 6 Annette Kuteesa (2010).East African Regional Integration: Challenges in Meeting the Convergence Criteria for Monetary Union ,Research Series No. 92 Economic Policy Research Centre , p.3

environment, food security; residual effects of global financial crisis and persisting insecurity occasioned by terrorism, piracy, and democratization processes. Further, the strategy leverages on existing political and macro-economic stability, national and regional competences and resources to strengthen the policy and regulatory frameworks".

According to Mr. Louis Uwimana, from Rwanda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation;

"The framework advocates that EAC should be participating in initiatives to improve peace and stability in the region with a view to increasing economic development prospects. These include peace and security missions in Somalia and Democratic Republic of Congo; the Sudanese Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA), the Great Lakes region, and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) initiatives through which security and stability of the greater Eastern Africa region will be pursued. Within the EAC, Partner States are envisioning the formation of the East African Political Federation to advance socio-economic and political development among the five Partner States in line with AU aspirations".

3.8. Conclusion

At the onset of citizen journalism fomented by the availability of new media and technologies such as the mobile telephony and Internet, as well as alternative media like radio and community newspapers, may change this situation, but the availability or diffusion of such facilities is yet low. Even in cases where facilities such as mobile telephony are permeating, the general populace may not possess the necessary skills, knowledge and monetary resources yet to utilize the technologies to actively engage more with issues pertaining to the EAC integration

process. In some cases, people may even lack the capacity to circumnavigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more crucial make sense of the information contained within. Per se, even though the EAC has a website, there is little empirical evidence supporting effect it has had on ordinary people's engagement with the integration process, or its general impact on the process. The EAC has established its Communications and Marketing Strategy that aims at bolstering popular participation, strong political will behind the regional integration process and a common East African identity, critical subset of this strategy is bolstering Kiswahili as the unifying lingua franca of this particular region. Primarily, through the Communication Strategy there is the necessity to construct a strong coalition between all the East African people in general, the stakeholders of the EAC viz;, the Political Class, Civil Society, the East African Media, the Intelligentsia, the Business Community and Development Partners for a collective quest to bridge the gap between the vision of a competitive, prosperous, politically and secure united East Africa and its concrete realization.

CHAPTER FOUR

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE MEDIA IN SHAPING REGIONAL INTEGRATION WITH EAC

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the integration efforts of the member states, within the regional economic blocs in Africa, which provide the insights to examine the challenges and prospects media face in shaping regional integration arrangements. In this case areas to do with promoting media public opinion, foreign aid as a hindrance to development, Preference of democratic leadership, addressing of multiplicity of regional integration membership, strengthening human security, RIA's aim to be a regional security community and ICT data availability and accessibility are examined.

4.2 Media Promoting and Public Opinion

According to Nazir Hussain, media refers to means of communication that reaches or influences people widely as a significant place in the statecraft machinery especially in the age of information revolution.[91] All forms of media have become trusted as sources of information for the society regarding any issue in whatever level or aspect may it be local, regional or global. It is observed that the major roles of the media are mostly to inform (hence a source of information) and as channel of communication. Media transformations in Africa casts a critical look at Africa's rapidly evolving economic, socio-political as well as security scene. Although, the African states" democratic growth has only been barely 50 years, there have been all forms

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[91] Nazir Hussain (2008) The Role of Media in national Security: A case of 1998 Nuclear Explosions by Pakistan. South Asian Strategic Stability Institute (ASSI). London.

of media growth coupled with proliferation of new media deregulation and proliferation of new media technologies. Media has some- times been used to marginalize and restrict the activities of other groups, leading to tension, conflict, and even violence.[92] Analysts of state's threat to security today look and observe the trend of media reports as way of understanding regional economic integration status and direction in Africa. The proliferation of digital technologies in the twenty first century has transformed the knowledge of near and distant events so that it becomes impossible to separate economic, socio-political and threat to security in the context of regional economic integration and processes of the media in Africa.

In this regard the EAC attaches great importance to the role of the media in promoting awareness, discourse and involvement of the wide range of stakeholders in the East African regional integration agenda. Indeed, as the region integration process deepens the EAC is challenged more and more to achieve and demonstrate higher efficiency and effectiveness as well as being more transparent on its activities, achievements and competitiveness in Africa and beyond. Through the media, people of East Africa are expected to see it and feel its presence, in order to appreciate it more and acknowledge its benefits and prospects. In the long run the people ought to invest and participate in its projects and programs. They would also be in a position to exert pressure on the leadership to ensure the viability and sustainability of the community. The media holds certain special and important position of informing individuals. Media also holds the responsibility for the interpretation of events they report, and their interpretations, in turn define

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[92] Rosalind I. J. Hackett & Benjamin F. Soares (2015) New Media and Religious Transformations in Africa. Indiana University Press. Bloomington.

the understanding of events by the readers and viewers. It is observed that the media can just report "facts," but there are no such things as facts without interpretation.[93]

The reasons most scholars consider important of mass media to society include; one media provision of information that people need to make informed decisions and serving as a channel through which mass communication can be achieved.[94] The East African have benefited from media as a source of information and platform through which the citizens articulate and aggregate their opinions thus making sense of integration and regionalism. However, within the context of individual member states (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda), there are differences in quality, breadth and depth of media coverage and content. This mainly depends on editorial media policies, target audiences, ownership and management, among other factors. For example, apart from the East African newspaper published by the Nation Media Group most of the other print and electronic media broadcasts focus on national matters while integration issues are considered secondary. This is at the expense of target audiences who happen to be the states citizens.

In most of the African Regional Integration the citizenly have not yet appreciated the concept of integration. This was underscored by Mr. Louis Uwimana, from Rwanda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation when he commented that,

"The media are not yet wholly persuaded in "preaching the gospel" of EAC integration, and thus their influence on the integration agenda is inadequate. This is attributed from their very brief coverage on EAC matters that highly significant to the citizens of the

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[93] Berverly G. Hawk (1992 p3) Africa"s Media Image. Praeger. Westport
[94] George Nyaoga (2011 p130) Enhancing Equity in the East African Regional Integration Process: Role of the Media. Society for International Development. Nairobi

member states. Furthermore, a popular print media companies largely cover respective homeland issues, with only some pages if any reserved for EAC matters. This gives the impression that editorial and ownership policies favor state-run issues. Paradoxically, the regional bloc is developing with more opportunities and thus is attracting more interests to the citizens of member states, mainly because the Common Market Protocol has been signed. Moreover, benefits that accrue from this expanded market appear to motivate even media owners, managers and editors as they see as an opportunity for investment".

According to Dr. John K. Mduma, as a Commissioner of the EAC Competition Authority from the United Republic of Tanzania- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [008],

"A majority of media managers consider their viewers to be concerned in EAC news. Conceivably this is the rationale that the media have shown in the rising concerns in EAC. The interviews indicated that the media houses would promote regional equity in the EAC integration process. Among the issues that need cohesion in the region, employment and education are the leading. Matters of land, good governance and tariffs also contribute a lot to the citizens. Issues of economy, general politics and the labor movement are the most significant topics covered and thus may determine the effectiveness of the EAC integration process. Nonetheless, negative news specifically those that related to conflict are less popular. This gives the evidence that people are tired of listening and speaking of issues that cause disharmony. Even so, it is practically impossible to separate political issues from conflict, and the fact that both issues account for almost a quarter of the common media coverage. This is indication that politics and conflict have a lot of influence on integration process".

The social economic status of the individual determines the level and quality of media usage coupled with other factors like the location whether one is living either urban or rural, education level, age and to an extent gender. Most of the people of EAC regularly and increasingly acquire information about public affairs from the media. The media successfully acts as disseminating agent of integration issues and ideas, a vehicle for filtering, analyzing and disseminating the collective national conversations within and across the borders. This aspect facilitates and sustains regional understanding.

Media communication in EAC is a fulcrum for the regional integration this is because it contributes and enhances to the creation and establishment of bondages between national and supra-national political institutions, on one hand, and the people on the other. The media public opinion thus set, confers legitimacy on the actions of the member state governments, leaders and other actors. In this case, therefore, there would be little doubt that the extent to which people are engaged with public affairs and the political processes depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that is transacted on issues in the public domain. Such media information develops people's interest in public affairs which ultimately creates public opinion on various issues. In this view there is direct proportionate relationship between interest in public affairs and exposure to the media, to the extent that the level of people's attention to public affairs can be taken as a measure of their level of contact with the media as observed by Norris in Nyaoga.[95]

Media can play a key role of enabling the regional integration process to be inclusive and participatory by all members of the society. This is because, at the national level there should be

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[95] George Nyaoga (2011) Enhancing Equity in the East African Regional Integration Process: Role of the Media. Society for International Development. Nairobi.

coherent coordination, public awareness, engagement of private sector and civil society as well as whole-hearted political will, rule-based implementation and accountability. The media can further facilitate to strengthen technical capacity for conducting informative cost benefit analysis and ensure fair and equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of integration as a start point among the members.

4.3 Foreign Aid and Development

In an article, analyst Mhaka observes that the French Philosopher and revolutionist, Franz Fanon in his anti-colonial writings referred to the early leaders of independent Africa as "the spoilt children of yesterday's colonialism without pity who used natural distress as means of getting on through scheming".[96] This can be attributed to the way most African countries" leaders immediately after independent resulted to foreign aid to run the new governments. The Western leaders on the other hand had acquired knowledge of Africa's resources through colonial administration. Their view of Africa was as a source of raw material for their recovering economies from the devastations of the WW1 and WW2. Consequently, the West became intimate with the African leaders. Also the west was made to believe that Africa was engulfed with war, disease and poverty. This was the easy way to make the western societies to sympathize and empathize with African people. This ended up having these societies authorizing their governments and leaders to channel aid through international governmental organizations such as, Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA) and European Community (EC) development assistance. The foreign aid or the development assistance were provided in form of operational, managerial or financial assistance which were given to NGOs and governments of

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[96] Gibson Mhaka (Oct, 2013) "Foreign Aid hinders Development in Africa". Retrieved from website; www.chronocles.co.zw. Accessed on 14 Jan 2016.

African nation. The contractors in this case happened to be companies from the nations providing the foreign aid or developmental assistance and so were the managers of the project. Consequently, there were no technological and managerial skill transfer as a result there was unsustainable development of infrastructure that got worn out in a couple of years due to lack of maintenance.

This was underscored by Mr. Louis Uwimana, from Rwanda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation who commented that,

"Foreign aid plays very important role at the micro levels policies of the host countries however; at the macro level the evidence is much more ambiguous. Foreign aid plays very important role in the development of a country and its benefits. Foreign aid/loans supplement domestic saving and help in bridging the resources gap. The flow of technical knowledge improves the quantity and quality of manufactured goods and makes them available at lower prices to the domestic consumers. The firms avail of the benefits of external economies like that of training of labour, introduction of new technology, new machinery Foreign aid plays very important role in the reduction of poverty and other socioeconomic problems and efficient economic institutions and macro-economic and fiscal policies in the developing world are the key to utilize the flows of foreign aid properly. Good governance and quality economic policies may increase the chances of bright future the future that will be free from poverty, economic dependency, political exploitation, and scarcity of the resources".

The African leaders became the new "colonial masters" amassing wealth through corrupt contracts and deals with the Western multinationals corporation. As Dambisa Moyo observes in

the 2004 case of the British envoy to Kenya then, who had to be forced to give an apology for commenting on corrupt ministers who were "eating like gluttons and vomiting on the feet of the foreign donors".[97] On the other hand, it is in the public domain that the late leaders like Mobutu Seseko of former Zaire now DR Congo and Sani Abacha of Nigeria had rooted their nations and stacked the money in Swiss Banks accounts. The corruption in African states, view's Dambisa Moyo, had reached what she called "the vicious cycle of aid that chokes off desperately needed investment".[98] Nevertheless, this does not mean that African countries are off the hook of donor aids since majority's budgets are depended upon it. A case in point is the Uganda's[99] and Tanzania's[100] donor funded at levels of 23.5% and 10.3% of their annually budget respectively, in 2015/16 financial year.

African states can work out on such issues of aid dependency, corruption and sale of natural resources at face value thus reversing the plague of poverty and underdevelopment of Africa. According to the president of Gabon, Mr. Ali Bongo there is an African solution that can deliver a peaceful and prosperous Africa.[101] Africans and African leaders should develop their national development approaches based on their national values and within their economic capacities and the regional interconnectivity that would ensure sustenance. This in contrast to the western model approach which has been used as case of what is tailor made for the West also fits any state in Africa, but this approach has failed. In this regard, it would be prudent for the African leaders to strengthen their economies while improving available opportunities within

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[97] Dambisa Moyo (2009, p48) Dead Aid: Why Aid is not Working and Why there is another Way for Africa. Penguin Books. London
[98] Ibid
[99] Uganda Budget Speech 2015/2016;Retrieved from Red Pepper website; www.redpepper.co, on 19 January, 2016
[100] Budget Summary: Tanzania 2015/16; Retrieved from website; www.fbaattoneys.com, on 19 January 2016
[101] Ali Bongo (2016 p19) "Yes, there are African Solutions that can deliver a peaceful and Prosperous Future." The East African News Paper, January 30 February 5, 2016. Nation Media Group. Nairobi.

reach of the population and to device frameworks for new economic models that value local sustainability. A case in point is Kenya's vision 2030, that even before the year is attained, Kenya was declared a middle industrial state although in the lower end of the scale.[102]

This was underscored by Dr. Anthony Kafumbe, the Counsel to the East African Community when he indicated that,

> "Lack of accountability is seen as the primary cause of slow development especially in Africa where leadership has been a major let down in the area of development. African leadership has been for decades now, driven by a desire for rapid personal wealth at the expense of the majority poor. Poor governance has greatly contributed to this greed of African leaders. Lack of accountability and bad governance are some of the major root causes of socio-economic crises facing Africa today. This has increased the propensity for corruption. Good governance is epitomized by predictable and open policy making, a bureaucracy imbued with professional ethos acting in furtherance of the public good, the rule of law, transparent processes, and a strong civil society participating in public affairs".

4.4 Democratic Leadership Need to Prevail

The state building process of African nations continues to be an inherent complication even after grappling with experimentation of neoliberal political and economic system. There are pressured democracies in most of African nations which have resulted with unregulated perennial cycle of poverty and deprivation to their populous. After fifty years of independence the political governance is still stifled by weak institutions that contribute to human insecurity

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[102] Kenya Vision 2030, retrieved from Kenya vision 2030"s website; www.vision2030.go.ke

that has made a household name in the national and international media houses reporting about Africa. Although many of the leaders of African states thought that creation of institutions at the national and the sub-regional levels would address the perennial poverty and insecurity. However, to institute the international regime demands especially the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), on their weak economy resulted to uncoordinated and unsynchronized governance of institutions that could not support the economy.[103] The leaders especially in East Africa embraced democracy with a focus on one of the key elements, election, which in most cases resulted to pseudo-democratic systems where the winner had it all (Big-man syndrome), nevertheless some had a genuine democratic rebirth. In the case of the former, the most prevalent state of affairs was the citizenry appearing to have been hoodwinked into playing the willing participant in the enthronement of self-serving political class. This was also the elite group that would hoodwink the donors to continue remitting donor funds that would be corruptly be used to win elections.

This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, when he commented that,

> "It has been difficult for democracy to entrench its roots in Africa. As a result, what Africa has witnessed is dictatorship, poor governance, corrupt leaders and serious poverty cycles characterized with many unending calamities such as drought and famines. For instance, in Zambia, the former Head of State of Zambia, Fredrick Chiluba, was charged with theft of states funds. This is a major problem as aid flows meant to help average

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[103] 5Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) are economic policies for developing countries that have been promoted by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) since the early 1980s by the provision of loans conditional on the adoption of such policies.

Africans end up supporting the ruling class with their families and friends and continue perpetuating poor governance in Africa. International donors have turned a blind eye that aid money is fueling graft and it has made it easy for funds to be used for anything except for the purpose of development".

Notwithstanding the bad situation of state building contradictions that was faced by many states in Africa, the same leaders continued to hold office (a case in point is the former president of Kenya Daniel Arab Moi who ruled Kenya for twenty-four years, and the current serving president of Uganda Yoweri Kaguta Museveni who is on his 30th year rule). The dismal economic growth experienced by the continent averaging approximately five percent [104] is nothing to applaud about despite the economic recession experienced in the world in the recent past. This is because economic growth especially in the EAC region it not translated into job opportunity for the majority unemployed youths.

State leadership in Africa is an issue that is emerging as a challenge to regional integration. It is observed that out of 33 African countries that have had constitutional term limits, 12 have successfully changed the provisions that have allowed incumbent presidents to extend their stay in power[105] , although a number of them were unsuccessful but they still found their way to stay put in power. The case in point for those who succeeded were Yoweri Museveni of Uganda and Paul Kagame of Rwanda while Pierre Nkrunziza of Burundi in a contradictive selfserving interpretation of the constitution managed to stay put through a contested election. All the three presidents are Summit Members of the EAC highest decision

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[104] Peace A. Jiboku and Ufo Okeke-Uzodike (2014) The African Peer Review Mechanism and the Quest for Regional Integration in Africa. Africa Peace and Conflict Journal, 7:1 (2014), viii

[105] Alfred Muteru (2015) "Editor"s Note". ALC Newsletter. Issue III, Vol 1 Sept, 2015.

organ. Out of five members of the EAC only two Kenya and Tanzania can claim preference of democratic governance through a democratically elected government.

This was underscored by Adan Mohamed is the Cabinet Secretary for East African Community & Regional Development when he indicated that,

"That leaders have a critical role in executing the democratic agenda in East Africa. Democracies that represent and act in their citizens' interests are treated with respect and consideration, whereas non democracies that use violence and oppression against their own people are regarded with mistrust and suspicion. Consequently, particular democratic practices that make war with other liberal democracies unlikely free and fair elections, the rule of law, free press, a competitive party system are driven by both 'converging expectations about what conventional behavior is likely to be' (institutions) and 'standards for what behavior ought to be' (norms)".

The weakened constitutional institutions in Africa are an indicator of likely pending consequences of poor governance that Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) targeted poverty eradication has become a millage beyond the horizon. Consequently, this may have a negative impact to the RIA"s integration processes which are the „pillars" supporting the Africa's time board vision, of agenda 2063. In effect, the paradox of democratic leadership of member states of the African leaders cannot produce clean institutions of government and policies to ensure regional economic integration.

Africa is still grappling with devastating conflicts and political crises ranging from Burundi, DR Congo, Central Africa Republic, and Somalia to South Sudan. On the other hand,

grand corruption and scourges of terrorism impact, continue unabated in West Africa, North Africa and East Africa. The leaders of African states in the RIAs are expected to strengthen their social pacts that bind the states in the integration bloc with commitment and courage to strengthen each member state's institutions of leadership in order to be in line with AU economic agenda of the future. These also call for getting rid of tyrannical and "big-man syndrome" form of leadership.

4.5 Strengthening Human Capacity

Human resource is argued to be the most important resource a nation can ever be proud of. Hence empowering human capital should be the prudent, judicious and lucrative investment and a nation can undertake. This is because human capital is the driver to national productivity. Nevertheless, higher productivity ensures the individual higher earnings, and for the collective to enjoy a higher output.[106] African nations with a desire to come out of the quagmire of poverty and underdevelopment have no better alternative than to invest consistently in their citizens" human capital. However the global economy is inclined more towards knowledge based sector where manufacture of ICT devices, pharmaceutical, telecommunications and other ICT devices based services and research and development require skills and the human capital development becomes a focus for the policy makers and practitioners engaged in economic development both at state and regional levels.[107]

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[106] 8 Constant, Amelic F. & Tien, Bienvenue N. (2010, p3) African Leaders: Their Education Abroad and FDI Flow. IZA Discussion Paper, No.5353 December 2010. Bonn

[107] Hiro I., & Robert H. (2004, p111) Empirical analysis of human capital development and economic growth in European regions, in Impact of education and training, by Descy, P. & Tessaring, M. (eds), Third Report on Vocational Training Research in Europe: Background Report. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2004

This was underscored by The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development, Kenya, Dr. Margret Mwakima, when he stated that,

"Any development process visualized in its simplest or broadest context must meet the expectations of the people of the state for enhancing their standard of living and helping to contribute to national development. This must find root in effective human capacity building and development. Accordingly, an all-encompassing goal of development is one which is centered on the progressive realization of the capacities, abilities and talents of each individual of the state for his/her own satisfaction and enhancement of the good of the community he/she finds themselves and the nation at large".

At independence, African nations had to forge their nation's ways forward as states in a self-help world arena. Economic development was therefore in the fore as a national priority to generate the necessary impetus to build the new nations administrative, political, and socioeconomic institutions. Majority of the African leaders were well educated to meet the necessary threshold for the leadership portfolios, but the masses had little or no formal education. The expectations from the citizens were as high as the ambition and eagerness to make a difference. A case in point was the Kenyan president Jomo Kenyatta's government policy document ment that addressed poverty, disease and ignorance.[108] Latter the scholars observed that the expected outcomes by the African leaders were hardly achieved.[109] Most scholars argue that leaders matter for the country's economic growth, this is because they invest in initiating

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[108] Mwenzwa, E., M. & Misati, J., A. (2014, p247) Kenya"s Social Development Proposals and Challenges: Review of Kenya Vision 2030 First Medium-Term Plan, 2008-2012. American International Journal of Contemporary Research, Vol.4 No. 1. January 2014.

[109] 1 Ibid

social connection networks and innovating the right direction for the economic growth.[110] Leaders depend on these interpersonal connection networks to build trust and solidarity in work environment. Knowledgeable and skilled leader set norms, rules and strategies for success. They deploy the workers according to their knowledge and skills in the available jobs to achieve the institutions desired results. These leaders motivate and inspire workers to work hard in order to achieve institution goals and objectives. In this view the African leaders could not achieve much due to the low levels of human capacity and as such the expected performance was jeopardized.

This was underscored by Amb Jean Rigi, the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of EAC Affairs, Burundi when he stated that,

> "No nation of the world neglects the continuous improvement of the skills, knowledge base, education, competencies and the strategic alignment of its people, communities, businesses and other institutions to national development without concerted effort to effective human capacity building and development which is a sine qua non for an all-round sustainable development. Humans and their capacity identification and development remains the center of creation of goods and services, advancement in science and technology, economics, agriculture, military; and above all value creation in all spheres of human endeavor".

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[110] Jones, B. F. & Benjamin A. Olken (2005). Do Leaders Matter? National Leadership and Growth since World War II, Quarterly Journal of Economics, 120 (3): 835-864. Kenya Sessional Paper No. 10 of 1965

4.6 Poor Human Capacity could not Support the FDI flow

An open economy which participates in the international trade establishes the necessary prerequisite for the FDI to flow in the country. Although the states of Africa at independence never exhibited virtues of free market economy and foreign investment, however it may be argued that this was due to their small markets and they were grabbling with western economic culture that was foreign to Africa. Soon after the first crop of African leaders, well educated in their former colonial master's schools became economically inward looking. They protected their young economies dearly. Unfortunately, with lack of well skilled human resource the FDI's was directed and managed by foreigners who took advantage of the masses. Fear set in with new leadership due to the former colonial foreign masters underhand to control the activities in their former colonies through use of FDI's that supported the economy of the young nation. Poor or lack of planning, policy formulation and implementation resulted with poor or little management and control of the FDI's activities that more often than not interfered with running of the government.

This was underscored by Adan Mohamed is the Cabinet Secretary for East African Community & Regional Development when he commented that,

> "Neglecting human beings and their capacity towards national and/or community development is like throwing away the child with the bath water. The power of human capacity for development first came from the primordial time where everybody brought his or her individual talents, skills and competencies to bear in the development of that city. From this primordial time to the period of the dark ages and to ancient civilization of Rome, Athens and Egypt where human capacity development for leadership, athleticism,

war, education, especially philosophy and science took center stage, human capacity building and development has generated so much attention to the extent that international development agencies has set standards and measures for enhancing human capacity, its building and development. It follows that human capacity and capacity building is one of the developmental indices of nations".

On the other hand, African states had no or little comprehensive plan to control and manage the foreign aid. Consequently, this assistance especially during the cold war was used by the hegemonic powers of East and West determined the kind of market economy, capitalist or communist within the political ideology inclination an African state would be. It could also change with change of leadership. A case in point was Congo Kinshasa under Patrice Lumumba and leadership under Mobutu Sese Seko.

Thus before 1970s most African states resulted with trade barriers and capital control as way of an import-substitution procedures aimed at protecting home industries and securing foreign exchange. This could be attributed to little knowledge in appreciating the western economy as a driver to development. This resulted in discouragement of international trade growth in the African countries that also locked out foreign direct investments. The impact of this mix resulted with poor economic growth and living conditions in the African people as observed by Rodrick in Soutana Sako.[111]

Poor human capacity building can be argued to have contributed to 1970s and 80s leaders of new African states resulting to dictatorial or authoritarian leadership styles as the effects of the

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[111] 3Soumana Sako (2006) Challenges facing African Economic Communities in Capacity Building. The African Capacity Building Foundation: Occasional Paper No. 5 2006

superpowers of the cold war played out. Majority of these leaders got into power through military coups or through undemocratic means. Such military dictators like Idi Amin and Bokasa took over power in Uganda and Central Africa Republic respectively. With Amin's poor level of formal education, the progressing growth of Uganda and the EAC was jeopardized. In the whole of Africa, the masses could be manipulated in whatever way which left the RIAs in limbo. In the EAC region the masses had little or no knowledge about the EAC and and its functions. The "leaders" project", the EAC broke down in 1977, although it had achieved higher levels of integration than the current one today.

This was underscored by UNCTAD Secretary-General Mukhisa Kituyi – a Kenyan former trade minister –when he indicated that,

"In the 1980s and up to mid-1990s African states were imposed with condition for acquisition of loans and grants to support their economies from the Bretton Wood institutions (The International Monetary Fund and the World Bank), the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). But the major undoing of the African state leadership was not to have strengthened human capacity for comprehensive and consistent planning, policy formulation and implementation at the national levels to reduce the risks of conflicting imposed developmental initiatives by the Bretton Wood institution or to comprehend their complementarity aspect. As a result, there was no or little significant improvement in economic performance in the African countries. The overall economic growth pattern in Africa remained anemic notwithstanding the overlapping RIAs.

This was underscored by Frank Martsaert, chief executive officer of Trade Mark East Africa (TMEA) when he commented that,

> "Governments need to implement policies that will influence the inflow of FDI to sectors that can generate large externalities. This would significantly contribute to poverty reduction and reduction in income inequality. Agriculture in Zambia and Uganda has the potential to generate large externalities. For example, Uganda has a good climate for growing a number of agriculture products (e.g. cotton, cassava, ginger, coffee etc.). They could create a competitive advantage in these industries by ensuring that the country has the physical and soft infrastructure, human and financial capital, and markets to add value to these products for export and domestic use. Building competitiveness requires the government to institute policies and direct budgetary resources to programmes that will assist in achieving such a goal. Governments also need to get the fundamentals right, while directing the budgetary support to the right sectors and creating 'smart partnerships' between large foreign investors and small and medium enterprises".

4.7 RECs Aim to be a Regional Security Community

Under anarchic circumstances countries look out first and foremost for their own security interest, which tend to jeopardize existence of the state due to the competitive nature of the world arena.[112] This aspect tends to lead to a security dilemma. However according to neo-liberalist they posit that although states are actors in an anarchic environment, rationality prevails in their actions. Hence States in a RIA should are believed to act rationally to maximize mutual benefits. In this case therefore they create institutions that promote cooperation that take a wide range of forms. The creation of such institutions enables control the existence of such security

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[112] Fawcett, Louise (2009, p21) International Relations of Middle East, 3rd ed. Oxford University. London

dilemma. These institutions are inform of collective security, collective defense or cooperative society or peace and security department. This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, - when stated he that,

> "African security architecture was already in place and positioned alongside the regional blocs. Majority viewed the standby forces as none functional to African security challenges in the current state. Taking cognizance of the Eastern Africa Standby Force most of the respondents observed that it has failed to address the conflicts in Burundi and South Sudan to prove its worth. Although the regional blocs do not fully encompass the African Standby Force due to overlapping multiplicity of the membership of RIAs. Others viewed that it was already a challenge for the African states to agree on modes of operations as well as constituent institutions locations of the standby forces. Majority of the respondents observed that until that time the African standby force would take the shape of a continental force with one central command that is when it would be argued to be contributing to unification of both RIA and the AU".

In a collective security, the enemy is viewed to threaten regional or international peace and security. When the collective security institution is of international nature like the UN, a threat can emanate from any region of the world. Thus any nation that commits aggression threatens peace and may be considered to have exceeded the limits of a civilized behavior hence it would be considered to violate the norms of the security system and therefore subject to enforcement action by the members of the community.[113] AU member states subscribe to UN

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[113] 5Aleksovski, Stefan; Bakreski, Oliver & Avramovska, Biljana (2014) Collective Security: The Role of International Organizations, Implications in International Security Order. Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences, Doi:10.5901/mjss. 2014.v5n27p274.

hence they are members of the international collective security. Within the same arrangement the AU"s African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA)with its African Standby Forces (ASF) in every REC is in furtherance of collective security that has been regionalized within Africa. The most developed of them is the East Africa Standby Force (EASF), which is managed from Kenya and Ethiopia to develop major institutions including Headquarters, a logistic base and a training school. EASF encompasses the EAC member states without Tanzania that belongs to South African Standby Force (SASF)under SADC. The SASF and the Western Africa Standby Force (WASF) are in the formative stage. Nevertheless, the EASF has laid the basis for the regionalized collective security.

In this respect a Security Community can be viewed as an affair of the states that tend to coagulate countries into a community of states. It facilitates a state to feel secure from external threats of other states and hence provide an environment that is conducive for the state to conduct its internal affairs of the sovereign state and the responsibilities vested to it by the cooperation membership. In today's world security communities depends largely on state's measure of political leadership that ensures stability. The Unity in the system of security community is normally followed by a strong economic cooperation within the region. Member states develop mutual respect and observation of the rule of law and human rights which create the necessary climate for the growth of RECs that ensure sustainable development and equitable standard of living.

This was underscored by Secretary General of COMESA Chileshe Mpundu Kapwepwe when he commented that;

"The diverse securitization of issues has gone opposite to those of economic interest alignments. Unlike like the economic interests, states view security demands differently from economic interests with the RIA. This can be argued to be among the causes of the multiplicity of the RIAs in Africa which makes a country to economically align itself to one region while again aligning itself in security wise to another region. This aspect can be viewed from the EAC perspective where it is an existing challenge overtime. It therefore supports the hypothesis that challenges and prospects facing EAC regional integration are similar to those that face other regional integrations in Africa".

4.8 ICT Data Availability and Accessibility

The RIAs need to address the aspect of information requirement. The African Sub-region and regional institutions, complemented by targeted and regionally coordinated international expertise assist to cross pollinate regional capacities that can play a meaningful role. To achieve this objective the Sub-Saharan Africa need to take maximum advantage of the global information grid, that was provided by the international development agencies such as Canada's International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which worked in partnership with Sub-Saharan African countries, civil society groups and transnational corporations such as Alcatel, and Microsoft to build the information communication infrastructures. Such projects were undertaken and focused towards interlinking Africa by a round ring of fiber optic internet cable and to the rest of the world were, African Optical Network (African ONE1) and the sub-marine optical fiber cable South African Telecom 3-West African Submarine -South Africa - Far East (SAT-3/WASC/SAFE) respectively but the latter's aim was to interlink Africa with Asia and Europe. In addition to these two another project was aimed to provide satellite communication with an effective linkage between Sub-Saharan

Africa telecommunication networks with those of other continents was the Regional African Satellite Communications Organization (RASCOM). These projects were geared to speed up region's integration to the global information exchange system. Thus the call was for the African government to introduce institution reforms such as "divestitures of public enterprises and commercialization, liberalization and privatization" of countries" telecommunication industry which have not been realized as yet.[114] Information flow privatization and liberalization in a REC can be key to information sharing and resource allocation that could contribute immensely to the integration process.

This was underscored by EAC Director General of Customs and Trade Peter Kiguta, when he commented that,

> "The likely and necessary media contribution that would have enabled to create images of expectations and benefits to the populace of regional integration through national and regional branding do not exist. The EAC media contribution is still in the formative stages where member states acceptance is still a major issue to some. This makes this aspect to remain a major challenge to RIAs in Africa. Although given the globalization rate in Africa the transformation due to its effects of connectivity and information sharing is causing a paradigm shift. States may be able to control the media houses what they say and air but they will not be able to control connectivity that enhances information exchanges and sharing as a result of globalization".

This was underscored by Peter Njoroge, the director of economics at Kenya's Ministry of EAC Affairs where he indicated that,

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[114] Ojo, Tokunbo (2005) Wiring Sub-Saharan Africa for Development. International Journal of Education and Development using Informationa and Communication Technology (IJEDICT), 2005, vOL. 1, iSSUE 3, PP94-107

"The cyclic nature of poverty has been attributed to foreign aid dependency that the study noted to be a challenge and a prospect. Africa is the only continent that has defied the conventional economic logic that with all the natural resources, vast marine resources, flora and fauna and 12 hours a day of sunlight, its people writhe in abject poverty. On the other hand, the effects of conditionalities from the international aid institutions like the World Bank and IMF made the Africa states to think otherwise on accepting the foreign aid. Some states in Africa have cut on donor aid to supplement their national budgets. It is in this view that the study argues there is prospect in the near future for the states within a RIA to look to one another for support for development, hence encouraging or creating the necessary environment for integration".

4.9. Conclusion

Certain environments or areas if well addressed provide strong prospects for regional integration in Africa. In this case, harnessing positive media public opinion can become a good vehicle to promote the integration agenda. While the realization that foreign aid hinders development would be the first step to harnessing opportunities within the state. This may be achieved through strengthening economic institutions and developing homegrown, functional and executable economic models that would enable economic stability away from donor dependency and steer the African countries to development as argued earlier. While addressing multiplicity of regional integration it would ensure value for resources especially time and money. In this case RIAs member states would tend to align their interests to the most valuable regions where their efforts would count wholly. On the other hand, democratic leadership would promote citizen participation thus strengthening institutions and accountability of leaders to the masses.

In order to achieve higher levels of development each RIA in Africa should aim at achieving a security community, a form of security interdependency between states that ensure democratic principles are maintained as well as blocs" policy adherence and execution. Meanwhile, the laying of data cables around and within Africa provides prospects for good connectivity between member states within the sub-region and African region and to the rest of the world. The prevalence of these aspects that face regional integration efforts in Africa support the hypothesis that, regional integration arrangements in Africa have challenges and prospects to realizing the African dream of economic integration.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA FINDINGS AND PRESENTATION

5.1 Introduction

The content analysis done for this study reveals an interesting array of issues that the media are concentrated on. It also shows how such topics are framed, portrayed and reflected in coverage, and what the main areas of contention and media interest in the EAC integration process are. In addition, the analysis identifies the most contentious points and issues of public interest and how these are reported, as well as what accounts for the coverage. The results also reveal which type of media has the most interest in East African issues.

According to the content analysis, more articles (32) were published in Kenya than in any other country. It should be noted that these include the 14 articles that appeared in The East African paper, which was coded as a Kenyan newspaper because it was published in Nairobi where its parent company, the Nation Media Group, is based. So, although based in Kenya, The East African is a regional weekly paper that tends to spread its coverage into the traditional EAC countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Thus The East African gives substantial coverage to East Africa simply because it is a regional publication – in fact, "the only truly regional paper' 'according to Ali Zaidi, the newspaper's managing editor at the time of the survey.[115] This means that more than any other newspaper, it has made a "significant" contribution to the understanding people have of the East African Community. Given that its circulation is only 60,000, however, its effects as an agent of integration can be said to be only modest.[116] But the fact that the newspaper considers EAC coverage as a core element of its editorial policy and operations

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[115] Zaidi A, personal interview November 2009.
[116] This figure is derived from Project Syndicate's website, available at Accessed 6 October 2010

reveals the value of the regional grouping to some media organizations. This is particularly key because The East African's parent company, the Nation Media Group, is the largest in the region and has spread into Uganda where it owns The Monitor and Nation TV Uganda, and to Tanzania where it runs Mwananchi Communications, the publishers of The Citizen.

The results further reveal that the largest body of articles published (numbering 30 and equivalent to 43.5 per cent) consisted of "straight news" stories, followed by those that were classified as "news analysis" (numbering 17 and equivalent to 24.6 per cent). Straight news is conventionally defined as "hard" news, meaning that it is by and large a record of timebound events or occurrences. This is the definition applied to straight news in this study. News analysis refers to reports that explain the issues or events reported in the news. The same definition was used in this study. The predominance of straight news accounts speaks to the fact that newspapers in the region do perceive the newsworthiness of EAC issues, as reflected in the treatment of these issues as news that merits timely dissemination. The news analyses give in-depth treatment of the issues and events in the news and often provide the necessary context and background information that can give readers a more rounded perspective of the issues.

This was underscored by Dr. Anthony Kafumbe, the Counsel to the East African Community when he added that;

> "There is sufficient, albeit modest, interest in EAC issues not only from media, journalists, editors and media managers but also from citizens who increasingly rely on the media to make sense of issues beyond their experiences. In a sense then, it is correct to state that the media contribute to people's decisions and levels of engagement with political and other processes in East Africa. Although the levels and qualities of media

usage vary with the user's socio-economic status, location (urban or rural), education, age and even gender, it is an inescapable fact that significant sections of the EAC population regularly and increasingly acquire information about public affairs from the media".

The single most frequently occurring topics were: common market, trade, integration, political federation, customs union and elections. Obviously, the descriptive categories that were used do overlap to some degree, but the aim was to capture the widest possible range of individual topics covered by the region's newspapers. The frequency of occurrence of some of these variables somewhat demonstrates the importance of issues, for example, the common market, and the interest shown in such matters by the citizenry or the newspaper buying public. Even though the number of occurrences may not tell us whether people actually were interested in the issues and why, the assumptions based on agenda setting show that these are the issues prioritized by editors who ostensibly serve their public through their publications. The inference from this analysis is that the newspaper content reflects the interests of the public and if that criterion were not met, people would not buy the papers.

The analysis also looked at whether the focus of stories was the newspaper's home country or another EAC state. Summative, the degree to which the media pay attention to what is happening in other EAC countries is a measure of what the media and ostensibly the people may consider important. This supports the notion that the media are inward-looking, reflecting nationalistic rather than regional issues to cater for their primary audiences; thus EAC issues feature only when they touch on developments in or the concerns of the homeland. Nonetheless, there were 112 specific references to other EAC countries in the articles sampled. Tanzania received the most attention, followed by Burundi and Rwanda. Although there is clear reason for

this focus, the assumption is that being the host of the headquarters of the EAC, Tanzania could have drawn relatively more interest from the media, while Burundi and Rwanda might have been of particular interest as new members of the bloc.

This was underscored by Dr. John K. Mduma, as a Commissioner of the EAC Competition Authority from the United Republic of Tanzania when he indicated that;

> "The media do successfully act as disseminating agents of integrationist ideas, vehicles for filtering, crystallizing and disseminating the collective national conversations within and across borders, thereby facilitating and sustaining regional understanding. East Africans have been empowered thanks partly to the media, which have a critical role to play in the success of the community. In effect, in East Africa, communication via the media is central to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra-national political institutions, on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other. It would also confer legitimacy on the actions of governments, leaders and other actors".

5.2 The Role of the Media in the EAC Integration Process and as Catalyst for Integration

From the arguments advanced above, it may seem that the media are not yet greatly persuaded about the EAC integration process, and consequently their effect on the integration agenda is limited. This observation is based on the notion that most of the current media organizations have given the EAC only "cursory" coverage, and that has mainly been about "elite" people and organizations and negative stories. Moreover, a majority of existing media largely cover individual country issues, with few if any pages reserved for East African issues. This reflects the fact that ownership and editorial policies favour national issues. Paradoxically,

the regional bloc is becoming more interesting and important to the citizens of member countries, particularly since the Common Market Protocol came into effect. Furthermore, the benefits of an expanded market seem to excite even media owners, managers and editors, who see the opportunity for growth. The investments made by the Nation Group lend credence to the idea that the EAC would become interesting to the media when the benefits were clear. If so, this may support claims that the media are really not interested in the issues per se, but in the attendant monetary gains of the expanded market – a perspective that may raise concerns of media corporatism and obsession with the bottom line instead of journalistic excellence.

This was underscored Mr. Feisal Ibrahim, from the Competition Authority of Kenya when he stated that;

> "Even though numerous issues may determine the efficacy of the integration process, including movement of labour, capital and goods, the media and the information they provide rank among the most critical determinants. This is because people consider information and knowledge fundamental to the way they perceive the EAC, and what it means to them. The fact that the media provides the channel through which people receive and send information, and a platform from which they can share and aggregate opinions, means that the media collectively have become a key driver of integrationist ideologies and processes. The media also may help mobilize political and other action as well as monitor the activities of public officials and thus promote transparency and accountability by the way they frame, prime and present issues, or the agenda they set through their content".

Ironically, the belief that an expanded market would deliver "goodies" for the media may inform an increased engagement with integrationist issues. In fact, some respondents suggest that they have upped their coverage in their quest to enhance people's awareness of the goings-on in member states. For example, according to William Pike, the chief executive officer of The Star newspaper in Kenya, the media have been advancing integrationist ideas; a stance that he believes has the capacity to influence public opinion and consequently the public's acceptance of the EAC.[117] Interest in EAC issues is demonstrated by the fact that most media houses, or 54.1 per cent, now carry EAC news at least once a week, as this study found out. Although this figure remains low given the import of regionalism, the interest and coverage are encouraging. They are particularly significant in a highly competitive commercial environment where the media and journalists focus largely on issues that sell, even in media claiming to be interested in the EAC. The point is reinforced by evidence indicating that more than 72 per cent of sampled media practitioners thought EAC issues were either very important or important. The figure somewhat dispels arguments that journalists are indifferent to issues of EAC integration. What's more, most of the media managers (81.1 per cent of those interviewed) believe their audiences are interested in EAC news. Perhaps this is the reason that the media have shown the growing interest in EAC issues identified by this study. Specifically, almost 92 per cent (or 34 of the 37) of the respondents indicated they were ready to promote equity in the EAC integration process. Of all issues of equity in an integrated East Africa, employment and education were seen as the most critical. Issues of land, tariffs and good governance were also mentioned as being of interest not only to respondents but also to citizens.

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[117] Pike W, Personal Interview December 2009.

This was underscored by Amb Jean Rigi, the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of EAC Affairs, Burundi when he indicated that,

"Contrary to the optimistic view that the media is gaining interest on positive issues, the truth is that most of the EAC coverage originates mainly from press conferences and press releases, a condition that indicates low quality of available media articles. Nonetheless, the dependence on press releases and other similar sources acknowledges the fact that news reporters are increasingly concentrating on material that originates from the EAC Secretariat. According statistics, 48 per cent of the stories covered originate from press releases at the EAC Secretariat and thus should impel the body more to engage the media more. EAC representatives would then have the chance to lobby media companies and journalists to give better, informed and authoritative coverage of issues that foster the integration process".

Issues of economy received significant coverage, according to our findings. As indicated in Table below, the economy, politics in general and the movement of labour featured most. This alone may indicate the importance given to such issues by media, and how these issues may determine the efficacy of the EAC integration process. The fact that negative news particularly that related to conflict did not reach the top positions may be telling evidence that people may be tired of conflict. Nonetheless, it is sometimes impossible to divorce political issues from conflict, and the fact that together the two issues account for almost a quarter of the media coverage is indicative of how politics and conflict may influence the integration process.

5.2.1 Most featured stories about the EAC on the integration process

According to the Mr Florian Mutabazi, Media Coordinator- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [029],

> "Some media companies have clear editorial policies that promote or prioritize EAC coverage. Among these policies only a few would support EAC integration process coverage. Irrespective of whatever coverage is granted by the bloc authorities, the main focus is on support given to the state's media in effort to integrate with the EAC by highlighting the best practices in partner states; improving regional coverage by having journalists in member states; according EAC matters adequate coverage in the core editorial content; supporting the EAC and its efforts towards regional integration. Therefore, lacking an explicit editorial policy will determine the quality and quantity of media coverage in the region".

Table 5.1. Most featured stories about the EAC

Issues Covered	Percentage
Economy	22
Politics	16
Free movement of labour	12
Advantages of integration	9
Common market	9
Business	8
Conflict	8
Education	8

Health	8

Despite the optimistic view that the media have become interested in positive issues, the fact is that most of the EAC coverage originated mainly from media/ press conferences and press releases, a situation that does not indicate the depth or quality of available media articles. Even so, the reliance on press releases and other similar sources confirms views expressed above that journalists and the media are increasingly paying attention to material originating from the EAC Secretariat. The fact that almost 48 per cent of the stories come from press releases and media events at the EAC Secretariat should spur the body into engaging the media more. EAC officials would thereby have the opportunity to lobby media organizations and journalists to give greater, better informed and more authoritative coverage of issues related to the integration process. Such an approach would perhaps address Pike's concerns that the technical aspects of integration issues make it difficult to decipher and interpret especially for the common populace who may see the issues as boring if presented in esoteric jargon as they are wont to be.

This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, when he indicated that,

> "Much effort in support of EAC integration in its conferences are very explicit on promoting good governance as it finds it important to develop and implement regional mechanisms that guide development of a media that is responsible, responsive, professional and accountable. Though responsibility, professionalism, responsiveness and accountability are subjective criteria, the participation of the media in developing such guidelines and policies would enhance good working relationships and certainly

encourage media companies to be proactive in their core business with regard to EAC issues".

Table 2:Stories covered

Stories Covered	Percentage
Media/press conference	33
Own initiative	21
EAC	12
Newsroom assignment	12
Media/press release	10
Own source	6
Other sources	6

Moreover, as Table below indicates, problems of access to information and journalists" fears of being mistreated in other EAC countries may explain the quality and quantity of EAC coverage. Compounding the unease are assertions that the levels of press freedom in some countries may limit the amount of engagement media have with various individual state governments. For example, Katua Nzile, the managing editor in charge of news at the Kenya Television Network (KTN), indicates that limited press freedom in countries like Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and to some extent Kenya sometimes limits access to information on the EAC.[118] Press freedom issues are further compounded by what Peter Ntimba of Uganda's

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[118]Interview with Katua Nzile K, 1 December 1 2009

WBS TV feels is a lack of informed staff at the EAC Secretariat.[119] This, he argues, means the media sometimes do not get the kind of information they seek, contributing to the lack of active media engagement with the EAC integration process.[120] To address such challenges, Burundi's Léonce Ntakarutimana posits that the EAC Secretariat should hold regular workshops for their personnel to help enhance their knowledge of regionalism and integrationism as well as their media handling skills.[121]

This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, when indicated that,

"In effect, in East Africa, communication via the media is central to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra-national political institutions, on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other. It would also confer legitimacy on the actions of governments, leaders and other actors. Thus, there is little doubt that the extent to which citizens are engaged with public affairs and the political process depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that is transacted on issues in the public domain. It is this communication that nurtures citizens" interest in public affairs. In fact, there is a correlation between interest in public affairs and exposure to the media, such that the degree of citizens attention to public affairs can be taken as a measure of their level of contact with the media".

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[119] Ntimba P, Personal interview, December 17 2009
[120] Ntimba, interview.
[121] Ntakarutimana L, Personal Interview, December 15 2009

5.2.2 Challenges faced by media in EAC

This was underscored by Ministry's Principal Secretary, Dr Susan Koech when he commented that;

"Individual member states of the EAC have differences in the quality, breadth and depth of media coverage. The content is dependent on their editorial media policies, target audiences, ownership and management. They mainly focus on national matters while integration issues are considered secondary with no or very little aspects of regional integration agenda. It is further argued that in most cases these differences have not contributed to making the RIA's citizenly to appreciate the integration process in many African nations".

Table 3: Challenges faced by media in EAC

challenges	Percentage
Access to information	33
Mistreatment in partner countries	21
Language barrier	12
Funding	12

With all that, the existence of facilities like the EAC media centre at the Secretariat in Arusha may improve the flow of information to the media and individual journalists covering the regional body. Nineteen (or 51.4 per cent) of the respondents speaking on behalf of media houses said they were aware of the EAC media centre and the EAC Secretariat in Arusha, although only

about half of the 19 had interacted with it. The flip side is that 48.6 per cent had no knowledge of either body, suggesting that the EAC needs to do much more to market itself to the media. This would enhance the interaction and engagement demanded by the media and, in turn, gives the media access to both human and other resources key to meaningful and informed coverage of EAC issues. Table below demonstrates, however, that few media houses have explicit editorial policies to encourage or prioritize EAC coverage. Only 9 per cent of those surveyed said they had any editorial policy on the coverage of the EAC integration process. Whatever coverage is granted focuses on supporting their countries to integrate with the EAC through highlights of best practices in partner states; increasing regional coverage by having correspondents in member states; treating the EAC as part of the core editorial content; promoting the EAC; and supporting efforts towards regional integration. The lack of explicit editorial policies in effect determines the quality and quantity of media coverage.

This was underscored by EALA Speaker, Rt Hon Ngoga K. Martin when he commented that;

"The media was to play the role of enabling regional integration processes to be inclusive and participatory by the whole society while enabling to strengthen the technical capacity for conducting informative cost benefit analysis. It was also to ensure a fair and equitable sharing of the costs and benefits of integration. The paradigm shift in this can be viewed in the way the states in Africa have nationalized media contents as observed earlier. The major challenge has been promotion of regional integration through media and public opinion, considering national preferences in the RIA is dependent on the political leadership. The study views democratic leadership as a complement to the integration

process but it is shaky in most African nations. The media has failed to play the key role in promoting regional integration agenda".

5.2.3 Media houses with an EAC editorial policy

Table 4: Media houses with an EAC editorial policy

Presence/absence of EAC policy	Percentage
EAC editorial policy present	25
EAC editorial policy absent	75

As the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance recommends, it is important to "develop and implement regional mechanisms that guide development of a media that is responsible, responsive, professional and accountable". [122] Although responsibility, responsiveness, professionalism and accountability are themselves subjective criteria, the involvement of the media in coming up with such guidelines and policies would promote good working relations and undoubtedly encourage media houses to be more proactive in their coverage of EAC issues. Information and communications are crucial to the sustainability of regional integration development. To this extent, EAC has established a strong and effective public information strategy and function. The strategy has clearly defined and supports the role of the media as an integral part of the regional integration and development effort. The EAC Communications and Marketing Strategy recognizes the critical role of information, education and communications in the desired economic transformation of the region. The focus of the Information and Communications and Marketing Policy has been on the

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[122] Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, conference communiqué.

development of the media in order to increase the flow and quality, exchange and dissemination of information in the region. It should be recognized that the media would play a more effective role in regional integration only if it is strengthened and given due recognition thorough measures, which the Partner States can undertake jointly within the framework of the East African Community. Among these are measures which relate to press freedom; training, legislation on media codes and ethics; promotion of collaboration in development and exchange of media products; and on the whole, agreeing to demands and measures which seek to overcome the constraints to media development and the basic tights of the people to information.[123]

This was underscored by Chairperson of COMESA Hon. Lantosoa Rakotomalala when he indicated that,

"The EAC Marketing and Communications Strategy acknowledge the significant role of information and communications in the desired commercial transformation of the region. The focus of the Information and Communications and Marketing Policy has been on the development of the media in order to enhance the flow and quality, exchange and delivery of information within the region. It ought to be acknowledged that the media would play a fundamental role in regional integration only if it is reinforced and given due appreciation it demands, of which the member States can accept jointly within the existing framework of the foundation of EAC. Among the things it should stress on are press freedom, legislation on media codes and ethics, training, promoting collaborations in development of media products and entirely agree to demands and strategies that seek

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[123] Magaga Alot,(2008). Communication and Marketing Strategy for the East African Community /Federation, Directorate of Corporate Communication and Public Affairs, EAC secretariat, p. 9.

to trounce the constraints in media development and the essential tights of the people to access of information".

5.3 Main Challenges and Key Opportunities

The EAC integration process is deepening and widening but not without challenges both at the Secretariat level and within partner states themselves. However, the robust market that the EAC offers has resulted in the key stakeholders making concerted efforts to mitigate and harness the challenges and opportunities.

5.3.1 Main Challenges to Regional Integration in Eastern Africa

Inadequate and poor regional transport infrastructure network limit economic growth and trade expansion: Infrastructure bottlenecks such as the poor road network and inefficient railway system must be proactively addressed if Eastern Africa is to integrate further and attain the competitiveness to underpin substantial economic growth through trade expansion. The regional transport infrastructure is weak and laced with missing links and incompatibilities in the regional systems. As a result, the different networks are not optimally utilized thus limiting opportunities to achieve the economies of scale necessary to attract and sustain private investment to distinct sections of network.[124] The railway system has weak tracks due to old age and lack of maintenance, different gauges of tracks preventing seamless regional connectivity between Eastern and Southern Africa, and a shortage of serviceable rolling stock limiting operational performance. Rail companies which own the tracks do not have the fiscal space to invest in upgrading existing or developing new rail networks. Poor quality of road networks constitutes an added cost disadvantage. Some roads also have incompatibility problems, with some designed

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[124] Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007.

for higher axle load limits than others. Cumbersome trade logistics and regional variations in technical standards constitute transit challenges. The major international seaports in the region (Dar es Salaam and Mombasa) face capacity constraints, resulting in congestion and berthing delays that hamper trade.[125]

This was underscored by Peter Njoroge, the director of economics at Kenya's Ministry of EAC Affairs when stated that,

"The challenge of harmonization of economic and social policies exists in any regional integration; the EAC is not an exception. The challenge is how to make partner states incorporate regional agreements into national policies. The policies of liberalisation, privatization and deregulation are almost exclusively national in scope, as they have obliged each partner states to negotiate separately with its external financing institutions, but with no reference to regional dimensions. Similarly, the donor institutions have strong preference for funding national programmes rather than those with a regional focus. Thus, domestic considerations take precedence over sub-regional preoccupations. Integration requires the participating partner states to relinquish their freedom of obligations over a wide economic and social policy. The advantages which may potentially accrue from increase of size of market may quite easily be lost if a group of collaborating economies fail to coordinate their policies effectively, operate at less than full capacity, restrict their investment, and thus individually and collectively grow less rapidly".

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[125] African Development Bank (2010). Learning Review of Regional Operations. The review was based on findings of previous analytical work on ROs in the Operations Evaluation Department (OPEV) and Project Completion Rep

In spite of its abundant energy resources Eastern Africa faces an energy deficit, which limits productive capacity: Eastern Africa has a diversity of energy resources including hydro, oil, gas and coal. The main land of Eastern Africa region with population of about 270 million has huge energy market including the demand from households, commercial, industrial and mining sectors. However, Power generation capacity is relatively low as are per capita generation and access to electricity. Due to a shortage of financial resources, the region has not sufficiently invested in new energy infrastructure (generation plants, transmission lines and distribution networks), necessary for sufficient, reliable and affordable power supply. The grid bottlenecks indicate lack of up-keep, maintenance and renovation on the existing networks. Although many of the countries in the region have adopted energy policies and established regulatory frameworks to liberalize the electricity supply industry and have enacted environmental laws to ensure conservation and protection of the environment, the existing laws and regulations have some weaknesses or grey areas, which tend to deter investment and promotion of regional power trade.[126]

This was underscored by Dr. John K. Mduma, as a Commissioner of the EAC Competition Authority from the United Republic of Tanzania when he stated that,

"Inadequate involvement of the population of East Africa has serious consequences for the legitimacy of the Community and indeed, the ultimate objective, East African Federation. Most EAC citizens lack awareness of the regional integration process and cannot as such articulate the benefits that can be drawn from the EAC integration process. It is as important to step up awareness-raising work as it is to facilitate access to

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[126] Ibid

institutions and political decisions. The intergovernmental structure hinders identification with the EAC; the situation is exacerbated by the general mistrust of national politicians. As a result, the EAC runs the risk of being perceived as a puppet of national interests. Any ceding of national sovereignty must be based on the widespread consent of the population because increasing the internal political pressure on decision-makers requires a high level of support from civil society".

ICT Infrastructural Constraints: While investment in ICT infrastructure in the region, and indeed the whole of Africa, has improved significantly, it has primarily focused on mobile infrastructure and access, leaving significant gaps in ICT backbone networks. Yet, ICT, in particular broadband networks, are increasingly recognized as fundamental for economic and social development. A recent study indicates that economic growth up to 1.3 percentages points can be achieved through investment in broadband networks. In addition, effective high-speed internet services needed for e-application in government, business and domestic use continues to be either very expensive or unavailable. Where available, the cost of broadband internet access is exorbitant. Although the GSM coverage is relatively high, the Eastern Africa region lags behind other Africa regions on intra-regional roaming arrangements. Importantly, ICT infrastructure presents a significant opportunity to leapfrog paper-based business models across a range of economic sectors, in particular by significantly reducing the transactional costs of economic and financial exchanges within and across borders.[127]

This was underscored by Mr Florian Mutabazi, Media Coordinator when he indicated that,

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[127] Center for Science Diplomacy(2009). East Africa Regional Integration and Scientific Cooperation American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) Center for Science Diplomacy 1200 New York Avenue p.12

"ICT operators were faced with various challenges that stopped them from fully exploiting infrastructure sharing opportunities. The challenges experienced in Europe could be different from those witnessed in developing countries due to maturity of the communication sector in developed countries. Among infrastructure challenges identified by mobile service operators in Kenya were asset valuation and management, shareholder and cost pressure, cultural alignment, stakeholder management and sponsorship. The key challenge faced by operators seeking sharing agreements, were the incumbent operators unwilling to approve or delay sharing with their competitors".

Weak Institutions and Human Capacity limit effectiveness of RECs: Inadequate capacity and resources among countries, RECs and IGOs, such as IGAD and the IOC, have made it difficult to plan, coordinate, and monitor the processes required to further integration. For example, both the EAC and COMESA Secretariats operate as the executive arms of their respective RECs while the authority for real decision and policy making rests with the Summit of Heads of State and the Council of Ministers. Linked to this is the reluctance of countries to cede some sovereignty to regional bodies, resulting in a situation where the REC secretariats have very little power to actually get things done. The RECs and IGOs also lack technical and human capacity to design sound ROs, especially complicated corridor investment projects, and relevant monitoring and evaluation mechanism for ROs. At the country level, there is a lack of capacity for implementing ROs and corridor investment projects.

Both at the national and regional level, there is also a lack of adequate capacity to negotiate international trade and other technical agreements (for example WTO Doha; EPAs with EU). Divergent attitude towards regional integration hampers progress: In many cases,

regional concerns and priorities are not reflected in national strategic frameworks. In addition, there is a tendency for Governments to resist ceding sufficient authority to the RECs and enacting the proper legislation and regulations necessary to guide the integration process. Insecurity and political instability pose serious obstacles to effective and deeper integration of the region. Political strife is a regional public "bad' that frightens investors, inhibits development and stifles economic growth. In addition, the bombings in northern Uganda and the acts of piracy off the coast of Somalia further create the perception that the region is not a safe place for business. These conflicts consume resources that could otherwise be channeled into productive activities. Collaborative efforts leading to detente and ultimate resolution of conflicts will strengthen the regional integration process.[128]

This was underscored by Dr. John K. Mduma, as a Commissioner of the EAC Competition Authority from the United Republic of Tanzania-, when added that,

> "The decision-making process within the EAC organs is either discretion or consensus, or both. The problem with discretion and consensus is that they are attempts to hold on to sovereign prerogatives that are not always in the best interest of regional integration. Consensus runs the risk of decisional paralysis while discretion runs the risk of decisional discrimination. The appointment of EAC key officials is conducted through a selection process by the partner states as opposed to an election process which is more transparent and likely to hold accountability. This restricts the integration process to a small group of political leaders and senior technocrats and hence the implementation, costs, benefits and opportunities are neither fully understood nor supported by all levels of government nor

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[128] Ibid

by an adequately wide range of public opinion. On political commitment, despite the rhetoric, practical commitment is lacking".

Lack of complementarity and similar comparative advantage hamper progress. The countries in the region have similar resources and their economies are largely based on similar activities. Thus, they do not complement each other sufficiently well and as a result compete in same markets. This situation impacts on the ability of the countries to trade internally within the region and with other regions. The challenge is for countries to identify complementary areas of activities based on their comparative advantage and diversify into them. Water scarcity and management of shared water resources remain major challenges in Eastern Africa. Water distribution in the region is varied and spatial with precipitation ranging from 700mm/yr in Kenya to 1200mm/yr in Uganda. According to the 2006 United Nations World Water Development Report, countries in the region ranked poorly in terms of water availability per person per year. For example, Uganda was ranked 115, Ethiopia 137 and Kenya 154 out of 180 countries covered. While Eastern Africa freshwater resources account for only 4.7% of Africa's total, the region is home to 19% of the continent's population. Thus, rising population contributes to the perennial water shortage problem which reduces agricultural productivity and access to clean drinkable water. Lake Victoria and the Nile basins are good examples of how riparian countries can cooperate in the use of shared water resources.[129]

5.3.2 Opportunities for Regional Integration

Eastern Africa is endowed with abundant natural resources, including rich arable land, water basins, and minerals such as oil, gold, precious stones and hydropower potential. The

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[129] The East Africa Secretariat,(2007) East African handbook, deepening and widening regional cooperation p.9

region The East Africa Secretariat, (2007) East African handbook, deepening and widening regional cooperation p.9 77 is home to a variety of exotic wildlife, beaches, lakes, waterfalls and is rich in forests, woodlands and orchards that produce timber and abundant marine life. These natural resources offer opportunities for productive activities and eco-tourism. Lake Victoria is the second largest freshwater body in the world with major ecological, economic and social significance. The region is also rich in energy resources accounting for about 70% of geothermal, 16% of hydropower, 7% of oil, 4% of coal and 2% of gas resources of the continent, thus offering opportunities for resolving the energy crisis in the region if a regional approach is adopted. The geothermal resources are located in Djibouti, Kenya and Ethiopia. Ethiopia accounts for 70% of the regional hydropower resources, followed by Sudan (14%), Tanzania (7%) and Uganda (5%). Oil reserves, which account for about 7% of continental reserves, are located in Sudan and Uganda while gas reserves are located in Sudan, Tanzania, Rwanda, Somalia and Ethiopia.[130]

This was underscored by Mr Florian Mutabazi, Media Coordinator, when he commented that,

> "On value addition and growth, the EAC is tapping on the positive globalization aspect especially on information and communication technology (ICT) which offers an integration opportunity for the regional bloc. This is because access and use of ICT is essential for the development of political, economic and social sectors of the bloc. Experts observe that the ICT sector within the region has created a trend of falling prices due to higher penetration of the society through the mobile telephone and broadband internet. The installation of a broadband internet cables through Dar-es-Salaam and

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[130] The African Development Fund (ADF) is the lead donor for regional operations in Africa (accounting for 20% of total ODA for Africa), with a clear focus on regional infrastructure

Mombasa ports to the mainland East Africa has raised the number of internet users drastically. In effect, it has enabled the people of East Africa to pursue communication technology innovation more aggressively".

The COMESA-EAC-SADC (CES) Tripartite arrangement offers a major opportunity for concerted efforts by the three RECs and their Development Partners to upscale infrastructure development and intra-regional trade. The Tripartite Summit, held in October 2008, among other issues, directed the three RECs to put in place a joint programme for the implementation of a single seamless upper airspace and accelerated infrastructure network.[131] The RECs were also directed to harmonise policy and regulatory framework for ICT infrastructure development, their Regional Transport Master Plans and Energy Master Plans, as well as their Priority Investment Plans. They are also to device joint financing and implementation mechanisms for the joint programmes. The Tripartite Summit also approvedthe expeditious establishment of the CES Tripartite FTA, which would take into account the principle of variable geometry allowing each country to move at its own speed. The plan to develop sector strategies to complement the FTA also offers an additional opportunity to boost production and trade capacity. The decision taken by the Tripartite Summit represents a major political support for the regional integration effort in Eastern and Southern Africa.

A vibrant private sector plays a critical role in stimulating the regional integration process and in propelling a private sector led growth. While the private sector is still at a nascent stage in many of the countries in the region, it can play a key in enhancing the regional integration

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[131] Ibid

process. [132] Government and the national/regional Chambers of Commerce and Business Councils are also already interacting in the region, but the contact has to extend beyond information sharing to involvement in policy making and programme implementation process.

Private sector involvement in the regional integration process will also assist regional infrastructure development. The private sector serves as an additional source of financing and ideas for infrastructure and real trade development. Private sector advice is also critical for strengthening trade and investment policies and the identification of the right set of priorities. The vibrant private sector in Kenya is a best practice case which can provide lessons of experience for the other countries. [133]

This was underscored by East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, when he indicated that,

"Economic concerns are not the only major challenge but other impediments also bedevil regional integration. The strengthening of supranational structures are other regional bloc challenges, whose cooperation has been so far predominantly intergovernmental. The self-interest of member states although understandable in the context of international politics, demands supranational counterweight to ensure appropriate and equal distribution of resources. This is because the short term national interest gains within the internal political commitments curtail the scope for inter-regional action. Realization of a common market goal requires all member states to be prepared to share and accept a certain significant amount of risk. This is because regional integration does not only

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[132] African Development Bank (2010). Learning Review of Regional Operations. The review was based on findings of previous analytical work on ROs in the Operations Evaluation Department (OPEV) and Project Completion Reports, discussions with Bank staff and managers, and desk review of selected ROs.
[133] Ibid

create trade, but it also changes the overall economic landscape of the member states as well as regional economic structure. This therefore calls for acceptance of taking related risk, due to some uncertainties which in some instances may have negative consequences. It would seem then that coordination is aimed primarily at short term optimization of profit rather than a sustained harmonization of joint economic activities".

5.4. Conclusion

The challenges faced by regional organizations of economic integration in Africa reflected in the literature review in chapter, are similar to the ones facing the EAC. Multiple REC memberships which put in question political will and commitments to the integration process, non-trade barriers affecting flow of trade and limiting maximization of economic gains, poor infrastructure increasing costs to business, weak institutions and unwillingness by partner states to cede power to a supranational entity has resulting to a slower pace of implementation of the protocol and enforcement of the same. To achieve the greater benefits of integration the EAC has to move into deeper integration also needs to address these challenges.

CHAPTER SIX:
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the data findings, conclusion drawn from the findings highlighted and recommendation made there-to. The conclusions and recommendations drawn were focused on addressing the objectives of this study.

6.2 Summary of Findings

In view of the study objectives, chapter two geared to determine the media as a diplomacy tool in African sub-regional integration processes. This was achieved through in-depth examination of such aspects as global perspectives of regional integration, regional integration, media diplomacy and public diplomacy, the role of media in the integration process, and means of information dissemination in the integration process. Through this examination the study is able to offer information in relation to regional integration. For many years, the view on regional integration has been that it is a major instrument for economic progress internationally and has been studied extensively, both in generally as well as with regard to developing countries.

Chapter three geared to examine regional integration and media diplomacy. To achieve this objective, the Study Examined the Regional Integration, Media Diplomacy and Public Diplomacy, Evolution of East Africa Community, institutions of East Africa Community, East Africa Community achievements, regional strategic objectives and the media, and EAC strategic framework. The concepts inform the readers on the important role the media plays in the

realization of the EAC integration. The role played by mass communication is important in our society because it serves to inform the public about current as well as past events.

Chapter Four geared to examine and analyze the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration with EAC as an objective of the study. To achieve this objective, the study examined and analyzed the challenges and prospects that limit or enhance the EAC integration efforts with a consideration that EAC has achieved a foot higher than most other regional integration in Africa. The EAC acted as the case for consideration in this study. To achieve this objective, the study focused the RIA in Africa challenges and prospects to the EAC with a view to analyzing their effects. Further the challenges and prospects to EAC integration were brought to the fore. The challenges facing the EAC were identified as the effects of overlapping membership by the EAC partner states, effects of national sovereignty, harmonization of EAC economic policy, effects of national interest and the effects of goals of EAC integration. While the prospects were identified based on available integration opportunities.

Chapter five geared to presents the data findings on the three objectives that is the media as a diplomacy tool in African sub-regional integration processes, regional integration and media diplomacy, and the challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration with EAC. These aspects were considered based on literature review explored that enabled to gather primary data to confirm the objective. In this view the study objectives were all attained and as portrayed in the arguments of each chapter.

6.3 Conclusion

In relation to media as a diplomacy tool in African sub-regional integration processes the study concludes that media is central to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra-national political institutions, on the one hand, and the citizenry on the other. It would also confer legitimacy on the actions of governments, leaders and other actors. Thus, there is little doubt that the extent to which citizens are engaged with public affairs and the political process depends significantly on the quality and volume of communication that is transacted on issues in the public domain. It is this communication that nurtures citizens' interest in public affairs.

In relation to regional integration and media diplomacy the onset of citizen journalism fomented by the availability of new media and technologies such as the mobile telephony and Internet, as well as alternative media like radio and community newspapers, may change this situation, but the availability or diffusion of such facilities is yet low. Even in cases where facilities such as mobile telephony are permeating, the general populace may not possess the necessary skills, knowledge and monetary resources yet to utilize the technologies to actively engage more with issues pertaining to the EAC integration process. In some cases, people may even lack the capacity to circumnavigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more crucial make sense of the information contained within.

In relation to challenges faced by the media in shaping regional integration with EAC, the study concluded that Certain environments or areas if well addressed provide strong prospects for regional integration in Africa. In this case, harnessing positive media public opinion can become a good vehicle to promote the integration agenda. While the realization that foreign aid

hinders development would be the first step to harnessing opportunities within the state. This may be achieved through strengthening economic institutions and developing homegrown, functional and executable economic models that would enable economic stability away from donor dependency and steer the African countries to development as argued earlier.

6.4 Recommendations

From the conclusions above, the study gives the following recommendations:

1. EAC media houses needs to take maximum advantage of the global information grid to promote regional integration through agenda setting to create public opinions

2. EAC economic communities ought to establish governance institutions to run the affairs of the bloc with powers to formulate policies and biding treaties

3. EAC nations ought to address the challenges of corruption in political leadership in order to improve the principal determinants influencing choices of FDI investors

4. To achieve integration effectively it is paramount that the competences of the EAC secretariat and supranational institutions are strengthened

5. Given the fragmented and small sizes of EAC member states low income economies, EAC needs to competitively participate in multilateralism from a regionalized stand point, to negotiate more effectively for international markets access.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I : Interview/Questionnaire Guide

1. Which roles does the media play in EAC integration?

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2. Have the media houses featured EAC news in the last one year?

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3. Which EAC issues does the media highlight?

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4. Which methods does the media use to raise awareness on regional integration?

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5. How can the media intervene to promote equity in the EAC integration process?

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6. Suggest up to 10 things that would have to be in place or to happen in order to trigger your interest in covering the EAC or to improve your current coverage of the EAC. Use one-line phrases or sentences as provided for in the space below.

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7. Are you informed on the EAC integration process?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

If Yes on what issues or areas? Please list.

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If No, on what issues or areas?

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8. Suggest aspects of the EAC integration process that you would wish to be (more) informed about?

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9. What is your perception of the EAC integration process?

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10. How important do you consider media as tool in the EAC integration process?

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11. What opportunities do you think exist for the media outlets in the region in the EAC integration?

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12. What weakness exists in the current East African media in light of EAC integration?

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13.   Are   you   familiar/aware   of   the   EAC   media   centre?

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If Yes, how?

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14. Would you be interested to engage with the EAC secretariat in their activities?

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If No, why?

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15. Do you know of any initiative in EAC member countries engaging the media in reporting on

the process or playing a role like engaging/informing citizens?

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16. What role would you prefer to take in the EAC integration process?

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17. In your opinion, are the media houses promoting the EAC integration?

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18. Do you think the EAC Integration will succeed?

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 If Yes, give at least 5 reasons

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If No, give at least five reasons

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19.   What   influences   your   decision   to   in   covering   story/event?

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20. In your opinion, what drives media houses in deciding on what story to cover?(guide-Politics

of the day, profits, truth)

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21. Considering EAC integration process is already on going, what issues of equity in the region

in your view are paramount and deserve more coverage?

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22. How can the media intervene to promote equity in the EAC integration process?

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Thank you for your participation

Appendix II: List of Key Informants

1. East African Community and Northern Corridor Development Cabinet Secretary, Peter Munya, - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [001]

2. Ministry's Principal Secretary, Dr Susan Koech- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [002]

3. Adan Mohamed is the Cabinet Secretary for East African Community & Regional Development- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [003]

4. The Principal Secretary in the Ministry of East African Community and Regional Development, Kenya, Dr. Margret Mwakima, - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [004]

5. Amb Jean Rigi, the Permanent Secretary at the Ministry of EAC Affairs, Burundi- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [005]

6. Mr. Louis Uwimana, from Rwanda's Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [006]

7. Mr. Feisal Ibrahim, from the Competition Authority of Kenya - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [007]

8. Dr. John K. Mduma, as a Commissioner of the EAC Competition Authority from the United Republic of Tanzania- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [008]

9. Dr. Anthony Kafumbe, the Counsel to the East African Community- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [009]

10. Registrar of the East African Court of Justice, Mr. Yufnalis N. Okubo - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [010]

11. Secretary General, Amb. Liberat Mfumukeko, - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [011]

12. Dr. Kafumbe, the Counsel to the Community- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [012]

13. Frederick Ngobi Gume, Uganda's Minister for Cooperatives - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [013]

14. Chris Kiptoo, principal secretary at Kenya's department for trade- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [014]

15. UNCTAD Secretary-General Mukhisa Kituyi – a Kenyan former trade minister –OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [0015]

16. Frank Martsaert, chief executive officer of TradeMark East Africa (TMEA) - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [016]

17. Tanzania by Ambassador Dr. Pindi Chana - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [017]

18. Kenyan High Commissioner to Tanzania Ambassador Dan Kazungu- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [018]

19. Peter Njoroge, the director of economics at Kenya's Ministry of EAC Affairs- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [019]

20. EAC Director General of Customs and Trade Peter Kiguta- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [020]

21. Dr. Richard Masozera, Ambassador of Rwanda to Kenya - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [021]

22. John Mwangemi, Kenya High Commissioner to Rwanda - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [022]

23. H.E. Maj. Gen. (Rtd) Geoffrey L. Okanga Kenya High Commissioner to Uganda- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [023]

24. Mrs Angelina Chogo Wapakhabulo, Uganda High Commissioner to Kenya- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [024]

25. Chairperson of COMESA Hon. Lantosoa Rakotomalala- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [025]

26. Secretary General of COMESA Chileshe Mpundu Kapwepwe- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [026]

27. SADC Executive Secretary H.E Dr. Stergomena Lawrence - OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [027]

28. Generose Minani, EAC Principal Gender and Community Development Officer- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [028]

29. Mr Florian Mutabazi, Media Coordinator- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [029]

30. EALA Speaker, Rt Hon Ngoga K. Martin,- OI: September, 2019, Nairobi [030]