

**THE ROLE OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY IN FOSTERING REGIONAL
INTEGRATION WITHIN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY**

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REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented to any institution for the award of any academic certificate.

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R51/63637/2010

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Date

This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the student supervisor.

.....

Dr. Patrick Maluki

.....

Date

DEDICATION

To

Collette,

My daughter, in you renewed love and hope for a better future.

Colletta,

Mama, for your love, sacrifice, resilience and of your dreams; rest in peace.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

There is an endless list of those of whom I am greatly indebted, without whom this research project could not have been written.

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The acknowledgement notwithstanding, the findings and recommendations are entirely of the student who takes responsibility for any error.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMU	Arab Maghreb Union
CEMAC	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa,
EAC	East Africa Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EPA	Economic Partnerships Agreements
EU	European Union
FTA	Free Trade Area
IGAD	Inter Governmental Authority on Development
MTC&EA	Ministry of Tourism, Commerce and East African Affairs
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
PTA	Preferential Trade Area
REC	Regional Economic Community
RI	Regional Integration
SACU	South Africa Customs Union,
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordinating Conference
UEMOA	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WAEC	West African Economic Community
WTO	World Trade Organization

ABSTRACT

The countries of the EAC have a long history of working together. 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 and an agenda setter. In this era of globalization, with increased international dependency as well as competitiveness, media diplomacy serves as a significant tool in winning local and international masses. One of the effects of media diplomacy and public diplomacy 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. The objective of this research was to examine the diplomatic value of the media in fostering regional integration within the EAC. Arguments as well as generalizations advanced in this study are based on data generated using qualitative and quantitative techniques. Specifically, this research used content analysis and survey methods. The content analysis focused on media reports in four of the five East African countries. The analysis was limited specifically to issues on the EAC presented in media reports in English language. The issues examined include Common Market Protocol, Trade, Customs Union and EAC Secretariat affairs. Other issues were legislation, economy, energy, employment, education, language, foreign aid, migration and entertainment. Evidence from the analysis of the study suggests that media interest in covering the EAC is sometimes determined by the level of engagement that the EAC Secretariat has with the region's media houses. As evidence presented herein indicates, most media organizations cited regular press releases from the EAC Secretariat as their main motivation for reporting on EAC issues. Beyond press releases, the Secretariat seems not to have a viable communication strategy aimed at building confidence in the process and outcomes of regional integration. Thus the study recommends a review of EACs existing Communication and Marketing Strategy that would improve the synergy of all stakeholders in the integration process with the media being key as a communication and information disseminator. This will result to increased participation of the EAC citizenry in EAC matters and consequently to the socio-economic and political development of the region. It is on this basis that the EAC is set to develop, its Communications and Marketing Strategy that aims at strengthening popular participation, a common East African identity and strong political will behind the regional integration process; critical subset of this concern will be strengthening Kiswahili as the unifying lingua franca of the region. Above all, through the Communication Strategy we need to construct a strong coalition between all the stakeholders of the EAC viz; the East African people in general, the Political Class, the East African Media, Civil Society, the Intelligentsia, the Business Community and our Development Partners for a collective quest to bridge the gap between the vision of a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa and its concrete realization.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

The fragmentation of Africa into many nation states with scant economic coherence led African leaders, following political independence, to embrace regional integration as a central element of their development strategy. The small size and primary production structure of the typical African economy provided the rationale for pursuing mutually beneficial economic cooperation and regional integration particularly among adjacent states.¹

The countries of the EAC have a long history of working together. This can be traced as far back as 1948, with the East African Commission. The first iteration of the EAC began in 1967 and dissolved only ten years later in 1977. It was re-established in 1999 and marked its ten year anniversary this past November.² The agreement of the current EAC treaty is a major accomplishment for the region within the past ten years. Science and technology is integrated into the treaty as an important component to both regional integration and overall economic development.³ As such in the spirit of the principles objectives and goals as espoused by the treaty the role of research in the deepening a dynamic EAC integration process is critical.

¹ African Development Bank African Development Fund, (2000)Economic Cooperation and Regional Integration Policy, paper prepared by a Task Force comprising: Messrs. M. Amdiss, OCDW, Chair; F.O. Ndukwe, OCOD, Task Manager/Vice Chair; F. Razafindramanana, OCDC; G. Kambou, OCDE; S. Sesay, OCDN; .A.O. Jeng, OCDS; Y. Vyas, OESU; Mrs. A. Orraca-Ndiaye, OCPU; and, Mrs. O.E. Whyche, p.1

² East African Community Portal. “About EAC: History”. Available at: www.eac.int/about-eac/eac-history.html

³Ibid

Lwakabamba (2010) in the same vein posits a nexus between universities and integration should be fostered as articulated by the EAC treaty. As such universities in East Africa often permeate the local economic, social and cultural environment, they should therefore develop technology centres and science parks, work on regional co-operation structures between the business sector and themselves, work on the expansion of their development strategies and networks and become sources of expertise and catalysts for multiple partnerships. This will only be possible if much emphasis is put on research science and technology⁴.

1.1 Background of the study

Peter Ndemere (2009) noted...Perhaps the most important factor to the success of the EAC is continued political support. The region's previous attempts at regional integration halted in the early 1990's due to political disagreements among the partner states. With a renewed commitment by the governments in EAC member states, there has been more cohesion over the past ten years. The media is crucial to political support and policy formulation as was emphasized at the 5th Media Summit held in Rwanda Kigali on August 9th 2012.

At the 5th EAC Media Summit⁵ held in Rwanda Kigali on 9th august 2012 it was resolved that: Media Houses, especially editors, are called upon to consciously and actively promote the telling of the EAC story through giving the necessary space and time. Media owners are urged to provide training opportunities to the journalists to enable them improve professionalism and ethical standards in reporting the EAC story. Engender our media to

⁴ The community,(2011). one people one destiny, The official magazine of the EAC, The Road Ahead, issue 14, July p.5,24,25

⁵ http://www.news.eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=751:resolutions-of-the-5th-east-african-media-summit&catid=48:eac-latest&Itemid=69

report the EAC story from an EAC perspective; based on our own realities instead of relying on foreign news agencies that may be inimical to the EAC agenda. Related to the above, Media owners should endeavour to create a competitive homegrown media that can foster debate on topical issues of the EAC, in order to influence perception of the EAC globally. Media managers have the responsibility to monitor and where necessary enforce responsible reporting standards, including quality and accuracy. Media owners are encouraged, as the owners of capital, to proactively invest across the EAC partner States to take advantage of the opportunities created by the Common Market Protocol. To EAC Partner States and Secretariat: EAC Partner States should hasten the formulation and / or harmonization of information, communication (including internet and data protection) policies in order to encourage cross border investments and enable seamless operation across the EAC region. Governments should harmonize all other supportive regulations, such as taxation regimes, non tariff barriers, customs related laws; address infrastructure bottlenecks and create necessary institutions with a view to enhancing cross border investment in the media sector.

The EAC Secretariat and responsible Ministries at National Level should institute clear and targeted media and public relations campaigns tailored to specific publics in the EAC. This will provide the media with sufficient information to justify criticize and report on various aspects of EAC integration. Partner States must endeavour to deliver value to the EAC citizenry and tax payers in order to enhance its importance to them, with a view to enhancing ownership of the EAC agenda. This will also address fears and concerns on adverse impacts that may be experienced in any of the Partner States. EAC governments and media should seek to work as Partners, while ensuring the independence of each other. The Media Summit unanimously resolved to the formation of the East African Media Council as the apex body

that will coordinate the harmonization of media laws and regulations in the EAC. The East African Community Secretariat to proactively engage the Media at all sessions of its policy organs.

To EAC Media Practitioners: The media should shift from reporting EAC events to unveiling opportunities and challenges that would benefit the EAC Citizens and writing analytical features that create debate that enables more citizens to understand the EAC integration agenda and should endeavour to make the EAC story compelling enough to be part of everyday discourse and to create a common EAC consciousness. While enjoying their right of freedom of speech, journalists must be guided by professionalism, accuracy, balance and should ensure they do not infringe on the rights of their audiences to form an informed judgment. In tandem with the Media Council and with support from the EAC Secretariat, a Task Force composed of Journalists who have attended EAC Courses on regional integration and others who actively cover the EAC activities should be formed to take the lead in establishing the media Apex / Regulatory body.

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 in moulding 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 were instrumental in the formation of elite and public opinion, which are crucial in the legitimization 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 winning local and international masses. One of the effects of media diplomacy and public diplomacy 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.

1.3 Objectives

The objectives of this research study are

1.3.1 General objective

- (i) To examine the diplomatic value of the media in fostering regional integration within the EAC

1.3.2 Specific objectives

- (i) To assess the importance of the media as a diplomatic tool within the EAC.
- (ii) To examine the impact of media diplomacy in the promotion of regional integration within the EAC.
- (iii) To examine the impact of regional integration to the socio-economic and political development of the EAC.

1.4 Hypotheses

- (i) Effective media diplomacy will enhance regional integration within EAC.
- (ii) The media, as a diplomatic tool, will enhance EAC citizenry participation in the regional integration process.
- (iii) Promotion of the EAC integration process will enhance socio-economic and political development of the EAC.

1.5 Justification of the Study

1.5.1 Policy Justification

The East African Community (EAC) re-emerged in 2000 after the ratification of the EAC treaty signed earlier in 1999 by member states of Kenya Uganda and Tanzania. Rwanda and Burundi joined the union in 2007. As per the treaty, the objectives of the EAC is to develop policies and programs aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in economic, social, cultural and political fields for their mutual benefit. Within this framework partner countries also resolved to establish amongst themselves a Customs Union (CU), a Common Market (CM), subsequently a Monetary Union (MU) and ultimately a

Political Federation (PF) to strengthen, regulate, and enhance an accelerated harmonious, equitable and sustained economic development (EAC).⁶ This collaboration of efforts has so far yielded a Customs Union launched in 2005 and the Common Market Protocol established in 2010.

Indeed for the above to be realized a progressive policy framework needs to be put in place which will ensure sustained gains on the regional integration process. Thus this study will enhance critical aspects among the EAC citizenry in terms of perceptions and views, level of knowledge plus awareness and preparedness for the implementation of the four pillars of integration.

Since its re-establishment the EAC has developed four key policy frameworks inform of development strategies: which lay emphasis in citizen participation (people centered), information and communication as a resource, promotion and marketing and a marketing and communication strategy for the EAC integration process. Consequently this study will fill policy gaps in these development strategies and add to efforts of partner states governments, the private sector, business community, EAC citizenry, academic world and EAC secretariat in fostering regional integration through policies that resonate with the objectives of the EAC treaty and citizenry aspirations and realities.

⁶Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community (*As amended on 14th December, 2006 and 20th August, 2007*)

Popular participation by all stakeholders in the EAC integration process through media socialization will mitigate differences in constitution and administrative styles, political ideologies, ethnic composition, land ownership systems, cultural beliefs and values are bridged to respect the EACs objectives and uphold the rule of law a factor that can only be achieved through a sound policy framework embraced by all partner states.

Against this background the media in east Africa is critical in the evolution of EAC. The regional integration process is intensifying, widening and deepening as such debate and discourse about issues of regional integration should take centre stage. The media therefore offers an avenue through which the East African citizenry is fully involved in the process of regional integration and development.

1.5.2 Academic Justification

The agreement of the current EAC treaty is a major accomplishment for the region within the past twelve years. Science and technology is integrated into the treaty as an important component to both regional integration and overall economic development. Specifically, Chapter 16 of the treaty focuses on cooperation in the development of human resources and Science and Technology. Two articles, Education and Training (102) and Science and Technology (103), further delineate how cooperation will be accomplished. Both articles address the creation of common programs and institutions for general human resources. They include specifically addressing Science and Technology, human resources and the mobilization of technical and financial support for creating these resources. As such in the

spirit of the principles objectives and goals as espoused by the treaty the role of research in the deepening and dynamic EAC integration process is critical.

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 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 we will 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 practioners and integration experts on unique aspects of consideration within the EAC with a view of 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 harmonisation of education policies for the partner states.

1.6 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 society. There is increasing recognition and emphasis of the role of information and communication. Modern society is an information society.

1.6.1 Regional Integration in Africa

Regional Integration (RI) is a much used, and often loosely used, phrase that can mean several different things. It has been applied especially to varying forms of economic co-operation or co-ordination between groups of neighboring states, behind which have lain often sharply differing political agendas, ranging from mere collaboration within a world of sovereign states, to projects for complete political integration.⁷ Common to all these schemes is a sense that individual states cannot readily achieve their goals in isolation from their neighbours. Integration schemes are therefore particularly characteristic of groups of states which are aware, both of their common identities, and of their at least relatively small size and individual weakness. Since African states are, on the whole, both exceptionally small and weak, and since they have shared the strong sense of continental solidarity expressed notably through Pan-Africanism, it is unsurprising that the continent has fostered a plethora of

⁷ Handley A & G Mills (eds)(1998). *South Africa and Southern Africa: Regional Integration and Emerging Markets*, Johannesburg: SAIIA, p.6

regional integration schemes of one sort or another. What these schemes could actually be expected to do, however, has been very uncertain.⁸

The desire to overcome the economic disadvantages of fragmentation gave rise to the establishment of a plethora of treaties and regional institutions whose overriding objective was the creation of self-reliant development of member states. These include, the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa [UDEAC, (1964)] which later became the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC); East African Community (1967-1977); the South Africa Customs Union [SACU, (1969)], the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC, (1980)], which was later transformed into the Southern African Development Community [SADC, (1992) and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, [COMESA, (1995)]; the West African Economic Community [CEAO, (1972)], the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS, (1975)] 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)]. In addition to this first tier of regional bodies, numerous sub-regional organizations have since been established.⁹

1.6.2 Global Perspective of Regional Integration

Regional integration has long been seen as a major instrument for economic progress world-wide and has been studied widely, both in general terms as well as with respect to developing

⁸ Christopher clapham, *Regional Integration in South Africa(2001): Comparative International Perspective*, South African Institute of International Affairs p.4-8

⁹African development bank African development fund (2000). *Economic cooperation and regional integration policy* p. 4

countries.¹⁰ While the interest in regional integration had been part of the development discourse since the Second World War, there is a new wave of interest in regions in the development process since the 1990s. The questions ‘Why do countries form regions?’ and ‘How do they affect their members, those excluded, and the international system?’ are back on the agenda. This can be understood on the background of wide-ranging changes on the international, regional and national level. On the global level, the multilateral trading system has been extended (to new issues such as competition, intellectual property rights, non-tariff barriers, subsidies, investment) and strengthened following the establishment of the World Trade Organisation (WTO).¹¹ On the national level, governments changed the way they intervene and regulate. On the regional level, we see rising intra-regional trade, more formal regional organisations, and evolving other forms of co-operation. The international structure is becoming more diverse with a mix of countries and groups at various stages or degrees of integration. Both regionalisation and globalisation are evolving in parallel.¹² However, others see RI more positively, as complementing global integration, as being a stepping stone to global integration, or as helping to reduce possible negative consequences of globalisation.

Globalization has thus manifested itself in three dominant perspectives viz economic, communication and comprehensive globalization. Economic deals with the linking together of production and markets; communication deals with linking tighter the whole world through telecommunications technology, world wide web adromic electronic and print media, video conferencing, telephony, satellite amongst others and comprehensive which

¹⁰ Balassa, B,(1961) . *The theory of economic integration*, London: George Allen & Unwin

¹¹ Page, Sheila,(2000). *Regionalism among developing countries*, Palgrave

¹² Dirk Hanshom Durban (2005). *Monitoring Regional integration in Southern Africa*. Paper presented to the ESSA Biennial conference Durban, p.5

implies the means or tendency to work with a global culture in terms of preference, taste, language, lifestyle, and a move to similar political system especially the western democracy of which is a hallmark of regional integration.¹³ Globalization phenomenon has resulted to the democratization of access to information and has turned citizens into assertive participants in international policies and the new agenda of diplomacy has only added to their leverage. Indeed as the cold war climate affected many countries populations, as much as their governments it became more apparent than before that perceptions are as important as reality. Richard Sezibera noted ...

*'I am particularly encouraged by the choice of the topics and presenters, reflecting a coherent endorsement of the new dynamic in regional integration; a dynamic whose underlying philosophy is the systematic and steady deepening on East African integration....Established against the backdrop of rising phenomenon of globalization, the EAC has its primary objective to develop a single market and investment area in East Africa that is anchored on the twin pillars of internal free trade and liberal trade with the rest of the world''*¹⁴

Indeed this statement underpins the challenges facing regional integration from a global perspective.

1.6.3 Communication and Diplomacy

Communication has always been essential in the practice of diplomacy. 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

¹³ Centre for strategic and International Studies(2002) : *What is Globalization*

¹⁴ Hamid.R. Davoodi ,(2012).*The East African Community, After ten Years Deepening Integration* , p.9

written in the fourteenth century BC contain references to Egypt's need for intelligence to maintain control of its Asian empire.¹⁵ In the same breath, the Byzantines also saw information gathering as the purpose of all diplomatic exchanges. More recently, the United Nations (UN) Vienna Convention of Diplomatic Relations of 1961 still emphasizes on the function of communication, where it stipulated that the receiving State shall permit and protect free communication on the part of the mission for all official purposes.¹⁶

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 than 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.¹⁷

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 emanated from the advancement of technologies of the day through the enabling of

¹⁵ Littlejohn, Stephen W(2002).*Theories of Human Communication, 7th Ed.*, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Wadsworth

¹⁶ United Nations, (1961). *Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations*.

¹⁷ E. Potter (ed.), (2002). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

instant communication across distances. In his regard, this rendered the diplomats almost redundant.¹⁸

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.¹⁹

The growth in communication over the decades is attributed to globalization. Gelinas (2003) captures the universal utility of the term globalization when he noted that it could be approached from several perspectives: as a system, a process, an ideology, a modern mythology, and an alibi.²⁰ The term globalization has experienced numerous controversies, and in spite of all these, there are the 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 be aware of what is happening around the world and in our own countries more accessible. This has been made possible through the increased effectiveness of the media. Globalization has also seen the

¹⁸ Eytan Gilboa,(2010). *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, Issue. 2, London: Taylor and Francis Group.

¹⁹ Adams, W.C.(1982). *Television Coverage of International affairs*, Norwood New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

²⁰ Jacques Gelinas, (2003). *Juggernaut Politics: Understanding Predatory Globalization*, London: Zed Books

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 discussing their states' interests.²¹

Globalization has had an impact in modern diplomacy. It has played the role of increasing transnational linkages on the nature of diplomatic practice and its effectiveness. Globalization has also increased the significance of non-state actors and heightened both conflict and cooperation. At the same time, diplomacy is transforming and expanding its role as the method of interstate relations to a general instrument of communication among globalized societies. In adaptation to globalization, the practice of diplomacy is shared by non-state participants, thus becoming privatized and popularized. The art of diplomacy has thus thoroughly changed in the age of globalization. Foreign policy is no longer the domain of relations among states, but practiced by international organizations, transnational companies as well as non-governmental organizations alike. Moreover, globalization has laid more emphasis on the importance of media diplomacy influencing perceptions, communicating as well as directing public opinion hence affecting policy formulation. States are becoming more adept to molding their foreign policies around media in order to influence perceptions both at home and abroad.

The concept of media integration has been subjected to many definitions. To the 1980 Me Bride Commission on the international flow of information it means: The provision to all persons, groups, nations of access to the variety of messages which they need in order to

²¹ K. Hamilton and R. Langhorn, (1995). *The Practice of Diplomacy: Its Evolution, Theory and Administration*, London: Routledge.

know and understand each other, to appreciate other's living conditions, viewpoints and aspirations.²² To adopt Hoskyns' definition, African regional media integration describes: Any significant step towards co-operation, harmonisation of policy or joint action either in relation between the African states themselves or in their dealings with the outside world.²³

1.6.4 Media diplomacy and foreign policy

When talking about diplomacy and the media age, there are three models of uses and effects. Public diplomacy is where the state and non-state actors use the media and other channels of communications to influence public opinion in foreign societies. Media diplomacy on the other hand is where officials use the media to communicate with actors and to promote conflict resolution and foreign policy agendas. Media broker diplomacy is where journalists temporarily assume the role of diplomats and serve as mediators in international negotiations.²⁴ Media diplomacy has been used for the advancement of national interests and propagation of foreign policy by different states. Media diplomacy has become an important component of contemporary foreign policy because of the information revolution. Media have become a dominant source of information for people and a powerful player in international relationships. The traditional idea of global power determined primarily by military advantage no longer sufficiently explains the nature of contemporary international relations and foreign policy. Thus, media diplomacy constitutes a predominant factor that moderates the sense that a nation has of itself and the image the rest of the world has of it.²⁵

²² UNESCO. (1980). *Many Voices. One World: Towards a More Just and More Efficient World Information and Communication Order*. Paris: UNESCO, p. 14.

²³ Hoskyns, Catherine, 'Pan-Africanism and Integration' in Hazzlewood A.(1974). (Ed.), *op-cil.*, p. 354.

²⁴ Eytan Gilboa,(2010). *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, Vol. 12, Iss. 2, London: Taylor and Francis Group

²⁵ Altschull J.H(1995). *Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy*, New York: Longman

If a nation is to create and maintain a favorable international image in the world community, it must have the ability to project its preferred national identity onto the global arena. The implication therefore is that the superiority in communications technology may better allow a nation to exert some control over the flow of global information and the effect 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, its placement in the global political hierarchy. Seeing as national identity and placement in the global political hierarchy are influenced as much by international image of a nation, media diplomacy and foreign policy play a significant role in the analysis of contemporary international relations. 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 them.

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 and in this era of post-modern diplomacy, that media diplomacy is indispensable to foreign policy because of the power that the media possess in shaping the international image of a nation.²⁶ Cognizant of this fact the five partner states have established a specialized to coordinate all affairs of the East African Community integration process.

²⁶ Bloom W.(1990). *Personal Identity, National Identity and International Relations*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press p. 43

1.6.5 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. Modern management of public as well as private enterprise recognize this fact. Efficiency and effectiveness require 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 objectives²⁷.

The goal of the East African Community is widening and deepening of co-operation in all spheres for the mutual benefits of the Partner States. The vision of the EAC is to create wealth, raise the living standards of all the people of East Africa and enhance international competitiveness of the region through increased production, trade and investments through the united efforts of the people and states of the region.²⁸ 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 programmes 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.

²⁷ 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

²⁸ Ibid p.5

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.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

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, 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 Agenda setting theory officially emanated after Walter Lippmann, a prominent American journalist and scholar from Harvard University, analyzed the impact of the media on people’s perceptions. He described that people did not respond directly to events in the real world, but instead, lived in a pseudo-environment composed of “the pictures in our heads.” In this regard, the media would play an important part in the furnishing of these pictures and shaping of this pseudo environment.²⁹ This theory was however first developed by Professor Maxwell McCombs and Professor Donald Shaw through the Chapel Hill study. It said that mass media set the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues. In a way, mass media sought to not to tell people what to think, but what to think about

²⁹ Wilcox, Dennis L., Glen T. Cameron, Philip H. Ault, and Warren K. Agee. (2003). *Public Relations: Strategies and Tactics*, Boston, MS: Pearson Education, Inc.

(McCombs & Shaw, 1972).³⁰ "Here may lie the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organize our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about".

This theory explains the correlation between the rate at which media covers a story and the extent to which people think that the story is important. News outlets act as gatekeepers of information and are thus selective on what is reported and what is not. Therefore, what the public know and more or less care about at any given time is a by-product of media gate-keeping. Gate keeping is a series of check points that the news has to go through before it gets to the public. Through this process, certain people get to decide which news is seen, read or heard. Some gate keepers include reporters, writers and editors. External gate keepers include non-media sources, influential personalities as well as government officials.³¹

The agenda-setting function is a three part process. There is the Media Agenda whereby issues are discussed in the media. There is the Public Agenda where the issues discussed are personally relevant to the public. Thirdly is the Policy Agenda where issues that policy makers consider important are discussed. There is an ongoing debate on the issue of causality between media agenda and public agenda; which causes the other? While this issue is open to question, these three steps are usually seen as being simultaneous to the latter. The first part brings about the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. The

³⁰ McCombs, M., & Shaw, D.L.(1972). *The agenda-setting function of the mass media*, Public Opinion Quarterly 36, p.176-185.

³¹ White, David Manning, (1964).“*The ‘Gatekeeper’: A Case Study In the Selection of News*, In: Lewis A. Dexter / David M. White : People, Society and Mass Communications. London S. p.160 – 172.

issues discussed in the media then have an impact in the way the public thinks, which brings about the public agenda. Ultimately, the public agenda influences policy agenda.³²

Therefore, agenda setting is used for many purposes to establish the media agenda and to retrieve the opinion of the public. Agenda setting is also very important in the political aspect because the public agenda influences the policy agenda which means that candidates will try to focus on issues that the public wants to hear about. Agenda setting thus has many beneficial uses in our society and it is part of our communication. This makes it a valid reason to be input in the conduct of diplomacy. The power and behind the Agenda setting theory has influenced the birth of Media diplomacy and Public diplomacy. Diplomacy is involved with the conduct of international relations. Consequently, the media and the aspect of agenda setting is important in diplomacy, particularly from the policy agenda of the three part process.

Within the East African community there exists various gatekeepers like the media, the civil society organizations policy institutions through which people of developments, gains pitfalls in the integration process and through which citizens of the partner states propagate their demands to their respective governments on the whole process. The output can be viewed in terms of decisions and policy articulated by the partner states governments and the EAC through its respective organs of which have formed the core of the EAC integration process and the continued deepening of the integration process albeit many challenges. It thus follows that if the respective governments and their citizenry are not satisfied then they will

³² Littlejohn, Stephen W.(2002). *Theories of Human Communication, 7th Ed.*, Albuquerque, New Mexico: Wadsworth .

demand for certain or the so need they want fulfilled for the full integration of the EAC to be realized.

What emerges from the above viewpoint is that EAC integration processes need concerted efforts from all the partner states government given their different political systems. Of importance is the complex nature of the process as the EAC is anchored on the premise of not only economic integration but an ultimate political federation of EAC. This must be particularly integrated in the context of a globalized society and the complexities of different constitutional and administrative styles, different political ideologies, ethnic composition, political rivalry and too much diversity in cultural beliefs and values amongst the partner states.

The EAC integration process re-emerged in the year 2000 after its initial collapse in 1977. So far, achievements gained are on the second pillar of Customs Union CU within which a Common Market Protocol CMP is being implemented albeit behind schedule. 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.

1.8 Research Methodology

Mouton 1996 defines research design as a set of guidelines and instructions to be followed in addressing the research problem, the main function of a research design is to enable the researcher to anticipate what the appropriate research decisions should be so as to maximize

the validity of the eventual results.³³ Murray 2003 refers to qualitative research as a multi-method in focus involving an interpretative naturalization approach to its subject matter. It involves most common qualitative methods such as observation, in-depth interviews, and focus groups.³⁴

All progress is born of inquiry. Doubt is often better than overconfidence, for it leads to inquiry and inquiry leads to invention. This brings out the significance of research, and concurs with the fact that increased amounts of research make progress possible. Research inculcates scientific and inductive thinking and it promotes the development of logical habits of thinking and organization.

1.8.1 Research Design

The design used herein is of an 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 seeks 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 finding information that has a specific base of application in the process and practice of regional integration and media diplomacy.

This research is of an empirical basis with evident reliance of recorded data through observation or experience, and coming up with conclusions and recommendations based on

³³ Mouton Johann,(1996). *Understanding Social Research* ,Published by VanSchaik Publishers, Pretoria, South Africa p.17

³⁴ R. Murray, Thomas (2003). *Blending Qualitative and Quantitative Research Methods in Theses and Dissertations*, Sage publications Ltd p.1-3

the outcome of data collection and analysis. This is with regard to system and theoretical framework in this study.

1.8.2 Study Population

The study population for this research is be the East African Community (EAC) ,Ministry of Tourism, Commerce and East African Affairs (MTC&EA), as well as the independent policy and consultant institutes in regional integration, other regional integration initiatives such as SADC and COMESA. Also in the study population includes the independent/ private owned and national media institutions/groups, 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 initial respondents are persons, institutes and organizations known to the research in regional integration diplomacy and media sector as well as various regional economic communities' organizations.

1.8.3 Instruments for Data Collection

This study involved the usage of instruments in the range of primary and secondary data such as questionnaires interviews, records, reports, literature and filed observations. The data analysed was qualitative and quantitative and took place concurrently with the data collection; this is in order to guide decisions related to further data collection. Using mapping aspects, the various variables were categorized on an ordinal scale. This provided the most

manageable way of measuring the variables in the study. The theme that emerges from the document analysis formed the basis of further data collection and summary. The analysis of the final data made it possible for themes to be identified and findings presented descriptively.

1.8.4 Data Analysis

Data analysis is a body of methods that help to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations. It is used in sciences, including social sciences, and can be used in the application of administration and policy. The researcher aimed to analyze the collected data and draw comparisons and conclusions from both quantitative and qualitative data through application of relevant statistical methods.

1.9 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 and for the achievement of economic and political development. The research is also be 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`.

1.10 Chapter Outline

Chapter One: Introduction and General Orientation

Chapter one comprises of introduction/ background of study, statement of the problem, a review of existing literature, objectives of study, hypothesis, scope, of the study and ethical issues for considerations.

Chapter Two: Historical Review

This chapter embarks on the historical context of the problem of the study and trends that have emerged over time to date. It focuses on the contribution of the media in promoting regional integration within EAC through media diplomacy.

Chapter Three: Regional Integration and Media Diplomacy

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

Chapter Four: Data Presentation Analysis and Interpretation

In this chapter we analyze the data collected in the previous chapters 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 objective and either confirm or nullify the hypothesis of the research.

Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

This is the final chapter of research in which the researcher provides conclusions and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

MEDIA AS A DIPLOMATIC TOOL WITHIN THE EAC

2.1 Introduction

Among the most cited reasons for the importance of mass media to a society, two stand out: that media are the source of the information people need to make informed³⁵ choices and decisions, and that they serve as the channel through which mass communication is achieved.³⁶

As a source of information and a platform through which people can articulate and aggregate their opinions, there is no doubt that the media, however modestly, have helped East Africans make sense of integration and regionalism under the rubric of the East African Community (EAC). Also without doubt is that the quality and depth of coverage and content in individual member states (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda) vary depending on editorial policies, target audiences, ownership and management, among other factors. Even though there are exceptions, like the weekly *The East African* published by the Nation Media Group, one of the largest media companies in the region, most print and broadcast media focus on national issues, and thus regional issues are secondary.³⁷ As a result, the quality of media coverage of East African issues as a collective remains disparate, and mostly skewed in favour of national matters. This observation is based on the fact that a casual and even scientific inquiry into the East African media landscape reveals that the majority of the news

³⁵ Fortunato, J. (2005). *Making Media Content: The influence of constituency groups on mass media*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum

³⁶ McQuail, D. (2005). *Mass Communication Theory*, 5th ed., London: Sage.

³⁷ McCombs, M. and D. Shaw (1972). 'The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2): p.176–87.

organizations have a national outlook, and thus their primary target audiences are those within individual state boundaries. In other words, target audience interests influence editorial policies, which determine content.

Besides, as some aver, the concept of integration is often not clearly or indeed deeply internalized, and many people, particularly the ordinary populace in member states, remain ignorant of the benefits accruing from the current EAC. In his column in the *Sunday Nation* recently, Mukhisa Kituyi, who once served as Kenya's Minister for Trade, argued that: *With the coming into force of the common market last July [1 July 2010], the floodgates have been flung open. The movement of goods and services across our borders has intensified even further. Yet this growing integration remains relatively unknown to many Kenyans. 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 goings-on.*³⁸

Kituyi's reservations are commonplace. These concerns may be assuaged, however, if the benefits derived from the East African Common Market trickle down to the grassroots. This is based on the premise that the common market is meant to promote free movement of factors of production, particularly labour and capital, and goods according to the Protocol. The Protocol in effect means that more than 126 million citizens of the East African countries of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda can travel freely, find jobs or

³⁸ Kituyi, M. (2010 October 3rd) 'MPs Must Pay More Attention to EAC Common Market', *Sunday Nation*, p.21

invest in member countries. Essentially, the Protocol is meant to enhance trade, facilitate cooperation, and harmonize taxes and laws, among others.

Even so, there are warnings that the coming into force of the EAC Common Market Protocol will not immediately deliver the expected goodies (particularly free cross-border movement of people and factors of production, especially labour).³⁹ Indeed, as Kenya's former East African Community Permanent Secretary David Nalo explained in an article in *The East African*, the people in the EAC will still need documents to travel to member countries as only Kenya and Rwanda have identity cards.⁴⁰ What this means is that although the EAC Common Market is now a reality, effective integration and benefits generated from the same will take a little longer to be realized. In fact, some believe it will be many years before citizens' start enjoying the "real" benefits of the EAC Common Market. It also has the capacity to help in the formation of public opinion by setting and building public agenda,⁴¹ and providing the platform or arena (public sphere) through which this can be achieved.⁴² The media can also help to mobilize action or activity on various issues by offering reportage and analyses of events and information relating to the EAC and the integration process.⁴³

³⁹ Lang, G. and K. Lang (1983). *The Battle for Public Opinion*, New York: Columbia University Press

⁴⁰ Riungu, C. (2010). 'What July 1 Common Market Date Actually Means', *The East African*, 28 June–4 July: p.10.

⁴¹ McCombs, M. and D. Shaw (1972). 'The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2) p. 176–87

⁴² Habermas, J. (1989 [1962]). *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society* (Translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence), Cambridge: Polity.

⁴³ Proffess, 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.

Despite these arguments, however, there is an overarching but seemingly correct, view that the media can play only a limited (albeit vital) role in the integration process. This view arises because cultural backgrounds, different laws and policies among member states, disparities in national political and economic achievements, among others, may in fact determine how effective the integration process is. It is therefore fundamentally important to critically examine the role of the media in the EAC integration process, and the purpose of this chapter is to present such an examination. In doing so, the chapter offers insights into the structure of mainstream and alternative media in East Africa and the factors informing coverage of East African issues, such as regional harmony and equity in development.

2.2 Media's Role in the Integration Process

Regionalism and integration are, as Grant and Söderbaum (2003) hold, “enjoying a renaissance” in a changing, globalizing world.⁴⁴ As countries seek to develop closer economic and even political ties with those near them, regionalism has become desirable, as is evident in organizations like the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), and the European Union (EU), among others. Like other regional blocs, and as set out in its mission statement, the EAC seeks to “widen and deepen economic political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality

⁴⁴ Grant, A. and F. Söderbaum (2003). ‘Introduction: *The new regionalism in Africa*’, in A. Grant and F. Söderbaum (eds.) *The New Regionalism in Africa*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investment”⁴⁵.

In this quest, several actors are considered key to regionalism and integration. One of these is the media, which help make sense on behalf of the public the meaning of integration and regionalism, as well as drawing attention to the opportunities and challenges of such state initiatives.⁴⁶ The media role is based on the premise that disseminating ideas of regionalism and integration, how such a regional body works, and what benefits accrue to the citizenry, would lead to a greater regional consciousness among the mass population and consequently generate an EAC culture.⁴⁷

The role is supported by the idea that the media, as a sense-making and disseminating agent of integrationist ideas, can help initiate integrative trends, and that increased awareness about the process contributes to an acceptable regional identity.⁴⁸ For many years various theoretical arguments have been advanced to explain the impact the media have on society.⁴⁹ Among these are agenda setting and agenda building, mediation between society and the state (public sphere, according to Habermas (1989) and watchdogism.⁵⁰ The media also have an effect on the mobilization and even reinforcement of particular viewpoints.

⁴⁵ Mushega, N. (2007). *East African Community: Handover report to the new secretary general*, Arusha: EAC Secretariat, p.7

⁴⁶ Luhmann, N. (2000). *The Reality of the Mass Media*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press

⁴⁷ Garza, R. (2009). ‘*Normative Europe: Changing values and attitudes in Central America*’, in P. de Lombaerde and M. Schulz (eds.) *The EU and World Regionalism: The makability of regions in the 21st century*, Farnham: Ashgate.

⁴⁸ Adams, W.C. (1982). *Television Coverage of International affairs*, Norwood New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation

⁴⁹ Ibid

⁵⁰ Curran, J. (2002). *Media and Power*, London: Routledge, p.34

Agenda setting (and by extension agenda building) as a role of the media relates to the notion that the media cannot tell us what to think, but it is always successful in telling us what to think about by selecting what content to publish, where to publish it (placement), and the type of language (framing) to use in the articles. Accordingly, agenda setting may lead to agenda building, defined as a “collective process in which media, government, and citizenry reciprocally influence one another”,⁵¹ leading to formulation of policies like those related to the EAC. In essence, the way stories are presented means the media can determine what East Africans think about, although the people’s readings or interpretations of the texts are based on cognitive abilities, context, and background and lived experiences, among numerous other factors.

Overall, the framing, priming and presentation of content may inform the relationships among the various actors key to the research presented here, including “ordinary” people, the government and the media, and may in the end influence policy formulation and acceptance of the EAC. In most instances, however, people do not consume all that is “thrown” at them by media managers and editors – or what may be collectively called gatekeepers. Rather, they are selective, choosing what to consume based on their needs and the utilities or gratifications they hope to derive from such information.⁵² This resonates with the uses and gratifications theory first proposed by Blumler and Katz in 1974. The theory suggests that media consumers play an active role in choosing and using the media. In effect, this suggests that East Africans do not necessarily consume (read newspapers and similar publications, listen to radio, or watch television) media products merely because they are available; when

⁵¹ Lang, G. and K. Lang (1983). *The Battle for Public Opinion*, New York: Columbia University Press.

⁵² Erll, A. and A. Rigney (eds.) (2009). *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter

there is a choice, people are self-selecting and their consumption of the various written, audio or visual content is based on the notion of importance and the utilities that may be derived there from.⁵³

What's more, the content they prefer may reinforce rather than change their views or beliefs on the East African Community. Fifty years ago Joseph Klapper (1960) originally proposed the reinforcement argument to challenge the dominant media effects theory commonly referred to as the hypodermic needle theory or the magic bullet perspective. The media effects argument holds that people are influenced by the texts they consume,⁵⁴ although it is almost commonsensical that there are other socializing influences that determine people's decisions, behaviour, attitudes, beliefs and motives.⁵⁵ These socializing agents include political, state and non-state actors like government officials and civil society whose deeds, views, and pronouncements or statements in the media may influence people's perspectives on what EAC integration, for instance, may mean to them.

Related to these arguments is the notion that the media play a watchdog role by monitoring state activity and "fearlessly" exposing abuse of official authority.⁵⁶ Whereas in agenda setting the media see their role as that of informing the public about the goings-on in society, as a watchdog the media ensure that wrongdoings (through, for example, investigative journalism) are unearthed, and that the wrongdoers are then subjected to public scrutiny and

⁵³ McCombs, M. and D. Shaw 'The Agenda Setting Function of Mass Media', *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2): p.176–87. 1972

⁵⁴ Perse, E. (2001). *Media Effects and Society*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

⁵⁵ Bryant, J. and M. Oliver (2009). (eds.), *Media Effects: Advances in theory and research*, 3rd ed., New York: Lawrence Erlbaum

⁵⁶ Curran, J. (2002). *Media and Power*, London: Routledge

action. The media ostensibly mobilize the public, civil society, professional bodies and other actors to demand action against individuals or organizations implicated in wrongdoing. As such, the media in East Africa may from time to time provide information (or set the agenda) and also ensure that journalists constantly monitor (watch) on behalf of the “public” whatever these actors do, particularly state actors. Such exposure may in turn promote accountability, transparency and good governance, as the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, held in Nairobi on 19–20 August 2010, suggested. A communiqué issued after the conference indeed acknowledged that East African media as a watchdog institution are significant in promoting good governance.⁵⁷

The media are, as well, said to give space and platform to people to articulate their positions on various issues. In other words, the media constitute a public sphere. The concept of the public sphere was introduced by the German critical philosopher Jürgen Habermas to represent the space that mediates between society and the state “in which the public organises itself as the bearer of public opinion”.⁵⁸ The public sphere represents an open and autonomous forum for “rational” public debate and political engagement that contributes significantly to public opinion formation and by extension the democratic control of state activities.⁵⁹ The current culture of commerce and elite control of news organizations oftentimes limit the conceptualization of media as the public sphere in which genuine public discourse takes place. More often than not, as Chomsky and Herman (1988) posit, the media tend to represent the interests of the elite in society. In effect, like other regions where liberal economic ideologies dominate, media content in East Africa tends to “conform to the

⁵⁷ McQuail, D. (2003). *Mass Communication Theory*, 5th ed., London: Sage.

⁵⁸ Habermas, J.(1974). ‘*The Public Sphere*’, *New German Critique* 3(Fall) p.74

⁵⁹ Ibid

agendas and frames of reference of government officials where government officials are mostly members of the executive”.⁶⁰ Even so, the media sometimes give space, however modest, to the laity to express their issues, illustrating in some sense the notion of public interest.⁶¹

2.3 The role EAC Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs

Department

The EAC established a fully fledged Department of Communication in July 1997. This was pursuant to Article 71(1) (f) of the Treaty which requires the EAC Secretariat to promote and disseminate information on the Community to stakeholders, the general public and the international community.⁶²

In recent years, the Corporate Communications and Public Affairs Department has been able to put significant emphasis on engagement with the East African society through measures such as issuance of press releases and distribution of commentaries on various projects and programmes being undertaken, conducting media, NGO and other relations; handling specialized as well as routine public inquiries and visitors information service; arranging special publicity of EAC in local and foreign media (such as supplements), particularly during special occasions and annual observances, organizing press briefings/conferences and; maintenance of a robust web portal. The EAC Web Portal hosted at <http://www.eac.int> and maintained by the department provides an entry point to various resources on EAC

⁶⁰ Robinson, P. (2001). *Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy*, European Journal of Communication 16(4): p.523–525

⁶¹ Dearing, J.W. and E. Rogers,(1996). *Communication Concepts 6: Agenda setting*, Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.

⁶² EAC Treaty

integration that are posted online. The EAC Media Centre is an additional information resource center and often acts as a landing point especially for journalists seeking information from the Corporate Communications and Public Affairs Department.⁶³

The EAC Information and Public Relations Office issues press releases, especially on the meetings held at the Headquarters; conducts media, NGO and other relations; and arranges special publicity of EAC in local and foreign media, particularly during special occasions and annual observances. It launched a quarterly Newsletter, EAC News in 1998. It has introduced a Feature Service, which is intended to promote informed dialogue on the regional issues and developments. Among the publications produced and distributed by the Information and Public Relations Office are the EAC Treaty, EAC Brochure, EAC Annual Report and the EAC Development Strategy. Other publications of the East African Community are the Investors Guide to East Africa: Emerging Investment Location and Single Market Area; and Perspectives on Regional Integration in East Africa: proceedings of the First Ministerial Seminar on East African Co-operation; as well as several publications under, the monograph series⁶⁴.

2.3.1 The EAC Re Branding Project

Cognizant of the centrality of the media in the deepening and widening of the EAC integration process; the EAC launched the EAC Rebranding Project in the year 2007. The Project was intended to involve the formulation and implementation of a new, more dynamic

⁶³ http://www.eac.int/news/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=328&Itemid=90

⁶⁴ Magaga Alot, (2008). *Communications and Marketing strategy for the East African Community*, Directorate Of Information And Public Relations, EAC Secretariat, p. 5

EAC Marketing and Publicity Strategy and incorporate the establishment of the EAC Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs. The EAC also received robust media attention, particularly since the beginning of 2007 with the launching of the EAC Re-branding Project. Very instructively, the EAC Re-Branding Project accommodated the need to upgrade the EAC Information and Public Relations Office into the Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs. Among the immediate accomplishments of the Re-Branding Project, the EAC Media Summit, bringing together top leadership of the EAC media), was instituted in 2007 which has yielded tremendous positive response among the media fraternity as well as revamping of the centralized information support function of EAC communications at the Headquarters.⁶⁵

Amb Mwapachu the then EAC Secretary General captures the essence of the launch vividly during the first East African Public Broadcasters Conference at Arusha Tanzania on 22nd May 2007.....*I should inform you that we have launched the EAC Rebranding Project that will involve the implementation of a robust EAC Marketing and Publicity Strategy through a revamped new EAC Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs established at the EAC headquarters. Among the features of the EAC Rebranding Project is the planned installation at the EAC headquarters of modern facilities for radio and TV production that will link with your stations in spreading the EAC message.*⁶⁶

⁶⁵Magaga A,(2011). *Marketing The Cause: Communications Tools And Techniques And Strategies – The Case of The East African Community* , p.8-9

⁶⁶ Remarks by Amb Juma Mwapachu during the closing of the First East African Public Broadcasters Conference, Kibo Palace Hotel, Arusha, Tanzania, 22nd May, 2007.

In pursuit of the project, in April 2007, the EAC held the first East African Media Summit in Nairobi that was very successful, attended by over 100 top media owners and practitioners of the EAC countries - Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. The East African Media Summit was the first major activity under the EAC Re-Branding Project.⁶⁷ Consequently the EAC Media Summit has been institutionalized as an annual event in the EAC regional calendar and attended by high profile media personalities in the region, including Owners and Chief Executives of Media Houses, Media Executives, Publishers, Editors and Senior Practitioners from all the five EAC countries.

2.4 Structure of the Media in East Africa

A critical review of “traditional” electronic and print media (newspapers, radio, television) in East Africa reveals that the majority are private commercial enterprises with a strong profit motive. More than 56 per cent of media ownership is private although the fact that nearly 44 per cent are not commercial should offer good insights into how, for instance, public or state media cover the EAC.

Nevertheless, if we proceed from the premise that the culture of commerce informs the organization and performance of most media, then it is clear that the selection of content is based on the notion that it must sell in what has become a hugely competitive media market with seriously fragmented audiences occasioned by the proliferation of print and broadcast media.⁶⁸ Most content, with the exception of very selective media, is chosen for publication

⁶⁷Magaga A lot, (2008). *EAC'S Close Engagement With The Media* –EAC Re-Branding Project, Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs , EAC Secretariat, p.3

⁶⁸Galtung, J. and M. Ruge (1965). ‘*The Structure of Foreign News: The presentation of Congo, Cuba and Cyprus crises in four Norwegian newspapers*’, *Journal of International Peace Research*

on the premise that it must prompt consumers to buy the paper and advertisers to buy advertising space. This may explain in part why negative stories and those about “elite” people and organizations predominate.⁶⁹

Recent examples illustrate the conclusion above. The public spat between Kenya and Uganda on the Lake Victoria Migingo Island, for example, was replete with highly nationalistic if “negative” language, with Uganda’s President Yoweri Museveni regularly described in Kenya’s media as an expansionist and even “blindly” ambitious. This may have served to promote public perceptions of Uganda’s leadership, and especially its relationship with Kenya. A loose moratorium in late 2009 based on efforts to determine the “real owners” of Migingo Island seems to have temporarily quelled tensions between the two countries.⁷⁰ Lacking, however, has been in-depth discussion in the media about the consequences of such state and/or leadership suspicions for the EAC and the integration process. Owino Opondo, a journalist who has worked for the Nation Media Group for over 15 years in various editorial positions, chides the media for the lack of depth.⁷¹ On this score, Opondo argues that the “media must ditch social, economic and political patriotism and openly – but truly – address themselves to the issues of integration”.⁷²

⁶⁹ Galtung and Ruge (1965). identified twelve factors that determine newsworthiness. These are: frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, reference to unique nations, reference to elite people, composition, personalization and negativity.

⁷⁰ such report published by the *Nation*, it was claimed on 31 March 2010 that Uganda had given up its claim on Migingo Island and apologized for what it said was an inaccurate decision based on wrong interpretation of a 1962 map. The newspaper quoted President Museveni’s spokesman Loofapril Kabalagala saying: “It is an old map and not as accurate as modern maps”. He also said President Museveni had spoken to President Kibaki on the matter. See report, *Nation Correspondent* (2010) ‘Uganda surrenders Migingo Island’, *Nation*, 31 March

⁷¹ Opondo O, personal interview, July 24th 2010.

⁷² Opondo O, personal interview, July 24th 2010.

Opondo's position is that journalists who cover East African issues must possess knowledge about and interest in integration issues. "Media houses with presence across the borders are likely to be more proactive to integration than those that don't", Opondo says, noting that this is so because journalists rely mostly on political sources for their stories.⁷³ He posits that a majority of EAC news invariably focuses on national (mostly political) matters at the expense of other equally important issues. This is because most audiences are perceived to prefer national rather than regional issues, content that is more relevant and that meets their immediate needs.⁷⁴

Moreover, what the coverage of the issues surrounding Migingo Island, for example, reveals is that journalists often resort to nationalistic, jingoistic and "patriotic" language when it comes to territorial and sovereignty issues. Oftentimes, the media and journalists who cover EAC or indeed other issues argue that theirs are "truthful" accounts informed by public interest. What they do not do, however, is explain whether the issues really are of interest the public. Neither do they critically reflect on the "truth" they seek to sell. For those who have worked in media organizations, it is clear that such "truth" is never universal. Rather, the "truths" or perspectives of elites in the region ostensibly reflect the views of their subjects.

This resonates with Chomsky and Herman's (1988) "manufacturing consent" argument, which holds that the media mainly mobilize support for the policy preferences of dominant elites.⁷⁵ For this reason, it sometimes does not matter whether the issues the sources claim to interest the laity are really of interest. On this score, Opondo feels that journalists must take

⁷³ Opondo O, personal interview, July 24th 2010.

⁷⁴ Ibid

⁷⁵ Chomsky, N. and E. Herman (1988). *Manufacturing Consent*, New York: Pantheon.

time to deeply understand the issues and “regularly [invite] experts to comment on them through columns and radio and TV studios [discussions]”.⁷⁶ Wallace Maugo, the managing editor at *The Guardian* in Tanzania, shares this view. Maugo contends that the media ought to give more space to experts, particularly from the EAC Secretariat, to enlighten people on the work of the Community and what the integration process entails.⁷⁷

By offering disparate coverage of EAC issues, discussions and analyses, among other products, the media implicitly subscribe to ideas of agenda setting based on the way they place, prime, frame or present stories, and agenda building by mobilizing various actors to make decisions on issues covered (McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Lang and Lang, 1983; Dearing and Rogers, 1996). They also provide a platform (the public sphere) via discussion programmes, live shows, call-ins, letters to the editor and other opportunities through which people can engage with the issues covered the sources of the information and other audiences. Yet, the quality rather than quantity of these participatory activities is sometimes fundamental, as it is the value rather than the volume (although this is sometimes crucial) of information generated and shared in and through such forums that may inform people’s thinking and decisions. As Opondo explains, the inclusion of experts in live discussions or newspaper commentary may help explain and make sense of issues for ordinary people.⁷⁸ Among other things, it could make the issues less boring and technical, as William Pike of Kenya’s *The Star* suggests.⁷⁹ Accordingly, issues of what informs content, and how the content is framed, primed and presented, may influence public thinking and reaction to EAC

⁷⁶ Opondo O, personal interview, July 24th 2010.

⁷⁷ Maugo W, Personal interview, July 24th 2010.

⁷⁸ Opondo, interview.

⁷⁹ William Pike w, Personal interview December 2nd 2009.

issues. These concerns may generate further debate on the media's role as a public sphere, and whether ordinary people's issues are indeed represented in commercial media where profitability sometimes determines the kind and level of coverage as well as the topics of discussion.

Granted that a majority of especially mainstream (even "community" or alternative media like the Internet, community radio stations and community newspapers) media organizations in the region can be broadly classified as "commercial", this orientation does not always negate the fact that they oftentimes offer accurate, impartial and balanced stories reflective of the goings-on within the region. What this study reveals is that there is often no overt or intentional bias other than when issues of extreme nationalism (for example the Migingo issue) arise. Even then, there is a clear differential in the quality of coverage offered by different media, which may be a consequence of numerous factors including individual journalists' and editors' comprehension of an interest in specific issues.

As information gatekeepers, editors' and other editorial or indeed media managers' own thinking and comprehension of EAC determine the kind and depth of coverage given to regional integration issues.⁸⁰ In other words, the capacity of journalists or editors to offer in-depth coverage of issues is determined by numerous factors, chief among them being how knowledgeable they are about the issues, their interests in those issues, the sources of the information, editorial policies and target audiences. This assertion resonates with Opondo's observation that media viewpoints differ and that it is difficult to get a collective standpoint

⁸⁰ Shoemaker, P. and T. Vos (2009). *Gatekeeping Theory*, London: Routledge.

on the integration process. To him: *Media houses view regional integration differently depending on, among other things, ownership, the country of operation, including their social, economic and political cultures; the quality of reporters and editors (and this includes their level of education, training, and general social and political orientation); [and] the relationship between a media house and policy makers and politicians rooting for integration (this determines whether or not they get timely and correct insider information on integration).*⁸¹

As evident from Opondo's argument, ownership is a major factor when analyzing the quality and quantity of coverage accorded particular issues. Thus media content is often determined by what owners, and their managers and editors, think will interest their target audiences (i.e., sell papers). Issues of "public" interest, language and audiences' ability to make sense of the information are important to how media products are packaged and modes of dissemination. Such conclusions are also based on the notion that people will consume or indeed listen to radio stations, watch TV or read newspapers that often cover "their" issues rather than everything contained therein. This can be explained by the uses and gratifications argument, which holds that people are selective – with selection based on the value and relevance placed on particular media products.⁸² Of course, even though issues of EAC are important to East Africa's citizens, the citizens will select for consumption from among those offered by various media. This means that although there are key issues relating to the integration process, people will remain ignorant of the salient issues, particularly if those issues are not covered or if they are not given prominence. This may explain why Maugo

⁸¹ Opondo, interview.

⁸² Blumler, J.G. and E. Katz (1974). *The Uses of Mass Communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research*, Beverly Hills, California: Sage.

thinks there are “myths” that ought to be urgently demystified before the integration process is implemented.⁸³ The myths may include the “boring” technical issues that Pike thinks are difficult to decipher.⁸⁴

Without clear or simple explanation, issues and consequences of, for example, free movement of labour as spelt out in the Common Market Protocol, will remain problematic and obstacles to the integration process. Consequently, such issues as the monetary union, the common market, the political federation and other protocols may not mean much to ordinary media consumers unless news and other media content explain their meaning, relevance and benefit. Reaching those ordinary readers and viewers could be achieved by using less technical language (including local languages) as some of the respondents, for example Pike, suggest.⁸⁵ What these arguments show is that even though we may consider “traditional” media to have effects and acknowledge that they influence opinion, it is vital to critically assess or measure such effects. This is because other socializing agents or actors (public opinion shapers including political, economic, business and other leaders) are also important to the integration process. In effect, it is imperative to use other media, face-to-face meetings and civic education to ensure that people are aware of the integration, and, more importantly, that they feel part of and own the process and end products. The discussions in the next section make this clear by analysing the primary data generated by this study and juxtaposing it against existing works.

⁸³ Maugo, interview.

⁸⁴ Pike, interview.

⁸⁵ Pike, interview.

2.5 Summary and Conclusions

The arguments presented in this chapter acknowledge that the media and journalism play critical roles in the EAC integration process. In addition, the study found 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 socioeconomic 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. 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 East Africans have been "empowered thanks partly to the media", which have a critical role to play in the success of the community.⁸⁶

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

⁸⁶ Mwapachu, interview

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.⁸⁷ 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.⁸⁸

This would also apply to public interest in the affairs of the EAC. In such an environment, issues relevant to individual member states' audiences carry more weight and as a result are more likely to be published than those of concern to other members. 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

⁸⁷ Johnson, T., C. Hays and S. Hays (1998). *Engaging the Public: How government and the media can reinvigorate American democracy*, Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.

⁸⁸ Norris, P. (2000). *A Virtuous Circle: Political communications in postindustrial societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

transparency and accountability by the way they frame, prime and present issues, or the agenda they set through their content.⁸⁹

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 EAC integration process. What's more, there is empirical evidence that they do indeed provide the space and the platform, albeit modest, through which East 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.

Yet, these optimistic conclusions are tempered by evidence showing that most East African media are increasingly profit-driven, and that owners, editors and journalists are themselves guided by the interests of their immediate or primary audiences rather than the merits of interactionism and regionalism. Besides, in highly liberalized capitalistic economies, the media have become hyper commercialized, meaning that they are primarily interested in issues that sell or those that attract the most advertising. Advertising is, after all, the lifeline of most commercial media. What this means, however, is that elite-people's issues and positions receive more space than those of the laity. Nonetheless, the fact that political and business elites have been at the forefront of the integration process because of either their knowledge of the issues or their involvement with the EAC through their governments, civil society or other organizations means that they won't get more and oftentimes better coverage.

⁸⁹ Curran, J.(2002)*Media and Power*, London: Routledge, p.217

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 (e.g., European Union, East African Community, Association of Southeast Asian Nations), has internal (e.g., regional stability, economic development) and/or external drivers (e.g., geopolitical weight, trading blocs). The various mechanisms to support the integration process reflect the ultimate goals and the degree of integration.⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹

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.

⁹⁰ Ibid p. 7

⁹¹ Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007.

Within this process, 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.⁹² 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.⁹³

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.

⁹² Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007.

⁹³ 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 began 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.⁹⁴

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

⁹⁴ Ibid p.9

diplomacy referred to a democratic accountability or necessity for direct public 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.⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ 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 it 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.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Ibid p.12

⁹⁶ E. Potter (ed.), (2002). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.

⁹⁷ J Millisen (2005). *Wielding Soft power: the new public diplomacy Netherlands institutes of international relations clingendae* p. 9

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 1977.⁹⁸

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 name, 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 for 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.⁹⁹

In the years that followed the collapse of the first EAC, the three former member states attempted to regulate economic affairs by means of individual multilateral agreements.

⁹⁸ Ibid p.16

⁹⁹ Cf. Edward Kafeero, (2009). *Customs Law of the East African Community in light of WTO Law and the Revised Kyoto Convention* Munster, p. 83

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 2007.¹⁰⁰

3.4 Institutions of East Africa Community

The autonomy of regional organisations 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:¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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.

¹⁰⁰ Reith S ,Boltz M,(2011). The East African Community Regional Integration, between aspiration and reality 2011 p.95

¹⁰¹ Ibid p.19

¹⁰² African Infrastructure Country Diagnostic (AICD),(2010). *East Africa's Infrastructure: A Regional Perspective*.

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.¹⁰³

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.¹⁰⁴ 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 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.¹⁰⁵

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

¹⁰³ Ibid p.96-101

¹⁰⁴ Richard Sezibera, “EAC Secretary General Outlines Priorities. Press Statement,” <http://eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/632.html?task=view>

¹⁰⁵ Ibid

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. A challenge, in a first technological savvy and globalized world.

3.5 East Africa Community Achievements

The EAC Partner States, like many other developing countries, aspire to transform their economies to a modern and industrialised 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.¹⁰⁶ 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.¹⁰⁷ The Customs Union came into force in 2005 while the EAC Common Market entered into force on 1st July 2010.¹⁰⁸

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 focused on: A Common External Tariff (CET) on imports from third

¹⁰⁶Jaime De Melo and Arvind Panagariya (1992). "New Dimensions in Regional Integration", Centre for Economic Policy Research. p.250

¹⁰⁷ 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

¹⁰⁸ Monetary Affairs Committee (MAC) – Committee of EAC Central Bank Governors – Communique of the 13th MAC Meeting held in Arusha, Tanzania, May 10, 2010.

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.¹⁰⁹

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.¹¹⁰

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.¹¹¹ 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.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid p.251

¹¹⁰ Victor O. (2012). Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of the EAC Common Market Protocol in Kenya: *case of Free Movement of Labour*,p.8

¹¹¹ 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

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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³ The draft FTA Agreement prepared by the Joint Task Force proposes the following roadmap: a preparatory

¹¹² Eastern Africa Regional Integration Strategy Paper 2011 – 2015-(2010) Revised Draft For Regional Team Meeting, Regional Departments East(Orea/Oreb) October 2010 p.12

¹¹³ Ibid pp. 13

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.

3.6.2 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.¹¹⁴ The EAC Development Strategy (DS), 2006-2010, the third in the planning cycle, spells out the policy guidelines and priority programmes of the Community.¹¹⁵ The DS emphasises 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.

¹¹⁴ EAC Treaty p.12-14

¹¹⁵ Third EAC Development Strategy Paper, EAC Resource Centre (2006-2010)

The groundwork for the EAC Monetary Union is also being prepared by ensuring macroeconomic convergence, harmonisation of monetary and fiscal policies, and financial markets integration.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁶ 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

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE IMPACT OF MEDIA DIPLOMACY AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE EAC

4.1 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, though, that these include the 14 that appeared in *The East African*, which was coded as a Kenyan newspaper because it is 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 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.¹¹⁷ 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

¹¹⁷ Zaidi A, personal interview November 2009.

only 60,000, however, its effects as an agent of integration can be said to be only modest.¹¹⁸ But the fact that the newspaper considers EAC coverage as a core element of its editorial policy and operations 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 its wings 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 time-bound 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.

¹¹⁸ This figure is derived from Project Syndicate's website, available at <http://www.projectsyndicate.org/member_papers/k> Accessed 6 October 2010.

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.

4.2 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.

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.¹¹⁹

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

¹¹⁹ Pike W, Personal Interview December 2009.

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.

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.

Table 1: Most featured stories about the EAC

Issues Covered	Frequency	Percent
Economy	12	19.35
Politics	10	16.13
Free movement of labour	8	12.90
Advantages of integration	6	9.68
Common market	6	9.68
Business	5	8.06
Conflict	5	8.06
Education	5	8.06
Health	5	8.06

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 (see Table below), 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.

Table 2: Origin of last news item about the EAC

Source(s) of stories	Frequency	Percentage
Media/press conference	14	37.8
Own initiative	13	35.1
EAC	7	18.9
Newsroom assignment	7	18.9
Media/press release	4	10.8
Own source	2	5.4
Other sources	2	5.4

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.¹²⁰ Press freedom issues are further compounded by what Peter Ntimba of Uganda’s WBS TV feels is a lack of informed staff at the EAC Secretariat.¹²¹ 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.¹²² 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.¹²³

Table 3: Challenges faced by media in EAC

Challenge	Frequency	Percent
Access to information	10	28.57
Mistreatment in partner countries	10	28.57
Language barrier	8	22.86
Funding	7	20.0

¹²⁰ Interview with Katua Nzile K, 1 December 1 2009.

¹²¹ Ntimba P, Personal interview, December 17 2009.

¹²² Ntimba, interview.

¹²³ Ntakarutimana L, Personal Interview, December 15 2009.

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.

Table 4: Media houses with an EAC editorial policy

Presence/absence of EAC policy	Frequency	Frequency
EAC editorial policy present	9	24.3
EAC editorial policy absent	28	75.7

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”.¹²⁴ 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 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

¹²⁴ Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, conference communiqué.

measures which seek to overcome the constraints to media development and the basic rights of the people to information.¹²⁵

4.3 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.

4.3.1 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.¹²⁶ 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

¹²⁵ Magaga Alot,(2008). *Communication and Marketing Strategy for the East African Community /Federation*, Directorate of Corporate Communication and Public Affairs, EAC secretariat, p. 9

¹²⁶ Connect Africa Summit. Broadband Infrastructure in Africa (background paper) 29-30 October 2007.

quality of road networks constitutes an added cost disadvantage. Some roads also have incompatibility problems, with some designed 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.¹²⁷

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.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ 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 Regional Organizations.

¹²⁸ Ibid p.14

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 percentage 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.¹²⁹

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

¹²⁹Center 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

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 (e.g. 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 channelled into productive activities. Collaborative efforts leading to *detente* and ultimate resolution of conflicts will strengthen the regional integration process.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ Ibid p.16

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.¹³¹

4.3.2 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 region

¹³¹ The East Africa Secretariat,(2007) East African handbook, deepening and widening regional cooperation p.9

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.¹³²

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.

¹³³The 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 approved

¹³² 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.

¹³³ Ibid p.17

the 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 process.¹³⁴ 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.¹³⁵

¹³⁴ 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.

¹³⁵ Ibid

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The EAC needs a platform that is more robust in reaching out, sensitizing and galvanizing East Africans around the policies and strategies it formulates and implements. Importantly, such a medium has to operate as a feedback loop that enables the EAC to constantly hear and consider what the people say. In my view, such platform and medium can only be provided by the media.¹³⁶

5.1 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 which were to assess the importance the media as a diplomatic tool within the EAC, to examine the impact of media diplomacy in the promotion of regional integration within the EAC and to examine the impact of regional integration to the socio-economic and political development of the EAC.

This study comprised of five chapters that is chapter 1 which comprised of the introduction/background of study, statement of the problem, a review of existing literature, objectives of study, hypothesis, scope, of the study and ethical issues for considerations. Chapter 2 analyzed the historical context of the problem of the study and the trends that have emerged over time to date. It focused on the contribution of the media in promoting regional integration within EAC through media diplomacy and evaluated the evolution of EAC to

¹³⁶ Juma V. Mwapachu, (2012). *The Dyanamics of Policies, Politics and Transformation In The East African Community*, Challenging The Frontiers of African Integration, E&D Vision Publishing Limited p.245

date. The third chapter set out to evaluate the correlation between media as a diplomatic tool in the EAC integration process. Chapter 4 analyzed the data obtained from the research by comparing and contrasting with the hypothesis and the theoretical framework that underlined the study its main objective being to either confirm or nullify the hypothesis of the research. Chapter five which will follow is an attempt at summarizing the findings from the research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The arguments presented in this chapter acknowledge that the media and journalism play critical roles in the EAC integration process. In addition, the study found 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.

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 East Africans have been "empowered thanks partly to the media", which have a critical role to play in the success of the community.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Mwapachu, interview.

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. 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.

This would also apply to public interest in the affairs of the EAC. In such an environment, issues relevant to individual member states' audiences carry more weight and as a result are more likely to be published than those of concern to other members. 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.

Media and journalism have their own failings, of course, but they have done well this far, and are in fact becoming increasingly more interested in the EAC integration process. What's more, there is empirical evidence that they do indeed provide the space and the platform, albeit modest, through which East 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.

Yet, these optimistic conclusions are tempered by evidence showing that most East African media are increasingly profit-driven, and that owners, editors and journalists are themselves guided by the interests of their immediate or primary audiences rather than the merits of interactionism and regionalism. Besides, in highly liberalized capitalistic economies, the media have become hyper commercialized, meaning that they are primarily interested in issues that sell or those that attract the most advertising. Advertising is, after all, the lifeline of most commercial media. What this means, however, is that elite-people's issues and positions receive more space than those of the laity. Nonetheless, the fact that political and business elites have been at the forefront of the integration process because of either their

knowledge of the issues or their involvement with the EAC through their governments, civil society or other organizations means that they are wont to get more and oftentimes better coverage.

5.3 Conclusion

The advent of “citizen” journalism driven by the availability of new technologies and media such as the Internet and mobile telephony, as well as alternative media like community newspapers and radio, may change this situation, but the diffusion or availability of such facilities is still low. Even where facilities such as mobile telephony are ubiquitous, the general populace may not yet possess the necessary knowledge, skills and monetary resources to use the technologies to engage more actively with issues relating to the EAC integration process. In some instances, people may not have the capacity to navigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more importantly make sense of the information contained therein. As such, even though the EAC has a website, there is little empirical evidence to show what effect it has had on ordinary people’s engagement with the integration process, or its overall impact on the process.

Moreover, as analyzed in this study media interest in covering the EAC is sometimes determined by the level of engagement that the EAC Secretariat has with the region’s media houses. As evidence presented in this study shows, most media managers cited regular press releases from the EAC Secretariat as their main motivation for reporting on EAC issues. Beyond press releases, the Secretariat seems not to have a viable communication strategy aimed at building confidence in the process and outcomes of regional integration. There is no

gainsaying that such a strategy would help create a more coherent and “beneficial” approach to engaging the media and the public. A public engagement would undoubtedly raise the profile of EAC among the ordinary populace and improve the perceptions people have of the integration process. Through proactive engagement, the process would become partly people-driven. As it is now, it seems to be driven by the elite, some of whom are doing it for personal or vested interests that may not resonate with those of the laity.

The EAC Treaty expressly posits that the people are the actors and the beneficiaries of the regional integration process, from the decision making to the implementation stages of the regional projects and programmes. When the people are aware of the Community, see it and feel its presence, they would appreciate and acknowledge its benefits. They would get deeply involved in the Community and participate in its projects and programmes as well as apply positive pressure on the leadership to ensure the viability and sustainability of the Community.

It is on this basis that the EAC has developed, its Communications and Marketing Strategy that aims at strengthening popular participation, a common East African identity and strong political will behind the regional integration process, critical subset of this strategy is strengthening Kiswahili as the unifying lingua franca of the region. Above all, through the Communication Strategy there is a need to construct a strong coalition between all the stakeholders of the EAC viz; the East African people in general, the Political Class, the East African Media, Civil Society, the Intelligentsia, the Business Community and Development

Partners for a collective quest to bridge the gap between the vision of a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa and its concrete realization.

5.4 Recommendations

This research was guided by specific objectives which were to assess the importance the media as a diplomatic tool within the EAC, to examine the impact of media diplomacy in the promotion of regional integration within the EAC and to examine the impact of regional integration to the socio-economic and political development of the EAC. From the above objectives two sets of recommendations are presented here. The first comprises policy and strategic recommendations meant to enhance the EAC's utilization of the media in the integration process.

To enhance the media as a diplomatic tool and mitigate against the increasing commercialization of media within the EAC ; the EAC secretariat should consider investing in a EAC media agency professionally run and independent to broadcast in East Africa exclusively on integration issues which will compliment its Communication and Marketing Strategy , Re-Branding Project and cement the integrationist ideology.

EAC integration is based on the principle of popular participation (people centered). As such the EAC should invest in communication and information infrastructure across all the five partner states and harmonize policies governing the same through structured frameworks with the individual partner states governments. This will ensure a greater proportion the EAC citizenry fully exploits advantages of technologies such as internet, mobile telephony,

broadcast media both radio and television. Subsequent use of such technologies by organizations like the EAC Secretariat and other stakeholders to disseminate integrationist messages and ideologies, and the benefits accruing from the same, would enhance understanding, ownership and participation in the integration process. Thus the EAC, as a matter of priority should use more astute technological applications that will pervade the EAC grassroots population.

Public private sector partnership is key to the socio-economic and political development of the EAC. To this end, EAC Secretariat should strengthen the existing partnership in the various sectors such as government departments concerned in integration process, Media Organizations And Agencies, Civil Society organizations (CSOs), Political Elite, the Intelligentsia, the Business Community and Policy Institutes. The synergy will guarantee progressive benefits accrued from the integration process are of benefit to the entire EAC citizenry.

The EAC needs to bolster efforts of the Inter University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) in harnessing Education, Training, Science and Technology development of the region. Consequently the EAC Secretariat should develop and harmonize a common education system from the elementary level, primary, secondary, to tertiary institutions and universities for all the five Partner States to adapt and should be alive to the technological needs of a fast globalized world. A population that is well equipped with knowledge will augment, compliment efforts of the media in the integration process and be receptive on the same.

Given the interest in technology, especially among the younger techno-savvy network members, a Facebook, Twitter or similar presence pointing to the website would undoubtedly generate some interest among East Africans Citizenry and further debate on integration issues.

The EAC integration process has so far achieved the Common market in the year 2010 and a Common Market Protocol (CMP) is currently being implemented. Strict adherence of the CMP implementation will determine the eventful success and implementation of the Monetary Union and Political federation. Benefits of CMP will ensure greater participation of the citizenry as the same will be tangible due to free movement of labour, goods and services thus people will be more receptive to issues of EAC as propagated by the media, thus EAC secretariat and the partner states to ensure its implementation to the letter.

The re-establishment of the following institutions /facilities, some of which existed during the former East African Community should be given priority viz: East African Literature Bureau; East Africa Journal; East African research and development programmes and an East African Media Foundation to promote the regional integration/ Political Federation and development through a multi-media approach.

The EAC integration process is widening and deepening, perhaps to consolidate gains made and achieve the ultimate objective of a political federation; the East African citizenry and key gatekeepers like media, civil society, policy institutes academia fraternity and the East Africa citizenry (public) should do is to press on until a desired EAC is in place.

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APPENDICES

Appendix II : Interview/Questionnaire Guide

1. What is the name of your media house.....

2. What is the nature of ownership of the media you work for?

.....

3. What is your main activity?

.....

4. How many years have you been in operation?

.....

5. Do you consider yourself?

Mainstream

Alternative

New media

6. What is your coverage/reach?

.....

Regional

National

Local

7. Do you have a sister media house?

.....

If yes; Name Activity

.....

8. How would you rate the quality of journalism in the region?

Excellent

Very Good

Good

Average

Below Average

Poor

Very Poor

EAC INTEGRATION

9. Have you featured EAC news in the last one year?

Yes No

If *yes*, How many times? _____

10. When was the last time? _____

11. How often?

At least once a week

At least once every two weeks

At least once a month

At least once every two months

Not regularly/once in a while

12. What motivated you to feature them/it?

.....
.....

13. What was the origin of your last news story, news analysis, feature, programme and comment or opinion about the EAC?

My own initiative

Media/press conference

Media/press release

Newsroom assignment

My source(s)

My beat

Other

14. What are your other sources of EAC stories beyond your journalists?

Freelance journalists

Alternative media

Community

15. Describe the subject of your last news story, news analysis, feature, programme and comment or opinion about the EAC. *Use a one-line phrase or sentence as provided for in the space below.*

.....
.....

16. List the subjects of up to five news stories, news analyses, features, programmes, and comments or opinions you have ever done about the EAC.

.....
.....
.....

17. 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.*

.....
.....

18. Are you informed on the EAC integration process?

Yes No

If **Yes** on what issues or areas? Please list.

.....
.....

If **No**, on what issues or areas?

.....
.....

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

.....
.....
.....

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

.....
.....

21. How important do you consider yourself as a media outlet in the EAC integration process?

.....
.....
.....

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

.....
.....

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

.....
.....

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

.....
.....

If *Yes*, how?

.....
.....

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

.....
.....

If *No*, why?

.....
.....

26. 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?

.....
.....

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

.....
.....

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

.....
.....

29. Do you think the EAC Integration will succeed?

.....
.....

If *Yes*, give at least 5 reasons

.....
.....
.....

If *No*, give at least five reasons

.....
.....

30. What influences your decision to cover a given story/event?

.....
.....

31. In your opinion, what drives media houses in deciding on what story to cover?(guide-Politics of the day, profits, truth)

.....
.....

32. Considering EAC integration process is already on going, what issues of equity in the region in your view are paramount and deserve more coverage?

.....
.....
.....

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

.....
.....
.....

Appendix I: List of Media Organizations Surveyed

1. *Arusha Raha*, Tanzania
2. *Arusha Times*, Tanzania
3. Burundi Press Publications, Burundi
4. Citizen TV, Kenya
5. Clouds FM, Tanzania
6. *Daily Monitor*, Uganda
7. *Daily Nation*, Kenya
8. *Daily News*, Tanzania
9. Invaho Nshya, Rwanda
10. Inooro FM, Kenya
11. Iwacu, Burundi
12. KBC Radio, Kenya
13. KTN, Kenya
14. *Mwananchi*, Tanzania
15. Orinfor/Radio Rwanda, Rwanda
16. Radio Burundi, Burundi
17. Radio Ituba Kibunoo, Rwanda
18. Radio Lake Victoria, Kenya
19. Radio Star FM, Burundi
20. Rema FM, Burundi
21. TBC, Tanzania
22. *The Citizen*, Tanzania

23. *The East African*, Kenya
24. *The Independent*, Uganda
25. *The New Times*, Rwanda
26. *The New Vision*, Uganda
27. *The Observer*, Uganda
28. *The Star*, Kenya
29. TV Rwanda, Rwanda
30. UBC Radio, Uganda
31. UBC TV, Uganda
32. Uganda Radio Network, Uganda
33. WBS TV, Uganda
34. *Weekly Citizen*, Kenya