THE ROLE OF A UNITARY LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION IN ENHANCING REGIONAL INTEGRATION IN THE EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)

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OCTOBER, 2013
DECLARATION

I wish to declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for any degree in any University.

Signature........................................ Date........................................

James Maina Macharia

This dissertation has been submitted for examination with my approval as the University Supervisor.

Signed........................................ Date........................................

Dr. Anita Kiamba
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first and foremost, to the Almighty God for according me the strength, good health and grace towards realising this output. I also dedicate it my entire family. Lastly, I dedicate it to the East African Community and the entire African continent whose course for emancipation, integration and pursuit for genuine diplomatic relations with the international community, I fully support.
ABSTRACT

This research aims at evaluating the role of unitary language and communication in enhancing Regional Integration in the East African Community. The interest for this research is driven by the realization of the strategic role that unitary languages play in enhancing the development of multinational and supranational governmental organizations. While undertaking this research, a subtle analysis on use of languages in other integration schemes and the policies put in place to enhance their integration processes, will be undertaken. Primarily, this research aims at justifying why the role of Swahili Language, which is very widely spoken in the whole of Africa, in enhancing integration within the East African Region, cannot be underestimated. Notable also alongside the role of Swahili as a Regional Language, is the paradigm shift that has seen French being dropped as the sole Foreign official Language in Rwanda and the consequent adoption of English as its alternative. This too is being embraced by her neighbour Burundi. It is thus against this background that I wish to investigate how the adoption of Swahili- which is not so popular in Rwanda and Burundi – would hasten the integration of the regional bloc, and form a firm foundation in preparation for a political federation. This study also pays particular cognizance to the role of effective communication in creating awareness and encouraging citizen participation in national agenda. The study will evaluate the effectiveness of the communication strategy set up by the Directorate of Communication at the East African Community Headquarters in Arusha in disseminating the EAC agenda vis-a-vis the communication strategies adopted by other integration schemes. Finally, this study intends to make recommendations drawn from the potential of Language and effective Communication as vital catalysts for the East African Community integration process.
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<tr>
<td>AMU</td>
<td>Arab Maghreb Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BAKITA</td>
<td>Baraza la Kiswahili La Taifa Nchini Tanzania</td>
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<tr>
<td>COMESA</td>
<td>Common Market for East and Southern Africa</td>
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<td>EAC</td>
<td>The East African Community</td>
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<tr>
<td>ECCAS</td>
<td>Economic Community of Central African States</td>
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<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>The European Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>NAFTA</td>
<td>Northern American Free Trade Area</td>
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<td>NATO</td>
<td>North Atlantic Treaty Organization</td>
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<td>NGOS</td>
<td>Non Governmental Organizations</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern African Development Community</td>
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<td>UN</td>
<td>The United Nations</td>
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The East African Community (EAC) is a sub-regional intergovernmental organization of the Republics of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania, and the Republic of Uganda, with its headquarters in Arusha, Tanzania. The Treaty for establishing the East African Community was signed on 30 November 1999 and entered into force on 7 July 2000 following its ratification by the original three Partner States – Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. The Republic of Rwanda and the Republic of Burundi acceded to the EAC Treaty on 18 June 2007 and became full Members of the Community with effect from 1 July 2007.

Given that this is the second attempt at achieving unity of the East African Community, there is need for the community’s secretariat to seek ways that cement the new integration attempt. It is apparent that for the success of the process, the EAC political integration is heralded by cultural and social assimilation before the community achieves economic amalgamation. They key dynamics to this achievement are the mainstreaming of Kiswahili as East Africa’s Lingua Franca\(^1\),-although English remains the official language- and the adoption of a robust communication strategy; “Communicating the EAC agenda”. These are the fundamentals in eliminating the cultural and social barriers that stand in the way of a fast tracked regional integration.

1.1 Background

Language can be referred to the means or medium through which parties undertake the communication process. Thomas and Wareing define language as systematic way of combining smaller units of words into larger units for the purpose of communication. We thus combine the sound of our language (Phonemes) to form words (lexical items) which are then combined to make grammatical structures according to syntactic “rules” of our language(s). It is thus “essentially a rule governed system of this kind”.\(^2\) It is an inseparable part of human society and human civilization. It has therefore been attributed to the development of humanity from stone-age to developed science, art and technology. Language is a natural social prerequisite that plays a pivotal role in communication, and thus in the functioning of one’s social and personal life in the society at large. This ironically is a fact that is well ignored by those who find their mother tongue to suffice their communication needs in their own country or in states where the same language is spoken every day. \(^3\) Perhaps there is no study regarding the genesis of a phenomenon that has remained so obscure than the study of the origin of human language. While it is a fact that all social animals do have their own form of communication, there has not been such developed language than human language. Human speech does differ physically as compared to that of other animals due to a section of the brain that is unique to human beings. Over the course of history, language has evolved and spread through conquests, rise of empires, trade, religion and in the modern world, technology and entertainment.


\(^3\) Bron A., “*From an Immigrant to a Citizen: Language as a Hindrance or a Key to Citizenship,*” International Journal of Lifelong Education 22(6) ,Nov-Dec.2003,p606.
Integration refers to a process in which a number of actors in their own distinct national settings decide to shift their loyalty, expectations, set goals and political directions towards a common centre. The established common centre results to institutions that possess and command jurisdiction over the hither-to existing national states. The resultant end is a political community that is super-imposed over those that were pre-existing⁴.

Regional integration refers to the various forms and contents of economic co-operation arrangements (such as common markets, free trade areas and harmonization of policies) that prevail or are proposed within the periphery of states in close proximity or existing in one geographical region. Regional integration which has a long history virtually in all parts of the sub Saharan Africa has over the years been influenced by the political vision of African Unity and has been viewed as a means of providing sufficient scale to import substitution industrialization policies. It thus remains as an important economic and political goal in Africa.

Paradoxically too, the emergence of inequalities and regional powers on the continent is viewed as major catalyst towards enhanced levels of interaction in Africa, albeit in the short run. Unfortunately, as a result of Africa’s dependence on the world system, intra-continental exchange has been very limited as opposed to the proportion of extra-continental interaction. Both Economic and Military interactions are concentrated at the sub-regional levels are dominated by cities that serve as intermediaries between metropolises and peripheries such as Abidjan, Lagos, Nairobi and Cairo. Thus despite the

numerous resolutions, declarations, constitutions and diplomatic efforts, regional integration has remained more of an aspiration than reality.\textsuperscript{5} However, nothing can be further from the truth; regionalism is much solidly based today than in previous years and the idea of self sufficiency and integration among African countries has more followers today than at any other time since independence. Thus, the future for regionalism in Africa is bright.

Besides, the idea of African Integration is one that has been mooted since the 1960s, the period that witnessed the rise of Kwame Nkrumah, one of the Founders of Pan-Africanism. The envisaged benefits of integration should thus never be ignored Nkrumah had observed that lack of political unity was a recipe for neo-colonialism and the end result would be balkanization and under development which would eventually perpetuate poverty.\textsuperscript{6} Indeed the sole reason for the call to enhance regional economic blocs such as East African Community (EAC), Common Market for East and Southern Africa (COMESA), Arab Maghreb Union (AMU), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS) and Southern African Development Community (SADC) has been so as to facilitate a speedy “free movement of goods and labour, common services, customs and monetary unions and other steps towards more complete integration”\textsuperscript{7}

Verderber defines Communication as the process of sharing information by the use of symbols to send and receive messages. He further argues that in Human Communication,

\textsuperscript{5} R.I.Onwuka & A.Sesay, 1985: \textit{The Future of Regionalism in Africa}
\textsuperscript{6} Desmond T.orjiako,2008:\textit{The Role of Communication in African Integration}: Case Study of the African Union Commission,p.1
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid.p11
people share thoughts, ideas and feelings among themselves.\textsuperscript{8} On the other hand, human communication has been defined as the process through which symbols are transmitted in anticipation for a response.\textsuperscript{9} Communication can further be defined as message transaction among participants. In common parlance, communicators ought to share common codes or use a common language to pass on our messages.

In addition, Communication is instrumental in opening up new horizons through the spread of informatics and can be attributed to the spread of educational environments, world over. The interlink between communication and education is such that while the former is a subject of education, the latter is an essential tool for teaching men to communicate better. Thus theirs is a reciprocal relationship. Until the start of the last century, the school system was the primary source of knowledge and the teacher its sole licensed dispenser, the world was dependent on this system for knowledge generation and relied on it to interpret and master the patterns of human behavior. However, this monopoly has been broken by the growth and integration of communication systems into the learning process. While it is factual that the school plays an epistemological role in teaching students how to generate and analyze knowledge, communication is at the centre of this function. No teaching can be effective devoid of an efficient communication process. The meaning of the concepts taught in school is decoded by the receiver in light of their past experiences. This makes language and experience, the most vital pre-conditions of any communication process.

\textsuperscript{9} Larry A. Samovar et al. 2007. (ed.)\textit{Communication Between Cultures}. The Thomas Corporation.p.12
As concerns the promotion of international understanding, communication has been key in formulating interstate relationships. Unfortunately, Communication has however been misused in exporting alien cultures that have often clashed with our local cultures. It is this realization that informed the founding of a channel of regulating international communication through conventions. These have well been founded within the realms of United Nations resolutions and UNESCO declarations. Among the key concerns have been the protection of national cultures as part of the local people’s self determination and their protection from foreign effects of mass communication.

The need for communication is evidence of an insatiable urge for enrichment through cooperation with others, for the purposes of growth. However, information is prone to being corrupted into half-truths and even falsehoods that border on manipulation. Institutionalized communication may also be used to inform, control or even manipulate the citizenry. However, information systems that employ a number of sources and messages assist to foster open-mindedness. In essence, communication needs vary with societies and ditto communication effects, which are dependent on the nature of societies.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

East Africa, just like the rest of the African continent is characterized by multiplicity of languages and ethnic groupings which presents a challenge in all its realms of development. This prevalence of extensive ethnic and consequent linguistic diversities is not only responsible for the immense communication challenges that are a hindrance to
the processes and functions of governance, but can also be attributed to the often sporadic conflicts and the resultant failed and ill-developed nation states.

States may decide to integrate regionally so as to not only heighten their cooperation regionally, but also to diffuse tensions within themselves or the communities living within the region and also promote economic development. The result will be that, the problems of weak states within the realm of regional integration will be diffused by the virtue of the synergy that emerges from this integration. Among the goals that this form of integration envisages are: increased free movement of people, labour, goods, and capital, removal of trade barriers within the region, reduced possibility of armed conflict, adoption of formidable policy enhancement stances and may ultimately lead to a political federation. With such gains envisaged from integration, it is critical thus to find ways and means of dealing with issues that emanate from the diversities in language use and capacity for effective communication of the citizenry within a certain regional bloc.

It is apparent that despite the success of the full integrated East African Community being tied to the member states’ citizenry participation, a lot remains to be done to enhance this participation. It is however important to recognize that one of the member countries-Kenya has enshrined the role of their citizenry in policy formulation and implementation, either directly or indirectly through the citizen’s representation in both houses of parliament and through her constitution.
However, there still exists inadequate communication on the East African Community’s initiatives geared towards mobilizing and creating awareness on regional cooperation strategies. This unfortunately happens against the background of the establishment of a fully fledged Department of Communication in July 1997. Pursuant to Article 7(f) of the Treaty Establishing the East African Community, The EAC secretariat is required to promote and disseminate information to the community’s stakeholders, the general public and the international community.

There exists a lack of efficacy in the dissemination of the EAC agenda that suffices the EAC citizenry’s warm embrace and ownership of the whole process. Therefore, if the preserve of driving this agenda is left to the ruling elite, this second attempt is also likely to come a cropper, a few years from now. EAC’s integration has no room for success without the citizenry embracing the agenda, understanding the opportunities and challenges that would emanate from a full integration and finally being at the steering wheel of the whole process. The process of full integration of the EAC lacks a strategic communication approach that is in tandem with the contemporary world given that in this era of globalization, in effective communication has had a part to play towards the ill-development of Africa and inability to move forward as a regional community. On the other hand, the process of enhancing Kiswahili as the lingua franca of the community and recognizing its role in forging unity in the EAC and a catalyst to full integration lacks oomph and the necessary aggression.
In addition, on another front, the EAC member states have failed to review their cultural affiliations before adopting the process of a political federation. A viable communication infrastructure is one of the items that should be of high priority to support the integration process. Within this framework, the member states have fallen short of effective promotion Kiswahili as the Lingua Franca in the region to enhance communication between member states. The rise of Kiswahili as an official language in the same status as English ought to be fast tracked.

This study thus seeks to examine the concepts of Language and Communication, and how they relate with the process of integration. This includes the evaluation of the potential of the Swahili language as a catalyst to the EAC integration process, while assessing the role of effective communication in promoting awareness of the EAC agenda and ultimately the ownership of the integration process among the EAC citizenry.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

i) The study seeks to identify and explore the relationship between Communication and Language and how they play out in the various forms of integration in the society.

ii) The study is also keen on establishing the impact of language uniformity in promoting cohesion in integration projects.

iii) The study further seeks to evaluate the role of effective communication in promoting “The EAC agenda”.


1.4 Literature Review

Given that language is the basic tool by which humans make society function, its communicative functions cannot be undermined. Orbe and Harris underscore this fact in their argument that “in its most basic form, language is a tool that humans have utilized, at times effectively and at times, not so effectively to communicate their ideas, thoughts and feelings to others.”\textsuperscript{10} This notion is also furthered by Saville-Troike with the assertion that functions of communication relate to the participants’ purpose and needs whether at the level of individual or group interactions. These include “functions such as affection (conveying feelings and emotions), directive (requesting or demanding), poetic (aesthetic), phatic (empathy and solidarity) and metalinguistic.”\textsuperscript{11}

Language plays the role as a means to communication and social interaction. In a nation state, language is a symbol of nationality. It thus serves the function of a solidarity marker. Every speech community has its own “in-group” language that marks it off from another speech community. Many positions have been advanced by language scholars raising divergent views on the importance of a common language. Isayev advances the argument that “language is a nation’s most obvious and important attribute “. He further asserts that there is no such a thing as a nation without a common linguistic basis and that a state that has no common language is just but a half a nation.\textsuperscript{12} The underlying assumption here is that linguistic unity contributes to cohesion.

\textsuperscript{10} Orbe ,M.P  and T.M .Harris ,Interracial Communication :Theory into Practice (Belmont,CA:Wadsworth, 2001),p.50
\textsuperscript{12} Isayev ,M.I(1977)National Languages in the UUSR: Problems and Solutions, Moscow: Progress Publications.
However, there are nations that are multilingual and yet have remained viable over the years. English and French are the operational languages of Canada, while in Switzerland, French, German and Italian are the operational languages. Therefore, a common language is not necessarily a condition for a unified state and one or more language groups can coexist with minimal interferences with each other. Language experts further argue that a hybrid language would be impossible to evolve especially if made to involve at the expense of the complex demands of natural languages. Another argument raised by those who are of a contrary opinion to monolingualism, is that, multilingualism is not necessarily a barrier to national unity and integration. Le Page observes that “language is a skin colour in that it is easily identifiable badge for those who wish to form a gang or fight against another gang. Fishman on the other hand, adds that language differences need not necessarily be divisive, since unity and lack of it are ideological standings.

Nonetheless, it is an undeniable fact that a common language is a potentially unifying force, albeit other factors conducive to unity play their part before a common language unifies. The political, economic, social and educational needs ought to be met for people in different groups to feel a sense of belonging in oneness. A unitary language is immensely vital to at least two areas of national development; literacy and communication. It suffices to state that, the poorest states in the world are also the states whose levels of illiteracy are so high. In same breath, the flow of information is a suitable

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climate for national or regional development. Both Language and communication are key to attracting mass participation in the development agenda in order to ensure widespread and genuine development.

In light of assessing national development, there is need to consider the role of language in two models; Languages of Wider Communication (LWCs) or official languages and the use of indigenous languages. Therefore, development efforts should aim the use of a language that has a wide reach of the population. This calls for the intensification of local languages to advance development in Africa, for instance. While it is true that foreign ideas, concepts and technology will be conceptualized in foreign languages, their dissemination must be packaged in a local language. The economic advanced that nations like Japan has achieved are as a result of sheer efforts to domesticate foreign technology into Japanese and the translation of the productive processes into Japanese, which a local factory hand fathoms.

1.4.1 The Role of Swahili in Fostering African Unity

Kiswahili undoubtedly is one of the most developed and widely used indigenously African Languages nationally and internationally. Indeed its contribution in the struggle for independence and in the second liberation movements in across Africa is immense. Africans founding fathers such as Kwame Nkrumah deemed it as the most appropriate language for the African Unity. Kiswahili therefore has over the last fifty years participated in the national, regional and international developments.
Kiswahili is not only the lingua franca for the wider Eastern African region, but it has found deep roots in the Central Africa (in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and the Southern African counties such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. It has also spread fast into Southern Sudan through refugees returning from Kenya. Currently, the Kiswahili geolinguistic zone in Africa boasts of about 150 million speakers.

Many bearers of the Pan African dream have over the years envisioned Kiswahili as the official language and the lingua franca of the proposed United States of Africa. Nkrumah, a radical Pan Africanist, and who wanted envisioned Kiswahili as not only the language that would fast track the unity of the African people, but which would also define and articulate the African culture. The African Union has since adopted Swahili as one of its language. The then Mozambique president was among the first African Presidents to address the African Union in Kiswahili, at Addis Ababa in 2004. Wole Soyinka, a renowned African writer, while addressing the Union of African Writers in 1976, called for the promotion and enrichment of Kiswahili to enhance the communication needs of Africans.

Interestingly, Africans from within and beyond Africa have been learning Swahili for the preparation of the eventual unity of Africa under the United States of Africa banner. While the Africanist approach by Nkrumah and Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria on the formation of the aforementioned entity, the gradualist approached advanced by former

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Tanzanian President Mwalimu Nyerere is slowly taking shape with the formation of Regional Blocks such as the East African Community, Southern African Development Community, Economic Community of West African States, Common Market for East and Southern Africa and change of the Organization of African Union to the African Union, could be a pointer to the fruition of the five decade dream.

1.5 Communication and Diplomacy

The great paradigm shift in acceleration of the art of the flow of information across national boundaries is purely unprecedented. The last half a century has seen radical changes in the organization of international life and the unprecedented challenges that have confronted diplomacy are in high demand for a shift in human venture. Tran, in a bid to underscore the importance of communication in the diplomatic process, compares the role of communication in diplomacy to that of blood to human body. He further asserts that communication is the fuel that lubricates the process of diplomacy in any interstate political body.19

The relationship between communication and diplomacy dates far back in history. Indeed, diplomacy has often been defined as a regulated form of communication or the international community’s way of communication.20 The place of communication upon contemporary and future diplomacy largely remains critical, due to the essential roles of diplomacy namely: representation, communication and reproduction of international

society which effectively make diplomatic communication transhistorical.\textsuperscript{21} In fact, the introduction of resident envoys, a vital innovation of pre-modern diplomacy, was necessitated by the great need to gather information regarding neighboring states around Italian City states that were ambitious yet vulnerable.\textsuperscript{22} Gathering of information, has since then been regarded as a key function of modern day diplomacy. Ambassadorial appointees have since been tasked with gathering information on a myriad of issues ranging from the economic stability or lack of it, of the host state, to the details of the state’s foreign policy, the state of their armed forces, the health of the key people at the helm of leadership, the balance of power within the government, the status of the opposition, among other issues.\textsuperscript{23}

Communication plays a very vital role in the conduct of International relations. Therefore, communication in any diplomatic processes cannot be taken for granted either as a neutral and mechanical aspect of international interaction, or as a concern, because a potential public relations endeavor is to be conducted. It is fundamentally, in its own right a proper subject of international relations evaluation, that governments among other actors must give more consideration to.\textsuperscript{24} There exists a profound linkage between communication, peace, democracy and real development. Therefore, communication is a fundamental pillar to the art of diplomacy. A communitarian strategy ought to be at the centre of any diplomatic undertaking. It should be based on the primacy of community, nonviolence,

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ecology, participatory democracy, economic self reliance, social responsibility and cultural pluralism.  

Modern diplomacy has acquired an aspect of public diplomacy that requires the involvement of both the government and private individuals in influencing public attitudes and opinions. Therefore, though communication technology has revolutionized the practice of diplomacy, as government speak to counterpart governments; they also speak to their citizenry who have become part of their advisory on policy matters.  

Modern diplomacy has also seen mass communication avail to the citizenry, the world within instant sound and sight thus forming a platform in which the citizenry speak directly to each other across the national boundaries.  

For communication that is meant to influence public opinion to be effective, it should be directed to the principal voices in the national decision making. The modern national state, unlike in classic diplomacy, has had its decision process and sovereignty thereof ceded toward the citizenry constituency. This is as a result of the devolved citizenry participation in national tasks. In advanced modernization of diplomacy, sovereignty rests in the public; the leaders become the servants of the people. The growing importance of public opinion is attributed to this.  

Therefore, communication remains to be an essential aspect of

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27 Ibid.p.5

1.5.1 Communication and Language in the Integration Process

International communication or communication that occurs across international borders has been traditionally concerned with government to government information exchanges. However, the late 20th century advances in communication have greatly enhanced the scope of international communication beyond the government to government to including across international businesses and cross culture and citizens interactions at speeds hither to unprecedented. Besides governments, many international non-state actors are also shaping international communication.

In the contemporary world thus, international communication encompasses political, economic, social and cultural concerns. From the genesis of humanity, communication has taken place over distance and time through contacts established between cultures via trade and travel; war and colonialism. The end result of such interactions has been implanting of ideas, religious beliefs, languages and economic and political systems across the world.29

The word “communicate” is derived from the Latin word “communicare” which essentially means to share. Therefore international communication is all about sharing ideas, knowledge and beliefs among the various peoples of the world and thus is instrumental in promoting mutual understanding and resolving conflicts globally.

International communication’s key use has been in its employment for public diplomacy with the aim of influencing other nations’ policies by appealing to its citizenry through

means of public communication.\textsuperscript{30} For instance, the propaganda of ideological confrontation dominated the use of international media channels during the era of the cold war. \textsuperscript{31} Thus, after the Soviet Union had been dismantled, socialism retreated and the global south became marginalized in the international decision making process. The West led by USA, emerged the principal key agenda setter in international communication.

On the other hand, language barrier has in the past been blamed for the initial failure of regional blocs in Africa, which were established soon after independence. Previous experiments on regionalism thus, have shown that there is little to talk about on matters; “ideal community”. The states merely cooperated as there were hardly attempts to seriously integrate owing to deep rooted differences. For instance, the Mano River Union Agreement that brought together Sierra Leon, Liberia and Guinea seemed a union that was ideal. They had ethnic groups that straddle their common borders and were then all poor developing states. However underneath these obvious similarities, lay immense differences. “First there was a serious language barrier between the Anglophone Liberia and Sierra Leone, and Francophone Guinea.”\textsuperscript{32}

Although not one single cause is attributed to the death of the initial set up of the EAC-but rather a multiplicity of ailments, it is notable that the community lacked what can be referred to as the valuable lubricants for smooth-working cooperation of common

\textsuperscript{31} Wells, A(ed.)1996. \textit{World Broadcasting :a comparative view}.(Norwood ,NJ: Abex Publishing.)p.2-The Bipolar view of the world ignored the complexity of media systems and opposed the “free” US system at the desirable end of a continuum and totalitarian systems at the other, an approach that is credited “as a strong ideological weapon in the spread of American media enterprises oversees”
languages as with English and Kiswahili in East Africa, and the common educational background provided by Makerere for some political leaders and for many of the generation of civil servants who took over the administration of all the three East African Countries at Independence.  

Interactions between people of different cultures countries could possibly be an art old as the history of man and nations. Communication’s role in international relations is indeed vital for it does govern the ability to shape international opinion on common issues that threaten human survival and can only be sorted out through consultations and cooperation between states. Such problems include arms race, poverty, illiteracy, environmental pollution, discrimination against women, unemployment, among others. The mass media is tasked with the role of alerting international public opinion to such problems so as to make them better understood and generate the will to solve them. They are also called upon to join people together rather than divide them so as to promote peaceful exchanges and mutual understanding. George Gordon asserts that “various forms of communication between living organisms had doubtlessly reached heights of sophistication long even before the primitive speech (noise) was invented.

The reviewed literature highlights how language can enhance cohesion in the society and in particular the potential of the Swahili Language in enhancing unity in Africa as was envisaged by the founders of the Pan African Movement. In addition, it emphasizes the

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role communication plays in promoting diplomatic relations. The process of integration requires high level diplomatic negotiations and citizen participation. This can be lubricated better by effective communication and a unitary language. However, previous studies have shown that one of the most profound challenges to African unity since the 1960s, when Pan African movement was born and soon after the attainment of independence for many African states.  

1.6 Justification of the Study
There exists a policy gap in scholarly literature that focus on the development of a robust language standardization strategy and its role in enhancing integration and on literature which critically analyses the role of effective communication in promoting integration schemes, by encouraging citizenry participation from the community level to the regional level. It is this gap that this study seeks to address.

This study also makes an important contribution towards the ongoing policy development regarding the envisaged EAC political federation process. This is achieved through the proposed recommendations that highlight the essence of empowering the citizenry to own the process of integration, for it to realize real success. This is done by evaluating the contribution of Kiswahili as the EAC’s unitary language and that assessing the need for adequate publicity and awareness on the EAC agenda, towards this goal. The ultimate

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beneficiaries of this study will the common folk of the EAC member states and those who will carry out studies on the success of integration schemes, in the future.

1.7 Hypotheses

I hope to verify the following hypotheses through this research:

i) Effective communication can enhance Integration.

ii) Secondly, lack of a unitary language can provide an impediment to regional integration.

iii) Lastly, Kiswahili language can enhance integration in the East African Community

1.8 Conceptual Framework

The world is currently witnessing a renaissance of regionalism and integration schemes. Regionalism has become popular as states seek closer economic and political ties. This is evident in organizations such as the European Union (EU), the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (ASEAN), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Northern American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) among others. Consequently, the EAC has not been left behind in heightening its economic, social and cultural integration in a view to improve the lives of the people of the East African Region as enshrined in its mission.36

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The role of communication through the media and other forms of publicity, in this quest cannot be undermined. The media has a role to draw the attention of the people in the EAC community, on the opportunities and challenges of integration, disseminate ideas of regionalism and integration and the envisaged gains for the citizenry such as to lead in to a greater regional consciousness that will formulate an EAC culture. The rationale behind this thinking is the fact that the media has the capacity to set integrative trends and increase awareness thereby contributing to an acceptable regional identity. On assessing the media’s impact in the society, several approaches have been advanced. Among these is Agenda setting (and agenda building) advanced by McCombs and Shaw. The media is also deemed to have a great effect on the mobilization.

Agenda setting informs the notion that the media may not dictate to us what to think but it does definitely influence our thinking. They select what to disseminate, where to do and the language to use to disseminate the information. Agenda setting thus makes an assumption that the media, the government and the citizenry reciprocally influence each other collectively, this leading to Agenda building. Thus formulation of policies like the integration process is deeply influenced by this synergy. The second assumption the theory of agenda setting is that the media consumers independently play a role of choosing and using the media. Therefore media consumers do not consume entirely what is

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“thrown” at them by media managers and editors. Hence in this case, East Africans do not consume media content on the process of integration just because it is available, but on the notion of importance and the utilities derived thereof.

The agenda setting approach also perceives the media as the watchdog. The assumption here is that the media is tasked with the role of monitoring state activity and “fearlessly reporting on the abuse of authority”. Therefore besides the media playing the informative role on the on-goings-in the society, the media ostensibly mobilizes the public, the professional bodies and civil societies to keep leaders accountable to the citizenry. This means that the media may from time to time set the agenda and ensure that journalists often monitor the actions of the various actors in ensuring the success of the process of integration for example. Such initiatives in turns play the role of promoting accountability, transparency and good governance. Such is what the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, held in Nairobi on 19-20th August 2010 suggested. A communiqué issued then acknowledged the role of the media as a watchdog institution whose significance in the promotion of good governance is immense.

The other assumption is that the media is the platform for people to articulate their positions on various issues. This concept of public sphere is the brainchild of a German Critical philosopher Jurgen Habermas to represent the space that mediates between society

42The meeting that brought together senior government officials from the EAC members states among them the EAC council of Ministers and secretariat officials, was officially opened by Mutula Kilonzo the then Minister for Justice, National Cohesion and Constitutional Affairs.
and the state. The state here presents itself as “the bearer of public opinion”. The citizenry of the EAC states have a platform through the media to advance their interests in the process of to attain full integration. Therefore the EAC secretariat is tasked with offering a platform for the laity to express their issues and ensure their participation in the integration process. This research advances the idea that agenda setting goes a long way in influencing behavior, including how the citizenry of EAC states view regionalism and embrace the EAC agenda.

Further, this study is guided by the neofunctionalist approach to regional integration as advanced by Jean Monnet, an economist of French Origin and who is regarded as the founder of the European Economic Community. Monnet argued that the process of integration should not be limited to technical areas but rather should select wisely the initial activities to spur economic integration over time. This approach assumes the view that the executive among other interest groups in a state pursue a welfarist objective and thus the concept of nationalism and national state should decline, as that objective is well fulfilled by the integration process.

Thus this study uses a neo-functionalist approach of language to make an argument that apart from economic integration, a common language holds the most powerful tool of integrating the people. A common language would best be promoted by embracing integration in education. Thus the conceptual framework for this study is of the view that a

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unitary language possesses the capacity for cohesion among the citizenry of the EAC, as it will address the issue of educational inequalities and egocentric national feelings among some people from in partner states, thereby fast tracking the process of full integration.

1.9 Methodology

Given the clear intents of this research in establishing the place of communication and Unitary language and the enhancement of these policies at the EAC Secretariat, the researcher intends to carry out an in-depth investigation or study on the aforementioned in an exploratory manner.

1.9.1 Secondary Sources

This research process will be descriptive in nature and both primary and secondary data will be employed. The research will include a historical review on the suitability of Swahili as the Lingua Franca of the EAC and its impact on the process of integration within the region, will be conducted. The sources that the study intends to review includes: various reports published by the EAC Secretariat on the progress of the integration process, journals written by scholars on the subject matter, credible commentaries authored by stakeholders who command authority and who possess domain expertise on the Integration process, resolutions made by the EAC member states among other relevant information.

The aforementioned audit also includes an evaluation on the effectiveness of the Communication systems employed by the EAC member states in enhancing Regional
An evaluation on the success of the EAC Secretariat’s Public Communication department in “Communicating EAC” will also be undertaken.

1.9.2 Primary Sources
The primary research of this study entails a visit to the Director in charge of Integration at the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism and correspondence from the EAC missions in Nairobi and the EAC Secretariat in Arusha, in form of personal interviews from relevant heads of departments. This will provide the research with a snapshot on the effect of Kiswahili as the region’s Lingua Franca and any impediments towards its potential as a catalyst of integration. The researcher also aims at evaluating the communication strategies employed by the member states and the EAC secretariat in advancing the integration agenda.

1.9.3 Scope of the Study
The study targets some major actors in the process of EAC’s regional integration such as the EAC’s secretariat, the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism and individual Diplomatic Missions of the EAC member states.
1.9.4 Chapters Outline

Chapter 1
This contains the research proposal and outlines the aim of the study, reviews previous scholarly data carried out on the subject matter, designs the research methodology and spells out the conceptual framework upon which this study is anchored.

Chapter 2
Language and the Process of Integration: This chapter seeks to evaluate the place of language in the process of integration given the community’s unique composition that comprises of an inter-ethnic society. It reviews various Integration schemes whose major basis for integration is the fact that partner members share a language.

Chapter 3.
The East African Integration Process and the Role of Communication in the Process:
This chapter evaluates the historical background of the EAC integration process. It also highlights the role of communication in diplomacy while evaluating communication strategies for various integration schemes that of the EAC.

Chapter 4.
A Critical Analysis on the roles of Language and Communication the integration Process:
This chapter critically analyses how Swahili’s as the EAC’s lingua franca has developed. It also analyzes the speech communities of the Swahili Language in each of the EAC member states. It also reviews the role of the Directorate of Corporate Communications
and Public Affairs at the EAC Secretariat in Arusha in creating awareness on the EAC agenda to the EAC citizenry.

**Chapter 5:**

Conclusions and Recommendations: This chapter highlights the deductions made from the previous chapters and draws conclusions on whether the objectives set out by the study have been met. It also evaluates the study’s hypotheses.
CHAPTER TWO
LANGUAGE AND THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

2.1 Introduction

Language refers the systematic way of combining small units into larger ones for the sole purpose of communicating. It is indeed the forum through which we describe and give information about the world around us.45 This chapter aims at critically analyzing the place of language in creating cohesion within the society and its potential in aiding the process of political integration.

Language usage reflects the personality of a culture. Language thus gives a particular society that uses it, some form of identity. Integration refers to the amalgamation, combination or incorporation of different ethnic groups into geographically defined units. In the case of the East African Community, these geographical units had been created into distinctive, discernable political entities by the then colonial governments.

Article 137 of the EAC treaty provides that Kiswahili be adopted as the EAC’s lingua franca while the official language remains to be English. However, this is a resolution that was reached upon before the EAC was broadened to include the states of Rwanda and Burundi into the community. The latter’s official language is French.46

In the continued pursuit of enhanced integration, the multiplicity of languages within the region especially in education systems, administration and human resource development, remains a challenge. With clear knowledge that the prevalence of extensive ethnic and linguistic diversity causes conflict and impoverishment, there is need for a regional cooperation that is rooted in eliminating any existing inter-state tensions and encourages economic development. This is only possible if the envisaged benefits of integration; increased free trade, free movement of goods and services across the region and a cohesive approach to policy formulation and implementation is achieved. This success apparently is solely dependent on dissemination of educative information which largely depends on appropriate language to cover the population almost to an individual level. While our multiplicity of language and dialects thereof, acts as a constant reminder that we belong to different ethnic and state communities, the promotion of Kiswahili in paper and deed will make the process of integration more feasible as an efficient exchange and flow of information. The harmony of perception is conducive for effective exchange of information. It is the uniformity of language that drives the attainment of harmony for people’s perceptions of events in reality.

This chapter therefore endeavors to analyze the place of language in the process of integration from the inter-ethnic society that forms the East African Community’s member states, to the ultimate goal of an EAC political federation.
2.2 Language and Society

In determining the role of language in a community, Halliday, argues that, for a man to effectively play his/her role as a member of a society, they must first occupy the social role by way of language. He further argues that a society does not consist of participants but rather relations. Thus, the continued existence of the societal relations is lubricated by language.\(^4\)

In addition, language does serve a number of cultural, communal and societal functions. It primarily plays the role of culture preservation by submitting culture from one generation to the other. Secondly, it establishes and preserves societies by linking individuals into communities of shared identities. Thirdly, it is vital in all elements of human interaction since it often relates to political goals, is instrumental in reinforcing boundaries in order to unify members of one speech community as well as provide a social identity by providing linguistic indicators which are useful in reinforcing social stratification and maintaining differential power relationships between groups.

Moreover, language being the basic tool used by humans to make the society function permits us to pool knowledge and interact with others that are beyond the reach of our voice in space and time so we do not need to rediscover what others have discarded. It is this ability that enables us attain progress from the past long after our predecessors have left. This goes a long way into exhibiting the role of language in defining societies and their culture. Not only that, but also the role of language in enhancing pride and instilling

a sense of belonging to particular societies or communities.

### 2.2.1 Language and Power

It might not be as obvious as to the relationship between political power and language, but it is hard to demonstrate political power devoid of language; it is actually achieved through language.\(^{48}\) Thus, political power thrives through the various forms in which language is used such as through speeches and debates. Laws are also written and argued in language while individuals give orders through language.

The relationship between power and language is not only confined to the public sphere. For example the way a parent talks to a child exhibits the power relationship between the mother and the child. The language employed by the parent is what creates the power dynamics between them and reinforces the other power differences that the parent possesses such as physical, legal and economic powers than their younger children. The power of language is at times recreated as the children enter young adulthood or middle age thus affirming the original power relationships.

In essence, language is the medium through which we learn about the world around us, how to behave and whom to value. Language further serves the interests of the social groups that are dominant in the society such as politicians and lawyers; international

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media conglomerates moguls among other high profile figures. In fact, political discourse relies very heavily on the principle that certain issues or concepts can be influenced by language. Therefore, politicians and other people who wield power in the society must know how to effectively use persuasive language to persuade their audience of the validity of their claims. In addition, it is through language that the aforementioned suppress the interests of and oppress those with less power, less access to the media, less prowess and understanding in a particular language, and less access to the media and production of written records. Thus, Language reflects the truth of the more dominant group while largely undermining that of the less dominant group. At times non comprehension of a particular language may render one powerless, which results in them becoming resentful.

2.2.2 Language and Culture

The personality of a culture is reflected by language use and style. Indeed, in support of this Philipsen argues that, “Cultural premises and rules about speaking are intricately tied up with cultural conceptions of persons, agency, and social relations.49 There exists a huge correlation between the form and content of a language and the beliefs, values, and needs present in the culture of the language speakers. Therefore, language has the power to maintain national or cultural identity. Therefore, it is very vital in ethnic and national sentiment as a result of its powerful and visible symbolism.50

Language has a great impact as a symbol of identity in many cultures. Thus, many political and civic leaders are of cognizance that language and culture are inseparable, so they take steps to limit or prohibit a language deemed a threat to their culture and often formulate policies that safeguard languages that maintain their culture. For instance, Costa Rica in 1977 enacted a new legislation that controls the use of foreign language, which if broken attracts a huge fine. In advertising, companies that advertised in a different foreign language were required to include a Spanish translation in large fonts. On the other hand, it is illegal in Iran for a company to use foreign names. The French, in an attempt to maintain a “pure” language, established an official language academy to regulate linguistic developments. This followed an alarm over possible contamination by foreign languages, especially American English. France has a list of thirty five hundred foreign words that are protected from use in schools, bureaucracies or companies and in her latest attempt to control her language, the French government has set up, cultural quotas, so as to ensure that all mass media has an obligatory percentage of content created and produced in France.

However, while recognizing these efforts to safeguard language and its usage, it is important to realize that languages do borrow from others. Words such as tomato, chocolate and avocado whose origin is in North America, have comfortably been assimilated as part of other languages. Culture does indeed become part of abstracting meanings in language. Therefore, if communication is between two parties that share a culture, the process of encoding the implied messages is easier since there exists shared

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experiences between the parties communicating. On the contrary, communication between people of different cultures can be troublesome as different experiences exist. Thus diverse cultures could have different symbols and hence different responses.

It is thus clear that, culture does exert an enormous influence on language since it defines more than symbols in a language and also determines language rules; it defines the meanings associated with symbols too. It also influences the way people think and perceive reality and hence ultimately influencing our thoughts too.

2.3 Language and Ethnicity

Ethnicity is derived from the Greek word *ethnos* or “nation”. A nation can be defined as a community that has a common history, cultural tradition and language. However, one can belong to more than one ethnic community ranging from what they choose to what is chosen for them. One’s ethnic identity is defined by their particular characteristics and thus they can effectively belong to multiple ethnic communities. For example in modern Britain, there are majorly three long established groups; the English, the Welsh and the Scots. Although all of them are termed as the British, they have separate ethnic identities, histories and cultural practices.

Ethnicity can either be grouped as “ethnic minority” or “ethnic majority”. The latter refers to ethnic groups that hold social and political power while the former refers to the

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54 Ibid. P.85
groups that hold very little or none. The ethnic majority in many countries may dominate the social and political systems as they have the power and the numbers to enforce their interests. However this may not always be the case. For instance, in Barbados (an island colonized by Britain), there were 19,508 people of British descent but 62,136 African slaves in 1684. However, the African slaves had no actual power and enjoyed almost nil social and human rights while the British majority controlled them.\(^{55}\)

Therefore, ethnic majorities are groups that wield social and political power and whose practices and beliefs are established as the norm. Anything that is not in tandem with this norm is normally regarded as different and peripheral. The labels of ethnic majority and minorities respectively easily become entrenched in usage as the labels themselves originate from the dominating group.

### 2.4 Language and the Thought Process

Just as verbal behavior in different cultures differ, so does the thought processes and perceptions of reality. Culture does determine how people think and how they speak. This cultural dynamic is referred to as linguistic relativity. Benjamin Lee Whorf suggests that Language and thought are so intertwined that it is one’s language that determines the categories of thoughts open to them. He further argues that our mother tongues aid us in organizing the flow of events in our minds not because they are naturally segmented that way but because we are parties to agreement to do so, through our mother tongue.\(^{56}\) Sapir

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\(^{56}\) Whorf, B. L. (1956), *Language, Thought and Reality: Selected Writings of Benjamin Lee Whorf*, J.B Carroll
his student submits that, human beings live at the mercy of the particular language which is their society’s medium of expression and therefore do not live in the objective world in isolation. The society, he argues, is unconsciously build up on the language habits of its speakers and no two languages can be considered as representing the same social reality. Societies live in distinct worlds.\textsuperscript{57}

The concept of linguistic relativity espouses the degree to which language influences human thought and meanings. It does attempt to explain the closeness in the relationship between language and thought. Therefore, though language may not ultimately determine the way we think, it influences the way we perceive and remember things and affects the ease with which we perform mental tasks.\textsuperscript{58}

On the other hand, our language could be limited by our world. This argument which is advanced by Wittgenstein implies that devoid of a particular label, we cannot pattern what we experience. For example, the Eskimo has the ability to label about seven types of snow as this is what expands his world, while an American has a narrower world of snow, because that is what his world contains.\textsuperscript{59}


2.5 Language and Diplomacy

The role of language in Diplomatic practice is immense and therefore, cannot be overlooked. Given that powers speak to one another through the language of diplomacy, a common language spoken between certain players or actors, practicing diplomacy on behalf of their states, would lead to a better understanding between themselves, for the good of whom they act for. The importance of the knowledge of the language in use, in diplomatic negotiations, cannot be better underscored than in the case example of “The Treaty of Waitangi”, signed on the 6th February 1840 by William Hobson, as a representative of the British Crown and over 500 Maori Chiefs. The treaty which incidentally was signed in both Maori and English, stipulates in section that, “The chiefs of the Confederation of the United Tribes of New Zealand and the chiefs who may not have become members of the Confederation, cede to her Majesty the Queen of England, absolutely and without reservations all the rights and powers of sovereignty which the said confederation or individual chiefs respectively exercise or possess, or may be are supposed to possess, over their respective territories as the sole Sovereigns thereof.”

In return, the Queen of England guarantees the Chiefs, Tribes of New Zealand and their respective families, the rights of exclusive and undisturbed possession of their lands, forests, fisheries among other properties that they either individually or collectively own, so long as it is their wish and desire to retain them in their possession. However, the Chiefs and the United Tribes cede to Her Majesty the exclusive right of preemption over such lands as the proprietors and that these properties may be alienated and compensation

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done through persons appointed by Her Majesty. The natives of New Zealand were in return to “enjoy” the Queen’s royal protection and the rights and privileges of British subjects.

The aforementioned case presents a clear highlight of the pitfalls of diplomacy within the context of language and advances the argument that, language comes with hidden baggage. The Maoris shortfall in the understanding the English language was their sole undoing. The British cleverly sought to protect settlers (the British had already invested heavily in labour and capital and wished to keep of New Zealand away from other prospective powers) while keeping the *Pakeha* aggression against the Maori land and people, at bay. This way, the British cleverly recognized the independence of the Maori, while simultaneously, negating it.62

The curious observation that can be made in the causerie on language and its role in diplomacy and within the context of the Treaty of Waitangi is that there exists hidden baggage in the diplomatic language used to advance negotiations –this is the forum in which the skill of a diplomat is clearly at play. However, this baggage and the ambiguity that emanates from it thereof, can be well avoided if the use of a common language to all the actors, is at play.

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62 Ibid.p.56
2.5.1 An Overview of Language Policy in the European Union

2.5.2 The Languages of the European Union

The European Union just the organization, consists of many languages. However, it only recognizes 23 as the European Union formal. Europe prides itself of more than 60 indigenous regional and minority languages. However, not all these official and working languages are used in day-to-day meetings or in Memos. Evidently, the EU’s translation and interpretation is among the biggest in the world. Needless to say that among the interesting areas of its policy research has been on how to change from the 23 official languages to “procedural ones” namely English, French and German. This could be informed by the fact that some of these twenty three have already acquired official status locally, for instance Sami in the North and Sardinian in the South. Besides this, immigration has seen the emergence of hundreds of hither to the formation of the European Union, fairly known and common languages, in cities such as London, Paris, Brussels and Berlin.

The union has however adopted a policy that is meant to safeguard this linguistic diversity and promote language learning to enhance cultural identities and social integration. The European Union Commission actually envisages embracing multilingualism as an asset to take advantage of the educational, professional and economic opportunities created by the integration of Europe. The commission has therefore in a strategy adopted in 2008 been

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tasked with the assessment of what needs to be done to turn linguistic diversity into an asset for solidarity and prosperity. This was preceded by another strategy – “New Framework Strategy for Multilingualism” developed in 2005 but which now has been superseded by the 2008 strategy. Therefore, the ultimate goal for the commission is a Europe where everyone can speak at least two languages besides their mother tongue.

Among the key stages in the formulation of the current EU language policy include a strategic framework for cooperation on education and training (2009). This strategy involves EU ministers in promoting language learning with an aim of integrating adults in vocational training and helping immigrants learn the language of the host country. The EU also developed a strategy for multilingualism in 2008. This strategy tasks the EU ministers with establishing mechanisms of promoting language learning and protecting language diversity. In addition, the EU also launched an assessment on multilingualism dubbed an asset for Europe and a shared commitment (2008). This involves the commission undertaking an assessment on how to turn linguistic diversity into an asset for solidarity and prosperity.

2.5.3 The Cost of Running a Multilingual European Union

According to the EU portal, the policy of multilingualism is informed by the commission’s commitment to democracy, transparency and the right of the EU citizens to know. Besides, this is necessitated by the fact that EU legislation is universally applicable across the EU hence it ought to be published to EU citizens in a language they understand. Given that all citizens have a right to know why a particular legislation is

being adopted and how it impacts on their everyday life. This use of different languages to disseminate legislation enhances active participation from EU citizens in public debates that are dispensed more often than not, online.

The EU’s basic principle is that all citizens and their elected representatives should have similar rights of access to EU’s institutions and ought to easily communicate with them in their language. Again, the policy of direct involvement of the EU citizens in the law making process explains why the EU, unlike other multi-national governmental organizations such as the UN and NATO, uses many languages. The UN with its current membership of 194 uses 6 languages. NATO on the other hand publishes documents only in English and French. The EU institutions stand out in the world in striving to give citizens quality translation and interpretation economically and effectively. However, running the multilingual EU comes at a price of about 1% of the EU budget. This is however modest a cost when compared with the contentment of the EU citizenry.

In addition, the EU’s language policies and frameworks have seemingly provided a conducive environment for the growth of non-national languages alongside the official ones endorsed by the United Nations. These languages though, lesser-used, have received grant funds from the European Commission in the name of serving broader European interests and in meeting the needs of the various members of the EU’s citizenry. However, the usage of all these languages is more of a public relations exercise. In the real

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67 http://ec.publications.europa.eu
sense, the EU operates with efficient policies that are meant to ensure speedy and less costly communication. Thus, documents that are exchanged within the European commission are normally written in three languages; English, French and German. Thus most documents are thus circulated internally while mostly written in any of those languages and it is only when there is need to publish the documents for the EU citizenry consumption or for the EU institutions such as European Parliament or the Council of Ministers. It is at this point that the document gets translated into 22 languages. Thus, the European Parliament has embraced this system that is centered on three pivotal languages; English, French and German. From there, translators are free to translate them into their language.

2.5.4 The Benefits of the European Union’s Language Policy

The economic integration of the EU has seen the growing attempt for groups to advocate and work at a group level. This seems to have been influenced by the, “if you cannot beat them join them” mentality. Though currently there is no single organization or EU agency that is solely responsible for language policy and related issues, as this is a cross-sectoral issue, the EU Commission is tasked with the fundamental responsibility of safeguarding the cultural and linguistic diversity of its citizens so as to enhance integration. In doing that, the EU hopes to achieve the following: Extend the rights of its


people in their dealings with the EU institutions. In addition, the EU seeks to Support the existence of regional and minority languages irrespective of whether the Languages are EU official languages. This will Promote language learning and the whole element of multilingualism and ultimately achieve self improvement for the EU citizenry thus using this as a means to job creation and economic development. Interestingly, despite these robust efforts, English has emerged as the most widely spoken language in the EU. The EU Commission is however committed to ensure that this does not become a limiting factor to the growth of multilingualism. In these efforts, the EU has developed a policy to promote language learning of at least two EU languages for every EU citizen.  

2.6 An Overview of Integration Schemes Cases Influenced by a Common Language

2.6.1 Language Policy in Enhancing Cohesion in the United States of America

Language diversity presents an important matter of concern to the federal government of the United States of America. A research carried out in the year 2000 shows that 47 million people residing in the USA speak a different language other than English at home; English is not spoken in homesteads of more than 12 million Americans. This great number of non English- speakers American residents, has become a matter of political concern. Politicians have often suggested some legislative proposals to make English the official language of the United States of America. This exhibits the fact that the ability to communicate in English is very essential in the American Society. Brown argues that “the inability to speak the language of the community in which one lives is the first step

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71 Europa.eu/languages/en/home.

towards misunderstanding, as prejudice thrives on lack of communication”. The obvious solution is to guarantee all Americans access to suitable English –language learning and still allow them to exercise their native cultures and languages as they desire.

2.6.2 The Role of Swahili in Integrating Tanganyika and Zanzibar

Tanzania comprises of former Tanganyika and Zanzibar which united in 1964 to form the United Republic of Tanzania. The republic has about 120 different languages. Kiswahili had however been the language of Zanzibar and the Tanzanian coast for centuries. It has mainly spread in the 18th and 19th centuries. Upon attaining independence from the Germans in 1962, the First President of Tanzania, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere declared Swahili the national language and made a dramatic departure from the then practice; addressing the parliament in the colonial language, and addressed Parliament in Swahili. He however soon realized that declaring Kiswahili the national language did not suffice. He envisage its potential in the adoption of his socialist policy of Ujamaa (brotherhood ) , in which he envisioned a nation that would free itself from colonialism and build a nation whose foundation would be African Socialism.

In addition, Nyerere further anticipated that, given that Tanzania is a multi-ethnic and multi-racial state, the adoption of Swahili as the national Language would cut across the linguistic barrier and hence create unity out of diversity; create a nation out of tribal

groups with competing interests. He further adopted the kinship term *ndugu* (sibling) to underscore his social, economic and political ideology of self-reliance. Metaphorically, all Tanzanians became siblings. Nyerere mapped out an institution that people easily understood and related to his envisaged nation he had helped create out of diverse ethnic and race groups. He believed that all Tanzanians needed to live together so as to collectively pull resources, an initiative that would result to a nation self-reliant in all provisions.75

The success of Kiswahili in uniting the people of Tanzania has been attributed to certain government structures that were put up by President Nyerere. They include; the creation of a Ministry of Culture in 1962, The founding of the Tanzania Publishing House in 1966, the Creation of the Nation Kiswahili Council –BAKITA in 1967, and the creation of a Kiswahili Department at the University of Dar el Salaam in 1970. Besides, the Cambridge School Certificate Examinations system that required one to pass English in order to get a certificate was abandoned while government documents were translated into Kiswahili and all senior servants required to have the requisite Kiswahili language qualifications.

Over the successive regimes, Swahili has remained a popular national symbol albeit after a fierce English versus Kiswahili debate, English has now been accepted as a language of instruction in schools. The traces of Nyerere and Ujamaa in the post-socialist context are alive. Officially, the United Republic of Tanzania follows the Ujamaa policy. The

constitution states that the building of the nation is to be accomplished “through the pursuit of Socialism and Self Reliance which emphasizes the application of the socialist policies. The role of Kiswahili in the Creation of a Tanzanian united nation and in its maintenance of her culture can therefore not be underestimated.

2.6.3 The Commonwealth of Nations

The Commonwealth of Nations is a voluntary organization of 54 independent states that are sovereign and not dependent territory though a dependent territory that owes allegiance to a member state is well legible to join the membership of the Commonwealth.\(^{76}\) The membership is largely drawn from states that mostly were either colonized or dependants of the British colonial government. All members of the Commonwealth are equal in power and all operate in an international organization formed by states with diverse social, political and economic backgrounds. They also cooperate within a framework of common values and goals as outlined in the Singapore declaration.\(^{77}\) The organization was officially formed in 1931 when the statute of the Westminster gave legal recognition to the independence of dominions. All the Commonwealth of Nations member states have English as one of their official Languages.\(^{78}\)

The Singapore declaration stipulates the mode of co-operation in the promotion of democracy, human rights, good governance, the rule of law, individual liberty


\(^{77}\) *Declaration of Commonwealth Principles*, 1971, p.59
egalitarianism, free trade, world peace and multilateralism. These activities are dispensed through multilateral projects and meetings as well as through commonwealth games. The Symbolic head of this organization is the Queen of England who acts as the head of the Commonwealth. She however holds no executive or political power over the organization as there is a Secretary General who is the Chief Executive of the Organization.\footnote{The Singapore Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, 1971. p.59}

All member states are expected to readily accept Commonwealth obligations as imposed by the Charter. Though there is no solid declaration to abide by that rule as it happens when a state applies to be a member of the United Nations, it is expected that an application for membership is an implicit undertaking that a member is able and willing to carry out the institution’s obligations. There also exists a somewhat vague criterion to be met for admission to the organization. This criterion is of essence to the commonwealth and is vital for effective functioning of the organization. This criteria is met by upholding certain political and legal traditions, techniques in public administration, a common adoption of higher education systems and mostly importantly, the ability to use English as a working language.\footnote{Arnold Smith,p.159; Third Report of the Commonwealth Secretary General (1970) p vii.}

2.6.4 The Arab League

The League of Arab States which was formed in Cairo on 22\textsuperscript{nd} March 1945, is a regional Organization of Arab States and currently has 22 members. The league which has ethnic and cultural ties has a majority of its population as Arab; either on a cultural basis or on ethno-racial basis. The main goal of the league is to “draw closer the relations between
member states and co-ordinate collaboration between them, so as to safeguard their sovereignty while considering in a general way the affairs and interests of the Arab Nations.  

The league facilitates political, economic, social, scientific and cultural programs that are meant to propagate the interests of the Arab world through well structured institutions like the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO) and the Economic and Social Council of the Arab League’s council of Arab Economic Unity (CAEU). Its achievements so far include the settlement of Arab Disputes and curbing conflicts such as the 1958 Lebanon Crisis. It has also been a platform for the formulation of many landmark resolutions promoting economic integration such as Joint Arab Economic Action Charter that sets out the principles for economic activity in the region. Each member of the league has one vote in the League Council, but decisions are only binding to those members who cast their vote for them. It has played a major role in shaping the School curricular, empowering women in the Arab Societies, and advocacy for the child welfare, fostering cultural exchange between member states and ensuring the preservation of Arab Culture. The main national language for all member states is Arabic.

2.6.5 L’Organisation Internationale De La Francophonie

La Francophonie is a world community of French Speaking Countries or a collective international unit formed by the French Speaking people.  

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81 Pact of the League of Arab States, 22March 1945.
organization that draws membership from countries and regions where French is the first language. The organization that comprises of 56 member states and governments also has 3 associate members and 20 observers. The term “francophonie” with a lower case “f” is used to refer to the community of French language speakers, worldwide. Though a state’s admission to the Francophonie organization is not based on how well the state has mastered in the usage of the French language, majority of the state members boast of a considerable presence of the French Culture and French language usage among their communities. 83

The modern version of the Francophonie was created in 1970. Its motto “égalité, complémentarité, solidarité” implies that the organization’s main goal is to promote equality, complementarity and solidarity, among its members. The organization that is run by a secretary general comprises of three main institutions: the summits, the ministerial conference and the permanent council. 84 The summit which is the highest organ of the organization, hosts all the member states’ heads of government and states and its main aim is to develop strategies and goals for the organization so as to ensure that it has a strong voice on the world scene. 85

Overall, the International Organization of the Francophonie’s main goal is to advance political actions and multilateral cooperation as resolved by the summit. The summit’s

83 Charte de la Francophonie et cadre stratégique décennal. (loi 101)
agenda includes international politics, the economy of the world, French language speaking cooperation, development of education and culture, and the propagation for human rights and democracy. The *charte de la Francophonie* however is what defines the roles and missions of the organization. The four missions adopted by the summit include: Promoting the French Language, advocating for peace, democracy and human rights within member states, supporting education, training and undertaking scientific research while expanding cooperation for sustainable development.

2.6.6 The Community of Portuguese Language Speaking Countries

The Community of Portuguese speaking countries (CPLP) which was formed on 17 July 1996, is an intergovernmental Lusophone (Portuguese speaking nations), where Portuguese is the official language. The member states are Portugal, Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tomé and Príncipe. East Timor is the latest entry into the community after gaining independence in 2002. All the member states and the associate members have share a colonial history under Portuguese colonial rule and still maintain strong connections with Portugal, to date. Though the organization is relatively new and the members possess little knowledge of each other, their shared language and cultural features gives a perfect bridge that would otherwise be non-existent due to their separation by great distances as the members are from different continents.

The CPLP prides itself of some achievements despite its young age. So far, it has helped solve problems in São Tomé and Príncipe and in Guinea-Bissau whose governance has

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86 Comunicade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa-Observadores Associads.CLP.Retrieved on 2013-08-09.
87 [http://www.cplp.org](http://www.cplp.org) accessed on 22/06/2013 at 12.21pm.
been affected by a myriad of coups d'état. The two states have since embarked on economic and democratic reforms respectively. Since Portuguese is the organization’s language of government and commerce, it encourages co-operation of the developing states in the organization with their stronger economic counterparts, Portugal and Brazil.88

2.7 The Interlink between Language and Integration

Throughout this chapter, the study has provided a conceptual and historical background on language usage and which is necessarily for the analysis on the role of Kiswahili in the EAC integration process. One line of argument that has been advanced is that there is great need for any community, be it a nation, a regional community or even a global community to have the capacity to communicate with one another effortlessly, regardless of the language in which they do so. This way, the community of a language is guaranteed democracy and will have a chance to enjoy their right to get involved in driving the agenda of the community. However, the value of a language depends largely on its economic, social and political usage and when a language loses its value on these elements; it is prone to diminish in usage.

In addition, as Fairclough observes, nobody who has an interest in modern society and certainly one who has developed an interest in power relationships in modern society, can afford to ignore language89. This is because language and society have such a symbiotic relationship that dictates that these two human institutions can only evolve together, for

neither can flourish, devoid of the other. Duranti also well captures the significance of a language when he states that, “Having a language does not only allow us to make sense of what we see and hear out there. It also allows us to look inside our mind and soul to ask such questions as who are we and what is our historical background.”

The role of a common language in the process of integration is best magnified by William Woodsworth, when he asserts, “Choice words, and measured speech, above the reach of role ordinary men, a stately speech.” In analyzing the role of a unitary language in enhancing integration, an analogy can be drawn from the process of Standardization of language which refers to the process by which a language is codified in some way. The process involves the development of some elements of language such as grammar, spelling and possibly a literature, so as to enhance the elements of the language to the level of comprehension for all the speakers of the dialects of that “stem language”. In the process of standardization, codification requires that a norm be selected and accepted as the process is not likely to succeed if the community (where standardization of language is taking place) cannot agree on some kind of model to act as a norm. When selecting a norm, the process may prove difficult as choosing one vernacular as a norm effectively diminishes other varieties and competing norms and favouring the speakers of that vernacular. This means that the chosen norm is associated with power while alternatives are associated with lack of it. Thus, a society that feels intense solidarity will overcome

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their linguistic differences in establishing a norm (a common language) while those who do not are unable to agree on a single norm.\textsuperscript{91}

The success of standardization has been evident with the people of Indonesia and Malaysia who have been reducing the differences in their languages with their common Islamic background being a strong incentive. On the other hand, the Serbs and the Croats could not agree on a norm particularly as other differences compounded the linguistic ones. Although standardization has many functions, its key role is to unify individuals and groups within a larger community.\textsuperscript{92} Therefore, It can be employed in reflection and symbolizing some kind of identity; regional, social, ethnic or religious. Analogously, a unitary language plays the role as that of standardization and would therefore end up enhancing the integration of a community that is interested in coming together for common good.

In determining the role of language in a community, Halliday, argues that ,for a man to effectively play his/her role as a member of a society, they must first occupy the social role by way of language. He further argues that a society does not consist of participants but rather relations. Thus, the continued existence of the societal relations is lubricated by language.\textsuperscript{93}

\textsuperscript{91} Ronald Wardhaugh (ed.) (2002) . \textit{An Introduction to Social Linguistics}. Blackwell Publishing. P. 34
\textsuperscript{93} Halliday,MAK,1978, Language as a Social Semiotic: \textit{The Social Meaning of Languages and Meanings}, odder and Stoughton Ltd,Newcastle,p.14
Inglehart and Woodward define a political community as a group of people who live together and under a common regime. ⁹⁴ They also share a common authority that makes decisions for the group as a whole. As long as the group is legitimate, the group is poised to have an internalized common set of rules. The rules are presumed to be applicable to all parties within the political community. Else the criteria such as language may be a basis for blocking individual social mobility and thus become a basis for cleavage that threatens the disintegration of that particular political community. This definition goes a long way in amplifying the role of a unitary language. ⁹⁵

Language therefore is a lubricant that facilitates the communication process. There is much to gain by EAC member states adopting the usage of Swahili as the pivot that offers the requisite support to the integration process.

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3.1 The Pursuit of Integration in East Africa: A Historical Overview

The East African Community’s treaty signing on 30th November 1999 and its entry into force on 7th July 2000 was indeed a milestone in the process of integration of three East African countries – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The states undertook to establish a customs union, a common market, a monetary union and an ultimate a political federation. The protocol that provides for the establishment of a common market was enforced in July 2010. The establishment of a monetary union has been underway for some time now. Notable also is the inclusion of Rwanda and Burundi into the EAC community. Thus, the EAC has covered considerably good ground towards full integration.

The United Nations has over time placed a strong case for regional integration and cooperation as an important tool for promoting industrial development especially in Third World Countries. Though there have been many serious attempts at regional integration, the EAC had the widest proposal for a coverage of a number of activities and which was so highly organized.96

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Unfortunately, slightly after a decade, the community’s grand scheme had collapsed and in its trail was a wreckage of the proposed arrangements in a state of great acrimony and recrimination that two years later, the Kenyan-Tanzanian border had been closed.

The attempts by the East African states to unite, dates back to the colonial period with formal economic and social integration beginning in 1897, during the construction of the Kenya-Uganda Railway. This also saw the establishment of such institutions such as Customs Collections Centre (1900), The East African Currency Board (1905) and the East African Postal Union (1905). In 1967, after the three East African Countries had become independent, the original EAC was established. It however failed to hold and was dissolved in 1977 after its collapse. Of the many reasons for the failure of the union was the disproportionate sharing of the benefits of the community fueled by discrepancies in development levels among member states and lack of policy to address this.

However, the desire for the EAC unity did not die out. As they wound up the EAC then through the Agreement for Division of Assets and Liabilities of the former EAC, the then EAC heads of state, Presidents Julius Nyerere, Daniel Moi and Milton Obote committed themselves under Article 14 of the Mediation Agreement to “explore and identify further areas of cooperation” (Deya, 2007). After a long hiatus that lasted nearly a decade, there were tell tale signs of the revival of the EAC integration. The process began in 1992.

On 30th November 1999, The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community was signed by the three original members; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. The treaty eventually came into force in July 2000. Soon, Rwanda and Burundi were to express interest at joining the community and on 18th June 2007, they signed the EAC treaty and became full members on the 1st July 2009.

The key aim of re-establishing the EAC was to enhance co-operation among partner states with a view of maximizing political, economic and social benefits. The community adopted a private sector approach rather than one that was state led, a departure from the first EAC. This was also a reflection of the globally trending neo-economic ideology. Interestingly this revival coincided with the emergence of the era of globalization. It would thus be geared towards managing the challenges presented by globalization.

It is important to note that equity is a risk that plagues all regional integration initiatives and was no different with the first EAC. The treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community signed in November 1999 has however duly recognized this problem and emphasized equity as a key objective and principle of the renewed attempt of re-inventing the East African Community.

It is the view of this research that effective communication and attainment of a unitary language would eliminate the realities and perceptions of inequity and hence foster a more cohesive EAC by encouraging deeper interactions among the citizenry of the EAC.
member countries that are often precipitated by language barriers and hence ineffective communication.

3.2. The Concept: Regional Integration

The concept of Regional Integration can be defined along three dimensions: Firstly there is geographical scope dimension which refers to a consideration by a number of countries with variable geographical proximity to enter an agreement geared towards forming a common intergovernmental forum. This could be informed by their social, political or economic considerations. Secondly, it can defined according to its substantive coverage. This includes the sector or activity coverage on trade, labor mobility, macro-policies and sector policies. This form of integration seeks to enhance the supply of sub-regional public goods. The benefits of such integration include benefit/costs spilling beyond national borders and shared commitment and collective action plans. On the other hand, regional integration can be defined along the dimension of its depth of integration. This refers to the degree of sovereignty a state is willing to cede.

It is however a process that spans from simple co-ordination, co-operation to deep integration. Forms of co-operation vary according to the scope of activities (such as individual projects to programs and from policies and institutions) and the amount of sovereignty a state is willing to cede sovereignty to a supranational entity. One element of integration is co-operation, which is lowest and issue-focused arrangement. States may cooperate for a joint development project. It may also involve the facilitation of the

exchange of information and best practices within the states. In this arrangement, they retain full control and should they feel the need to leave, they do so with relative ease. Besides calling for joint development, cooperation is the lowest level of conducting multilateral diplomacy. It may however be the most effective for addressing causes that require regular exchanges and consultations. For instance, “Sub-Regional common goods” would feature as a subject matter for such joint multilateral development, ditto specific sub-regional initiatives, such as HIV, Malaria, Conflict Prevention and Resolution.

On the other hand, harmonization and coordination implies higher and more formalized form of cooperation and multilateral engagement. This is thus a more effective diplomatic engagement as compared to simple cooperation. Ideally, harmonization is meant to tackle inconsistency in the context of policy whereas coordination is meant to address issues of time-consistency. Thus it would best fit in addressing tax policies, trade policies, business law or regulations and controls on quality and licensing. Though this diplomacy of integration represents a higher degree of commitment, it does not require supra-national organizations or joint administrations. Therefore, a state may agree to harmonize tax and tariff policies, but sustain national and fiscal administrations.

3.3. African Regionalism in Perspective

African regionalism has received much support from African governments since independence as an important component of their strategies for development. This has seen African states embrace a number of regional integration arrangements, resulting to a significant membership overlap. African regionalism has always been informed by a
political motive.\textsuperscript{100} In addition, McCarthy argues that Africa’s integration projects differ from other integration schemes in the developing world as they are informed by the Pan African ideology which shapes the African continent’s identity and coherence.\textsuperscript{101}

The ideology of Pan Africanism has dominated the larger part of the African 20\textsuperscript{th} Century. This ideology was driven by the passion of the African founding fathers as a result of the oppression, exploitation, humiliation and exploitation visited upon the Africans by the imperialists. Indeed the first Pan-African congress was convened by W.E.B. Du Bois in 1919. This vision was however somewhat eclipsed by territorial nationalism in the last quarter of the 20\textsuperscript{th} Century.\textsuperscript{102}

The post independence period saw the adoption of two ideologies by the African continent; for the first twenty five years, the African states pursued nationalism and for twenty five years, they were engrossed in neo-liberalism and globalization. While African founding fathers Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkurmah led the Pan African agenda, they faced stiff opposition from other independent African states that pursued nationalism. However, Nyerere would later admit the conflicting interests of building an African nation. He argued that Pan Africanism demanded an African loyalty informed by African consciousness, yet on the other hand, each African had to concern himself with the

\textsuperscript{100} Hartzenberg Trudi. \textit{Regional Integration in Africa}: World Trade Organization Economic Research and Statistics Division. Staff working paper ERSD-2011-14, October 2011.


freedom and development of their nation.103 The current Regional unity that African states are now pursuing is thus closely guided by the Pan African vision.

The renewed East African cooperation initially envisaged not just the current membership of the EAC but also the inclusion of the Democratic Republic of Congo. However this was not to be.

3.3.1. Challenges of Regionalism in Africa

Regionalism in Africa is faced by a myriad of challenges which have been partly responsible for its poor record of the past. Africa’s past in regards to regionalism has been characterized by a vibrant regionalist trend that witnessed the establishment of a good number of multistate organizations meant to promote technical and economic cooperation in the continent.104 A number of challenges must be addressed if regionalism is to succeed in Africa. These include Overlapping memberships to competing groups that suggests lack of a clear political commitment to particular country groupings.105. Besides, a common market will not function devoid of peace. The wars and conflicts in a number of African regions which have devastated transport networks, communications and other basic infrastructure hinder integration. In addition, many African governments conduct the integration process without partnering with the private sector and the civil society. They in

105 Chacha,M.,2008-03-26 “Regional Integration and Trade: Overlapping Memberships and the Challenges of Regionalism”. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the ISA’s 49th Annual Convention, Bridging Multiple Divides, Hilton San Francisco.
turn fail to support regional integration. In some countries, for instance, farmers fear low-cost competition from elsewhere in the region and may hence take quite a protectionist stance. The participation of consumer groups and other NGOs is key to them gaining from exploiting the opportunities for greater intra-regional trade.

There are also glaring disparities in economic weight that exist between members of some groupings. Therefore, ways to deal with the fears of economic polarization must be found. Examples of such include: multispeed arrangements (allowing weaker members more time to liberalize), schemes for compensation, regional investment banks, or structural solidarity funds such as the Food Security Financial policies. Finally, Africa’s unity suffers from lack of credible and reliable dispute settlement mechanisms that guarantee policy credibility. Investors shy off investing where there is lack of confidence that integration measures will not be adversely affected and that hindrances to regional markets will not be re-instituted overnight. African regional blocks ought to develop binding liberalization commitments in the WTO where possible.

3.4 The Progress of the EAC Integration Process

During the last over a decade, the EAC has made significant progress towards fostering unity in many fronts. So far, the community has already established an EAC Customs Union whose principal objective as stipulated in Article 75 (5) that came into effect in 2005, was to create economic liberalization and promote intra-regional trade and promote efficacy in production. A couple of accomplishments have been achieved against these targets among them a common external tariff and the establishment of the EAC Customs
management Act. Others include the conclusion of the Regional Competition Act, promotion of a single investment area, the initiation of a common trade policy framework and the expansion of the community to include Rwanda and Burundi. The end results have been diversification of products range, improved market access and the growth of SMEs in the region. The intra-region trade has increased from US$1,979.2 Million to US$3,339.4 Millions between 2006 and 2008. Exports have increased from US$1,084.9 to US$1,902.9 Million while imports have increased from US$874.3 Million to US$1,436.5 Million, over the same period.¹⁰⁶

On this front, the challenges faced by the EAC range from inappropriate trade facilitation to inadequate revenue management and human and capital resources, lack of commitment in the implementation of the competition act, weak legal, regulatory and dispute resolution mechanisms and the trade challenges that emanate from multiple memberships of the EAC members states to other regional blocs.

On the EAC Common Market front, the successful conclusion of the negotiations, the signing and the ratification of the EAC Common Market Protocol that seeks to enhance and guarantee the institutionalization of harmonization of policies, the legal and the regulatory framework and the establishment of supportive institutions that facilitate the participation of the private sector investment and effective service delivery, is the biggest score. In addition to this, the preparatory implementation of the EAC Treaty has set the path for currency convertibility, macro economic convergence, harmonization of

¹⁰⁶ The 4th EAC Development Strategy.
academic and professional qualifications adoption of common travel documents and the free movement of capital. The end result has been increased cross border student exchange, joint sporting activities and the free movement of people and labour.\textsuperscript{107}

On the other hand, negotiations towards a monetary union have been in top gear since their commencement in January 2010. There are however preparatory gains that have been achieved such as approximation of banking rules and the harmonization of fiscal and monetary policies alongside that of trading practices and regulations regarding stock exchanges. On the road towards a political federation, and concerning the harmonization of regional policy frameworks as regards good governance, peace, security, defense, human rights, social justice and international relations that are requisite for economic and social development within the EAC. The achievements here include the establishment of regional legislative and judicial bodies (EALA and EACJ). The institutionalization of early warning and disaster preparedness programs, joint efforts on refugee management, combating of proliferation of small arms and light arms. A number of protocols are also being developed regarding combating corruption and promoting good governance, peace and security and cooperation in defense. The protocols are at an advanced stage. The protocol on foreign policy coordination has been adopted and awaits ratification.

3.4.1 Challenges to the East African Integration Process

Given that the political structures of the five members states to a great extent are creations of the British and the French colonial governments that colonized these states, there

remains stiff opposition from the beneficiaries of the status quo to maintain what they inherited while hiding behind the façade of nationalism and sovereignty. Secondly, though Rwanda and Burundi have adopted English as their national languages making it easy for the integration process, language still remains a major obstacle to integration in the region given the multilingualism that characterize the region. This is despite the use of Swahili having made good ground in the region. Fortunately, technology can offer tools to standardize the languages of integration.108

On the other hand, there exists a huge disparity in the levels of urbanization among the EAC member states. While urban culture more often than not inculcates individualism and competition, the rural culture is more inclined towards entitlement. This could be an obstacle to integration. The population growth in the rural areas is however thinning out this rural culture slowly.

There has also been challenge of non inclusion. The citizens of the EAC member states ought to be involved in the integration process especially in order to supplant the pessimistic attitude that is informed by the history of the initial EAC integration efforts.

On the development front, there exist huge asymmetries in the Education System.109 While some partner states seem to be aligning themselves to the global trends in education, others remain behind. This perception which largely favours the Kenyan labour


market is a recipe for cracks within the region. This exposes the region’s ill preparedness to create indigenous investors while favouring globalized corporatism in the region at their expense.

The other challenge emanates from liabilities that were inherited by Partner states from the colonial masters. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania inherited a treaty signed between the United Kingdom and Egypt that effectively barring them from using the Lake Victoria waters for irrigation. This Nile Water Agreement of 1929 is one among a couple of other inherited liabilities. The region is faced with a challenge on an integrated system to identify the region’s members. There is need to agree on the fundamentals given the sensitivity of immigration issues. Scientific technology however offers a solution to this challenge through the analysis of the uniqueness of bio data and DNA. In addition, given that the integration process can potentially be viewed as a threat to the relationship between people and communities and the volatile nature of land issues in Kenya, the concerns on these issues cannot be gainsaid. They pose a huge challenge to the integration process. Citizen participation would however help reduce this volatility. Other forces that potentially stand in the way of regional integration include cross border crime, the political class that are beneficiaries of the status quo, disparities in economic development, differences in currency valuation, natural resources and different government policies.

3.4.2 Fast Tracking of the East African Federation

The EAC Heads of State special summit held in Nairobi on 27-29th August 2004, agreed to set up a committee that would fast track the East African Federation. The Heads of state
tasked the committee with the assignment of examining the ways and means through which the integration process would be expedited. The committee, which held consultations across East Africa received recommendations that suggested that the three heads of state who then represented the EAC membership, recommend to their respective parliaments to legislate laws that would abolish the existing boundaries and therefore require the then EAC citizenry to reconstitute themselves into new cultural linguistic states that would form the basis for a political federation. The committee did not consider those recommendations when it submitted its recommendations to the Heads of State on 23\textsuperscript{rd} November 2004. It however envisaged that the political federation be established in 2010 and that a “consolidation phase”, that would see the presidency of the federation rotate across the three states, be considered.

The Heads of state regarded the findings of the Wako Committee as a “realistic plan of implementation” which signaled that negotiations towards the same should continue. They even instructed that there be national consultations and sensitization of the EAC citizenry. There was however a key challenge. There were no indications where the sensitization and mobilization was to be centered yet this was crucial for this process to achieve legitimacy. We are now in 2013, the year the federation was envisaged to take off. The process has since slowed down. Though the integration process continues, this key challenge is yet to be addressed as the establishment of the federation would only acquire legitimacy from an EAC citizenry that is informed on the effects of the federation.

\textsuperscript{110} Ibid pp.56-67
3.5. The Role of Information Communication in Enhancing Integration

According to Abidi, the trinity of communication, Information and Development is so intertwined and interdependent such that none of the three variables can survive in isolation. Development is null and void save for when information about it exists. On the other hand, information remains irrelevant until is communicated. There is a great need to communicate the right information, at the right time and to the right people\textsuperscript{111}. In the context of development therefore, there is need for African governments to focus carefully on their rural folk setting so as to assess not only their views on government policies but also to have an overview of their communication needs.

In addition, effective public communication exhibits greater efficiency on the part of the government and also promotes greater visibility and an informed popular participation\textsuperscript{112}. Regional politics just like national politics have traditionally been based on this particular precept. Paraphernalia ranging from parliamentary legislation to reports by selective committees are structured to attract huge media impact so as to increase the government’s accountability to the people and ultimately attract them to participate in opining on the merits and demerits of the issues at play. However, while this observation appears to be stating what is obvious, the EAC secretariat appears challenged on this front.

The realization of this challenge may have triggered the announcement by the EAC information and Public Relations office, in September 2009, of the body’s plan then to


\textsuperscript{112} Magaga, A. Marketing the Cause: Communication Tools and Techniques and Strategies-The Case of the East African Community. (A presentation to the EAC, in Arusha on 28 April 2011.) p. 6
develop and implement a 5-year Information and Communications strategy. The Communications strategy was meant to make the EAC more real than abstract; brand it as a dynamic, people-centered ideal identity that would propel a brand of a prosperous, secure and United East Africa. The initiative as also meant to ensure that all the EAC citizens, their legislative representatives as well as other policy makers are aware of this brand, have a positive attitude towards the EAC and are actively engaged in its activities and the integration process as a whole.\textsuperscript{113}

The need for this brand strategy as it were, was as a result of the realization that the EAC needed a strong information, education and Communications scheme that would propel the fast tracking of the integration process. During an Extra-Ordinary summit held in Dar es Salaam on 29-30 May 2005, the EAC heads of state had resolved that the regional integration process would be anchored upon popular awareness and participation.

The extent to which citizens are engaged in public affairs and the political process is so dependent on the volume of information on the same that is in the public gallery. It is this communication that helps shape the citizen’s interest in public affairs. There is a correlation between interest in public affairs and their access to the media such that the citizen’s level of attention to public affairs is inversely proportional to their level of access or contact with the media.\textsuperscript{114}

\textsuperscript{113} Ibid.p.6
However, the genesis of drawing the citizen’s attention to any regional matter is getting them interested in the affairs of their own nation. Therefore, national broad based debate on a state’s involvement in the regional matters such as regional integration, is quite hard, if the debate involves a citizenry that is apathetic towards public affairs or that has over time focused on narrow political ideologies. Therefore, regardless of the other issues that may determine the efficacy of the EAC integration process, such as labour, capital, movements of goods and services, access to information ranks among the most critical determinants. This is because the EAC citizenry deem information and knowledge fundamental to the way they perceive the EAC and what the process of integration means to them. Communication does constitute a huge part of participatory approaches. Therefore for development to have any relevance to the people who are in dire need for it, commencement must be hinged upon where the real needs and problems exist. Real development lacks majorly in rural areas, urban slums and other depressed sectors. Such residents as the ones that live in the aforementioned peripheries must be given a chance to identify their real needs. The hindrance to this has been either their inadequate participation in development strategies set up to ameliorate their needs or the bottom–up communication strategies employed. Effective communication is a perfect instrument for active participation of the people at the grassroots.  

However, years after that resolution, it remains evident that EAC citizenry rarely understands or appreciates the EAC, its organs and institutions, its roles and activities as well as the challenges that it faces on its path to full integration. Fewer even appreciate the

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opportunities that are potentials underlying, in the case of a full integration of the Community. Success in communication is hinged on effective integration of various important communication elements. This integration if managed correctly within the EAC domain would eventually shape the bloc’s stakeholders’ perceptions. Though these strategic issues that require to be addressed by communicators are well known by them, they seldom implement communication programs in this holistic manner.

It is this almost invisible implementation of the Communication strategy that informs the necessity to make an evaluation on the role of an effective communication strategy in fast tracking the process of integration.

3.6. The Functions of Communication in the Society

Since time immemorial, the main functions of communication in any social system have been: the spread of information; the collection, storage, and dissemination of opinions and facts so as to attract appropriate feedback in form of decisions, enhancing socialization; providing a common knowledge that enables the members of the society to operate effectively thereby fostering social cohesion and creating awareness that promotes active involvement of the public, offering motivation; promoting the key goals of the society through the stimulation of personal choices and aspirations, promoting education; fostering intellectual development thereby shaping character and enhancing skill and capacity development ,Cultural promotion; the maintenance of our cultural heritage and its
passage from one generation to the other while developing it by widening our horizons by stimulating our aesthetic needs and creativity, and promoting societal integration.\textsuperscript{116}

However, besides the aforementioned functions that is majorly informed by our individual standpoint, a new very phenomena that thrusts communication as a very vital need for collective entities and communities, is evolving. In this era of globalization, there is slim survival for societies that are ill inadequately informed about political affairs, local and international current affairs, among other things. Dynamic planning also requires that societies gather information on world trends.

3.6.1 Communication as a Social Need

Though in the past communication has been treated with isolated phenomenon within the society and seldom given adequate thought, the modern world, having realized its role in the political system, its convergence with the social structure and its relationship with any society’s culture, has fully embraced it and recognized it as a social process that ought to be studied a broad social context.

Communication possesses the ability to activate, socialize, homogenize and even adapt people to their own culture. Communication and in particular mass communication function as an agent of social change. However, regardless of the incredible function of communication, the phenomenon has limited virtues, faults or even powers. Though communication is powerful, it doesn’t possess an all-powerful status; it has no ability to transform neither the substance of social life nor the tenor of social life. Therefore, the

\textsuperscript{116} Sean MacBride et al.(UNESCO),1980.\textit{Many Voices ,One World: Communication and Society: Today and Tomorrow}. Anchor Press Ltd. P.14
effectiveness of communication is reinforced by other social factors and its ability to shape public opinion and emerging interests in the society.

The communication process in the society performs three major functions namely: the Surveillance of the environment; this function is meant to evaluate the society’s threats and opportunities which affect the value position of the community and the component parts with it, correlating the society’s component as a means of responding to the environment. In addition, communication facilitates the transmission of the social inheritance; the rational choices that the society makes depend upon enlightenment on their cultural values, which is dependent on communication.\textsuperscript{117}

3.6.2. Communication as a Political Instrument

Communication and politics are so intertwined that one cannot divorce from the other. This relationship is so indissoluble that the influences of the two phenomena upon each other cannot be underestimated. Two crucial relationships define the relationship between politics and communication; communication and power and, communication and freedom. How deep these relationships grow differ from one society to the other responding to the various traditions, societal resources, social systems and development needs. The modes of exercising freedom for instance, are upheld by various legal systems and constitutions. All social groups and the citizenry possess the freedom to have access to communication, both as recipients or contributors, as a fundamental human right by virtue of their human

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid. P.15
dignity. However, conventionally, freedom ought to be exercised in restraint; upholding responsibility. It should also be reconciled with the respect for the law and should not infringe on the freedom of others.

However, the word freedom (just like other terminologies such as democracy, socialism and peace) does not have a universal definition and is prone to be interpreted in diverse ways, depending on its societal context. None the less, freedom of communication in its pioneering days was placed on the freedom for thoughts and opinions. It is the development of the press that shifted this to the diffusion of information. The citizen’s right to information—the right to know what would affect the citizen’s life, helps them make decisions and make a contribution to their thoughts, and has been greatly broadened by the development of new technologies that have provided for, improved access to information on a wide scale.

Communication has thus become more political, social and economic in character. The number of citizens who now seek information and technological advancements have made them potential message transmitters. This has also greatly promoted critical intelligence and independent judgment within societies. Nevertheless, communication takes place within a framework determined by political and social struggles that have shaped the social consensus that defines a particular society. Therefore, the communications

118 The UNESCO Declaration of 1978 speaks of “the exercise of freedom of opinion, expression and information, recognized as an integral part of human rights and fundamental freedoms”.

119 The UN Declaration of human rights also stipulates the right to freedom of expression. Pp.19-20

Ibid p.21.
organization in any democratic society is a political reflection on the existing society.\(^{120}\) The political problems of communication have their solutions hinged upon a balance of state’s legitimate interests and the citizenry’s right to information. They however vary according to the political ideology, level of development or even the resources that a nation is endowed with. There can however be no legitimate excuse that can exclude the freedom of information from its proper place.

On the other hand, much communication from the political fraternity tends to adopt the shape of the top-downward model. Unfortunately, this reduces the citizen to the role of a passive receiver and overshadows their interests. However, this is a recipe for conflicts with values of the citizenry. This over-centralization of information is mainly resultant to the elitism that characterizes the political fraternity. Though this is mainly informed by the negative consequences of disseminating information, but when the freedom of information can be reconciled with ethical demands, through the enactment of a strict course between the observance of individual rights and those of the society as a whole.

The relationship between communication and power, therefore cannot be underestimated given the vital role of information as a counterweight to power and keeps check on the authority. Communication is potent in its contribution to the development of strong and stable social –political systems. Access to information and data is fundamental for many institutions that compose the information infrastructure such as public opinion organizations and the press as it shapes the development of very vital disciplines for any

society’s growth; statistics, sociology, psychology, operational research, economics among others. Information thus in its own right is a source of power.

3.6.3 Communication as an Economic Force

Communication and the economy intermesh a lot. The flow of information keeps the economy alive given that the economic forces possess incalculable potentialities. Therefore, communication is a key decisive factor in the development of any society whose contribution in the gross national product and in creating employment is immense. The growth of telecommunications is responsible for the transmission of information and provides the best platform for growth of industrial societies that in turn are the pivot point for the globe economy.121

The ability to transmit, store and use information is a key resource just like energy and raw materials are to any economy. However, in some closed societies, and in limited groups, communication is often distorted or perverted. The members of these societies are left with few communication platforms save for exchanging money and material goods. This has allowed mostly third world countries to consume styles, values and models of the developed world owing to the developed world’s open communication. The result has been the embrace of certain development patterns in preference to others. This drastically undermines the power of communication as it undermines the protection of the

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independence of third world states. This results to economic imbalances between regions and nations, which is a cause for concern. 122

Communication resources however remain unequal in distribution on a world scale. Economic development however requires that the world employs a better utilization of these resources which are currently not well utilized. Nonetheless, while some states have a full capacity to collate information on their economic needs, many still are under endowed, which is major handicap in their endeavor for economic development.

There exists exponential growth in the volume of scientific information available and that give research projects a broad interdisciplinary character. Scientific and technical information remains a vital economic resource and should be shared by across the fraternity across the world. This research contributes considerably to the individual national development. The organization of scientific and technical information however requires a strategic communication approach to make it relevant.

On the other hand, while unit costs of many communication gadgets have been decreasing, the production investments for these gadgets are on the increase. This has unfortunately given the capital rich states a structural leverage over their developing counterparts. This can explain the dominance of developed states in the new international economic order. There remains to be a vital need for reforms in the interwoven economic

122 "The third world’s information infrastructure is highly impoverished. There is a dearth of scientific, technical, professional and managerial talent; and even that which exists was trained in the US and Europe. Marc Uri Porat, Policy is an Information Society: Communications for Tomorrow, Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, Praeger Publishers, New York,1978.
and communication fraternities. This is the recipe for a more equitable global arena characterized by equitable labour distribution. Communication whether viewed as a subject of economic research or as a tool of economic development remains of the key drivers of economic growth. Therefore, there ought to exist nil doubts on the effectiveness of the role of communication in economic planning and to a great extent, in the development strategy by any forward moving society.

3.7 An Over View of Communication Strategies in Integration Projects

3.7.1. The European Union’s Communication Strategy

The European Union just like a number of other integration schemes is challenged in providing effective communication on the goings on of this highly complex political system. Few people know who makes decisions in the European Union. For example, despite the high number of voter turnouts in National elections in the member states of the EU, the 1999 voter turnout was a partly below 50%. Many EU residents hardly recognize their leaders at the EU parliament. There exists huge divisions of competencies between Brussels and nation states on running the EU, yet this has been over years propelled by a communication deficit. The European Union’s communication policy has for long taken the model of, “no news is good news”. 123

The biggest problem with the European Union’s communication strategy has been its elitist and self congratulatory nature and the fact that it has been drawn without paying particular attention to the working ways of the media. In short, the aim of the EU’s

communication policy has been solely to make people love Europe without giving them the information they need so as to, not only understand Europe, but also tolerate it. This can however not be blamed on the EU’s communication team, but rather on the structures of the EU. Earlier studies on the EU have made conclusions that the EU’s communication suffers from political authority fragmentation, a technical mindset that is overbearing coupled with inadequate staffing, which mainly are located at the Commission’s Directorates General. On the other hand, the EU council has overtime suffered the effects of an “institution in flux”. This means that the incumbent EU presidency determines the core communication activities with the different states using different communication strategies in their presidency communication. This has greatly hampered the development of a cohesive and professional communication strategy.124

Further, the activities of the EU’s Parliament, which has often attracted ridicule for lack of political authority, and have been viewed as peripheral by journalists and news editors. In addition, according to data collected by the EU, segments of the EU media have often painted the EU Commission on very bad light yet they are the means through which the EU agenda is meant to be furthered. A spokes person of the former Santer Commission said of these observations, “We used to deal mainly with the militant EU supporters. Now we are faced with more skeptical journalists who look at the commission like a national government.”125

The European Union with full realization that the EU commissions decisions and activities impact on the EU citizen’s lives and that effective communication strategies are highly instrumental in policy preparation and implementation has lately designed a communication management plan dubbed “DG COMM” whose primary mission is to pro-actively engage in communicating the deliverables of Europe 2020-Europe’s Growth Strategy and the European Semester Process.

The year 2013 is the European Year of Citizens and as promised by the EU president Barroso during his State of the Union Address in September 2012 126 and in the spirit of European Strategy 2020127, this year heralds the development of a European Public space where European issues are discussed from Europe’s point of view. The DG COMM 2013 Management plan is tasked with outlining the several objectives. These tasks range from rendering the EU citizens more aware of the EU policies by disseminating the policy guidelines through the media, opinion leaders and the EU representatives and thus creating more awareness, to informing the Commission accurately on trending public opinions in the media and on political developments, while developing a sense of ownership of the EU integration process by the EU citizens, and shaping their identity so as to enhance civic participation in the EU matters.

Besides these key objectives, the EU has further developed specific communication related objectives meant for operation activities. Among these specific objectives is the Communication and the Media objective that is solely meant to engage the EU citizenry in

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the integration project, informing them of the EU policy activities and their impact, generate internal production of audio visual material development for the EU media personnel and assist the EU media personnel to raise awareness on specific EU topics. On the other hand, the EU seeks to “go Local Communication”. This is an objective that is meant to bring the EU closer to its citizens and other stakeholders by helping them access information on the EU policies, their challenges and impacts. Further, is the objective of the EU to enhance Analysis and Communication tools. This is meant to underscore the importance of public opinion as it guarantees methodological unity and comparability across states. Therefore, the EU Commission aims at developing a public space, increasing the interest, the understanding and the involvement of the EU citizenry in the integration project. This highlights the importance of explaining to the citizens how the EU policies impact on their lives:” The times of European Integration by implicit consent of citizens are over”.¹²⁸

Indeed, the political declaration on “Communication Europe in Partnership” of 22 October 2008 by the European Parliament, the Council and the Commission was as a result of the cognizance of the importance in addressing the communication challenges on the EU issues, and was adopted in partnership with the Member States and the relevant EU institutions to ensure effective communication and the furtherance of objective information to the citizenry. This would ultimately create the necessary synergies between the nation, regional and local administrations as well as with the civil society.¹²⁹

¹²⁸ State of the Union Address, SPEECH/12/596 of September 2012.
Lastly, the EU aims at fostering European citizenship. Through the program dubbed “Europe for Citizens” (2007-2013)\textsuperscript{130}, this objective is meant to encourage the participation of the civil society groups and the community in debates and projects regarding the EU integration process. It was also geared towards increasing the awareness of the EU’S Common values, history and culture, and enhance the feeling of solidarity. It was also meant to promote the sense of ownership towards Europe and the Integration project. This would ultimately give the EU citizens an opportunity in fostering a closer Europe. This objective also aims at informing the EU citizens of their rights.

### 3.7.2. The Pacific Regional Digital Strategy

The Pacific states integration attempts and regional cooperation has hugely been hampered by large distances, small scale and scattered populations and low level of development in telecommunication and human resources. However, these issues can be addressed by the selection of appropriate mechanisms for cooperation and market integration and if the development of ICT is accelerated. The strategy notes that telecommunications and ICT are acknowledged as powerful tools for development and are not only essential to social development and social growth, but they also help develop good governance. In the Pacific, ICT closes the gap of the “tyranny of distance”.\textsuperscript{131}

Prior to the proposed Communication Action Plan (CAP) and the Pacific Islands Information and Communications Technologies Policy and Strategic Plan (PIIPP), the


\textsuperscript{131} The pacific plan for Strengthening Regional Cooperation and Integration Document,2006.
Pacific leaders had been faced by the challenge of large distances, scattered populations, scattered population and the Forum Island Countries had limited technical capacity. They cognizant the above challenges realized that the provision of reliable, competitive and low priced telecommunication and ICT services was crucial to the sustainable social and economic development of the region.

The implementation of the strategy thus would not only intensify cooperation among member countries but would also lead to the development of wider markets regardless of the large distances, ensure easy access to information through ICTs which in turn would foster cooperation between stake holders, foster good governance and improve service delivery, promote the inclusivity of all marginalized groups in mainstreaming gender and equity perspectives, ensure access to public networks of information and enhance the cooperation of the Pacific Island populations while providing them with the benefits of a flexible and appropriate education and training.132

Besides, the strategy was envisaged to exploit regional synergies and exploit them to overcome the liabilities of scale and isolation. It would also develop cooperation in the use of scarce resources in regulatory areas and leverage on the applications of technology to develop human resources. It would also help the Pacific region be a part of the global ICT community and reap from global ICT initiatives such as the World Summit on Information Society, global information resources and International trade programs. This would as a result promote the voice of the Pacific people and their unique issues to Asia

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132 Ibid.p.5
Pacific and the global arena. This strategy on cooperation in ICT development that ultimately envisioned the delivery of the promise “ICTs for every Pacific Islander” was expected to immensely contribute towards the enhancement of the potential of regional integration in the Islands.

3.7.3 The Communication Strategy of the African Union Commission 2012-2016

The African Union and its predecessor the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and which were founded on the ideals of Pan-Africanism are organizations whose fundamental objectives has been to foster African unity and enhance the continent’s development and progress. The AU, in cognizance of this task, has developed a strategy of enhancing integration using the Regional Economic Communities as the union’s building blocks. The continental body thus has been mandated by its 54 governments to keep them informed regarding its operations. This is not only meant to foster accountability and transparency but to also consistently promote the AU’s achievements strategically through different channels. This will in turn allow the participation of the member country’s citizenry in the integration process.

This communication strategy is key to enable the supplanting of the negative social-economic and political forces that characterize the continent and its people. Therefore the publicity of the African Union is a vital tool of drowning out the din of negativism and resignation that dealt a blow to the many attempts hither to this, in putting Africans in charge of charting their destiny. Therefore, a deliberate and systematic strategy that is

133 www.au.int.

informed by a strong communications culture within the commission, blended by the adoption of advanced information and communication techniques, would be instrumental in not only consciously building networks within the continent but also in bringing the AU closer to its citizens.

Therefore, in a bid to ensure the full engagement of the African people in the development and economic integration of Africa, the strategy aims at initiating rigorous reforms in all its departments in ensuring that the information and communication policy becomes part of its development strategy. This is informed by the realization of the potential of a communication strategy in enhancing visibility and hence improving the image of the African Union. Besides, the policy would help the organization disseminate information and messages to the public and therefore integrate them in decision making ultimately strengthening cohesion within the Union.¹³⁴

The ultimate objective of the strategy is to valorize the union’s mission in communicating accurately and vibrantly its mission and disseminating detailed information as regards the African Union’s Commission’s activities and roles. This is key in promoting the organization’s leadership position. Therefore, the communication strategy would ultimately help forge greater partnership and resources and hence strengthen the impact of the organization in peace and development. The African Union Commission envisages that a credible and robust communication strategy would contribute to the development of

an African Union that is well perceived and accepted by the whole AU citizenry as well as its external partners as the unique and credible voice of Africa.\textsuperscript{135}

3.8 Mass Communication as a Catalyst for Integration in the EAC Integration

Mass communication has a great role to play in the promotion of the EAC integration process. Reports have often shown that there has been a great interest by the EAC citizenry on the progress of the process but they do increasingly rely on the media to help shape their opinion and inform them on the progress of the process. However, the levels of the media usage and their quality is wholly dependent on the citizen’s economic status, location (rural or urban), level of literacy, gender and age albeit a considerable EAC populace are deemed to be well informed of the EAC integration process existence.

Therefore communication through the media is core to regional integration as it is responsible for the creation of a linkage between the national and the supra-national institutions on one hand and on the other, the citizens of the EAC. It is only this linkage that will confer legitimacy to the member states and political leaders, among other stakeholders to drive the engine of integration at the behest of the EAC citizenry. It is apparent that the extent to which the EAC citizenry get engaged in this integration process depends highly on the quality and volume of communication on the process that is disseminated to the public gallery.

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid p.2
According to a report based on the content analysis on media reports in four of the five East African countries between January 2009 and March 2010 (Burundi was excluded) and in which EAC issues presented in the media reports in English language were analyzed, the EAC mass media seems not greatly persuaded about the Integration process and consequently, their effect on the integration agenda is limited. The analysis concludes that the regional mass media has given the EAC integration project cursory coverage.\footnote{SID,2011, \textit{East African Integration: Dynamics of Trade, Education, Media and Labour}. Ascent Limited. pp 149-150}

The paradox of this is that the EAC citizenry has become particularly interested in the integration process especially since the Common Market Protocol came into effect. However, the situation is slowly changing given the perception that an expanded market will be beneficial to the media as well. Therefore as Mr. William Pike, the chief executive of “The Star Newspaper” admits in an interview that forms part of the aforementioned analysis, advancing the integrationist agenda is a stance that has the ability to shape public opinion and consequently the public embrace of the EAC agenda.\footnote{Interview with William Pike, Chief Executive Officer of “The Star Newspaper in Kenya captured in, SID,2011, \textit{East African Integration: Dynamics of Trade, Education, Media and Labour}. Ascent Limited. P. 149.}

This renewed interest in EAC is evidenced by the fact that 54.1\% of the EAC media carry EAC news at least once a week, according to the study. This coverage and interest is encouraging albeit it remains low given the envisaged importance of regionalism. However, according to the report, most of the EAC coverage have its genesis from press conferences and from press releases. The fact that almost 48\% of the stories originate
from press releases and media events at the EAC secretariat means that the media ought to engage the secretariat more.

That the report indicates that low access to information on EAC integration process and that journalists’ fears of being mistreated in other EAC countries is attributed to the poor coverage—both in quality and quantity—of the EAC integration process, is a matter of concern. The Kenya Television Network (KTN) then Managing Editor blames limited press freedom in Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi and to some extent in Kenya as a major hindrance to broadcast news on the EAC.\textsuperscript{138}

On the other hand, the report indicates that few media houses have explicit editorial policies set out exclusively for the EAC coverage. This automatically determines the quality and quantity of the media coverage. The EAC media centre in Arusha has also not done much to engage the EAC media in their task of promoting the EAC integration process. The secretariat has also not done much to enhance the region’s media personnel enhance their knowledge of regionalism and the process of integration.

\section*{3.9. Conclusion}

Information and communication is a vital cross cutting tool in enhancing integration. It enables national and regional development by facilitating the channeling of data that is essential in production and administration processes. It is paramount as it key in the

exchange of vital information that informs decision making and management. On the other hand, the word information has often been used to describe a number of articles in the EAC treaty.  

139 This means that the process of integration within the EAC region would only remain to be a pipe dream if there were no appropriate mechanisms of communication and sharing information among the member states and the region’s citizenry. This informs the case for a reliable information structure as it is virtually impossible to coordinate comprehensive strategies and plans that call for involvement of various stakeholders without effective employment of information and communication infrastructure.

139 The Treaty for The Establishment of the EAC .1999.
CHAPTER FOUR
A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLES OF LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

4.1 Introduction
As highlighted earlier in this study, multi-lingualism characterizes African states. However, this is not the key prominent social-linguistic feature; having a European language designated as an official language is.\textsuperscript{140} These foreign languages which have continued to enjoy prestigious eminence were favoured by the preference given to European languages in the colonial era in a period that saw African culture and languages vilified. It is this elevation of European language in the continent that has reinforced the perception that African language as of low status.

Kiswahili is an indigenous language that traces its genesis from the Kenyan Coast. The language has developed from a minority language in the 18\textsuperscript{th} Century to language that has acquired international stature due to an array of factors including commerce, long distance trade, writings, religion, colonial rule communications, wars, education and post-independence government policies.\textsuperscript{141} On the other hand, regional diplomacy has been confronted by unprecedented challenges emanating from the great increase in the flow of information across national boundaries that has been witnessed for the last half-century

since the inception of new diplomacy. Radical changes in the organization of international relations and new thinking that is informed by the new realms of human venture characterize this new diplomacy. However, the new developments in the world of regional international relations ought to access the rapidly developed and powerful methods of diplomatic interpretation and analysis which constitute Communication analysis. For communication that is geared towards bettering international relations such as regional integration to be effective, it must be directed to those whose voice is requisite in decision making. However, modern diplomacy is characterized by the diffusion of the decision making process. This is because citizen participation gives citizens a voice and in actual sense, in the modern nation state, sovereignty rests with the public and leaders become the “servants of the people”. Therefore, there is a growing importance of public opinion in the modern diplomacy as opposed to classic diplomacy.

4.1.1 Kiswahili and the process of detribalization

Kiswahili language has been instrumental in the detribalization process of the East African region which has had a history of strong ethnic consciousness. It has also contributed immensely in diversifying the social, religious, racial and national consciousness hence aiding the process of detribalization. It has created new forms of national consciousness with the EAC region.

On the other hand, Kiswahili has been the key vehicle facilitating urbanization given its unique element of serving as the lingua franca among different ethnicities. Kiswahili has

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also been a work place and market place language hence eroding some aspects of village life among various ethnic societies in the region.\textsuperscript{143}

In addition Kiswahili has been instrumental in dismantling emerging territorial boundaries that had created territorial boundaries among the East African residents, completed robbing off their identities as Africans in the early 1950s. This period that witnessed the agitation for independence across the continent saw the residents of the region segment themselves as either Tanganyikans, Ugandans, Kenyans, Congolese and the people of Ruanda-Urudi.\textsuperscript{144} Further, the role of Swahili in conquering ethnic hostility in Uganda during the reign of Idi Amin cannot be overlooked. The language emerged as the lingua franca of the army after the consciousness of their separateness pricked them. The political events that followed resulted into the decline of the Baganda in Uganda who were vehemently opposed to the promotion of the language in the country but who were overpowered by the unity of the other ethnic groupings, which was formulated by the usage of Kiswahili language.

4.2 An Audit into the Use of Kiswahili within the EAC

Kiswahili is poised to play a very key role in enhancing integration of the EAC. Indeed, the quest for political federation is highly hinged on the fast tracking of Swahili language learning to close the cultural gaps among the five members of the East African


\textsuperscript{144} Ibid.,p.4
Former EAC Secretary—General, Mr. Juma Mwapachu once argued that the political integration should be preceded by cultural and social assimilation before the economic amalgamation which is the EAC’s envisaged ultimate goal, is realized. He noted that mainstreaming the Swahili language as the EAC’s lingua franca is key to the integration process. He noted that Ugandan MPs and school going children were to receive Kiswahili instructions to prepare for the EAC federation and added that Rwanda and Burundi would follow suit. He further noted that Burundi had introduced Kiswahili as a subject in primary school since September 2006.

Besides, the former Ugandan Vice President Prof. Gilbert Bukenya has in the past also argued the case for the adoption of Swahili as the lingua franca of the EAC nations. He noted that this was vital as it would bring down both cultural and social barriers that have threatened to stall the fast tracking of EAC integration. However the calls by Mwapachu and Bukenya are not the first remarks on this subject. President Museveni has also in the past told EAC residents that the future to an enhanced EAC lies in the adoption of Swahili. All these calls, point out to weakness within the EAC in establishing a strong language policy.

Swahili was less popular within the East African Region during the colonial times and had played second fiddle to English. The EAC treaty does acknowledge the importance of

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Swahili as unifying medium albeit little has been done in setting benchmarks for an enhanced integration process.  

### 4.2.1 The Use of Kiswahili Language in Uganda

The Ugandan government has for decades -especially with hesitation from the Buganda tribe-hesitated the introduction of Kiswahili as a core subject in the primary and secondary school curricula. However in 2007, Swahili was introduced in the school curricula to match Tanzania and Kenya. The language was hither to, only taught at the University level in Uganda. In addition, Kiswahili had been instrumental in the mobilization and organization of National Resistance Movement in 1980s a possible reason why it has now been embraced since the movement has since got to the helm of the Ugandan government. Interestingly, Swahili had been frowned upon as a language and treated with a lot of suspicion given its association with the brutality experienced during Idi Amini’s dictatorial regime and Tanzanian forces of occupation in 1979.

With the rebirth of the EAC, the Ugandan government is not in favour for the promotion of Swahili for no reason. The adoption of Swahili as the EAC’s universal language should take a cue from the EU’s language policy of language adoption without fanning animosity from the speakers of other indigenous languages.

### 4.2.2 The Social Linguistic Overview and the use of Kiswahili in Kenya

Kenya has more than 40 languages which fall under three categories namely; indigenous

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languages such as Kiswahili, languages whose origin is Asia and which include Hindi, Bengali, Gujerati, Urdu, Goan, and Arabic. In the third category are European Languages such as English that form the language of operation in the education system, government offices, law courts, international organizations, among other fora.\textsuperscript{147}

Kiswahili in Kenya has been suffering from a conflict avoidance approach which has slowed down its development in the country.\textsuperscript{148} This lackadaisical take on Swahili is largely due to its perceived low rank as compared to English. This is despite the fact that Kiswahili’s native land is Kenya. However, all the credit in manifesting enthusiasm in developing the language goes to Tanzania. English as the official language has largely created an impression that it is the only important speech system in Kenya. It is largely used by the ruling class and the elites in formal engagements which further gives credence to the aforementioned assumption. On the other hand, the Kenyan government has done little to promote Swahili, a language spoken by over 300 million people world over, and make policies that promote the language right from the executive leadership. The last couple of years have however seen the Kenyan government call for the promotion of the language at the African Union level in nurturing greater unity and co-operation in the continent. The Immediate former Kenyan President, Mwai Kibaki, while addressing the African Union Heads of states in Accra Ghana in 2007, urged the AU leaders to recognize the role of Swahili as Africa’s premier Lingua Franca. He noted that Swahili had the ability to unify the continent and redress anomalies brought about by colonial borders. He

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid., pp2-5
further noted that colonialists had divided the African People previously bound by language and culture among other common linkages. Ironically, the former president was himself a poor speaker of the language. He has never used the language at the EAC summits despite his calls for African leaders to adopt the language. President Kikwete has probably due pride in connecting with the common man preferred using Swahili during the summits with his Ugandan counterpart, President Museveni, making attempts to address the summit in “chiswahili” (Ugandan Pronunciation of Kiswahili) despite having problems with the grammar and vocabulary mastery of the Swahili Language.

4.2.3 Kiswahili usage in Tanzania

Tanzania’s population is estimated to be about 33 million (2007 estimates) which is comprised of about 200 different language groups. Since the 18 and 19th century, Kiswahili has been the language of both Zanzibar and the Coast of Tanganyika. Therefore, even before independence, many Tanzanians already know Kiswahili naturally. Therefore, soon after independence, President Julius Nyerere declared it the national language and in making a departure from the norm at the time, he addressed the Parliament in Kiswahili. He further made a raft of policies, structures and programs that would put Swahili’s dissemination and further exploration on its course. By 1970, the language had gained so much ground that it had been readily accepted as the national language and at the national level, many government programs such as the parliamentary debates, primary courts and primary education, were being conducted in Kiswahili. To date, the prominence of Swahili in the national arena remains undeniably huge. There has however been a call for the adoption of the English Language as a language of instruction in schools so as to
march with the demands of the era of globalization.\(^{149}\)

### 4.2.4 The Usage of Kiswahili in Rwanda

Beyond Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi still perceive Kiswahili as a language for slaves, casual workers, the military and conmen. In Rwanda Swahili is slowly gaining popularity aided by the returnees from the rest of the East African states. Rwanda also has Kiswahili services on their national radio stations. However, the number of the language speakers still remains low. Swahili is used by about ten percent of the population as a lingua franca.\(^{150}\)

There are however developments towards this front. These include the recent move by Rwanda and Burundi to hire 1,000 Kiswahili teachers from Tanzania to teach at different levels. This is in bid to not only enhance a wider participation of Tanzanians in the integration process and hence generating additional knowledge and evidence for deepening and widening the integration process, as stated by the Tanzanian Minister of East African Cooperation but to also contribute towards creating language capacity that will enable the two partner state’s citizenry become participate actively in policy analysis and formulating strategies and programmes geared towards the integration process.\(^{151}\)


4.2.5 Kiswahili Language usage in Burundi

Burundi was formerly colonized by Belgium as part of Rwanda-Urundi became an independent monarchy in 1962. Its population in 1995 stood at 6.26 million people. French and Rundi (Kirundi) are the two official languages. Rwanda-Rundi is the Bantu language with the greatest number of first language speakers. Rundi is the mother tongue of over 99 percent of the population in Burundi. It is the first language of the Hutu (85 percent), Tutsi (14 percent) and Twa (less than one percent). Only one other recorded language variety exists as a mother tongue in Burundi, namely Hima, spoken by a few thousand speakers. Swahili is spoken as a second language by an estimated ten percent of the population and is slowly gaining clout as a result of returnee refugees from other EAC states that speak Swahili. French however remains to be the language of instruction in education.152

4.2.6 Kiswahili beyond East Africa

Kiswahili has developed to a popular African language that is now being studies in many leading academic institutions in Africa, Europe, Middle-East America and Asia. Its international appeal has been furthered by for research and other travels across Africa, the ease to learn the language, and its consideration as a window to the African culture.

Its spread can also be attributed to the fact that the more than 100 million Swahili speakers in Africa speak another European language and therefore, the language has spread through their travel and interactions with the rest of the world. Its association with the Arabic for

example has seen a third of Oman’s total population adopt it as their mother tongue. The Swahili speakers in Oman claim their descent from the East African region’s islands of Zanzibar and Pemba.

Further afield, Kiswahili is offered as a foreign subject in over 100 American universities such as Harvard and Yale. The study of Swahili has also spread to Britain, Germany, South Korea, Ghana and Japan. In addition, major broadcasting Radio and Television stations across the world offer broadcasting services in Kiswahili. They include British Broadcasting BBC, Sauti ya Ujerumani, Cologne (Radio Deutsche Welle ), Radio Moscow, Idhaa ya Kiswahili, Beijing, China, Voice of America’s Kiswahili Service.  

4.3 The Potential of Swahili Language in Enhancing Integration of East Africa

Kiswahili’s role in enhancing integration within the EAC faces huge impediments caused by the globalization agenda that is enforcing the spread of major world languages like English, French, German, Spanish and Chinese among others. Globalization has even the unfortunate potential of making the East African Inhabitants get more glued to their native language. None the less, the ability of the Swahili language to enhance EAC integration remains hugely significant.  

In order to understand the role of language in the integration process of contemporary states, it is vital to examine the underlying social, economic and political variables that the language symbolizes. It these variables that yield to such fundamental results as integration. Therefore, the growth of Swahili usage across the EAC region can be achieved through several domains within which the communities of the region interact. The domains include: Music, which offers a conduit of unity given that the residents of the EAC region enjoy music from across the five member states. There have also been attempts by the corporate world to develop music initiatives that promote the spirit of the EAC integration. Such programs such as “Tusker Project Fame”, a music competition that is sponsored by the East African Breweries and whose aim is identify the best talents within East Africa in the music industry. Here participants from the five EAC member states are chosen to enter the program after rigorous auditions are carried out in each state. This initiative which has lately in its last two episodes included Southern Sudan, a country that has been seeking admission to the EAC has a huge potential of propagating unity within the region.

Secondly, most literary works have been done within the region has been done in the member states colonial languages; English and French mostly, apart from those done in Tanzania, which soon after independence adopted Swahili as the national language so as to enhance the spirit of Ujamaa, a policy adopted by President Julius Nyerere soon after independence. Although most of these literary works have been done in Uganda and Tanzania, their market covers the EAC region. Most of the literary works done originally in English have been translated. Such translations include: *Usaliti Mjini* (Betrayal in the
City), by the late Francis Imbuga, *Usilie Mpenzi* (Weep Not Child) by Ngugi wa Thiong’o, *Mizigo* (Burdens) by John Ruganda, among others. These works which to a great extent re-write the East African experience and give a critical analysis of the East African leadership have been instrumental in enforcing values in the region and hence helping in the unification of the EAC people.

Thirdly, there have existed high volumes of trade across the EAC regional borders, both formal and informal. This trade has been largely conducted in Swahili. Besides, most residents along the EAC borders belong to similar linguistic groups but have been separated by the political borders across the region. Their interaction in Swahili thereof does play a part in the process of not only developing the usage of the language across the borders, but also enhancing and fostering unity within the region.

In addition, religion is another avenue through which the Swahili Language has been used as a conduit in enhancing integration. There exists a lot of evangelism across EAC. The main language of this evangelistic movement has been Swahili which is believed to be more spoken in the region more than any other language. In cases where evangelism has been offered in another language apart from Swahili, more often than not, those involved in the exercise source Swahili interpreters. Evangelism has thus facilitated the growth of Swahili thus becoming an avenue of integration. The spread of Islam in the EAC has facilitated in the growth of Swahili, for instance. Given that many EAC Muslims communicate in the Swahili language has made them very close knit as compared to other

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Muslims in the rest of Africa. The language is used in madrassa, the writings of the Holy Quran, and in delivering sermons thus making the EAC Muslim community to be defined by the Swahili language. Thus Swahili presents itself as a strong symbol wielding a sentimental value to the East African Islamic identity.\footnote{Mazrui. A. A. 1995: Swahili State and Society. Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers. p.127}

Finally, the media has also played a big role in propagating Swahili as a language of the EAC. Tanzania has over the years published newspapers in Swahili such as Nipashe and Mzalendo while Kenya has Taifa Leo. Despite the fact that Uganda does not publish any newspaper in Swahili, these papers that carry political, economic and social themes emanating from the issues that affect the EAC residents, these papers find their place across the Ugandan streets. Radio and Television networks have not been left behind either. There exists East African Television Channel and East African Radio station as well as other stations such as Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) and Radio Dar es Salaam that exclusively are meant for Kiswahili listeners who sentimentally have an attachment with these stations. The media therefore has a huge role in reinforcing the oneness of the EAC communities that share cultural and historical values.

4.4 A Review of Swahili as the EAC’s Lingua Franca

Despite declaring that Swahili is the lingua franca of the EAC, in the treaty establishing the EAC, the community’s summit together with the secretariat has been working towards realizing this dream. Much progress has been made though a lot still needs to be done. In November 2006 the EAC community of Rwanda and Burundi’s admission into the
Community was reached at the eighth EAC heads of state summit. However, before the ascension of the treaties to fully allow Rwanda and Burundi to join the EAC, the two Francophone member states were required to make some domestic legislative changes among them promoting Kiswahili and English in order to harmonize their social-cultural national environment with those of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.\(^{157}\) This shows the commitment of the EAC heads of state summit in keeping to the spirit of the EAC treaty. The recent composition of the EAC anthem in both English and Swahili also exhibits this commitment.

Further in the recognition of how fundamental the collaboration of member states is in the development of Swahili language as a vehicle towards enhanced regional integration, member states agreed to the establishment of the East African Kiswahili Council through a protocol, in November 2001. The council is tasked with promotion and coordination of the development of Kiswahili for both EAC unity and for a sustainable social economic East African Community.

The protocol for the establishment of the East African Kiswahili Council, spells out the key objectives of the council.\(^{158}\) The council has been tasked with strengthening national, regional, regional and international communication through the use of Swahili and beyond alongside developing Kiswahili as a regional language expressing and conveying African values with respect to issues to issues of gender equity, human rights and democracy while Initiating, assisting and encouraging the development of Swahili in

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East Africa. It is also tasked with Encourage collaboration in regional research and assist the partner states develop centers of advanced study and researching Swahili and Promoting curriculum reform to equip citizens with the Kiswahili literary and linguistic skills and knowledge which meet the needs of the East African society and conforming to the development plans of East Africa.

Though the preparations to operationize this commission are currently underway, the first meeting to kick-start the commission was held in June 2008. In addition, member states with clear understanding that uniformity in language would lead to the fettered flow of information, people and capital across the borders, are supportive of the idea that each state forms its own National Kiswahili Council. However, this is yet to take place in Uganda, Kenya, Rwanda and Burundi.

On the other hand, the inter-university Council of East Africa is emphasizing the exchange of Kiswahili curriculum at the level of the University meant for the facilitation of staff exchange program through Kiswahili Association of East Africa (Chakama). This would be very instrumental in ensuring that all EAC states are at par in the development of Swahili.

From the outset, the study had sought to establish the impact of language uniformity in promoting cohesion within the integration process. This study has established that the EAC member states have already realized the potential that underlies within the Kiswahili language as a catalyst in the integration process. The reviews undertaken in this chapter
reveal that there has been a clear effort to promote the language even to the late entrants to the community; Rwanda and Burundi whose official language-French, was different from that of their other partners. This study has established that a unitary language such as Swahili can indeed enhance the integration process. The study has also revealed that there is a symbiotic relation between language and communication and that both are critical to the integration process.

4.5 An Audit on the Effectiveness of the Communication Systems by the EAC

There is a great renaissance being enjoyed by regionalism and integration in a changing and globalizing world.\textsuperscript{159} Therefore as nation states seek to develop closer economic, social and political ties with their neighbours, the desire for regionalism has increased. Therefore just like other integration schemes, the EAC has set out in its mission to endeavour to “widen and deepen economic, political, social and cultural integration” in bid to improve the lives of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investment.\textsuperscript{160} Towards this quest, a communication strategy is key as it will not only raise awareness to the people, but it is also key to demystifying the meaning of integration and regionalism as well as “drawing attention to the opportunities and challenges facing such state initiatives.”\textsuperscript{161} The relationship of the interstate information directorates such as the Directorate of Corporate Communication and Public Affairs, and the regional media cannot be underestimated as the media would

assist the governments in their efforts create a greater regional consciousness among the mass population and consequently generate an EAC culture.

4.5.1 An Audit into the Management of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs at the EAC

The EAC Secretariat has made a few notable achievements under corporate communications and the public communication. These achievements are geared towards communicating the EAC agenda and raising the EAC citizenry’s awareness on the progress made by the EAC towards integration. Following attempts to revive the EAC in the early 1990s, there was an urgent need to streamline the role of the media and communication for the success of the region’s integration and development. The EAC media had supported the public opinion for the revival of the initiative. This revival intended to advance a distinct policy objective; that of rooting for public participation.

The first East African Co-operation Strategy (1997-2000) indeed emphasized that this strategy would be people centered and would provide for the participation of all stakeholders and sections of the community in its endeavours to foster integration. This resolution led to the second EAC Development Strategy (2001-2005) that was more specific towards a strategy that defined information and communication within the EAC. While defining information as a “resource and a tool for development”, it resulted to a resolution that partner states would adopt a comprehensive collaborative program that

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162 Alot Magaga (Corporate Communications Expert East African Community), Marketing the Cause: Communications Tools and Techniques and Strategies – The Case of the East African Community, a presentation during the 2nd EAC Symposium, in Arusha on 28 April, 2011.
included employment of ICT and media empowerment measures, to support the integration agenda. However, due to a mismatch between the stated objectives and the resources and structures of the information and communication program, the 2nd Development Strategy realized less than 10% of the interventions envisaged. The EAC member states had concentrated on respective national issues and pursued different strategic agenda at expense of the regional one. The established powerful Sectoral Councils established evaded the information and communication agenda. Thus, the branding course of the EAC was lost.\textsuperscript{163}

4.5.2 The Call for Fast Tracking Communications in the EAC

The EAC special Summit held in Nairobi between 27-29 August 2004, the attempt to fast track the integration of Communication in the EAC process. With the heads of state expressing disappointments due to the slow pace of the integration process and the “tardiness” that had characterized it, it was time to make a review on the ways to expedite the process. They thus formed a committee to resolve this. The committee that was headed by Kenya’s Attorney General and currently the Senator ,Busia County, established that there was a low level of awareness and appreciation of the integration process. The committee thus recommended that the EAC pays cognizance to the role of communication in marketing the EAC agenda both within the region and internationally. A poll carried out by the Steadman Associates in Nairobi, in 2007, was to later reveal that, although 89% out of the respondents interviewed, were aware of the EAC existence, 72% were unaware

\textsuperscript{163} Ocpit.p.3
of the progress of the integration process. Other public surveys carried out later, for instance the National Consultative Process on Fast Tracking the East African Federation (October 2006-May 2007) would endorse previous positions. Among the responded were discovered deep suspicions and fear on the motive and the outcome of the integration process.\(^{164}\)

All in all, the twin concerns as regards to the EAC predicament from the surveys indicated that, there was a general pessimism and cynicism about the achievements of the EAC among the respondents, who discounted the claims that the EAC had made on the progress of its projects and programs. About 80% of the EAC’s rural folk and that live in largely poverty ridden environments were absolutely oblivious of the existence of the EAC. Those who confessed knowledge of its existence had no idea on either the mandate or the mode of operations of the EAC. This clearly showed that the EAC had to urgently address its image issue. The EAC then resolved to focus on achieving greater efficiency and effectiveness in its projects in a bid to promote greater visibility and enhance public participation. The Community had to come closer to the people and descend from the lofty bureaucracy associated with elitism if it was to impact on the social economic transformation of the East African region.

4.5.2 The Progress made on redeeming the EAC’S image

The EAC Heads of State have been very keen in redeeming the perceptions of the EAC. Among the measures that they have put in place is a resolution for a biannual regular meet

; one a “working summit” besides the extraordinary meetings that would be scheduled from time to time. They also instituted High Level Retreats for the key organs and institutions of the Community, among them Permanent Secretaries retreats. To streamline decisions and enhance the rapid implementation of the regional program, the Heads of State resolved to appoint ministers specifically responsible for the EAC affairs, forming the EAC Affairs Ministerial Sectoral Council. They also adopted the body’s organizational structure in November 2006, after being on review since 1998. This has since set pace in progress and with the implementation of the Lake Victoria Development Program among other infrastructure projects, the Community has received robust media attention since the launch of the EAC re-branding project. The project was tasked with the role establishing a Directorate of Corporate Communication and Public Affairs from the them EAC Information and Public Relations Office. An EAC Media Summit has since been established besides revamping the centralized information support at the EAC headquarters.165

The EAC Re-Branding project is a bold and ambitious scheme that will eventually, if well managed, enhance visibility and promote a positive perception of the dynamic image of the EAC. The project envisages that the EAC media centre will employ advanced technology in both print and electronic media promotions. The project will also see the installation of modern Radio and TV production and dissemination facility at the EAC headquarters that will link satellite to regional and international radio and TV stations and aid in providing quality, timely and in-depth reporting about the EAC. The ultimate goal

165 Ibid pp.55-70
of the project is to aid in the realization of the EAC’S treaty vision in the transforming the EAC from an underdeveloped region into a fast modernizing region of the world.

4.6 A Review of the Achievements of the EAC’s Directorate of Corporate Communications and Public Affairs.

The EAC’s directorate of Communications and Public Affairs has achieved the following number of feats. They include the development of an EAC information and Communication strategy; the policy papers of the EAC information and Communication policy and strategy has been drafted and is undergoing review. Secondly, the department has managed to roll out sensitization and outreach. As part of the sensitization and outreach programs, the EAC has distributed through its stakeholder, copies of the EAC Treaty and other EAC publications, EAC Standard and table publications, EAC Customs Union flags among other promotional materials such as diaries and calendars. Besides, the Secretariat has hosted a number of educational tours by schools, the civil society organizations among other stakeholders. This is an indication of an increased interest on the EAC agenda among the EAC citizenry. Sensitization programs have also been conducted through local government officials in some parts of the regions and through studies in Universities across the region. This is aimed at promoting the EAC integration agenda.

On the other hand, it has carried out enhanced East African Media Summits. The EAC has also been partnering with the East African media houses in a bid to secure commitments from them for increased coverage of community projects and programs. The Media Summits have provided a platform for the EAC to establish new relationships with media
houses and individual journalists especially from the Republics of Burundi and Rwanda. In addition, the directorate managed to raise awareness of EAC integration agenda through the EAC 10th Anniversary.\textsuperscript{166} The EAC celebrated its 10\textsuperscript{th} Anniversary of its existence in November 2009 by organizing a number of events such as symposia, sports competitions, cultural performances and exhibitions in order to heighten the awareness of the body in the region. The event attracted huge coverage across the region was a worthy effort towards increasing EAC visibility among the East Africans. On the other end, it has scaled up communication and Information. The EAC has scaled up its production of the EAC magazine, “The Community” from an annual production to two editions every year. The EAC e-newsletter, e-EAC has continuously been produced and distributed monthly to the EAC’s stakeholders. Its main focus is to keep the stakeholders abreast on the progress of various projects, programs among other activities. The EAC has also adopted the social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter as a means of spreading information on its activities. This is a laudable effort towards reaching out to the majority EAC youths whose subscription to these two social media sites, has heighted. Besides, the EAC recently added five new websites as part of restructuring the Web Portal www.eac.int, which has been a leading online information resource on regional integration. The websites added were for Energy, Environment and Natural Resources, the East African Legislative Assembly, the Miserere Centre for Peace Research and a web based version of the EAC treaty.

\textsuperscript{166} EAC Annual Report 2009/2010 pp.51-52
Lastly, the accreditation of EAC media correspondents across the member states is laudable. The community has also accredited journalists based in member states to regularly disseminate information on EAC through print and electronic media. This has helped the EAC increase media coverage and it has now grown to an average of over 250, EAC related stories published/aired monthly.

Therefore, as hypothesized by the study in chapter 1, this study has established that indeed effective communication is a crucial ingredient in the success of the East African Community integration process. Just like in any other initiatives that a government intends to undertake on behalf of its citizenry, effective communication is the key to inviting the citizenry participation. The review carried out by the study reveals that the EAC Secretariat has been keen to enhance the visibility of the EAC and create awareness on the EAC agenda alongside the development of a communication strategy.
CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The preceding chapters in this study provide a clear analysis on the role of language and effective communication in enhancing regional integration and in particular, the East African Integration. Their deductions which this study has established are consistent with the hypotheses, suggest that enhancement of Kiswahili language and public communication policies can promote inter-ethnic unity and public participation respectively and hence the enhancement of the EAC integration process. Tanzania stands out as a clear illustration of how language can foster the integration of a multi-ethnic society. In addition, deductions from the reviewed communication strategies highlight the importance of public policy and participation in government initiatives such as integration schemes for the attainment of real success for those initiatives. Language policy is normally influenced by public policy. The success of public policy however, is well facilitated by effective communication from a unit of government to its environment. Public policy refers to the relationship that a unit of government shares with its environment and encompasses all the unit of government chooses to do or not\textsuperscript{167}.

5.2 Conclusions

This study highlights the symbiotic relationship between language and communication. There exists very deep relational dynamics between language and communication which are part of our everyday life and behavior and we probably fail to recognize. This is obviously because; language is our medium of communication with others. It is the means that we use to communicate our thoughts, feelings and desires towards others. Language does link interlocutors in a reflexive and dynamic process. We are able to learn about others by what they say and the manner they say it and able to learn about ourselves and our relationship with others through our interactions with them.\textsuperscript{168}

The various integration schemes explored in the earlier chapters such as the organization of the French Speaking countries, The Commonwealth and The Arab League, clearly demonstrate how language can draw people from different societies and who have very distinct cultures, into a society that is geared towards the development of their welfare as a people. On the other hand, the highlighted communication strategies such as that of the European Union and the African Union, clearly demonstrate the realization of international organizations, of the role of communication in informing public policy and thereby enhancing public participation for the success of integration project and that of the envisaged benefits of integration. The EAC Secretariat has made credible efforts towards that end including actively engaging its citizenry on the digital media platform.

Language plays the twin role of providing us a medium of interaction with the outside world and being the marker that puts a distinction in us from the other creatures that we

\textsuperscript{168} Bonvillain, N., \textit{Language, Culture and Communication}, 4\textsuperscript{th} ed.(Upper Saddle River, NJ Prentice Hall,2003),p.1
share the world with. The gift of language is the unique trait that sets us apart from the rest of life. We engage in it communally, compulsively and automatically. We thus fail to be humans without it.\textsuperscript{169}

Nevertheless, despite the EAC priding itself on the progress made in the integration process, as mentioned earlier in this paper, a lot still remains to be done to ensure that the gains that have been made are not reversible. The impression created by prominence given to the usage of European languages at the expense of indigenous languages, especially by the political class is misleading. This is because indigenous languages carry the bulk of communication in the African continent. Much trade across the region is conducted using Swahili and other indigenous languages.

The founders of the Pan African movement as earlier mentioned in this study, well envisaged that African unity would be fueled by language uniformity as a pillar of integration. They identified the potential of Kiswahili to achieving that unity. By resolving to recognize Kiswahili as the EAC lingua franca, the Community resonates well with this dream.

Indigenous languages have also been credible reservoirs of information and knowledge.\textsuperscript{170}

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\textsuperscript{169}Thomas .L, \textit{A Long Line of Cells} (New York: Book of the Month club, 1990), p.68
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\textsuperscript{170} Wa Mberia (2000) \textit{Indigenous Languages in the Performing Arts.} "Paper presented at the Kenya National
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However, a visit to the EAC online portal dilutes the efforts that have been made to showcase Swahili as the Lingua Franca of the region. All speeches, reports and resolutions of the EAC secretariat, heads of state or other stakeholders are all primarily displayed in English. With the threat of reversing the gains made so far, especially in this era of globalization where the growth of French, Spanish, German and Chinese is on the rise given the influx of African students to those countries, the secretariat ought to be at the forefront of promoting the Swahili language.

In addition, given that the EAC states are developing nations contrary to their EU counterparts, the budget of the community may not afford the relatively expensive services of translation into the indigenous languages of the community. As compared to the EU whose 23 languages would suffice communication with the EU sphere, Kenya itself has over 40 languages while Tanzania has over 100 languages. On the other hand, the development of modern communication has immensely contributed to the normal process of human growth, extension of democracy, universal education, better economies and increased international co-operation. This phenomenon owes its genesis to the competition in the political, social, military, economic and technological front-and which triggered the two world wars.\(^\text{171}\) Information and communication development have been key engines of growth and social transformation. Since the two world wars, the development of communication and information has thrown a big challenge to a world faced by unprecedented tensions and uncertainties. Given the potential of information as

resource, and its huge application in the social, political, economic and technological fronts, Africa has had no choice but to adopt information technology to be at par in development with the developed world. Africa has however put little emphasis on information and communication as priority investments despite the fact that communication is key in advancing international relations in almost all fields.\textsuperscript{172}

The African society is still basically a rural society. Majority of the population reside in the rural areas. Therefore, there is great need for rural development to be an integral part of African development as a matter of priority. The rural folk must also be encouraged to be active participants of the development agenda but this will only be achieved through the exploitation of information and communication as a multiplier of development efforts. Many integration schemes such as the ones explored in the previous chapters have been successful because effective communication and appropriate language policies have played complementary roles to the other factors that influence integration. While arguing their case on the role of communication in enhancing development, delegates in the 1976 Intergovernmental Conference on Communication Policies in Latin America and the Caribbean that was held on 12-21 July, in San José (Costa Rica), for example, emphasized on the role of communication in enhancing the process of integration in the region. They noted that many of the member states had already achieved a comprehensive communication strategy at the state level and the same ought to have been rolled to the whole of the East African Community.\textsuperscript{173}

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{172}Ibid p.4
\end{thebibliography}
There is thus no doubt that today, Kiswahili is among the greatest indigenous languages in the continent and its role in the development of Africa cannot be gainsaid. Within the East African region, Kenya and Tanzania have acquired a higher leverage that their other three counterparts in the usage of Swahili in communication, literacy programs, fostering unity and in furthering trade, among other areas. In Uganda, the popularity of Swahili has been impeded by certain historical factors, thus resulting to fewer Swahili speakers. In Rwanda and Burundi, Kiswahili is mainly used in the cities and mainly by returnees coming back from Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Its usage within the region is steadily on the increase which is attributive to the media, commerce, education systems and its overall role as the region’s lingua franca. On the other hand, the language is studied as a subject of higher learning and instruction. It is a compulsory language in Kenya and is offered in some universities as a study discipline. In Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, Swahili is gaining good ground through their respective education systems.

Africa is characterized by deep ethnic royalties that has been there for decades. The East African region has been recording increasing rather than diminishing ethnic consciousness. Though these ethnic royalties will not suddenly disappear, there is a potential of them being dissolved into a ‘wider network of allegiances.’ As one becomes increasingly cosmopolitan, their ethnic behavior declines and so does their emotional ethnic attachment. It is this role of detribalization that Swahili language has the potential of fulfilling in the region. Kiswahili also has the potential to fulfill the other sense of

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detribalization whose concern is diversifying social inclinations and creating a national consciousness within the EAC region. Given that the language has already been instrumental in the process of detribalization having facilitated the growth of urbanization and hence expanding the scope of social interactions, a heightened promotion of the language within the region is a key step towards realizing true EAC integration since the language is endowed with the ability to totally erode ethnic loyalty and identity thus helping the EAC residents expand their social horizons beyond the confines of their ancestry.

5.3 Recommendations

The member states ought to address the issue of an enhanced language policy seriously. This policy would address the standardization of the Swahili language across the region and help in the formulation of the necessary legislations in the member states that promote the usage of Swahili in the public sphere. The Heads of States summit should provide leadership in this realm by adopting Kiswahili as its major language of operation during their meetings. This will intern contribute positively towards the prominence of the Swahili language usage in other EAC bodies such as the EAC court of justice, the East African Legislative Assembly (EALA) among others.

On the other hand, there is need for Burundi, Uganda and Rwanda to promote the usage of Kiswahili among their citizenry. In the former, Kiswahili is mostly spoken in the urban city which potentially excludes the rural folk from the integration process yet their input is essential in legitimizing the process. A comprehensive policy should also be adopted to
promote the scholarship of Kiswahili across the region’s schools right from the primary education to the tertiary level.

The EAC secretariat should also consider using Kiswahili as well in the development of its documents. This will give them a wide readership across the region and create awareness on the progress made so far, alongside inviting participation in the process to even the remotest parts of the region. There exists immense potential for the establishment of a common East African Identity. There is also need to develop a sense of belonging among the EAC residents to the community. This would only be strengthened by the formulation of a participatory communication strategy. This strategy could employ radio and television broadcasts, advertisements in the local languages in newspapers that are tailored for the ordinary citizens. The EAC should also develop other modes of creating awareness on the East African Integration such as posters and leaflets and display them in hospitals, schools and government offices, which spread information on the EAC agenda, the benefits already available for the EAC citizenry such as free movement of goods, services and people. The EAC secretariat should strongly consider establishing EAC Radio and Television stations whose programs are majorly focused on the affairs of the EAC residents. This would educate the people on a variety of things from the region raging from economic opportunities to exposing them to the different cultures of the region among other important issues in the region. This will heighten the integration process.

The stakeholders of the EAC integration process should also involve the private sector and
the civil society as development partners in furthering the EAC agenda and in disseminating information on the same. Besides, the treaty establishing the EAC provides for that partnership. That would help educate the EAC residents on the integration process as well as invite them to participate in the integration process, giving the process the much needed credence and legitimacy that the process requires.

The partner states of the EAC ought to often retrain their immigration and customs officers on the progress of the EAC integration process and in the modern ways of relating with the public in this era of globalization. These officers are great ambassadors of the integration process and the way they deal with the EAC citizenry and other visitors to the region influences the way people perceive the integration process.

The EAC member states should also often jointly and on a rotation basis hold fairs such as Agricultural shows, events and sporting activities such as the just concluded East African Military games, which are instrumental in fostering unity and in creating awareness and a sense of belonging to the integration process. The partner governments of the EAC should also consider, through the East African Inter University Council developing a public East African University. This would aid in the development of study programs that address the economic and social needs of the region.

Besides, the EAC governments ought to develop the necessary synergies that eliminate the huge asymmetries in the education systems in the region. The success of the EAC
integration process holds immense potential, which is a recipe for immense social-economic and political gain in the region.

However, asymmetries in education policies and in curricular development are likely to water down these envisaged gains, if they are not urgently addressed. Given that effective EAC integration and its resultant benefits are hinged upon the EAC’s Common Market Protocol that provides for the free movement of goods and service and, which stipulates that partner states do not discriminate against the citizenry of any member state in employment and remuneration, any delays in the harmonization of education and training systems could destabilize this political union that has been riddled by fears of inequity since its original inception, due to the disparities in the development of the member states.
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