

**The Role of the Print Media in Regional Integration:
The Case of the East African Community**

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Journalism and Mass Communication, College of
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Declaration

I, James Oranga, hereby declare that this thesis is my original work. It has not been previously submitted to, or used in, any other institution for any other purpose. Ideas derived from other sources have been duly acknowledged.

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Dedication

I dedicate this thesis to my grand dad, Edward Peter Oranga, now deceased, for his phenomenal inspiration. My greatest aspiration has always been to be what he was. I hope one day I get there. And, to my beloved wife, Rose Pauline, whose love is my cornerstone in every mission.

Abstract

Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania first made a (somewhat) successful attempt at integration in the post-independence era. However, this cooperation – christened the East African Community - collapsed in 1977. In 1999, the Community was revived with an ambitious roadmap that targeted, amongst other things, the establishment of a common market by 2010, the formation of a single currency for East Africa by 2015 and a political federation by 2020. Following the ratification of the EAC Re-Establishment Treaty, the East African Community Secretariat adopted an official policy to make use of the media for purposes of promoting awareness, encouraging discourses about key EAC issues among stakeholders, demonstrating the achievements, and competitiveness of the regional bloc and promoting visibility of EAC effectiveness and efficiency. This study examined the actual role played by the print media in informing the East African public about the EAC for a period of three years. The study was predicated on three theoretical positions, these being, the theory of agenda setting: with particular emphasis on priming and framing, the theory of reinforcement and the gate keeping theory. The study combined qualitative and quantitative techniques – employing content analysis, key informant interviews and discourse analysis. The sampling frame included three mainstream newspapers – the *Nation* of Kenya, *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania published between January 2010 and December 2012. 15% of each of the three papers published within this period was sampled for analysis. In addition, 15 Key informants purposively selected from the three newspapers and the East African Community Secretariat were interviewed to establish what factors determine EAC coverage. The study findings revealed that the EAC Secretariat has relied on a faulty, if ineffective, communications strategy that hardly attracts media interest. The study also established that coverage of the East African Community by the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* was more or less similar: EAC issues hardly made the front or prime pages of the three newspapers. More often than not, they focused their EAC reporting on events presided over by heads of state. They gave the EAC very little attention and regarded it as a subject that appeals only to a small elite – especially the business class. They also regarded themselves as national publications whose primary responsibility was to focus on national (and not regional) news. However, the few EAC stories published in the three papers largely depicted the EAC favorably – as an initiative that is full of promise and benefit. The study concluded that the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* played an insignificant role in enhancing the EAC agenda during the period January 2010 – December 2012. This is despite that fact that the EAC Secretariat engaged them consistently in their programs and the fact that EAC issues carry with them not only all the values of news but also the eventualities that the public ought to be prepared to embrace. It begs the question as to whether East Africa's three largest newspapers are in the business of telling the public what they need to know or what they want to know. The study recommended a strategy shift for the EAC Secretariat with respect to their media engagement patterns and an editorial policy change for the three newspapers that is more responsive to the socio-political and economic changes of a United East Africa.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMU	:	Arab Maghreb Union
AU	:	African Union
AUC	:	African Union Commission
CM	:	Common Market
COMESA	:	Common Market for East and Southern Africa
CU	:	Customs Union
EA	:	East Africa
EAC	:	East African Community
EAI	:	East African Integration
EACA	:	The East African Communication Association
EADB	:	East African Development Bank
ECCAS	:	Economic Community of Central African States
ECOWAS	:	Economic Community of West African States
EU	:	European Union
FDI	:	Foreign Direct Investment
FTA	:	Free Trade Area
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
IEC	:	Information Education and Communication
IGAD	:	Inter – Governmental Authority on Development
IUCEA	:	Inter – University Council for East Africa
KAPB	:	Knowledge Attitude Practice and Behavior
KIIs	:	Key Informant Interviews
NAFTA	:	North American Free Trade Agreement
NEPAD	:	New Partnerships for African Development
MDGs	:	Millennium Development Goals
MMG	:	Nation Media Group
PTA	:	Preferential Trade Area
RI	:	Regional Integration

RIA : Regional Integration Agreement
SADC : Southern African Development Community
SID : Society for International Development

Definition of Terms

For the purpose of this study, the following terms will be used to refer to the meanings provided below:

Convergence: Policies that can lead to social cohesion and integration in the EAC.

Divergence: Policies that can lead to disintegration in the EAC of factors that reflect substantial differences from one another.

Domestic Politics Approach: A policy that retains the idea of states as central players in the integration process. Respective EA governments remain the ‘gatekeepers’ between national politics and the EA integration.

East Africa: The geographical region in Africa comprising of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi and also the Sudan, South Sudan, Ethiopia and Eritrea.

Economic Bloc: The unity of the EAC member states motivated by financial, trade and investment benefits.

East African Community: The official title of the social, economic and political partnership that exists between Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi as stipulated in the EAC Charter.

East African Integration: The process of achieving a social, political and economic union in East Africa.

East African Railway: The railway line that interconnects the Port of Mombasa (Kenya) through Kampala (Uganda) to Dar-es-salaam (Tanzania).

Economic Inequalities: Refers to uneven distribution of resources.

Editorial Supplement: Any visual – graphic tool used to enhance the aesthetic value of demonstrative effect of a story. They include: pictures, maps, diagrams, graphs and charts, cartoons, fillers and kickers and bold text.

Equity: the fairness with which social, economic or political benefits are distributed or shared within the EAC.

Fragmented Frame: A depiction of East Africa as separate nationalities.

Functionalism: A theory that proposes the radical transformation of international politics. It argues that the fundamental motivation of governments is to fulfill the needs of its people but this is not achievable since governments are often irrational based on factors (in the EA case) such as ethnic bigotry. Therefore, large scale schemes such as regional integration is seen by functionalists to be more suited to fulfill human needs.

Globalization: Widespread and far reaching social, economic and social changes of the contemporary world that compel societies to exist in a global village rather than in isolation.

Human Resource Capacity: The amount of skilled and unskilled labor available within a particular country.

Income Distribution: The way in which the wealth of a nation is shared within a particular country or within the EAC.

Language Integration: The language that is used to bring people together or create common understanding within the EAC.

Lunatic Express: The railway line constructed by the British Colonial Government between Mombasa and Kampala in the early 20th Century.

Neofunctionalism: A theory of regional integration first formulated to explain the early attempts of the European Union. It argues that political integration occurs as a consequence to economic integration and integration in one sector creates pressure for integration in related sectors.

Public Opinion: The prevailing popular thought about a particular subject amongst citizens of a given country or the EAC.

Public Awareness: The possession of adequate and accurate information regarding the EAC by the citizens in all member states.

Public Preparedness: The status of having what it takes to make necessary changes in social, political and economic engagements or behavior.

Regionalism: The tendency of geographically proximate territories or states to engage in economic integration and to form free trade areas and common markets.

Regional Equity: The degree of fairness in the distribution of resources and revenue within the EAC.

Regional Frame: The depiction of the East African Community as a United Entity.

Regional Integration: The social, political and economic cohesion within a particular region.

Socio-Economic Status: The social and economic class enjoyed by the people of East Africa.

Social Integration: The cohesion among the people in East Africa.

Strap line: A phrase or sentence that is written in bold – directly underneath a newspaper for purposes of emphasizing the news peg. If written above the headline, it is referred to as a stand first.

Surplus Capital: The excess amounts of revenue that individual EAC countries may generate in a give financial year.

Surplus Labor: The number of professional that are more than a particular job market can adequately absorb within at a given time.

Uneven Distribution: the inequalities in the distribution of socio-economic opportunities within the five East African states.

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND AND FOUNDATIONS OF STUDY

1.0. Introduction:

This chapter provides the background information of this study. It elaborates on the history and structure of the East African Community. This is followed by a discussion on the nexus between the media and the East African Integration. It then gives the problem statement, purpose of study, research questions, justifications and significance of the study and also the scope and limitations of study.

1.1. Background of the Study

Regional blocs have been formed in almost every corner of the globe. The EU, NAFTA, and APU are notable cases. In Africa, they include ECOWAS, ECCAS, AMU and SADC. The proponents of regionalism are usually motivated by the assumption that it promotes economic and social development which culminates in self sustainability, poverty alleviation, productive exploitation of resources, peace and security, political stability and greater international recognition (Mwapachu, 2009). African regionalism, especially in Sub Saharan Africa, is unique since it often transpires against a backdrop of high poverty, political instability and economic backwardness (Chingono and Nakana, 2008).

Proper regional integration is believed to lead to the emergence and development of a cohesive and consolidated regional unit such as the East African (community) nation (Hurrell, 1995).

Regional integration and cooperation involves countries in a given region agreeing to live via shared socio-political and economic norms and values and deepening their co-operation at several levels. It requires states not only to integrate markets but also to create common markets. It involves moving from national or state identities to developing new regional identities.

According to Okello and Kirungi (2011), contemporary regional integration does not only involve governments but also civil society, the private sector and the media. Each has a crucial contribution to make in the efforts of integration. Governments provide political leadership, the civil society mobilizes the masses to embrace regionalism, and the private sector spearheads regional investments while the media educates the public on the implications of integration (Alot, 2009).

The print media, unlike social, broadcast or even alternative media, is viewed to have a more conspicuous role to play in a process such as this one. It is believed to guarantee longer impact on the minds of readers since newspaper articles are published with more in-depth reporting and more elaborate narratives and analyses (Hamel, 2010). The Print media is thus perceived by Hamel and like-minded scholars as instrumental in shaping public opinion regarding the EAI and in enhancing public exposure that transcends national boundaries. And, from Hamel's argument, it is regarded as more effective in providing more detail, more elaborate and more memorable coverage that audiences can easily make repeated references to whenever the need arises. This goes a long way not only in enhancing understating of regionalism but also augmenting the capacity of readers to appreciate its dynamics.

1.1.1. The East African Community: An Historical and Structural Overview

The current East African Community is a regional inter-governmental organization comprising Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda. The treaty that established the Community – as presently constituted was signed on the 30th day of November 1999 and came into force on the 7th of July 2000 following ratification by Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Rwanda and Burundi were accepted as full members from July of 2007 (EAC, 2004:1). The East African Integration refers to the actual process of synchronizing the socio-cultural, economic and political frameworks of the member states that will enable the Community transcend to a reality from a theoretical concept. The Treaty of Establishment of the current East African Community signed on the 30th day of June 1999, outlines the mission of the Community as:

To establish a prosperous, competitive, secure and politically united East Africa; and to: widen and deepen economic, political social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investment.

Article Five of the treaty outlines the prime objective of the East African Community as:

To develop policies and programmes aimed at widening and deepening co-operation among the Partner States in political, economic, social and cultural fields, research and technology, defence, security and legal and judicial affairs, for their mutual benefit.

The Community signed a common market protocol in 2010, is in the process of developing a common currency and is expected to realize a political federation by 2020. From November of 1999 systematic efforts by the governments of Kenya Uganda and Tanzania to liberalize intra-regional trade enhanced economic cooperation of the three countries to a remarkable extent

(Busse and Shams, 2003). It is these efforts that culminated in the signing of the Common Market Protocol in June of 2010. With it came commitment of partner states to guarantee several socio-economic benefits which include: free movement of goods, free movement of persons, free movement of capital, development of standard identification and travel documents, free movement of workers, right of residence, free movement of services, protection of cross border investments, harmonization of social policies, cooperation in environmental management and cooperation in Agriculture, food security and industrial development (EAC Secretariat, 2010)

The five EA member states have a combined population approximated at 130 million and cover a surface area of 1.85 million square kilometers (Nikwame, 2012). The region shares climatic conditions, social set up and even agricultural practices. It is envisaged under the Establishment Treaty that all member states shall benefit from increased market size, increased investment and employment opportunities as well as forming a larger and more attractive trading and investment environment. Following the Independence of South Sudan in July of 2011, the new country applied for EAC membership (Mumo, 2013). Should this application be accepted, the Community will benefit from increased territorial size, a much larger population and additional socio-economic diversity.

Historically, the signing of the current treaty that established the EAC is a second attempt to create a socio-political and economic federation for East Africa. According to Kasaija (2011) initial attempts to integrate East Africa traces its history to 1917 when Kenya and Uganda

formed a customs union which Tanganyika joined in 1927. In 1948, Britain, then the colonial controller of East Africa, established the African High Commission to control public service in what was then referred to as British East Africa. It comprised Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. When Tanganyika attained independence in 1960, the African High Commission was transformed to the East African Common Service Organization. This provided an administrative framework for East African integration (Mair, 2000). In 1967, the East African Community was established. For purposes of this study, it is referred to as the old EAC. It made considerable progress and established a number of promising institutions which included the East African Development Bank (EADB), the East African Legal Assembly, the East African Harbours Corporation, the East African Railways and the East African Airways.

The old EAC collapsed in 1977 owing to several factors. Key among them was the ideological differences between Kenya and Tanganyika (Ngugi, 2005). At independence, Julius Nyerere pursued a socialist agenda in Tanganyika; Obote adopted a Hybrid system in Uganda while Kenya perpetuated a thoroughly capitalist ideology. The three parallel ideologies necessitated instances of diplomatic conflict (Adar, 1994). With Kenya's capitalism, Tanzania's socialism and Uganda pursuing a hybrid economic system, there was ideological dissonance from the onset.

Another key reason was the persistence of trade imbalances between the three member states. According to Mair (2001), Kenya's industrial and economic dominance in the region precipitated

deficits for Tanzania and Uganda in their trade with Kenya. Tanzania raised concern of this problem and called for its mitigation but attempts to promote economic competitiveness in Tanzania and Uganda failed (Ngugi, 2005). While Kenya's industrial dominance continued to be perceived unfavorably by other EA member states, Kenyatta's regime felt that it shouldn't carry the burden of the 'poorer nations' (Mugomba, 2009). The myriad of challenges undermined the Community despite the fact that it was the most promising case of integration in the developing world by then (Hass and Schmitter, 1964). This promise was augmented by the fact that the three member states enjoyed geographical proximity, had a similar colonial history under Great Britain which bequeathed a stable degree of functional cooperation (Wheare, 1953) and also a competent western-educated and modern trained leadership.

Following the collapse of the old EAC in 1977, Tanzania terminated diplomatic relations with Kenya; Uganda invaded Tanzania leading to retaliatory military action that toppled Uganda's then President, Idi Amin Dada (Ngugi, 2005). When the old EAC collapsed, member states not only lost several years of cooperation – dating to pre-independence times - but also several benefits enhanced by the economies of scale that the wider economic bloc provided (Peterson and Bech, 2005). The three countries ultimately negotiated a Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities of the old EAC (led by the World Bank) that was signed in 1984. In this Mediation Agreement, the member committed themselves to exploring the viability of future cooperation (Busse and Shams, 1983). On November 30th, 1993, the spirit of a united East Africa was revived with the three East African states signing an agreement establishing the Permanent Tripartite Commission for the East African Co-operation with the mandate to identify

areas of co-operation and propose appropriate arrangements for regional co-operation. However, between 1984 and 1993, East African relations became a matter of the behest of Presidents. The conduct of regional relations was sustained by the personal relationships that President Moi cultivated with other EA Heads of State (Adar, 1994).

Since the re-establishment of the EAC, a series of developmental strategies have been formulated and implemented. The EAC Development Strategy Papers (1997 – 2000); (2001 -2005) reveal that the EAC leadership worked to implement confidence building measures and formulated a workable framework for integration during that period. This culminated in the establishment of several functional organs and administrative structures of governance including the Community Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania. Also established, was the East African Legislative Assembly comprising of 52 members – nine from every member state plus seven ex-officio members - to carry out new legislation and amendments to the Establishment Treaty. And, the East African Court of Justice - to enforce and interpret the terms of the Treaty and to arbitrate any disputes that may arise between member states.

The EAC Development Strategy Paper (2006 – 2010) reveals that the definitive phase of the EAC is almost complete. By 2010, the community had realized significant institutional and structural re-organization and expanded their regional programs through the expansion of a number of commissions to spearhead the implementation of key areas of cooperation. The administrative secretariats of these commissions are evenly distributed within the five member states of the Community so as to promote the visibility and presence of the EAC throughout the

region. As a policy, the staffing of each one of these commissions must reflect the face of East Africa. The commissions include:

- a) The Lake Victoria Basin Commission (LVBC) that promotes investment opportunities in Lake Victoria. Lake Victoria is a shared ecological resource between Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.
- b) The Lake Victoria Fisheries Organization (LVFO) promotes marketing of fish products from Lake Vitoria in international markets.
- c) The Inter University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) promotes collaboration between East African institutions of higher learning and other public and private sector organizations.
- d) The East African Development Bank (EADB) set up the East African Common Market. It is also tasked with duty of mobilizing external lendable assets for the East African Market. The EADB is the only former EAC institution never to have collapsed and remained operational in Kampala.
- e) The Civil Aviation Safety and Security Oversight Agency (CASSOA) maintain a safe and secure civil aviation system in the region.

With increased expectations, East African governments have paid closer attention to the adequate allocation of resources to match the demands of the EAC's growing mandate (Mwapachu, 2009). The EAC budget for the financial year 2009/ 2010 rose to 55 million US

dollars up from 5 million dollars which was the allocation during the early years of establishment. According to the EAC budget speech for the financial year 2013/2014 delivered by the Hon. Shem Bageine, Chairperson of the Council of Ministers of the East African Community and Minister for East African Community Affairs of Uganda, the current EAC budget has since risen to a staggering USD 130, million.

1.1.2. The Nexus between the Media and Regional Integration

The mass media is acknowledged to play several crucial roles in society. One such role is that it is a source of information that empowers citizens not just to enhance their levels of awareness but also to make informed decisions (Fortunato, 2005). The East African Integration is arguably the most significant socio-cultural, economic and political transformation that the East African region is undergoing at the moment (Oyugi, 2010). As such, it should attract and maintain media interest. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965) there are five determinants of what editors choose to publish. These are: Prominence, Proximity, Consequence, Human Interest and Oddities. They are collectively referred to as news values in journalistic nomenclature. The East African Integration bears all the values of a newsy subject that warrants systematic, continuous and prominent media coverage. First, it is a local process and therefore proximate not just to Kenyans but all East Africans. It is not only timely (immediate and current) but also timeless as it is an on-going process. It is highly consequential for the reason that a socio-political and economic federation will directly affect all East Africans in various ways; national passports will be replaced by the East African passport, an East African currency will replace the individual national currencies and national boundaries will effectively vanish. Such consequential changes

require a constant flow of information to mass audiences – to enable public understanding, appreciation and preparedness. The subject is also prominent being that prominent personalities in the East African region – including Heads of State - are actively and constantly involved. For these reasons, wide, favorable coverage, regular featuring and systematic analyses of what an integrated East Africa really means, is a subject with tremendous news worth. Integration will also likely affect East Africans directly - considering monetary and jurisdictional issues and is therefore very high on the impact scale.

Wood and Barnes (2007), while acknowledging the role of the media in fostering Millennium Development Goals, identified four significant roles that the media ought to play in a process such as this one. These include: raising public awareness, shifting / shaping public opinion, providing an inclusive platform for public debate and scrutinizing and holding stakeholders to account for their actions and decisions. This study endeavored to establish the extent to which the East African print media has actually fulfilled these responsibilities.

1.2. Problem Statement

The significance of the media in regionalism cannot be underestimated neither can it be over emphasized. The EAC Establishment Treaty of 1999 recognizes the need for a public and private sector partnership in the effort to accomplish the mission of the EAC. The EAC Communications Policy and Strategy identifies the civil society and the media as key factors in the actualization of this partnership. This implies an intention by the EAC Secretariat to engage the media as one of

the driving forces for its programs. It also implies an acknowledgement that the media indeed has a crucial role to play in this process. This is in line with the postulation of Okolo (1994) that when the frontiers of society expand, the media becomes the only channel through which information regarding such expansion and its consequences can be disseminated to a mass audience. The media is viewed, in this regard, as the instrumental for preparing East Africans in their transition from their national scopes (as presently constituted) to a regional scope of business, social interaction and political participation.

According to Karega (2010), the signing of the EAC Common Market Protocol in 2010 has prompted not only economic trading but also social interaction within East Africa. It has also made regional trading less costly and enhanced regional travel. Karega's observation is supported by the fact that a study by Duygan and Bump (2007) cited by Nyabuga (2011) revealed that the adoption of the East African Community Common External Tariff (CET) has helped peasant farmers in East Africa by providing a wider market for the sale of their products.

But, amid all the enthusiasm and optimism, there have been a number of credible concerns with regard to: 1) the knowledge and perception of East Africans with regard to the EAC; 2) the attitude and interest of the media in the EAC and; 3) the role that the media has played in the East African Integration. A study conducted by the Society for International Development (SID) in 2011 concluded that the concept of integration is not yet clearly internalized by many East Africans. The majority have remained ignorant of the developments or the benefits of the EAI.

The study also revealed that East African media enterprises did not regard the EAC as a prime subject and focused more on national news (despite its news worth and consequential value). In an article published by the *Sunday Nation* on the 3rd day of October, 2010, and cited by Nyabuga (2011), Kenya's former Minister for Trade who currently serves as the Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), Dr. Muskhisa Kituyu observed that:

With the establishment of the East African Common Market, the movement of goods and services across East Africa has intensified to the benefit of businessmen and professionals yet the growing integration remains relatively unknown among East Africans and the public remains broadly disengaged in the on-goings of the EAC.

This opinion is supported by Nyabuga (2011) who argues that there is sufficient but modest interest in EAC issues not only from the East African media but also from citizens who rely on the media to make sense of issues.

Although there are a number of studies on the role of the media in regionalism as exemplified by studies on the media and the European Union and studies on functionalism and neo functionalism, studies that focus specifically on print media are minimal. Yet, as Obonyo et al. (2013) posit, the print media is the medium of record, it provides an inter media agenda setting space and is the first step of the two step flow concept. These peculiar attributes enable what the print media reports on a crucial subject such as regionalism to have a multiplier effect and forms part and parcel of the coverage of other media. Newspaper reports therefore, transcend their written form – providing a rich source of information for broadcast outlets such as radio. And,

despite the fact that radio is still considered by a number of media theorists like Myer (2008) and Banks (2009) to be the most effective outlet of information for majority of people in the developing world owing to its reach effectiveness and affordability, the print often complements it. Studies on print media, therefore, are important not just owing to its peculiar attributes but also to test its complimenting value to other outlets.

This study sought to investigate the position revealed by a number of scholars including Nyabuga (2011) and Kituyi (2010) that the East African media has minimal interest on the East African Integration and to establish the reasons for this indifference. It also sought to make an empirical contribution to the existing gaps in current literature by focussing on a specific medium: the print media.

1.3. Research Objectives

This study investigated the extent to, and manner in which the three newspapers with the highest circulation and readership in East Africa namely: the *Nation* of Kenya, *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania have covered the East African Integration. The study specifically focused on quality of coverage, quantity of coverage and the factors that determine coverage.

The study was guided by five objectives:

- 1) To establish the extent to which the East African Community Secretariat has made use of East Africa's three largest newspapers, *the Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* to inform the East African public about the EAC.

- 2) To determine what issues regarding the East African Community have been addressed by the three newspapers during the period (January 2010 – December 2012).
- 3) To evaluate the priming and framing of the East African Community by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012.
- 4) To establish the factors that determined coverage of the East African Community by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012.
- 5) To compare and contrast the coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period of January 2010 – December 2012.

1.4. Research Questions

This study was guided by one overall question and five specific questions.

1.4.1. Overall Question

What role has the print media played in the integration of East Africa?

1.4.2. Specific Questions

- (1) To what extent has the EAC Secretariat made use of the print media to inform the East African public about the East African Integration?
- (2) What issues regarding the EAC have been addressed by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012?

- (3) How have the three newspapers framed and primed the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012.
- (4) What factors determined the coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012?
- (5) What are the similarities and differences with regard to how the three newspapers covered the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012?

1.5. The Study Justifications

Applied research should have utility and originality (Corley and Giola, 2011; Whetten, 1990). It must also have capacity to motivate improvement of current research trends or current professional, managerial and organizational norms. Originality and utility are achievable through the discovery of a new method or style of conducting business, exploring or focusing on a new perspective that has previously been ignored or generating new knowledge.

As noted in the problem statement, one notable aspect of studies on regionalism is that they tend to lack a dimension that is specific to the print media. This study endeavored to enrich this particular aspect. One prominent concern that was specifically raised about this study – at preliminary evaluation level was: ‘why the focus on print media’? This concern was perhaps based on the fact that the print media is assumed to have minimal impact on audiences compared to broadcast and social media.

But, this study was undertaken against the background of the position Obonyo et al. (2013) that the print media is the medium of record, the first step of the two step flow concept and the inter media agenda setting medium. Besides, the print media is the only mass communication outlet that accords sufficient space for detailed analytical and interpretative news on a daily basis – the kind that would have any in-depth informative content for a subject as diverse as regionalism and the kind that would have a lasting impact on the mind of audiences (Hamel, 2010).

Building on the argument of Corley and Giola (2011) that research must contribute to the application of knowledge to practice, the findings of this study showed why and how editors, Journalists and the EAC Secretariat can constructively enhance coverage of the EAC in the print media. The findings of this study will be shared with editors and journalists in the three newspapers to empirically demonstrate to them their contribution to the EAC agenda during the period January 2010 – December 2012 – as a challenge to their responsibility of preparing East Africans for eventualities of integration.

The findings will be shared with the EAC Secretariat's department of communication – to present them with an alternative strategy of media engagement that would foster increased media interest, increased EAC visibility in the print media and increased public understanding of the EAC. The findings will also be shared with the three newspapers as an empirical audit of their coverage of the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012.

1.6. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to the print media. Specifically, it focused on three newspapers: the *Nation* of Kenya, *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania. The three papers were selected purposively owing to the fact that they command the largest circulations and readership of all East African mainstream newspapers: the *Nation* has an estimated circulation of 200,000 copies (Ipsos Synovate, 2012). *New Vision* sells an estimated 35, 000 copies (ABC Uganda, 2012) while Tanzania's Media Sustainability Index Survey of 2011 approximated *Mwananchi's* circulation to be 60,000 copies. The estimated total readership of the three newspapers is five million.

The three countries represented by these papers are East Africa's largest economies therefore bearing the greatest consequence and responsibility to the process. The duration of study was three years; from the 1st of January 2010 to the 31st of December, 2012. 15% of each of the three newspapers published during this period were sampled for analysis. The sampled newspapers were both weekend and weekday editions. The study also gathered information from 15 Key informants – purposively selected from the East African Community Secretariat and the three newspapers. The 15 Key informants included two editors and two reporters from each of the three newspapers (making a total of 12 media personnel) and three communication officers from the EAC Secretariat. Their selection was made on the basis that they are key gate keepers of newspapers and directly involved in the dissemination of information regarding the EAC to the public. The reporters were all those who have regularly reported on the EAC during the period of January 2010 to December of 2012.

1.7. Structure of dissertation

This section outlines the contents of each and every chapter of the thesis and the way in which they are structurally arranged. It also provides a synopsis of each chapter – highlighting the focal issues addressed in them.

Chapter One:

This chapter presents the background of the study – providing the underlying information and immediate factors that motivated the study, the problem statement, the study objectives, research questions, study significance and justifications, limitations and scope of the study and also the structure of the dissertation.

Chapter Two:

This chapter presents the reviewed literature of various issues that pertain to regional integration and the media. Specifically, the role of media in building a regional identity, the role of other stakeholders in regionalism, the role of media in regionalism, global trends with regard to regionalism and the media, the agenda setting theory with emphasis on priming and framing and its relevance to regional integration, the gate keeping theory of the press and its application to regionalism and the reinforcement theory of the press.

Chapter Three:

This chapter explains the research design used for this study, data collection methods, data presentation and analysis methods.

Chapter Four:

This chapter presents the findings of the study and their respective analyses. The presentations and analyses of the findings are done in form of charts, graphs, figures and explanatory narratives. The charts and graphs provide comparative presentations of the findings on each research question while the narratives explain the quantities represented in the figures.

Chapter Five

This chapter presents a detailed discussion and interpretation of the data presented and analyzed in chapter four.

Chapter Six

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations that have been generated from the study. It also highlights areas for future research and is followed by a detailed bibliography and appendixes.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter provided background information for this study. It highlighted the history of the East African Integration from colonial times to post colonial times and the present. It presented

the nexus between the process of integration and the media. It also explained the research problem, outlined the study objectives and justifications, the scope of the study and the dissertation structure.

The key issues that emerged in this chapter were that 1) the media is a crucial tool that the masses rely on for information regarding new processes and societal changes that affect them socially, politically and economically; 2) the East African Community Charter recognizes the media as one of the fundamental pillars on which the achievement of EAC objectives will be based; 3) other studies have showed that the media in East Africa do not regard the EAC as a subject of interest in spite of its news worth and; 4) that existing studies in regionalism and the media tend to focus on the media in general and not the print media in particular. This study therefore is useful in understanding the dissonance (revealed by studies undertaken before this one) between the significance of integration and the print media interest and coverage in the subject.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

1.0. Introduction:

This chapter reviews existing literature on the role of the media in regional integration. It presents what has been documented regarding the importance of the media in regionalism in various parts of the globe including East Africa. It also presents previous studies on the media and the EAC and discusses the prevailing gaps in such studies. The review is organized into five broad themes that are formulated along the study objectives.

2.1. Print Media News and Regionalism

Everyday newspapers gather information on issues that concern public life. But, only some of these stories are published. The primary factor that determines whether a story will make the news is its news worth (Gatlung and Ruge, 1965). The African dominant perspective and paradigm of integration has been largely the same since the independence era. It is that of linear market integration which follows the stepwise integration of goods, labour and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal integration (Hartzenberg, 2011). This compels a tremendous structural adjustment in the socio-political and economic status of a region (Nepad, 2000) that results in huge societal transformation. Occurrences that compel massive societal change, such as the transformations and structural adjustments brought about by regionalism are thus news worthy subjects owing to their consequences. Newspapers not only publish news worthy stories, they ensure that they place their most crucial news items in the prime pages (Reisner, 1992). For

this reason, consistent publication of EAC stories, enhancement of their content and their constant placement in prime pages would imply their regard by East African editors as important (Croteau and Hoynes, 2000). But, the publication of EAC stories in newspapers is not determined by news values alone. Deliberate engagement of the media outlets to promote the ideals of regionalism and sell the EAC agenda is another determinant (EAC Secretariat, 2011).

2.2. Use of the Print Media by the EAC Secretariat

Alot (2009) attaches great significance to the role of the media in facilitating the fulfillment of the Community's objectives. He identifies four ways in which the EAC secretariat intends to use the media in fulfilling the objectives of the EAC. The Four are identified as: Promoting awareness, encouraging discourses about key EAC issues among stakeholders, demonstrating the achievements, and competitiveness of the regional bloc and promoting visibility of EAC effectiveness and efficiency. This resonates almost identically with the position of Wood and Barnes (2007) who posit that in crucial development trending, the media is useful for purposes of enhancing public awareness, encouraging public debate, shaping and influencing public opinion and also supervising and monitoring the actions of the decision makers on behalf of the public.

But, this intention reflects general media use and does not mention specifics with regard to which media outlet in particular. It actually implies a multi media approach. The EAC Development Strategy Paper (2011- 2015) reveals the intention of the EAC Secretariat to constantly engage the media in conveying information to the public. This engagement is believed to promote the

presence of the EAC within the sights and minds of East Africans which in turn motivates them to actively participate in the Secretariat's programs and activities. In other words, the Secretariat intends to use the media for purposes of making the East African public active and not passive stakeholders of this initiative.

2.2.1. The Corporate Communications Approach

One approach that the EAC Communications Policy adopts to enhance public interaction is corporate communications. According to Marchaland (1998) corporate communications is a set of communicative activities that involves three strategic efforts. These are identified as: public relations communication, advertising communication and marketing communication. And, whose objective is to promote visibility and a favorable image between an organization and its stakeholders. The stakeholders may vary from one organization to the other. But, the most prominent include: customers, the government, employees and the media. The use of print media is a critical component for corporate communications (Olali, 2012). Corporate communications is used by organizations to promote, publicize or generally inform relevant individuals and groups within society about their affairs. Whereas the media, in general, is appreciated to be useful for spearheading the objectives of corporate communications, the Print media, in particular, enables a more sustained reception of information and when used for advertising, leaves a more long-term and more profound impact (Rota et al. (2008). Print media advertising is accessed by audiences when they are in a state of more attentiveness. For this reason, print media attracts more advertising than other media (Kochner, 2006). The *Nation*, for example, has

benefited from more print media advertising revenue than those of its television or radio outlets (ABC, 2011).

Based on this background, the print media is a formidable communicative platform through which the EAC Secretariat can advertise EAC activities and events and articulate the EAC agenda. The organization's profile and image can be tremendously enhanced through corporate communication tools such as press statements and press releases, supplements, advertisements and advertorials (Horton, 2005). Constant use of this approach would eventually foster a symbiotic relationship between the print media and the EAC; while the EAC would pay the print media large amounts of revenue for the publication of these messages, the print media would be compelled to give the EAC constant favorable coverage to maintain the business. However, Rota et al. (2008) advise that the effectiveness of such image building efforts can only be maximized when a mixed media approach is used; the combination of print and electronic media in a complementary manner.

2.2.2 The News Making Approach

The New York News Publishers Association has in recent times modified the concept of news values as outlined by Gatlung and Ruge (1965). They argue that newspaper editors decide on what to publish, and in what pages to publish them, by evaluating key factors which can be remembered using what they call 'the pneumonic acronym, NITPIC' - Novelty (uniqueness), Impact, Timeliness, Proximity, Interest and Conflict. The areas of regional cooperation, as outlined in the EAC Establishment Treaty, are seen as highly consequential and personal to the East Africans, involving prominent persons, and arousing human interest (Okolo, 1994).

Conversely, the EAC is a weighty subject in which all the attributes of NITPIC are represented. When the EAC is regularly in the news, East Africans will know more about it, not from the processes it engages in, but from the information the media conveys regarding it (Alot, 2008).

The East African Integration is a public affair. It is primarily spearheaded to benefit the public rather than private enterprises. For it to make news, it must be reported by a caliber of journalists who Meyer (1973) likens to social scientists. He argues that since public affairs must compete with those of the private sector for editorial space, public affairs reporters must be those who observe, investigate, explore public records, and interpret issues of public interest in understandable language that is not couched jargon. According to Edeani (1994), reporting on public affairs, such as the EAC, should involve selection of issues that warrant editorial preference thereby guaranteeing their publication. He identifies the factors that warrant this preference as audience relevance and impact on target group. Editorial preference is exhibited, not only through publication but also through page placement of stories. Since the front page is the most important, most read, most visible and most accessible page in a newspaper (Reisner, 1992) and represents what editors and even readers believe and regard to be the most important news (Croteau and Hoynes, 2000), audiences are more likely to read it than any other page. But, more importantly, the placement of EAC stories in newspapers is crucial in determining the significance a given newspaper attaches to it.

Edeani (1994) further suggests that modern journalism, as practiced contemporarily, should address realities of changes in our world. The reality of nationalities forming regional blocs to

enhance their economic status is one such change. Journalists are challenged to deliberately seek out to address progress and failures of development programs and even provide viable recommendations on ‘would be’ changes. Such coverage would not only enable citizens make sense of the realities and fantasies of regionalism but also present constructive information relating to the merits and pitfalls of the EAC.

Studies conducted by Nwosu (1994), conclude that news on public affairs can generate much public interest. He argues, based on the findings of his investigations that public affairs reporters ought to be creative, vivid and lively – to be able to blend what people need to know with what they want to know. Like other proponents of development journalism, Nwosu (1994) further argues that negative journalistic posture – such as destructive criticism of the EAC – is dysfunctional and cannot be used to further the positive contribution of Journalism to societal development. In other words, for the print media to have a real impact on East African integration, contributions that relate to the EAC must be constructive, creative, well-researched, based on impact and given prime placement.

2.3. Coverage of Regionalism Issues by the Print Media

The media today has a more conspicuous duty than yesterday since it must inform people not only about the latest happenings around them but also around the world (Nasir, 2013). For East Africans to understand and appreciate the EAC, the media must constantly inform about its on-goings. Nasir further asserts that the media is almost as necessary as food and clothing. As Alot

(2009) contends, media coverage must give priority to the most crucial issues of regionalism. Several issues on regionalism are identified by the New Partnerships for African Developments as crucial for media interpretation. Key among them include: highlighting trends in regionalism, promotion of a collective regional identity, enhancing understanding of the objectives, benefits and challenges of regionalism, clarifying misconceptions and complementing the role none state actors in integration efforts.

2.3.1. Trends in Regional Integration

In its quest to promote public understating of regionalism, the media must address global trends in regionalism (NEPAD, 2000). Functionalism is one trend whose tenets are useful in explaining regionalism wherever it transpires. Highlighting the tenets of functionalism enhances appreciation of regionalism as a global trend. Functionalism was developed in the 1950s by American scholars, who after the Second World War had a profound interest in theorizing the consequent regional co-operations. In the post World War two era, the theory was only perceived to be relevant to global processes of integration but its contemporary version – neo functionalism - is viewed to be more suited for European integration (Aston, 2004) and is regarded in some scholastic circles as largely Eurocentric.

It is, however, logical to recognize and expose the public to several features of neo functionalism which are applicable to other efforts of integration outside the European Union. The factors that motivate, frustrate or influence the chances of success or failure in regionalism are largely the

same in principle. Besides, neo functionalism concerns itself more with the processes involved in integration rather than the end result. The proponents of neo –functionalism contend that integration, in its modern description, is motivated more by economics and welfare and less by politics and power issues (Haas, 1964) since the emphasis is usually concentrated in the potential socio-economic benefits that would arise from the pursuit of common interests by independent states in a region.

One key tenet of neo-functionalism is the idea of ‘spillover’, which is a description of the mechanisms that propel the processes of integration (Rosamund, 1999). Rosamund describes Spillover is a situation where one aspect of cooperation between member states of a given region necessitates further cooperation. For example, the East African Community has already established a customs union – thereby easing the movement of goods from one East African Country to another. This development has inevitably brought to the realization of the EAC policy makers that the use of different currencies undermines the free trade agreement. They are therefore motivated to work towards the adoption of a single currency (EADSP, 2011 – 2015).

According to Lindberg and Scheingold (1970), spillover may occur in three ways:

Functional spillover is realized when one aspect of cooperation necessitates further cooperation intended to augment the initial cooperation, as exemplified by the aforementioned situation. Political spillover transpires when states negotiate and agree on mutual support for one another. For example, Uganda, being a landlocked country, relies on Kenya for access to the sea while

Kenya, for a long time, relied partially on Uganda for Hydro-electric power supply. Cultivated spillover is unintentional integration. Integration is not the initial motive but is accepted secondarily after some mutual benefit is shared from an initial event or initiative.

Elite socialization is another aspect of regionalism deserving media explanation. It arises from a situation where people who are regularly involved in supranational policy making develop regional as opposed to national or state loyalties and preferences (Pentland, 1973). They then attempt to persuade their national elites of the merits of supranational cooperation. To this end, their national loyalties shift towards regional institutions. Neo- functionalists predict that sustained elite socialization often culminates in the formation of supranational interest groups (Moravcik, 1993). A good example of such a group is the EACA. Elite socialization is achievable through a number of factors including professional lobbying, civic education interpersonal persuasion and media advocacy (Fawaz, 2013).

Neo functionalist proponents such as Dosenrode (2010) have suggested that regional integration is easier to accomplish where socio-political and economic frameworks that support regionalism already exist. For example, East Africa is interconnected by over 5000 miles of railway; their capitals are within a day's drive to one another and an impressive level of transnational thinking already exists (Ngugi, 2005). Besides, East Africans enjoy a considerable degree of social integration. Not only does the entire region, have a common elite language (English) but Swahili

serves as an important lingua franca in Tanzania, Kenya and in large parts of Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi (Habwe, 2009).

According to Orjiako (2009), regionalism in Africa is slow despite much effort from a number of African patriots. At the advent of independence for African states in the 1960s, several African leaders, notably, Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Haile Selassie and Tom Mboya agitated the spirit of Pan-Africanism – with a dream for a united Africa without much success. In more recent times, slain Libyan strongman, Muammar Al Gaddafi revived the aspiration for African integration but also failed in his endeavors. In Orjiako's contention, this repeated failure to foster constructive and consistent integration and / or slow pace of regionalization is partly due to the failure of African leaders to recognize and make active and strategic use of the media as a tool for actualizing integration. African leaders have constantly neglected the media despite that fact that it is a powerful tool for setting not just national but also regional agendas. One possible reason for this 'media neglect' may be the fact that historically (and even in contemporary times) African leaders have regarded the media with fear and skepticism (Tettey, 2014). And, more often than not, find the media to be useful only for purposes of promoting the favorable image of the state. Even Julius Nyerere, lauded as one of Africa's greatest statesmen and honored by one of the most outstanding honorifics ever accorded to a head of state '*Mwalimu*', was skeptical of the media and as a direct consequence, Tanzania established its first television station only in the mid 1990s (Legum and Mmari, 1995).

Reporting on regionalism trends in other blocs such as the EU can also hasten public understanding. It is reported in the Euro Barometer of 1991 that Europeans consistently identify newspapers and television news as their most important sources of information on EU matters. This revelation does not only re-emphasize the significance of the media in inculcating understanding on regionalism but also the recognition of the print media as one of the most sought after outlets for information on regionalism. According to Kidwai (2014) the print media remains an important source of information despite the growing popularity of the electronic and social media. This is because people appreciate the expediency of reading even as the world endeavours to go paperless. Kidwai further considers written Information as such a powerful tool that major democracies thrive on since it provides permanent information between the public and the governments. Written information when printed on paper is affordable and accessible even to the East African publics that are yet to fully embrace modern Information and Communication Technology.

2.3.2. Construction of a Collective Regional Identity

Collective identity is a pillar of integration. It helps to dismantle the 'I' feeling and create the 'we feeling' – a sense of unity and solidarity not within a state but among the integrating states – which is crucial for the success of any integration project (Katzenstein, 1996). This idea is supported by integration theorists like Deutsch et al. (1957) who recognize the significance of collective identity as that of making social action and social unity possible. Other scholars like Gellner (1983) argue that modern nations exist on the basis of two aspects. The first is mutual rights guaranteed to all citizens through shared membership (of national duties and benefits) and

the second is a common culture. A shared cultural understanding and appreciation must therefore be created, sustained and popularized as a basis for an East African nation to exist.

However, there are two dominant arguments in relation to the creation of a collective identity. On one hand, realists have argued that different states can never form collective identities since they have self interests that often compromise their desire to spearhead the progress of ‘other’ states (Baki, 2009). As a matter of fact, the EAC is seen to be a threat to national identities of EA member states ((Mutua, 2010). This belief can be responded to with the conceptual clarification of what a nation really is. Zimmer (2003) challenges modern political theorists on this question. Is a nation, especially one with a colonial history, determined by cultural, linguistic, geographic or historical identities? Zimmer’s notion is that a nation can be voluntarily formed or predetermined. This logic provides a credible explanation to East Africans grappling with the concept of national identity. While individual East African nations were predetermined by colonialism, the creation of an East African nation is a voluntary effort of East Africans themselves. Indeed, the Maasai, for example, are a cultural nation but whose national identity was brutally torpedoed when colonialists drew a boundary that cut them between Kenya and Tanzania (Buwembo, 2014). With EA integration, such groups will be guaranteed their cultural re-unification and a national framework that keeps them under one socio-political entity. Idealists on the other hand have argued that collective identity is possible if constructive knowledge of one another, knowledge of benefits and the establishment of working institutions are realized (Wendt, 1994). Olsen (1965) examines the question of self interest by looking at what incentives can persuade individual states to cooperate.

The spillover effect, as advanced by neo-functionalists can be one such incentive. Abad (2007) argues that social construction, in the form of (regional) identity and community building, is a far better way of promoting peace, stability and cooperation, than approaches such as the pre-occupation with balance of power or strategic equilibrium. Collective Identity should be seen as a social process in which identities flow through multiple networks and create not only new patterns but also new systems of identification (Baki 2009). For successful collective regional identity to be built, “community building at the inter-state level, where cooperation in social and cultural spheres creates positive mutual perceptions, makes people identify with each other and addresses potential irritants among neighboring states with adjacent borders and resources is critical” (Abad 2007).

Much of what has been touted by such scholars as Baki, Deutsch, Abad and Brubaker, places much emphasis on the significance of regional identity without elaborating on how it is fostered. Furthermore, there is failure, by these thinkers, to recognize the power of the mass media in creating and sustaining regional identity. Paasi (1991) describes the formation of a region as having to undergo four stages:

The first is the demarcation of a regional territory, the second is the identification of the symbols of that region, third is being the establishment of regional institutions to implement the objectives of a regional bloc and the last being the sharing of common values and building of a social consciousness of the society.

The fourth stage of Paasi’s recommendation is largely achievable through media advocacy.

Alexis (1984) argues that to share common values, a communicator must inform by transferring useful information, must teach by transmitting information that is useful in performance of tasks, must persuade by convincing the receiver to accept and appreciate new attitudes, values and

ideas and must please by ensuring satisfaction of the receiver's needs. The media if utilized in this manner would be instrumental in persuading the public on the need for integration. This is supported by Garza (2009) cited in Nyabuga (2011) who argues that the media as a sense making and disseminating agent of integrationist ideas can help initiate an acceptable regional identity. This may involve: highlighting regional boundaries, familiarizing the public with the symbols of their region such as the regional flag, the regional coat of arms and the regional currency, serving as a liaison tool between the regional public and regional institutions and popularizing the factors that make the EAC unique and distinct from other regional blocs like SADC or ECOWAS.

The popularization of Kiswahili as a regional language or agitating for the re-establishment of unique regional sporting activities like the now defunct East African Safari Rally would be useful distinguishing and unifying factors. Similarly, the media is crucial for enhancing socio-cultural integration. In a way, African communities (historically) have common traditions and practices that transcend national borders as presently constituted (Chingono and Nakana, 2008). In some instances, some of these shared norms are forgotten but can be re-emphasized via continuous media highlights. The history of shared cultural aspects in East Africa includes the use of Swahili in almost all the East African countries and pre-colonial trade. The use of Swahili has continued to thrive and is the most spoken indigenous language in the region. The media is central in providing a communicative framework through which East Africans can interact, share ideas, debate on the merits and demerits of integration and foster collective mutual understanding (Habwe, 2009).

The media is crucial for purposes of enhancing public knowledge on what Knapp (2003) recommends as one of the factors that promote collective identity this being; the establishment of ‘insiders who belong to a given regional territory and outsiders who do not belong to it’. This is a complex reality in regionalism and presents arguably the biggest challenge to achieving collective regional identity. Why? Sometimes, the description of ‘who belongs where’ develops over-patriotic perceptions that certain individuals have to their respective nations. In this regard, the media would provide individual leaders and stakeholders with the communicative outlet to provide conceptual clarifications on a common regional identity. This is achievable through speeches, documents and statements that promote the regional integration frame not as a threat to national identity, but as an ‘enhancement of multiple identities’ (Bull 1977). According to Robins and Morley (1989) cited by Nyabuga (2011) when the integration of trans-national societies such as the East African bloc transpires, the media promotes the rise of a transnational public who then begin to comprise a transnational regional community.

Formation of a regional identity requires policy formulation that compels stakeholders to collectively and steadfastly promote agreements. As observed by Cawthra and Nieuwkerk (2004), African Integration is often characterized by a number of impeding factors such as the signing of numerous protocols that are followed by limited common actions and collective policy formulation. Collective identity is only achievable if collective policy implementation is seen to be transpiring.

2.3.3. Complementing the Role of Civil Society in the EA Integration

The role of civil society in integration can be derived from the definition of integration offered by Asante (1996). He describes integration as a process that involves the combination of many parts of a whole. This presupposes the fact that those who are to be integrated belong together and therefore make collective decisions.

Based against this background, Landberg (2006) argues that civil society promotes consultation between various stakeholders so as to enable decision making about integration issues that is derived from popular consultation. Landberg also accords civil society the role of constantly safeguarding the interests of the common man in the integration agenda. Civil society is only recognized to perpetuate such efforts, if their activities enjoy constant public visibility (USAID, 2013).

The Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community in article 127 stipulates that partner states agree to “create an enabling environment for the private sector and civil society”. The significance of civil society is therefore enshrined in a key EAC statute. Civil Society and the media complement each other as a vehicle for disseminating information regarding the benefits of the EA Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and Political federation (Koech, 2005). Whereas the media is the vehicle through which such information is disseminated to the public, the civil society formulates such information and coordinates advocacy campaigns intended to create and sustain public awareness and interest.

2.3.4. Complementing the Role of Governments in EA Integration

Kleiman (2004) provides a comprehensive framework on what is a government's prerogative in the process of integration. He identifies three roles. First, the government spearheads the agenda of political integration. Secondly, governments establish and coordinate institutions that implement the objectives of the EAC Establishment Treaty such as the East African Community Secretariat, the East African Legislative Assembly and the East African Court of Justice. Thirdly, governments provide the primary source of funding for the sustainability the EAC and its institutions.

These are highly challenging tasks owing to the fact that in a typical African setting like East Africa, governments are often synonymous with those who head them at a given time. The political will required to spearhead the EAC may, at times be dependent not on the government (*per se*) of a member state but the sitting head of state (Adar, 1994). There is also the problem of different political systems. It should be recalled that divergent political ideologies were responsible for the collapse of the first EAC (Ngugi, 2005). These challenges can best be addressed through constant public dialogue and promotion of public participation in government decision making with respect to EAC issues. These are achievable by way of constant and transparent media presentation of government decisions and actions with regard to regionalism and, the promotion of government-generated but public spearheaded dialogue on regionalism (Page and Moyo, 2010; Protess et al., 1991).

2.3.5. Educating Public on EAC Benefits

It is popularly acknowledged in democratic theory that rational public or even personal opinion depends upon enlightenment (Laswell, 1971). As such, rational public opinion on the EAC is dependent on enlightenment. The media is a powerful platform for such enlightenment. According to eminent contemporary thinkers like Nobel laureate Amartya Sen, the press has the same cleansing powers that enlightenment philosophers had envisioned. There is, however, a degree of ambiguity about the nature of enlightenment. According to Laswell, it refers to perfect knowledge. The media may not present perfect knowledge but is highly capable of presenting (EAC) news in a way that sufficiently informs and shapes public opinion (Coronel, 2003). As a reinforcement agent, the media presents information regarding a number of key issues on the EAC but this may not be comprehensive nor provide all or most of the details expected of an information source.

McQuail (1987) presents eight metaphors that capture different aspects of the media as a key informant of society. The media is viewed first as a window that enables us see beyond our immediate surroundings. For a regional environment such as East Africa, the media enables East Africans see beyond their local, immediate or national surroundings. The media can be used to demonstrate to the public, regional interests that are bigger than their local or national ones. Such demonstration is useful in addressing public skepticism. The grapevine in East Africa is abuzz with speculation that Tanzania, in particular, is more suspicious than enthusiastic about an integrated East Africa. In an article titled 'Tanzania a Lone Ranger in EAC Efforts' published in

the *Business Daily* on the 25th day of January, 2011, Boniface Ngahu presents a very skeptical picture of the attitude of Tanzanians towards the EAC. The article read in part:

Tanzania has been in the news for its stand against the other EAC states especially Kenya. Of particular concern is the fact that Tanzania recently increased work permit fees for East Africans arguing that the bloc has not reached the integration level that would support free movement of labor. This claim appears to contradict the EAC Common Market Protocol that identifies free movement of labor as one of its key tenets.

This situation can be critiqued by what Asefa and Adugna (2002) refer to as ‘deep and shallow integration’. Shallow integration is described as: ‘changes in the rules of trade at the border such as reduction in tariffs, customs, and quotas among member states’ while deep integration involves ‘harmonizing or adopting similar rules and mutual recognition’. If a member state has difficulty accepting and appreciating the realities and eventualities of shallow integration – as enshrined in the EAC Common Market Protocol, then it must be speculated that they will have even a greater challenge accepting deeper integration.

McQuail further describes the media as interpreters, carriers of information, a device for interactive communication, a sign post, a filter for public information and a mirror of the public. This description supposes that the media would play the role of: interpreting to East Africans what it means to be East African as opposed to being Kenyan, Tanzanian, Rwandese, Burundian or Ugandan, providing a forum through which regional interaction as opposed to national interaction transpires, carrying information from one end of the EA region to another, providing signals and direction on what citizens should do to adjust to structural changes of regionalism, performing a critical gate keeping function to ensure that information that reaches the public

regarding the EAC would promote rather than stigmatize the EAC and presenting visual realities of integration.

Some commentators of regionalism have over-emphasized the economic and political benefits of integration without necessarily considering the pillars on which such a thriving economic bloc would stand. According to Hettne et al. (1999), developing countries need to integrate so as to counter the effect of turbulent but deliberately orchestrated global marginalization. For example, militarily, East African states are weak. Each spends approximately less than a billion dollars per annum. But, combined, it increases to about three billion US dollars (Muindi, 2014). In a related argument, Davies (1996) opines that regional cooperation advances the goals that lead to socio-economic growth and development. This position emphasizes the assumption that countries that have boundary adjacency would create mutual beneficial interdependence when they integrate. Such interdependence is assumed to expand the economic space, stabilize political trends and governance, and enable trading competitiveness (Landsberg, 2002).

A study commissioned by the African Development Bank in 2011 concluded that East Africa had plenty to gain from Integration. Three direct gains identified by this study included: substantial cost saving arising from the integration of institutional infrastructure and assets, the enhancement of competitiveness necessitated by availing a variety of products in a more diversified market – the direct consequence of which would be higher quality production and lower costs, more attractive opportunities for investment and employment. Regional integration

even removes or reduces the barriers against the free exchange of goods, services, capital and people (Mutai, 2003). These benefits require journalists not just to report on them but do so in a way that is accurate, interpretative, understood and appreciated by the public (Hodson and Eng, 2011).

By and large, integration necessitates the replacement of some domestic products with intra-regional imports. This promotes not just specialization of industrial production but guarantees quality that is essential for global competitiveness (Grugel and Hout, 1999). Indeed, economic integration in Africa is an imperative if the continent is to achieve its potential and to participate on equal terms in the global economy (Orjiako, 2009). Apart from economic growth, integration is expected to contribute towards gradual structural change (Nyirabu, 2004) which inevitably requires citizen induction to ease the adaptations required for such changes.

The media provides surveillance on our environment (Laswell, 1948). It should constantly engage in a SWOT analysis of the EAC by monitoring and evaluating its Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats. The media should scan the environment to establish and report on its components (Alexis, 1984). This would enable East Africans understand the limitations and the scope of the EAC in their respective Socio-economic and political environments.

In the opinion of Odebero (2011), the EAC does not only promise free movement of labor to a wider job market but also increases access and opportunities for higher education. Already, the

Inter University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) is spearheading efforts to harmonize credit transfers for University students in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. Odebero describes this development in the following terms:

It enhances collaboration in Scientific Research with the potential of promoting scientific innovativeness in the region. It warrants immense opportunity for scientific knowledge creation and dissemination through such bodies as the East Africa Regional Integration and Scientific Cooperation (EARISC). It also provides favorable conditions for correcting imbalances in education in East Africa since students would now be free to seek education opportunities that may not exist within their borders within other parts of the region.

As opined by Hodson and Eng (2011) the media has the responsibility to put such information in the face of the public and urge them to take constructive advantage of such opportunities.

The foundation and sustainability of the EAC is largely viewed to be dependent on four factors namely: education, trade, employment and the mass media (Okello and Kirungi, 2011). The media promotes and facilitates dialogues between various stakeholders to deepen understanding with the view of making the EAC work and enjoy greater sustainability. In other words, the media enables the East African nations to dialogue with themselves. Issues raised by the media can lead to integration or disintegration of East Africa. As a matter of fact, it was all too evident that the media (in 1977) aided the animosity between Kenyan and Tanzanian before the collapse of the first EAC (Ngugi, 2005). The media emphasized the accusations and counter accusations arising from the member states more enthusiastically than verifying the facts as a journalistic responsibility. The East African Integration has moved in systematic steps. As prescribed by Davies (1996), it started as an Economic cooperation even in pre-colonial times, developed a

customs union in 2010 and is headed towards a full common market and eventually an economic and political union. At every step, a popular forum for interpreting the changes is mandatory.

The mass media provides critical information that pervades everything we do and it is the tool we rely on most to make sense of our (regionalizing) world (Gamble and Gamble, 1989). Even transformations such as the socio –economic and political migrations from national to regional ones require media interventions. The media should however communicate effectively so that the information they communicate works for and not against integration (Gamble and Gamble, 2002). When we communicate, we not only to convey but also share ideas (Schramm, 1972). The media provides a powerful channel not just to convey information to mass audiences about the EAC but also an interactive platform for sharing ideas and attitudes that different East Africans have developed regarding the EAC. Such ideas are useful for policy formulation and decision making.

Political leaders, who as heads of government make key decisions on behalf of the public, appreciate that media is a crucial element for focusing national attention on key issues of public interest (Okigbo, 1994). It is for this reason why heads of government ensure media presence in all if not most state functions. Similarly, the media is useful for focusing public attention to key issues of regional interest. Also, in demonstrating how national interests are intertwined with regional ones since there isn't any nation that exists in a vacuum and that depends entirely on itself.

The media is a vanguard for the process of globalization (Hafez, 2008). The media provides arguably the most powerful avenue through which information relating to the concepts of regionalism and globalization can be conveyed to a mass audience. In 2005, former Mali President, Alpha Oumar Konare predicted that integration of Africa would be achievable through television and radio channels that facilitate exchange of information among Africans making it possible to establish a Pan-Africanist consciousness (Orjiako, 2009). The media as informers of society bear the responsibility of educating the public on the benefits, opportunities, threats and challenges of regional integration – which is a huge and complex subject. For example, regional integration enables nations to experience the renaissance in a modern and globalizing world (Grant and Soderbaum, 2003). This belief presents two suppositions. The first is that integration of nations is beneficial. Secondly, that regionalism is a popular norm consistent with the spirit of globalization. As a contemporary concept, the benefits of integration are viewed to be obvious (Chingono and Nakana, 2008). Indeed, if there would be no immediate and long term benefits, nations that have formed other stable regional blocs such as COMESA, ECOWAS, ECCS, AMU, SADC, EU and NAFTA would not have the motivation to sustain them.

According to Nyabuga (2011), the Idea of an East African Community is assumed to be known in elitist circles but not well understood and appreciated at the grassroots. This may be attributed to the argument of Lent (1978) that mainstream mass media outlets, such as newspapers in their present form, cannot adequately perform the development roles expected of them because they do not reach enough of the rural population. Consequently, an enhanced sense of East African identity is developing at a pace that is slower than necessary for the full actualization of the EAC

Charter. The timetable that the East African leaders have drawn towards the attainment of a political federation by 2020 may be rendered unattainable thus.

Whereas different regions may have different motivations to integrate, the EAC seeks to achieve several objectives aimed at improving the socio economic and political status of its citizens. As documented in the EAC Charter of Establishment, the Community intends to create a single East African market, ease travel restrictions, harmonize tariffs, increase cooperation and sharing of transport and communication technology, natural resources, integrate currencies and develop a common passport for East African citizens among other benefits. These objectives, if effectively implemented, would warrant increased competitiveness within the East African private and public sector (Mushenga, 2006). The results would be improved standards of living within East Africa. With the potential to promote standards of living to such appreciable scales, the media must convey such information to the public so as to persuade them to adopt a positive attitude towards such an initiative (Warnock et al., 2007).

Ultimately, the key benefits that the media ought to prioritize with respect to the EAC are summarized by Alot (2010) as: “the free movement of goods, free movement of persons, free movement of workers, right of residence in any of the member states, free movement of services, free movement of capital, protection of cross border investments, enhanced competitiveness of enterprises and human resources, collective environmental management, collective management

and protection of intellectual property, cooperation in industrial development, agriculture and food security”.

2.3.6. Misconceptions Regarding the EAC

Political commentators in Kenyan newspapers have conjectured on the motivation of the East African Community’s founding member states to revive the community. Mutua (2007) argues that Kenya’s primary motivation is to export its surplus capital; Uganda to export its surplus labor while Tanzania is motivated by the will of its leaders to realize a Pan-African vision. Critical analysis may cast serious doubts at these assumptions. According to Cox et al. (2003), Kenya has a much larger and more effective Human Resource Capacity than Uganda. And, Tanzania cannot be assumed to have a subsidiary interest in the socio - economic benefits of the Community due to Pan-Africanist obsessions.

Some commentators view regionalism as a challenge to globalization. Arguments as advanced by Asefa and Lemi (2002) maintain that regionalism is founded on the basis of preferential treatment of a number of countries while globalization advocates equal openness to all. In practice however, the two concepts are actually complementary. One is a step for fulfilling the other. One paramount agreement prevails however, that regionalism is crucial for socio-economic relevance in the modern world (Chigono and Nkana, 2008). Based against this background, it is important for the media to create communicative space for divergent ideas on

regionalism to thrive so as to enhance a better understanding about its merits and challenges (Mpundu, 2006).

The media can act as a mitigating factor against challenges that may derail the unification of East Africa (Okello and Kirungi, 2011). Such challenges include preference by some member states to put more interest in foreign partnerships as opposed to regional ones (Schiere et al., 2011) and this may be viewed as not supportive of the regional course. Other challenges include uneven distribution of benefits which Okello and Kirungi (2011) cite as one of the key factors that challenged the first EAC, multiple memberships to (other) regional organizations such as the African Union, IGAD and COMESA which may compromise concentration and loyalty to the EAC, poor economic and political governance and lack of grassroots support. These challenges are further compounded by occasional conflicts – as exemplified by the 2010 territorial dispute involving Kenya and Uganda over Migingo Island.

Odhiambo (2011) warns that there are a couple of issues that, if not handled with great expertise, may derail the EAC while it's still in its infancy. Of particular importance is the manner in which the benefits and costs are distributed and its implications to its long-term sustainability. This is further compounded by the manner in which the public perceive the benefits and costs for each EAC member state arising from real or perceived biases in the distribution. Odhiambo emphasizes the perception of skewed distribution of benefits to Kenya's favor as a prominent reason for the collapse of the first EAC. He further warns that such perceptions are rife

especially in Tanzania where the EAC is perceived to be more beneficial to Kenya. This situation demands a constant objective and persuasive forum for clarification of misconceptions. Cheng (1997), prescribes the media is an effective tool for clarification of misconceptions on public issues.

What has been written with regard to the significance of the media in enhancing a process such as the EAC can be summarized into five possibilities. First, the media can attract and direct attention to problems and solutions. It can direct attention to challenges facing the EAC and recommend realistic solutions on how to transcend them. Second, the media is powerful enough to confer status and confirm legitimacy (Guteritch et al., 1977). When EAC issues are regularly portrayed in the media, the public would more often than not regard them as genuinely important.

Third, The information that people are given in media accounts can both legitimise the actions of decision makers, and facilitate change at both the collective and personal levels (Harper and Phil, 2013). The EA media has the power to make the decisions made by East African governments towards integration seem credible and in the public's best interest.

Fourth, the media is capable of bringing individuals and institutions into being. It provides an avenue through which the public derives knowledge with regard to socio-economic and political implications of integration. And fifth, the media is expected to play the role of what Hodson and

Eng (2001) describe as the role of a good journalist; to give people the information that they need in order to understand the world around them. A good journalist does not opt to give information that only excites audiences.

2.4. Media and the EAC: Review of Empirical Studies

Studies on the EU have revealed that public attitudes are to some degree influenced by what they derive from the news regarding European matters. Media information therefore, determines public perceptions regarding not only policies but also expectations and aspirations of integration (Vreese and Boomgaarden, 2006). A few studies have been conducted on the EAC and the media. This section of the study provides a review of two of these studies for purposes of benchmarking. In November 2011, Trademark East Africa carried out a survey to test the awareness and perceptions of East Africans towards the EAC. The survey focused on two objectives. The first, to establish the extent to which the East African public and the East African institutions perceive the EAC and the extent to which they are aware of its operations.

The second objective was to carry out a comparative analysis of the levels of awareness in the five member states. The study yielded a number of critical findings. It revealed that 53% of Rwandese were (generally) aware of the EAC followed by Burundi (51%), then Tanzania (50%), Kenya (46%) and lastly Uganda (32%). The study established that there exists a significant lack of awareness about specifics of the EAC among East African citizens. For example, up to 60% of the respondents could not differentiate between the EAC Common Market and the EAC Customs

Union. 34% of the respondents were optimistic that the EAC would yield positive results while 30% were positive about the free movement of goods, movement of labour and market access. Some respondents however expressed concern that the free movement of persons may be a security threat as it would create a wider landscape for criminals to wreck havoc and a wider area of focus when police search for criminals. Some respondents thought that the Democratic Republic of Congo and Libya were member states of the EAC. The study also revealed phenomenal knowledge gaps and recommended increased media sensitization on the EAC.

Another study commissioned by the Society for International Development (SID) in early 2011, examined the dynamics of equity in Trade, Education and Media in the East African Integration. The media component of the study involved three methods: content analysis on how newspapers in the region have covered the EAC. The study employed interviews with journalists, editors and media managers to get their views on what informs coverage of the EAC and a survey of selected media organizations. The researchers gathered data from four out of the five East African countries and from ten media organizations.

The study established a number of important findings regarding the media and the EA integration. Key among them included: the fact that a number of newspapers (by the time of the study) did not give the EAC much coverage owing to the fact that they were more concerned with national issues and considered regional integration as a secondary area of concern, the fact that whenever journalists cover issues of conflict relating to the East African integration, they

resort to nationalistic, jingoistic and patriotic language – which is often loaded with biases and nationalistic overtones that may compromise perceptions of regional identity and the fact that editors as gatekeepers, more often than not shape coverage of EAC content in line with their personal thinking and not professional opinion

The study relied on articles located online owing to resource constraints. It focused on the media as a broad entity and not the print media specifically. It did not evaluate the framing and priming of EAC stories by the EA media neither did it evaluate language as a tool for regionalization. The study also had a limited scope of one year.

2.5. Theorizing the Role of the Media in the East African Integration

2.5.1. Theoretical Foundations for the Study

One important value of theory is that it provides research with the radiance for questions asked in a study (Burns, 2004). Theory enables us intellectualize a problem. When examining how newspapers inform and persuade audiences, for example, theory enhances our ability to evaluate what newspapers say (and what they don't say) and what newspapers should say.

This study is predicated on three media theories these being: the theory of agenda setting, framing and priming, the theory of gate keeping and the theory of reinforcement.

2.5.2. Agenda Setting, Agenda Framing and Agenda Priming

According to Scheufele (2007), emerging trends of research on framing, agenda setting, agenda building and priming has signaled a paradigm shift in political communication research. And, whereas the East African Integration is not entirely a political process, it is governed by political factors in the form of governments and political goodwill which are paramount to its success. Consequently, agenda setting, framing and priming are key approaches applicable to this study.

Back in 1922, Walter Lipmann in *Public Opinion*, argued that the people do not deal directly with their environments as much as they respond to ‘pictures in their heads’. This may be reminiscent of the EAC situation where at policy level, a number of administrative structures such as the East African Community Secretariat, the East African Customs Union and the East African Legislative Assembly are already functional yet existing surveys imply that the holistic idea of the EAC is somewhat remote in the minds of the East African Public.

Although he did not specifically use the term itself, Bernard Cohen is generally credited for refining Lipmann’s ideas into what is today the theory of agenda setting (Baran and Davis, 2006). Cohen viewed the Press to significantly more as a purveyor of information. The world looks different to people, depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers, editors and publishers of the papers they read (Cohen, 1963). The logic presented by this argument is that the East African media can determine how East Africans regard the EAC depending on how and what they convey about it.

As McCombs and Shaw (1972) contend that, 'in choosing and distributing news, editors, newsroom staff and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality'. This contention can be extended to (also) refer to economic and socio-cultural reality. Not only do the media bring knowledge of given issues to audiences, the media also give cue to people on how much significance to attach to the issues based on the importance the media attaches to such issues. The media is believed to draw the attention of the public to the immediate, critical and long term consequences of regionalism (Luhmann, 2000). But, these suppositions are based on the premise that the East African media have a consistent interest on the EAC. They also assume that disseminating information on regionalism that explains how regionalism works and the envisaged benefits would promote public awareness and public interest on the EAC (Garza, 2009).

The East African media also set a constructive integration agenda through providing factual information about the EAC - to demystify and de-emphasize the cryptic and abstract suppositions and notions that East Africans may hold about the EAC. This is achievable through the provision of accurate information on the pros and cons of integration. For example, the misconception that the EAC will guarantee instant economic success to all the citizens within a very short period of time (Okello and Kirungi, 2011) or the misconception that Kenya will be the only significant beneficiary of the integration owing to its superior economic status.

The media can shape East African opinion by setting and building public agenda (McCombs and Shaw, 1972) by drawing the attention of the public to crucial issues and problems (Dearing and Rodgers, 1995). Through consistent portrayal of EAC as important, the publicity would ultimately lead to agenda building which according to Lang and Lang (1983) is a process in which government, the media and the citizenry enjoy a special symbiotic relationship – that of reciprocally influencing one another.

Setting and building of the EA agenda is useful in enhancing public knowledge and opinion and is achievable through constructive priming and framing. According to Tankard (cited in Griffin 2000), framing is the process of organizing media content in a way that gives it context and implicature and emphasizes the central (most significant) idea. Framing, as a message packaging and message presenting technique, traces its origins to studies in psychology and sociology (Pan & Kosicki, 1993) but, over the years, has become useful in explaining the concept of media effects. According to Shoemaker & Reese (1996), framing refers to ‘modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience’. Information regarding a given object is not just conveyed but is first designed in a way that guarantees maximum impact on the target group. Put differently, facts alone have no meaning of their own. When information is placed in some context and certain parts are given emphasis and implicatures through frames, relevance is enhanced (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Framing is believed to be effective as a strategy of conveying information to a mass audience. Average East Africans, like all other humans, are perceived to be ‘cognitive misers’ who prefer as little thinking as possible (Fiske and Taylor,

1991). Consequently, framing filters information in such a way that makes it easier and quicker for them to process the key issues in messages on the EAC.

Framing, it must be noted, is not synonymous with spin doctoring. It does not involve the journalistic manipulation of a story or deception of audiences (Gans, 1979). Exaggerating the economic potentialities of the EAC, for example, is not framing but presenting possibilities of economic prospects through an encouraging rather than a skeptical tone is. Framing involves selecting some aspects of a theme under scrutiny within a news story and enhancing their salience in a way that promotes a particular definition, interpretation, evaluation and recommendations. According to (Scheufele, 1999), 'the emphasis on selection and salience of particular aspects of an issue rather than to the issue itself is what differentiates framing research from agenda setting and gate-keeping approaches. Whereas agenda setting and gate keeping approaches place emphasis on the message and the medium, framing places emphasis on the treatment of the message'.

News frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, graphic and visual images influenced in a news narrative. Diction and editorial additives such as pictorial and visual-graphic images on EAC data may paint a favorable frame. Through placement, aesthetics and repetition, the media increase the salience of certain ideas while decreasing those of others (Etman, 1993). Furthermore, frames can be located in several areas within a story. For a newspaper, these may include the headline, the language, the intro or

even the typography. Frames may be used to emphasize particular depictions of the EAC either favorably or unfavorably. For example through the highlighting of the philosophy of Anderson (1983) that a nation is always imagined as limited and even those with large populations have fragile and elastic boundaries. Such an idea can be framed to augment the idea that the amalgamation of nations through viable and stable social, economic and political partnerships makes nations have less fragile and less elastic boundaries.

Framing is closely related to priming. Studies relating to Priming can be traced back to Weaver, McCombs and Spellman (1975) which focused on how certain issues were made more salient and of more concern during the reporting of the Watergate Scandal under President Nixon. Priming refers to the technique of enhancing significance and promoting visibility and prominence of a particular news item. Reisner (1992) identifies the techniques of priming a story as: placement, diction, headline formulation, image selection and even typographical emphasis. In this regard, the EAC would be primed as significant if it was constantly selected for coverage and primed by being given emphasis through publication in the prime pages of the newspaper and elaborated through more elaborate and more interpretative reporting.

Priming also involves attaching critical importance to this issue through constant emphasis (McCombs, 1970). Placing EAC news in prominent pages makes them more visible and more likely to be read. Other techniques for priming may include drafting more punchy and attention arousing headlines and intros to EAC stories, providing more space for EA stories to enable more elaborate and more comprehensive interpretation of issues and selecting more sophisticated visual-graphic demonstration to enhance audience appreciation (Obonyo et al., 2013).

The theory of agenda setting, priming and framing was particularly selected for this study since its tenets adequately respond to the objectives two, three and five of the study. To address objectives one and four of the study, the theory of gate keeping was selected. To underscore the understanding that the media is just one of the many factors that promote regionalism, the theory of reinforcement was applied to demonstrate the interdependency between the media and other sources of information and also between the print media and other media outlets.

2.5.3. Gate Keeping Theory

It is not possible to examine the reasons why newspapers prime and frame the EAC they way they have without making reference to the Gate keeping theory which has a close relation with Agenda Setting. Gate keeping traces its origins to Kurt Lewin's experiments that he conducted in Iowa with the aim of enticing women to eat more beef during the Second World War (Rodgers, 1994). This gate keeping model, developed in 1947 was more of a psychological experiment and had less than a sentence that relates to mass communication (Roberts, 2005). However, the more recent models of gate keeping have evolved to become popular with mass communication scholars especially those who study the processes of news selection. Gate keeping highlights the forces that influence critical decisions as to what actual messages are selected for news and which ones are spiked. Gate keeping explains the notion that the process of news production is determined by multiple decision makers (gatekeepers) who control various functions. The gatekeepers include: The news sources, the reporters, the editors (who add value, correct and

perform quality controls), and the managers of the media enterprise and even entrepreneurs (who safeguard their commercial and strategic interests). McNelly (1959) focused more on reporters than editors, advertisers, media owners, government or any other gatekeeper. The logic of laying emphasis on reporters is based on the premise that reporters are the work horse of any media enterprise, whether print or electronic. This is further augmented by the argument fronted by Chiball (1977) that:

Reporters don't go out to pick news stories like if they were fallen apples. They create news stories by selecting fragments of information from the mass raw data and organize them in a conventional journalistic format. The journalist-source nexus is the most important arena of gate keeping. By the time the info gets to the editor, the most important gate keeping decisions have already been made.

Gate keeping provides a credible framework upon which to assess the coverage of various issues by the media. Those who provide journalists with information regarding the EAC, be they political scientists or economists, scholars on regional diplomats or employees of the EAC, decide what information to give journalists and what information to keep under wraps. More often than not, news sources tend to provide information that will favor their position or interests. And, depending on a reporter's analytical ability – reliance on such a source may culminate in a report that is not inaccurate. This can explain the misconceptions regarding the EAC that at times find their way to prominent newspaper pages.

The gatekeeper decides which information will go forward, and which will not. In other words a gatekeeper in a social system decides which of a certain commodity – materials, goods, and information – may enter the system. Gatekeepers are able to control and shape the public's

knowledge of the actual events by letting some stories pass through the system but keeping others out (Baas, 1969). Gate keeping demonstrates that the news we read in our newspapers regarding the EAC is in the final analysis someone's view of what is important and what will attract the attention of audiences. In some instances, editors may regard news involving the EAC as not newsworthy regardless of how informative or educative it is.

Gate keeping also demonstrates that where we rely on media information, we must be aware that there is always manipulation and management of information going on (Asa and Berger, 1995). In any news making enterprise, there is always culling and crafting, twisting and reorganizing of countless bits of information into the limited space available in a newspaper (Shoemaker and Vos, 2009). When we examine the coverage that a newspaper accords the EAC, we must also examine the attitude, perceptions, knowledge and even interests of the gatekeepers to clearly understand what agendas are set by a particular media and why.

Gate keeping, like other ideas of communication research, has contributed to the development of other communication theories. Lasorsa (2002) identifies a number of these. Key among them – which have a linkage to this study are the: Semantics and use of language and Framing. According to Bass (1969) gate keeping is intended to shape news into a 'complete product' for consumers. This function partly involves selection of words. The selection of which words used to describe and assess the merits and challenges of the EAC is crucial in the overall appreciation

of what the EAC is all about. It is for this reason that this study engages the use of discourse analysis as one of the methods for data analysis.

Framing – as earlier noted – involves the way, the format and the style in which a story is presented by the media. Framing is, for this reason, a gate keeping process. A journalist selects his own way of presenting a story regarding the EAC. An editor may alter it during sub-editing to give it another format of presentation which has a consequence on several factors including whether the story attracts readers' attention or not, whether the story is well appreciated or not or even whether the story is understood or not.

2.5.4. Reinforcement Theory

In spite of all the potential advantages envisaged under an integrated East Africa, the media can only play a modest role (Nyabuga, 2011). Despite the power of the media, there is a prevailing consensus among media scholars that the media can only play a limited, though vital role (Klapper, 1960) to processes such as this one. This school of thought arises from the fact that there are a myriad of issues that cannot be circumvented by the media alone within the EAC set up. There may be other factors that and may be more instrumental in determining the success or failure of the EAC than the media. These include: varied cultural backgrounds (there are almost 160 different cultures in East Africa - which may challenge the process of a successful social integration), different laws and policies among member states may hinder a speedy political

integration and disparities in national economic achievements which may resurrect the perception of uneven distribution of costs and benefits (Okello and Kinungi, 2011).

This study recognizes the position of Klapper (1960) that the media is only a contributory factor to public awareness with regard to the EAC. The media is merely a reinforcement agent (Baran, 2004; Dominick, 2009). This can be further broken down to the fact that the print media is also just a contributory to several other media outlets that report on the EAC. Besides, the dynamics of literacy and accessibility challenge the capacity of the media to set agenda to a very large mass audience in a typical African setting such as East Africa. Be that as it may, newspapers are appreciated to be the first step in the two step flow concept (Obonyo et al., 2013). Among those who read newspapers are some opinion leaders who are looked up upon for guidance by society (Folarin, 1998) and who through interactions with their opinion followers ensure that information trickles to even those who do not read newspapers. According to DeFluer (2010), opinion leaders may also have other opinion leaders. But, in such a process, they would be useful in enhancing public debate on the EAC.

2.6. The Conceptual Framework

This study is predicated on three variables. The EAC Secretariat, the media and the EA public. The Print Media is the independent variable. Through various strategic interventions which include: educating the EA public, informing them on developments and projects of the EAC, promoting public debate and discourse with regard to the EAC, highlighting EAC achievements

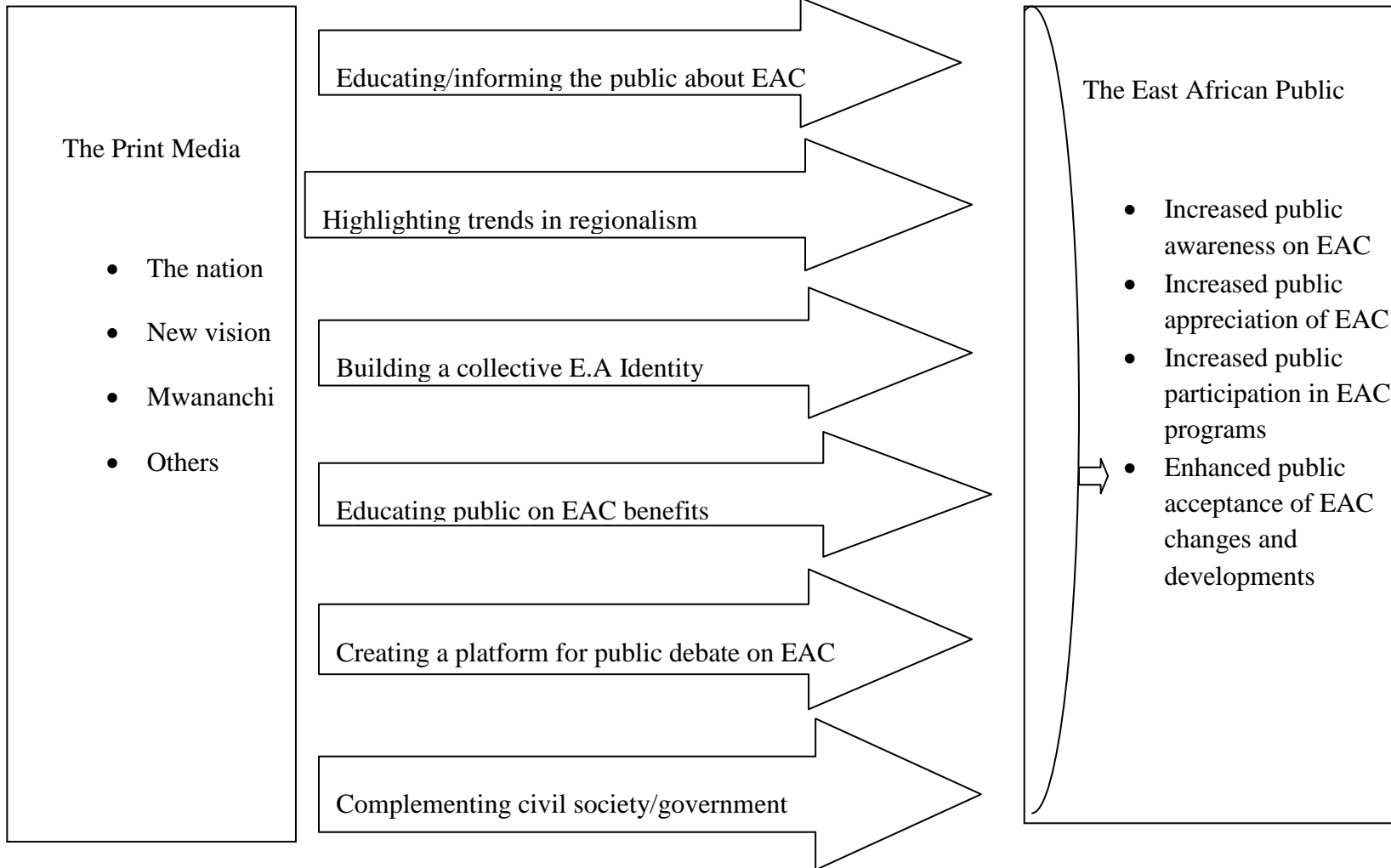
and promoting EA visibility, public understanding, public appreciation and public participation is enhanced. The public is therefore the dependent variable. Dependent on media agenda setting, media gate keeping and media reinforcement to understand and appreciate the EAC.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Independent variable

Interventions

Dependent variable



2.7. Empirical Model

From the reviewed literature, it is apparent that the media in general and the print media in particular have a responsibility to inform the public on every societal transformation. It is also apparent that the East African integration will compel a multifaceted societal change that needs to be understood and appreciated. The print media in its role of informing society must provide societal direction and preparedness for the leap from individual nationalities to ‘an East African Nation’. But, to achieve such understanding and appreciation, ten fundamental conditions must prevail. These are:

- 1) The willingness of the East African Governments and the East African Community Secretariat to share their key decisions and strategic plans with the public.
- 2) The continuous engagement of the East African Secretariat of the print media in advertising, publicizing and popularizing the EAC.
- 3) The continuous engagement of the media by the EAC Secretariat, the EAC agencies and the EA governments in coverage of their events and plans.
- 4) The ability of the EAC Secretariat, EA governments and EAC agencies to create news that attracts the attention and interest of the print media.
- 5) The continuous interest of EA newspapers in EA issues as opposed to individual national news.

- 6) The engagement of journalists, reporters and sub editors that understand EA dynamics and therefore capable of providing meaningful interpretations and analyses of EA matters to the EA public.
- 7) The Absence of editorial biases that may deliberately skew the depiction of the EAC either as positive or negative without due professional reason leading to misinformation, misunderstanding and unrealistic expectations.
- 8) A systematic growth of interest on EA issues that compels regular reference to newspapers as a source of information on the EAC by newspaper readers.
- 9) A deliberate prioritization of EA news that is regularly primed so as to promote not only its visibility but underscore its significance as a process.
- 10) An objective attitude by reporters, editors and sub editors on EA issues so as to frame EA matters on the basis of journalistic professionalism and not individual opinion or political correctness.

2.8. Conclusion

The literature reviewed present five prominent revelations. First, there is over-emphasis of the socio-economic and political dynamics of regional integration without much recognition of the factors – such as the media - that would create an ideal environment on which regionalism may

thrive. Secondly, the bulk of the literature refers to the media in general terms without specific reference to the print media or other forms of media. It must be appreciated that different media outlets influence audiences differently. Third, the East African integration does not have as much literature compared to other regional blocs in Africa, most notably the South African Development Cooperation and the Economic Community of West African States. This may necessitate a knowledge gap situation. Fourth, the literature on regionalism over glorifies the benefits of regionalism without making sufficient objective analysis to the challenges and demerits (if any) on regionalism. Fifth, the literature reflects a number of assumptions. Key among them is the belief that there will always be media interest in matters pertaining to regionalism. The literature also fails to address the dynamics of policy with regard to commercial media such as the *Nation* and *Mwananchi* and public media such as *New Vision*.

This study endeavored to contribute to the limited body of literature that so far exists on East African integration and the print media. It also sought to empirically establish the extent to which regionalism arouses and sustains media interest.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0. Introduction:

This chapter presents the research techniques used to gather, present and analyze the data. Specifically, it explains the research design, the sampling methods, the sample, the research instruments and the procedures used to present and analyze data.

3.1. The Research Design

A study may adopt different approaches. Three options are possible, these being quantitative, qualitative or the mixed method which is an amalgam of both the qualitative and the quantitative techniques (Bryman 2008). The design that this study adopted was influenced by three factors explained by Crotty (2003). These were: the area or areas of study, the type of data used in the study and the method(s) used in the analysis of the findings. Owing to the fact that this study gathered both qualitative and quantitative data, it employed the mixed method. This study used the mixed method for the reasons prescribed by Sife et al. (2010) that the mixed approach enables the researcher to expand the set or type of data used in a study. In this study, qualitative and quantitative data were converged so as to give effective response to all research questions. Creswell and Clark (2007) also argue that combination of the quantitative and the qualitative approaches provides a better understanding of the research problem.

The study employed a comparative content analysis of three mainstream newspapers; the *Nation* of Kenya, *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania and also key informant interviews with editors, reporters and officers at the Communications Department of the East African Community Secretariat. Content analysis was used to respond to the second and third research questions that sought to establish what issues regarding the EAC had been covered by the three newspapers and how these issues were primed and framed. Key Informant Interviews were used to establish the factors that determine editorial choices regarding this subject and also to determine the extent of engagement of the print media by the East African Community Secretariat. Discourse analysis was used to determine how language has been used to frame the EAC.

3.2. The Study Population

The population for this study included articles published by the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi*. It also included editors and reporters of the three newspapers and communication officers at the East African Community Secretariat. Two editors and two reporters were selected from each of the three newspapers. In addition three communication officers were selected from the EAC Secretariat. The three newspapers were selected on the basis that each one of them enjoys the highest circulation and readership in their respective countries. The *Nation* has an approximated circulation of 200,000 copies which often extends to 230,000 for Sunday Editions (Ipsos Synovate, 2012). The *New Vision* has a circulation of 35,000 (Alowo 2011) and *Mwananchi* has a circulation of 60,000 (Tanzania Media Sustainable Index Survey, 2012).

According to Oates (2008), identification for the relevant content for analysis is determined primarily by availability. But, for this study, availability was just one of the reasons for selecting the three papers. Their reach effectiveness was another critical factor. Papers published between January 2010 and December 2012 were sampled for analysis. The unit of analysis was every article on the East African integration regardless of the genre. Hard news and soft news articles were both analyzed. Specifically, editorials, features, commentaries, letters to the editor, daily news reports, news analyses, news roundups, questions and answers, press statements, press releases, supplements, advertorials and adverts were analyzed. The entire exercise took an estimated period of 12 weeks (four weeks for every newspaper).

3.3. Sample Size and Sampling Techniques

The three newspapers were purposively sampled out of the other mainstream newspapers in their respective countries for the aforementioned reasons. All issues of the three papers published between January 1, 2010 and December 31, 2012 were selected for this study. The selection of this period (January 2010 – December 2012) was deliberate since this period represented a time when significant socio-economic and political activities that potentially promoted or threatened the EAC transpired. Key among these events include: the signing of the EAC Common Market Protocol in 2010, the on-going efforts towards the integration of all EAC currencies by the end of 2015, the diplomatic resolution over the ownership of Migingo island between Kenya and Uganda in 2011, the taking over of Dr. Richard Siziebera as the new Secretary of the EAC from Ambassador Juma Mwapachu and the application of South Sudan for membership of the EAC.

The newspapers selected from this period represented a total population of 1095 for each paper and a collective universe of 3285. For each publication, 15% of the papers published between this period were sampled. This represented a sample size of 164 newspapers for every publication and a total sample size of 492. The sample size was commensurate with the recommendation that a sample size of between 10 – 15 percent of the population is appropriate (Kerlinger, 1979; Babbie, 1992).

Systematic sampling technique was used to obtain the sample of 164 issues for every publication. The sampling interval was obtained by dividing the population by the sample size. $(1095 \text{ divide by } 164) = 6.6$ – rounded off to the nearest whole number gives a figure of 7. January 1st of 2010 was selected as the day for the first element. Subsequent days / weeks were selected by adding the sampling interval of seven to the immediate previous selected day. A total of the selected days between January 2010 and December 2012 are presented in table I.

Table I: Sampled days between January 2010 and December 2012

MONTH /YEAR	2010	2011	2012	TOTAL
January	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	15
February	5, 12, 19, 26	5, 12, 19, 26	5, 12, 19, 26	12
March	5, 12, 19, 26	5, 12, 19, 26	4, 11, 18, 25	12

April	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	15
May	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	6, 13, 20, 27	14
June	5, 12, 19, 26	5, 12, 19, 26	3, 10, 17, 24,	12
July	3, 10, 17, 24, 31	3, 10, 17, 24, 31	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	15
August	7, 14, 21, 28	7, 14, 21, 28	5, 12, 19, 26	12
September	4, 11, 18, 25,	4, 11, 18, 25,	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	13
October	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	1, 8, 15, 22, 29	15
November	6, 13, 20, 27	6, 13, 20, 27	5, 12, 19, 26	12
December	4, 11, 18, 25	4, 11, 18, 25	3, 10, 17, 24, 31	13
TOTAL	53	53	54	160

This framework netted 160 sampled newspapers (for each) for the three years.

3.4. Research Instruments

The study made used detailed interviewing schedules to for Key informant interviews with editors, reporters and communication officers at the East Africa Community Secretariat (See Appendixes II and III). Detailed code sheets were used for coding of variables for both Content and Discourse Analysis (See Appendixes I and IV).

3.5. Testing the Validity and Reliability of Research Instruments

The validity of the research instruments used in this study was based on the philosophy of Kumar (1996) that they had to be able to measure exactly what they had been designed to measure (Kumar, 1996). After the preparation of the two interview schedules, they were circulated to independent reviewers (all of who are seasoned researchers) for critical evaluation. Their suggestions with regard to appropriate changes were studied and incorporated in the guides before dissemination. The guides were then circulated to pilot respondents. The responses were reviewed on the basis of how long each interview lasted, the ease with which they understood and appreciated the questions and the type of responses they provided.

It was noted that the pilot respondents provided answers in a particular expected way under the same interviewing circumstances. Based on the logic provided by Kumar (1996) that the degree of consistency and stability of a research instrument is determined by its ability to derive similar results when used repeatedly under different environments, this experience indicated reliability of the interviewing schedules. Both the content analysis and discourse analysis code sheets were also distributed to selected research assistants and a mock data gathering session was held to ensure their reliability and ease of use.

3.6. Data Collection Methods

Primary data was obtained by way of key informant interviews that were undertaken as guided by the interviewing guides for each category of key informants. Three communication officers at

the EAC Secretariat were interviewed. Two editors and two journalists from each of the three papers were also interviewed (See Appendixes II and III). The communication officers were purposively chosen since they perform the day to day planning and execution of media programs at the EAC. The editors and journalists were also purposively selected since they are influential gate keepers. All journalists selected were those who reported on regional news.

According to Kombo (2006), Key informant interviews are oral unstructured questions on the themes of the study conducted on respondents believed to be able to provide competent responses that are then recorded on spot. Two interviewing schedules; one for reporters and editors and one for communication officers at the EAC Secretariat were used. The researcher interviewed editors and reporters of each of the selected papers. Each of the reporters selected were those who regularly reported on regional issues. These selections were made purposively being that editors and reporters are key gate keepers. The focus of their interviews was on attitudes, editorial preferences and management of issues on the EAC. Three communication officers at the East African Community Secretariat were also interviewed to establish the extent to which the EAC Secretariat engages the print media.

For collection of secondary data, the study relied on scholarly publications and official documents such as the EAC Charter, the EAC Development Strategy Paper (1997 – 2000), the EAC Development Strategy Paper (2001 – 2005) and actual copies of the *Nation* (January 2010 – December 2012), *New Vision* (January 2010 – December 2012) and *Mwananchi* (January 2010

– December 2012). The newspapers were accessed from the archives and libraries of each newspaper. A total of seven research assistants were recruited and trained in data collection techniques. One assistant was assigned the task of interviewing communication officers at the EAC Secretariat, three charged with the responsibility of interviewing the editors are journalists of each of newspapers under study while three were tasked with the gathering of the content of the three publications.

3.6.1 Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis

Berelson (1954) defines content analysis as: ‘a research technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest contents of communication’. Mcnamara (2006) has expressed concern on this method arguing that media texts are open to varied interpretations and the identification of particular variables to be measured involves subjective tendencies. But, since the interpretation was based on journalistic publications and based on answering the research questions, this method is believed to have produced accurate results for this study.

Content analysis follows six stages:

- (i) identification of population of documents or other textual sources for study;
- (ii) determination of the units of analysis;
- (iii) selection of sample from population;
- (iv) designing coding procedures for the variable to be measured;
- (v) testing and refining the coding procedures; and
- (vi) base statistical analysis on counting occurrences of particular words, themes, or phrases, and testing relations between variables (Neuendorf, 2002; Weber, 1995)

To conduct the content analysis, the researcher developed a code sheet (see appendix I) for the capturing the following variables recommended by Obonyo et al. (2013) as key parameters for analyzing newspaper content.

- Amount of space accorded to EAC articles
- Frequency of articles bearing EAC as a subject
- Placement of EAC stories
- Sources of EAC stories
- Issues / Subject addressed by EAC stories
- Editorial supplements used in EAC stories
- Key characters in EAC stories
- Journalistic purpose of each EAC story
- The genres used for EAC stories

These variables were useful in establishing the level of priming and the actual agendas that have been set by the newspapers under review. Content analysis was complemented by an interrogation of the texts in the evaluated stories. This proved important in attempting to reveal how language was used in producing and sustaining a regional identity and even regional consciousness (Ngugi, 2005). This technique, known as discourse analysis is encouraged in recent times, as an alternative to content analysis which has dominated media studies for decades but which (Van Dijk, 1991) argues is less effective.

In this study, discourse analysis was not applied as an alternative but as a compliment of content analysis. Discourse analysis was used in this study to analyze written texts and establish how stories used language to construct an East African regional identity and to frame the EAC. Being that news constructed in a given language, journalists and editors use language to construct special meanings of the issues they report. As Fowler (1991) cited in Ngugi (2005) puts it:

News is not a natural phenomenon emerging straight from reality, but a product. It is produced by an industry, shaped by the bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations between the media and other industries and most importantly, by relations with government and with other political organizations. From a broader

perspective, it reflects and in return shapes the prevailing values of a society in a particular historical context.

From Fowler contention it can be assumed that it is from this product and construction that readers (of East African newspapers) will form their knowledge and beliefs regarding the EAC. And, language is crucial in determining what such beliefs tend to be. Five variables were selected and incorporated in the code sheet for this procedure, these being:

- Diction of headlines
- Style of headlines
- Style of intros
- Diction of story text
- Figures of speech

This enabled identification on the ways EAC issues have been framed by the selected newspapers. From the headlines, the subject to be addressed by an article and the weight it is considered to hold was evaluated. An evaluation of the nexus between the headline and the content was also be analyzed. The style of intros and story diction was also evaluated. This specifically involved their choice of words and phraseology with regard to the EAC. From their diction, it was possible to detect their perceptions, implicit evaluations and attitudes regarding the EAC. This was particularly crucial for the reason that the public's view is more often than not shaped by how a given subject is symbolized by the media (Ngugi, 2005). The way the EAC is depicted by the media can affect public response towards it and potentially transform even the nature of the EAC itself (Wang, 1994).

The study also analyzed editorial supplements which for purposes of this study refer to photographs, maps, charts and graphs, cartoons, bold text, strap lines, stand firsts, kickers and fillers that are often used for emphasis in various columns. Editors usually select what is perceived to be key quotations and ‘powerful’ phrases within a story and place them at strategic points within the body an article (Ouma, 1996). They normally comprise of catchy-punchy and provocative phrases – written in bold, larger typefaces and unique type sizes – intended to reinforce the key issues. This style has the capacity to condition the way a report is perceived and received by audiences. For each of the editorial supplements used, the analysis specifically examined grammatical correctness, literary allusion and figurative devises, lexical implications and the tone of the articles.

3.7. Data Organization, Data Presentation and Data Analysis Techniques

In total, three sets of data were collected. The first involved information from responses of communication officers at the EAC Secretariat. The second set involved data from the stories published in the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012. The third set was from responses of editors and journalists of the three newspapers .Once all responses were obtained, they were scrutinized for errors and appropriate corrections made. Coding of variables for the data was then undertaken. The hard copies of the data were filed according to category then each category was stored in soft copy. The data was then organized using the method recommended by Kombo (2006) of deriving useful information from the raw data, changing information to fact, then fact to knowledge and finally expressing this knowledge using understandable narratives.

The data was presented using the sequential mixed method where each set of datum was presented on its own. Data from the EAC Secretariat was presented first in the form of responsive narratives. This was followed by data from content analysis presented using histograms, then data from the three newspapers, also presented using narratives and finally data from discourse analysis presented using histograms, tables and responsive narratives.

The primary data collected for this study was overwhelmingly qualitative and was analyzed using summary analyses. The focal issues provided in each response were recorded then appropriate comparisons and contrasts evaluated and implications to the subject of study established. The secondary data was analyzed using principle parameters outlined in appendix I and appendix IV; these being; amount of space accorded to EAC articles, frequency of articles bearing EAC as a subject, placement of EAC stories, amount of space accorded to EAC articles, issues / Subject addressed by EAC stories, editorial supplements used in EAC stories, key characters in EAC stories, journalistic purpose of each EAC story, the sources used for EAC stories, diction of headlines, style of headlines, style of intros, diction of story text and figures of speech. For each variable, both the qualitative and quantitative aspects were evaluated. The two sets of data were then used to develop narrative discussions that answer each research question.

3.8. Conclusion

Chapter three presented the research design of the study. It further elaborated on the sampling techniques, sample size and the study population. It also gave justifications for the methodological decisions for the study. It concluded by providing how the data was organized and presented. The next chapter (Chapter Four) provides a comprehensive presentation and analysis of the findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.0. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study on what role East Africa's three largest Newspapers: the *Nation* of Kenya, the *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania have played in the East African Integration. The chapter first reviews the research objectives for this study. It then provides a systematic classification of the respondents and the kind of data generated from them; the contents of the instruments used in data gathering and the methods used in data presentation.

This is followed by the findings which are grouped into five categories: 1) findings on the use of the print media by the East African Community Secretariat during the period January 2010 – December 2012; 2) findings on what issues regarding the EAC were addressed by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012 ; 3) findings on the factors that determined the coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012; 4) findings on how the EAC was primed and framed by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012; 5) findings on the similarities and differences of EAC coverage by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012. For purposes of the flow of the narrative, the findings are not necessarily presented in this particular order.

It must be emphasized that this section merely presents the findings. A discussion of the findings in which they are corroborated with findings and ideas from other scholars, the literature and the theories used in this study has been reserved for the next chapter.

4.1. Review of Research Objectives, Questions, Respondents and Data

4.1.1 Review of Research Objectives and Research Questions

The broad objective for this study was to establish what role East Africa's three largest newspapers have played in the East African Integration. The three newspapers selected for the study were: the *Nation* of Kenya, the *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania. Five specific objectives were formulated to guide the study. These included the establishment of the extent to which the East African Community Secretariat has made use of the print media to inform the East African public about the EAC, the determination of what issues regarding the EAC have been addressed by the three newspapers during the period (January 2010 – January 2012), the evaluation of the priming and framing of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period (January 2010 – January 2012), the establishment of the factors that determine coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period (January 2010 – January 2012) and the comparison and contrast of the coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period of January 2008 – January 2011.

The study was based on five research questions, these being: 1) to what extent did the East African Community Secretariat make use of the print media to inform the East African public

about the EAC during the period January 2010 – January 2012? 2) What issues regarding the EAC were addressed by the print media in East Africa during the period (January 2010 – January 2012)? 3) How did the print media in East Africa prime and frame the EAC during the period (January 2010 – January 2012)? 4) What factors determined how the print media in East Africa covered the EAC during the period January 2010 – January 2012? 5) What are the similarities and differences of the coverage of the EAC by the *Nation* of Kenya, the *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania during the period (January 2010 – January 2012)?

4.1.2. Response Rate and Response Categorization

15 respondents were purposively selected for this study. From each newspaper two editors and two journalists were selected. Three communication officers from the East African Community Secretariat were also selected. The respondents were classified on the basis of the kind of data that was derived from them as presented in table two below:

Table II: Response Rate and Response Categorization

Category	Respondents	Types of Data	Data Collection Methods	Research Instruments
A	2 Editors and 2 Reporters from the <i>Nation</i> newspaper of Kenya	Individual opinions on contents of instrument	4 individual interviews	Interview Schedule
B	2 Editors and 2 Reporters from the <i>New Vision</i> newspaper of Kenya	Individual opinions on contents of	4 individual interviews	Interview

		instrument		Schedule
C	2 Editors and 2 Reporters from the <i>Mwanainchi</i> newspaper of Tanzania	Individual opinions on contents of instrument	4 individual interviews	Interview Schedule
D	3 communication officers at the East African Community Secretariat	Individual opinions on contents of instrument	4 individual interviews	Interview Schedule

Source: Researcher 2014

Table III: Summary of Issues Analyzed from the Three Newspapers

Category	Variable	Description	Analytical Value
A	Published Stories vis a vis frequency of EAC Coverage	Determining how many stories were published by each newspaper between January 2010 – December 2012 and establishing how many them were on EAC	Determining the Frequency and amount of coverage for EAC during this period and determining Priming
B	Space occupied by EAC Stories	Determining the amount of space allocated to EAC stories during the period January 2010 – December 2012	Establishing the Prominence Allocated to the EAC during this period and also the Priming of the EAC stories.
C	Placement of EAC Stories	Determining whether EAC stories are placed on prime pages or non-prime pages	Establishing the priming of EAC stories
D	Sources / Genres of EAC Stories	Determining the credibility of information sources	Establishing framing and how factual / valid information on EAC is.

E	Editorial Additives Used in EAC stories	Determining whether story has pictures or visual graphic tools	Establishing the framing, priming and reader attention arousal of the EAC stories
F	Subjects Addressed in EAC Stories	Determining what issues the story addressing	Establishing the extent to which making EAC more understandable is addressed
G	Principle Characters Used in EAC stories	Determining whether the characters are prominent personalities or not	Establishing the prominence of key characters so as to tell the weight and how prime a story is
H	Journalistic Purpose of the Each EAC story	Determining whether the story educates, informs, entertains	Establishing how the story contributes specifically to the enhancement of the EAC agenda
I	Story Headlines and Intros	Determining how headlines are phrased and structured.	Establishing framing and priming of EAC
J	Story Diction	Determining use of language and style in EAC stories	Establishing framing of EAC

Source: Researcher 2014

4.2. The Study Findings:

4.2.1. Findings on the Extent of Print Media Engagement by the EAC Secretariat

As mentioned earlier, the East African Community Establishment Treaty of 1999, recognized that one of the key factors that would be utilized to enable the EAC fulfill its objectives was the media. According to Alot (2008) it is the intention of the EAC to use the media to promote awareness and visibility, encourage discourses among EAC stakeholders and demonstrate Community's achievements and competitiveness. In this study, Key Informant Interviews

undertaken with communication officers at the EAC Secretariat revealed a somewhat appreciable engagement of the media in general and also the print media specifically. The questions and (summarized) responses below capture the findings on how the Secretariat engaged the media during the period January 2010 – December 2012:

Q1: What do you perceive to be the role of the media in the East African Integration?

The three responses obtained to this question were:

“We use the media to create public awareness about the EAC and its objectives, but most specifically the EAC integration agenda and how it benefits the East Africans. We ensure that we tell the public what positive transformations await them should the EAC become a success. We also try to give them details of our programs so that we implement them on a platform of public awareness.”

“We engage the media in our efforts to increase popular participation and deeper sensitization of East Africans in the EAC. There are some sensitization efforts that we undertake using other forums. But, those that target the public in general, we always involve the media. We intend to involve the public in our agenda and therefore it is prudent to constantly use the media as an agent of feedback from the public.”

“We use the media as a forum to open up dialogue on diverse issue concerning the community at all levels. We particularly use the media to engage professionals and other stakeholders. We believe that through such discourses, we enrich our agenda by collecting ideas from the larger EAC public and also from those who have credible and strategic information which can shape decision regarding implementation of our programs and even or areas of priority. We also use the media to disseminate different types of messages.”

These responses reveal that at administrative level of the EAC Secretariat, they actually made an effort to use the media as envisaged in the EAC Communications Policy. The responses do not mention whether the EAC has conducted an empirical study to establish whether media coverage of the EAC has actually fulfilled the purposes for which they were intended. The Secretariat however strongly regards the media as a crucial tool for enhancing their agenda.

Table III below, reveals the various messages used by the EAC Secretariat in informing the public about the Community’s agenda.

Table IV: Types of Messages Disseminated to the Public by the EAC Secretariat

Type of Media Message	Frequency of Dissemination	
	Regularly	Not Regularly
Talk Shows	✓	X
Interviews	✓	X
Press Conferences	✓	X
News Events	✓	X
Feature Articles	✓	
Advertorials	X	✓
Advertisements	X	✓
Supplements	X	✓
Press Statements	X	✓
Press Releases	X	✓
Response Articles	X	✓

Source: Research Data 2014

The details in Table IV reveal that the EAC secretariat under-utilized the print media during this period. Only news events and feature articles were reported to have been covered regularly.

Other types of messages that are equally important in providing EAC details such as press statements, press releases, response articles, supplements were not published regularly. This actually compromises the intention of the EAC to explain their agenda to the public since such articles are unmatched in providing the space and the framing required for elaboration of details.

Q: Are there any challenges you face as a secretariat in engaging the media to enhance the EAC agenda?

The three respondents responded as follows:

“We have to deal with limited financial resources. This has proved a major challenge to engage the media at large in all partner states. Several types of coverage that we envisage require money that sometimes we don’t have. We therefore have to make do with what we have.”

“Many radio and television stations only accord us limited air time. Similarly, newspapers don’t provide us with adequate space.”

“We have noted that the media generally lacks interest in EAC news. We also believe that many reporters lack adequate knowledge with regard to the EAC and therefore are limited in their capacity to indulge deep in setting our agenda.”

The above responses demonstrate several factors that limit a proper and consistent media engagement. Lack of finances limit the amount of space that the EAC secretariat could buy for publishing of press statements, press releases, advertorials and supplements. The constant allocation of limited space to the EAC raises the concern that the media does not perceive the EAC as a prime subject despite its enormous socio-political and economic implications. The Secretariat also believed that the media lacked capacity to interpret EAC issues – thereby betraying their lack of confidence in the East African media to enhance the EAC agenda.

Q: How frequently do you engage the media in EAC activities?

The three responses were:

“We engage them all the time. We ensure that we invite them to our events and official functions.”

“As EAC, whenever we have policy meetings, conferences and even workshops and seminars we always engage both electronic and print media including print media to disseminate information.”

“It is our policy that all our activities receive media coverage.”

The responses to this question demonstrate that the EAC secretariat, to a large extent, depends on inviting the media to their events to promote coverage. They do not have a proactive engagement plan where media involvement is not pegged on events and public functions but where consistent information flow that address various subjects are put in the public sphere on a daily or regular basis.

Q: Do you have a particular preference when it comes to which medium you use to convey information on the EAC to the public?

The three answers given were:

“No we don’t. We invite all media to our functions.”

“Not really, it depends on the function.”

“We regard all media as important.”

These answers reinforce one important perspective: That the print media is regarded to be as crucial as all others by the EAC secretariat and that it has not been relegated to the periphery

when it comes to engaging the media to enhance the EAC agenda. Another factor that comes out clearly in these responses (once again) is the implied over-reliance of the EAC Secretariat on events as a source of EAC news.

Q: Which media do you perceive to be the most effective in disseminating EAC information to the Public?

The three responses were:

“It depends on what is being reported. Some activities need a selection of a particular medium. For example, whenever we have a press conference we think it can be conveyed better through television or radio but we usually invite even the print media.”

“I think they are all effective in their own way. They complement one another.”

“ That is determined by the type of information and the type audience we are targeting, for press statements for example, we rely more on print media but for press conferences we rely more on television and radio.”

Once again, the belief that all media outlets including the print media are important for the purpose of enhancing the EAC agenda is reaffirmed by these responses. Also, the communications office at the EAC (rightfully) recognizes that different kinds of information are best conveyed via different channels and outlets depending on the type of message and the audience. Information that requires repeated referencing such as a press statement is better conveyed through the print media.

Q: Which media outlet(s) in particular do you perceive to be the most supportive of the EAC and why?

The three answers obtained were:

“It’s hard to mention one or two because the trend now shows that most of the media houses in the region have started to develop interest in EAC news.”

“We don’t have actual stats but of course we have a few who have opened up special space for EAC news. These include: *The East African newspaper*, *East African Business Week*, *Arusha Times* and Channel Ten TV.”

“I think the *East African* and *Arusha Times* have demonstrated more interest.”

These sentiments demonstrate that the print media is appreciated by the EAC Secretariat to have been more consistent in perpetuating the EAC agenda. Of all the media enterprises mentioned by the key informants all except one are print media outlets. But, the responses also reveal that the *Nation*, the *New Vision* and *Mwananchi*, which are the newspapers of interests in this study by virtue of the readership and circulation that they enjoy, are **not** among those that the EAC secretariat recognizes as constantly giving coverage to the EAC. Another factor of note is the fact that the *Arusha Times* may be in the list of those newspapers that give regular coverage to the EAC purely on the basis that it is a newspaper based in Arusha (home of the EAC Secretariat). Its interest in EAC matters therefore, may be influenced more by proximity than any other reason.

Q: *Which media outlet do you consider to be least supportive to the EAC agenda?*

The three responses obtained were:

“I can’t really tell, we have not conducted that kind of analysis.”

“It is difficult to tell. But all media should improve their level of coverage.”

“I think FM stations should do a better job.”

The answers provided here imply that FM stations have not supported the EAC agenda to the satisfaction of the EAC Secretariat. It is also implied that the EAC Secretariat considers all coverage given to it as not enough and requiring improvement. All media enterprises, including the print media, are seen as avenues that ‘should improve the level of coverage’. Another revelation from these responses is the fact that the EAC Secretariat does not have empirical data on how each and every media outlet covered the EAC during this period. They are therefore unable to identify the outlets that are more supportive, more interested and more efficient in supporting the EAC agenda.

The sentiments expressed in the above set of findings were purely the ideas and perceptions of officers at the EAC Secretariat. Their authenticity were however corroborated, in part, by the next set of findings which reveal how East Africa’s most circulated newspapers have covered the EAC. The responses demonstrate summarized versions of their sentiments. In certain circumstances follow up questions were used to obtain clarification of answers. In cases where respondents gave similar answers, they were probed further by being asked if there was anything else they had not yet revealed.

4.2.2. Findings from Content Analysis

The three newspapers were analyzed to establish what issues were covered by the three newspapers during the period under study and also how the coverage was done. The study established the average number of EAC stories published during the period (January 2010 –

December 2012) compared to the total number of stories published in each newspaper. All articles in seven editions of (each of) the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* were counted then divided by seven to establish the average number of stories each newspaper published on a daily basis. The findings revealed that the *Nation* published an average of 120 stories daily; the *New Vision* published an average of 110 stories daily while *Mwananchi* published an average of 100 stories. The estimated number of stories published by the three newspapers over the sampling period of 160 days was calculated as follows:

The <i>Nation</i>	-	120	x	160	=	19,200
<i>New Vision</i>	-	110	x	160	=	17,600
<i>Mwananchi</i>	-	100	x	160	=	16,000
TOTAL					=	52,800

From the calculations presented above, the three newspapers published a total of 52,800 stories during the sampled period. This was then compared with the total number of stories published on EAC issues during the same period by each newspaper. Table V illustrates the findings on this.

Table V: EAC articles published in the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* between January 2010 and December 2012

	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>New Vision</i>	<i>Mwananchi</i>	Total
Total published stories	19,200	17,600	16,600	52,800
Total EAC stories	37	35	35	107
EAC stories Percentage	0.19%	0.20%	0.21%	0.20%

Source: Research 2014

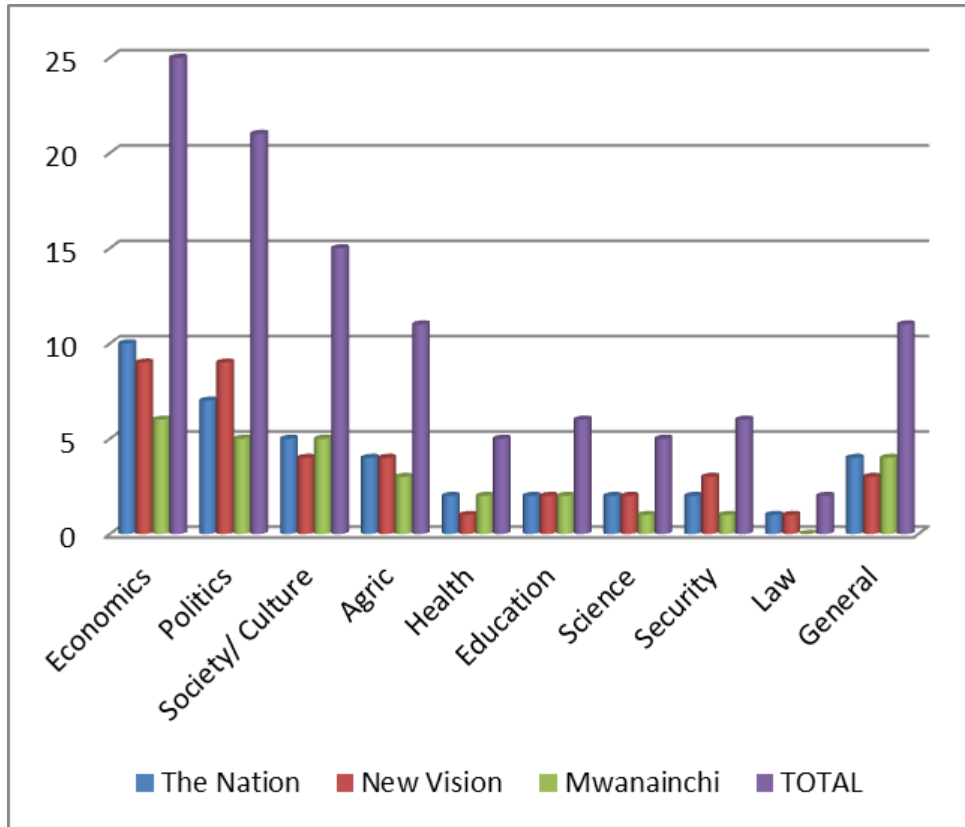
Table V shows that all the three newspapers published articles on the EAC during the period January 2010 to December 2011. The number of published stories did not vary much from one newspaper to another - with the highest frequency being 37 and the lowest being 35. This reflects a very small difference of only two stories. But, on the whole, each newspaper devoted less than 0.5% of its stories to the EAC. The three newspapers put together devoted only 0.6% of their stories to the EAC. This trend demonstrates that the three newspapers, despite being East Africa's biggest, largely under reported EAC issues during this period.

The study then looked at the issues/subjects that the stories published during this period. The subjects were specifically measured on the basis of the core areas of cooperation – as outlined in the EAC Establishment Treaty of 1999. The core areas were identified as:

- 1) *Politics*
- 2) *Economics*
- 3) *Society*
- 4) *Culture*
- 5) *Health*
- 6) *Education*
- 7) *Science and Technology,*
- 8) *Security*
- 9) *Law*

In the study, some stories were found to have been written on a combination of more than two or more of these subjects. Some stories were also found to be on topics which are largely outside the realm of any of these core areas. For both cases, such stories were coded under general EAC stories. The findings are presented in figure II.

Figure II: Subjects addressed by EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012



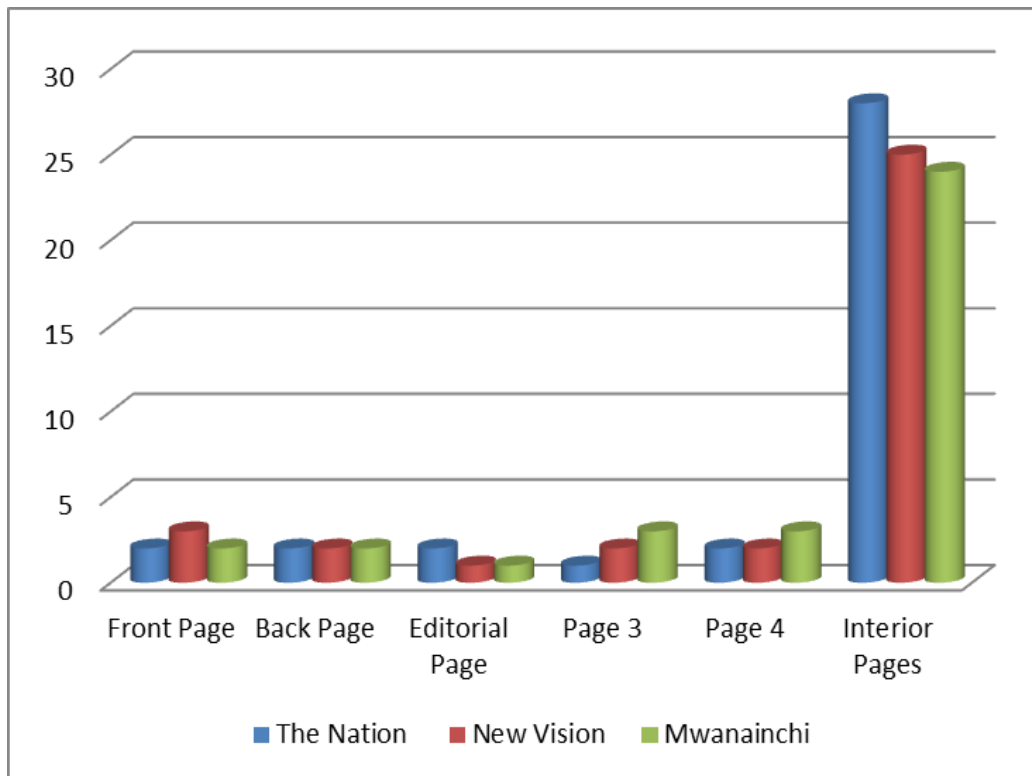
Source: Researcher 2014

Table III shows the frequency distribution for each set of stories. The three newspapers had varied amounts of reportage on different subjects of the EAC. They all gave more prominent coverage to issues relating to Economics, Politics and Society. The *Nation* and *Mwanainchi* gave the highest coverage to issues relating to Economics while *New Vision* gave the highest coverage to issues relating to politics. The most covered issues by the three newspapers were Economics (23%) and Politics (20%) while the least covered issues were Law (2%), Health 2% and science (2%) But, it was noted that most legal matters were combined with other issues since most were mere mentions of the section of the EAC Establishment Treaty that a particular issue was based

on. Above all, it was established that all key issues outlined in the EAC Establishment Treaty were reported on.

The next variable measured was the level of prominence accorded to the EAC stories via the placements in specific pages of the newspapers. Options in this category included prime (more prominent pages) and less prominent pages. The prime pages were identified as the front page, the back page, the editorial page and, to some extent, page two and page three. This is because most page one stories extended to these two pages thereby enhancing their visibility albeit by default. The findings are presented in figure III:

Figure III: Page placement of EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

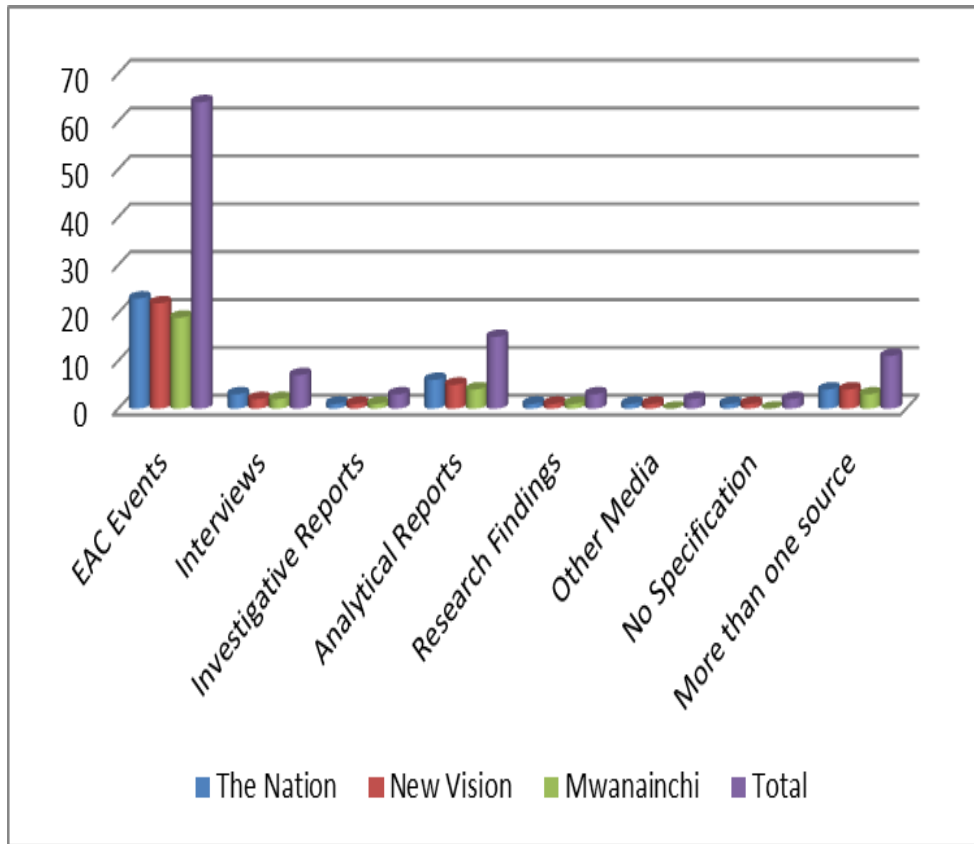
Figure III shows little difference in the way the three newspapers placed EAC articles. Only 13 stories were placed in the most important pages (front and back pages) during this period. Similarly, there were only four articles published in the editorial pages from the three papers. All articles published in the most prominent pages: page one, page two and the editorial page accounted for only 17 stories. The placement of very few stories on the most important pages demonstrates that all the three newspapers gave the EAC little visibility and poor priming during this period.

Another important variable measured was the source of each story published on the EAC. The source was either explicitly stated by the reporter or reporters covering a story or implied. The source of the story was regarded as particularly important as it determined the not only the genre of the story but also the kind of content. Six sources were realized from the published articles. These included:

- 1) *EAC events/functions*
- 2) *Interviews*
- 3) *Investigative reports*
- 4) *analytical reports*
- 5) *Research or study findings*
- 6) *Publications*
- 7) *Broadcasts in other media*

Some articles did not have any clear source identification while others were a combination of two or more sources. Figure IV presents the findings on sources:

Figure IV: Sources of EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

Figure IV shows that most of the stories were sourced from EAC events/ functions. The total number of stories sourced from events by the three newspapers during this period reflects a staggering 60%. This may be as a result of the tendency by many East African newspapers to rely more on events than anything else for news. This trend is also corroborated by the findings from the EAC Secretariat that revealed an over-reliance (by the Secretariat) on events for news coverage. It reflects a reactive way of media engagement. It must also be noted that not all events are newsworthy nor do they all attract media attention or arouse media interest.

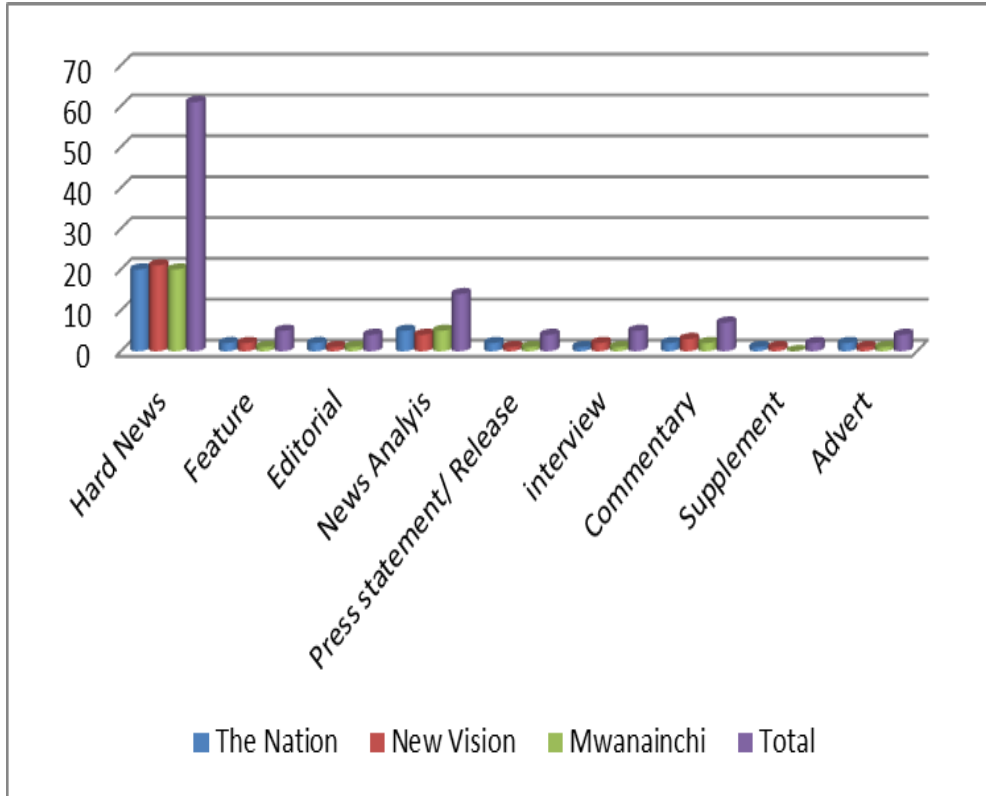
The study then established the various genres used by the three newspapers for coverage of EAC issues. In evaluating the genres, it was considered that EAC issues can be covered as hard news or soft news. Nine genres were identified as most prominently used. These included:

- 1) *Hard news*
- 2) *News analyses*
- 3) *Features*
- 4) *Editorials*
- 5) *Commentaries / Opinion*
- 6) *Press statement*
- 7) *Press releases*
- 8) *supplements*
- 9) *Interviews (Q & A)*
- 10) *Advertisements and Advertorials*

Advertisements were considered under this group for the purpose of comparing the space taken by stories compared to advertisements on EAC issues. This would be a crucial aspect of determining the commercial regard that the three newspapers have for the EAC. Specifically, this would answer the question: Do they appreciate the implications of regional integration and feel the need to report extensively on it or, do they perceive the EAC as a body whose adverts, press statements, press releases, supplements official announcements are important for enhancing revenue for the EAC? This aspect demonstrates the practice of a given newspaper with regard to the balance between editorial priority and advertising.

It should be noted that all genres of stories except hard news, news analyses, features, editorials, commentaries and interviews are paid for. Figure V demonstrates the findings:

Figure V: Genres used for of EAC stories between January 2010 and December 2014

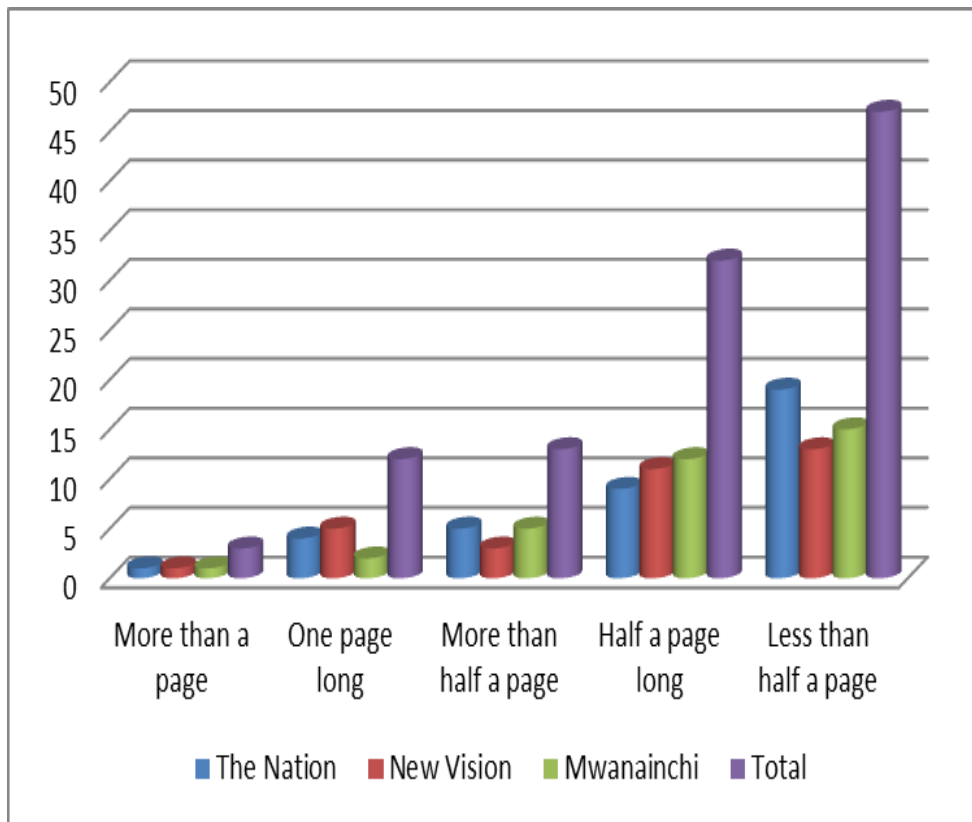


Source: Researcher 2014

Figure V shows that most of the articles published during this period were hard news stories. Hard news accounted for a total of 61% of all the stories published on the EAC by the three newspapers. This may be attributed to the fact that most stories are based on EAC events – as already established. The table also shows a similar number of supplements, advertisements and press statements/releases published in all the three newspapers. It was noted that the exact same supplements, adverts, press statements and press releases were published in all the three papers – sometimes on the same dates. A reliable explanation to this may be the fact that they were all paid for articles originating from the EAC Secretariat.

Another variable measured was the amount of space that was devoted to EAC articles during this period. Having already established the number of stories devoted to EAC issues, it was appreciated that the number of articles in itself cannot determine amount of coverage. In measuring space, five factors were determined. These included: whether a story is more than a page long, a page long, more than half a page long, half a page long or less than half a page. In considering these measures, all contents of a story were taken into consideration – these being: Headlines, Strap lines and Stand firsts, Pictures and Captions, Graphs and Charts, Diagrams, Fillers and Kickers, Cartoons, Maps, Intros and the main body. Figure VI illustrates the findings:

Figure VI: Amount of space covered by EAC between January 2010 and December 2012

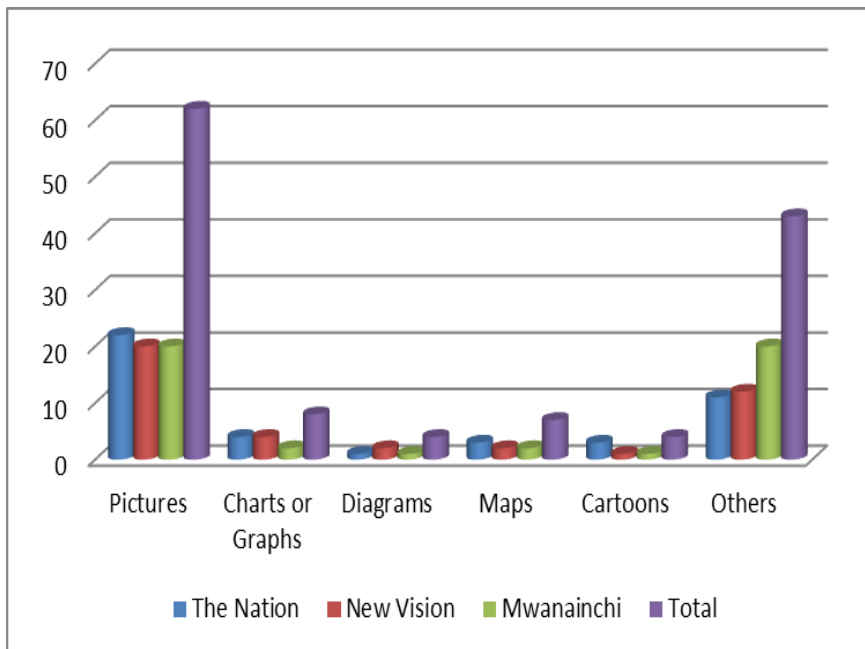


Source: Researcher 2014

Figure VI shows that most EAC articles were accorded minimal space. 44% of all the articles published were less than a page long. Only 3% of the articles were a page or more in length and only 11% were a page long. Sometimes, newspapers have fewer stories (but) that are very lengthy – meaning that a lot of information is conveyed still. At times, there are many stories that are very short and so on. But in this case, the three newspapers all had very few EAC stories and still allocated them limited space. This also contributed to poor visibility.

The study also analyzed the editorial supplements used in the EAC articles. All articles were scrutinized for pictures, diagrams, maps, charts, graphs, cartoons or even fillers. Bold or italicized text, strap lines, stand firsts and fillers were collectively categorized as others. The findings are presented in figure VII:

Figure VII: Editorial supplements used in EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

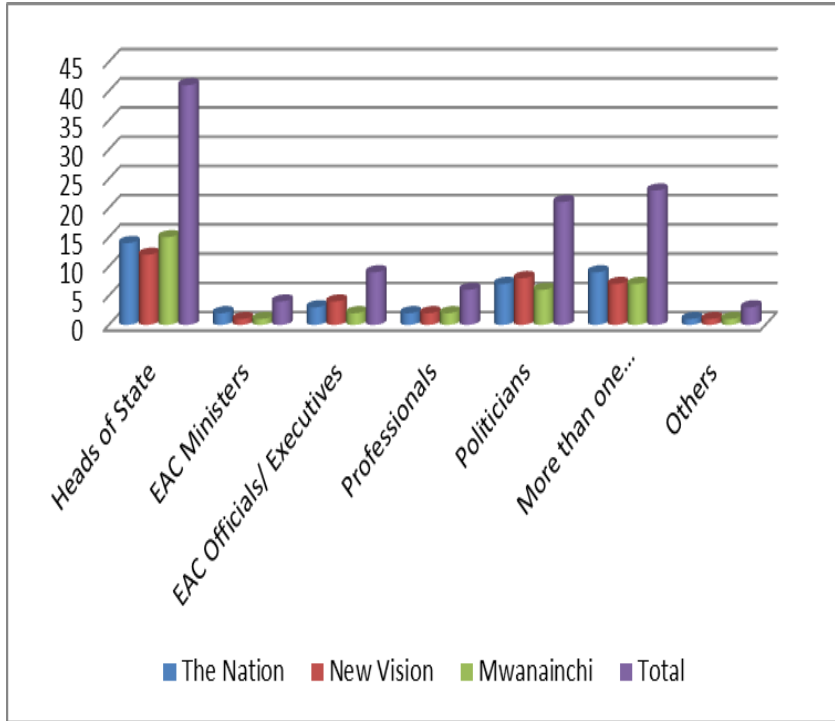
Figure VII shows that a total of 62 pictures were used in the 107 articles published by the three newspapers on EAC issues. This means that 55 articles were not accompanied by pictures. This also reflects poor priming of EAC by the three newspapers. Poor priming was also evident in the minimal number of other editorial supplements used. Only four cartoons, seven maps, four diagrams and 8 graphs were used in EAC stories by the three papers. In the overall analysis, 128 editorial supplements were used in the 107 sampled stories. One reason for this may have been that the bulk of stories were less than half a page long thereby limiting the possibility of adding an editorial supplement to the story layout.

The other variable measured was the central character in the EAC articles. The chief character in a story is crucial since it demonstrates the value of prominence. Five prominent characters were noted to recur in most of the articles. These included:

- 1) *Heads of State*
- 2) *EAC officials and Executives*
- 3) *EAC Ministers*
- 4) *Politicians*
- 5) *Professionals*

Some articles had two or more of these characters in one story while others did not have any. The stories that did not have any of the above-mentioned characters were coded as others while those that had two or more were coded as more than one. It is important to note the heads of state included present and former heads of state of the five member states and also former and current heads of state of other states within or outside Africa. Politicians included members of Parliament and political activists. Figure VIII shows the findings:

Figure VIII: Characters in EAC articles published between January 2010 and December 2011



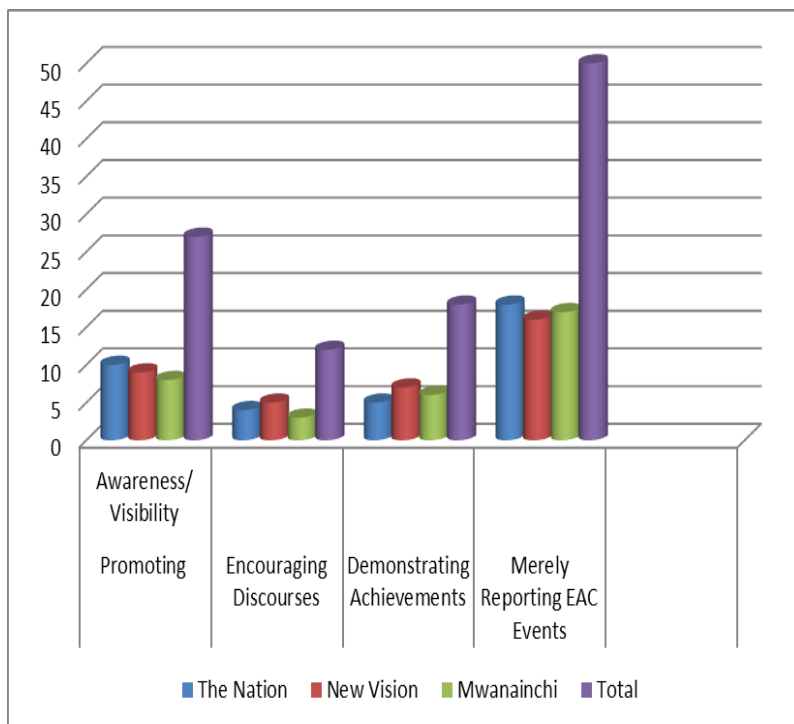
Source: Researcher 2014

Figure VIII shows the different characters that dominate EAC articles. As can be seen, Heads of State and politicians dominated the characters in EAC articles published in all the three newspapers. It was also noted that for EAC officials, one character in particular, the Secretary of the EAC, Dr. Richard Sezibera, dominates this category. Sadly, professionals, who are very crucial stakeholders to the EAC accounted for only 6% of characters during this period.

The last variable measured was the journalistic purpose of the EAC articles. Each article was analyzed on the basis of what Alot (2008) documents as the principal ways in which the media should enhance the EAC agenda. These are: Promoting awareness, encouraging discourses about key EAC issues among stakeholders, demonstrating the achievements, and competitiveness of the

regional bloc and promoting visibility of EAC effectiveness and efficiency. In establishing the extent to which the newspapers had contributed to these, ten key issues were considered and measured from the articles. These were: Interpreting implications of EAC integration, explaining EAC history, explaining EAC opportunities and threats, recommending solutions to EAC challenges, encouraging public participation in EAC events and programs, critiquing leadership decisions of EAC leaders and scrutinizing management of EAC Secretariat. Articles whose messages were found to perform any of the above-mentioned purposes were either categorized as promoting awareness and visibility, encouraging discourses or demonstrating achievements while those that did not were categorized as merely reporting on EAC events. Figure IX reveals the findings:

Figure IX: Journalistic purpose of EAC articles published between January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

Figure IX shows that most EAC articles in all the three newspapers merely reports on EAC events. Such articles accounted for almost half (47%) of them all. Other important roles such as encouraging discourses and demonstrating EAC achievement accounted for only 11% and 17% respectively. Visibility promotion and awareness creation accounted for only 25%. From these findings it can be concluded that the three newspapers did little to enhance the EAC agenda during the period January 2010 – December 2012.

4.2.3. Findings on Factors that Determined Newspaper Coverage of the EAC

The findings from this section were specifically intended to provide empirical response to the third research question which is: what factors determined the coverage of the EAC by the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* during the period January 2010 – December 2012? The responses to this question were derived from journalists and editors – as the key gate keepers of the newsroom. To answer this question, a number of issues were queried (See Appendix II). These included: the newspapers’ respective policies of EAC coverage (if any), the attitude of papers with regard to the EAC, what role each paper perceives to play in enhancing the EAC agenda, and the capacity of each paper to effectively report on EAC issues.

From the interviews, the study established that all the three papers have a team of journalists dedicated to reporting on EAC issues. The *Nation*, however, reserved most of its EAC stories for its sister newspaper, the *East African* whose specific mandate is to report on East African affairs. While the *Nation* and *Mwananchi* covered EAC issues primarily from their business

desks, *New Vision* did not limit its EAC coverage to any particular desk. For instance, when the EAC countries signed the monetary union protocol, the coverage was managed from the business desk, but, when discussions on the EAC political Union timetable were on-going, it was handled by the news desk. The *Nation* last year appointed a Group managing editor for regional content. His official job description is: ‘to marshal the group’s resources in generating content on regional integration’. Since *Mwananchi* is also a Nation Media Group owned newspaper, it will benefit from the work of this office. Therefore, going forward, the *Nation* will be better placed, at least administratively, to report on EAC issues than *New Vision*.

On what criteria the three newspaper used in selecting their reporters for EAC affairs, a number of methods were established. They included: personal interest by journalists, academic qualifications, reporting experience, familiarity with key personalities involved in the story and even nationality. Table VI shows the findings in this question:

Table VI: Criteria for selection of journalists who report on EAC issues

	The Nation	New Vision	Mwananchi
Academic background	✓	X	✓
Experience	✓	✓	✓
Nationality	X	X	✓
Familiarity with key story character	✓	✓	✓
Journalist’s personal interest	✓	✓	✓

Source: Researcher 2014

Table VI shows that the most popular criteria for selecting journalists who report on EAC issues are personal interest of journalists, experience and familiarity with the key character in the story. *Mwanachi* alone employs the unique criteria of a journalist's nationality. This may be so owing to the fact that the paper has more other East Africans, other than those of the paper's country of origin than *Nation* and *New Vision*. Its employment record is therefore more East African representative than that of the *Nation* and *New Vision*. *Nation* and *Mwananachi* share the academic background criteria presumably because they also share ownership. Their administrative policies especially with regard to engagement are largely similar.

The three papers gave similar responses to three issues. First, the respondents declined to reveal how much advertising revenue they had accrued from the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012. Not having the data on this question and lack of authority to comment on the finances of their respective enterprises were given as reasons for their decline to comment. On how often the EAC Secretariat and government ministries in-charge of EAC matters engage the newspapers, the respondents observed that only the EAC Secretariat and the government ministries could keep such records. And, On the frequency of coverage, four factors were established to determine how often all the papers covered EAC issues. These were: Advertising or paid for supplements, prominence of characters, availability of reporters and the consequence of the story.

The study established that all the three papers are pro integration. They shared the belief of greater socio-political and economic benefits for East Africa as a result of integration. But, unlike *New Vision*, the *Nation* views integration as a step that would further its business interests from which *Mwananchi* would also benefit. It will enable the *Nation* enhance its regional marketshare.

Another critical finding from the gate keepers was the revelation that although stories emanating from EAC activities are important, they were at times considered by all the three newspapers as not very newsworthy. And, often, they were not given priority for the simple reason that the integration process was, during the period of this study, (and is still) perceived as a topic that only appeals to a special elite, especially the business class. The *Nation* reporters cited research by Trade Mark East Africa as having indicated this trend. It was for this reason, they revealed, that they relegated most EAC stories to the less important pages. Since EAC stories were not considered as content for the mass market or the mass audience, it was rare to find them gracing the prime pages of the three papers.

Proximity was established to be the biggest challenge facing the *Nation* and *New Vision* since they operate several miles away from the EAC Secretariat in Arusha, Tanzania. On this particular factor, *Mwananchi*, as a Tanzania-based newspaper was found to be much more advantaged. The *Nation*, however, as a regional media enterprise, confessed that they occasionally make use of their regional networks to access information from Arusha. Ownership was also noted as a determinant to coverage of the EAC. As a private enterprise, the

Nation revealed favouring EAC news that appears to further their commercial interests while *New Vision*, as a government-owned publication, revealed giving prominence to EAC news that strengthened the position of Uganda as a member state of the bloc.

All the three papers acknowledged that they considered themselves to have a responsibility to the EAC integration. They however gave different responses to this question. Table XII demonstrates the responses obtained from each of the papers:

Table VII: Perceived responsibilities of newspapers in the East African Integration

Newspaper	Perceived responsibility in the East African integration
<i>The Nation</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Raise profile of EAC by constant reporting • Analysing EAC issues so that audiences understand its merits
<i>New Vision</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpret EAC protocols to stakeholders • Explain the implications of EAC activities to the public
<i>Mwananchi</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reporting EAC events and activities • Reporting on EAC member states disputes

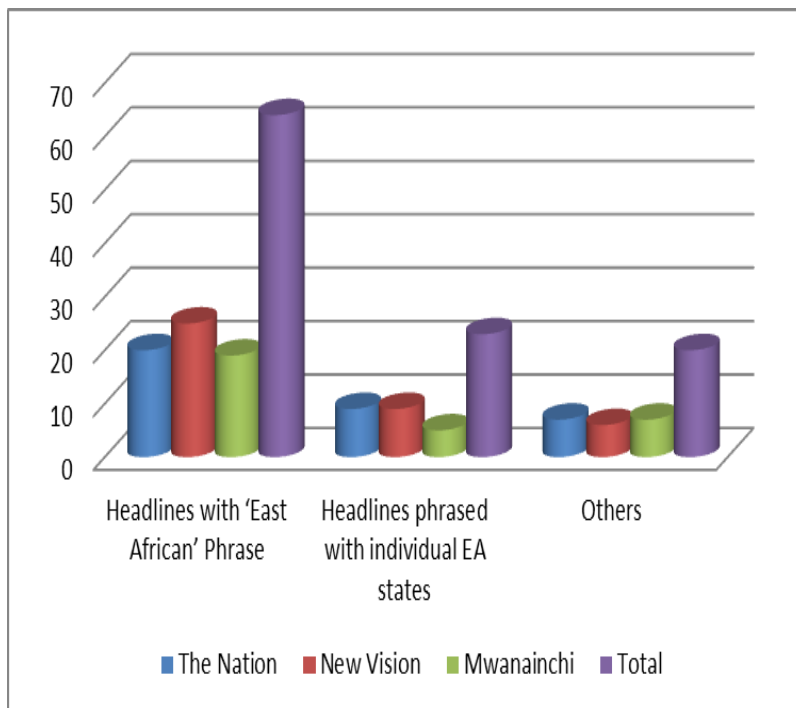
Source: Researcher 2014

These responses demonstrate that all the three papers consider themselves as having a special role to play in enhancing the EAC agenda. One unique response that emerged to this question was the expression by *Mwananchi* reporters (especially those of Tanzanian origin) that they doubt whether the EAC will benefit the common man. They expressed scepticism that the EAC was most likely to benefit investors and government bureaucrats.

4.2.4. Findings from Discourse Analysis

The findings in this section are derived from the discourse analysis conducted to establish how the three newspapers used language to present a collective East African identity, promote interest in reading EAC articles and enhanced understanding and appreciation of the EAC. All sampled stories were read and their headlines, editorial supplements, intros, main body and conclusions analyzed. The first variable examined was how the EAC stories framed the concept of East Africa. Options for this category included whether the headlines used the phrase ‘East Africa’ or ‘East African’ or whether they were phrased using names of individual member states. Figure X presents the findings:

Figure X: Framing of the East African concept in headlines during the period January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

Figure X shows that most headlines of EAC stories in all the three newspapers popularly used the phrase ‘East African’ or ‘East Africa’. 60% of headlines were phrased this way. Only 21% of the headlines were phrased with names of individual East African countries. The remaining 19% were phrased in ways that mentioned neither individual East African countries nor the phrase ‘East Africa’ or ‘East African’. The regional tag was therefore promoted to an appreciable degree in the headlines.

The study also examined the frequency with which issues were phrased as ‘East African’ within the body of the articles. Thirteen issues were found to be frequently referred to as East African.

These included:

- 1) *East African citizens*
- 2) *East African culture*
- 3) *East African football*
- 4) *East African Economy*
- 5) *East African climate*
- 6) *East African education*
- 7) *East African currency*
- 8) *East African population*
- 9) *East African passport*
- 10) *East African problems*
- 11) *East African transport*
- 12) *East African flag*
- 13) *East African people*

Table VIII demonstrates the frequency of using the ‘East African tag’ in each of the three newspapers.

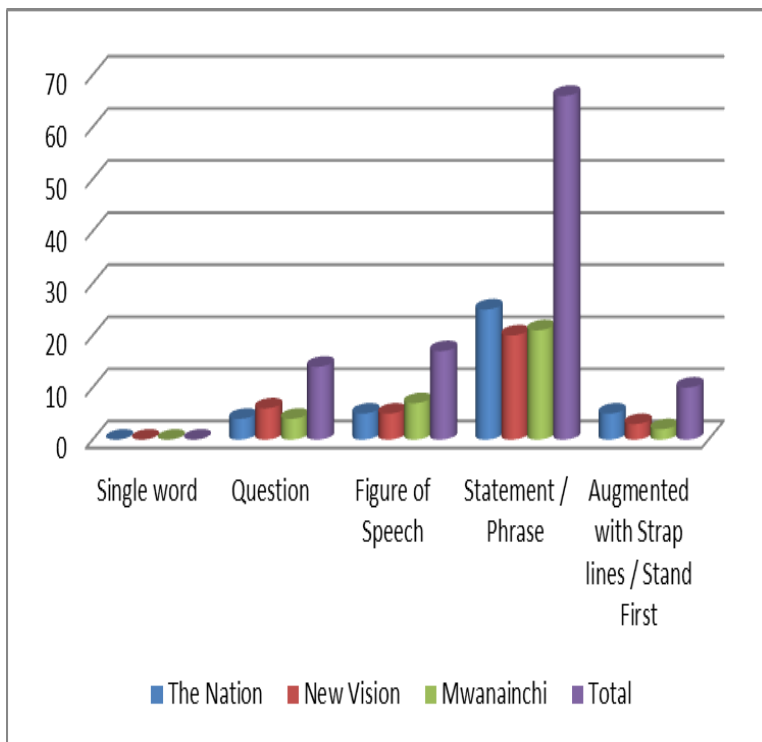
Table VIII: Framing of issues as East African in EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012

Phrase	<i>The Nation</i>	<i>New Vision</i>	<i>Mwananchi</i>
East African citizens	11	8	9
East African football	2	2	0
East African education	6	8	6
East Africa currency/ currencies	10	9	7
East Africa economy	16	14	14
East African population	8	9	3
East African passport(s)	7	12	9
East African climate	5	3	5
East African problems	5	5	6
East African transport	8	7	6
East African governments	21	24	18
East African people	33	23	17
East African flag	2	1	0
East African public	8	6	5

Table VIII demonstrates that several issues were frequently framed as ‘East African’ by the three newspapers – representing them collectively as opposed to issues of individual member states.

The study then looked at the way headlines of EAC stories were designed. Options for this category included a single word, a figure of speech, a question, a statement or a phrase. Some headlines also belonged to one of these options but were augmented with strap lines and stand firsts. The findings are represented in Figure XI.

Figure XI: Headlines designs of EAC articles between January 2010 and December 2012

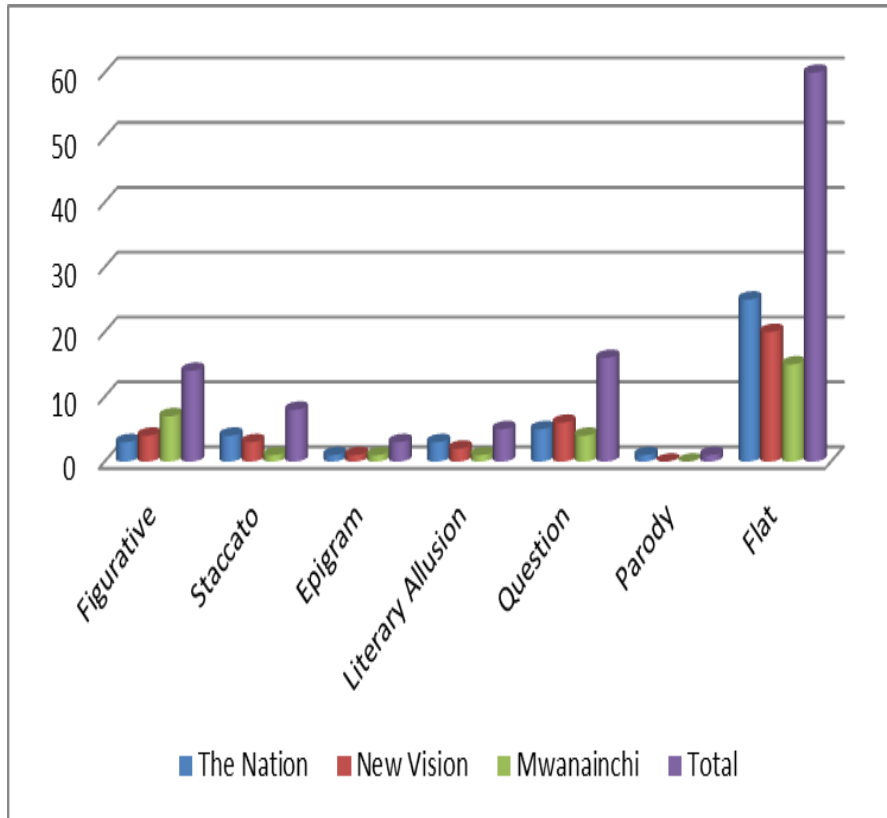


Source: Researcher 2014

Figure XI shows that most headlines (62%) used for EAC articles by the three newspapers were statements and phrases. Only 13% were question headlines while only 16% were figurative. The trend demonstrated that the three papers did not give most of the EAC stories the punch and audience attention arousal they ought to have given. The same trend was observed in the intros.

Intros with flat messages dominated as opposed to creatively drafted ones. The options for drafting intros included: figurative intros, staccato intros, epigram intros, literary allusion intros, question intros, parody intros or flat intros. Figure XII presents the findings:

Figure XII: Intros used in EAC stories between January 2010 and December 2012



Source: Researcher 2014

Figure XII shows that most intros used in EAC stories by the three newspapers during this period (56%) were flat and therefore not very effective in arousing reader interest. Only *Mwanachi* had more than half of its intros (59%) drafted creatively. As a Swahili paper with many Tanzanian reporters, known for their creative use of the language, it is likely that figurative language use is the norm for reporting.

The study further looked at the frequency of terminologies that depicted the EAC favorably or unfavorably. Terms and phrases that depicted the EAC as growing, promising, beneficial, well managed, well meaning, unifying and progressive were categorized as favorable. While terms that depicted the EAC as failing, ineffective, inconsequential or destabilizing were categorized as unfavorable. For favorable depiction of the EAC, the following terms were found to be frequently used in many articles: agreement, cooperation, unity, rebirth, renaissance, growth, progress, revival, partnership, brotherhood, federation, common market, sharing, common benefits, common progress, good governance, regional interdependency, self sufficiency, opportunities and competitiveness. For unfavorable depiction of the EAC, the following terms were found to be used in a number of articles: uneven distribution, unequal benefits, regional imbalance, over ambitious, unrealistic goals, unstable foundation, regional instability, regional poverty, regional debt and regional dependency. Table IX shows the findings:

Table IX: Depiction of the EAC by terms used in articles between January 2010 and December 2012

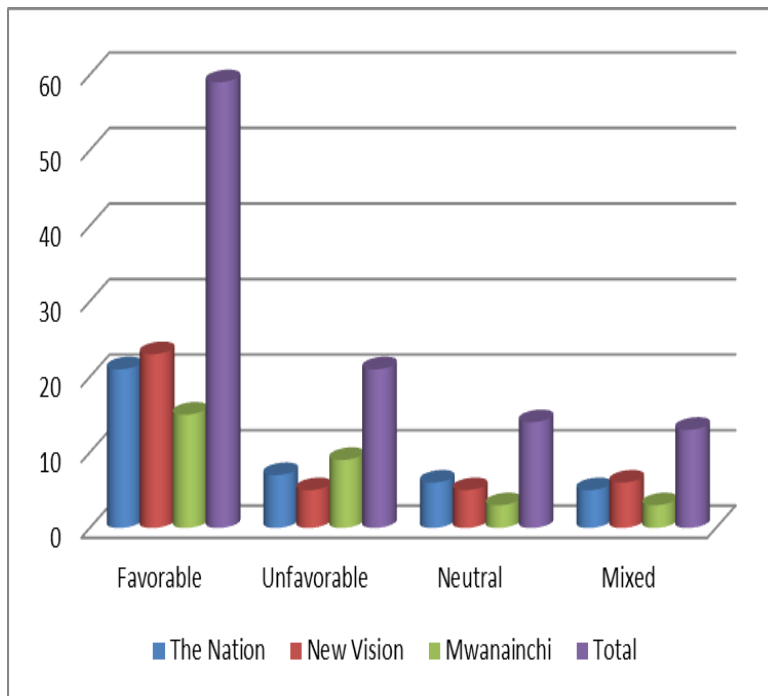
	Frequency of Favorable Terms	Frequency of Unfavorable Terms
The Nation	299	47
New Vision	273	41
Mwananchi	232	103
Total	804	191

Source: Researcher 2014

Table IX demonstrates that terms that depict the EAC favorably were used much more than unfavorable ones by all the three newspapers. The study also evaluated whether the overall portrayal of the EAC by each story was a favorable one or not. In this evaluation, two factors

were considered, these being: the news peg of each story and the ‘so what’ element of the story. Stories whose news pegs and implications dwelt on progress, growth, promise, stability and benefits of the EAC were categorized to be favorable while those whose news pegs and implications dwelt on doubt, condemnation, historical failure, or indifference were categorized as unfavorable. Some stories presented both favorable and unfavorable implications while some presented a neutral implication. Figure XIII shows the findings:

Figure XIII: News peg depiction of the EAC in articles published between January 2010 and December 2014



Source: Researcher 2014

Figure XIII shows that many stories in the *Nation* and *New Vision* depicted the EAC favorably during this period. *Mwananchi* had less than half of its stories (46.5%) depicting the EAC

favorably. In total, more than half of all the 107 articles published by the three newspapers (54.5%) had a favorable depiction of the EAC.

Finally, the study evaluated the extent to which figures of speech were used in the articles. 11 figures of speech were used time again in a variety of articles. These included: repetition, similes, metaphors, paradox, oxymoron, metonymy, euphemism, hyperbole, irony, onomatopoeia and proverbs. Table X shows the frequency with which figures of speech were used in the EAC articles.

Table X: Frequency of figures of speech in EAC articles published between January 2010 and December of 2012

	Frequency of figures of Speech
<i>The Nation</i>	220
<i>New Vision</i>	229
<i>Mwananchi</i>	282
Total	511

Source: Researcher 2014

Table X shows that the three newspapers used a total of 511 figures of speech in the 107 articles published by on the EAC. On individual basis there wasn't much difference between the three newspapers on how they used figures of speech. The total number represented an average of five figures of speech per story.

4.3. Conclusion

The findings of the study presented in chapter four can be summarized in three points: 1) the East African Community Secretariat engaged the media during the period January 2010 – December 2012 using a faulty strategy that failed to generate much interest from the print media; 2) East African newspapers consider EAC news as a subject that is not their core business since their primary focus is on reporting their respective national issues; 3) the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* all primed the EAC poorly but framed it favorably during the period of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

5.0. Introduction:

This chapter provides a systematic and analytical discussion of the findings of this study. It specifically presents the implications of each set of findings and how they relate to the study objectives, research questions and literature. It also presents the framework upon which the conclusions and recommendations of the study – presented in the final chapter – are based.

5.1. The Engagement of the Print Media by the EAC Secretariat

The study findings show that the EAC Secretariat engages the media in general and the print media specifically in promoting the EAC agenda. The Secretariat's communication policy places the media at the crux of its programs' implementation. The Secretariat recognizes the need to use the media for purposes of sensitizing the public on EAC benefits, gathering feedback on public opinion and perceptions and promoting discourses with professionals and other stakeholders in generating ideas. But, the Secretariat lacks a strategic plan that systematically outlines how to fulfill these intentions.

The Secretariat under utilizes the print media. It only makes regular use of hard news and occasionally, feature articles. Other genres that could be used to promote EAC visibility even more prominently such as advertorials, supplements and press releases are hardly used. This fails

to rise to the threshold recommended by (Edeani, 1994) that information on public affairs must focus on issues that warrant editorial preference. Advertorials, for example, are crucial infomercials for any organization since they tell the selling points of an organization. They articulate the pros of an institution. They highlight the admirable attributes of what they tell about. If used regularly to portray the EAC, advertorials would effectively fulfill the Secretariat's intent to promote visibility and create awareness of EAC benefits.

The Secretariat acknowledged three challenges in engaging the media to enhance the EAC agenda. These were: lack of adequate finances, minimal attention accorded to EAC issues by media enterprises and their suspected lack of adequate human resource capacity in EA media enterprises to report effectively on EAC issues. Only the financial inadequacy is directly a problem that originates from the Secretariat. Perhaps this was the reason why only 4 advertisements were published by the three newspapers during this period. The print media depends on advertising revenue for the core of its business. Consequently, any institution or organization that intends to use the media in the same way the EAC intends to use it; to promote visibility and sensitize the public on EAC benefits among others, must be willing to dedicate adequate amounts of capital for this purpose failure of which this particular plan would be heavily compromised.

The over-reliance on EAC events and functions for media coverage was also discovered in the Secretariat's media engagement plan. The most common functions that the Secretariat organizes

from time to time include: seminars, workshops, conferences, symposia, protocol signing events and commissioning of services. From a news making perspective, these would not be very attractive prospects for media coverage as more often than not, they lack the ‘Human Interest’ element of news as espoused by Gatlung and Ruge (1965). And, even when they get coverage, it is unlikely that news from such events will grace the prominent pages of the newspaper. They are, therefore, likely to be ignored by an average reader. Worse still, some of these events are only likely to receive coverage when they are presided over by East African heads of state. The minimal priority given to the EAC articles by the three newspapers, as they rightfully recognize, emanates in part from failure in their part to generate newsworthy content that newspapers cannot ignore. And, their lack of an effective media relations strategy that creates a sustainable symbiosis between the Secretariat and the media.

Contrary to perceptions that the print media is no longer useful as a popularization tool, the study established that the EAC Secretariat regards the print media to be still as important as other media outlets. They revealed that they invite all media to their functions without prejudice. They further revealed that they did not have a preference for a particular media outlet. But, the Secretariat recognized, rightfully so, that the type of message conveyed to the public and the target group determined the most effective outlet to use. Specifically, the example of highlighting the EAC protocol agreements was recognized as most effectively conveyed through the print media. This resonated with the sentiments of Hamel (2010) that it is only when the regulations and various articles of observation are written, can audiences grasp them with ease.

Another acknowledgement was the fact that the Secretariat uses media outlets in a complimentary fashion. This fulfils the position of Obonyo et al. (2013) that the print media is the first step of the two step flow concept of media communication. A story on EAC appearing on the print media, especially in the prime pages, will more often than not be a topic of discussion on radio and television as most electronic outlets discuss prime newspaper issues as part of their programming schedules. Such discussions fulfil the Secretariat's plan of using the media for promotion of discourses between stakeholders regarding the EAC. Such discussions also make the media complimenting equation complete: the print media provides the elaborate, analytical and in-depth material for discussion while the broadcast and social media provide the avenue and market place for debate, exchange of ideas and even critical feedback on EAC issues.

While accepting that they could not tell which media outlets have been most supportive of the EAC agenda, the Secretariat singled out three newspapers to have been very consistent in covering the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012. The three were: the *East African*, *East African Business* and *Arusha Times*. Two reasons can be given for this consistency. First, both the *East African* and *East African Business* are newspapers whose primary objective is to report on East African affairs. It therefore follows that they are less pressured to give priority to national issues. Secondly, the *Arusha Times* enjoys the proximity of the EAC Secretariat for the reason that it is based in Arusha. It is therefore the contention of the Secretariat that the *Nation*, the *New Vision* and *Mwananchi*, despite being East Africa's most read newspapers, are not the most supportive of news outlets to the EAC.

5.2. Coverage of the EAC by the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* between January 2010 and December 2012

5.2.1. The Frequency of Publication of EAC Articles

The findings reveal that a total of 52,800 articles were published from the sampled dates between January 2010 and December 2012 by the three newspapers. Out of these, only 107 were on the EAC. The *Nation* had 37 articles, *New Vision* 35 and *Mwananchi* 35. The total reflects a negligible figure of less than 1% (0.6%) to be specific. This trend is a worrying one insofar as the use of the print media to promote EAC visibility and awareness goes. It shows that the EAC is not a priority subject for three newspapers. It implies lack of interest on EAC matters by the three newspapers or failure of the EAC to generate newsworthy content. It further implies that the EAC was not regarded as a prime subject during this period. These findings also corroborate the response from the EAC Secretariat to the effect that they are seldom granted sufficient space in the newspapers.

The regard of the EAC as not newsworthy or as a subject that is not prime is a fallacy since the implications of an integrated East Africa such as the adoption of a single currency, the business benefits of the common market protocol and the political ramifications of a political union are far reaching and heavily consequential. As Kituyu (2010) observed, the benefits of the EAC are already being experienced by the citizenry. Two reasons were established for this poor coverage. First, the *Nation*, *Mwananchi* and the *East African* are owned by the same media group. It is perhaps for this reason that the trends of EAC reporting in the *Nation* are not so different from those of *Mwananchi*. As a group, they have reserved the bulk of coverage for East African affairs to the *East African*. *New Vision*, though a Ugandan publication, also regards the *East African* to

be the primary source of East African news in the region. Second, as national newspapers, all the three newspapers focus on national news as opposed to regional news. This resonates with the idea of Galtung and Ruge (1965) that audiences are perceived to prefer national rather than regional issues. This reasoning is also faulty for the reason that many EAC stories do not focus on the region *per se* but touch on cross cutting issues that have both national and regional implications. This reasoning is also challenged by the argument of Edeani (1994) that it is the responsibility of the media to report on the realities of a changing world – such as the reality of changing from nation states to an integrated region. The likely consequence of this trend is best described by the observation of (Orjiako, 2009) that when media fails to maintain a strong culture of communicating issues on African integration, they fail to promote the realization of the renewed consciousness of African states to unite.

5.2.2. Most Reported EAC Issues

The study established that the most reported EAC issues by the three newspapers were economic and political. Issues pertaining to Law, science and technology and health were the least reported. The high reporting of political issues may be reflective of the obsession of East African newspapers with politics. A scrutiny of the three papers revealed that on a typical day, news that is political in nature was reported more than any other. The high reporting of economic issues is a direct consequence of the most functional treaty of the EAC as yet, this being the Common Market Protocol whose signing has necessitated increased movement of goods and services across East Africa. Despite the fact that Economics and politics were the most reported EAC issues during this period, the overall reporting was still negligible with a combined total of only 107 stories.

The least reported were issues of Law, health, Science and technology. It is surprising that Law got very minimal coverage yet the framework upon which the EAC was established is a legal document. As a matter of fact, all EAC programs are predicated on particular articles of that Charter. The EALA is operational and debate on interpretations and amendments to the Charter are regularly conducted but reported as political news.

East Africans, like other people who read newspapers around the world rely on the media as a source of factual information on public affairs (Orjiako, 2009). They also learn how much importance to place on an issue on the basis of the emphasis placed on it by the media. When only politics and economics are given emphasis, the three newspapers falsely influence the public to regard key other issues such as health, science, technology, agriculture and even Law as less important.

5.2.3. Level of prominence given to EAC issues

EAC issues were given low prominence by the three newspapers during this period with only 13 of the 107 articles published in the front and back pages, most stories were placed in the interior pages of the newspapers. Similarly, only four articles featured in the editorial pages. This contradicts the concepts of prominence as expressed by Reisner (1992) that the front page is the most important in a newspaper. Other important stories that don't make it to the front page are usually placed in the back page. The front and back pages are regarded to be most prominent since they tend to be the first pages noticed by a newspaper reader (Alowo, 2010).

The editorial page is prominent because it articulates a newspaper's 'collective' opinion or position of a crucial societal issue. Insignificant issues are never subjects of an editorial. Only issues regarded to be very consequential are addressed via editorials. It is in the editorial page that editors lend their voices on the most burning issues in society. Editorials are pure facts and are not influenced by the predispositions of gatekeepers (Ngugi, 2005). The very low placement of EAC stories in the editorial page meant that the EAC was a poorly primed subject during this period. It also strongly implies that the three newspapers did not regard the EAC as a subject that ought to be given much prominence. Poor placement makes a story unlikely to be read (Croteau and Hoyness, 2000).

While contributing to the tenets of agenda setting and priming, McCombs and Shaw (1972) opined that the media successfully tells us what to think about by selecting (not just) **what** content to publish but also **where** to publish it. By publishing most EAC stories in pages that are less important, the three newspapers failed to make the EAC a subject that many East Africans would think about.

5.2.4. Sources of News for EAC Articles

The study established that the bulk of the EAC stories published by the three newspapers during this period originated from EAC events and functions. Articles sourced in this way accounted for 60% of all the 107 sampled stories. This trend is reflective of the EAC Secretariat's own tendency to rely on events for journalistic coverage. It is reflective of the incapability of the Secretariat to generate consistent media interest over and above their functions that are usually graced by regional heads of state. Similarly, articles that originated from investigative initiatives

and empirical studies/research were few - comprising only 17%. This has two implications. The first may be the lack of interest by print journalists to investigate, provide analyses and predict consequences on this subject and the second may be lack of capacity to provide the essential interpretation on this subject owing to journalistic inexperience or unfamiliarity with EAC issues.

With very few investigative reports, the three newspapers failed to play the watchdog or fourth estate role on the EAC during this period. Investigative reports unlike hard news stories would have transcended the scope and depth of a routine report (Mwamba, 2010). They reveal extraordinary details and would have provided information that East Africans cannot easily access from other sources of information. Additionally, contrary to the recommendation of McQuail (2005), they failed to be the window through which the East African public could 'look through' and see what the EAC is really about or that through which East Africans could see beyond their national boundaries. And more seriously, the three newspapers hardly became the mirror through which East Africans could do a real introspection of the EAC programs.

5.2.5. Genres Used for EAC Articles

The findings reveal that the genres used for EAC articles were consistent with the trend of most of EAC articles originating from events and functions. Most of the articles published by the three newspapers during this period (56.7%) were hard news stories. They followed the typical inverted pyramid news reporting model that endeavors to answer the questions what? (What happened?), who? (Which person or people were involved?), When? (At what time or period did it happen?) Where? (At what place or places did it happen?) Why? (for what reason did it

happen?) and how? (in which way or manner did it happen?). One significant failure of this model, in spite of its manifest popularity with the three newspapers, is that it fails to answer the **bigger** question: **So What?**

News analyses and features tend to answer the ‘So what?’ question and therefore provides the implications of whatever is reported. News analyses also provoke the kind of discourses that would promote the generation of a diversity of ideas from the public. But, News analyses accounted for only 12.5% of the articles while features accounted for only 5.7%. For this reason, the bulk of the information provided over this period by the three newspapers focused more on basic informing. The bulk of the articles told East Africans about the what?, the who?, the why?, the when? the where? and the how? but, not the so what? This failed to resonate with what Erll and Rigney (2009) recommend that the media should serve to enable people make sense of issues.

5.2.6. Space Allocated to EAC Articles

Very little space was given to EAC articles. Only 3% of the stories were a page or longer. The rest, a staggering 87% were less than a page long. Consequently, newspapers presented the EAC as not being in their list of prime subjects. It also depicted the EAC as a subject with few details to be presented to the public. This finding contradicts the principle of agenda setting and agenda priming. The media determines what issues are regarded as important by the public (McCombs and Shaw (2005). The importance of an issue is reflected by, among other things, the bulk of media coverage accorded to it. More coverage implies more importance and vice versa. The less

coverage accorded to EAC issues implied less importance and therefore less attention and less visibility.

According to McCombs (1972), newspapers provide the public with a continuous stream of cues about the importance of topics. They clearly communicate salience through, among other factors, the space and size of headlines. A prime subject gets bigger space than a less prime one. A prime subject requires a more thorough and a more detailed discussion / presentation than a less prime one. A prime subject must be made to capture more interest. The size of a headline is usually dependent on the size of a story - the bigger the story, the bigger the headline. With 87% of EAC stories being too brief, they most likely failed to capture much attention.

5.2.7. Editorial Supplements Used in EAC Articles

It was established that a total of only 62 pictures were used in the 107 sampled stories. Other editorial supplements were also used, albeit in minimal quantities. There were a total of only 85 major editorial supplements used. This translates to an average of 0.8 per story. Editorial supplements not only attract attention of readers but also make written information more interesting to access and decipher. Pictures, for example, enhance believability. By providing a visual presentation of news occurrences, information is made more authentic. The three newspapers failed to enhance imagery in EAC stories. According to Ledford (1987) pictures, visual graphic aids and concrete symbols are imagery enhancing stimuli which promote appreciation of written messages. When pictures and other editorial supplements are used, it is easier for audiences not only to understand and appreciate EAC messages better but also to have a visual appreciation of the EAC benefits.

The failure to make good use of pictures and other editorial supplements meant that many EAC stories did not inspire better understanding neither did they guarantee better clarity. They hardly achieved what Ledford describes as ‘promoting understanding by augmenting describing with picturing’.

5.2.8. Key Characters Used in EAC Articles

Heads of state and politicians presented the bulk of characters that were key in most of the articles. Prominent persons tend to attract the news (Okolo, 1994). The three newspapers had 58% of such. The least presented characters were professionals at only 6%. This trend corroborates the tendency of the three newspapers to focus EAC coverage on functions and events since heads of state were established to be the ones who presided over most of the reported events. Politicians were presented as often questioning the merits of the EAC thereby presenting a conflict situation which is regarded as a human interest element in news. In this tendency, the three newspapers appeared to have disregarded professionals as significant to the EAC process. They also did not fit into the script of the provision of the EAC charter which acknowledges that:

The integration process will not be the sole responsibility of governments but a collective responsibility of several stakeholders including the civil society, the media, professionals, and the public.

5.2.9. Factors that Determine Coverage of EAC issues

The study established a number of factors that determined when and how EAC stories were covered by the three newspapers. The determining factors were almost similar for all the three newspapers. The most prominent determinants included: the capacity of the newspapers to cover

the EAC, their editorial policies, their proximity to the EAC Secretariat, EAC activities and events. With respect to capacity to cover the EAC, the three papers revealed that they all had journalists who were regularly assigned to EAC issues. This suggestion was however disputed by the study findings for the simple reason that if all the three papers regularly assigned journalists to EAC coverage as they all claimed, the study would not net coverage of less than 1% in a period of three long years. The three newspapers revealed that they did not have a particular policy on how they recruited or decided on those who covered EAC issues but; academic background, journalistic experience, personal interest, nationality, assumed familiarity with subjects and familiarity with characters presiding over a given EAC event were key considerations as to who was given an EAC assignment. The response of one of the journalists from the *Nation* presents this situation best. He/She said:

“I cannot really answer the question on how I was selected to be covering East African Community affairs authoritatively as I am not aware of how our managers select reporters or give assignments. However, I can speak as to how I think my editor selected me. Covering EAC was initially a personal initiative. With the growing frequency of my stories and improvement of my understanding of regional affairs, my editor almost always assigns me EAC and EAI stories.”

The sentiments of this reporter were confirmed by one editor. His explanation was that:

“We don’t really have a standard policy on how we select our EAC reporters. We look at a number of factors. The most important are: academic background, how well the person has performed in previous assignments and how our internal evaluation demonstrates that someone understands certain issues”

None of the three newspapers selected the people who covered the EAC on the basis of establishing their holistic understanding of the EAC Charter, the EAC protocols, the EAC history and the EAC administrative structure. Worse still, only two of the journalists at the *Nation*, one at *New Vision* and one at *Mwananchi* had attended seminars and conferences that attempted

knowledge enhancement on the EAC. This situation casts doubt on the ability of the reporters engaged by the three newspapers to articulate EAC issues from a position of knowledge, with passion and authority. Their ability to constantly interpret the benefits, challenges, threats and opportunities of the EAC, outline the history of the EAC, highlight challenges facing the EAC, predict consequences of EAC programs and recommend solutions to EAC problems is, to a reasonable degree, limited. The consequence of which is described by Orjiako (2009) that: improper reporting creates a communication gap that acts as a barrier to African integration programs.

Another determinant on how EAC stories were reported during this period was the perceived role of each newspaper to the EAI. Six responses emerged. These were: reporting EAC events, reporting EAC disputes, interpreting EAC protocols, analyzing the benefits of the EAC, explaining implications of EAC programs and raising the profile of the EAC. But, the study findings were not in tandem with these perceived roles. Less than 30% of the 107 published stories did anything but report on EAC events and functions. Accordingly, only one perceived role was fulfilled during this period. The situation reflected a poor attempt by the three newspapers to help in the formation of public opinion by setting and building public agenda as recommended by Dearing and Rodgers (1996).

5.2.10. Framing of the EAC in the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi*

Two sets of frames emerged from the stories published on the EAC by the three newspapers. One set had some stories presenting a regional or unified frame – depicting East Africa as a unified entity sharing common problems and aspirations. A few others presented a fragmented

frame – presenting East Africa as just a geographical location with different independent states. The other set presented a promising frame – reflecting the EAC as progressive, beneficial and crucial or a skeptical frame – reflecting the EAC as unnecessary, overrated, disruptive and inconsequential. These two sets of frames can be summarized as: ‘Unified versus Fragmented and Promising versus Skeptical’.

The diction of EAC stories in the three newspapers was reflective of the above-mentioned frames. Headlines were singled out for analysis for this purpose. Headlines are topics or titles of news stories. They summarize the most important details of a story (Ngugi, 2005). They identify the news peg and they arouse the curiosity of readers. In the 107 sampled stories, the word ‘East African’ was used in 61% of the stories. This was done even in instances where the story involved only one or two member states of the EAC. A remarkable example was:

WHY EAST AFRICANS MAKE GREAT RUNNERS – *The Nation* – April 29, 2012

The situation presented by this headline, and several others, was deemed as misleading. For one, the article focused on Kenyan, Ethiopian and Ugandan runners. Ethiopia is geographically located in the East African Region but is not a member state of the EAC. Kenya and Uganda make up only two of the EAC’s five member states. Such headlines, therefore, deployed language use that overreached and even transcended the East African Community’s territorial enclave to regions that are still not formally or legally part of the EAC. This was perhaps a consequence of the editors’ attempts to represent East Africa as a unified entity but in disregard of the actual territorial and legal formations thereof.

The headlines used by the three newspapers were overwhelming in their support for the EAC. 81 of the headlines reflected the EAC as promising and useful. Only nine were unsupportive of the EAC, the bulk of which (4) were published by *Mwananchi*. The support may have been crucial in shaping public opinion on EAC being that some readers rarely read stories beyond the headline (Cerulo, 2000). In drafting the headlines, editors have a kind of ‘poetic license’. Certain grammatical rules may at times be overlooked in a headline. For example, a headline may be a fragmented phrase or may even not be correctly punctuated. A headline may also be designed as a sentence, a question, a quote or even a figure of speech. Headlines designed as figures of speech tend to arouse more curiosity for their uniqueness in language. However, most of the headlines (63%) were mere statements or phrases.

The intro or the lead is another crucial element in a newspaper article. It is journalistically defined as the first sentence or group of sentences in a story. The intro contextualizes the story. It captures the core issues in the story. It is intended to encourage a reader to want to read on. To achieve this purpose, the intro must be sharp and interesting. It must stand out uniquely in the story by avoiding simplistic narration of the event (Oloruntola, 2012). There are several ways of avoiding basic narration in the intro. One can craft a staccato intro which comprises of short phrases that follow a sequential and musical pattern, an epigram intro that revolves around a popular slogan or say in a given society, a literary allusion intro that makes reference to a popular publication or work or art, a figurative intro that makes use of a popular figure of speech, a question intro that poses a striking inquiry that the story endeavors to answer or a parody intro that trivializes or satirizes the main issue addressed in a story. When an intro is just a plain presentation of facts, it is referred to as a flat intro. The intros used in EAC articles during this

period were overwhelmingly flat. 56% of stories had flat intros. They presented the most important part of the story in a way that did not guarantee arousing of reader interest. This however, is an attribute that was noted as not unique to EAC stories.

The three newspapers were largely supportive of the EAC. 54% of the stories depicted the EAC as succeeding and headed for great achievement. There was a very high frequency of favorable terms that portrayed the EAC as significant, unified, well managed, promoting economic growth and beneficial. The most common of these included the use of the phrase ‘East African Citizens’ (28) and ‘East African People’ (73). Others included: East African Currency (26) and East African Economy (44). In some instances these phrases depicted situations that officially are still non-existent. But, they presented future aspirations of the EAC; since efforts for the creation of an East African passport that would give rise to East African citizens and the formulation of a common East African currency are on-going. The high number of favorable references to the EAC presents a clamor by the three newspapers to promote the concept of an integrated East Africa..

It was also established that a high number of figures of speech were used in the EAC stories. An average of five figures of speech was used per story. Repetition, symbolism, metonymy, and simile were the most frequently used figures of speech. Nothing captures the centrality of figurative expression in written communication than the philosophy of Stanley (2007) who asserts that:

Without figures of speech, the power of language to communicate would be crippled. Like a dog without bark or bite, like a flower without colour or scent, like an uncut gem

left encrusted in stone, language devoid of figures of speech would lack something vital to its essence.

Figures of speech enrich the language used in stories and enhance the reader's appreciation of the story. The three newspapers made good use of figures of speech and with good impact. Repetition had the highest frequency with the phrase 'East African' repeated 366 times. The intention of this repetition is obviously to emphasize the concept of an East African society. Symbolism is also used in three prominent ways. The phrases East African citizens (28), East African people (73) and East African flag (4) greatly symbolized unity of East Africa and fostered the social construction of a collective East African identity as prescribed by Abad (2007). Metonymy involves naming a part of something to mean the whole. In a number of instances, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania have been referred to by the names of their capitals in a number of stories. A striking example is:

....there should be no dispute between Kampala and Nairobi over Migingo Island. East Africa is integrating and we will soon share our natural resources.... – *New Vision* April, 12, 2012.

As demonstrated here, metonymy endeavours to provide the most important segment of the subject of a story thereby enhancing emphasis. Similes have also been repeatedly used. Similes are direct comparisons. Impressive examples include:

.....comparing the EAC with the European Union is like comparing the biblical David with Goliath.... – *The Nation*- July 10th, 2011.

.....Museveni's utterances with regard to Migingo Island are as provocative as Amin's proclamations over Uganda's ownership of Western Kenya. *The Nation* December 16, 2010.

Similes not only enhance the grasp of an issue but greatly contribute to the extent in which it is embedded in the readers' psyche.

5.3. Conclusion

Whereas *The Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* had very few EAC stories published during the period January 2010 to December 2012, articles in the three newspapers portrayed the EAC favourably and presented overwhelming support to the idea of a united East Africa. The three newspapers portrayed fairly similar tendencies in terms of subject choices, source of stories, placement, space, priming and framing of EAC issues. They also portrayed striking similarities with regard to how they selected journalists who cover EAC stories. Above all, all the three newspapers revealed that policy-wise, they were proponents of the East African Integration but this did not translate into how often they covered the EAC during the period January 2010 – December 2012.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0. Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the major conclusions of the study derived from the interpretation of the study findings. It also outlines the contributions of this study to scholarship and to the practice of print journalism in East Africa and makes recommendations on how the role of the print media in promote the EAC agenda can be enhanced.

6.1. General Overview

This study sought to accomplish five fundamental tasks. These were: (1) to establish the extent to which the East African Community Secretariat has made use of the print media to inform the East African public about the EAC; (2) to determine what issues regarding the EAC were addressed by the three newspapers during the period (January 2010 – December 2012); (3) to evaluate the priming and framing of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012; (4) to establish the factors that determined coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012; and (5) to compare and contrast the coverage of the EAC by the three newspapers during the period of January 2010 – December 2012.

To obtain empirical findings for each of these tasks, the study critically analyzed East Africa's three largest newspapers: the *Nation* of Kenya, *New Vision* of Uganda and *Mwananchi* of Tanzania for a period of three years (January 2010 – December 2012). The study conducted key informant interviews with communication officers at the East African Community Secretariat.

Similar interviews were also conducted with editors and reporters in each of the three newspapers.

6.2. Summary of Study Conclusions

From the findings and their subsequent interpretations, six key conclusions were derived based on how the EAC Secretariat made use of the print media, how the EAC print media has framed and primed EAC stories, what issues have been addressed by the print media regarding the EAC, what factors determine coverage of the EAC by the print media and how the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* compare and contrast in their coverage of the EAC.

6.2.1. The Use of the Print Media by the EAC Secretariat

The EAC Secretariat acknowledges that the media is central to the enhancement of the EAC agenda. Its former director of Public Affairs and Communications, Mr. Magaga Alot outlines four ways in which the Secretariat uses the media. These are: promoting awareness, encouraging discourses about key EAC issues among stakeholders, demonstrating the achievements, and competitiveness of the regional bloc and promoting visibility of EAC effectiveness and efficiency. But, in the period January 2010 – December 2012, the Secretariat failed to promote the EAC agenda - to an appreciable degree via East Africa's three largest newspapers. The Secretariat however managed to use the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* to play two unique roles that could not (and still cannot be substituted) by any other mainstream mass media outlet. These are: the advertising of vacancies at the Secretariat and announcements of expressions of interest for tenders and consultancies. These two remain almost exclusively, the role of the print media, but augmented with internet/web information. The Secretariat's official policy remains that of

engaging all media in equal measure. But, over reliance on functions and events did little to promote the publication of articles likely to attract public attention.

6.2.2. EAC Issues Addressed by the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* between January 2010 and December 2012

The three newspapers did not regard the EAC an issue of priority during the period January 2010 – December 2012. For this reason, the papers focused more on coverage of events and functions graced by East Africa’s heads of state. This being the case, the two papers failed to enhance levels of knowledge on the EAC. Several fundamental issues that ought to have been addressed were given considerable blackout. Issues such as dynamics of equity and distribution of resources, challenges facing the EAC, prevailing misconceptions on the EAC and implications of territorial disputes to the success of the EAC were covered poorly. Failure to address such crucial issues compromised the level at which the three papers enhanced public knowledge and appreciation. It also did little if anything to empower the public well enough to actively participate in EAC programs as envisaged by the EAC Charter – to make EA Integration a people driven process.

6.2.3. Priming of EAC issues

The three newspapers did not regard the EAC as a prime subject during the period January 2010 – December 2012. The EAC did not, for example, receive the kind of special coverage that the three papers accord other important processes such as elections or major sporting events. One may argue that this is a phenomenal Journalistic misnomer owing to the undisputed fact that the success of the EAC would transform East Africa in a way that is almost revolutionary. And, the

implications of a fully integrated EAC are much more far-reaching than elections. It follows therefore, that the EAC should, journalistically speaking, in terms of news values and journalistic responsibility, receive coverage that is as special and even as exaggerated as elections. The EAC was primed poorly with less than 1% of the total sampled stories being EAC ones and less than 20% in prime pages and very few editorial supplements. Less than 10% were more than a page long. Most stories were hard news stories that did not indulge in crucial interpretation. Though not empirically tested in this study, it would not be farfetched to conclude that if at all public interest in the EAC was enhanced during this period, the three newspapers made little contribution to it. There is little doubt that the extent to which citizens engage in public affairs depends significantly on the volume and quality of information transmitted to them (Nyabuga, 2011; Norris, 2000). The three newspapers enabled minimal contact between the public and the EAC and transmitted insignificant volumes of information that could hardly contribute to public interest.

6.2.4. Framing of EAC Issues

In spite of poor priming, the three papers depicted the EAC favorably. EAC was largely portrayed as a unifying socio-economic and political force. There was manifest clamor by the three newspapers to emphasize the significance of the EAC as a necessity for contemporary global economic competitiveness. Most of the stories portrayed the EAC as necessary, as a solution to failures of individual EA states, as a remedy to economic stagnation as an opportunity for growth of business, enhancement and as an enhancement to regional stability. The bulk of messages in the few articles published were phenomenally supportive of the EAC. The three

newspapers therefore, enhanced the merits of the EAC but failed to present the challenges and misconceptions in equal measure.

6.2.5. Factors Determining Coverage of EAC Issues

Four factors were noted to be responsible for the poor prioritization of EAC issues by the three newspapers. These were: the perception by all the three newspapers that EAC news was not really their responsibility since another newspaper, the *East African*, specialized in EAC news, the inability of the EAC Secretariat to generate stories of interest that the three papers could not overlook, the focus on national issues as opposed to regional ones, the regard of EAC news to be of interest only to a limited elite – especially the business class and the compromised human resource capacity of the three newspapers. Allocation of assignments to reporters who were yet to internalize and gather a solid understanding of EAC history, protocols, objectives, mission, vision and its socio-political and economic implications may have been the biggest reason behind the failure to address several important EAC issues during the period January 2010 – December 2012.

6.2.6. Similarities and Contrasts of Coverage of EAC Issues by *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* between January 2010 and December 2012

The three newspapers largely demonstrated similar trends on their coverage of the EAC during this period. The only outstanding uniqueness was that of the *Nation* has since appointed a Group managing editor for regional content to marshal the group's resources in generating content on regional integration. The extent to which this administrative strategy has improved EAC coverage by the *Nation* could not be established as it was beyond the scope of the period of this

study. But, it may, to an appreciable degree, enhance the capacity of the *Nation* more than the other two newspapers to gather data on regional news. All tested variables were largely similar except for the use of figures of speech where *Mwananchi* reflected much higher numbers. Also, it was only journalists of *Mwananchi* who reflected considerable skepticism on the EAC – factor that perhaps mirrors on the perceived integration skepticism of Tanzanians.

6.3. Study Recommendations

6.3.1. Recommendations for the EAC Secretariat

The EAC Secretariat requires a strategic overhaul of their media engagement mechanisms. A proactive framework that not only promotes media interest in the EAC but also guarantees consistent media coverage is long overdue. The Secretariat must target the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* in such a plan by virtue of their high circulation and readership. Such a framework may involve:

- a) The EAC's investment in East Africa's largest newspapers through the purchase of a formidable amount of their shares. This will make the EAC one of the papers' gatekeepers and give it the much needed capacity to influence the quantity and quality of coverage capable of enhancing the EAC agenda. Such a drastic measure may compel additional budgetary considerations. But, as revealed by former EAC Secretary General, Ambassador Juma Mwapachu, the EAC's review committee recommends improved resource allocations every fiscal year so as to match their growing mandate and responsibilities. Such an investment would be a worthy justification for increased funding. Alternatively, as Nyabuga (2011) suggests, the EAC can invest in an independent multi-media enterprise that operates along the BBC model. The enterprise

would broadcast and publish in both regional and local languages and would circulate some of its newspapers for free in schools, public institutions and offices. To augment reach effectiveness, use of social media platforms to mount the key messages from mainstream media should also be put in place. The success of such an enterprise would address the challenge of the EAC having to rely on mainstream media outlets for coverage.

- b) In the short run, the EAC should involve the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* more in their programs. The Secretariat ought to be reminded that despite the *East African* specializing in regional news, it has a negligible readership. Programs that empirically measure levels of print media coverage should also be established. Such studies should be geared to establish not just how much coverage but what kind of coverage the EAC is receiving. The findings of such surveys would be crucial for making policy decisions and would also provide a body of ready data for future researchers on this subject. At the time of this study, such data was not available.

- c) Holding regular workshops, seminars, conferences and symposia that promote regular, structured and constructive discourses amongst stakeholders is also vital in the quest to promote dialogue and debate on EAC matters. These forums can also be used to enhance the journalists' interest and levels of knowledge on the EAC matters. Reports on key issues discussed in such meetings would also form a rich source of stories for newspapers and frameworks for publications – whose reviews newspapers report on.

d) Developing a popular Corporate Social Responsibility plan that responds to such key regional challenges as Education, Food Security, Settlement and Resettlement of refugees. Efforts by the EAC to play a leading and appreciated role in providing scholarships to disadvantaged East African communities, providing relief services to famine stricken areas, free education and subsidies to farmers across the region, developing refugee settlement, resettlement and community integration programs would compel, promote and sustain favorable media coverage that gives the EAC constant and appreciated visibility.

6.3.2 **Recommendations for the *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi***

It is widely accepted that the media has a role to play in promotion of public awareness – especially on crucial societal changes and development. The *Nation*, *New Vision* and *Mwananchi* must appreciate that with their great circulation comes great responsibility. They must begin to develop more interest and recognize their centrality is the enhancement of the EAC agenda. They must take cue from the position of Wood and Barnes (2007) that they have a responsibility not just to create public awareness but also to shape opinions, create a platform for public debate and scrutinize and hold EAC stakeholders to account. To do all these, they must report on issues that enable East Africans make sense of the EAC, its benefits, its challenges and its implications. They must regularly publish articles that not just tell of EAC events but also those that predict consequences of EAC programs, explain the eventualities of EAC protocols and treaties and recommend solutions to EAC challenges. Such a robust presentation of the EAC can be achieved through:

- a) Capacity building for journalists who report on the EAC. Organizing in-house training workshops or short courses on specialized reporting of regional issues would enable reporters to address EAC details with understanding and the depth that guarantees adequate interpretation and analyses. Also, to enable them interpret and report on the EAC in understandable and admirable language (Meyer, 1973).

- b) Priming EAC issues more often so as to promote public interest, build the EAC agenda more prominently and ensure that analyses of EAC issues get regular coverage on radio and television.

- c) Addressing the issues that still remain largely under reported yet are crucial to public. Examples include: the political federation of East Africa – which remains the most phenomenal objective of the EAC. As explained by Nabudere (2010):

The Fast Tracking Committee of the EAC has recommended that East African heads of state must make a bold decision and recommend to their respective Parliaments to pass binding and irrevocable resolutions abolishing the existing boundaries between the three countries and then ask the people of East Africa to reconstitute themselves into new cultural-linguistic states that will form a basis of a political federation. The committee recommended that the federation comes into effect in 2010 and that the period between 2010 and 2011 be used as a consolidation phase.

Nabudere reveals that there are official on-going efforts to unify East Africa, not just socio – economically but also politically. But, it should be noted that the intended period for a political federation has since been pushed forward to the year 2020. The dissolution of state boundaries to create an actual EAC political federation will require a popular public referendum in all the EAC member states (EAC, 2004:69). Maybe, it is until this

time that the three newspapers will realize the news worth of the EAC. Nevertheless, they would have been a big disservice to their readers if the eventuality of this referendum came at a time when they have done little to enable their readers make informed choices on East Africa's destiny. The time to inform and educate the public about such impending eventualities is now.

Other important issues that should be consistently addressed by the three newspapers include: the fact that the EAC governments have already approved proposals to harmonize the three East African monetary and fiscal policies with the aim of establishing a common central bank for East Africa and a common currency in the next 10 years. The currency union will be an attractive development as it will provide all the member states with a more stable currency and greater purchasing power (Abdirashid, 2014). The fact that cross border business transactions will be simplified by a monetary union is the kind of information that the public must be constantly fed on.

Another important issue that ought to be primed is the fate of East Africa's most strategic ecological resource, Lake Victoria. The current boundaries have created such a mess – putting the water in Uganda and the land in Kenya in some segments of the lake. Successful integration would place the management of the lake under a single authority. This would most likely result in better management and possibly guarantee the one year fishing holiday that the lakes urgently requires (Buwembo, 2014).

Similarly, the three newspapers must consistently build EA's integration agenda by addressing the real challenges afflicting the efforts of integration and being part and parcel of those who lend and suggest viable solutions. The most prominent challenges facing the EAC are identified as:

Competition between national and regional interests, membership of member states to other regional blocs such as COMESA and SADC, language variations, urbanized vis-a vis rural culture, differences in education systems of member states, low public awareness of the EAC, liabilities inherited by partner states and dynamics of equity in sharing of regional assets (Nabudere, 2010: 72)

Providing viable solutions to such challenges should be a matter of priority to newspapers.

Examples of solutions that can be provided include:

- Highlighting the benefits of regional over national interests such as bigger markets, stronger bargaining capacity with development partners, enhanced regional security and diminished ethnic nationalities.
- Using the print media as a platform to support Rwanda and Burundi who have since adopted English as their official language. And, the promotion of Kiswahili as a regional lingua franca.
- Increasing public sensitization on EAC through regular and expanded conceptual clarifications, addressing misconceptions, corrections on the exaggerations of EAC economic and political potentialities, exposing EAC vulnerabilities, re-telling the history and milestones of East African federation which remain largely unknown to the public.
- Promoting the integration of East Africa's education system which is identified as a big challenge. Shikwati (2010) argues that:

Kenya's education system is viewed to be more globalised than those of other EAC's member states; this translates to the fact that Kenyans may readily provide

labor to multinational companies in the EAC than her counterparts. The current perception is that integration in the medium term will be to the advantage of Kenyan labor market.

Such integration should perhaps be encouraged as a prerequisite to the intended political federation.

- d) The three newspapers, by virtue of their high circulation numbers, must also present themselves as platforms through which non-state actors actively participate and contribute ideas to the enhancement of the EAC agenda. Encouraging NGOs, Trade Unions, Human Rights Groups and Professional Organizations to provide checks and balances to state actors, to mobilize stakeholders and to indulge in constructive dialogue on EAC would promote a multi-sectored public dialogue that goes a long way in raising public awareness and appreciation of the EAC.
- e) The three newspapers must transform their editorial policies to be able to deal with the challenges that regional integration will pose to the print media itself. Oyugi (2010) identifies these as: expanded geographical scope, demographic diversity, historical fluidity and the complex amalgam of multiple driving forces that would redefine even what makes news.

6.4. Contributions to Scholarship and Professional Practice

The findings of this study have a number of contributions to media practice and theory. They enhance debate on the role of the media in societal development and the interest of media in developmental reporting and also recommend a new strategic framework for promoting media coverage on the EAC.

First, the study was meant to determine the role of the print media in regional integration. The findings of the study will promote the continuity of the on-going debate on the usefulness and relevance of the print media in contemporary times. The findings of this study revealed that certain messages such as job vacancies could only be effectively conveyed via the print media. This comes against the backdrop of the supposition of new media theorists, on the one hand, who postulate that the print media is on its death bed (Van Wyk, 2012) and is currently experiencing reduced attention and engagement to the extent that popular magazines like *Newsweek* have had to go digital in 2012. On the other hand, proponents of print Journalism continue to present the position that the print media is not replaceable as yet. As Pitibas (2007) argues:

During the over two centuries of its existence, the print media has faced several new waves of electronic media revolutions. It survived against the onslaughts which came as broadcast Radio, Television, Satellite and Cable Television, and the New Media popularly known as New Information and Communication Technologies. The evolution of each of the above electronic media was perceived as a threat to the very existence of print media but none could replace it. At some stages the impacts are noticeable but short-lived, and the print media has overcome them without being critically affected.

The findings of this study have therefore contributed to this debate by lending empirical support to the proponents of the latter argument.

Secondly, the findings of the study will promote the theoretical assumptions of some scholars but challenge others. For example, as the findings of the study reveal, the three newspapers focused more on national issues. This supported the position of Galtung and Ruge (1965) that audiences prefer national rather than regional issues since national news is more relevant to their immediate needs. But, the findings challenged another theoretical position presented by Chomsky and Herman (1988) that the media mainly mobilize support for the policy preferences of dominant

elites. EAC news is perceived by editors of the three newspapers to be preferred by the East African elite yet this reality did not promote increased coverage.

Thirdly, the study identified the gaps in the EAC Secretariat's media engagement strategy and recommended an improved model that would guarantee increased media attention, increased media interest, increased EAC visibility and increased interpretation of EAC issues. The strategy, which proposes that the EAC Secretariat invests in the buying of shares in mainstream media enterprises, establishing an independent EAC media enterprise, conducting regular workshops to promote dialogue among EAC stakeholders, sponsoring professional seminars to enhance knowledge and interest of journalists in EAC affairs and participating in CSR activities would enhance the ability of the media to promote EAC visibility, create EAC awareness, enhance public knowledge on EAC benefits and the EAC agenda.

Fourth, the findings of the study reveal a phenomenal professional concern. As Laswell (1948) puts it, the media is a mirror of society. The media reflects what is transpiring in our society. The minimal interest reflected by the three papers in the EAC implies, therefore, minimal interest in the EAC by the public. The regard of the EAC as a subject for a small elite of persons is not just a media perception but also, perhaps, a public perception. It is no wonder that empirical studies by Trade Mark have revealed very low public awareness on EAC matters. But, this challenges media practitioners and scholars to ask themselves the critical question posed by Edeani (1994) that: should the public be told what they need or what they want? The answer to this question is a key determinant on what would motivate newspapers to indulge more in Development Journalism.

6.5. Suggested Areas for Further Research

- a) This study was specific to the print media. Future studies should focus on the role that other media have played in regional integration. This may include studies on broadcast media, alternative media, social media and even traditional media. The studies may also be conducted comparatively – to measure how different media platforms have contributed to the EAC agenda.

- b) This study focused on the period January 2010 – December 2012. There ought to be studies on the period after 2012 to establish whether print media response to the EAC and print media importance to the EAC secretariat remains the same or not.

- c) Studies on public knowledge have been conducted but there ought to be more studies on public opinion, attitudes and perceptions on the EAC. Such studies would be useful in predicting the outcomes of critical decisions such as the proposed referendum before the intended political federation of East Africa by 2020. Such studies would also be useful informing and determining policy on EAC issues.

6.6. Conclusion

Regionalism has its merits. It is associated with several socio-political and economic benefits ranging from increased markets to increased employment opportunities, increased trade to increased competitiveness. It even promises better international recognitions and better international trade bargaining capacity (Okello and Kirungi, 2011; Chigono and Nkana, 2008;

Mushenga, 2006). But, amidst all the glory and promise painted on regionalism, this has not been enough to persuade East Africa's largest newspapers to view the East African Integration as a subject of interest.

The Nation, New Vision and *Mwananchi* are guided more by the dynamics of profiteering and pick on the issues they regularly cover on the basis of whether they will sell or not. In so doing, they contradict the convictions of some prominent scholars such as Noam Chomsky. Despite The EAC being a subject that is regarded to largely appeal only to the elite, it does not attract the attention of the three newspapers. Be that as it may, the print media remains the (mass) medium of record (Obonyo et al. (2013). Its unique place in the dissemination of information remains unmatched. As per the time of this study, the three most circulated newspapers in East Africa showed minimal interest in the EAC thus playing an insignificant role in enhancing the EAC agenda. But, the recommendations of this study, if appreciated, will go a long way in ensuring that they contribute to the clarion call of the EAC of promoting *One East Africa, One People, One Destiny*.

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APPENDIX (1)

NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE SHEET

SERIAL NUMBER _____

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION

1. Date of Publication: _____
2. Newspaper:
A] The Nation
B] The New Vision
C] *Mwanainchi*
3. Name of Writer: _____
4. Title of Article:

-
5. Genre of Story:
A] Hard News
B] News Analysis
C] News Round up
D] News Brief
E] Feature Story
F] Editorial
G] Commentary
H] Q & A
 6. Que of Story:
A] Political News
B] Business News
C] International News
D] Sports News
E] Social Issues

SECTION B: MEASURING THE LEVEL OF PROMINENCE ACCORDED TO THE EAI BY EACH ARTICLE

7. In what kind of page is the story located?

- A] Prime Page ----a) Page 1 b) Page 2 c) Page 3 d) Back Page
B] Others, Please Specify_____

8. What is the size of the article regarding the EAI

- A] Full Page
B] More than One Page
C] Three Quarters of a Page
D] Two Thirds of a page
E] Half of a Page
F] One Third of a Page
G] A Quarter of a Page
H] Other, Please Specify_____

9. Does the story have an editorial supplement?

- A] Yes B] No

10. If yes, what is it?

- A] Picture
B] Pictures
C] Cartoon
D] Visual-Graphic Tool (Specify) _____

11. Which prominent character or characters are mentioned in the article?

- A] Head of State(s)
B] Ministers
C] Prominent Government Officials
D] International Development Partners
E] Prominent Regional Corporate Executives
F] Prominent Regional Corporate Enterprises
H] Governmental Agencies
I] Inter Governmental Agencies
J] Other, Please Specify_____

12. What event is covered by the article?

- A] Conference
B] Workshop/Seminar/Symposium
C] Consultative Forum
D] EALA Meeting

- E] EACJ Session
- F] EACS Forum
- G] Other, Please Specify_____

SECTION C: MEASURING CONSTRUCTIVE FRAMES WHILE REPORTING ON EAI

13. What is the identity concept used to Identify the EAC in the article?
- A] Collective Identity
 - B] Non Collective Identity

SECTION D: MEASURING THE JOURNALISTIC OBJECTIVE FULFILLED WHILE REPORTING ON EAI

14. Does the article fulfill the following journalistic obligations on EAI? Tick as appropriate.

RESPONSIBILITY	YES	NO
Explain Significance of the EAC		
Interpret the Implications of Integration		
Reveal Socio-Political and Economic changes to be Necessitated by EAI		
Explain the Processes of Integration		
Discuss Merits of Integration		
Discuss De-merits of Integration		
Present Threats of Integration		
Identify opportunities for EAC		
Provide History and Background Information for EAC		
Recommend solutions to challenges facing the EAC		
Encourage Public Participation in EAC Policy Making		

15. What subject/issue is addressed by the article on EAI? Tick as appropriate.

EA Treaties and Agreements	
EA Conflicts	
Transport and Communication	
Science and Technology	

Politics	
Energy	
Agriculture	
Education	
Sports	
Language	
Culture and Arts	
Housing and Settlement	
Migration	
Finance	
Trade and Business	
Population	
History	
Environment	
Tourism and Wildlife	

----- ENDS -----

APPENDIX (II)

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE FOR REPORTERS AND SUB EDITORS

Establishing the competence of newspapers to cover the EAI

Qn.1. Do you have a desk that is dedicated to reporting EAI issues?

Qn. 2. If yes, what is its structure and operational mode?

Qn.3. If no, why?

Qn.4. What criteria do you use in selecting reporters who cover EAI issues?

Determining the relationship between newspapers and the EAC stakeholders

Qn.5. How regularly do you cover events and initiatives spearheaded by:

- a) The EAC Secretariat?
- b) The Government Ministry in-charge of the East African Integration?

Qn.6. How often is your newspaper used for purposes of corporate communications by:

- a) The EAC Secretariat?
- b) The Government Ministry in-charge of EAI?

Qn.7. What is the approximated advertising revenue that you earn from:

- a) The EAC Secretariat?
- b) The Government Ministry in-charge of the EAI?

Determining the editorial stance of the newspapers regarding the EAC

Qn.8. Does your paper have an editorial position regarding the EAC?

Qn. 9. If yes, what is it?

Qn. 10. If no, why?

Establishing the editorial interest of newspapers on the EAC

Qn. 11. How newsworthy do you perceive EAI stories to be?

Qn. 13. Do you think your newspaper has a journalistic responsibility to the EAI?

Qn. 13. If yes, what do you perceive to be the responsibility of your newspaper towards the
successful integration of East Africa?

Qn. 14. What has been your journalistic contribution to the EAI?

Evaluating the factors that determine EAI coverage

Qn. 15. What factors determine how you cover EAI issues?

-----ENDS-----

APPENDIX (III)

IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWING SCHEDULE FOR COMMUNICATION OFFICERS AT THE EAC SECRETARIAT

Establishing levels of engagement with the Media

Qn.1. What do you perceive to be the role of the media in the EAI?

Qn. 2. In what particular ways have you engaged the media in spearheading the EAI agenda?

Qn.3. Are there any challenges that you face in engaging the media?

Determining media engagement patterns

Qn. 4. How frequently do you engage the media?

Qn. 5. Do you have particular preferences when it comes to the media of choice for your activities?

Qn. 6. If, yes, what are these preferences and why?

Evaluating Attitudes and Perceptions of the EAC Secretariat

Qn.7. Which media outlet(s) in particular do you perceive to be the most supportive of the EAC and why?

Qn.8. Which media outlet(s) in particular do you perceive to be the least supportive of the EAC and why?

-----ENDS-----

APPENDIX (IV)

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS CODE SHEET FOR ARTICLES ON EAI STORIES

SERIAL NUMBER _____

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION

1. Date of Publication: _____
2. Newspaper:

A] The Nation
B] The New Vision
C] *Mwanainchi*
3. Name of Writer: _____
4. Title of Article:

SECTION B: DETERMINING DICTION OF HEADLINES

5. How many words are used in the headline of the story?
6. Have any of these phrases been used in the headline?
A] East African Community
B] East African Integration
C] East African Unity
D] East African Region / Regionalism
E] East African Cooperation
F] East African Conflict
G] Disagreement
7. How has the headline been phrased?
A] A Sentence
B] A Phrase
C] A Question

- D] A Single Word
- E] A Figure of Speech

SECTION C: EVALUATING THE NATURE OF INTROS

8. What type of intro has been used in the article?
- A] Staccato
 - B] Literary Allusion
 - C] Epigram
 - D] Question
 - E] Figurative
 - F] Parody
 - G] Comparative
 - H] Flat

SECTION D: ESTABLISHING THE DICTION ON COLLECTIVE IDENTITY IN CONTENT

9. Have any of the following phrases been used in the article?

Phrase	Yes	No
East African Citizens		
East African Culture		
East African Economy		
East African Climate		
East African Education		
East African Currency		
East African Passport		
East African Population		
East African Problems		
East African Government/s		

East African Flag		
East African People		

10. Have any of the following words been used in the article and if so, how many times?

Word	Frequency
Agreement	
Cooperation	
Treaty	
Unity	
Re-birth	
Renaissance	
Growth	
Federation	
Revival	
Partnership	
Brotherhood	
Sisterhood	
Commonality	
Similarity	

11. Have any of the following figurative expressions been used in the article? If So, What purpose does it serve in conveying the idea of collective identity?

FIGURE OF SPEECH	YES	NO	PURPOSE
Repetition			
Oxymoron			
Paradox			
Euphemism			
Hyperbole			
Proverb			
Metaphor			
Simile			

-----ENDS-----

APPENDIX (V)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW (I):

(With Communication Officers at EAC Secretariat)

RESPONSE RECORD SHEET

No.	QUESTIONS	RESPONSES
1	<i>What do you perceive to be the role of the media in the East African Integration?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>We use the media to create public awareness about the EAC and its objectives, but most specifically the EAC integration agenda and how it benefits the East Africans. It is our belief that there is much more to gain and almost nothing to lose. We ensure that we tell the public what positive transformations await them should the EAC become a success. We also try to give them details of our programs so that we implement them on a platform of public awareness.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>We engage the media in our efforts to increase popular participation and deeper sensitization of East Africans in the EAC. We intend to involve the public in our agenda and therefore it is prudent to constantly use the media as an agent of feedback from the public.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>We use the media as a forum to open up dialogue on diverse issue concerning the community at all</p>

		<p>levels. We particularly use the media to engage professionals and other stakeholders. We believe that through such discourses, we enrich our agenda by collecting ideas from the larger EAC public. We also use the media to disseminate different types of messages.</p>
1(b)	<i>What kind of messages do you convey to the media on a regular basis?</i>	We mostly use talk shows, feature articles, interviews, press conferences and news events.
1(c)	<i>Does that mean that other genres like advertorials, supplements, press statements and press releases, response articles and advertisements are not very common in the messages you use?</i>	No. They are not.
2	<i>Are there any challenges you face as a secretariat in engaging the media to enhance the EAC agenda?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>We have to deal with limited financial resources. This has proved a major challenge to engage the media at large in all partner states. Several types of coverage that we envisage require money that sometimes we don't have. We therefore have to make do with what we have.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>Many radio and television stations only accord us limited air time. Similarly, newspapers don't provide us with adequate space.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>We have noted that the media generally lacks interest in EAC news. We also believe that many</p>

		reporters lack adequate knowledge with regard to the EAC and therefore are limited in their capacity to indulge deep in setting our agenda.
3	<i>How frequently do you engage the media in EAC activities?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>We engage them all the time. We ensure that we invite them to our events and official functions.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>As EAC, whenever we have policy meetings, conferences and even workshops and seminars we always engage both electronic and print media including print media to disseminate information.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>It is our policy that all our activities receive media coverage.</p>
4	<i>Do you have a particular preference when it comes to which medium you use to convey information on the EAC to the public?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>No we don't. We invite all media to our functions.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>Not really, it depends on the function.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>We regard all media as important.</p>

5	<i>Which media do you perceive to be the most effective in disseminating EAC information to the Public?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>It depends on what is being reported. Some activities need a selection of a particular medium. For example, whenever we have a press conference we think it can be conveyed better through television or radio but we usually invite even the print media.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>I think they are all effective in their own way. They complement one another.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>That is determined by the type of information and the type audience we are targeting, for press statements for example, we rely more on print media but for press conferences we rely more on television and radio.</p>
6	<i>Which media outlet(s) in particular do you perceive to be the most supportive of the EAC and why?</i>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>It's hard to mention one or two because the trend now shows that most of the media houses in the region have started to develop interest in EAC news.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p>

		<p>We don't have actual stats but of course we have a few who have opened up special space for EAC news. These include: <i>The East African newspaper, East African Business Week, Arusha Times</i> and Channel Ten TV.</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>I think the <i>East African</i> and <i>Arusha Times</i> have demonstrated more interest.</p>
7	<p><i>Which media outlet do you consider to be least supportive to the EAC agenda?</i></p>	<p><i>Response 1:</i></p> <p>I can't really tell, We have not conducted that kind of analysis.</p> <p><i>Response 2:</i></p> <p>It is difficult to tell. But all media should improve their level of coverage</p> <p><i>Response 3:</i></p> <p>I think FM stations should do a better job.</p>

APPENDIX (VI)

KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW (II)

(With editors and reporters)

Response Record Sheet

No.	Question	Synopsis of Response
1	<i>Do you have a desk that is dedicated to reporting EAI issues?</i>	<i>Nation:</i> Yes <i>New Vision:</i> Yes <i>Mwananchi:</i> Yes
2	<i>What is its structure and operational mode?</i>	<i>Nation:</i> They mostly make use of the business desk for EAC stories since since they have noticed many of them are trade and business related. Besides, we have a sister newspaper, the <i>East African</i> , that has the coverage of the EAC as one of its primary roles. So, whatever we do not cover, the <i>East African</i> does. They tend to focus more on EAC issues that have a direct impact on Kenyans. <i>New Vision:</i> Their coverage of the EAC depends on the kind of news they are chasing. When the news is political in nature it is managed from the news desk. When it is sports they use the sports desk. When they cover issues relating to the monetary union of the EAC for example, they operate from

		<p>the Business Desk. But, when dealing with issues of the impending political federation, it is the responsibility of the news desk. They also acknowledge that there is already an East African newspaper that focuses more on EAC issues, it is published in Kenya. It is known as the <i>East African</i> and it circulates even in Uganda.</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>They manage the coverage of EAC news more from the Business Desk.</p>
3	<p><i>What criteria do you use in selecting reporters who cover EAI issues?</i></p>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>Academic Qualifications, experience, familiarity with EAC characters and officials and personal interest of journalists.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>Experience of covering the EAC, Experience as a reporter, nationality of reporter and the interest a reporter has in EAC matters.</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>Academics, experience, nationality, how familiar one is with EAC officials, how interested a reporter is in the EAI,</p>
4	<p><i>How regularly do you cover events and initiatives spearheaded by: the EAC Secretariat and the Government Ministry in-charge of</i></p>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>We really don't know.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p>

	<i>the East African Integration?</i>	<p>We don't count the frequency</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>The stories are assigned to different reporters so no one can really have a clear picture of the total.</p>
5	<i>How often is your newspaper used for purposes of corporate communications by the EAC Secretariat and the Government Ministry in-charge of EAI?</i>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>We can't tell.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>We don't know</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>Whenever they feel like</p>
6	<i>What is the approximated advertising revenue that you earn from the EAC Secretariat and the Government Ministry in-charge of the EAI?</i>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>As reporters, we don't have that kind of information.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>That is the business of the advertising and finance people.</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>We don't keep revenue records in the news room. Try getting answers from finance.</p>
7	<i>Does your paper have an editorial position regarding the EAC? If yes, what is it? If no, why?</i>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>We support the EAC. If it becomes a success, it will be beneficial to our newspaper since we are positioning ourselves to be the most powerful media house in East Africa. Whenever the news supports expansion of corporations, we ensure</p>

		<p>that we cover it. We have appointed a Group managing editor for regional content. His official job description is to marshal the group's resources in generating content on regional integration.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>We appreciate the EAC. We understand the benefits and the need for the region to move forward together. We also emphasize issues that portray Uganda as a key player in EAC issues.</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>We view the EAC to be largely a good thing. But we wonder if its benefits are real or just exaggerated. Many of our countrymen fear that we will not benefit as much as other East African nations.</p>
8	<p><i>How newsworthy do you perceive EAI stories to be?</i></p>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>Most EAC stories are business related and are more beneficial to a small elite, especially the business class. We consider these to be very few among our readers. For this reason, we don't put many of the EAC stories in our prime sections.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>It depends on the news. Many EAC issues are not sensational or human interest pieces. They are policy oriented. Most readers don't enjoy such.</p>

		<p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>They are more of interest to business people and policy makers. The larger public would not find such stories interesting to read.</p>
9	<p><i>Do you think your newspaper has a journalistic responsibility to the EAI? If yes, what do you perceive to be the responsibility of your newspaper towards the successful integration of East Africa?</i></p>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>To raise the profile of the EAC through constant reporting and to analyse EAC issues in a way that the public can understand the merits of EAC.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>To interpret EAC protocols to stakeholders and to tell the public what are the implications of an integrated East Africa.</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>To report on EAC events and functions and to tell the public about EAC disputes</p>
10	<p><i>What has been your journalistic contribution to the EAI?</i></p>	<p><i>Nation:</i></p> <p>We add on to what the East African reports.</p> <p><i>New Vision:</i></p> <p>We tell our citizens about EAC issues that are of interest to Uganda</p> <p><i>Mwananchi:</i></p> <p>We inform our readers about events and</p>

	programs that the EAC undertakes.
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APPENDIX (VII)

Content Analysis Variables Evaluation Criteria:

No	Variable	Criteria for Analysis
1.	<i>Date of Publication</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On what dates have EAC stories been published in each of the newspapers during the period January 2010 – December 2012? • Do the dates correspond with the sampled dates for the study?
2	<i>Number of Published EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many EAC articles have been published during the period January 2010 – December 2011? • How does this number compare with the total number of articles published during the same period?
3.	<i>Placement of EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many EAC articles are placed in the prime pages (1, back page, 2 and 3)? • How many EAC articles are in the Editorial Page? • How many EAC articles are in non prominent pages?
4.	<i>Size of EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many EAC articles are more than a page long? • How many EAC articles are a page long? • How many EAC articles are less than a page long? • How many EAC articles are half a page long? • How many EAC articles are less than a page long?
5.	<i>Editorial Supplements Used in EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How many EAC articles have editorial supplements? • How many EAC articles don't have editorial supplements? • For those with editorial supplements, which one(s) have been used? ✓ Pictures

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✓ Charts or Graphs ✓ Cartoons ✓ Maps ✓ Diagrams ✓ Straplines ✓ Stand firsts ✓ Kickers ✓ Fillers ✓ Bold Text ✓ Boxed Text ✓ Unique Type Face ✓ Larger Type Size
6.	<i>Source of News for EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EAC events/functions • Interviews • Investigative Reports • Analytical Reports • Research or Study Findings Publications • Broadcasts in Other Media • Source not mentioned • Multiple or more than one source
7.	<i>Genres Used for EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard news • News analyses • Features • Editorials • Commentaries / Opinion • Press Statement • Press Releases • Supplements

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interviews (Q & A) • Advertisements • Advertorials
8.	<i>Key Characters in EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Heads of State • EAC Officials and Executives • EAC Ministers • Politicians (including Members of the EALA) • Professionals • More than one key character
9.	<i>Subjects Addressed in EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Politics • Economics • Society • Culture • Health • Education • Science, Agriculture and Technology • Security • Law
10.	<i>Journalistic purpose of EAC Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoting Awareness and Visibility of EAC • Encouraging Discourses on EAC • Demonstrating Achievements of EAC • Merely Reporting on EAC Events • None of the Above

APPENDIX (VIII)

Discourse Analysis Variables Evaluation Criteria

No	Variable	Evaluation Criteria
1	<i>Framing of the East African Concept</i>	<p>Have the following terminologies been used in the headlines?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • East African Citizens • East African Culture • East African Football • East African Economy • East African Climate • East African Education • East African Currency • East African Population • East African Passport • East African Problems • East African Transport • East African Flag • East African People <p>If so, how many times?</p> <p>Have they been used within the body of the articles?</p> <p>How many times?</p>
2	<i>How have headlines for EAC articles been designed?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Single Word • Figure of Speech • Question • Statement or Phrase
3	<i>How have the intros for EAC articles been drafted?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Figurative Intros • Staccato Intros • Epigram Intros

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Literary Allusion Intro • Question Intros • Parody Intros • Flat Intros
4.	<i>Depiction of EAC in Articles</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How often has the EAC been depicted as: Growing, Promising, Beneficial, Well managed, Well Meaning, Unifying and Progressive? • How often has the EAC been depicted as: Failing, Ineffective, Inconsequential or Destabilizing? • How do the favourable terms compare with the unfavourable ones?
5.	<i>How is the EAC depicted in the News Peg of each Article?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pro-Integration • Anti-Integration • Mixed • Neutral
6.	<i>What figures of speech have been used in EAC articles?</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is the frequency with which figures of speech have been used in EAC articles? • What are the most frequently used figures of speech in EAC articles? • What value do they add to the communication of EAC messages?

Figure 1:
Current Map of East Africa Community



Figure 2:

General Map of Eastern Africa



Figure 3:

Map of East Africa Community in 1960

