THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN REGIONAL INTEGRATION

A CASE STUDY OF EAC

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research is my original work and has not been presented to any academic institution or examination body. No part of this research should be reproduced without my consent or that of the University of Nairobi.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to begin by thanking the Almighty God for his everlasting love and kindness. I am forever indebted to my family; my mother Margaret Rukwaro, my brother Ndiang'ui Kinyagia and my Sister Wamuyu Kinyagia for their support and encouragement during this academic journey culminating to this level.

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My sincere gratitude to all my friends, classmates and colleagues who I may not mention by name for their immense support.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work first and foremost, to the Almighty God for giving me the strength, good health and grace towards realising this output. I also dedicate it my entire family. Finally, I dedicate it to the East African Community in its pursuit of Regional integration and as well as genuine diplomatic relations with the international community.

ABSRACT

This research aims at evaluating the role of public diplomacy in enhancing Regional Integration in the East African Community. The interest for this research is driven by the realization of the strategic role that public diplomacy play in enhancing the development of multinational and supranational governmental organizations. Primarily, this research aims at justifying why the role Public Diplomacy, cannot be undervalued during regional integration

While undertaking this research, a subtle analysis on use of public diplomacy in other integration schemes and the policies put in place to enhance their integration processes, will be undertaken.

Notable alongside the role of public diplomacy is the synonymous role of culture in both Public diplomacy and the regional integration process, this study therefore evaluates how culture plays the intertwining role between Public diplomacy and Regional Integration. This study also pays particular cognizance to the role of effective communication in public diplomacy

The study will examine the various way in which public diplomacy initiatives have been applied in EAC's regional integration, the study will further proceed to reveal that public diplomacy is no longer the preserve of the nation state, citing specific examples of efforts by non-state actors in fostering regional integration in East Africa.

It is therefore against this background that I seek to evaluate how effective public diplomacy can establish lasting relationships with foreign publics compelling them to accept the regional agenda

Finally, this study intends to make recommendations drawn from the potential of effective public diplomacy in fostering the east African community integration process.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMU   -   Arab Maghreb Union

COMESA   -   Common Market for East and Southern Africa

EAC   -   The East African Community ECCAS - Economic Community of Central African States

EU   -   The European Union

NAFTA   -   Northern American Free Trade Area NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

NGOs   -   Non-Governmental Organizations

SADC   -   Southern African Development Community UN - The United Nations

UN   -   United Nations

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Background of the Study

Globally the phenomenon of integration has continued to gain momentum, bringing a proliferation of cooperation all around the world. Integration is proceeding rapidly as the result of the increased flow of trade, capital, money, direct investment, technology, people, information, and ideas across national boundaries.

Africa too is keeping up with this trend. The history of Regional Integration in Africa dates back almost a century, most of which has colonial historical connotations.

Indeed since their independence African countries have embraced regional integration as an important component of their development strategies and concluded a very large number of Regional Integration Arrangements (RIAs)[1]. African leaders at that time and even now see integration as a rational response to the economic challenges faced by many of their countries. Although regional integration makes sense for Africa; a continent characterized by small countries, small economies and small markets, these agreements have mixed levels of commitment and success rate. Africa's RIAs are generally very ambitious and have unrealistic time frames. They are also mostly neighbourhood arrangements.

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[1] Hartzenberg, T. (2011). *World Trade Organization, Regional Integration in Africa*. 1st ed. [ebook] Available at: https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/reser_e/ersd201114_e.pdf [Accessed 20 Feb 2015].

Integration in Africa in mostly seen as a bureaucratic process which involve government ministries and sometimes a few elite and academia yet it mostly affects the citizen.

Regional integration can have both positive and negative effects. This study therefore analyses the role played by Public diplomacy in the process of Regional Integration in order to alleviate the social challenges of integration with a specific focus in the East African Community (EAC).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In the present contemporary world, the spread of democracy has created a new environment in the international system whereby the hearts and minds of people have to be won by governments. This is what public diplomacy does by trying to influence foreign nationals and the public with values, policies and actions of their governments to be supported.

Suspicions, Stereotypes, Perceptions and other cultural barriers have become major obstacles to the integration of citizens and cultures. These obstacles are visible even at the government and citizen level.

Public diplomacy (PD), matters today more than ever, it establishes a country's position not only in the host country but in the world at large. In this study specifically PD is seen to position a country in a positive light in the minds and hearts of foreign nationals; citizens of countries involved in the integration process as well. This study therefore seeks to find out how the five countries; Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi, conceptualise, organise and conduct external communications with the populace; influence the public opinion of each other's publics, within the East African Community and whether the intensity and/or type of PD has or can contribute to either the success or derailment of Integration.

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1.3 Objectives of the study

1.3.1 General Objective

The overall goal of the study is to establish the role Played by Public Diplomacy in the process of EAC Regional Integration.

1.3.2 Specific objectives

The specific objectives of the study are;

1. To discover the place of public diplomacy during the process of regional integration

2. To establish the different forms/approaches of public diplomacy and the challenges that may occur during their implementation.

3. To investigate how the various forms of public diplomacy are utilized in the Integration of the EAC.

1.4 Research Questions

1. Is there a convergence between public diplomacy and regional integration?

2. What are the various forms of public diplomacy?

3. To what extent has public diplomacy in its various forms been in cooperated in the EAC integration process?

1.5 Justification

1.5.1 Academic Justification

Available academic discourse on Public Diplomacy covers an array of themes ranging from terrorism, international communications, culture among others. From the literature review it is clear that a lot of research on the EAC has already been documented as well.

The existing research however lacks a comprehensive coverage of the role public diplomacy has played in the integration of the East African Community.

This study will contribute to existing literature by giving insights on the contributions PD can make to the process of EAC integration. This study will therefore give a better picture towards placement of PD in this process.

Finally the study is further justified by the fact that it informs an already ongoing integration process and may thus provide a framework for further research into the area.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

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

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

Through the findings of this study, policy makers will also be in a position to appreciate the positive role that PD can play in regional integration.

1.6 Literature Review

1.6.1 Public Diplomacy (PD)

The term "public diplomacy" was first used in 1965 by Edmund Gullion and later built on by Cull Nicholas from the Marrow Centre for Public Diplomacy defines Public Diplomacy as the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy;

communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the process of inter-cultural communications and the transnational flow of information and ideas.[2]. Leornard et al describe public diplomacy as the

> "... Strategic planning and execution of informational, cultural and educational programming by an advocate country to create a public opinion environment in a target country or countries that will enable target country political leaders to make decisions that are supportive of advocate country's foreign policy objectives."[3]

He further argues that public diplomacy can achieve four major impacts for a state: It can Increase people's familiarity with one's country making them think about it, updating their images, and turning around unfavourable opinions. It can also Increase people's appreciation of one's country by creating positive perceptions and getting others to see issues of global importance from the same perspective. PD can also engage people with one's country in order to strengthen ties, this kind of engagement can range from education reforms to scientific co-operation. Strong ties encourage foreign publics to see us as an attractive destination for tourism, study, distance learning; getting them to buy our products; getting to understand and subscribe to our values.

Finally PD can Influence people; getting companies to invest in our country, publics to back our positions or politicians to turn to us as a favoured partner.[4]

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[2] Nicholas, C. (2006). *Public Diplomacy' Before Gullion: The Evolution of a Phrase*. [blog] Available at: http://uscpublicdiplomacy.org/blog/060418_public_diplomacy_before_gullion_the_evolution_of_a_phrase [Accessed 30 Jun. 2015].

[3] Leonard, M. and Stead, C. and Smewing C. (2002) *Public Diplomacy*. The Foreign Policy Centre. Pg.1

[4] Ibid Pg. 9-10

Therefore, PD promotes the interests of a state through direct contact with not only stakeholders such as the influential elites of the host state, the media, academia, business and cultural intellectuals but also with the people as well. Central to this concept of public diplomacy is the communication between nations, peoples, and cultures. It is for this reason that PD is commonly referred to as people's diplomacy.

Public Diplomacy can be found in the way in which countries conceptualize their external communications and organize to conduct it**.**

Public diplomacy can also be used to describe a number of activities; these activities may differ across countries and across time. These activities may include government sponsored cultural, educational and informational programs, citizen exchanges and broadcasts used to promote the national interest of a country through understanding, informing, and influencing foreign audiences.

Just like traditional diplomacy, Public Diplomacy starts from the assumption that dialogue, rather than a sales pitch, is often central to achieving the goals of foreign policy.

"The opinions, attitudes and behaviour of people abroad matters to states because they have genuine impact on the delivery of economic and foreign policy objectives".[5]

Since PD can be used to describe activities, this study will also look at the various activities carried out by the members of the EAC as well as the prospects and Challenges of PD.

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[5] Twigg, S and. Fiske de Gouveia, P. (2005). *European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*.

1.6.2 Traditional Diplomacy vs. Public Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the means by which the interests of a state are advanced in the international forum, either bilaterally or multilaterally, with other states through conversation, negotiation and cooperation. Private or Traditional Diplomacy is conducted between well-informed negotiators. Where traditional diplomacy occurs in a structured environment through controlled process, public diplomacy is more flexible. Where traditional diplomacy occurs at official levels between professional diplomatic practitioners, public diplomacy instead is carried out by a range of government and nongovernment actors, and utilises tools such as the media targeting mass public audiences. Traditional diplomacy is generally carried out behind closed doors, and in strict confidence with, at times little accountability for due process, acts of public diplomacy tend to occur on an open stage often open to public scrutiny and subject to the impact of public opinion. Suto R. in the illustration below has clearly differentiated between the two concepts of the difference between the two concepts. [6]

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[6] Suto.R. J. Accesses from http://www.ryanjsuto.com/2011/02/diagramming-public-diplomacy-ver-20.html

Diagramming the difference between Traditional diplomacy and Public diplomacy
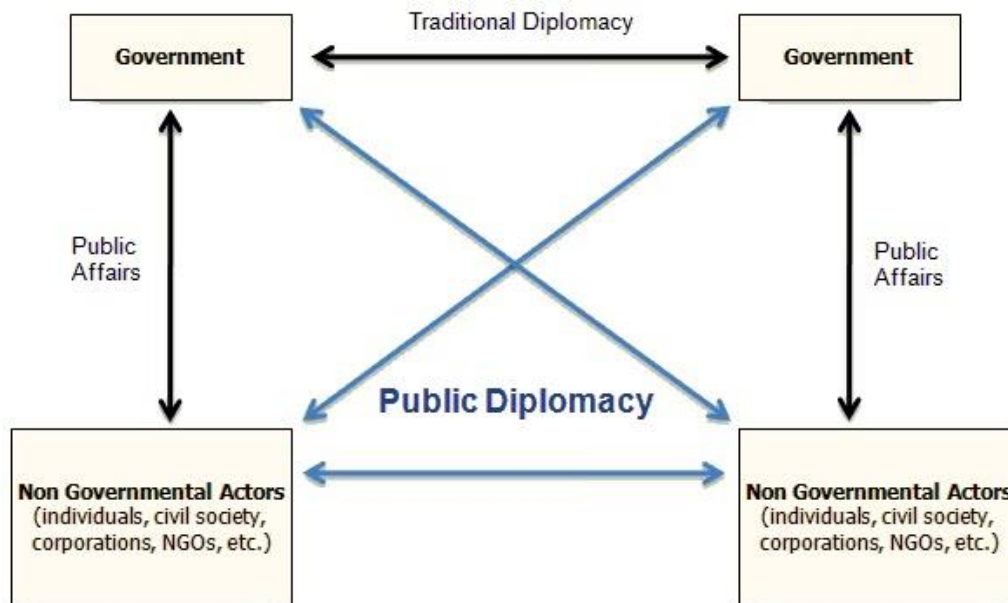
Figure 1: Diagramming the difference between Traditional diplomacy and Public diplomacy. **Accessed from:** http://www.ryanjsuto.com/2011/02/diagramming-public-diplomacy-ver-20.html

The horizontal two side arrow "Traditional Diplomacy" represents Government to Government communication. In this case communication is limited to the Westphalian state. This kind of communication will usually consist of state summits, visits and diplomats communication to each other.

The horizontal arrows "Public Affairs" represent communication between the Government and other none state actors within the same state

Public diplomacy is represented by the diagonal arrows and the bottom horizontal arrow, depicting communication that occurs between governments and foreign publics as well as communication between the different none state actors in different states.

All arrows are double sided which represents the fact that all forms of communication including public diplomacy is a two way process.

1.6.3 Paradigms of Public Diplomacy

Brown identifies four distinct ways of thinking about a state's external communications.[7] These are differentiated by the uses of PD and are associated with particular organizational forms. The relative priority of these paradigms differs across countries and across time.

1.6.3.1 PD as Extension of Diplomacy.

According to Brown, PD is considered an aide and therefore a part of or expanded diplomacy. Hence it needs to be closely integrated in the routine operations of foreign ministries.

Diplomacy is a system of continued relationships between states and international organizations and groups that seek to influence these relationships. Diplomatic relations are complex ranging across many issues. Public diplomacy seeks to engage publics who are relevant to a country's foreign policy. This engagement will vary across time, space and will deal with different issues and different publics. Lately because of the complexity of international issues, the impact of public participation and in extension public opinion on government, and the emergence and participation of non-state actors, diplomats have no choice but to expand the range of actors that they engage with and how they engage with them.

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[7] Brown, R. (2015). The Four Paradigms of Public Diplomacy: Building a Framework for Comparative Government External Communications Research. [Blog] *PDNetworks.Wordpress.com*. Available at: https://pdnetworks.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/isa-2012-v4.pdf [Accessed 26 May 2015].

Public Diplomacy is therefore a process of achieving a country's international strategic priorities through engaging and forming partnerships with like-minded organisations and individuals in the public arena. So beyond traditional government-to-government channels, PD will include interactions with NGOs, think tanks, opinion makers, youth, women, businesses and influential individual citizens.

Historically PD often expressed itself through engagement with the media and a few select elite. Today however, social media provides a faster and cheaper alternative.

1.6.3.2 PD as National Projection.

Public diplomacy is a matter of creating a favourable impression of a country in the mind of foreigners i.e. Nation branding.

A positive image will make foreigners want to support a country's policies, visit a country, invest in its industries or buy its goods and services. This paradigm paints a dominant image of the international system as that of being a competitive market place. Through Positive national branding a country's true colours may be revealed and this in turn eliminates misconceptions and stereotypes thereby resulting in improved in political relations.

This brings to light two dimensions, the first being, How do the citizens of member states view and understand each other?, the second one being How does the rest of the world view the EAC.[8]

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[8] Twigg, S and. Fiske de Gouveia, P. (2005). *European Infopolitik: Developing EU Public Diplomacy Strategy*. p 11

1.6.3.3 Cultural Relations

This is diplomacy between cultures. Cultural diplomacy is considered the Linchpin of public diplomacy[9] for it is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented. Cultural diplomacy may explain a country's history; demonstrate its values etc. thereby creating a foundation of trust where it may have otherwise lacked. Culture can include, Art, Education linkages, language teaching. Kenya's foreign policy document (2014) stipulates that,

> "It is through cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented. Kenya's cultural diplomacy aims to increase awareness of her cultural richness and to generate interests in the country's cultural heritage".[10]

In the national version the world is composed of cultures each with its own distinctive vision of the world. Cultural relations work will lead to growing mutual understanding and appreciation; further, the co-existence of the different cultures will enrich the human experience [11]

Multiple cultures however can be an obstacle to mutual understanding so the emphasis of cultural diplomacy is more on overcoming these obstacles than the celebration of culture itself. This paradigm proposes that cultural connections, appreciation and understanding can have political or economic implications.

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[9] U.S. Department of State, (2005) *Cultural Diplomacy the Linchpin of Public Diplomacy.* Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy [ebook] http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/54374.pdf [Accessed 20 Mar 2015].

[10] Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, (2014). *Kenya Foreign Policy Document*. Nairobi.

[11] Brown, R. (2015). The Four Paradigms of Public Diplomacy: Building a Framework for Comparative Government External Communications Research. [Blog] *PDNetworks.Wordpress.com*. Available at: https://pdnetworks.files.wordpress.com/2012/04/isa-2012-v4.pdf [Accessed 26 May 2015].

1.6.3.4 PD as Political Warfare (Ideological/ Military conflict).

PD can be utilized to defeat an ideological opponent or to spread a set of political values such as seen during the cold war. During this time PD was bipolar in nature.

Modern International relations has been marked with cycles of ideological differences. In the past century for instance there have been struggles between democracy and fascism and communism and more recently conflicts around Religious extremism. [12]

One aspect of this paradigm is that PD should be separated from the work of the foreign ministry because such ministries tend to be too wedded to the niceties of diplomacy.

1.6.4 Public Diplomacy and Soft Power

Soft power is a term used in international relations theory to describe the ability of a political body, such as a state, to indirectly influence the behaviour or interests of other political bodies through cultural or ideological means. The term was first coined by Joseph Nye,

In Nye's (2004) words,

> "The basic concept of power is the ability to influence others to get them to do what you want. There are three major ways to do that: one is to threaten them with sticks; the second is to pay them with carrots; the third is to attract them or co-opt them, so that they want what you want. If you can get others to be attracted, to want what you want, it costs you much less in carrots and sticks."[13]

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[12] Rasmussen, I. (2009). *Towards a theory of public diplomacy A quantitative study of public diplomacy and soft power.* The Fletcher School (Tufts University).
[13] Nye, J. (2004). *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics*. New York: Carnegie Council.

Joseph Nye outlines the concept of soft power as international image; in particular, highlighting the values underlying a government's interests, he further argues that a country's soft power rests on its resources of culture, values, and policies.

During the cold war PD was bilateral in Nature, this has however been replaced by a situation where a multitude of states now practice PD.

The success of soft power heavily depends on the actor's reputation within the international community, as well as the flow of information between actors. Thus, soft power is often commended for the rise of globalization. Popular culture and media are regularly identified as a source of soft power, as is the spread of a national language, or a particular set of normative structures; a nation with immense soft power and the good will that engenders may inspire others cooperate with it.

1.7 Study Hypothesis

1. Public diplomacy can promote regional integration in East Africa by fostering cultural understanding.
2. Effective communication strategies improve the performance of public diplomacy.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

Most theories of international relations are based on the idea that states always act in accordance with their national interest, or the interests of that particular state. State interests often include self-preservation, military security, economic prosperity, and influence over other states. Sometimes two or more states have the same national interest. For example, two states might both want to foster peace and economic trade, at the same time states with entirely opposing national interests might try to resolve their differences through negotiation or even war. Although several theories have been put forward by scholars to try and explain integration, this study will be informed by Neo Functionalism.

1.8.1 Neo Functionalism

Neo-functionalism is a theory of regional political integration. It was developed in the 1950s and 1960s by Ernst B. Haas and Leon Lindberg, building on the work of David Mitrany on one hand and federalist thinking on the other hand. In historical terms, neo-functionalism was an "amalgam of federalism and functionalism.[14]

Regional integration is seen as a process rather than a product or an event; neo functionalism describes integration among a regional grouping of liberal democratic states with function economies, by means of functional and political spill over and towards the greater institutionalisation of decision making in a supranational authority.[15]

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[14] Pentland, C. (1973). *International Theory and European Integration*. Faber and Faber [Don Mills: Oxford University Press].Pg.113
[15] Hans, J. and Soldato, (1994). *European Integration: Theories and Approaches*. Press of America Pg.32

In order to explain the concept of integration, neo functionalism introduces the idea of supra nationality often referred to as the pooling of state sovereignty rather than its transfer this pooling may then result into a political union. [16]

Neo functionalism explains integration through the spill over effect. Initially, states integrate in limited functional or economic areas. Thereafter, the partially integrated states begin to experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in related areas. According to this theory in order to enjoy the full benefits of integration you need to integrate the related sectors.

Neo functionalists majorly recognise two kinds of spill over: functional and political[17]. A third spill over; cultivated spill over the years has also emerged.

Functional spill over refers to economic cooperation leading to further integration in other economic fields, mainly due to the connectedness of different economic fields and the increased interdependencies of nation states in economic areas; integration in one policy-area spilling over into others . Non-state actors play an important role in this case. With economic sectors benefitting from inter-state trade, actors in these fields increasingly work together across borders, and hence push their respective national governments to cooperate so as to create institutionalized structures (and thus more integration).

Political spill over as put forward by of Haas and Lindberg, they argue that the process of integration may lead to the shift by national and international elites of expectations, political activities and loyalties towards an international centre. This political shift would then put

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[16] *Ibid* p.31
[17] Pentland, C. (1973). *International Theory and European Integration*. Faber and Faber [Don Mills: Oxford University Press]. Pg.120-121

pressure on the decision-makers to cooperate internationally, as that would be in the national interest. Political spill over can result to the creation of supranational governance models such as what we have in the EAC or even as far-reaching what we see in the European Union. According to Pentland neo-functionalism recognizes the existence of circumstances such as the existence of bureaucratic elite, interdependent socio-economic structures and commitment on the part of the members to long-term goals and a kind of cultural and ideological consensus. The theory also assumes that integration is a business of the elites and participation of the masses is not an issue at all.

Niemann introduces the concept of cultivated spill over, which refers to supranational institutions stimulating political and functional spill over effects and, hence, integration the international not only act as a meeting place for nation states and their representatives, but actively promotes integration by deliberately introducing new topics or deliberate agenda-setting. The theory also recognizes that supranational institutions with policy making powers have a central role to play in the promotion of integration. The role of any emerging international organization thought, serves as an actor in future integration processes. Supranational institutions, similarly, are seen as actors, capable of developing own interests and stimulating further integration.[18]

Spill over however operates on other levels as well both at policy and grass root levels as well. Gradually, integration will spill over into the politically sensitive areas leading finally to the creation of a political community.

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[18] Niemann, A. and Schmitter, P. (2009). *Theories of European Integration*. 2nd ed. Oxford University Press. Pg.45-66

1.9 Research Methodology

This section describes the methodology to be used to achieve the objective of the study. It includes; research design, methods of data collection .area of study, ethical considerations and procedure.

1.9.1 Research design

Since this study intends to establish the role of public diplomacy in the regional integration process of EAC the researcher will use case study method of research.

1.9.2 Methods of Data Collection

Given the clear intents of this research in establishing the place of public diplomacy in EACs integration process, the researcher intends to carry out an in-depth investigation or study on the aforementioned in an exploratory manner. This research process will be descriptive in nature and both primary and secondary data will be employed.

1.9.2.1 Primary Sources

The primary research of this study entails a visit to the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism and correspondence from the EAC missions in Nairobi. The researcher also aims at evaluating the external communication strategies employed by the member states and the EAC in advancing the integration agenda. Byrne asserts that primary sources of data are vital for research because the enable the clarification of any ambiguous areas.[19]

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[19] Byrne, M. (2001). Interviewing as a data collection method. *AORN Journal,* pp. 1-3.

1.9.2.2 Secondary Sources

Secondary data sources that the study intends to review will include the various reports published by the EAC Secretariat on the progress of the integration process, journals written by scholars on the subject matter. Credible commentaries authored by stakeholders who command authority and who possess domain expertise on the Integration process, resolutions made by the EAC member states among other relevant information. This method will provide historical and cultural insights on Public diplomacy in the EAC context.

1.10 Scope and Limitation

The scope of this study will be guided by 3 factors: 1) By the objectives of this study 2) The goals of regional integration as elucidated in the treaty stabling the EAC 3) The research is also limited to the era after which public diplomacy was academically defined; post 1965.

The research seeks to reveal the effectiveness of public diplomacy and its effects in promoting regional integration through its coordination by the relevant ministries: The study therefore targets some major actors in the process of EAC's regional integration such as the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce and Tourism and individual Diplomatic Missions of the EAC member states.

1.11 Chapter Outline

This study will be organized into five chapters.

Chapter One: General Introduction.

This chapter is the foundation of the entire problem; it discusses the Statement of the Problem, Objectives, Hypotheses, Justification and significance of the study, Literature Review, Theoretical Framework, Research Methodology and Chapter Outline.

Chapter Two: Public Diplomacy and the Process of Integration

This chapter will define the concept of Public diplomacy and its journey to date it will further go to explain why this study chooses to study the concept public diplomacy. This chapter will further endeavour to analyse the role of public diplomacy in the process of integration from the inter-ethnic society that forms the East African Community's member states, to the ultimate goal of an EAC political federation.

Chapter Three: The East African Integration Process and The Role of Public Diplomacy in enhancing it

This chapter evaluates the historical background of the EAC integration process. It will also look at examples of Public diplomacy strategies of other integration schemes

Chapter Four: An Analysis of Public Diplomacy as utilised by EAC

In this chapter, the research will analyse how the various forms of public diplomacy have been utilised in the EAC to foster Regional Integration. It will look at the various initiatives undertaken by both state and non-state actors.

Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

This chapter will summarize and provide conclusions of the study, it will then give recommendations and provide suggestions on areas for further study. This study will give recommendations to what has been investigated of the Public diplomacy's role in the regional integration of East Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

PUBLIC DIPLOMACY AND THE PROCESS OF INTEGRATION

2.1 Introduction

This chapter endeavours to analyse the place of public in the process of integration from the inter-ethnic society that forms the East African Community's member states, to the ultimate goal of an EAC political federation. The chapter will look at the concept of diplomacy and its journey to date it will further go to explain why this study chooses to study the concept public diplomacy.

2.2 Diplomacy

Diplomacy is the means by which States throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations. This concerns the promotion of political, economic, cultural or scientific relations as well as international commitment to defend human rights or the peaceful settlement of disputes. Magalhaes defines diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy for the establishment and development of peaceful contacts between the governments of different states through the use of intermediaries[20] Diplomacy has its roots entrenched in the remotes of humankind, through the use of messengers and envoys between diverse tribes to treat matters of common interest[21]

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[20] ABC of diplomacy, Bern 2008
[21] Magalhaes C. J, (1988) the pure concept of diplomacy, greenwood press pg. 1-66

It is widely recognised that there Bilateral and multilateral are the two major forms of diplomacy, differentiates by the context in which they take place. Bilateral diplomacy is the term used for communication between two States, while multilateral diplomacy involves contacts between several States often within the institutionalised setting of an international organisation[22] Diplomacy has existed since before the Westphalian whereby centres of power then dealt with each other on an official basis. Numerous diplomatic archives proving this interaction have been found in Egypt dating back to the 13th century BC.

2.1.1 Diplomacy; the old the new and the future

To claim that diplomacy changed from 'old' to 'new' in a simple move would be over simplifying. While there are some notable differences between traditional diplomacy and modern diplomacy, the end goal of diplomacy remains the same. Traditional diplomacy goes as far back as 2500 BC and Ancient Greece. This diplomacy involved secrecy, exclusivity, elitism and was state centred in nature. Often diplomatic relations were bilateral and dealt with issues of conflict, borders and economy. This form of diplomacy prevailed until the early 20th century.[23]

When traditional diplomacy failed to prevent World War 1, its role in the field of international relations as well as its form was sharply criticized. The demands were twofold, the first being that diplomacy should be more open to public scrutiny and control and the second being that some sort of international organization was needed to promote peaceful settlements of disputes. The League of Nations was birthed from this idea, and after its failure and World War 2, the

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[22] Ibid
[23] Magalhaes C. J, the pure concept of diplomacy, greenwood press, 1988 pg. 63-76

United Nations replaced it. This meant that states were no longer the only actors involved in the diplomacy and international relations; intergovernmental as well as non-governmental organizations now entered the stage.[24]

This change promoted a far more open, inclusive and democratic form of diplomacy that included the public rather than being restricted to a group of elites. The affect that globalisation and a rapidly changing world has brought major revolution to the practice of diplomacy. In many ways the aims of diplomacy have remained the same, however, problems that are considered to be global such global warming, have ensured that bilateral diplomacy is practiced alongside multilateral diplomacy. The change from 'old diplomacy' to 'new diplomacy' has therefore been a process of change and evolvement, seeing the existence of multilateral and bilateral diplomacy side by side even through the development of more complex and more specific forms of diplomacy.

According to Cull diplomacy is heading to a place where it is going to be a team effort; diplomacy will become more public as governments around the world are thinking of the best way to partner with none-state actors. Those who are able to work with others will go much further. [25]Considering that Public diplomacy is the only kind of diplomacy non-state actors can practice then this is the place where an old actor and an emerging actor can work together towards a common goal.

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[24] White, in Baylis & Smith, (2001) Globalisation and world politics pg. 321
[25] Cull Nicholas The Future of Public Diplomacy February 2012 Volume 3, Issue 2

2.2 The Concept of Public Diplomacy

According to Signitzer and Coombs, public diplomacy is a way, with which the government, private individuals and groups of one state can directly or indirectly influence those public opinions and positions, which directly influence the foreign politics decisions of another government.   In their understanding public diplomacy is widening its field of traditional diplomatic activities: from the sphere of high politics on the diverse issues and aspects of daily life and from the closed sphere of governments and diplomats to the involvement of new actors and target groups, i.e. different individuals, groups and institutions, which are joining international and intercultural communication activities and have influence on the political relations between countries. [26] Similarly Manheim comes to the conclusion that the purpose of public diplomacy is explanation and speaking in favour of governmental policy and representing a nation to foreign publics[27]. Public diplomacy is therefore seen as being the public face of traditional diplomacy.

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[26] Signitzer, B. H. & Coombs, T. (1992). Public relations and public diplomacy: Conceptual convergences. Public Relations Review Pg. 138-139

[27] Manheim, J. B.(1994) *Strategic Public Diplomacy and American Foreign Policy: The evolution of Influence* Pg.4

2.2.1 Dimensions of Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy can be roughly categorized in to three dimensions depending on the specific needs in different scenarios. These three dimensions are: reactive, proactive and relationship building and can be directed towards the political/military, economic or societal/cultural areas or any combination of these.[28]

The reactive dimension of public diplomacy practice is a short term strategy that centres on news management. The proactive dimension is a medium term strategy to actively create positive news regarding any messages actors want to communicate finally the relationship building dimension is the long term strategy to create, maintain and improve relations between foreign people and the sending country. Below is depth presentation of the three dimensions[29]

2.2.1.1 News Management

The first dimension is the management of communications on day-to-day issues, reacting to news events as they occur and thus its short term nature. This dimension reflects the growing need to align communications with traditional diplomacy.

The main idea behind this approach is that when something happens in the world which might affect people's perception of a government it is essential to react fast and ensure the government's official positions are explained and clarified to the public. As well as unforeseen

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[28] Berridge, G.R., Maurice Keens-Soper and T.G. Otte (2001) *Diplomatic Theory from Machiavelli to Kissinger,* Palgrave: New York

[29] Leonard, M. Stead, C. and Smewing, C (2002) *Public Diplomacy,* The Foreign Policy Centre: London Pg. 8-20

crises, there are predictable domestic events which come up every year and can play out badly in other countries.[30]

Although most TV, radio and print media are still created with a national or local audience in mind, their networks of foreign correspondents will ensure that messages do get transferred from one region to another. It therefore becomes difficult to tailor a message to specific groups of audiences. People around the world will have access to more or less the same information and will also hear what government officials has to say about an issue.

2.2.1.2 Strategic Communications

This middle- term dimension can last for months at a time and is aimed at managing perceptions of foreign nationals. It gives the actor more leeway to plan and control the message as opposed to just reacting and responding to what is happening. This approach emphasizes on setting the news agenda instead of just responding to what is happening and can be done through events or organizing advertisement campaigns. It is this ability to manage communications that connects this dimension to the concept of branding. Branding informs people's perceptions of a place; perceptions of the country will generally shape the diplomatic environment.

The strategic communication strategy can be aimed at improving relations in either political, economic and cultural areas or any combination of these.

 Strategic communication is different from relationship-building. It involves a set of activities more like a political campaign: setting a number of strategic messages and promoting these messages over a period of time. Strategic communications can be done effectively through events that are likely to promote the image of the country. When it comes to strategic

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[30] Leonard, M. Stead, C. and Smewing, C (2002) *Public Diplomacy,* The Foreign Policy Centre: London Pg. 8-20

communications, the key is to have a having a clear national narrative which can unite the different stakeholders.

The challenge with this approach is that different state organizations will often have diverging interests in what image they want to promote. An example here could be whether to promote a country's more traditional sides to promote tourism or the more modern sides to promote investments.[31]

2.2.1.3 Relationship Building

The third dimension of public diplomacy is the most long-term and potentially the most significant as it lasts several years. Relationship building involves developing lasting relationships with key individuals through scholarships, exchanges, training, seminars, conferences, building real and virtual networks, and giving people access to media channels.[32] Relationship building has traditionally been seen as a process that must be conducted face to face and on a personal level. The most effective instruments for building enduring relationships are scholarships, visits and other exchange programmes that require complex planning and administration and come with a high unit cost. In order for this dimension to be successful it has to reach out to a large of number of people.

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[31] Leonard, M. Stead, C. and Smewing, C (2002) *Public Diplomacy,* The Foreign Policy Centre: London Pg. 8-Ibid
[32] Ibid

2.3 The interlink between Public Diplomacy and Integration

Zaharna reveals culture as the most important feature of public diplomacy; interestingly Kosler et al identifies culture as a key element in the process of regional integration; some kind of cultural homogeneity is a precondition for regional integration[33]. Culture influences and is influenced by every facet of human activity. More importantly culture provides meaning for verbal communication, non-verbal communication and perception.[34]

2.3.1 Culture the unifying factor

Culture is an underlying force that shapes the public communication between nations and publics in the global political arena; the use of cultural activities in public diplomacy is referred to as cultural diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy is considered the linchpin of public diplomacy; for it is in cultural activities that a nation's idea of itself is best represented. Cultural diplomacy reveals the soul of a nation, which may explain its complicated history. [35] Similarly Zaharna confirms that culture is found in every aspect of public diplomacy from policy; to practice to scholarship[36]. Culture and Public Diplomacy are so intertwined that one cannot do without the other.

Sir Edward B. Tylor's defines culture as "…that complex whole which includes knowledge, beliefs, arts, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a human as

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[33]Arianne Kösler and Martin Zimmek (eds) Elements of Regional Integration. A Multidimensional Approach
[34] Harris P. and Moran R. (1982) *Managing Cultural Differences* Pg. 63
[35] U.S. Department of State(2005) *Cultural Diplomacy The Linchpin of Public Diplomacy,* Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy.
[36] Zaharna R. S.(2012) *The Cultural Awakening In Public Diplomacy*

a member of society."[37] Culture is also learned and acquired as opposed to it being a biological trait. It is therefore the sum total of ways of living built up by a group of human beings and transmitted from one generation to another. Culture is also dynamic and changes over time and even space.

In the same rational Gullestrup views culture as the philosophy of life, the values, norms and rules, and actual behaviour as well as the material and immaterial products from these which are taken over by man from the past generations, and which man wants to bring forward to the next generation eventually in a different form and which in one way or another separate individuals belonging to the culture from individuals belonging to other cultures[38].

2.3.2 Culture in Regional Integration

Haas viewed regional integration, as a political process and, not merely functional or technocratic. Haas' original background conditions for regional integration were that the entities should poses pluralistic social structures, be substantially economic & industrial developed, and there should be a common ideological patterns among participating units. In other words Haas' approach was limited to explaining integration in multicultural/Multi Ethnic democracies.

A central concept in neo functionalism theory is the 'spill-over' effect, the claim that agreement on integration in one economic area would or could over time cause other economic policy-areas to integrate too and over time, the economic integration would turn political.

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[37] Sir Edward B. Tylor's (1871) as cited in Encyclopaedia Britannica Retrieved from http://www.britannica.com/biography/Edward-Burnett-Tylor

[38] Gullestrup H. (2002). "*The Complexity of Intercultural Communication in Cross Cultural Management.*" *In Intercultural Communication,* issue 6 Pg. 2.

Functional spill over/ economic cooperation can be accelerated by factors such as integrated policies. However even with existing and well spelled out trade policies there is no guarantee of a successful economic cooperation. Cultural allegiances whether inherited, imposed or chosen, affect economic activity, this affects who a country may choose to trade with or not. Additionally People from different cultures find it is hard to communicate not only due to language barriers but also cultural differences.[39]Negotiations heavily rely on understanding another's culture, fluency and even in, meanings language. Knowledge of another's culture during this process not only ensures effective communication during the negotiation process but it also ensures that the players don't offend each other.

During the process of regional integration and the continually increasing trade and interaction between citizens of member states, it is unavoidable that different cultures will meet, conflict, and even blend together. All Integration takes place in a cultural environment. It is through an understanding the various possible cultural friction points, understanding the cultural environment in which the integration is taking place and being tolerant of another's culture that a lasting relationship can be fostered between different cultures.

Gullestrup, goes ahead to create a model of culture showing two basic levels of culture that could affect the formation of a supranational organisation. The two levels are basic, 'core-culture' and the 'manifest culture'; core-culture is the 'fundamental world-view' such as the nature of man as described by the various religions as well as the 'fundamental values' such as social

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[39] Source: Boundless. "*Cultural Barriers."* Boundless (2015). Retrieved from
https://www.boundless.com/business/textbooks/boundless-business-textbook/international-business-4/international-trade-barriers-38/cultural-barriers-192-6443/

responsibility. Core culture tends to be invisible This basic level is followed by the manifest level which tends to be visible consisting of: the formalised moral- and rules layer such as how to behave, societal perceivable structural layer like social- and economic structures, and the 'immediately sensible layer' including language, songs, law, rules[40].

Cultural homogeneity is an important precondition for supranational integration engaging in close cooperation both at the governmental level and among citizens, there is need for a shared common understanding of what is right and what is wrong and 'how things are done' in other words, the same basic or core culture[41]

In Dosenrode's view a durable integration, with the highest aspirations should at least share a common core culture and if possible work towards establishing manifest cultures.

Integration projects sharing only core cultures, or manifest cultures but not the other are crisis prone. However in a situation where the core culture is present it is easier to develop common manifest cultures like common laws as opposed to a situation whereby the core culture is totally lacking. Integration projects where the constituting units do not share a common core culture or a common manifest culture are also prone to fall apart.[42]

When analysing regional integration, the classical theories of regional integration including neo-functionalism had culturally homogeneous regions as their cases. This may, on the one hand, explain why culture (core or manifest) determines the success or lack therefore of an integration initiative.[43]

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[40] Gullestrup (2003) as quoted by Dosenrode S. (2008). *On Culture and Regional Integration*. Pg. 77-98
[41] Ibid
[42] Dosenrode S. (2008). *On Culture and Regional Integration*. Pg. 3- 17
[43] Ibid

2.3.3 Culture and Public Diplomacy

The relationship between culture and public diplomacy is found firstly in the concept of power. Culture is seen both as a feature of soft power, as well as what shapes how soft power is perceived and used by different nations.

Nye identified a nation's culture as one of the three primary elements of its soft power resources that nations can wield to enhance their appeal or attraction. According Nye, who initiated the concept of soft power, power is defined as the "the ability to achieve one's purposes or goals" and "the ability to get others to do what they otherwise would not do".[44] In this rationale if public diplomacy is considered soft power then it goes without saying that culture is a primary element of public diplomacy He differentiates between soft power and hard power based on the nature of behaviour and tangibility of resources.

His idea accentuates that power rests along the continuum: Command, Coercion, Inducement, Agenda Setting, Attraction and Co-optive Power. Command Power is the ability to change what others do, through coercion or inducement. On the other hand, Co-optive Power refers to the ability to shape what others want and is determined by the attractiveness of one's culture and ideology or the ability to manipulate the agenda of political choices in a manner that favours their interests.

Nye further positions hard power resources on the command power; while soft power resources rest on the co-optive power. That is, hard power is a country's economic and military ability to buy and coerce, and soft power is the ability to attract through cultural and ideological appeal. In particular, he underlines the significance of public diplomacy since soft power grows out of culture, out of domestic values and policies, and out of foreign policy.

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[44] Nye J. (2004), Soft Power: *The Means to Success in World Politics*, Public Affairs, New York

Secondly this relationship can also be found in the politics of regional integration. Public diplomacy essentially aims as influencing the politics and even actions of other governments; it is a power wielding and seeking exercise on a very crowded, noisy global stage and should therefore be understood to be a human political instrument used to understand, inform and influence international publics in pursuit of interests and values any actor holds dear, recognizing, with respect, that there are others who may value differently.[45]

Culture in Politics involves including culture within state foreign policy as the expression of a national interest, which contributes to the making real of the national character, belief systems, strategic cultures and national identity. It entails promoting and already existing culture abroad, also involves a more active role in protecting and developing national culture [46]

As Briggs et al explicitly puts it, there is a long and intimate relationship between culture and politics. Culture can oil the cogs of the political machine in a number of ways, but is only effective when employed sensitively: it can be used as a forum for set piece political messaging, and as a safe space for unofficial political relationship-building; it can keep doors open at difficult times; and it can help to renegotiate relationships for changing times. Getting the relationship right between politics and culture in the process of regional integration can deliver real results. Get it wrong, and relationships can be soured for a generation. Seemingly small things can have serious repercussions: India for instance still frowns at George W Bush's failure

[45] Oglesby D. M. (2014) *The Political Promise of Public Diplomacy* Volume VI Issue 1.
[46] Belanger L. (1999) *Redefining Cultural Diplomacy: Cultural Security and Foreign Policy in Canada, Political Psychology, Vo*l. 20, No. 4, Pg. 677-699.

to travel to the Taj Mahal during his 2006 visit. A fine balance has to be struck between culture and politics especially if culture is being used instrumentally for political ends.[47]

2.3.4 Public Diplomacy as Intercultural Communication

In international relations, intercultural communications seeks to understand how nationals of different countries understand and interpret the world around them. It also describes the complexities of communication across cultural and/or geographical boarders. In pursuit of political economic and social alliances cultural differences have to be accommodated. Cultural homogeneity is an important precondition for supranational integration. It involves engagement not only at government levels but also at citizen level. Intercultural communication takes place when individuals influenced by different cultural communities negotiate shared meanings in interaction. [48]

Globalization has made intercultural communication inevitable; communicating with other cultures characterizes today's day to day activities. Besides being a political phenomenon, public diplomacy is a communication phenomenon as well. Communication scholars have argued that communication and culture are so intertwined they cannot be separated. As intercultural scholars Condon and Yousef noted, "We cannot separate culture from communication, for as soon as we start to talk about one we are almost inevitably talking about the other too."[49] It therefore comes as no surprise that scholars of public diplomacy cannot talk about it without mentioning culture.

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[47] Kirsten Bound, Rachel Briggs, John Holden and Samuel Jones (2007) *Cultural Diplomacy* Demos, London Pg. 52-53.
[48] Ting-Toomey, S. (1999). *Communicating across cultures.* New York: The Guilford Press
[49] Condon J. C, Yousef F. S. (1975). *Introduction to intercultural communication,* Bobbs-Merrill,

In the same vein to Zaharna argues that culture is the underbelly of public diplomacy and it affects all communication with foreign publics.[50]

An awareness of another's culture can play a positive role in enhancing relations and communication between nations and people. It is therefore important for public diplomats to identify and recognize the national cultures of the foreign publics they intend to target with their message.

Failure to give culture the same dues as political, economic and military factors may have several repercussions. First, not fully understanding others at a cultural level can result in costly mistakes. For public diplomacy this applies to both policy and specific initiatives. Lack of awareness of unshared cultural assumptions can cause a public diplomacy initiative to fail, or worse, backfire. A public diplomacy initiative might be considered ineffective if it simply fails to resonate with a foreign public in the same way the planners hoped that it would. Ineffective initiatives are usually the result of a mismatch of cross-cultural communication styles of message content and delivery. Whereas ineffective initiatives involve cultural misunderstanding about communication patterns and styles, initiatives that backfire often involve issues tied to cultural identity. Often when an audience reacts in a highly negative or even hostile manner to a communication, issues of cultural identity are involved."[51]

As Iriye explains, each country has its own cultural identity in that it is defined by people who share certain traditions, memories, and ways of life including factors such as a nation's ideas, opinions, moods, and tastes. Symbols, words, and gestures that reflect its peoples thought and behaviour patterns comprise their cultural vocabulary in terms of which they relate themselves to

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[50] U.S. Department of State. (2005). *Cultural Diplomacy the Linchpin of Public Diplomacy*: Report of the Advisory Committee on Cultural Diplomacy.
[51] Zaharna R.S. (2012) *The Cultural Awakening In Public Diplomacy*.

other peoples."[52] Iriye's idea that "all international relations are intercultural relations," may be similar to the idea that all international communication and public diplomacy are indeed intercultural communication.

2.4 APPROACHES OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY

2.4.1 Public Diplomacy 2.0

Globalization has brought about the reality of a world of co-dependence and thus, enhanced communication and interdependence of the mass publics.

The technological advancements that have come about to facilitate global communication have affected the conduct of diplomacy as well, which has seen the development of implicit terms such as ,cyber-diplomacy, social media diplomacy, internet and diplomacy 2.0. This links the impact of innovations in communication and information technology to foreign policy and diplomacy.[53]

From the 1990s onwards, many diplomats relied on media diplomacy it was not until much later on that the possibilities offered by the spread of internet. Before the arrival of interactive internet, governments sought to influence foreign public through print and electronic media, but it was a one-way monologue which lacked the essential public's feedback. Governments were sceptical about the role of internet in shaping their policies and preferred to rely on more

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[52]Iriye A. "*Cultural Relations and Policies,*" Encyclopaedia of the New American Nation.
http://www.americanforeignrelations.com/A-D/Cultural-Relations-and-Policies.html
[53] E. Potter (ed.), (2002). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century,* Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press.

traditional methods. At the turn of the century, not only did many embassies not have their own website, but they did not have access to internet at all.[54]

Social media has brought a shift from classic diplomacy in turn bringing a fundamental shift in how nations manage international relations. An explosion of social media and with it political upheaval around the world, has brought concern in the international policy community to the perceived power of social media.

The term "Web 2.0" was coined in 1999 and by 2004 had jumped to the top of the agenda. Moreover, by 2008 the term joined the public diplomacy use of the new online media, creating the concept of Public Diplomacy 2.0. The latter is characterised by: first, technology that facilitates the formation of relationships around social networks and online communities; second, in this way diplomacy becomes dependent on user-generated content from feedback such as blog comments; and third, in this era information has an horizontal structure, where people can look freely for news and are no more at the end of the information cascade of the 1.0 era.[55]

The modern "new" public diplomacy, or public diplomacy 2.0, is moving away from the old hierarchical structures towards practices that engage with foreign audiences and focus directly on the audiences instead of being centred on the state and the foreign media [56]

It is estimated that Nowadays more than three-quarters (77.7 percent) of world leaders have a Twitter account, which they use to communicate with each other, to broadcast their daily activities to an ever-growing audience, and to answer to citizens' comments and mentions.[57]

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[54] Diplomatic Courier (2014). http://www.diplomaticourier.com/towards-a-new-era-of-public-diplomacy-twiplomacy/.

[55] Ibid

[56] Melissen, J. (2005). *The New Public Diplomacy: Between Theory and Practice*. In J. Melissen (Ed.), The new public diplomacy: Soft power in international relations Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, Pg. 13.

[57] Diplomatic Courier (2014). http://www.diplomaticourier.com/towards-a-new-era-of-public-diplomacy-twiplomacy/.

When it comes to public diplomacy image counts more than anything and social media lays it: the good and especially the bad and the ugly, all out there for the whole global community to see. Using social media for government public diplomacy purposes may be more difficult than many diplomats anticipate as they can no longer control the information sent out there or what is visible to foreign publics.

According to Kent and Taylor "technology itself can neither create nor destroy relationships; rather, it is how the technology is used that influences organization-public relationships". [58] Technological innovations like the internet have given practitioners new ways of reaching out to foreign publics and have had wide reaching effects on international communication and thereby on public diplomacy. Ideally, social media is used by organizations to create relationships by creating interactions with their publics through steadily flowing in- and outputs that benefit both sides[59]

According to Cull, "the worst error it to be irrelevant", the most common way to commit this error being for public diplomacy professionals to "assume that their interests match those of the audience". Cull specifically criticizes embassy staff for pouring out information into the cyberspace without the use of filtering or tagging techniques.[60] Public diplomats often do not know how to effectively use social media. Social media is more of an activity diary for many of them and their social media posts hardly attract sustainable conversation. Yepsen further

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[58] Kent, M. L., & Taylor, M. (1998). *Building Dialogic Relationships Through the World Wide Web*. Public Relations Review, 24(3), Pg. 324.

[59] Smith, B. G. (2010). *Socially Distributing Public Relations: Twitter, Haiti, And Interactivity in Social Media*. Public Relations Review, 36(4), Pg. 329-335.

[60] Cull, N. J. (2013). *The Long Road to Public Diplomacy 2.0: The Internet in US Public Diplomacy. International Studies Review*, 15(1), Pg. 123-139.

criticizes existing policies and rules for diplomats engaging in online public diplomacy, which may prevent true conversations and dialogue from taking place.[61]

2.4.2 International Broadcasting (IB)

Media as a tool of public diplomacy has undergone a revolutionary journey. Cull Nicholas refers to the use of electronic and print media in public diplomacy as international broadcasting (IB).[62] While proper IB dates only from the mid-1920s (with the Soviet Union and the Netherlands leading the field) it is possible to find state-funded news much earlier. Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250) distributed a newsletter about his court's activities around neighbouring capitals. Conventionally the BBC World Service, international broadcasting has long been the most widely known element in British public diplomacy. [63]

Throughout the years the impact of the media on the masses, as well as its position has moved from that of being a tool of government's public diplomacy, to it being, by itself, capable of determining foreign policy as it is today with the CNN effect, which has been used as generator of pressure on the policy maker, by the public, to respond to crisis events.[64]

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[61] Yepsen, E. A. (2012*). Practicing Successful Twitter Public Diplomacy: A Model And Case Study Of U.S. Efforts In Venezuela. CPD Perspectives on Public Diplomacy*, paper 6. Los Angeles, CA: USC Centre on Public Diplomacy Pg. 5.

[62] Cull J. N., (2009) *Public Diplomacy: Lessons From the Past*, University of Southern California Figueroa Press Los Angeles. Pg. 39-40.

[63] Ibid Pg. 39-40.

[64] Millisen J., (2005). *Wielding Soft Power: The New Public Diplomacy.* Netherlands Institutes of International Relations Clingendae Pg. 9.

2.4.3 Branding

In a paradoxical way, the image a nation projects can be both simple and complex at the same time. The image can be expressed through general perceptions and reduced to simple attitudes that trigger either an overall positive or negative reaction. These create stereotypes which provide an articulation of simple judgments and mental associations. [65]

The underlying structure of a nation image is highly complex since it incorporates elements from numerous sources: history; sciences and arts; religions and philosophies; natural wonders, human structures and artefacts; ecological and human habitats; cultural traditions, languages, and value systems; legal, political, ideological, military, and economic orders; and past and contemporary civilizations, people, and events. [66]

A country's image results from its geography, history, proclamations, art and music, famous citizens and other features. Thus a country's image is a reflection, sometimes distorted, of its fundamental being, a measure of its health, and a mirror to its soul. It speaks to the way a country exists in people's minds and hearts as well as to the position it occupies in relations to other countries.[67]

For marketers and government officials alike, it is important to differentiate brand image from brand identity. This in order to understand how others view you and to establish how you would like to be viewed.

The nation/country image is the mental representation of a country, the sum of beliefs and impressions people hold about a certain place. Every nation has an image that can vary across

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[65] Simonin L. B (2008) *Nation Branding and Public Diplomacy: Challenges and Opportunities*. The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs. Pg. 19-26.
[66] Ibid
[67] Ibid

time and space to a greater or lesser extent. This image colours consumer's perceptions of a country's products and services, investors' perceptions of the country as a place in which to do business, tourists' expectations, and the attitudes of the public at large.

The nation/country identity, on the other hand, is what a country believes it is (or wants to be). That identity is projected onto the rest of the world through branding and communication efforts to attract tourism and foreign direct investment, boost exports, and carry out effective public diplomacy. A nation identity should stress a reality that resonates with people, both within and outside the country. [68]

Branding is about establishing relationships with "consumers" on the basis of personality or human-like characteristics and emotional values. The brand essence and its representation must deliver on this front. The entertainment industry and the media play a particularly important role in shaping people's perceptions of places, especially those viewed negatively. Branding should utilize existing media platforms for more effectiveness.

2.4.4 Cultural Diplomacy

Cultural is one of the different ways of practicing public diplomacy such as media diplomacy, cyber diplomacy, aid diplomacy, cultural diplomacy, sport diplomacy and so forth.[69] A fundamental practice of Cultural diplomacy is the exchange and sharing of ideas, information, art, lifestyles, value systems, traditions, beliefs, languages and other aspects of cultures among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding. More than ever before, culture is playing a vital role in international relations and the struggle for space and cultural influence

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[68] *The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy* (2014) East African Community. Pg. 21-22
[69] Joran Lucian. *New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy.*

has taken centre stage in the global context. As cultural diplomacy exerts a great influence on domestic and intraregional exchanges, it provides a potential forum for negotiation and is a medium of exchange of shared solutions.[70] Cultural Diplomacy imports methods and norms from various areas of social discourse, but it is normally accepted as kind of Diplomacy as far as it remains bounded by governance and keeps its instrumental nature.[71] Culture has the ability to reach substantial numbers of people, making it an ideal medium for public diplomacy. Culture endeavours communicate values and speak to people in ways that are more subtle and less intrusive than direct propaganda.

Hence, culture in public diplomacy implies that cultural diplomacy can be practiced as a means of public diplomacy, taking different forms depending on the diplomat/s using it or the particular circumstance.[72]

- The arts including films, dance, music, painting, sculpture, etc.

- Multicultural events such as: Exhibitions which offer the potential to showcase numerous objects of culture and International festivals

- Educational programs such as universities and language programs abroad

- Exchange programmes; scientific, artistic, educational etc.

- Literature- the establishment of libraries abroad and translation of popular and national works

- Broadcasting of news and cultural programs

- Gifts to a nation, which demonstrates thoughtfulness and respect

- Religious diplomacy, including inter-religious dialogue and

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[70] Interview with a Foreign Service Officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
[71] Cull J. N., (2009) *Public Diplomacy: Lessons From The Past*, University of Southern California Figueroa Press Los Angeles, Pg. 19.
[72] Joran Lucian *New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy.*

- Promotion and explanation of ideas and social policies abroad

Cultural diplomacy is not a new phenomenon has been intertwined with the pursuit of foreign relations throughout history. From the reciprocal gifts of arts and manufactures between the Doge of Venice and Kublai Khan, to the Great Exhibition of 1851, to the present day, people have used culture to display themselves, to assert their power, and to understand others[73] From the reciprocal gifts of ancient rulers to modern-day Expos, culture has been used as a way for leaders and countries to show who they are, assert their power and build lasting relationships.

Culture is a major determinant of how people perceive each other and negotiate their differences. Opportunities for global contact and exchange are proliferating as never before, and because of those contacts, culture itself is changing. We can no longer think of relatively static cultures presenting themselves to each other for understanding and appraisal. Instead, cultures are meeting, mingling and morphing.[74] Because culture is intrinsically dynamic a balance must be made between how "we used to do things" and "how we do them now".

Cultural diplomacy has also gained in significance as the world has moved from the bi-polarity of the Cold War to the uncertainties of the present multi-polar world. This has had a profound impact on the ways in which nations construct and project their national identity. Cultural, religious and ethnic factors now play a larger part in defining the sense of self and community. The emerging Asian powers understand the importance of culture and are consciously using it as a means to project themselves not just to foreign governments, but also to global public opinion and potential partners and allies. In doing so, they are offering different economic and political models to compete with those of the West.[75]

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[73] Bound K., Briggs R., Holden J., Jones S. (2007) *Cultural Diplomacy*, Demos, London United Kingdom. Pg.19.
[74] Ibid Pg. 15
[75] Ibid Pg .17-19

The one undisputed characteristic of culture is that it is dynamic; it is continuously changing. This presents governments and cultural organisations with a dual challenge: on the one hand they need to maintain established standards of scholarship, quality and continuity in the face of proliferating content and international competition, and on the other, to enable people to develop the vital skills of cultural literacy – where people are able to understand themselves, and others, and the dynamic relationship between the two. This delicate balance requires people to be represented as they truly are at that moment in time and no as their ancestors used to be especially in a world where popular culture is a force to reckon with.

Cultural Diplomacy argues that today, more than ever before, culture has a vital role to play in international relations. This stems from the wider, connective and human values that culture has: culture is both the means by which we come to understand others, and an aspect of life with innate worth that we enjoy and seek out. Cultural exchange gives us the chance to appreciate points of commonality and, where there are differences, to understand the motivations and humanity that underlie them. [76]

Exhibitions, performances and other cultural forms enable us to engage with others' heritage and living culture. At the same time, music and the performing arts can convey images of creativity, vitality and vibrancy. However culture can also can also generate instant competition and discord propelled by ethnocentrism as discussed in previous chapters, creating an even greater need for the formal cultural sector to continue its role of mediation and explanation.

Foreign policy is so often dominated by realpolitik thinking that culture despite its ever present nature in international relations is often regarded as being desirable; an add-on, but not essential enough to be part of the core business of foreign relations. A common view is that, while

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[76] Ibid Pg.11

cultural diplomacy can help establish and support working relationships between countries, it is strictly subordinate to the harder stuff of laws and treaties, bilateral negotiations, multilateral structures and military capability. While culture plays a role in diplomacy, there remains a stark contrast between the amount of attention, money and column inches devoted to this area, compared with more formal diplomacy.

2.4.5 Sports as Public Diplomacy

Sports-diplomacy falls under the wide umbrella of public diplomacy. It involves representative and diplomatic activities undertaken by sports people on behalf of and in conjunction with their governments. The practice is facilitated by traditional diplomacy and uses sports people and sporting events to engage, inform and create a favourable image among foreign publics and organisations, to shape their perceptions in a way that is (more) conducive to the sending government's foreign policy goals[77]

According to Murray, changes in the diplomatic environment have forced diplomacy to adapt and experiment. Engaging with sports-diplomacy demonstrates a proactive government response to the post-Cold War irrelevance obsolescence and deliquescence arguments. By employing sports as an indirect means to foreign policy ends, the image of a state's foreign policy can change among a public from detached, hermetic and irrelevant to one that is innovative, effective and even and fun . Interest in sport is continually increasing in scope, power and appeal. If only the public saw politicians and diplomats in the same light as sports people. Governments are therefore hoping to tap into some of that sporting magic that is lacking in traditional diplomacy.

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[77] Murray S. (2011) *Sports-Diplomacy: a hybrid of two halves*. Bond Australia. Pg. 8-13

The global public seems exhausted after the extraordinary amount of violence of the twentieth century. These publics are more likely to be engaged by soft power overtures from nations, such as cultural or sporting exchanges. In the post-modern information age, sport, culture and diplomacy are no longer niche or backwater institutions but powerful foreign policy tools. Expressions of hard power through diplomacy is no longer that applicable and more so very unattractive.

Sport as public diplomacy projects positive values about any given country or region, particularly when good sport results are produced, appears to possess values such as quality or authenticity; on the other hand, it keeps the most politically engaged segment of society active and mobilized while attracting the much needed attention from foreign audiences.

Beijing's 2008 'coming out' party where they used the Olympic Games to foster an image of China as a rising, modern, economic powerhouse is a strong example. Using sport, Brazil created a new image of a South American regional leader and powerhouse on the back of the 2014 World Cup and 2016 Olympics.

Sports-diplomacy is a 'soft' way of exploring or signalling a foreign policy shift between estranged states. The best example of this is, of course, the 1971 case of Ping-Pong Diplomacy. Sports can be a powerful medium to reach out and build relationships across cultural and ethnic divides, with a positive message of shared values: values such as mutual respect, tolerance, compassion, discipline, equality of opportunity and the rule of law. Virtually all cultures and all

citizens have an interest in and appreciation for sport. While traditional diplomacy is the means to a state's foreign policy ends, sports-diplomacy is the means to the means of those ends.[78]

2.5 Actors in Public Diplomacy

The concept of public diplomacy has traditionally been understood in state-centric terms and has been closely related to a state's foreign policy the impact of globalization on politics however has provoked an emergence of new players who have progressively increased their influence, power, legitimacy and credibility in the global arena, intensifying the crisis that besets the state. Gregory 2011 defines public diplomacy as an instrument used by states, associations of states, and some sub-state and non-state actors to understand cultures, attitudes and behaviour; to build and manage relationships; and to influence thoughts and mobilize actions to advance their interests and values.[79]

The proliferation in recent years of non-state actors is transforming international relations including the circulation of ideas. Some consequences of globalization, such as the crisis of the state or the impact of new technologies, or the emergence of a powerful civil society, have multiplied the number of players in the international arena. Non-state actors are assuming roles that previously belonged to states and outperforming the state in the process.

Non-state actors obtain political authority from their efficiency in advocating for human rights, moving forward new regulations or setting the agenda of political institutions. NGOs,

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[78] Ibid

[79] Gregory, B. (2011) American Public Diplomacy: Enduring Characteristics, Elusive Transformation'. The Hague Journal of Diplomacy 6(2011) Pg. 351-372.

transnational companies, religious groups, think tanks, social movements or university experts have a say and power on most of the global issues affecting people.[80]

The non-state actors intervene and act in the international sphere, shape the political agenda and suggest methods of action. The source of their legitimacy comes from their authority and capability to tackle issues efficiently. In some cases they appear to go beyond the reach and power of the states. The global work of some NGOs surpasses the narrow-minded national interest of some governments; the business volume of some multinationals places them ahead of many countries economically, non-state actors have greater margin for manoeuvre, adapt better and faster to new world realities, make better use of new technologies. In addition they also have global interests and the will to make these interests felt on the world stage.

In particular, new technology has made it possible to have a global reach and to contact individuals and other organizations, weaving a broad net that allows non-state players to share knowledge and to develop joint actions. They are increasing their autonomy and have started to define new rules, acting more effectively than the states.[81]

In fact, the non-state actors are pioneering the development of new strategies for communication and influence, engagement techniques and the creation of opportunities for dialogue. They have also incorporated and made the most of the new technologies and social networks which have become their usual means of communication with internal and external publics.[82] As for the traditional actors, and despite the fact that the ministries for external affairs have increased their interest and sensitivity on matters of public diplomacy and communication, they still find it

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[80] Teresa La Porte (2012). The *Legitimacy and Effectiveness of Non-State Actors and the Public Diplomacy Concept*. Public Diplomacy Theory and Conceptual Issues. ISA Annual Convention, San Diego. Pg 4.
[81] Jora L. New Practices and Trends in Cultural Diplomacy. Pg. 2

[82] Cox, Christopher J., (2006) Digital Repertoires: Non-State Actors and ICTs. All Volumes (2001-2008). Paper 57. http://digitalcommons.unf.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1056&context=ojii_volumes

difficult to find the resources and staff needed in order to incorporate these activities as much as they should.[83]

Although the statement needs clarification, non-state actors could be said to be the practitioners par excellence of public diplomacy, as this is the only type of diplomacy they can perform. Public diplomacy can therefore be seen as a multi-actor communication strategy however it is important to note that while the engagement of civil society, non-state actors, the private sector, and a range of non-governmental organizations and policy institutions are crucial to the effective operation of public diplomacy, it is, at core, a function and responsibility of government. [84]

2.6 Challenges Facing Public diplomacy

Public diplomacy faces a many of challenges as a multi-dimensional activity involving state and non-state actors across a broad spectrum of foreign and, increasingly, domestic policy.

Diplomatic organizations on the other hand are grappling with ways in which to assert strategic direction within a system of communication that is asymmetric, has changed drastically and often not measurable by the traditional methods they are so used to.

This study reveals that changes in the international system are affecting public diplomacy in a way that might render the current practices outdated and ineffective. People are no longer as easily susceptible to propaganda-style messages as they used to be. Current information about global and local events can be accessed almost anywhere at any time, and people are also able to broadcast their own opinions and views to anyone who is willing to listen. It is therefore much

[83] Melissen, J (2012) 'Public Diplomacy Revisited' in Kerr, P. and Wiseman G. (eds.), *Diplomacy in a Globalizing World: Theories and Practices*. New York: Oxford University Press.
[84] SchukerJill A. (2008) *The Challenge of Public Diplomacy and the Role of Government*.

harder to get the public's attention and it is also harder to. People will not wait for the diplomatic machine to keep up.

International affairs are more complex than before. Convince the public to accept your message and they will check its validity against other sources. At the same time, people have more influence on world affairs than ever before through the growing international system of non-state actors, whose power often lies in numbers rather than economic or political resources.

Secondly the tone of public diplomacy is changing and messages are no longer framed the way they used to. Messages have to be framed for politically and culturally diverse audiences. The type communication medium also determines how the message is framed.

States are no longer the only actors that should be reckoned with on the international scene. Other entities, who are less tied to territory, are influencing the world order. The state is also not able to effectively capture the attention of its target audience. And even if it manages to get that far, how can it convince the public that it has a superior message. One thing is certain: the way that public diplomacy has traditionally been executed will not suffice.[85]

Indeed the treaty for the establishment of the east African community recognizes the existence and the need to form collaboration with the non-state actor.

Collaboration is a key dimension of effective public diplomacy. It is difficult to imagine any modern public diplomacy effort which has not been negotiated through a series of partnerships, both in terms of agenda-setting and subsequent implementation. Collaborations inevitably raise questions of equality between partners and the need to agree common objectives.   The

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[85] Manojlovic, M. and Thorheim, H. C. *Crossroads of Diplomacy: New Challenges, New Solutions,* October 2007 Netherlands institute of international relations Clingendael Pg. 29-30

collaborative process requires consistent effort to ensure that partnerships don't fail and result in a battlefield for aggrieved and competing interests.

Identifying and forging the points of common interest between a number of potential partners will always be subject to political trade-offs and renegotiation. Furthermore, non-state actors have their own distinct set of priorities, not only will they not only be deterred by such horse-trading, but will be responding to different, often longer, timescales. Such asymmetry and complexity makes strategic communications extremely difficult.[86]

The most salient debate is whether government-sponsored information activities are manipulative "propaganda" or valid "public diplomacy." Even during the War on Terrorism, the propaganda and public diplomacy were viewed as interchange substitutes instead of as two distinct strategic tools of persuasion.[87]

Once a communicator loses credibility through either inaccurate or contradictory messages, the audience loses trust and confidence in the communicator and discounts all future messages. If the audience feels that its trust has been deliberately violated through manipulation or deception, the audience will be even more hostile and all future efforts to gain support will produce the opposite effect. [88]

New media technologies, while providing unprecedented opportunities for engaging with the public, require a re-tooling of the diplomatic machine before they can be used to full effect. The unparalleled diversity and reach of new media platforms undoubtedly makes international relations today a complex environment. At the same time, it offers governments first-time

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[86] Webb, A. (2009). *Public Diplomacy: Meeting New Challenges*. Report of Wilton Park Conference 902. In: Public Diplomacy: Meeting New Challenges. 902nd Wilton Park Conference, 6-8 October 2008, Wilton Park, Wiston House, Steyning, West Sussex, UK.
[87] Zaharna R. (2004). *From Propaganda to Public Diplomacy in the Information Age*. Pg. 1

[88] Ibid Pg. 4

capacity to capture, process and engage with information flows: a new set of tools with a new set of possibilities. Diplomatic institutions are however not sufficiently primed to take advantage of these new opportunities?

New media brings about a fundamental shift in power from traditional areas of control, such as the information production centres into the hands of the citizen community. The digital media has reached a tipping point; digital media has become a political mobilisation of virtual communities.

Not only is there a need to invest in a new digital infrastructure; it is also necessary to change the mind and skill-set of practitioners. Long-established patterns of thought will need remoulding for a digital political landscape that displaces traditional methods of engagement. Finally the practice of public diplomacy is subject to the budgetary and other resource constraints and ultimately, this can limit its effectiveness. It is for this reason that the EAC relies largely on donor support EAC branding being funded by GIZ.

2.7 Conclusion

With The rise of non-state actors the assumption that public diplomacy as the sole preserve of the state has increasingly been brought into question. The state has had to adapt to the changing technological, social and political landscape. Public diplomacy's major activities: news management, strategic communication, relationship building emphasises long-term activities designed to open up one country to another as in the case of regional integration.

In this day and age messages from the state are suspect however if a message is to receive back up from the private sector or from civil society organisations then in would receive positive response

Although public diplomacy aims to influence mass publics, Entman alleges that its ultimate goal is to shape elite opinion and behaviour.[89] The elite represent only a small percentage of the population and cannot be used as a sample to represent everyone's view in addition if the message is rejected by those at home it doesn't stand a chance outside.

Effective public diplomacy provides the groundwork necessary between state and society for the acceptance and legitimacy of a country's policy actions and outreach. Effective public diplomacy can make the crucial difference in the attraction, rejection and perception of how a country, its people and its policies can influence and alter others' attitudes and decisions. If mishandled, public diplomacy can morph disastrously into propaganda, dismissed at home, and open to ridicule around the globe.[90]

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[89] Entman R. , *Theorizing Mediated Public Diplomacy*, Pg. 89
[90] Schuker A. J. (2008) *The Challenge of Public Diplomacy and the Role of Government*, USC center for public diplomacy.

In conclusion public diplomacy is an activity that requires the involvement of a different configuration of actors: promoting a country's national goals and policies (primarily national actors); communicating a nation's ideas and ideals, beliefs and values (national and sub-national non-state actors); and building common understanding and relationships (primary non-state actors). Non state actors are the movers and shakers of the international arena and should not at any point be underestimated.

When public diplomacy initiatives fail or even backfire, the reason will most probably be the hidden side of culture, or the cultural underbelly of public diplomacy. "What culture hides, it hides most effectively from its own members," remarked Edward T. Hall.[91] In public diplomacy, culture tends to hide in political, economic, and even bureaucratic factors. The same applies to integration, it is our understanding of each other's culture that determines the extent to which a region identifies itself as one.

Culture awareness in both public diplomacy and Regional integration is a two-sided equation in that it involves both the self and other. Without cultural self-awareness it is difficult to accurately perceive and understand the behaviour of others, and even more difficult to identify with them as one.[92]

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[91] Ibid 18
[92] Hague Journal of Diplomacy, (2011) vol. 6, Pg. 361-366.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY EAST AFRICAS INTEGRATION

3.1 The concept of Regional Integration (RI)

Regional Integration refers to "a set of policies by one or more states designed to promote the emergence of a cohesive regional unit, which dominates the pattern of relations between the states of that region and the rest of the world, and which forms the organizing basis for policy within the region across a range of issues" [93] But, we can distinguish among several levels of regionalism, from a community awareness (soft or informal regionalism) to the international/regional treaties (hard or formal regionalism), although both would share the same objectives.[94]

Some regions have been defined not only by geographical terms, but also by the increasing regional institutions, economic linkages and cultures. Geographical proximity creates more chances of linking countries together and forming a region; however, it is no longer the only defining factor as countries can also be linked by the increasing regional institutions, economic linkages and cultures. Advanced transportation and communication technologies have also intensified diverse economic, social and political linkages.

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[93] Hurrell, A. (1992). *Latin America in the New World Order: A Regional Bloc of the Americas,   in International Affairs*. p.123.
[94] Fawcett, L. (2004). *Exploring Regional Domains: A comparative history of regionalism*.

Joseph Nye defined an international region "as a limited number of states linked by a geographical relationship and by a degree of mutual interdependence", and (international) regionalism as "the formation of interstate associations or groupings on the basis of regions".[95]

The occurrence and evolution of a regional identity is a multi-dimensional and multi-level phenomenon that can be triggered by several factors based on the unique circumstances or needs in the state. The historical, cultural, social and ethnic bonds are undeniable; however, in today's international system the main triggers are political, security and economic arrangements.

Neighbouring states will more often enter into a cooperation agreement in order to achieve common interests. The objectives of the agreement can range from economic to political to environmental to security. Efforts at regional integration are often geared towards the removal of barriers to free trade in order to increase the free movement of goods, people and capital across national borders and to reduce the possibility of regional armed conflict and also to take a unified regional stand on policy issues that may affect them such as, such as the environmental and migration issues.

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[95] Nye, J. (1968). *International Regionalism*. Boston: Little, Brown.

3.2 African Regionalism in perspective

McCarthy argues that Africa's integration projects differ from other integration schemes in the developing world as they are informed by the Pan African ideology which shapes the African continent's identity and coherence[96]

The African paradigm is that of linear market integration; integration of goods, labour and capital markets, and eventually monetary and fiscal integration. The starting point is usually a free trade area, followed by a customs union, a common market, and then the integration of monetary and fiscal matters to establish an economic union.

The attainment of a political union, is cited as the ultimate objective in many African RIAs.

Regional integration in Africa has its roots in the political forces determined by the colonial legacy that resulted in the formation of geographically artificial states where random and illogical borders coupled with great ethno-linguistic diversity have contributed to the continent's high number of conflicts.

Initially, the Organization for African Unity, proposed framework that would steer African integration into pan-African unity and continental industrialization by the division of the continent into RECs that would constitute a united economy, the African Economic Community. Three regional integration arrangements were supported by the Economic Commission for Africa: Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS); Common Market for Eastern

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[96] Hartzenberg Trudi. *Regional Integration in Africa*: World Trade Organization Economic Research and Statistics Division. Staff working paper ERSD-2011-14, October 2011.

and Southern Africa (COMESA), and the Economic Community for Central African States (ECCAS), and later, the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU).[97]

This post-independence period saw the adoption of two ideologies by the African continent; for the first twenty five years, the African states pursued nationalism and for twenty five years, they were engrossed in neo-liberalism and globalization. While African founding fathers Julius Nyerere and Kwame Nkurmah led the Pan African agenda, they faced stiff opposition from other independent African states that pursued nationalism. The 1980s, and the end of the cold war, saw a revival of previous efforts that had either been abandoned, such as the East African Community (EAC), or not implemented, such as the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa COMESA.

3.2.1 Challenges of Regionalism in Africa

Regionalism in Africa is faced by a many challenges which have been partly responsible for its poor record of the past. In order for regionalism in Africa to maintain the same momentum with which it began with, a number of challenges need to be addressed These include Overlapping memberships to competing regional blocs that suggests lack of a clear political commitment to particular country bloc. For example, Zambia, is both a member of the COMESA Customs Union (CU) which requires applying Common External Tariff (CET) to non-members—and of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) FTA, putting the country in a conflicting position.

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[97] Jaime de Melo andYvonne Tsikata, *Regional integration in Africa : Challenges and prospects* A contribution to the Handbook of Africa and Economics

The wars and conflicts in a number of African regions which have devastated transport networks, communications and other basic infrastructure that would facilitate integration. In addition, many African governments deliberately leave out the private sector and the civil society.

Some countries have adopted a protectionist stand to guard their industries take quite a protectionist stance. Finally there are also glaring disparities in economic weight that exist between members of some groupings. The consequent of these and other challenges being that investors lack of confidence that integration measures and shy off from investing, whereas these challenges will not be fixed overnight, African regional blocks need to develop obligatory liberalization commitments in the WTO where possible.

Countries engaging in regional integration should seek to have the citizens of each other's states in their good graces in order for the citizens to support not only the integration process but also the foreign policies of these countries in their homelands.

One cause of mistrust between partner states in RI process is lack of awareness of the process. This mistrust trickles down to the citizens. Most citizens and even some government officials do not fully understand the RI and therefore have wrong assumptions and perception of the process. Sustained awareness creation should therefore be central in this process.

It is however important to remember that the RI process is a negotiated process and therefore each partner state must decide how to negotiate the process to gain maximum benefits.

3.3 The pursuit of Integration in East Africa: A Historical Overview

EAC Comprises the Republics of Burundi, Rwanda, Kenya, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania. EAC has a combined population of approximately 132 million, Total combined area of 2.01 million sq. km and Total GDP of 50 billion Dollars[98]

In order to understand EAC's quest for integration, it is important to examine the Community's history, tracing the first integration efforts, its collapse and its revival. In 1900, a customs collection centre for Uganda was established in Mombasa. Consequently the Currency Board was set up to issue currencies for Kenya and Uganda. This led to the establishment of the Customs Union between Kenya and Uganda in 1917, with Tanganyika joining in 1922.

In 1948, a High Commission was established, followed by the Common Services Organisation in 1961. Common Services included among others, the East African Posts and Telecommunications, East African Railways and Harbours, East African Airways, East African Air Aviation Services and East African Development Bank.

In 1967 the treaty establishing the community was signed. Having made great strides and even considered the world's model of successful regional integration and development. The former EAC collapsed ten years later in 1977.[99]

The Heads of State of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania agreed to revive cooperation while at a side meeting during the Common Wealth Heads of State and Government Meeting (CHOGM) held in Harare in 1991.[100]

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[98] Kiraso B. Brief Overview Of The East African Community
[99] Kiraso B. 2009. EAC integration process and the enabling peace and security architecture. Kampala Uganda P.2
[100] Ibid. P.2

This led to the signing of the 1993 Agreement for the establishment of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for East African Cooperation and in March 1996, the Secretariat of the East African Cooperation was launched in Arusha. The Treaty establishing the East African Community was signed on 30th November 1999 and entered into force on 7th July 2000.[101]

3.3.1 Reasons why the first EAC collapsed

At the time of its collapse the first EAC was marred by a lot of challenges and irregularities. Some were political while others were economic and social.

Ideological differences pursued by individual partner states as follows: Kenya was capitalist, Tanzania socialist while Uganda was mixed. This was mostly influenced by American-Russian Cold War period. This further led to suspicion and mistrust among partner states which led to the flourishing of unhealthy competition and in turn Negative Nationalism.

There was also a lack of uniformity in governance instruments of democracy and democratization processes. At that point in time the Region experienced dictatorial regimes, military coups, civil strife and human rights abuses. Additionally the community lacked mechanism to address corruption, non-respect for rule of law, impunity and government high handedness.

Disagreements on the sharing of benefits from the jointly owned common services organizations further fuelled an already bad situation. The community was deficient of policy to redress the situation. These disagreements were brought about by greed and short-sightedness on the part of

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[101] Kiraso B. Brief Overview Of The East African Community

some influential political leaders. It therefore came as no surprise at the loss of common services and loss of free movement of persons, goods and services.

Perhaps one of the greatest challenge of the time was the government monopoly of the integration process; there was little or none private sector and civil society involvement in the running of the then Community.

3.3.2 The New EAC

Since its re-establishment, the EAC has become one of the most influential regional economic bloc in Africa especially after Rwanda and Burundi joined as new members in 2007. According to the EAC 2009 statistics, the admission of these new members has increased the EAC population from 80 million people to12.6 million. This increase has significantly expanded regional market size and investment opportunities.[102]

Article 5 (2) of the Treaty for Establishing the East African Community stipulates that: "Partner States undertake to establish among themselves and in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty, a Customs Union, a Common Market, subsequently a Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation".[103]

Despite the first fall out, and even an attempt to divide existing shared resources the original partner states found it was better to face global challenges as one. This was prompted by the need to better manage shared resources e.g. Lake Victoria, Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Elgon. Allowing free movement of people, goods and labour would spur economic growth and well-being of the region's citizenry.

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[102] East Africa Community facts and figures 2009
[103] Article 5 of Treaty establishing the East African Community

The realisation that by pooling resources together there will be the benefits of comparative advantage, economies of scale and efficient use of public resources and exploitation of development opportunities.

With a large population and more varied resources, more serious local and international investors will be attracted to the region because of bigger internal markets and thus compete favourably with in the global market; Conservation of the region's shared cultural heritage; and Peaceful co-existence , good neighbourliness and Peaceful settlement of disputes.

3.3.4 Milestones; Progress so far

As an entry point to the community partner States undertook to establish a Customs Union whose objectives included among other things, the liberalisation of trade in goods on the basis of mutually beneficial trade arrangements among Partner States; Promotion of production efficiency within the community; enhancement of domestic, cross border and foreign investment; Promotion of economic development and diversification in industrialisation. The main tenets of the Customs Union include a Common External Tariff (CET); a Customs law of the Community; removal of non- tariff barriers to trade among Partner States; elimination of Customs duties and other charges of equivalent effect on goods originating and traded among Partner States. The EAC Customs Union was affected in January 2005. Rwanda and Burundi join the EAC Customs Union 2009.

The Customs Union was followed by the creation of the EAC Common Market. This move envisaged to deepen the integration, accelerate economic growth and promote development. It is aimed at strengthening, coordinating and regulating the economic and trade relations among

partner states in order to promote accelerated, harmonious and balanced development. The Common Market Protocol was signed in November 2009.

The common market was established in accordance with the provisions of Articles 76 and 104 of the Treaty, the Protocol on EAC Common Market shall provide for: Free movement of goods; Free movement of persons; Free movement of labour; Right of establishment; Right of residence; Free movement of services; and Free movement of capital.

30 November 2013 saw the Protocol for the Establishment of the EAC Monetary Union signed

The third stage is the Monetary Union. This occurs when two or more states agree on a single currency for their daily transactions within the Common Market. A lot of research is currently underway towards this end.

Fiscal and monetary processes are in the process of being harmonised. Meetings of Governors of Central Banks are already taking place and of pre-budget meetings are already taking place. Other measures include, reading of the EAC budgets on the same day and harmonisation of capital market development. It is envisaged that the Monetary Union will be in place by 2012.

This is the ultimate goal of the community, which will be when partner states come together to form a Super State under one Political Authority. This will involve yielding sovereignty and some powers by the partner States to the federal State.

3.3.5 Challenges to East African integration process

In spite of the major milestones, EAC still faces some major challenges some of them were still there in the first EAC while others are more recent.

Partner states still continue to grapple with the fear of loss of sovereignty, national identity and political power. This has led to the increase of negative nationalism among citizens for instance Tanzanians would rather not have unwanted economic, labour competition.

On the other hand partner states have young and fragile democracies, have divergent views on governance democracy and rule of law.

The other challenge is Multiple membership in different REC's, specifically COMESA, SADC which automatically means there will be competing interests and loyalties to others.

Inadequate public support and popular participation in the process through the marginalisation of grass roots stake holders. In addition to these efforts by member states to reach each other's citizens is automatically blanketed as propaganda.

Disparities in the levels of development, urbanisation and asymmetrical education systems do not help either.[104] These differences create a perception of disproportionate sharing of economic and other benefits. Kenyan labour is more on demand as such Kenyans are viewed as too aggressive be it at work, school or in business.

The other challenge emanates from the various ministries themselves. There are inconsistencies in the officers handling a particular docket and attending particular meetings. Systematic meetings are attended by different officers. Every two to four years or so the ministries reshuffle

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[104] Society for International Development. 2011. *East African Integration: Dynamics of Equity in Trade, Education, Media and Labour*. Ascent Limited. P.66-71.

their staff A rapid turnover of staff and new faces each time there is a meeting does not help and so will the mistaken view of giving each one in a unit an opportunity to travel.[105]

Dependency on donor funding to fund the regional agenda. Donors can play a role in regional integration by supporting efforts towards facilitating regional trade through the reduction of impediments at borders, through support for the development of complementary policies nationally [106] however donor funds always come with strings attached which may change the regional agenda.

As long as donor contributions are the major source of our funding, it will be hard for EAC to independently realise its objectives without pandering to the whims of others.

Colonial political structures still continue to affect the region and its decisions. Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania inherited a treaty signed between the United Kingdom and Egypt that effectively barres them from using the Lake Victoria waters for irrigation. This Nile Water Agreement of 1929 is one among a couple of other treaties.

A Social, Political Economic and Cultural Barometer, was conducted by research firm Steadman Group in 2007, to establish awareness levels about the EAC among residents within these capital cities; support levels regarding the formation of the EAC and support levels towards admission of Rwanda and Burundi into the community. The findings showed that although support for the

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[105] Interview with a Foreign Service Officer at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade.
[106] M. Helena *Regional Integration and the Role of Donors*
http://www.hubrural.org/IMG/pdf/dfid_regional_integration_and_role_of_donors.pdf

EAC among residents in Nairobi and Kampala is high, their counterparts in Daresalam were not as supportive.

Whereas a minority rejected the EAC formation in Nairobi and Kampala, 10 per cent and 16 per cent respectively - nearly half (46 per cent) of residents in the Tanzanian major coastal city oppose its formation. The survey further found that one out of every 10 adult residents in the capital cities has not heard of the EAC. [107] The study further showed that although 89% of the respondents interviewed, were aware of the EAC's existence, 72% were unaware of the progress of the integration process. Critics against integration argued that common services can exist and thrive without a formal regional integration process or without a federation.

3.4 An overview of public diplomacy strategies in other integration schemes

3.4.1 The EU's Public Diplomacy Strategy

EU refers to its information, communication, education, and cultural campaigns and programs as public diplomacy

The EU's goal in conducting public diplomacy is to promote EU interests through understanding, informing, and influencing. It explains the "EU's goals, policies and activities and fostering understanding of these goals through dialogue with individual citizens, groups, institutions and the media."[108]

EU's public diplomacy efforts were focused towards some of the main stereotypes that present the Union as an "artificial construct," or as an organization ruled only by its most powerful

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[107] All Africa news, 2007. Rwanda News Agency (Online) http://allafrica.com/stories/200708240504.html
[108] European Commission, "The EU's 50th anniversary celebrations around the world: A glance at EU public diplomacy at work," (Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 2007). 12

member states. Since its establishment, the EU has tried to present itself as a "peace project" that saved Europe from the danger of future wars and instabilities. EU public diplomacy strives to portray the Union as a unique model to be followed by other states and regional organizations. However this narrative recently came into question with BREXIT- United Kingdom's withdrawal from the EU. The EU presents itself as a land of 50 years of peace, stability, and prosperity, a guardian of the principles of democracy, human rights, the rule of law, and good governance, a firm believer in multilateralism and partnership, and a protector of the cultural diversity of its nations.[109]

The launch of the EU External Action Service (EEAS) in 2010 have provided a more formal framework for the practice of public diplomacy by the Union. Although the EU does not have a developed public diplomacy strategic plan or approved legislative acts on the Union's public diplomacy structure it adopted an "Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe." In 2005.[110] In 2010, the European Council passed a resolution for establishing EEAS that stipulated the creation of a department for information and public diplomacy.

 The EU relies on Directorate-General (DG) for Communication's efforts in informing target audiences and practices public diplomacy through a diffused, decentralized, and multi-layered framework of departments, policies, and programs. The DG for Communication maintains the leading advocacy role in the Union's public diplomacy efforts, as it is in charge of informing and communicating about the policies of the European Union with the public at large.

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[109] Ibid
[110] European Commission, "Action Plan to Improve Communicating Europe by the Commission," (European Union, 2005). http://ec.europa. eu/dgs/communication/pdf/communication_com_en.pdf

3.4.2 ASEAN's Public Diplomacy Strategy

ASEAN, unlike the EU, has not yet used the term "public diplomacy" in its practices and does not have a specialized unit for this purpose. However, different institutional layers in the organization have implemented a variety of public diplomacy activities. ASEAN works to successfully manage information in order to create a sense of belonging and mutual understanding among its member states.[111]

However the organization continuously in engages public diplomacy in order to meet its Vision 2025 strengthen the political-security, economic, and socio-cultural pillars of an integrated ASEAN Community, and to narrow the development gap.[112] These public diplomacy activities help are aimed at bringing an understanding of its policies and activities to the regional and international community and to get its people involved into regional issues and the community-building process."[113]

With its public diplomacy activities, ASEAN tries to fight the common misperception of the organization as being a weak and insignificant regional and global actor and instead presents to itself as a concert of Southeast Asian nations, outward looking, and living in peace, stability and prosperity, bonded together in partnership in dynamic development and in a community of caring societies.[114] ASEAN developed its public diplomacy mechanism mainly after the Cold War, and especially since the addition of ten new members in 1999.

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[111] ASEAN-Secretariat, "Joint Media Statement " (paper presented at the 10th Conference of the ASEAN Ministers Responsible for Information (AMRI), 2009). http://www.asean.org/23958.htm.
[112] ASEAN http://asean.org/asean/asean-connectivity/
[113] Bui, "Public Diplomacy in Asean and the Cases of Vietnam and Singapore." 21
[114] ASEAN, "Overview" Asean .org

After establishment of an ASEAN Community in 2015, ASEAN committed to further improving its public diplomacy efforts by engaging and better communicating with its member states. In light of this Declaration, ASEAN also adopted the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Plan of Action in order to enhance public awareness, shape perceptions, and amplify participation.[115] In 2010, the organization developed the Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity (MPAC). Some actions envisioned in this plan included an organized public outreach, advocacy activities, and creating partnerships at the regional and national levels.[116] The ASEAN web portal, ASEAN's website on Culture and Information, and member states' communication plans also support the organization's public diplomacy.

3.5 Conclusion

EAC's efforts and journey in deepening and accelerating integration are without a doubt to be lauded, not only does the EAC seem more vibrant than other regional schemes in the Southern hemisphere but it has tremendously advanced in its integration process. However in order for the fruits of these efforts to be enjoyed by its citizens in the long term, crucial issues still to be addressed especially those that led to the failure of the first EAC and still continue veer their ugly heads to date. EAC should therefore address the underlying issues those issues that Zaharna describes as to be hidden from ourselves by culture.

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[115]ASEAN, "The ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community (ASCC) Plan of Action," http://www.asean.org/news/item/the-asean-socio-cultural-community-ascc-plan-of-action
[116] Lim Chze Cheen, "Master Plan on ASEAN Connectivity: A Progress Report," in 3rd ASEAN Connectivity Symposium (Cambodia: ASEAN Secretariat, 2012).

It is also evident that in today's globalised world, it is imperative for a regional integration scheme to have in place a public diplomacy strategy or activities that reach out to the regions public as well as those outside the public.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANALYSIS OF PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN THE EAC

4.1 Diplomacy 2.0 in East Africa

An analysis of social media tools utilized by partner states revealed that all foreign affairs ministries have an official country website, an official ministry of east African community website official, face book and official twitter accounts. A further analysis on citizen engagement showed that while the five countries document events and activities taking place on social media, there is barely any response from the public, it is more of a one way street where the diplomatic institutions send out messages but receive little feedback from not only each other's publics but also from their own. Even with the proliferation of social media and the eminence possibilities it offers to foster regional integration there lacks vibrant conversations online on the matter of regional integration.

4.2 International Broadcasting in the EAC

While the East Africa region has a vibrant media fraternity, many of the media companies do not operate as regional players. However from time to time they will air news and documentaries on regional matters. Dominance of national media prompted for a partnership program that is

envisioned to place the national media channels at the centre of the EAC communication strategy[117]

For a progressive integration process aimed at a Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation, the success of regional communication will be measured by how it connects with the masses. To this end, both the EAC communication policy and strategy shall seek to engage the general public with relevant messages cognizant of their perceptions, cultures and aspirations[118]

The EAC Heads of State have been very keen in redeeming the perceptions of the EAC not only to the outside world but within itself. Not only does each country have its own each country has its own branding initiative, but the EAC has a communications strategy that prioritises regional branding.

An enhanced Corporate Image of the EAC's credibility, reputation and image will determine its effectiveness in fostering regional integration. The communication strategy shall therefore seek to establish a framework for the management of the EAC as a brand.[119]

Branding as one of the most important tools of contemporary public diplomacy. Good branding campaigns require listening at home as well as overseas. Consequently, the EAC should continually seek to maintain a positive image with its stakeholders as customers and maintain a relationship of trust with them. The stature and perception of the EAC as a brand would determine its credibility in the eye of EAC citizens and the various stakeholders in the region. To

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[117] The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy, (2014). East African Community, Arusha Tanzania.

[118] *The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy* (2014) East African Community. Pg. 15

[119] Ibid Pg. 23

connect with the increasingly brand oriented population in the region; the EAC should seek to capture the imagination of and appeal to the EAC citizens.[120]

In pursuit of regional branding, in April 2007, the EAC held the first East African Media Summit in Nairobi that was very successful, attended by over 100 top media owners and practitioners of the EAC countries - Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Burundi and Rwanda. The East African Media Summit was the first major activity under the EAC Re-Branding Project.[121] The EAC Re-Branding project is a bold and ambitious scheme to enhance the regions visibility and image of the EAC. The project envisages substantial commitment of resources in the Corporate Communications and Public Affairs function of the Community for, among others, the establishment of the EAC Media Centre that is geared to apply advanced systems and technology in its print and electronic media.[122]

In 2013 EAC undertook a branding survey Aimed at finding out into how some of the key target audiences perceive EAC, how well they know it, how familiar they are with the symbols of the EAC and how they assess its performance in reaching out to them. The study would review how key messages got across and how EAC is perceived by the East African citizens.[123] The project was aimed at helping EAC to develop a strong corporate identity and a consistent corporate image to ensure credibility and trust in the eyes of the public. The project was undertaken with the support of German Agency for International Cooperation (GIZ).

The EAC has also gone ahead to establish a joint Destination East Africa marketing strategy

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[120] *The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy* (2014) East African Community. Pg.29

[121] Magaga A. (2008) *EAC'S CLOSE ENGAGEMENT WITH THE MEDIA – EAC RE-BRANDING PROJECT* http://www.eac.int/news/index.php?option=com_docman&task=doc_view&gid=5&Itemid=152

[122] Ibid

[123] Daily Nation (2013) EAC *Launches Branding Survey* http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/EAC-launches-branding-survey-/-/1064/1925078/-/view/printVersion/-/9iy85dz/-/index.html.

Since November 2006, Partner States have been participating international tourism fairs as a bloc. Some of the fairs in which the East African Community member states have participated multilaterally include:

The World Travel Market (WTM) in the UK (since 2006), the Internationale Tourismusborse (ITB) in Germany (since 2007) and CASA Africa Investour 2012.

4.3 Cultural Diplomacy in East Africa

4.3.1 JAMAFEST

JAMAFEST is an acronym for *Jumuiya ya Afrika Mashariki Utamaduni Festival*, the Kiswahili translation for the East African Community (EAC) Arts and Culture Festival which aims to promote regional socio-cultural integration through arts and culture. It is envisaged to be held biennially and hosted by Partner States on a rotational basis.[124]

JAMAFEST came to life after the EAC Council of Ministers in September 2011 directed the EAC Secretariat to organize regular festivals to showcase culture as a primary driver of regional integration. Rwanda was consequently selected to host the first edition of the Festival whose main activities took place at the Amahoro Stadium in Kigali. The Festival was a weeklong affair running from 11 to 16 February 2013. JAMAFEST (2) 2015 was held in Nairobi in August 2015 and was organised by the Ministry of Sports, Culture and Arts in Collaboration with the Ministry of East African Affairs, Commerce & Tourism. The 3rd edition JAMAFEST (3) is scheduled to

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[124] Interview with Officer at the Ministry of East Africa Affairs Commerce & Tourism Nairobi. State Department of East African Affairs.

take place in Kampala Uganda in 2017 as platform to show case art and culture as primary drivers of regional integration and sustainable development.[125]

The festival is majorly meant to deepen the relationship between the East African countries and their cultures. It will show case music, dance, drama, theatre, tailoring and designs, cuisine, paintings, art and crafts, photographs, and films.[126]

The objectives of JAMAFEST are to foster the economic development of the EAC by nurturing the growth of a strong creative and cultural industry sector and to unify East Africa through Arts and Culture. The festival will rejuvenate the long standing political, economic, social and cultural ties between the peoples of the Partner States thus deepening integration for their mutual benefit.

4.3.2 Kiswahili as Unifying Regional Language

Kiswahili is recognised as the most widely used indeginouse language in Africa. Kiswahili is not only the lingua franca for the wider Eastern African region, but it has found deep roots in the Central Africa (in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and the Southern African counties such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. It is has also spread fast into Southern Sudan through refugees returning from Kenya.[127]

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[125] NEWS / UGANDA TO HOST 3RD JAMAFEST EVENT http://chimpreports.com/entertainment/uganda-to-host-3rd-jamafest-event/ Article by Pamela Amia, August 29, 2016
[126] NEWS / UGANDA TO HOST 3RD JAMAFEST EVENT http://chimpreports.com/entertainment/uganda-to-host-3rd-jamafest-event/ Article by Pamela Amia, August 29, 2016
[127] Choge,S.C. 2007-2008: Role of (a) in Kiswahili. Research in African Languages & Linguistics (RALL). Vol .8.pp19-43.Ibadan: Hope Publications

According to Kishe, if Kiswahili is officially recognised as a medium of communication at the regional level, it will become an important integrating force at the upper horizontal level, thus uniting the élites from the respective countries. In addition, if Kiswahili is adopted as a working language, it will act as a point of contact between the government and the people who are the target audience, thus providing a means of sharing information and the exchange of ideas. Kiswahili will, therefore, create a major bond between the macro-level, with the professionals and politicians, who hold the knowledge and skills for development.[128]

Kiswahili is the largest language in the continent in terms of number of speakers in comparison to other African languages. It is estimated to be spoken by over 100 million people in the world. It therefore makes sense that Kiswahili could be used for social, political, economic and cultural integration. [129]

The Republic of Kenya, The United Republic of Tanzania and the Republic of Uganda enjoyed close and linguistic ties for their mutual benefit. Between 1930 and 1964 there existed an Inter-territorial Language Committee whose central aim was to promote the standardization and development of Kiswahili. Despite the 1977 breakup of the East African Community, the educational and language bodies in the said countries, continued to informally interact and formally seek mechanisms to re-establish a framework for formal cooperation.[130]

The revival of the Community through the signing of the Treaty for the establishment of the East African Community in 1999 presented the Partner States with this opportunity as well as a

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[128] Jepkirui M., Muthwii A. Kioko N. (eds.) (2004). Kiswahili as vehicle of unity and development in the Great Lakes region. In new language bearings in Africa: A fresh quest.

[129] Interview with Officer at the Ministry of East Africa Affairs Commerce & Tourism, State Department of East African Affairs Nairobi.

[130] The East African Kiswahili Commission.
http://www.education.eac.int/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=50&Itemid=109

framework for cooperation in the cultural and linguistic fields. The treaty for the establishment of the East African Community.

Before the ascension of the treaties to fully allow Rwanda and Burundi to join the EAC, the two Francophone member states were required to make some domestic legislative changes among them promoting Kiswahili and English in order to harmonize their social-cultural national environment with those of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.[131]

However in order not to lose touch with part of the audience Official documents of the EAC are published in its official languages of the Community, namely English and Kiswahili. However, to effectively connect with its target audiences, especially in Burundi and Rwanda, the EAC translates its communication into French as well.[132]

Further in the recognition of how fundamental the collaboration of member states is in the development of Swahili language as a vehicle towards enhanced regional integration, member states agreed to the establishment of the East African Kiswahili Council through a protocol, in November 2001. The council's mission is to ensure the development of Kiswahili for regional and international interaction for political, economic, social, cultural, educational, scientific and technological development of East Africa. Article 137 further provides that Kiswahili shall be the *lingua franca* of the Community.[133]

The composition of the EAC anthem in both English and Swahili also exhibits this commitment

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[131] Ngare, P. (2007) Daily Nation Online. (Nairobi) 5 July.

[132] East African Community Communications Policy and strategy (2014) East African Community, Arusha, Tanzania. Pg. 25.

[133] Article 137 Establishment of the East African Community.

The protocol for the establishment of the East African Kiswahili Council, spells out the key objectives of the council.[134] The council has been tasked with The council has been tasked with strengthening national, regional, regional and international communication through the use of Swahili and beyond alongside developing Kiswahili as a regional language expressing and conveying African values with respect to issues to issues of gender equity, human rights and democracy while initiating, assisting and encouraging the development of Swahili in East Africa. It is also tasked with encouraging collaboration in regional research and assisting the partner states develop centres of advanced study and researching Swahili and promoting curriculum reform to equip citizens with the literary and linguistic skills and knowledge which meet the needs of the East African society and conforming to the development plans of East Africa.

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

This study shows that there is a clear effort in using Kiswahili as a solution for East Africa's language barrier challenge and in turn a catalyst for regional integration. However, even with the strides made so far, some challenges still persist, in Uganda for instance Kiswahili is associated with brutality during the Iddi Amin dictatorial regime even after its official introduction in Uganda's education system in addition the idea to implement the teaching and promotion of Kiswahili in Ugandan schools has met with stiff resistance from some educationists and citizens, especially from the central region[135] Kiswahili spoken in many of Kenya's urban areas has been

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[134] The Draft Protocol on the Establishment of the East African Kiswahili Council. 2001.
[135] The Observer Online, *Why Kiswahili Teaching Remains Difficult*
http://www.observer.ug/component/content/article?id=10162:why-kiswahili-teaching-remains-difficult

corrupted "Sheng". Never the less this study has established that a unitary language such as Swahili can indeed enhance the integration process. The study has also revealed that there is a symbiotic relation between language and communication and that both are critical to the integration process.

4.3.3 Kalasha International awards

This is the East African film and television Oscars, an initiative of the Kenya film commission. The annual event aims at celebrating achievers in the industry, spur further growth in film and TV industries. To inject new energy into the industries to fostering healthy competition. To involve movie and television fans in efforts of shaping the industry. To create extra publicity for the industries and to provide energy boost to the viability of film and television industries. By bringing together the varicose practitioners on the film and TV industries in the region the event promotes the industry as a major public diplomacy tool that can reach out to many in the region.

4.4 Sports in EAC

EAC Partner States Recognize the role that Culture and Sports play in the existence and survival of the community, particularly for social cohesion, solidarity, stability and identity.[136]
The Community further reaffirms the principles enshrined in the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity [137] and the need to promote diverse Cultural and Sports expressions within the context of globalisation.

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[136] Ibid
[137] The East African Culture & Sports Commission

The EAC has gone ahead to create .The East African Culture and Sports Council (EACSCO).

Whose purpose is to "…have diverse, vibrant and progressive cultures and sports for the

empowerment of the East African individuals and the community." "…Promote and develop

culture and sports for the enhancement of regional peace, cohesion, healthy living and combating

poverty amongst East Africans." The council will be charged with "… spearheading and

promoting the development of culture and sports in the Partner States in liaison with National

governing bodies and stakeholders."[138]

To this end EAC has been holding regular Volleyball and sit ball tournaments and championship

EAC military games respectively. The community also holds military games annually. Uganda

hosted the 9th Edition of the EAC military games (EAC Military Games and Cultural Event)

under the theme 'One People, One Destiny. Sports plated included Football, basketball,

volleyball, netball and cross country.

4.5 The Non-State Actor in EACs Public Diplomacy

After failure of the first EAC due to many factors including government monopoly of the

process, the second process has made a deliberate initiative to include non-state agencies. A truly

bottom up approach requires the involvement of all stakeholders. Because non-state actors have

their own agenda to drive, they too carry out their own public diplomacy initiatives. In its bid to

promote regional integration through effective communication, the EAC not only collaborates

with non-state actors but also approves their public diplomacy initiatives in the region.

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[138] The East African Culture & Sports Commission

This study has identified several categories of non-state actors in the region that are currently involved Public Diplomacy initiatives whether deliberately or unintentionally:

Business and Professional Associations; These include East African Business Council (EABC), the East African Law Society (EALS), the East Africa Farmers Federation, and The East Africa Local Government Association. The business and professional associations provide an opportunity to reach groups of like-minded individuals through their official and informal communication networks. By doing so, the business and professional associations aggregate relevant information on the EAC policies and programmes and interpret the same for their members. [139]

Private Enterprises; the private sector includes medium and large corporations that have greater resources and technical competence to explore opportunities that EAC integration present. Role in Integration In keeping with the EAC ideal of a people centred and business lead integration, the private sector and its various associations have a critical role to play in the integration process. Besides their role as investors, they are in a position to sponsor initiatives and activities that will foster EAC integration[140] the private sector through their own projects have inadvertently fostered regional integration.

The East Africa Art Biennale (EASTAFAB); The East Africa Art Biennale organises arts and crafts exhibitions in Dar-es-Salaam every two years, with an aim to promote the culture and contemporary visual and performing arts of East Africa. EASTAFAB is a not-for-profit, non-governmental organisation that has been registered under the Tanzanian National Council of Arts

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[139] The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy (2014), East African Community, Arusha, Tanzania Pg. 18
[140] Ibid

since 2003. The organisation is funded by grants, donations and sponsorships from the Moroccan government as well as from various international organisations

The Biennale has grown over the years, bringing in artists from the East African countries of Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda alongside widening international participation. Plans are underway to transport EASTFAB TO Nairobi (Kenya), Kampala (Uganda), Kigali (Rwanda) and Bujumbura (Burundi), making EASTAFAB the first travelling biennale in the world.

The main aim of the Project is to promote of contemporary art in the region of East Africa. To contribute to a unified East Africa, as well as allowing interaction between local and foreign artists Collaboration through the arts is an invaluable part of cultural diplomacy, since it gives participants and audience an opportunity to engage in inter-cultural cooperation. The 7th Edition of the East Africa Art Biennale 2015 is to be held in Dar es Salaam in November 2015.[141]

East African breweries limited (EABL). EABL has since the year 2006 sponsored the Tusker Project Fame (TPF), a music competition that identifies the best talents within East Africa in the music industry. TPF is one of the regions' most popular reality show. Its last two seasons included Southern Sudan, a country that has been seeking admission to the EAC.

Sakata Mashariki. Is a TV show of contemporary dance show much like TPF brings together youth dancers in the region to showcase and compete. This show has great potential to reach out to the youth in the region.

Civil Society Organisations; CSO's within Partner States and across the region champion various interests of East African citizens. The civil society organisations have the resources and

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[141] *Cultural Diplomacy in Africa*, Outlook report 2011.

orientation to actively participate in policy advocacy. They are also well placed to participate and support the sensitisation of EAC citizens on the benefits of integration.[142]

4.6 Conclusion

In international communication and by extension public diplomacy, the communication technologies and medium that nations choose to communicate with will include tools such as those mentioned in this chapter. However what makes a nation's external communication and public diplomacy culturally unique is how these tools are used. Different tools and techniques will at some points to overlap. In this new world, knowledge, culture, and communications are the key, not only to technological progress and economic prosperity, but also to social cohesion and sustainable development.

Since Public diplomacy initiatives are formulated to support of a particular foreign policy objective. It makes sense that countries with similar objectives as it is in this case even should work collaboratively to push forward this regional integration policy.

For a progressive integration process aimed at a Customs Union, Common Market, Monetary Union and ultimately a Political Federation, the success of regional communication will be measured by how it connects with the masses. To this end, both the EAC communication policy and strategy shall seek to engage the general public with relevant messages cognizant of their perceptions, cultures and aspirations.[143]

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[142] Ibid
[143] The East African Community Communication Policy and Strategy (2014), East African Community, Arusha, Tanzania Pg.15.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

The previous chapters in this study provide a clear analysis of the role public diplomacy plays to enhance EACs regional integration.

The findings of the study are consistent with the hypothesis which is "Public diplomacy can promote regional integration by nurturing cultural understanding".

Besides an analysis of the partner states communications strategies and efforts revealed the importance of maintaining positive national image as the image of one country may be associated generally to the rest of the region. This study further draws attention to the symbiotic relationship between communications and public diplomacy successful public diplomacy is determined by the effectiveness of communications strategies and public policies.

The study also reinforces the supposition that cultural diplomacy is the linchpin of public diplomacy. Accepting and appreciating people for who they truly are creates an understanding that PD can draw people from very different cultures and backgrounds together.

Despite the EAC priding itself in progress and milestones achieved so far Public Diplomacy must continue to be consistently applied by partner states to ensure that gains made are not reversed.

Partner states should also be cognizant of the challenges of public diplomacy like that could not only reverse PD efforts but also act against the process of integration.

Public diplomacy forester's cooperation in collaboration, citizens of different countries come together for a common purpose. This cooperation not only bridges social and political divides, but it also helps lessen any tensions that might be there. The regional citizens learn to respect each other's differences, and they may even find that they have common ground in at least one area of importance to them.[144] Gaining the cooperative advantage is essential, and that can be done by creating alliances, building networks, and partnering with foreign publics and institutions. [145] There is therefore no doubt that PD has a major role to play in Regional integration and its role should not be underplayed

5.2 Recommendations

Compared to other integration schemes, EAC partner states are still relatively underdeveloped, over 40% of the budget comes from donor funding, funding which comes with strings attached and should it cease the process would likely come to a halt. EAC should therefore endeavour to fund the regional process by itself.

Effective public diplomacy requires that public diplomacy strategies to move from monologue to dialogue, and even more, to collaboration. Consequently relevant Missions should adopt social media strategies that encourage vibrant online conversations and not just event reporting perhaps even hire a social media specialist who can engage energetically with the public. Other

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[144] Zaharna, Battles to Bridges, Pg. 167.
[145] Cowan, G. and Arsenault, A. *Moving from Monologue*, Pg. 22.

development fields have endeavoured to utilize social media for development initiatives. Diplomacy should take the same direction; diplomats should go through a social media course specifically tailored to them.

All partner states should make it their priority to have good public images strengthened by participatory communications strategies which would create the much needed awareness and understanding of partner states foreign policies.

Establishment of EAC Broadcasting house that would air the community's affairs such as the procedures and current stage of the integration process, features of the various cultures of the region, various economic opportunities. This would not only work towards relieving the suspicions mentioned in previous chapters; social challenges but it would also keep the public knowledgeable of the regions affairs.

As noted in previous chapters public diplomacy in this day and age is no longer the preserve of the nation state. The private sector including the media, the business community and the civil society play a significant role. Moreover none state actors in some cases evoke more public trust than the government does. None state actors also have a reputation of putting the government in check. This may alleviate suspicions of foul play and put the citizens need at the forefront. The treaty establishing the EAC provides for this partnership, a partnership which would give credence and legitimacy to the process.

Even though they are not the main targets of public diplomacy, the diplomatic machinery should not overlook its domestic citizens when formulating a strategy of constructive two-way communication with foreign publics. As mentioned earlier, civil society has become less restricted by inter-state borders and has therefore formed extensive networks on the international

arena. Public diplomats should therefore take advantage of these connections and base its approach on the work already done by its citizens that is, by involving the domestic public in foreign policy-making.

Public diplomacy strategies in Regional Integration should be relationship focused even as they try to promote foreign policies. Since building relationships they result in improve credibility and trust between a nation and foreign publics, a relationship should always precede a policy. Even in the vent the policy is rejected the friendly connection will still be retained. Indeed, the best kinds of public diplomacy programs are those that seek to foster intercultural relationships in hopes of increasing mutual understanding, tolerance, and empathy for others in the world.

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