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Media and Regional Integration: A Case Study of the East Africa Community

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International Studies, at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies, University of
Nairobi**

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DECLARATION

I, declare that this project is my original work and that it has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university.

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.....

Signature

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This project has been submitted for examination with approval as the appointed university supervisor

.....

.....

Signature

Date

Dr. Patrick Maluki

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my family, friends, my lecturers at the university and workmates for their continued support, prayers, encouragement, that this study would have not been successful without your worthy support.

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I will like to acknowledge that my study at the University of Nairobi has been an eye opener, exciting and great privilege, the university staff was of much help in the study and I will like to extend my gratitude to those who impacted in my life directly or indirectly during my study. First, to the almighty God for his sufficiency in my life, to my supervisor for the dedicated exemplary guidance and support, and all those who have been my source of motivation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AMU:	Arab Maghreb Union
ASEAN:	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
CEMAC:	Central African Economic and Monetary Community
CM:	Common Market
CMP:	Common Market Protocol
CMS:	Communication and Marketing Strategy
EAC:	East Africa Community
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EU:	European Union
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
NAFTA:	North American Free Trade Agreement
RI:	Regional Integration
RTAs	Regional Trade Agreements
SACU:	South Africa Customs Union
SADCC:	Southern African Development Coordinating Conference
SAARC	South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation
WAEMU	West African Economic and Monetary Union
WTO:	World Trade Organization

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Regional integration is embedded in economic, social and political expectations, with a wider view of creating mutual trust and creation of forces with powerful mechanisms for overriding opportunistic motives while creating networks with cooperatives ties, it is true that individual states no longer have an effective capacity to regulate in the face of uncontrolled movements of capital , then regionalism may be seen as a means to regain some control over global market forces and to counter the negative social consequences of globalization¹.

Integration is tied on the functionalism theory, whereby countries within a specific region come together to form an organization that will promote and facilitate cooperation among states. Regional integration has been identified as a way of stimulating competition, attracting capital inflow, stimulating investments, promotion of technology transfer as well as expansion trade and markets and eventually eliminates the possibility of conflict. Regionalism remains significant phenomena in International Relations, with regional organizations growing far more rapidly than global organizations, because of the mutual security, economic concerns national units will continue to merge into larger regional communities.²

Countries within the international system have increasingly found it necessary to cooperative in order to address their physical security, environment, economy and range of issues that they could be facing; Regionalism remains significant in International Relations due to the concerns attached to it, its efforts' are entrenched on the belief that flow of information and its centrality in the whole process of building political units depends upon the flow of information within and between units in an integrating bloc. The communications approach to

¹ S. Lamy, J. Baylis S. Smith, P Owens., *Introduction to Global Politics*, 2nd edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013) p. 199.

² F. Person, M. Rochester, *International Relations, the Global Condition in the Twenty First Century*, 4th edition (New York: McGraw-Hill Publishers, 1998).

regionalism is among the approaches used to study regionalism, and the assumptions of the approach are that as people become integrated they come together by the ability to communicate on wider range of topics and the whole process is influenced by how information is received and interpreted, many regional bodies have been formed in many parts of the world, based on these assumptions.

On the other hand the use of media in shaping public opinion in order for any idea to succeed cannot be ignored, without an informed and active citizenry leaders may lose touch with the true needs and interests of their representatives, constant flow of information will create an informed citizenry which will eventually translate to citizens participating in activities, campaigns or causes of integration. To achieve purposes many governments use internet, print media, radio, television, film and arts exhibitions to communicate.³

1.2 Background of the Study

After the Cold War there has been a new wave of cooperation, whereby regional and sub-regional agencies have sprouted, which can be traced to the efforts by countries to decolonize their territories, regional integration efforts in the west Africa region were inspired by this and countries in the region formed the Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS) a body which aims at promoting cooperation and development of the West Africa region. ECOWAS comprises the republics of Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote D'ivoire, Ghana, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. In the South African Region, there have been regionalism efforts through the establishment of the South African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC) which brings together countries from the southern geographical region. In the Europe region, there is the European Union (EU),

³ Cutlip S, Center A & Broom G, *Effective Public Relation* 8th edition, (London: Prentice Hall, 2007) p. 494.

which came into force in 1993 after the signing of the Treaty on European Union (the Maastricht Treaty) which brought together fifteen members; France, German, Belgium, Denmark, Ireland, Austria, Portugal, Spain, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Luxembourg, Sweden, Finland and United Kingdom.⁴ In the East Africa region there is the East Africa Community (EAC), which was formally established by Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda on 7 July, 2000, when its Treaty came into force, later the EAC added on Burundi and Rwanda as full members on 1 July, 2007.⁵

Even as regional integration takes center stage in the anticipated benefits, there are raising concerns on how the regional blocs will raise awareness among their member state citizenry on why they should surrender their sovereignty, do away with their borders and come together in order for them to realize the mutual benefit associated with integration. The role of media has come under scrutiny on what it can do to create understanding and cohesion through raising of awareness on regional integration arrangements. In the case of the EAC there have been claims that there is lack of understanding among member states on the process, and lack of consistent information to the members of the public.

The media should be listed as among the key ingredients that will foster and advocate for the EAC integration process and it should be on the fore front on shedding light on any misunderstandings by telling people how they will benefit out of the larger regional community. Regional integration efforts for the EAC have previously failed, due to issues attached to lack of information on the proceedings and intended purposes of the Community, the question now

⁵ Mukhisa Kituyi, MPs “Must Pay More Attention to EAC Common Market”, Sunday Nation, 3 October 2010.

should be has the media played its role of shaping opinion and highlighting integration activities and processes?.

The implementation of communication in the integration process is important to establishing the basic instruments for the integration agenda. On the other hand mass media helps in creation of “trustworthy picture” of the world that is far beyond reach. Media impacts on public perceptions, the agenda setting theory states that media coverage can elevate the public understanding of issues, people, organization and institution.⁶ The media has been widely accepted as opinion shapers and its believed that agendas set off with media campaigns can get those issues into people’s direct experiences and hence will bring changes in public priorities, because the more concern people are about some issue, the more they tend to learn about it, and the stronger their opinions of it and resultantly they will tend to take more action on it.

The media is important generally and can affect agenda priorities; mass media affects public opinion by raising the salience of issues and positions taken by people and groups involved. Beyond agenda setting mass media also facilitates social interaction and change, the media through interpersonal networks; it provides common ground needed to begin conversation.⁷ Regional integration ideas can flow from the media to opinion leaders, who in turn inform others through interpersonal conversations hence spreading information hence bringing about change that will be adopted. With the invention of new communication technologies, the power of mass media has grown in stature. The mass media shapes our perceptions and views of social reality by presenting only some aspects of reality and by continuation repetition of images and messages Media feed the people with the latest information

⁶ Cutlip S, Center A & Broom G, Effective Public Relation Eight Edition, (London: Prentice Hall Publishers, 2007) p.261.

⁷ Ibid.

and create the need for change in contemporary society.⁸ Mass media have both positive and negative role in the society. Media is all pervasive; its functioning is very subtle. Media plays a vital role in dissemination of information. It is called the fourth pillar of democratic policy. Radio, television, films and the printed word reach all of us in this age of information and each strives to perfect its modes of communications to become more effective as a medium. By gradually shaping public opinion on personal beliefs, and even people's self-perceptions, media influences the process of socialization and shapes ideology and thinking.

Radio, television, newspaper, magazines and films play a vital role in spreading information, propagating, educating, enlightening and strengthening national integration, creating national identity etc. Mass Communication essentially means dissemination of information, ideas and entertainment by the communication media. The media indeed is today's most powerful vehicle in molding of beliefs, attitudes, values and lifestyles.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The EAC region has a variety wide network of media sufficient to make a huge difference in perceptions and attitudes of our people, making the citizens themselves to agitate for even faster integration, there is general agreement that regional integration is the way to go, but an indescribable immobility holds everyone back and the media can be used to clear suspicion and negative motives that exists among the citizens of an integration unit.

While efforts of regionalism take centre stage there is need for lobbying, advocacy and shaping of public opinion for the masses to understand and embrace regionalism. The efforts can

⁸Piers Robinson, "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy," *European Journal of Communication* 16 no. 4, (2001) 523–44.

only be realized if the media is involved given that it plays a critical role of ensuring faster and successful process through raising awareness, articulating for issues of concern to various segments of the populations. The media through supportive communication can help in eliminating conflict in a group or individual, and as its possible regional integration can be prone to conflicts, whereby people can lose sight for the real purpose of the group, which will override the goals that the entire group, however through the use of supportive communication this will help people in the group to feel safer and increase the likelihood of positive communication.

Whilst there remain some disparities in the information sector, the media needs to provide information regarding regional issues, raise awareness and supply enough information that will help remove the mistrust, suspicion and misunderstandings among the citizenry of the regional bloc, so as to foster the efforts of the governments of reaching full integration. In the case of the EAC the study will seek to establish if the media helps in shaping public opinion regarding regional integration, the type of media that exists across the region, with analysis of the different levels of access and flow of information to the citizenry.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study is to explore how the media has highlighted the EAC integration activities, and if media is involved in fostering understanding among citizenry of the EAC integration bloc.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

1. Analyze how print media has highlighted issues of EAC integration?
2. Identify and describe the media methods used by the regional body to raise awareness on integration

3. Examine the role of media in fostering regional integration
4. Assess whether the media has consistently helped in shaping public opinion regarding regional integration.

1.4.2 Research Questions

1. How has the media raised awareness on EAC integration process?
2. Which media channels that has been used to raise awareness about EAC integration process?
3. How many newspapers circulate within the EAC region?
4. How can the media be used to foster regional integration?

1.4.3 Hypothesis

H1: The media does not play a major role in EAC integration.

H2: The media does not raise awareness on EAC integration process

H3: Media channels have not been used by the regional body to raise awareness on integration

H4: The media does not foster EAC regional integration

1.5 Justification of the Study

The study sought to explain the role of media as a tool of propagation of regional integration and how it can affect the regional integration process. The media is a powerful tool in shaping public opinion through awareness campaigns and if used effectively it can help in providing information that cleared misunderstanding among people in an integration bloc. The EAC integration process has been on slow pace due to lack of information on the integration process, the benefits and the expected results that are to arise out of the regionalism. While some countries in the EAC like Tanzania have been accused of having negative attitude towards the

process and the laxity and attitude has been attributed to lack of information and awareness of the integration process.

While there are studies in role of media in integration, they don't go far enough in generating new knowledge in terms of media and regional integration. The study specifically sought to analyze if the media has been utilized in raising awareness and providing information concerning regionalism. At the academic level, the research added to existing literature for future discourse on media and regional integration. At policy level it provided new knowledge for policy implementation in as far as role of media in integration is concerned as well as provide understanding on why the media must be seen as an important element of regional integration.

Study findings analyzes if the media has been properly utilized in the regional integration process and if it has helped in achieving any benefits. The study sought to lay groundwork to ascertain the use of media as one of the components in the integration process; further the study findings help the stakeholders to see the need to incorporate media in the regionalism arrangements.

1.6 Literature Review

With the evolution of new Information and Communication Technology (ICT), media networks have brought about changes in communication sector, with information revolution shaping the contents of the society, with the society's culture changing because of the interactions and integration.⁹ Media is a powerful tool that connects countries through spread of news and information; information on government policies, regional policies, and international policies and protocols.

⁹ Clitchee C. *Moral Panics and Media*, (Buckingham: Open University Press, 2003).

The literature that informs this study will be analyzed from the sub sections focusing on; media and integration in the East Africa region and media and agenda setting. The media remains a powerful tool of raising awareness, lobbying and connecting the world through the different channels available, the evolution of internet and creation of social media platforms has increasingly changed the speed of dissemination of news, while the availability of the internet has eased the flow of information and made available a variety of online media channels to which people can access information.

The formation of most regional integration blocs is informed from this point of view, and the East Africa Community (EAC), also follows the believe of the functionalism theory where by the cooperating countries in the region of the republic of Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania, have came together to form the EAC which is a regional inter-governmental organization. According to the Functionalism Theory the first assumption of integration is that it has to start with states cooperating in areas of common interest just like the EAC countries have joined hand in the formation of key economic sector of markets tariffs and tax harmonization among other areas of cooperation. The former East African Community was formed in 1967 but collapsed in 1997, the new EAC was re-established in 1999 through a treaty and was fully instituted in July 2000 following the ratification of the establishment treaty by the original three partners Kenya Uganda and Tanzania, which were later joined by Burundi and Rwanda in 2007.¹⁰

The main objective behind the formation of the EAC was to widen and deepen the economic, political, social cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of people of

¹⁰ www.eastafricacommunity.org (accessed on 25th April 29, 2014).

east Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production and trade investment, this is in line with one of the functionalism tenets which assumes that the political unity must be built on some cooperation to offer common solutions to problems, these will indeed provide the citizens of the member countries with quality of life if the objectives of the organization. The EAC regional integration agenda is well presented in Article 5(2) of the Treaty wherein the partner states undertook to establish among themselves a customs union as the entry point to the community, the customs union was to act as the entry point to the community and subsequently a monetary union and ultimately a political federation in order to strengthen and regulate the industrial, commercial, infrastructural, cultural, social, political and other relations of partner states.¹¹

The second idea of functionalism is that after the countries cooperate in the key areas, then the cooperation spreads to other areas of within the countries, and according to the EAC, the other key priority areas of cooperation have been identified, such as the implementation of the customs' union protocol, which is in its fifth year of implementation, this protocol will ensure that investments are harmonized transparent enacted laws are available to all enterprises on the same terms also to be harmonized is revenue systems, customs administration, and customs' procedures. For example if the EAC succeed the member countries will agree to have the same educational system; also the adoption of the same currency has been another advanced idea under the Monetary Union.

Thirdly, functionalism also provides that after the cooperation in the areas, common policies will emerge in the sectors this is evident in the integration process of the EAC because the community is in the process of establishing policies to have the East Africa common market

¹¹ Ministry of East Africa Community, *Strategic Plan 2008-202* Nairobi : Government Printer (2009).

with free markets, free movement of persons, services, goods right of establishment of residence ending up with a single market for the EAC population of about 120 billion consumers and this has been identified as a catalyst to economic growth of the region. For instance this integration will see the availability of Kenyan goods such as tea and coffee sold to the entire market, while the Ugandans can sell their products such as bananas to the larger market.

Currently the EAC is working on ways to harmonize revenue systems, customs procedures and administration, and other sector intervention areas of in growth and competitive productive such as agriculture, industry, tourism and wildlife. The EAC also aims at laying foundation for the East Africa Monetary Union, with the establishment of the Common Market Protocol, the partner states will cooperate in monetary and financial matters, in this regard the matter will include the maintenance and convertibility of currencies, harmonization of macroeconomic policies especially in exchange rates inter state fiscal and monetary policies., this will be achieved through the adoption of the same currency for the community.¹² After the establishment of these protocols there is a projection that the eventful development of the countries will see development spill over to other key areas and subsequent development to ordinary people for example the opening up of the common market will lead to availability of a range of products to the millions in the region who are likely to have an increased market for selling and buying goods. The community's full implementation will also lead to creation of jobs for professionals in the region, this will be in form of expatriates placements in the EAC organs and the other member countries who will be seeking to employ professionals, this also follows on the functionalism believe that technical experts, are the best agents for building collaborative links across national borders protective of their countries national interest.

¹² Ministry of East Africa Community, *Strategic Plan 2008-2012* (2008).

Fourthly the other stage involved in integration is the joining of other states in the cooperation, which is inspired by the perceived benefits, in the case of the east Africa community, the coming on board of Rwanda and Burundi has added weight into the cooperation, their entry is projected to open up more market and the countries also hope to benefit from the integration through the common market protocols and the common policies such as those of uniformed tax and free movement of people across the borders. The fifth assumption of functionalism provides that when the countries cooperate they will then form shared common institutions which will arise from the common policies, this is among the agenda of the EAC where by the EAC aims at laying the foundation for the establishment of the east African political federation, the federation will help in the coordination of political affairs within the states, through organs that will be created such as the east Africa legislative assembly, the east Africa commission of jurist and coordination of foreign policy and other political activities.

The community also aims at creating regional cooperation in political, defence and security matters, this they have argued that it will help in restoring and maintenance of peace in the region.¹³ The subsequent formation of the federation to manage the political issue within the EAC will also see them mediate in conflict and restore peace in the region. The community also is in the process of instituting interventions in the key sectors of growth and areas of cooperation currently the EAC is working on the implementation of the integration, with the negotiation for the common market protocol ongoing; also the community is currently working towards the establishment of the east Africa federation to construct a sustainable East Africa economic and political bloc.

¹³ Ministry of East Africa Community, *Strategic Plan 2008-2012*(2009).

1.6.1 Media and Integration in East Africa

The East Africa region is significantly emerging as a strong economic bloc that cannot be ignored in the international system, According to a report by the ministry of East Africa Community, Kenya survey report on perceptions and views, level of knowledge plus awareness and preparedness of the implementation of the EAC custom union, common market, the proposed monetary union and political federation, for the process to be fully accepted by the citizenry of the member countries there is need to give information concerning the process; the report confirms that Kenyan citizenry knowledge and awareness standards about the EAC regional integration pillars and programmes are less than 25 percent.¹⁴

Knowledge and awareness levels with regard to political integration issues remain shaky across the EAC member states, with the process being viewed as elitist initiative; the low level of awareness on integration matters across the general population requires urgent attention particularly concerning issues such as the Common Market (CM) opportunities targeting more individuals.

Information of the integration process is obtained from a variety of sources, and the challenges and weaknesses of the current knowledge and awareness dissemination system and the processes relating to access to information, low interest from the media fraternity and inadequacy of institutional frameworks for information dissemination and sensitization, inappropriate instruments for dissemination.¹⁵

The reality remains that there is need to cultivate and exploit alternative sources of information, like embracing of new platforms of social mediums of communication such as

¹⁴ Ministry of East Africa Community Kenya ,*Survey Report* (2012).

¹⁵ Ibid.

Twitter, Facebook and other online platforms so as to expand outreach of regional integration programmes and their general uptake. Also the need for intensified regular information exchange on integration, issuing of regular bulletins including dedicated radio print media programmes on regional integration will go a long way in fostering the process. The need for a comprehensive communication policy and marketing strategy programmes of information sharing and confidence building, sensitization and mobilization of people to address the fears and concerns that result from lack of information.¹⁶

The demand for information lays basis for the need to for the EAC citizenry to own and participate in shaping the processes of the federation, through publicity and information dissemination, this should be done through building of a strong unit responsible for disseminating information on the EAC activities. A cost effective communication strategy will establish and implement a participatory process in formulating and adoption of the Communication and Marketing Strategy (CMS).¹⁷

The need to mobilize research teams and promote advocacy with diverse stakeholders , need for partnership between EAC governments , media as a way of shaping information on the integration process will help in removing obstacles for the community. The role of the media is based on the believe that disseminating ideas of regionalism and integration on what benefits the citizenry will accrue from the larger community and this will lead to a greater consciousness among the mass population and consequently generate understanding of the EAC culture. The media has as a disseminating agent of integrationist ideas can help initiate integrative trends and increase awareness about the process which will eventually lead to increased awareness about

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Report of the Committee on Fast Tracking East Africa Federation, Arusha, November 2004 p.156.

the process hence leading to acceptable regional identity. The media has been identified as playing a critical role for regional integration in moving faster in bringing benefits to all citizens of the EAC region. It is no longer enough for the media to simply play a secondary role of occasionally reporting about major events by organs of the East African Community (EAC) and related agencies, also the challenge is now to ensure grassroots involvement and to articulate issues of concern to various segments of the population across all the East African countries, to effectively do this, media practitioners must themselves be deeply knowledgeable of the burning issues and sticking points of integration; they must know the breadth and depth of national concerns, business environment and challenges faced by each of the five partner states, even more, they must be able to proactively set the agenda for the entire region and to do so in such a way as to encourage concrete action by leaders while maintaining sensitivity to national needs.¹⁸

This is in recognition of the fact that if an East African consciousness is to be cultivated at the grassroots level, the media must first come on board, the believe that purveyors of information with a solid base of knowledge regarding regional issues and working toward the fulfillment of the integration agenda, we will have achieved a giant leap, the media when incorporated will eventually make a difference in changing of perceptions and attitudes of people, making the citizens themselves to agitate for even faster integration. Previously the media has been challenged to offer adequate time and space to issues of regional integration, such as making deliberate efforts to nurture the East African identity in the people and explaining complexities in the integration process. Journalists in the region should critically assess the data on a number of activities within the region so that they can generate debate on issues outside the normal political

¹⁸ Dirk Hanshom Durban “Monitoring Regional integration in Southern Africa.” Paper presented to the ESSA Biennial conference (2005).

reporting about the federation.¹⁹ Uganda's Minister for East African Community Affairs Shem Bageine is previously quoted as saying that the regional integration process is entering a critical phase and its success is hinged on mobilization and involvement of the citizens, which can effectively be done by the media. He cited the conclusion of negotiations on the monetary union protocol, the draft protocol on good governance and a regional plan to combat corruption, that there is need for laws in the EAC member countries to guarantee freedom of the press and expression as well as promote a safe working environment for journalists.²⁰ Also the need to establish a regional advocacy body to bring together practitioners in the region to negotiate and advance their interests in the integration process, and establishment of bodies such as, the proposed East African Media Council, or East African Media Society, or East African Media Forum.

1.6.2 Media and Agenda Setting

The media has impact in society through agenda setting, mobilization and even reinforcement.²¹ In agenda setting the media may lead in agenda building, which can be seen as a collective process through which the media, government and citizens reciprocally influence one another, leading to formulation of policies like those related to the EAC. In essence the way stories are presented means the media can determine what East Africans think about. The media effects argument holds that people are influenced by the texts they consume, while there are other socializing influences that determine people's decisions, behavior, attitude, beliefs, and motives and the agents include political states, and non state actors such as civil society whose

¹⁹ L. David, B. Raymond, *Regional Media Challenged on Regional Integration*, (New Vision November 28, 2013, accessed on 15/05/2014).

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Society of International Development, *East Africa Integration, Dynamics of Equity in Trade, Education, Media and Labour*, 2011 p133, Nairobi.

deeds, views and statements in the media may influence people's perspectives on what integration means to the them.²²

The media provides information or set agenda and constantly monitors events on behalf of the public and this eventually promotes accountability, transparency and good governance, by offering disparate coverage of EAC issues, discussions and analysis among other products, the media implicitly subscribes to ideas of agenda setting, based on the way they prime, frame and present content has a way of influencing behavior including how people view regionalism, this will then lead to mobilizing various actors and subsequently influence public thinking and reaction of EAC issues.²³

Most media houses in the EAC region are basically commercial and therefore they cannot provide full coverage of EAC affairs, and this can negate or provide less coverage for EAC activities or bias in coverage of EAC integration news, media houses view regional integration differently depending on ownership, country of operation including their social , economic and political cultures quality of reporters ,relationship between the media houses and policy makers advocating for the integration process. Even through issues of EAC are important to the citizens, people will remain ignorant of the salient issues particularly if issues are not given prominence. Also without clear and simple explanation on integration issues such as common market protocol, this may not mean a lot to the ordinary people unless interpreted and simplified by the media.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid.

Communication through the media is central to regional integration as it contributes to the creation of linkages between national and supra national political institutions and the general citizenry, media provides channels through which people send and receive information and platform from which they can share and aggregate opinions, ideologies and processes . The engagement of the media is a correlation between interests in public affairs and exposure to media; it certainly would be easier to draw citizen's attention to regional issues originating from outside their own country, generally the new Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has redefined the role of media which has transformed and brought about new opportunities and challenges.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The study will be informed by the theory of functionalism, which will seek to explain the process of regional integration so as to provide insights on the integration process of the EAC.

1.7.1 Functionalism Theory

Functionalism theory can be used to argue the for the reasons behind regional integration, the theory was developed by David Mitrany in 1948 and it stresses the quest of what contributions are essential to the creative work of solving common problems for the nation state rather than that of what sacrifices are required for the negative task of reconciling conflict of interest. Mitrany explicitly links functionalism to the ultimate prevention of war and development of authoritative world political institutions, he sees the ideal peace in terms of national coactivity rather than national co-existence, through cooperation of states.²⁴ Mitrany argues that the development of a special international agency or agencies dealing with the

²⁴ Piers Robinson, "Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy," *European Journal of Communication* 16 no. 4, (2001) 523–44.

problems outside the traditional scope of traditional diplomacy will result in the making virtually every department in a government kind of a foreign office and bring into active conduct of international relations a host of national office whose professional training and interests given the predominant position to solve common problems for common advantage rather than national sovereignty, he identifies the process of this gradual collaboration as federal installments.

Functionalism according to Mitrany undertakes to grapple with the effects of both the excessive primitiveness of underdeveloped regions and the excessive intricacy of economic and social relationships in the intensely industrialized parts of the world. The theory proposes to promote peace by eliminating objective conditions which are deemed conducive to war with introduction of new patterns of organization which may transform the global institutional system and initiate the development sense of community which will make it physically more difficult to press the claims of sovereignty. Functionalism envisages the ultimate production of a world capable of sustaining peaceful relations, it also proposes the doctrine of transfer ability, expansibility, and ramification and eventually a spill over in what man learns shall have learnt in the art of fruitful international cooperation.²⁵

The tenets of functionalism provide that cooperation at the level of technical or economic problems will then transfer the new skills and habits of mind to the development of collaborative solutions at the highest political level. The theory envisages a process of circumventing; it aims at eliminating the habitual treatment of international affairs as an area of conflict and competition to cooperation and at the level of technical or economic problems, they will transfer their new

²⁵ Ibid.

skills and habits of mind to the development of collaborative solutions at the highest political level.

Functionalism aims at transforming the political mentality and allegiance of human beings that emphasizes both traditional and rational aspect of human nature, it assumes that the political unity must be built on some cooperation to offer common solutions to problems for example poverty to serve as a focal point around which men may unite or markets for goods. The theory sets out proposals to elevate the living standards in underdeveloped areas by reducing poverty, factors that make economic instability such as high tariffs and tax minimal, and attainment of high levels of health, literacy, culture and social justice as being the cures to mankind sufferings.²⁶

The theory postulates a transfer of loyalties to the international community in response to the growing usefulness of functional agencies or regional integration bodies like the EAC, and Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). According to functionalism technical experts, rather than professional diplomats are the best agents for building collaborative links across national borders, it sees diplomats as being overly protective of their countries national interest at the expense of collective human interests, rather than addressing the immediate sources of national insecurity.²⁷

Functionalists assume that transnational cooperation in social economic areas as the first step towards cooperation which they assume will spill over to other areas from the habits that will be learnt, the argument here is that is that successful mastering of one problem will encourage attacking other problems collaboratively, they assume that if such processes continue

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ K. Charles, W & E.R Wittkopf *World Politics and Transformation* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999).

the bonds will multiply among the countries because no government will oppose a beneficial functional organization that is benefiting its citizens.

1.8 Methodology

1.8.1 Introduction

The section covers the study site, study design and population and the study methods. Data generation will be based on qualitative and quantitative techniques, the survey used content analysis and survey methods, questionnaires were administered to key people in form of interviews with various editors and journalists working for the print media in East Africa countries.

For practical purpose and resource constraints, an emailed questionnaire was used to collect data from the respondents, from other EAC countries.

1.8.2 Study Site

The study was conducted in media houses in the EAC member state countries i.e. Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Kenya.

1.8.3 Study Design and Population

The study population constitutes journalists and editors working in media houses in the EAC region. The target population of this study was 1253 journalists and editors working in media houses in the EAC region.

Table 1. 1: Target Population

Country	No of Journalists
Kenya	533
Rwanda	210
Uganda	250
Tanzania	260
Total	1253

Stratified random sampling will be used to select 10% of the target population. According to Cooper and Schindler (2006), 10% of the target population is a good representation of the target population. In this study the strata will be the countries. The sample size of his study will therefore be 125 respondents. In addition, officers from the Public Communication offices in relevant ministries in Kenya were also interviewed.

Table 1. 2: Sampling Technique

Country	No of Journalists	Sample Size (10%)
Kenya	533	53
Rwanda	210	21
Uganda	250	25
Tanzania	260	26
Total	1253	125

1.8.4 Data Collection

Quantitative data collection procedures were used to obtain and record data. The literature review provided background information upon which to situate the study within the study context. The following data collection instruments were used.

1.8.5 Questionnaire

The main research tool to be used was structured questionnaire, which was preferred as it provides a relatively simple and straight forward approach to the study. There were open-ended questions in the questionnaire.

1.8.6 In-depth Interviews

A simple guide was developed to capture qualitative information concerning media and integration. It was designed to capture important information concerning the study.

1.8.7 Key Informants Interviews

A key informant's guide was used to interview editors and public communication officers.

1.8.8 Data Analysis

Data analysis refers to interpreting the data gathered in the data collection phase. Within this research both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. The characteristics of qualitative analysis is that it deals with data presented in words, thus qualitative analysis deals with subjective opinions and viewpoints that are presented in descriptive formats. In this research qualitative data collected from the questionnaires was analyzed by collecting all the relative data, assimilating and categorizing similar responses and summarizing the responses.

1.9 Chapter Outline

Chapter one comprises of introduction/ background of study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, hypothesis, justification of the study, a review of existing literature, and study methodology.

Chapter two embarks on the role of media on EAC integration. It focuses on regional integration, the process and phases of EAC integration and the contribution of the media in promoting regional integration within EAC through media.

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

Chapter four is on data collected in the previous chapters will be analyzed by comparing and contrasting with the hypothesis and the theoretical framework that will be used to guide the study to see if the research meets its objective and either confirm or nullify the hypothesis of the research.

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

CHAPTER TWO: MEDIA AND EAC INTEGRATION

2.1 Introduction

The modern day East African Community (EAC) is the regional organization traversing the Republics of Kenya, Republic of Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania, Uganda, and Republic of Burundi with its headquarters being in Arusha, Tanzania. At the signing of the Treaty for Establishment of the EAC on 30th November 1999, the initial states were Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. This treaty was implemented following its ratification on 7th July 2000. The Republics of Burundi and Rwanda joined the EAC Treaty on 18th June 2007 and only became full Members of the Community with effect from 1st July of the year 2007.²⁸

The disintegration of Africa into several different states with scant economic unity led African leaders to adopt regional integration as a dominant feature of their development approach, following political freedom. The small size and primary structure of production of many African economies gave the justification for adopting mutually beneficial regional integration and economic cooperation specifically among neighboring states.²⁹

The current EAC treaty is a key achievement for the region in the past decade. Science and technology is incorporated into the treaty as a vital constituent to both regional integration and general economic development. In the spirit of the principles goals and objectives as

²⁸De Lombaerde & Van Langenhove, Regional integration, poverty, and social policy. *Global social policy*, 7(3), (2007) 377-383.

²⁹ Mwapachu Remarks during the closing of the First East African Public Broadcasters Conference, Kibo Palace Hotel, Arusha, Tanzania, (2007).

advocated by the treaty the part played by research in the developing a dynamic EAC integration process cannot be overemphasized.³⁰

Failure on the part of partner States to create awareness and effectively sensitize their citizens about the process of integration could have greatly contributed to its near collapse in the past. The media has a big role to play in ensuring that the citizens at the grassroots are well sensitized regarding the process of integration.³¹

2.2 Regional Integration

Lombaerde and Langenhove³² define regional integration as a worldwide phenomenon of systems in different territories that intensify the exchanges between their components and establish forms of organization that are novel and co-existence with customary forms of state-led organization at the national level. This definition plainly depicts states as the chief actors in the integration process. Such an approach has its foundation on the 1648 Westphalian ideology whereby nation-state system dominated international relations. By then, global order depended totally upon the sovereignty of states.

Mengisteab and Bereketeab³³ take a different perception regional integration. They consider regional integration to be the process through which nations in a given region upsurge their level of interaction in terms of security, economic, political, as well as cultural and social issues. Therefore, regional integration can be defined as a relationship between states founded on

³⁰East African Community Industrialization Policy 2012–2032, Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative And Competitive Advantages of the Region (2010).

³¹ Ibid.

³² De Lombaerde and Van Langenhove, Regional Integration, Poverty, and Social Policy. *Global Social Policy* 7 (3): (2007) 377-383.

³³ Mengisteab, & Bereketeab,. *Regional integration, identity, & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series*. Boydell & Brewer Ltd.(2012).

location in a particular geographical area, for the protection or promotion of the participants' interests, a type of association whose terms are cemented by a treaty. In this context, the geographical location is East Africa with the participants being Republics of Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, and Burundi.³⁴

For many years, the view on regional integration has been that it is a major instrument for economic progress internationally and has been studied extensively, both in general as well as with regard to developing countries. Regional integration has not received much attention since the Second World War hitherto with questions being raised about the significance of the integration to the individual countries themselves. To understand, regional integration can be viewed in terms of the ranging changes on the national, regional and international level. At the national level, governments have greatly changed the way they regulate and intervene. Regionally, it has been witnessed rising intra-regional trade, regional organizations that are more formal, and other evolving forms of co-operation. On the international level, there has been an extension of the multilateral trading system (to new issues such as intellectual property rights, competition, non-tariff barriers, investment, subsidies) and further it has been strengthened after the World Trade Organization (WTO) was established.³⁵

The international structure is increasingly becoming more diverse with a range of countries and groups at several degrees or stages of integration. Both globalization and regionalization are evolving in correspondingly.³⁶ Nevertheless, others see regional integration

³⁴ Bryant, J. and M. Oliver (eds.). *Media Effects: Advances in theory and research*, 3rd ed. (Lawrence Erlbaum, New York, 2009).

³⁵ Antje & Thomas, *European integration theory*. (Oxford University Press, OUP, 2005).

³⁶ Jacques Gelin, *Juggernaut Politics: Understanding Predatory Globalization* (London, Zed Books, 2005).

(RI) more positively, as global integration complementary, as being bridge to global integration, or as facilitating to reduce possible adverse consequences of globalization.³⁷

In all worldwide efforts of regional integration, a common feature is the idea that individual states cannot attain their goals readily in isolation from their neighbors. Those countries that are well aware of their relatively small size and resource weakness and are aware of their common identities go for integration schemes. Given that African states are, in general, both exceptionally weak and small, and also given that they share a strong sense of continental cohesion notably depicted through Pan-Africanism, it is expected that the continent has fostered a surplus of schemes aimed at regional integration of one sort or the other. Nevertheless, it has been uncertain what these schemes are actually expected to do. To overcome the economic disadvantages, has given rise to the formation of a plethora of regional institutions and treaties whose dominant objective was the establishment of independent development of member states.³⁸

They include, the Central African Economic and Monetary Community (CEMAC) of 1964; the South Africa Customs Union [SACU, (1969)], the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS, (1975)]; East African Community (1967-1977); the Southern African Development Coordinating Conference [SADCC, (1980)] which was later transformed into the Southern African Development Community [SADC, (1992)].³⁹ and Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa, [COMESA, (1995)]; the West African Economic Community [CEAO, (1972)], and the West African Economic and Monetary Union [UEMOA, 1994]; the Preferential

³⁷Rosamond, *Theories of European integration*. (Basingstoke, Macmillan, 2000).

³⁸The East African handbook, *Deepening And Widening Regional Cooperation* (2007).

³⁹Christopher Clapham,. *Regional Integration in South Africa: Comparative International Perspective*. Edited by Christopher Clapham, Greg Mills, Anna morner and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos. Published by South African Institute of International Affairs. (2001).

Trade Area [PTA (1981)] which was later succeeded by COMESA in 1995; and, the Arab Maghreb Union [AMU (1989)]. Additionally to this first section of regional bodies, several sub-regional organizations have since been created.⁴⁰

2.3 The Process and Phases of EAC Integration

2.3.1 The Process of EAC Integration

According to Hamid⁴¹ the East African Community countries' cooperation can be traced back to more than a century ago. The need for integration led to creation of East African Community in 1967. However, this community collapsed in 1977 owing to a number of reasons with the main one being ideological and economic differences. A formal dissolution followed in 1983 with sharing of liabilities and assets being guided by the Mediation Agreement signed in 1984.⁴² This dissolution was a final resort but the agreement gave a window for cooperation in future among the three countries Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania.⁴³ What drove them was the globalization of the world economy. This is because globalization brought with it the significance of the world economy which spelt that in a trade regime that was liberalized, countries had to join forces under the regional integration structure. In relation to international trade, East African countries faced tight competition from more progressive economies. Later on after the initial meeting, several steps were taken.⁴⁴ The three Heads of State of Uganda, Tanzania and Kenya signed a communiqué in Nairobi. Consequently, a Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs was made a start to work out on the modalities of enlivening the cooperation.

⁴⁰East African Community: Handover report to the new secretary general, (Arusha, EAC Secretariat, 2006).

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Robin Nabi, Mary Beth Oliver (eds.). *The Sage Handbook of Media Processes and Effects*, (Sage, London, 2009).

⁴³Pippa Norris. "Identity Shift: A case of East Africa countries" (University Press, Oxford, 2008).

⁴⁴ Mbeke, The media, legal, regulatory and policy environment in Kenya: A historical briefing, (Nairobi, BBC World Service Trust, 2008).

The East African Co-operation agreement institutionalized the process by fostering a Permanent Tripartite Commission to be at the forefront of cooperation revival in 1993 when leaders signed. This terminated the 13 years economic alienation among neighboring countries which had suspicion and tensions. After further consultation, it was agreed that, Kenya would come up with the secretariat to be a team leader to spearhead the revival process of the integration. The most vital one was signing of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community on November 30th, 1999. The treaty came into effect in July 2000 after ratification by the three Member States.⁴⁵

The main purpose of establishing EAC is reinforced by the need for EAC member states to achieve sustainable and equitable development that consecutively enhanced the standards of living of the people through value-added production trade, increased competitiveness and investment. In accordance with the treaty, the chief objective of EAC is to develop policies and programmes intended for deepening cooperation in economic, political, cultural and social integration for mutual benefits for all Member States.⁴⁶ This was projected to be achieved through creation of a customs union would be an entry, then common market, monetary union and eventually a political federation. The process of integration is further lead through 17 sections of cooperation within which many drivers and milestones are integrated.⁴⁷ This is accomplished through negotiated protocols, of which 13 have been concluded already, and numerous more are being negotiated. The accomplishment of EAC objectives is founded on equitable development and sustainable growth of the region. This includes environmental

⁴⁵Mwapachu. Remarks during the closing of the First East African Public Broadcasters Conference, Kibo Palace Hotel, Arusha, Tanzania, (2007).

⁴⁶ Grant and Söderbaum Introduction: The new regionalism in Africa, in A. Grant and F. Söderbaum (eds.) *The New Regionalism in Africa*, (Aldershot, Ashgate, 2003).

⁴⁷Dirk Hanshom Durban, Monitoring Regional integration in Southern Africa. Paper presented to the ESSA Biennial conference, (2005).

protection and lucid utilization of the region's natural resources. The treaty offers fundamental standards of mutual trust, people centered, equal distribution of benefits and private integration process led by the private sector. The long-standing social, cultural, economic, political and traditional ties and relations between partner states in stimulating people-centered development have been accentuated.⁴⁸

2.3.2 Phases of EAC Integration

Consistent with the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community, there are key four stages of the EAC integration process namely, the Customs Union termed as the entry point to the community, then a Common Market, then a Monetary Union and eventually a Political Federation.

2.3.2.1 The Customs Union

This is the first stage of the process of EAC integration. It is characterized by a similar import tax on all products from outside East Africa, elimination of all taxes on products between the countries of the Community, common external tariff, and removal of nontariff barriers, common customs law and creation of a common regulatory body.⁴⁹

The Customs Union has led to great stimulation of trade, investments and merging of the East African market. It involves the formation of a customs union in which further to the conquest of discrimination in the field of movements of commodity in the union, there is the equalization of tariffs in terms of trade with states that are not members.

⁴⁸ Mwapachu. *The Dynamics of Policies, Politics and Transformation in The East African Community, Challenging the Frontiers of African Integration* E&D Vision Publishing Limited (2012).

⁴⁹ Alot, Head of Corporate Communications East African Community, *Marketing The Cause: Communications Tools And Techniques And Strategies – The Case Of The East African Community*, Presentation to the 2nd EAC Symposium, Snowsrest Hotel, Arusha (2011).

2.3.2.2 The Common Market

This is the second stage of the process of EAC integration. It is a bloc of trade constituted of a Customs Union and possesses shared policies on free movement of goods, product regulation, capital, services and labor.⁵⁰ The main characteristics of this stage are free mobility of capital; strong institutions to monitor decisions; free mobility of labor and persons; harmonization of legal framework for capital markets (common goals approach); free mobility of services and harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies. The general objective of the Common Market is to deepen and widen cooperation among the Member States in the social and economic fields for the benefit of the citizens of the region.

2.3.2.3 The Monetary Union

This is the third stage of the process of EAC integration. It is characterized by a common currency with a monetary authority that is centralized, coordinated macro-economic policies, strong common policies and central institutions for development and structural change. The envisioned EAC Monetary Union is anticipated to observe these characteristics in deepening and broadening the process of integration, and smooth all activities of trade among the peoples of this region.⁵¹

⁵⁰ Christopher Clapham, Regional Integration in South Africa: Comparative International Perspective. Edited by Christopher Clapham, Greg Mills, Anna morner and Elizabeth Sidiropoulos. Published by South African Institute of International Affairs. (2001).

⁵¹ Ibid.

2.3.2.4 The Political Federation

This is the final stage of the process of EAC integration. It includes having common foreign and security policies as well as a central political authority.⁵² It is considered to be the highest form of integration involving political institutions and unified structures. At this level, partners to the union concur to surrender either part or all of their sovereignty to a principal political unit.

2.5 The role of media in the integration process

As Grant and Söderbaum (2003) postulate, regional integration is having a renaissance in a changing, globalizing world. As countries strive to foster closer political and economic ties with those adjacent to them, regionalism has become necessary, as evidenced in organizations like the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Southern African Development Coordinating Conference (SADCC), North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), South Asia Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC), Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the European Union (EU)⁵³, among others. Like all other regional blocs, and as stipulated in its mission statement, the EAC aims at widening and deepening political, economic, cultural and social integration in order to improve the quality of life of the East African people through better competitiveness, trade and investment and value added production.⁵⁴

⁵² Durban Potter (ed.). *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002).

⁵³ De Lombaerde and Schulz (eds.) *The EU and World Regionalism: The marketability of regions in the 21st century*, Farnham: Ashgate.

⁵⁴ Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe Since 1945: From „Empire“ by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift*, (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003).

In this mission, several actors are taken to be pertinent to regional integration. One of these is the media. It helps to make sense, on the public's behalf, the true meaning of regional integration, in addition to drawing attention to the challenges and opportunities of such initiatives by the state. The role of the media is founded on the ground that disseminating concepts of regional integration, how such a regional body functions, and what benefits ensue to the citizenry, would lead to a better regional awareness among the mass population and accordingly generate an EAC culture.⁵⁵

The role is reinforced by the idea that the media, as disseminating agent of integrationist ideas, can aid in initiate integrative trends, and that amplified awareness about the process leads to a satisfactory regional identity. For many years numerous theoretical opinions have been advanced to expound on the effects of the media have on society. Among these are agenda setting and agenda building, mediation between the state and society and 'watchdogism'. The media also have an effect on the deployment and even strengthening of specific viewpoints.⁵⁶

Agenda setting as a key role of the media and relates to the idea that the media cannot dictate to us what to think, but it is always effective in telling us what to think about by choosing what content they publish, where they publish it, and the framing (type of language) to apply in the articles. Consequently, agenda setting may bring about agenda building, which is defined as a collective process in which government, media and citizenry reciprocally impact one another, leading to formulation of policies like those related to the EAC. Basically, the way stories are presented means the media can determine what East Africans think about, although the people's

⁵⁵ East African Community Industrialization Policy 2012–2032, , Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative and Competitive Advantages of the Region (2010).

⁵⁶ Antje & Thomas, European Integration Theory, (Oxford University Press, OUP, 2005).

readings or interpretations of the texts are based on cognitive abilities, context, and background and lived experiences, among numerous other factors.⁵⁷

The media plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity and intrepidly exposing abuse of official authority. While in agenda setting the media's role is that of informing the public about the goings-on in society, as a watchdog the media makes sure that wrongdoings are exposed, and that the perpetrators are then subjected to public scrutiny and justice. The media supposedly mobilize the civil society, public, professional bodies and other actors to demand action against organizations or individuals implicated in transgression. As such, the media in East Africa may offer information from time to time and also make sure that journalists continuously watch on behalf of the public whatever these actors do, specifically state actors. Such exposure may in turn encourage transparency, accountability and good governance, as the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, held in Nairobi on 19–20 August 2010, recommended. A communiqué issued after the summit acknowledged that East African media as a watchdog institute are crucial in promoting good governance.⁵⁸

2.5.1 Means of Information Dissemination in the EAC Integration

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

⁵⁷ Mengisteab, & Bereketeab, Regional integration, identity & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series. Boydell & Brewer Ltd (2012).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

dissemination strategies connected to the development of EAC member countries.⁵⁹ Strategies designed for reaching a minority group may not be fitting with another minority group. Achieving the perfect fit among the information channel, innovation, purpose, and target audience is vital. While the approach will help ease the dissemination process in ways not conceivable under the old paradigm, it is essential to understand channels for communication and how they are changing to effectively utilize efforts under either paradigm. The channels of information around which to strategize range to mass mailings from mass media, from telephone contacts to face-to-face contacts, from print media to electronic media, purposes include informing and educating. The definitive purpose may be to change behaviors and attitudes. The efficacy of each channel varies for differing stages in the innovation process, for differing innovations and for hard vs. soft technology transfer.

Regional integration of the EAC utilizes different channels in disseminating information.⁶⁰The channels applied include mass media (e.g. television, radio, Teletext, newspapers, comics, videotext, magazines), information service systems (e.g., online databases, libraries), personal contacts (e.g., consultants and change agent), educational and training programs (e.g, workshops, professional preparation, computer-assisted), and others (e.g., posters, billboards).⁶¹ The channels of communication worthy of note, are: source knowledge of the audience, message flow, segmentation, feedback, control of the communication flow, degree of interactivity, synchronicity, nonverbal, socio-emotional vs. task-related content and privacy afforded.

⁵⁹ Grimshaw, et.al. Effective and efficiency of guideline dissemination and implementation strategies. *Health technology assessment* 8, (6), (2009) 1-72.

⁶⁰ Norris, Identity shift: A case of East Africa countries. (University Press, Oxford University, 2008).

⁶¹ Mengisteab, & Bereketeab, Regional integration, identity & citizenship in the greater horn of Africa: Eastern Africa series. Boydell & Brewer Ltd (2012).

2.5.1.1 Mass Media

Mass communication includes print and electronic media. With regard to electronic media, included in this category are videotext, television, and radio, Teletext and satellite telecommunications. Print media comprises of newspapers, newsletters, comic, books and magazines. Factually, with new entry of new media into the scene, EAC reconsiders the futures of their respective media. The merits and demerits of each form of communication to the masses provide them the insight for choosing the best medium to apply to the intended audience and the dissemination purpose.⁶²

2.5.1.2 Radio

With their great adaptability and flexibility, radios wake us up, entertain us and inform us. Radio has become more tailored and personalized. Hosts of radio talk shows directly communicate to each listener and at times, caller. Radio is no longer the medium that joins many countries. Very many people now listen to different stations different times of the day and at different locations. Many people also can find a vital number of stations meant for them.⁶³ The basic content of radio stations circles around news, music and talk. For effective disseminate, the EAC should ensure that their efforts are allied to the station's specific structure and audience.

2.5.1.3 Television

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

⁶² Robinson, *Theorizing the Influence of Media on World Politics: Models of Media Influence on Foreign Policy*, *European Journal of Communication* 16(4), (2001) 523–44.

⁶³ Curran. *Media and Power*, (Routledge, London, 2002).

entertainer, mass persuader, mass educator, and mass informer.⁶⁴ The patterns of television viewing have not changed substantially as it has remained negatively related to income, education and occupational status. The disparities between groups, though, have over time reduced on indexes such as occupational status, income, gender and educational level. Generally, those who watch television on regular bases are well-versed than those who do not. Thus, the future of television as a mass communication tool rests on the ability of audiences to use and control it for their own purposes and the community can contribute to that shaping as knowledge utilization proponents.

2.5.1.4 Teletext & Videotext

Teletext allows persons to select graphic and textual information accessible through standard broadcasting signals. They gain access to this information by using decoders or keypads connected to television sets.⁶⁵ The providers of information inject digital data into lines referred to as vertical blanking intervals in television technology. Users are given variety of select pages of information from possible frames of information. Since advertising supports Teletext, the service is practically free to anyone who affords a decoder.⁶⁶ On the other hand, videotext is a speedier information service and highly more interactive. For the reason that videotext utilizes telephone lines or cable connectors between the television and data bank instead of on-air-broadcasting to convey information, telephone charges, particularly per frame charges, make videotext more costly. EAC has endeavored to use videotext and Teletext but has failed owing to difficulty in use, the expense of the technology and the lack of citizen comprehension on ways to use them. Nonetheless, some videotext service targets a large number of people in the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Heath, Encyclopedia of Public Relations, (Thousand Oaks, Sage, 2005).

⁶⁶ Ibid.

community which makes the service accessible to many.⁶⁷ People can now access news databases. It offers direct access to information and lowers the need for agents to pay visits to citizens to communicate the latest information.

2.5.1.5 Newspapers

Newspapers have been traditionally viewed as the fastest medium for conveying the headlines and bulletins of the day. Still, they provide one of the best display and thorough coverage of news and events. There has been a reduction in readers simultaneously with a decrease in the number of newspapers. Studies have established that there is a decrease in readership particularly among younger adults who have no habit reading a newspaper and are unlikely to develop it, as they grow. Companies operating in chain newspaper now own even more newspapers. Specialized weekly and small weekly newspapers serve a distinct ethnic or the local community, professional or cultural groups. Most of the papers are strong financially and circulate to around 2 million. The audiences of the newspaper are millions with whom 2 out of 3 read a newspaper on daily bases, 9 out of 10 adults read at any rate 1 newspaper weekly and 2.2% people read each and every newspaper received by a household. Thus, information dissemination with newspaper is generally more successful than television or radio to its affordability and reach.⁶⁸

2.6 The EAC Directorate of Corporate Communication and Public Affairs Department

The EAC created an out-and-out Department of Communication in July 1997. This was a follow up to Article 71(1) (f) of the Treaty which needs the EAC Secretariat to disseminate

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Durban Potter (ed.), *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, (McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, 2002).

information on the Community to partners, the international community and also the general public. In recent years, the Public Affairs Department and Corporate Communications has been able to put crucial emphasis on involvement with the East African society through such measures as distribution of commentaries on various projects and programmes being undertaken and issuance of press releases, NGO, conducting media; handling specialized in addition to routine public inquiries and visitors information service; organizing press briefings/conferences and; maintenance of a robust web portal, arranging special publicity of EAC in foreign and local media, particularly during annual observances and special occasions. The EAC Media Centre is an extra information center and often performs as a landing point particularly for journalists seeking information from the Public Affairs Department and Corporate Communications.

Publications produced and distributed by the Information and Public Relations Office are the EAC Brochure, EAC Treaty, EAC Development Strategy and the EAC Annual Report. Other publications of the EAC are the Guide to Investors East Africa: Perspectives on Regional Integration in East Africa and Emerging Investment Location and Single Market Area as well as numerous publications under, the book series.⁶⁹

2.7 The Structure of Media in EAC

A review of print media and traditional electronic (newspapers, television, radio) in East Africa established that most are private commercial enterprises with a robust profit motive. Above 56% of media ownership is private though the fact that nearly 44% are not profit-making should offer decent insights into how, for example, state or public media cover the EA.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Norris, Identity shift: A case of East Africa countries. (Oxford, University Press, 2008).

⁷⁰ Denis, McQuail, *Mass Communication Theory*, 5th ed., (London, Sage, 2005).

Nonetheless, if we proceed from the idea that the culture of commerce informs the performance and organization of most media, then it is apparent that the selection of content is grounded on the idea that it must sell in what has become a largely competitive media market with grave fragmented audiences brought about by the proliferation of broadcast and print media. Most content, with the exemption of some selective media, is chosen for publication on the notion that it must prompt customers to buy the advertisers and paper to purchase advertising space. This may clarify in part why adverse stories and those about elite organizations and people predominate.

2.8 Conclusion

The dawn of citizen journalism driven by the accessibility of new media and technologies such as the mobile telephony and Internet, in addition to other media like community and radio, may change this condition, but the availability or diffusion of such facilities is still low. Even where facilities such as mobile telephony are global, the broad populace may not yet have the necessary skills, knowledge and monetary resources to utilize the technologies to engage more energetically with issues relating to the process of EAC integration. In some situations, people may not have the capability to navigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more significantly make sense of the information confined therein. As such, albeit the EAC has a website, there is little evidence that is empirical to show what effect it has had on typical people's engagement with the process of integration, or its general impact on the process.

The EAC Treaty explicitly postulates that the people are the beneficiaries and the actors of the process of regional integration, from the decision making to the implementation stages of the regional programmes and projects. Whenever the masses are aware of the Community, they

would acknowledge and appreciate its benefits. They would get involved deeply in the Community and contribute in its programmes and projects in addition to use positive pressure on the leadership to make sure the sustainability and viability of the Community.

It is on this ground that the EAC has come up with its Communications and Marketing Strategy that purposes to strengthen popular participation, a common East African distinctiveness and sturdy political will be behind the process of regional integration, vital subset of this strategy is consolidation Kiswahili as the uniting lingua franca of the region. In particular, through the Communication Strategy there is a need to construct a robust coalition between all the partners of the EAC; the Political Class, the East African people in general, the East African Media, the Intelligentsia, and the Civil Society the Business Community and Development.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ROLE OF MEDIA AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

3.1 Concept of Regional Integration

Regional integration refers to a process where neighboring countries reduce and/or promote barriers by common accord in the management of regional goods and shared resources. The call for integration in several regions (e.g., East African Community, European Union, Association of Southeast Asian Nations), has internal (e.g., economic development, regional stability) and/or external triggers (e.g., geopolitical weight, trading blocs). The various mechanisms existing to support the integration process are based on ultimate goals and the extent of integration.⁷¹ However, regardless of the enthusiasm for and establishment of many regional integration organizations, African economies continue to be limited by political boundaries, marginalized, and remain largely un-integrated into the fast globalizing world economy. With regard to the poor outcome of their initial efforts for integration, African countries are exerting renewed pressure in formulating suitable frameworks for integration so as to attain the benefits of enlarged markets with the associated opportunities for economic transformation, growth and viable development.⁷²

Mass communication plays an important role in our society because it informs the public about current as well as past events. Mass communication, in “Mass Media, Mass Culture” is described as the process in which professional communicators apply technological devices to share messages over great distances to impact on large audiences. Within this process, the media

⁷¹ Ibid p.7.

⁷² David, Raymond, “Regional Media Challenged on Regional Integration,” (New Vision, accessed on 15/05/2014), Society of International Development, East Africa Integration, 2011, “Dynamics of Equity in Trade,” Education, Media and Labour, (2013) p133, Nairobi.

which can be in form of audio, audiovisual and print media takes charge of what we see, read and hear. This is referred to as Agenda Setting.

The role of the media is to act as an agenda setter in international politics and as a gate keeper in defining as well as controlling the flow of information to the public which serve to support the objectives and goals of official diplomacy. Media diplomacy facilitated states to brand and rebrand themselves in the corporate world stage. In the realist paradigm of international relations, image is paramount.⁷³ This was advanced by John Hertz in the early 1980s when he said that half the power of politics comprises of image-making. As such, the management of national image is no longer the responsibility of policy elites but also the broader mass market, also known as the public.⁷⁴ Similarly to other developing countries within the globalizing world, the EAC project is a powerful and effective intervention to raise the East African region from centuries old exploitation and marginalization by establishing better organized communities in the world society. This marginalization is comprehensive and complex and it involves the relegation of the developing world states into the global economic in addition to the information society. The EAC consequently values highly the role of the Media in promoting awareness, involvement and discourse of the wide range of stakeholders in the East African regional integration process. Definitely, with the intensification of the regional integration process, the EAC is being challenged more today to demonstrate greater effectiveness and efficiency as well as more visibility of its operations, accomplishments and competitiveness in the region and well beyond.

⁷³ Ibid p.45

⁷⁴ Geir Lundestad, *The United States and Western Europe Since 1945: From 'Empire' by Invitation to Transatlantic Drift*, (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2003).

3.2 Global Perspectives of Regional Integration

Regionalism has progressively emerged as a prominent feature of the global trading system for numerous years now, partly owing to the relatively slow pace by which multilateral trade negotiations have been taking place under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)/World Trade Organization (WTO). The recent proliferation of Regional Trade Agreements (RTAs), caused by the market integration of the European Union (EU) which has been the most successful example of regional economic integration for a while, has attracted attention to the need of countries to bolster their ties with other states given the economic advantages that regional integration brings.⁷⁵

East and South Asia is host to incredible economic diversity. On one hand of the spectrum there are advanced economies of South Korea, Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. On the other hand, there are least-developed economies such as Bangladesh, Nepal, Laos, Cambodia and Myanmar. Economic integration is most evident in East Asia (South Korea, Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) countries). As a share of East Asia's total trade, intra-regional trade increased to 54.5% in 2006 from 36.8% in 1980.

ASEAN was initially established on 8 August 1967 by the five original member countries (ASEAN-5), namely, Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and Singapore. Brunei Darussalam joined on 8th January 1984, Lao PDR and Myanmar on 23rd July 1997, Vietnam on 28th July 1995 and Cambodia on 30th April 1999. Its aims, as stated in the Declaration, are: to fast-track economic growth, cultural development and social progress in the region, and to

⁷⁵ Plummer, Michael, "The ASEAN Economic Community and the European Experience", *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration No.1*, Asian Development Bank, 2007.

uphold regional stability and peace through steadfast respect for justice and the rule of law in the relationship amongst countries in the region and observance to the principles of the United Nations Charter.⁷⁶

As a result of the Asian financial crisis, ASEAN has sought to promote tighter and more closer monetary and financial cooperation through an economic policy and review dialogue and the establishment of regional financing arrangements. The ASEAN Surveillance Process, established in October 1998, aims at strengthening the policy-making capacity in the region. ASEAN and the ASEAN+3 Finance Ministers, their deputies and deputies of the central bank convene on separate occasions to review regional, individual country and global developments as well as monitoring macroeconomic aggregates and exchange rate, and social and sectoral policies. This review contains the development of early warning systems of currency and banking crises and the monitoring of short-term capital flows.⁷⁷

In the case of the ASEAN Economic Community, the general strategy involves broadening and deepening economic integration in the product and also the factor markets and fast-tracking the integration process towards a single market and production base. The fast-tracking of economic integration commences with the 11 priority sectors. The indicator system then follows three major areas of integration namely: trade in goods and services, skilled labor and investment. Trade in services and goods are facilitated by the elimination of barriers to trade, both non-tariff and tariff barriers, and through harmonization of classifications and procedures. In the area of investment, it is limited to direct investment. In conclusion, with regard to the labor

⁷⁶ Rana, Pradumna, "Economic Integration in East Asia: Trends, prospects, and a Possible Roadmap," *ADB Working Paper Series on Regional Economic Integration No.2*, Asian Development Bank, 2006.

⁷⁷ *Ibid* p. 45.

market, integration will concentrate on skilled labor. Indicators comprise of employment and wage rates of ASEAN workers. Indicators relating to financial services that are taken into consideration are credit markets, bond markets, stock markets and the banking sector.

3.3 Regional Integration, media diplomacy and public diplomacy

Public diplomacy has met with a lot of developments in the post 1945 period. Chief amongst these is the revolution in communication that begun after the Second World War and that was faced with massive advances in the last part of the twentieth century, has facilitated the citizens to obtain information on what is taking place in other countries in the same way as governments even faster than governments. Accordingly, the world media has become more penetrating thus information is now accessible to larger publics and has converted public opinion into a progressively significant factor in international relations.⁷⁸

Recently emerging nations after the cold war are against the ideas between the East and west that became targets of advocates for public diplomacy as it acquired a global facet. As the cold war affected many populations in affected countries, as much as their states it became clearer than before that perceptions are significant as reality. In effect this has led to the democratization of access to information that has made citizens to be independent and active participants in politics even on the international platform and the new agenda of diplomacy has intensified the leverage of loosely organized groups of individuals.⁷⁹ Indeed public diplomacy is a crucial ingredient in a collaborative model of diplomacy in initiatives of regional integration. Regional integration has now depends heavily on the public diplomacy and media for its success.

⁷⁸Ibid p.34.

⁷⁹ Ibid p.9.

Media diplomacy is part and parcel of Public Diplomacy; a term still undergoing an evolutionary journey which has led up to its current implication and definition. Conventionally, public diplomacy was a democratic accountability or in other words the need for direct public involvement in diplomacy which was characterized by the advocates of ‘citizen summitry’ in what was to be the closing phases of Cold War. The great impacts of this mode of thought were such as Canning, Metternich and Talleyrand who grasped the extent of power that public opinion possesses in the tumult of European politics in the onset of the French Revolution.⁸⁰ They sought to manipulate the foreign opinion through the press; referred to as the media. Globalization has given birth to the reality of a world of co-dependence and hence, interdependence and enhanced communication of the mass publics. The advancements in technology that have come about to facilitate communication globally has had an influential impact in the conduct of diplomacy, which has seen the breeding of such terms as ‘cyber-diplomacy’. This connects the impact of innovations in information and communication technology to diplomacy and foreign policy.⁸¹ it’s the media’s position has moved from that of being a tool of government’s public diplomacy, to being capable of determining foreign policy through the impact of the media on the masses. This has led to the breeding of another term in media diplomacy; the CNN effect, which has been used to refer to the generation of pressure on the policy maker, by the general public, to respond to crisis events.

3.4 Evolution of East Africa Community

As early as 1900, Uganda and Kenya were running a customs union which was later joined by Tanzania in 1922. More elaborate regional integration activities in East Africa have

⁸⁰ Ibid p.12.

⁸¹ Potter. *Cyber-Diplomacy: Managing Foreign Policy in the Twenty-First Century*, (Montreal, McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002).

comprised of the East Africa High Commission (1948-1961), the former East African community which lasted from (1967 to 1977) and the East African common services organization (1961-1967).⁸²

The first EAC achieved extensive integration and was termed as a success since it had made great strides of progress and was taken to be the world's model of successful regional integration and development. At its height, the East African community could not be considered as a federal government. The former community was running the common services of over thirty institutions, which included the four major corporations – East African posts and Telecommunications and the East African Airways as well as an array of joint research institutions. Four major reasons have been cited for its collapse: first, the lack of functions for steering, second, the unjust, unequal distribution of benefits; third, the complete interstate intergovernmental structure and fourth, the irresolvable differences of opinion between leading players, particularly between the Ugandan dictator Idi Amin and the Tanzanian president by then Julius Nyerere.⁸³

Years later, the first EAC collapsed and the three former members' states attempted to control economic affairs through individual multilateral agreements. Significant steps towards creating a community were taken in 1993 and 1997 at two summits of the heads of state. In 1993 the permanent multilateral commission for co-operation was established: a coordinating institution in 1998 came up with a draft treaty for the later EAC. Cooperation on matters of security was also begun during their period. In November 1999, the treaty for the establishment of East African community was signed by the heads of state of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania. It

⁸² Ibid p.16.

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

was enforced on 7th July 2000. Two new members, Burundi and Rwanda joined the community in the year 2007.⁸⁴

3.5 Institutions of East Africa Community

The independence of regional organizations is measured largely by the independence of their institutions and the freedom corresponding from the influence from national state. In the case of the East African Community, these institutions are stated in Article 9 of the EAC Treaty:⁸⁵ The Summit, the Sectoral Committees, the Coordinating Committee, the Council of Ministers and the East African Court of Justice, the East African Legislative Assembly and the Secretariat. Most of the community's institutions are basically inter-state. The Summit is central to the EAC. This is where the heads of state convene and give directions. New institutions can be established, members accepted, laws passed and judges appointed. Decisions are taken by unanimity, so that the head of state of a member country can block almost all the EAC's activities. The Summit corresponds roughly to the European Council of the EU, but the EU is far more powerful. The Council comprises of the ministers accountable for regional integration in the member states. Its main task is to monitor and to support the implementation of Council decisions in the national setting. The Council also comes up with draft legislation for the Legislative Assembly. Like the Summit, the Council is intergovernmental structurally – as are the Coordinating and Sectoral Committees.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ Reith Sean ,Boltz Matthew, The East African Community Regional Integration, between aspiration and reality 2011 p.95.

⁸⁵ Ibid p.19.

⁸⁶ Ibid pp.96-101.

The new Secretary General of the EAC, Dr. Sezibera, has taken a practical step toward this. In a press statement of May 2011, he highlighted five priorities.⁸⁷ The first of these is the consolidation of the customs union, with importance being attached on the removal of natural non-tariff barriers. Secondly, the common market should be act as a functioning reality. Pressure on member states and close monitoring of implementation are needed here. Thirdly is the implementation of the monetary union on schedule. The fourth priority outlined by Sezibera is the strengthening of infrastructure in the regional. The target must be to enhance the transport network so as to accelerate development of the customs union and the common market. Fifthly, industrialization is to be encouraged through the involvement private stakeholders. The General Secretary stated, however, that in concentrating on these critical goals he will not neglect the need to involve the population in the member states. The secretary general sentiments were inclined towards the fact that in the long term, the success of the EAC will be contingent on strengthening the multinational institutions and involving the whole population. Distributive justice, strong institutions and opportunities for participation are vital factors. In addition, the EAC must provide crucial consideration to its image and aspirations.

3.6 East Africa Community Achievements

The EAC member States, similar to many other developing countries, strive to transform their economies to an industrialized and modern status that can sustainably produce adequate outputs to satisfy both export and domestic markets and quickly increase per capita incomes to enhance the living standards of its people.⁸⁸ The EAC was established to spearhead the East African social, economic and political integration agenda. According to the provisions of

⁸⁷ Richard Sezibera, "EAC Secretary General Outlines Priorities. Press Statement," <http://eac.int/about-eac/eacnews/632.html?task=view>.

⁸⁸ "New Dimensions in Regional Integration", Centre for Economic Policy Research, 1992; editors: Jaime De Melo and Arvind Panagariya p. 250.

paragraph 1 of article 5, the member states aimed at establishing a customs union, a common market, consequently a monetary union and in the long run a political federation so as to strengthen and regulate the industrial, social, infrastructural, commercial cultural and political relations.⁸⁹ The Customs Union was enforced in 2005 while the EAC Common Market was enforced on 1st July 2010.⁹⁰

The EAC process of regional integration has progressed into a five-nation common market of 133.5 million people (2009) with an estimated GDP of USD 74.5 billion and average GDP per capita of \$558 (EAC Secretariat, 2010). Between 2010 and 2005, the EAC implemented a Customs Union which concentrated on: A Common External Tariff (CET) on imports from third countries - intermediate products (10%), raw materials (0%) and finished goods (25%), the latter percentage being fixed as the maximum; Duty-free trade between the Partner States; Common customs procedures⁹¹.

In 2010, the EAC Partner States signed a Common Market Protocol (CMP) which, among other goals, concentrates on fast-tracking regional economic development and growth by familiarizing the free movement of goods, persons and labor, the right of residence and establishment, and the free movement of capital and services. The Protocol offers four freedoms

⁸⁹ Republic of Kenya, Ministry of the East African community ,on perceptions and views level of knowledge, plus awareness and preparedness for the implementation of EACs customs Union, common market: the proposed monetary union and political federation, Survey Report 2012 p. 2.

⁹⁰ Monetary Affairs Committee (MAC) – Committee of EAC Central Bank Governors - Communique of the 13th MAC Meeting held in Arusha, Tanzania, May 10, 2010.

⁹¹ Ibid p 251.

of movement for people, goods and labour, capital and services as well as two rights to establish or reside oneself or business venture anyplace within the boundaries of the Community.⁹²

Furthermore, the EAC Common Market is expected to coordinate, strengthen and regulate the trade and economic relations among the member States so as to promote accelerated, balanced and harmonious development.⁹³ The Customs Union (CU) complementation with the Common Market (CM) has attained a framework of investment/ trade liberalization, policy merging, and joint approach to enhanced competitiveness and programming across all different sectors. Talks and negotiations on the Monetary Union MU pillar are at a developed stage.

3.7 Conclusion

At the onset of “citizen” journalism fomented by the availability of new media and technologies such as the mobile telephony and Internet, as well as alternative media like radio and community newspapers, may change this situation, but the availability or diffusion of such facilities is yet low. Even in cases where facilities such as mobile telephony are permeating, the general populace may not possess the necessary skills, knowledge and monetary resources yet to utilize the technologies to actively engage more with issues pertaining to the EAC integration process. In some cases, people may even lack the capacity to circumnavigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more crucial make sense of the information contained within. Per se, even though the EAC has a website, there is little empirical evidence supporting effect it has had

⁹² Victor Ogalo ,Achievements and Challenges of Implementation of the EAC Common Market Protocol in Kenya: *case of Free Movement of Labor* July-October 2012 p.8.

⁹³ East African Community Industrialization Policy 2012 – 2032, *Structural Transformation of the Manufacturing Sector Through High Value Addition and Product Diversification Based On Comparative And Competitive Advantages of the Region* (2012) p.1.

on ordinary people's engagement with the integration process, or its general impact on the process.

The EAC has established its Communications and Marketing Strategy that aims at bolstering popular participation, strong political will behind the regional integration process and a common East African identity, critical subset of this strategy is bolstering Kiswahili as the unifying lingua franca of this particular region. Primarily, through the Communication Strategy there is the necessity to construct a strong coalition between all the East African people in general, the stakeholders of the EAC viz., the Political Class, Civil Society, the East African Media, the Intelligentsia, the Business Community and Development Partners for a collective quest to bridge the gap between the vision of a competitive, prosperous, politically and secure united East Africa and its concrete realization.

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MEDIA AND REGIONAL INTEGRATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses and interpretations of the research findings in line with the study objectives. The findings have been analyzed, tabulated, and recorded as frequencies and percentages where appropriate. Data emanated from journalists of member states of the EAC. The characteristics of respondents and interview response rates are presented as well. The following is the sequence of data presentation, analysis, and interpretation:

- Media coverage of EAC integration Process
- Medium of communication used to raise awareness on integration process
- Role of media in fostering regional integration process
- The impact of media in shaping public opinion in regional integration process

The sample size of this study comprised of 125 journalists from Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania. Out of 125 journalists, 112 filled and returned their questionnaires. This represents an 89.60% response rate.

Table 4. 1: Response Rate

Country	Sample Size	Responses	Response Percent
Kenya	53	48	90.57
Rwanda	21	19	90.48
Uganda	25	23	92.00
Tanzania	26	22	84.62
Total	125	112	89.60

4.2 Demographic Information

As part of the general information, the respondents were asked to indicate their age bracket, gender, highest level of training, organizations they were working for, their coverage/reach and the rating of the quality of journalism in the East Africa region.

4.2.1 Age Bracket of the Respondents

The respondents were asked to indicate their age bracket. From the findings, 44.6% of the respondents indicated that they were aged between 36 and 45 years, 36.6% indicated that they were aged between 18 and 35 years, 18.8% indicated that they were aged between 61 and 70 years and 13.4% indicated that they were aged between 46 and 60 years. This shows that most of the journalists were aged between 36 and 45 years.

Table 4. 2: Age of Respondents

	Frequency	Percent
18-35	41	36.6
36-45	50	44.6
46-60	21	18.8
Total	112	100.0

4.2.2 Gender of the Respondents

In relation to their gender, 57.1% of the respondents indicated that they were male while 42.9% indicated that they were female. This shows that most of the journalists in Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda and Tanzania were male.

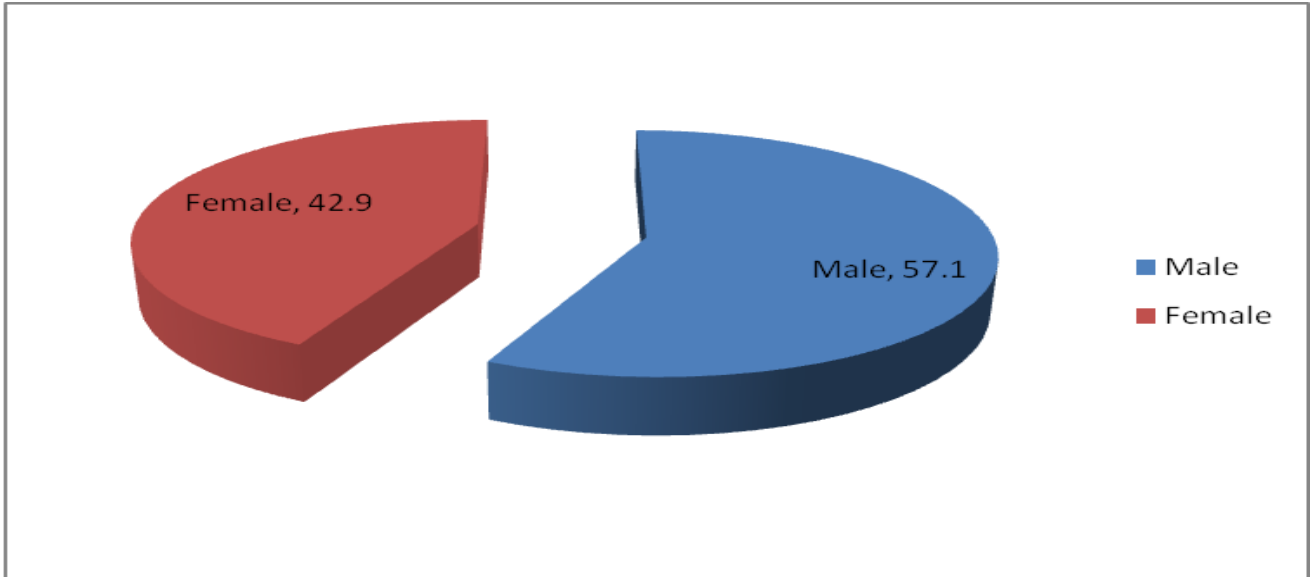


Figure 4. 1: Gender of the Respondents

4.2.3 Highest Level of Training

The respondents were asked to indicate their highest level of training. From the findings, 61.6% of the journalists indicated that they had undergraduate degrees as their highest level of education, 31.3% indicated that they had postgraduate degrees and 7.1% indicated that they had diplomas. These findings clearly show that most of the journalists had undergraduate degrees.

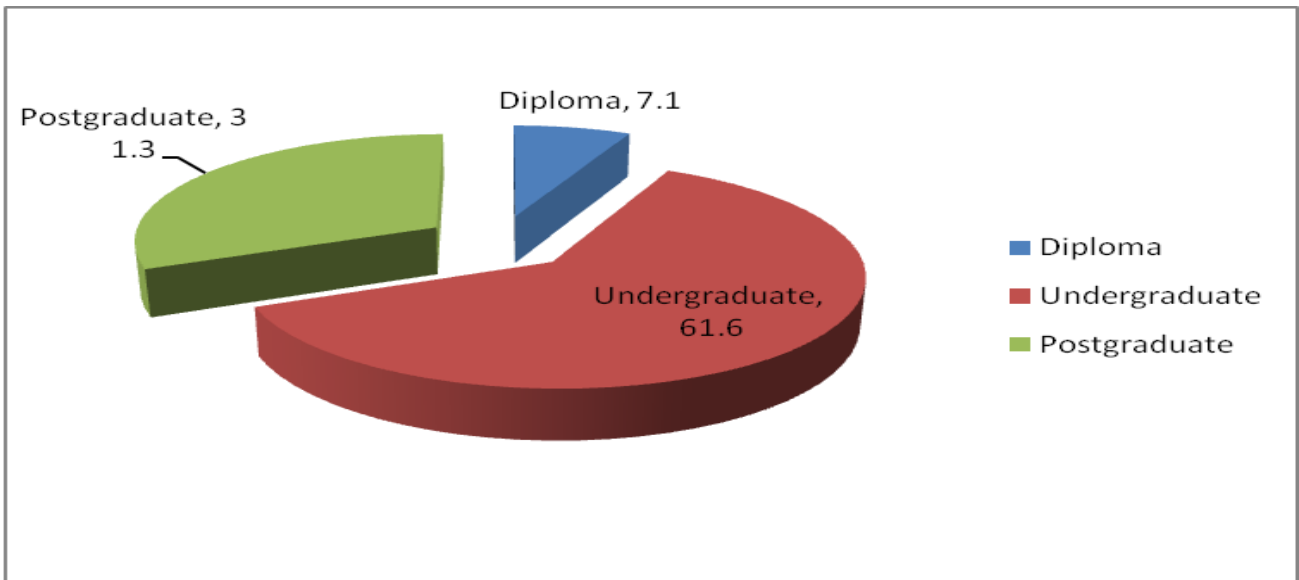


Figure 4. 2: Highest Level of Training

4.2.4 Organizations

In relation to the organizations they were working in, the journalists indicated that they were working in Radio Africa, Citizen, The East African, Nation media, The Standard Group, the Star, Business Daily, The East African, Irwanda, The New Times, News of Rwanda, NTA Newstime, Daily Monitor, Buganda Post, The Equatorian News Online, The Nile Times, 24 Tanzania (Dar es Salaam), Arusha Times, Business Times, Daily News, Star TV, Clouds TV, Tanzania Broadcasting Corporation, Barmedas.TV, Bloomerge, The Citizen .

4.2.5 Coverage of the Organizations

In relation to the coverage of their organizations, 59.8% of the respondents indicated that the coverage of their organizations was regional, 24.1% indicated that it was national and 16.1% indicated that it was international. This shows that most of the organizations covered in this study had a regional coverage.

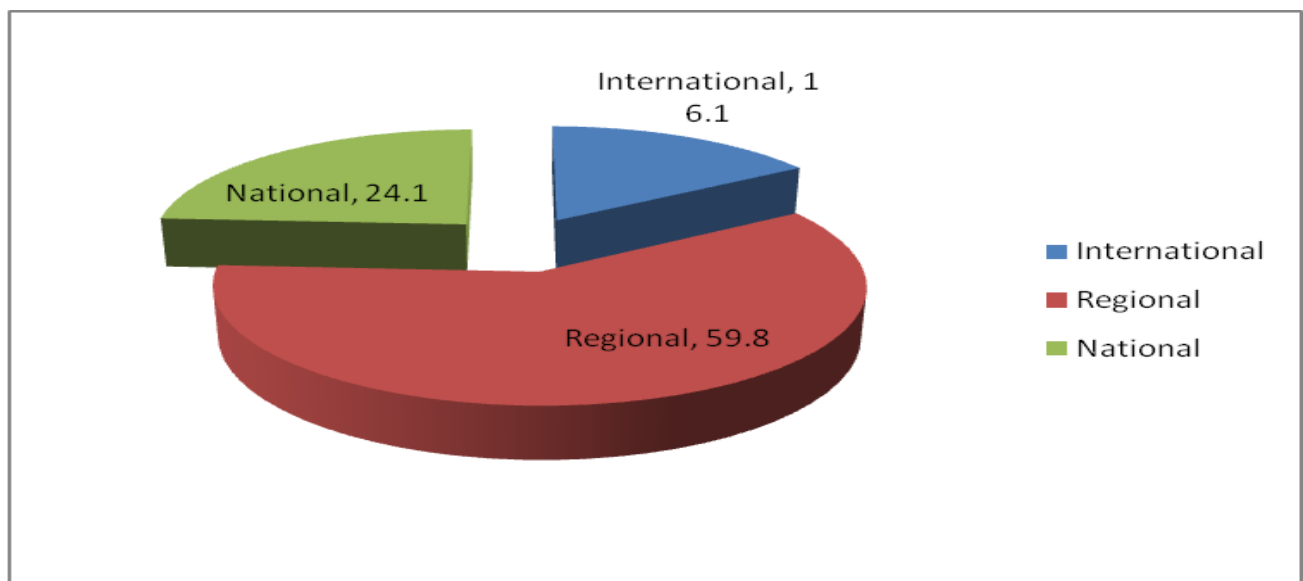


Figure 4. 3: Coverage

4.2.6 Quality of Journalisms in the East Africa Region

The respondents were asked to rate the quality of journalisms in the East Africa region. From the findings, 82.1% of the journalists indicated that the quality of journalisms in the East Africa region was good, 11.6% indicated that it was average and 6.3% indicated that it was excellent. This shows that the quality of journalisms in the East Africa region was good.

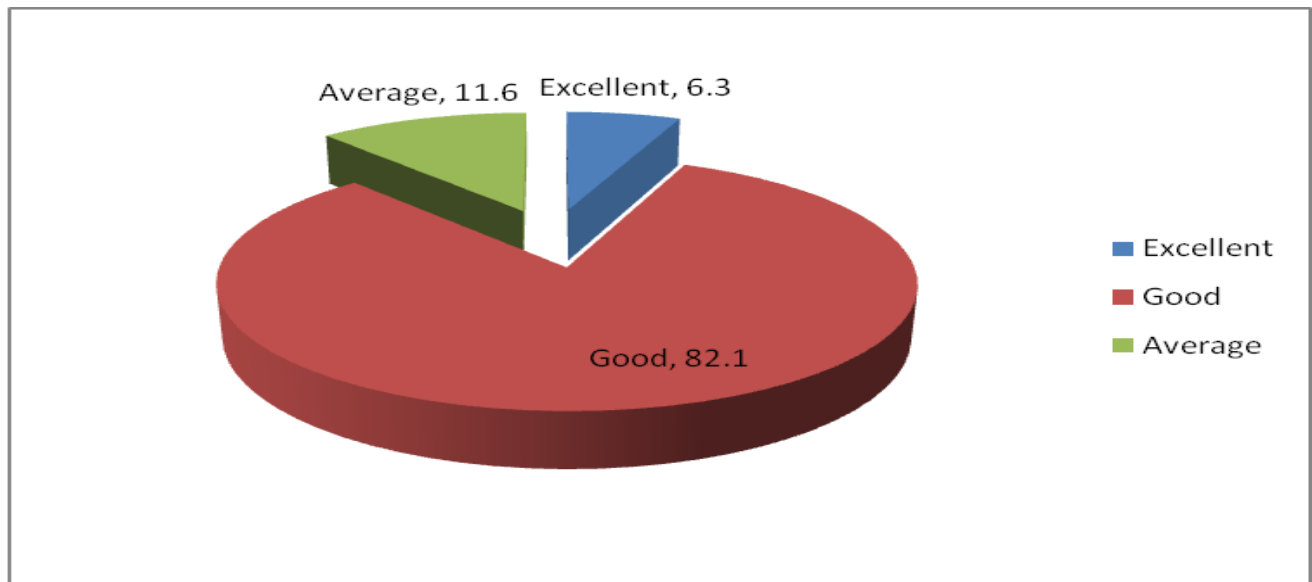


Figure 4. 4: Quality of Journalisms in the East Africa Region

4.3 Media coverage of EAC integration Process

The first objective of this study was to analyze how print media has highlighted issues of EAC integration process.

4.3.1 Featuring EAC News in the Last One Year

The respondents were asked to indicate whether the media house featured EAC news in the last one year. From the findings, all the respondents (100%) indicated that the media house featured EAC news in the last one year. From these findings we can deduce that the media houses had featured EAC news in the last one year.

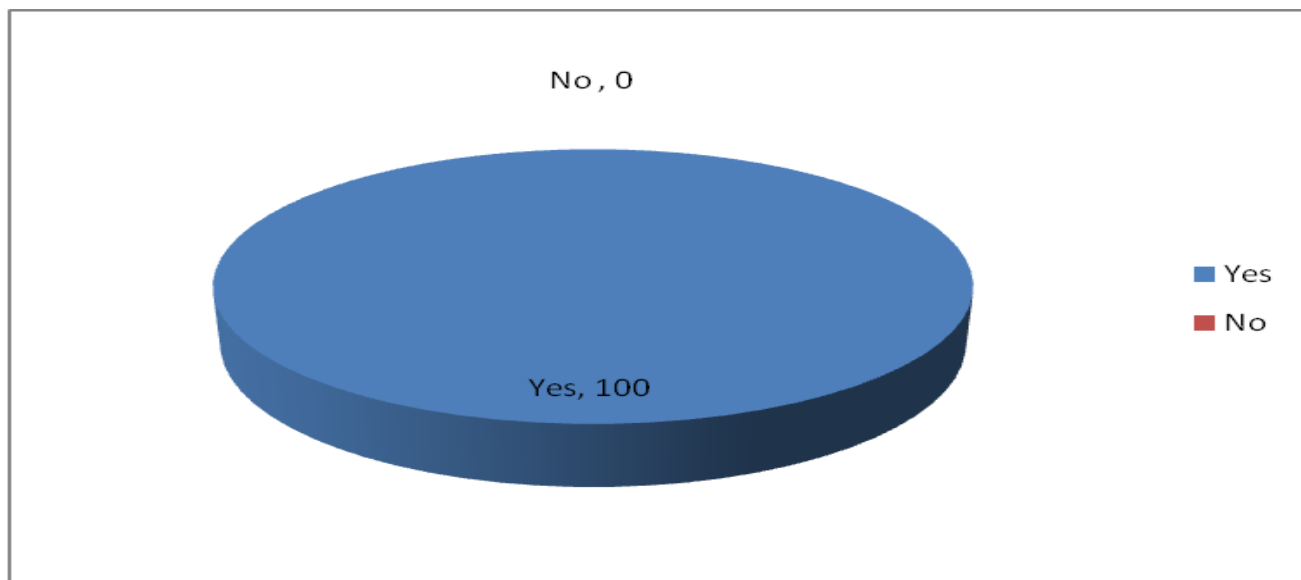


Figure 4. 5: Featuring EAC News in the Last One Year

4.3.2 Frequency of featuring EAC news

The respondents were requested to indicate how often the media houses featured EAC news. From the findings, 67.9% of the respondents reported that their media houses featured EAC news at least once a week, 28.6% indicated at least once every two weeks, 1.8% indicated at least once a month and 1.8% indicated at least once every two months. This shows that most of the media houses were featuring EAC news at least once a week.

Table 4. 3: Frequency of featuring EAC news

	Frequency	Percent
At least once a week	76	67.9
At least once every two weeks	32	28.6
At least once a month	2	1.8
At least once every two months	2	1.8
Total	112	100.0

4.3.3 Content of the EAC News

The respondents were asked to indicate what the content of the news in the last EAC news. From the findings, the journalists indicated that in the last EAC news the content was the economic partnership agreement that member states have failed to agree on, on the use of the single window system for port cargo clearance and on matters pertaining to standard gauge railway. Others indicated that their media houses content in the last EAC news included the fact that both formal and non-formal trade barriers remain major obstacles to economic growth and social development among the East African Community member States. It also argued that due to high cost of road transport within the region compared to shipping and air transport, only 23 per cent of EAC's total exports and 10 per cent of imports are intra-regional.

4.3.4 EAC Issues Covered by the Media

The journalists were asked to indicate which EAC issues the media covers. From the findings, the journalists indicated that the media houses covered issues of integration, shares infrastructure and bloc's economic partnership agreements with other blocs and nations. In addition, a wide range of issues among them debates around economic growth and poverty reduction, tax and governance, political developments, ongoing research in various fields and sexual and reproductive issues.

4.3.5 Media within the EAC region.

The interviewees indicated that the media has a great interest in East African issues. In accordance to content, more articles are published in Kenya than in any other member among these appeared in *The East African*, which is implicitly a Kenyan newspaper because it is published in Kenyan capital where its parent, the Nation Media Group, is situated. Despite being based in Kenya, *The East African* is a regional weekly produced newspaper that spreads its

coverage into the long-established EAC countries of Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Therefore *The East African* gives considerable coverage for the EAC because it is a regional newspaper – in fact, “the only truly regional paper” according to Ali Zaidi, the newspapers managing editor at the time of the survey. This means that it has made a “significant” input in creating awareness of the East African Community more than any other newspaper. Given that its circulation is only 60,000, however, its effects as an instrument of integration can be said to be only modest. *The East African*’s parent company, the Nation Media Group, is the leading in the region and has extended its wings in Uganda where it owns *The Monitor* and Nation TV Uganda, and to Tanzania where it operates Mwananchi Communications, the publishers of *The Citizen*.

The interviewees further disclose that the highest frequency of articles published consist of “straight news” stories, followed by those that are classified as “news analysis”. Straight news is traditionally defined as “hard” news, meaning that it is by and large a record of time-bound events or occurrences. News analysis refers to reports that explain the issues or events reported in the news. The prevalence of straight news accounts articulates to the fact that newspapers in the region do recognize the newsworthiness of EAC issues, as revealed in the treatment of these issues as news that merits timely broadcasting.

The single most frequently occurring topics are: common market, political federation, trade, integration, customs union and elections. The frequency of occurrence of some of these variables rather demonstrates the significance of issues, for instance, the common market has the highest interest to the citizenry or the newspaper buying public. Even though the frequency may not tell clearly whether people actually are interested in the issues and why, the assumptions based on agenda setting reveal that these are the issues prioritized by editors who apparently serve their public through their publications. The deduction from this analysis is that the

newspaper content reflects the interests of the public and if that criterion were not met, people would not buy the papers.

Comprehensively, the extent to which the media concentrate to what is happening in other EAC countries is a measure of what the media and presumably what the people may consider important. This supports the idea that the media are inward-looking, reflecting nationalistic rather than regional issues to cater for their principal audiences; thus EAC issues dominate only when they touch on developments in or the concerns of the individual state. Nonetheless, there were 112 specific references to other EAC countries in the articles sampled. Tanzania got the most attention, followed by Burundi and Rwanda. Even though there is obvious reason for this observation, the assumption is that being the host of the headquarters of the EAC, Tanzania could have drawn fairly more interest from the media, while Burundi and Rwanda might have been of particular interest as new members of the bloc.

4.4 Medium of communication used to raise awareness on integration process

The second objective of this study was to identify and describe the media methods used by the regional body to raise awareness on integration. The choice for an effective media for use largely depends on such factors as the target audience, the characteristics of the innovation and the information channel. The approach that works better for conveying general information to the masses on the other hand may be tactless for communicating direct issues to the EAC State members. The strategy that may work well for disseminating innovations in technology among countries may not be well-suited with dissemination strategies connected to the development of EAC member countries.

4.4.1 Methods of Information Dissemination used in Disseminating EAC News

The respondents were requested to rank methods of information dissemination used in disseminating EAC news. From the findings, 49.1% of the respondents indicated that radio was the most commonly used methods of information dissemination in disseminating EAC news. This was followed by newspaper with 21.4%, social media with 17.9% and television with 11.6%. From these findings we can deduce that radio was the most commonly used methods of information dissemination in disseminating EAC news, followed by newspaper, social media and television.

Table 4. 4: Methods of Information Dissemination used in Disseminating EAC News

	Frequency	Percent
Social Media	20	17.9
Radio	55	49.1
Television	13	11.6
Newspaper	24	21.4
Total	112	100.0

4.4.2 Media Houses Raising Awareness on EAC Integration

The respondents were asked to indicate their opinion on whether the media houses raising awareness on EAC integration. According to the findings, 96.4% of the journalists indicated that the media houses were raising awareness on EAC integration while 3.6% disagreed. From these findings we can deduce that the media houses were raising awareness on EAC integration.

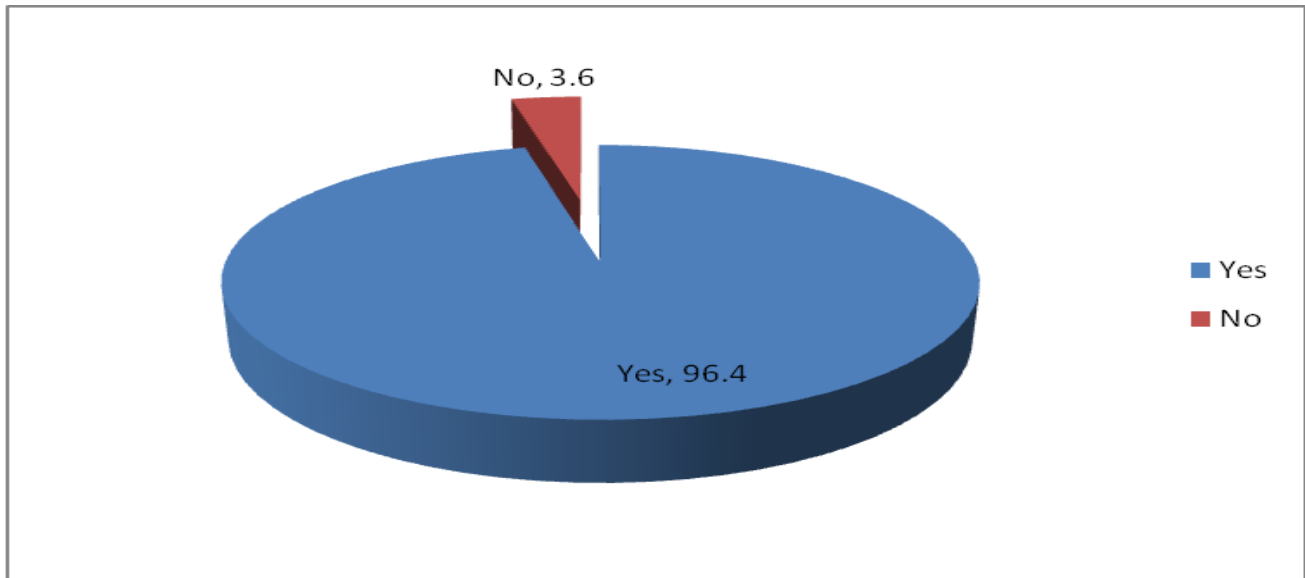


Table 4. 5: Media Houses Raising Awareness on EAC Integration

The respondents who indicated that the media houses were raising awareness on EAC integration through educational features and highlighting news pertaining to the integration process and tracking of EAC milestones as per timelines agreed upon by the member states

The journalists who indicated that the media houses were not raising awareness on EAC integration also indicated that despite dearth of information coming out of the several meetings held either at the ministerial or Head of State and Government’s levels, the media fraternity always strive to create awareness about regional integration through radio, social media, television and newspapers which often carry news on integration meetings and opinions penned by various experts.

4.4.3 How the Media Raise Awareness on Media Integration

Regional integration of the EAC utilizes different channels in disseminating information. The channels applied include mass media (e.g. television, radio, Teletext, newspapers, comics, videotext, magazines), information service systems (e.g., online databases, libraries), personal contacts (e.g., consultants and change agent), educational and training programs (e.g.,

workshops, professional preparation, computer-assisted), and others (e.g., posters, billboards). The channels of communication worthy of note, are: source knowledge of the audience, message flow, segmentation, feedback, control of the communication flow, degree of interactivity, synchronicity, nonverbal, socio-emotional vs. task-related content and privacy afforded.

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

In modern day EAC, television is in over 98 percent of the homes. One of its merits is that it appeals to more than just one of the five senses and has increasingly become the dominant activity for leisure. It is considered to be the society's mass entertainer, mass persuader, mass educator, and mass informer. The patterns of television viewing have not changed substantially as it has remained negatively related to income, education and occupational status. Nonetheless, the future of television as a mass communication tool rests on the ability of audiences to use and control it for their own purposes and the community can contribute to that shaping as knowledge utilization proponents.

Teletext allows persons to select graphic and textual information accessible through standard broadcasting signals. They gain access to this information by using decoders or keypads connected to television set. The providers of information inject digital data into lines referred to as vertical blanking intervals in television technology. On the other hand, videotext is a speedier

information service and highly more interactive. For the reason that videotext utilizes telephone lines or cable connectors between the television and data bank instead of on-air-broadcasting to convey information, telephone charges, particularly per frame charges, make videotext more costly. EAC has endeavored to use videotext and Teletext but has failed owing to difficulty in use, the expense of the technology and the lack of citizen comprehension on ways to use them.

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

4.5 Role of media in fostering regional integration process

The third objective of this study was to examine the role of media in fostering regional integration.

4.5.1 Media Outlet in the EAC Integration Process

The journalists were asked to indicate whether they consider themselves important as a media outlet in the EAC integration process. From the findings, 95.5% of the journalists indicated that they considered themselves important as a media outlet in the EAC integration

process while 4.5% disagreed. From the findings, we can deduce that most of the journalists considered themselves important as a media outlet in the EAC integration process.

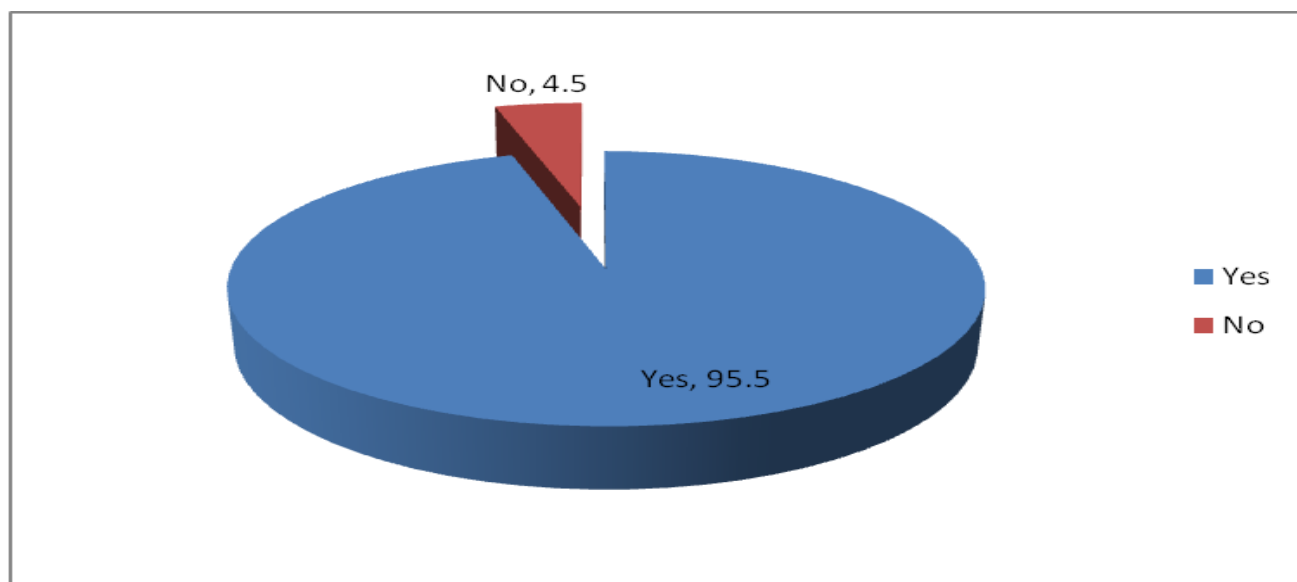


Figure 4. 6: Media Outlet in the EAC Integration Process

4.5.2 Opportunities that Exist for the Media Outlets in the EAC Integration

The journalists were asked to indicate opportunities that exist for the media outlets in the region in the EAC integration. The respondents indicated business opportunities since a lot of companies and institutions now eye regional presence in by being in all or most of the five member states, an opportunity to bring communities with similar problems and goals together through news that cuts across all or most of the member states.

Opportunities exist for journalists and investors to expand and operate in partner states. However, EAC member States have not been fast enough in harmonizing the relevant laws to remove impediments. Work permits, varying media regulatory policies, unfriendly investment policy requirements as well as general apprehension in partner states continue to discourage national media outlets from going regional.

4.5.3 Issues of Equity Paramount and that Deserve more Coverage

Considering EAC integration process is already on going, the journalists were asked to indicate issues of equity in the region in their view that are paramount and deserve more coverage. From the findings, the respondents quoted free movement of goods and workers. Other areas that need more coverage are the continued poor implementation of service freedoms as outlined in the EAC Common Market that include business and professional services such as accountancy, legal, finance, communication, tourism and travel related services.

4.5.4 Media Intervention in Promoting Equity in the EAC Integration Process

The respondents were asked to indicate how the media can intervene to promote equity in the EAC integration process. From the findings, the journalists indicated by highlighting stories of countries or government agencies that are operating contrary to the EAC protocol guidelines. The media can play a leading role in highlighting cases of non-tariff barriers that hinder the full implementation of both customs union and common market.

4.5.5 Media Roles in Enhancing Regional Integration

The journalists were asked to indicate whether the media play the stated roles in enhancing regional integration. From the findings, 97.3% of the journalists indicate that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity. In addition, 96.4% of the respondents reported that the media helps to make sense the true meaning of regional integration, disseminates concepts of regional integration and highlights the benefits of regional integration.

Table 4. 6: Media Roles in Enhancing Regional Integration

	Frequency		Percent	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives	109	3	97.3	2.7
Helps to make sense the true meaning of regional integration	108	4	96.4	3.6
Disseminates concepts of regional integration	108	4	96.4	3.6
Highlights the benefits of regional integration	108	4	96.4	3.6
Role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity	109	3	97.3	2.7

Like other regional blocs, and as set out in its mission statement, the EAC seeks to “widen and deepen economic political, social and cultural integration in order to improve the quality of life of the people of East Africa through increased competitiveness, value added production, trade and investment”.

In this pursuit, several actors are regarded key to regionalism and integration. One of these is the media, which help add up on the meaning of integration and regionalism to the public, as well as drawing attention to the benefits and challenges of such state plans. The media role is based on the principle that disseminating ideas of regionalism and integration, how such a regional body works, and what benefits accrue to the citizenry, would lead to a greater regional awareness among the mass population and consequently generate an EAC culture.

The role is supported by the idea that the media, as a sense-making and disseminating instrument of integrationist ideas, can help initiate integrative trends, and that increased awareness about the process contributes to satisfactory regional identity. For many years various

speculative arguments have been advanced to elucidate the impact the media have on society. Among these are agenda setting and agenda building, intercession between society and the state. The media also have an effect on the mobilization and even reinforcement of particular viewpoints.

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

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

necessarily consume (read newspapers and similar publications, listen to radio, or watch television) media products merely because they are available; when there is a choice, people are self-selecting and their consumption of the various written, audio or visual content is based on the notion of importance and the utilities that may be derived there from.

The media effects argument holds that people are influenced by the texts they consume, although it is almost commonsensical that there are other socializing influences that determine people's decisions, behaviors, attitudes, beliefs and motives. These socializing agents include political, state and non-state actors like government officials and civil society whose deeds, views, and pronouncements or statements in the media may influence people's perspectives on what EAC integration, for instance, may mean to them.

Related to these arguments is the notion that the media play a watchdog role by monitoring state activity and "fearlessly" exposing abuse of official authority. Whereas in agenda setting the media see their role as that of informing the public about the goings-on in society, as a watchdog the media ensure that wrongdoings (through, for example, investigative journalism) are unearthed, and that the wrongdoers are then subjected to public scrutiny and action. The media apparently mobilize the public, civil society, professional bodies and other actors to demand action against individuals or organizations implicated in wrongdoing. As such, the media in East Africa may from time to time provide information (or set the agenda) and also ensure that correspondents constantly monitor (watch) on behalf of the "public" whatever these actors do, particularly state actors. Such exposure may in turn promote accountability, transparency and good governance, as the Second EAC Annual Conference on Promotion of Good Governance, held in Nairobi on 19–20 August 2010, suggested. A communiqué issued after the conference indeed acknowledged that East African media as a watchdog institution are

significant in promoting good governance. The media are, as well, said to give space and platform to people to articulate their positions on various issues. In other words, the media constitute a public sphere.

4.6 The impact of media in shaping public opinion in regional integration process

The fourth objective of the study was to assess whether the media has consistently helped in shaping public opinion regarding regional integration. The media has a big role to play in ensuring that the citizens at the grassroots are well sensitized regarding the process of integration. In accordance to information sourced from different stakeholders in the media, it sheds some light that media are not adequately involved in EAC integration process.

4.6.1 Other Sources of EAC Stories Beyond Journalists

The journalists were further asked to indicate their other sources of EAC stories beyond journalists. From the findings, all the respondents (100%) indicated that other sources of EAC stories beyond journalists included freelance journalists, 32.1% indicated the community and 5.4% indicated alternative media. From these findings we can deuce that other sources of EAC stories beyond journalists were freelance journalists.

Table 4. 7: Other Sources of EAC Stories Beyond Journalists

	Frequency		Percent	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
Freelance journalists	112	0	100.0	0.0
Alternative media	6	106	5.4	94.6
Community	36	76	32.1	67.9

4.6.2 Media in Shaping the Public Opinion in Regional Integration

The journalists were also asked to indicate whether the media has participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration. From the findings, 54.5% of the respondents reported that the media has participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration while 45.5% disagreed. From these findings we can deduce that the media has participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration.

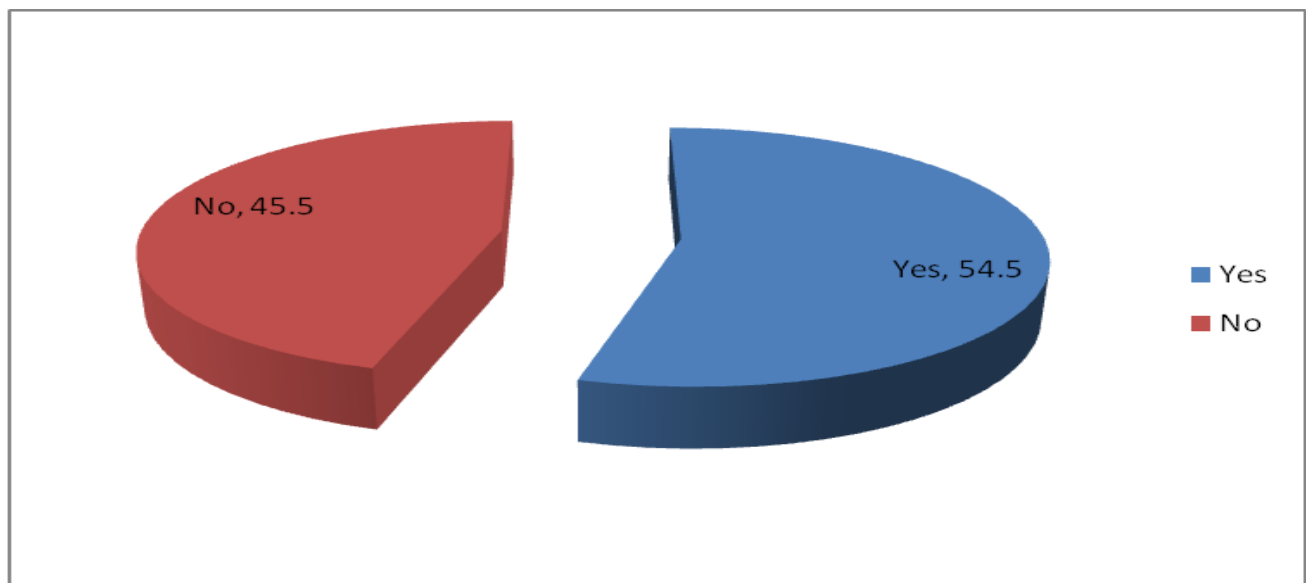


Figure 4. 7: Media in Shaping the Public Opinion in Regional Integration

The respondents who indicated that the media has participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration also indicated that it is by highlighting the good and the bad about matters of integration. Highlighting of problems for example when Kenyan tour operators are taxed by Tanzanian authorities when crossing over to Serengeti from Mara yet in Kenya the Tanzanians are not charged the same in adherence to guidelines of the common market protocol.

The respondents who indicate that the media has not participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration also indicated that though media is supposed to be the bridge

between integration and the population its exclusion from processes has created an awareness gap at grassroots. Most of the times when meetings of various EAC organs are going on, reporters are left standing outside or in balconies waiting for press releases or communicate to write stories, something that does not allow them to internalize the issues and effectively pass them on to their readers/listeners/viewers.

According to the interviewees Media heads in Kampala for instance have raised concerns over scanty engagement in the discussion forums by the heads of states and that what they only do is to wait for press releases. Consequently, the officer in charge of monitoring publications acknowledges that the media is the main channel through which integration process can sink to the population and its segregation from the processes has fashioned an awareness gap to the population.

From this argument, it may give impression that the media are not yet wholly persuaded in “preaching the gospel” of EAC integration, and thus their influence on the integration agenda is inadequate. This is attributed from their very brief coverage on EAC matters that highly significant to the citizens of the member states. Furthermore, a popular print media companies largely cover respective homeland issues, with only some pages if any reserved for EAC matters. This gives the impression that editorial and ownership policies favor state-run issues. Paradoxically, the regional bloc is developing with more opportunities and thus is attracting more interests to the citizens of member states, mainly because the Common Market Protocol has been signed. Moreover, benefits that accrue from this expanded market appear to motivate even media owners, managers and editors as they see as an opportunity for investment.

In particular, a Nation Group investment in EAC bloc perhaps gives credibility to the idea that the EAC can become attractive to the media when the benefits are clear. This is only true for their corporate business objective; monetary gain for the big market and not the interests that are core to the EAC establishment. This perception questions media corporatism and obsession with the bottom line instead of journalistic excellence.

Satirically, the idea that an extended market would shape the economy for the media may inform a better engagement with integrationist matters. Actually, an interview with some media stake holders implies that their extended coverage is in quest to raise people's awareness of the happenings in their member states. For instance, according to William Pike, the chief executive officer of The Star newspaper which is based in Kenya, the media have been pressing forward integrationist ideas; an attitude that he considers has the ability to influence public opinion and consequently the public's acceptance of the EAC. Concentration on EAC matters is shown by the fact that a majority media houses, or 54.1 per cent, now anchor EAC news at least once weekly. Despite the fact that this figure is low given the importance of regionalism, the coverage is averagely encouraging. This fact is supported by the evidence that indicates that more than 72 per cent of media practitioners consider EAC issues very important or important. The percentage to some extent dismisses allegations that journalists are apathetic to issues of EAC integration.

The dawn of citizen journalism driven by the accessibility of new media and technologies such as the mobile telephony and Internet, in addition to other media like community and radio, may change this condition, but the availability or diffusion of such facilities is still low. Even where facilities such as mobile telephony are global, the broad populace may not yet have the necessary skills, knowledge and monetary resources to utilize the technologies to engage more energetically with issues relating to the process of EAC integration. In some situations, people

may not have the capability to navigate through the maze that is the Internet, and more significantly make sense of the information confined therein. As such, albeit the EAC has a website, there is little evidence that is empirical to show what effect it has had on typical people's engagement with the process of integration, or its general impact on the process.

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

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

have the chance to lobby media companies and journalists to give better, informed and authoritative coverage of issues that foster the integration process. Doing so would perhaps attend to Pike's challenge that the technical integration problems make it difficult to make sense of and interpret especially for the common general public who may perceive these issues as mind-numbing if presented in incomprehensible jargon as they are not supposed.

Moreover, problems of access to information and fear of being mistreated by state authorities may somewhat have some weight in explaining the quality and the extent of EAC coverage by local journalists. This increases the weight that the degree of press freedom in some member countries may reduce the level of engagement media may have with respective individual state governments. For instance, Katua Nzile, the managing editor who is responsible for the news at the Kenya Television Network (KTN), remarks that limited press freedom in member countries like Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda, Burundi and to some extent her state often limits access to information regarding the EAC. Press freedom concerns are further raised by what Peter Ntimba of Uganda's WBS TV feels is a lack of informed staff at the EAC Secretariat. According to him, the media often do not get the information they inquire about, thus contributing to low or no active media engagement with the EAC integration process. In attempt to address these challenges, Burundi's Léonce Ntakarutimana puts forward that the EAC Secretariat should call for regular meetings for its personnel to help improve their knowledge on regionalism and integration as well as their media handling skills.

However, existence of the EAC media centre at the Secretariat in Arusha Tanzania may enhance the flow of information to the media companies and individual correspondents covering the region. A good percentage of people acknowledge they are aware of the existence of the EAC media centre and the EAC Secretariat in Arusha, though only some of them have interacted

with it. Equally, a good in the region have no knowledge of an existence of either body, giving an indication that the EAC needs to improve its marketing on the media. This would improve the level of interaction and engagement as demanded by the media and, in turn, grant the media access to both humanitarian and other resources important to significant and well-versed coverage of EAC issues.

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

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

It goes without doubt that information and communications are main drive for sustaining regional integration development. To date, EAC has developed a robust and successful public

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

4.6.3 Media House Cover Experts Opinions on EAC Integration

In relation to whether the media house cover experts opinions on EAC integration, 85.7% of the journalists indicated that it did while 14.3% indicated that it did not. From these findings we can deduce that the media houses in East Africa region cover experts opinions on EAC integration.

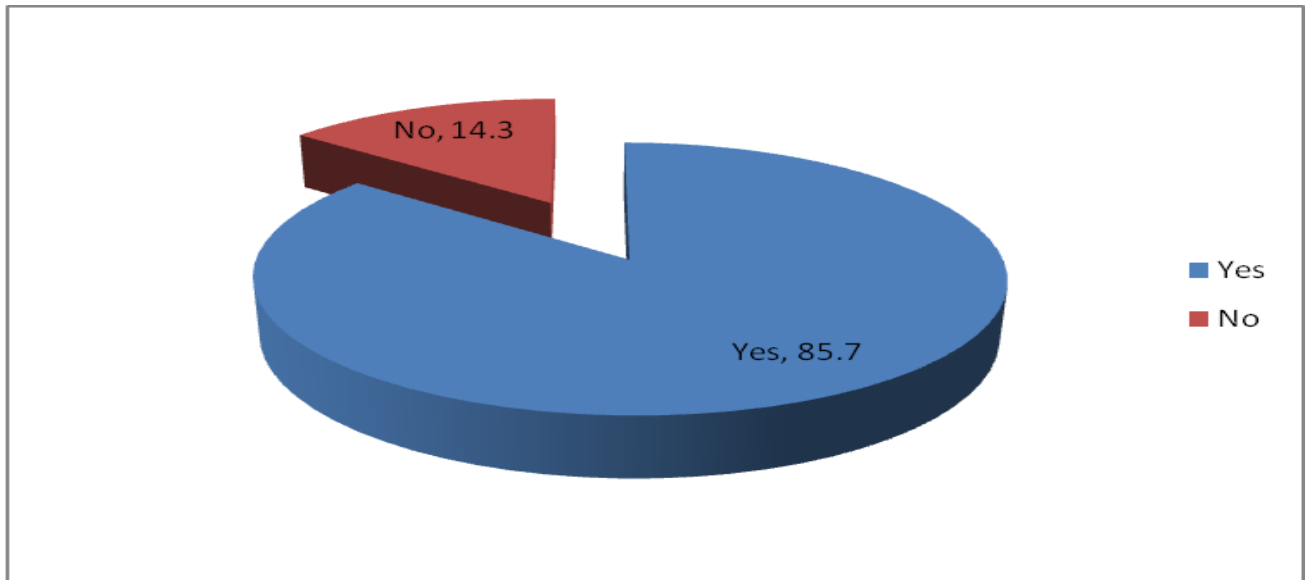


Figure 4. 8: Media House Cover Experts Opinions on EAC Integration

The respondents who indicated that the media houses in East Africa region cover experts opinions on EAC integration also indicated that this was through analysis columns written by experts such as the CEO of Trade Mark East Africa, inclusion of expert comments in stories that are about EAC matters. Others indicated that it is through publication of opinions in our pages and inviting concerned experts over for TV and Radio interviews.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

The study found that the media houses had featured EAC news in the last one year, most of the media houses were featuring EAC news at least once a week and that due to high cost of road transport within the region compared to shipping and air transport, only 23 per cent of EAC's total exports and 10 per cent of imports are intra-regional. In addition, the media houses covered issues of integration, shares infrastructure and bloc's economic partnership agreements with other blocs and nations. The debates centered on economic growth and poverty reduction, tax and governance, political developments, ongoing research in various fields and sexual and reproductive issues. The single most frequently occurring topics are: common market, political federation, trade, integration, customs union and elections. The frequency of occurrence of some of these variables rather demonstrates the significance of issues, for instance, the common market has the highest interest to the citizenry or the newspaper buying public.

The study found that radio was the most commonly used methods of information dissemination in disseminating EAC news, followed by newspaper, social media and television. The media houses were raising awareness on EAC integration through educational features and highlighting news pertaining to the integration process and tracking of EAC milestones as per timelines agreed upon by the member states. Further, regarding dissemination of information, dissemination with newspaper is generally more successful than television or radio to its affordability and reach.

Most of the journalists considered themselves important as a media outlet in the EAC integration process. The journalists indicated business opportunities since a lot of companies and institutions now eye regional presence in by being in all or most of the five member states, an opportunity to bring communities with similar problems and goals together through news that cuts across all or most of the member states. They also quoted free movement of goods and workers the continued poor implementation of service freedoms as outlined in the EAC Common Market that include business and professional services such as accountancy, legal, finance, communication, tourism and travel related services as the areas that required more coverage. Further, it was established that the media can play a leading role in highlighting cases of non-tariff barriers that hinder the full implementation of both customs union and common market. The journalists indicated that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity.

5.2 Conclusion

The study concludes that media houses were featuring EAC news at least once a week. Further, the study concludes that due to high cost of road transport within the region compared to shipping and air transport, only 23 per cent of EAC's total exports and 10 per cent of imports are intra-regional. In addition, the study concludes that most recurring topics in the media include common market, political federation, trade, integration, customs union and elections.

With regard to medium of communication used to raise awareness on integration process, the study concludes that the most commonly used methods of information dissemination in disseminating EAC news, followed by newspaper, social media and television. However, dissemination with newspaper is generally more successful than television or radio to its affordability and reach.

In this regard, the study concludes that most of the journalists considered themselves important as a media outlet in the EAC integration process. As such, the journalists indicated business opportunities since a lot of companies and institutions now eye regional presence in by being in all or most of the five member states, an opportunity to bring communities with similar problems and goals together through news that cuts across all or most of the member states.

The study further concludes that the media plays a leading role in highlighting cases of non-tariff barriers that hinder the full implementation of both customs union and common market and that the media draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives and plays the role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity.

5.3 Recommendations

To improve the media to act as a diplomatic tool and at the same time to guard against swelling commercialization of the media within the EAC, the study recommends that investments should be injected by the EAC secretariat to have the media run professionally and independent specifically tackling integration issues. This will compliment its efforts of Re-Branding Project, Communication and Marketing Strategy and cement the integrationist ideology.

The EAC integration is people centered in general. As such, it should inject funds into information and communication infrastructure in all member states. Further, there should be harmonization of governing policies in all member states. This helps in exploiting all the advantages of technology such as mobile telephony, internet and broadcast media both radio and television. These technologies will enhance the ownership, understanding and participation in the integration process through proper integration of ideologies and messages. Therefore, this study

recommends the use of latest and up-to-date technology in most activities of communication. The EAC should utilize social media to debate on integration issues and further generate interest among East Africans Citizenry given that the younger techno-savvy network members are hooked to technology.

Given that public private sector is vital to the political and socio-economic development of the EAC. To achieve this development, the strengthen partnerships already in existence amongst Media Organizations And Agencies, government departments concerned in integration process, such as government departments concerned in integration process, Media Organizations And Agencies, Civil Society organizations (CSOs), the Business Community and Policy Institutes, Political Elite and the Intelligentsia. This will ensure that continuous benefits are achieved from the process of integration to the whole EAC citizenry.

The Inter University Council of East Africa (IUCEA) efforts should be bolstered by the EAC community so as to harness Training, Education, Technology and Science development of the region. As a result, should harmonize the different education systems of members states in such a way that they are aligned to the technological needs of the fast globalized world. This will equip the population with knowledge that will help them to compliment efforts of the media in the integration process, augment and be receptive on the same.

In the year 2010, a Common Market Protocol (CMP) was instituted and is presently being implemented. This study recommends that the protocol should be strictly adhered to since it will determine the eventful implementation and success of the Monetary Union and Political federation. Main benefits of this protocol include increase in participation of EAC citizenry because there is enhanced movement (free), services, goods and labour. Additionally, the people

will have more interest in issues raised by the EAC through the media. As such, the secretariat should ensure that the CMP is implemented to the letter.

To stimulate political Federation/regional integration and development through a multi-media approach, the East Africa Journal, East African Literature Bureau; an East African Media Foundation and East African research and development programmes should be re-established. The integration process in the EAC is deepening and widening. So as to consolidate the benefits accrued and consequently achieve the main goal of political federation key gatekeepers like media, policy institutes, academia fraternity, civil society and the East Africa citizenry (public) and the entire EAC citizenry should press on until a desired EAC is in place.

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Appendix I: Introduction Letter

Dear Respondent,

RE: Support on Masters Degree of Master of Arts in International Studies Research Project

I am a Stellah Daisy Mang'era pursuing Masters Degree in International Studies at University of Nairobi. As part of the requirement for the Degree Programme, I am undertaking a research on "**Media and Regional Integration: The Case Study of East Africa Community**". In this regard, I kindly requesting for your support in responding to the attached questionnaire. Your accuracy and candid response will be critical in ensuring objective research.

All information received will be treated in strict confidence and used only for the purposes of the study. In addition, the findings of the study will solely be used for academic research purposes and to enhance knowledge. Thank you for your valuable time on this.

Yours faithfully,

Stellah Daisy Mang'era

Appendix II: Questionnaire
PART A: Demographic Details

Age (Tick as appropriate)

18-35 [] 36-45 [] 46-60 [] 61-70 [] Over 70 []

1. Gender (Tick Appropriate)

Male [] Female []

2. Do you have any training in Journalism?

Yes [] No []

3. If you have gone through training in Journalism, what is your highest level of training?

Certificate [] Diploma [] Undergraduate [] Postgraduate []

4. State your organization

5. What is your coverage/reach?

Internal [] National []

Regional [] Local []

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

Excellent [] Good []

Average [] Bad []

Poor []

PART B: Media coverage of EAC integration Process

7. Has your media house featured EAC news in the last one year?

Yes [] No []

8. How often does your media house feature EAC news?

- At least once a week
- At least once every two weeks
- At least once a month
- At least once every two months

9. In the last EAC news, what was the content of the news?

.....

10. Which EAC issues does the media cover?

.....

PART C: Medium of communication used to raise awareness on integration process

11. In order of preference rank the following methods of information dissemination used in disseminating EAC news?

- Social Media
- Radio
- Television
- Newspaper

12. In your opinion, are the media houses raising awareness on EAC integration?

- Yes
- No

13. If yes, which methods does the media use to raise awareness on regional integration?

.....

14. How does the media raise awareness on media integration?

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

PART D: Role of media in fostering regional integration process

15. Do you consider yourself important as a media outlet in the EAC integration process?

Yes [] No []

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

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

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

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

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

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

19. Does the media play the following roles in enhancing regional integration?

	Yes	No
Draws attention to challenges and opportunities of such initiatives	[]	[]
Helps to make sense the true meaning of regional integration	[]	[]
Disseminates concepts of regional integration	[]	[]
Highlights the benefits of regional integration	[]	[]
Role of a watchdog by monitoring state activity	[]	[]

PART E: The impact of media in shaping public opinion in regional integration process

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

Freelance journalists []

Alternative media []

Community []

21. Do you think the media has participated in shaping the public opinion on regional integration?

Yes [] No []

22. If yes, how?

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

23. Does your media house cover experts opinions on EAC integration?

Yes [] No []

24. If yes, through which methods?

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

Appendix III: Interview Guide

1. Which are the most common media channels in EAC?
2. Have the media houses featured EAC news in the last one year?
3. Which EAC issues does the media highlight?
4. Which methods does the media use to raise awareness on regional integration?
5. What opportunities do you think exist for the media outlets in the region in the EAC integration?
6. How can the media intervene to promote equity in the EAC integration process?
7. Which roles does the media play in EAC integration?