



Vol. 10 | Social and development concerns in Africa (c)

Vol. 10 Article 10/10 | October 2019

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EXAMINING EAC STRATEGIES FOR FORGING A COMMON IDENTITY AMONG THE CITIZENRY: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE PROMOTION OF THE EAC ANTHEM AND KISWAHILI IN UGANDA

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Editing Oversight

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Abstract: *The aim of this study is to examine the strategies of crafting a common identity among the EAC citizenry applied by the East African Community. It is premised on a comparison between the East African Anthem and Kiswahili policies that have been adopted by the Government of Uganda. The study was carried out in the Republic of Uganda with the aim of ascertaining why popularisation of the EAC anthem was a success whilst Kiswahili language is stalling. The study addresses three issues that is, identifying factors that affect the choice of policies for popularisation at the national level; examining the strategies for popularisation of the EAC anthem and Kiswahili by the government of Uganda and determining how the EAC could leverage from the lessons drawn from the success of popularisation of the EAC anthem. The study was made up of 44 randomly selected participants that took a leading role in the formulation, coordination and implementation and promotion of EAC anthem and Kiswahili. Interviews, document review and focus group discussion are the techniques used to collect data. The findings revealed that the parameters for implementing and promoting the anthem are different from those of Kiswahili. Given the musical connotations of the anthem, the findings revealed that, the success of policy implementation and promotion requires a joint effort from the policymakers and policy implementers. It has been genuinely maintained by policymakers and policy implementers that, the government of Uganda is in a position to establish and support the promotion of Kiswahili through use of the strategies used to promote the EAC anthem. The study proposes alternative ways in which Kiswahili language could be promoted in Uganda such as; having an official EAC day across the six partner states, having Kiswahili as a compulsory subject in primary, secondary and tertiary level among others.*

Key words: *Common identity, East African Community, EAC anthem, Kiswahili Popularisation Strategies and Policy implementation.*

1.1 Introduction

My initial interest in this topic primarily stems from a song I heard from a 6-year-old girl who had come to visit her aunt (my friend) in Nairobi from Kasese District in Uganda in 2015. As my friend and I kept talking, the young girl kept raising her voice and singing these words...

*Eh, Mungu Twaomba Uilinde,
Jumuiya Afrika Mashariki,
Tuwezeshe Kuishi Kwa Amani,
Tutimize Na Malengo Yetu.
Jumuiya Yetu Sote Tuilinde,
Tuwajibike Tuimarike,
Umoja Wetu Ni Nguzo Yetu,
Idumu Jumuiya Yetu.*

Source: (EAC Secretariat, 2010; Leticia Mapesa, 2015)

I was taken aback to hear a six-year-old girl sing the East African anthem, yet my friend and I didn't know the wordings of the anthem. I interrogated her on how she had learnt the anthem and who had taught her. She told us that she learnt it in school and she was taught by her teacher. I kept observing her play with other neighbourhood children and I realised she was so confident in her broken Kiswahili. I asked her, "Did your teacher teach you Kiswahili in school?" and she answered, "No he didn't." I kept on probing her young mind with more questions, "who is teaching you Kiswahili?" and she answered, "My friends at home and my mom (my friend's sister)." My interaction with Ugandans has always been in English but a few of them comprehend a few words in Kiswahili. Then there was this girl from a remote district in Kasese who could have conversations with other children in a mixture of broken Kiswahili and English. My curiosity was built then in trying to fathom why Ugandans couldn't speak Kiswahili, yet six-year-old girl Leticia could with confidence. I was also curious to understand why a remote school in Kasese District had taught their students the East African anthem. That was back in 2015, I had not started my course.

Since the re-establishment of the EAC in 1999, the Community has been in a constant process of crafting an identity and branding itself. The efforts to foster an East African identity are directly linked to the process the Community has been engaged in, in giving itself a public personality. These processes can be linked to the move of the Community in adopting its symbols. The Community began by adopting the flag in 2003 as stated in the Community Emblem Act (EALA, 2003). In 2005, efforts to develop an East African Anthem begun leading to the adoption of 'Wimbo wa Jumuiya ya Afrika Mashariki' in 2010 (EALA, 2012). The anthem is sung in Kiswahili the lingua franca of East African Community. The treaty establishing the East African Community adopted Kiswahili as the lingua franca for the region. These projects have been adopted to enhance its identity as well as create an image that the citizenry could identify with. The Community has adopted policies pertinent to its identity construction such as the free movement of persons, the East African passport, an education policy to harmonise academic qualifications of the EAC citizenry among others. The Community has also enabled interactions among the EAC youths through sports, cultural activities such as JAMAFEST, inter-university debates among others. The Community has been crafting an enabling environment for its citizens to participate in the

integration process.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Political federation is the ultimate goal of the Community and the achievement of this objective requires the construction of a society in which the citizens are aware of the affairs of the Community. Identity construction is both the mandate of the Community and the states. A common regional identity such as a common language will reduce ethnic groupings and identity politics that dominate the politics of EAC partner states. The case of Rwanda's genocide and the 2007/08 post-election violence in Kenya are examples of the results of identity politics. A common language may act as a social fabric to connect East Africans within one linguistic framework. Political federation is essential for effective economic integration by bringing people together in a bigger unit of identification thus minimizing possibilities of negative ethnicity that define the politics of the Partner States and that it shall secure regional stability by eliminating the possibility of war between partner states (Biira, 2015: 30). The Community is making steady steps towards the attainment of its ultimate goal. For instance, the Community established Kiswahili as the lingua franca to enable ease of communication and forging an East African identity whilst curbing negative ethnicity.

However, European languages have always taken precedence over indigenous languages like Kiswahili. Instead of uniting people in the post-colonial states, European languages are a hindrance to the comprehension and participation of ordinary people in political processes and serve as social status symbols of the educated elite. In a similar manner, the EAC and its regional integration efforts are disconnected from the ordinary populace because access to information about and participation in the EAC requires advanced knowledge of written English. The hegemony of colonial language is inscribed in the EAC Treaty under article 137 which states "the official language of the Community shall be English" (EAC Secretariat, 1999). Considering the present EAC member states multilingual composition the choice of English as the official language serves political elites and international donors well, but hamper the understanding and participation of ordinary East Africans in the EAC. Political elites thus use English as a language of social distinction and the ordinary populace has utilized Kiswahili in trade and interethnic communication. Premised under the motto "One People One Destiny," the motto embodies the aspirations of the East Africans towards social, economic and political integration. However, contrary to Article 7 of the Treaty which puts people at the centre of the integration efforts, both as the drivers and the beneficiaries of the process, it is evident that in many cases there is no connection between the process and the people. This is established by; lack of awareness of the integration matters by the EAC populace and lack of institutional mechanisms to engage East Africans in the integration process. The Treaty acknowledges the importance attached to the sovereignty of the East Africans and their engagement in enhancing the identity of the Community. Through improved interaction of the citizenry, an EAC regional identity -"East Africanness"-based on a common identity and EAC citizenship, could form a more deep-rooted supra-national organisation for regional integration. The present integration measures can still be classified as "old wine in new bottles", the EAC is still led by government leaders and political elites.

The Community formulates policies that are to be implemented by Partner states but here's no key mechanism on how the Partner States should adopt and implement these policies. This is evident with policies such as the adoption of Kiswahili as the lingua franca of the Community. Kenya

adopted Kiswahili as its national language in 1969 (Caesar, 2011: 27) and Tanzania in 1967 (Caesar, 2011: 31) thus, they have had existing Kiswahili language policies in place, Partner states without prior existing policies are expected to formulate their own policies without any guidance on the parameters of the language. However, certain policies have been successfully implemented in different partner states while other policies are still stalling in other states, for instance, Kenya and Uganda has rolled out the common EAC passport, Uganda has implemented the EAC anthem and flag in all its educational and public institutions, Rwanda declared Kiswahili as one of its national languages among others. Lack of necessary measures to coordinate policies that require active citizenry participation results in stalling the integration process.

However Partner States have embraced certain EAC policies over others, for instance, the EAC Anthem received a positive reception by the Partner States more so in Uganda, where the anthem is sung after the Ugandan national anthem in all Post Primary, Primary and Tertiary Schools, all national occasions, before the commencement of any governmental meeting and in all regional events (East African Legislative Assembly, 2011). National governments have encouraged all public institutions to hoist the EAC flag and sing the anthem (BURROWS, 2016) and (Byamukama, 2011). Schoolchildren even at the primary school level have been taught and can sing the EAC anthem when called upon (Itipa, 2014). On the other hand, Kiswahili adopted as the EAC lingua franca, has not been fully implemented in Uganda. Then one would ask, why do national governments choose to implement certain EAC policies while stalling in others? In this research, I, therefore, seek to understand why certain policies have been embraced by national governments and even popularised over others. It is evident that there are factors that determine which policy a government should adopt and why. With this regard, I shall, therefore, examine the promotion of the EAC anthem and Kiswahili in Uganda with a view to determining why the EAC anthem was successfully adopted while Kiswahili failed to take off as required.

1.3 Research Objectives

- a. To identify factors that affect the choice of policies for popularisation at the national level
- b. To examine strategies for popularisation of the EAC anthem and Kiswahili by the government of Uganda.
- c. To determine how the EAC could leverage from the lessons drawn from the success of popularisation of the EAC anthem

1.4 Literature review

Theoretical Framework

Collective identities are social constructions which provide answers to the question; “whom do I belong to” or “whom do we belong to?” Collective identities make use of such references in specific social constellations (Eder, 2017: 5). Edger (2017), argues that the social constellations happen regularly in social relations bounded by social interactions whilst this happens in social relations that transgress the realm of social interaction such as the construction of national identity (Eder, 2017: 5). These social relations become important social carriers of songs, wordings or building which store collective identities. To the extent that collective identities are linked primarily to individuals in concrete interaction situations, emotional ties such as the sense of proud and shame become an important mechanism for reproducing collective identities. To the extent that collective identities are linked to objects as their carriers, these objects become carriers of generalized emotions that are built into the object, into images or texts. Such generalized emotions

are embodied in what can be called “narratives”. Collective identity, however, can equally refer to nation-states, political parties, social movements, etc.

In this study, the term “identity” will be specified when necessary with reference to the two terms that Brubaker and Cooper propose; “groupness and identification.” The two terms offer a more specific perspective on East African identity. Groupness refers to a feeling of a collective identity or a sense of belonging to a community (Semian & Chromý, 2014). Brubaker & Cooper, (2000) argue that “a strongly bounded sense of groupness may rest on categorical commonality and an associated feeling of belonging together with minimal or no relational connectedness.” A categorical commonality is a factor that a group of people shares, it can range from using the same language of communication, having similar cultural practices among others. However, sharing things in common does not automatically result in a feeling of belonging together. Semian & Chromý, (2014) argue that “collective identity consists of ideas common to everyone in the group as well as personal views of each member of the group and is reproduced through socialisation” (Semian & Chromý, 2014: 264). Increased transactions, socialisation and communication brings the self-understanding of a people within a certain community and can thus result in the feeling of commonality. The feeling of commonality is expected to rise faster when people attach a high value on an image or a symbol. These symbols can range from the institution itself (EAC), flags, anthems, a coat of arms, buildings etc. which play a significant role in shaping the identities of the EAC.

Identification focuses on the way people identify with something; in this case how the EAC citizens identify with the Community. According to Brubaker & Cooper, (2000) identification can be categorised into relational and categorical modes. The relational mode refers to identifying oneself or another with the help of the relations one has. People can describe their own identity almost solely through references to other people and things. On the other hand, categorical mode refers to identifying through the inclusion or exclusion of certain attributes, for instance, citizenship. The identification of the East African Community depends on the image people have of the institution. According to Paasi, (1986) as cited by Semian, (2012) the identity of a region is based on the constitution of a regional image and regional consciousness by the inhabitants perceived by its own inhabitants within or outside the region (Semian & Chromý, 2014: 264). Since the identification of people with the Community will be the core subject, identification of the EAC depends on the image people have of the institution. The EAC has enshrined in its policies how various forms of identity discussed above are manifested.

Policy Implementation and Models of Policy Implementation

Implementation is an important stage in the policymaking process. This refers to the execution of the law, in which various stakeholders and organisations work together with the use of procedures and techniques to put policies into effect to help attain goals (Khan, & Khandaker, 2016: 540). According to O’Toole, (1995), policy implementation refers to the connection between the expression of governmental intention and the actual result (O’Toole, 1995: 46; Paudel, 2009: 37). As stated above, policy implementation concerns how governments put policies into effect (Paudel, 2009: 37). Effective policy implementation is dependent on four main ingredients as elaborated by Elmore, (1978), that is clearly specified tasks and objectives that reflect the intent of the policy, a management plan that allocates tasks and performance standards, objective means of measuring performance and lastly a system of management and social sanctions to hold

subordinates accountable for their performance (Elmore, 1978: 195). According to Elmore, (1978), failures of implementation are lapses of planning, specification and control (Ibid). According to Paudel, (2009), successful implementation requires compliance with directives and goals, the achievement of specific indicators and improvement of political climate around a program (Paudel, 2009: 37). Paudel, further elaborates that the success of a policy is dependent on two factors, that is, local capacity and political will (Ibid). Political will which is influenced by motivation and commitment of the implementers' assessment on the values of a policy or the appropriateness of a strategy (Ibid). Therefore, motivation or commitment is influenced by factors beyond the reach of a policy environmental stability, competing centres of authority, contending priorities and other aspects of socio-political milieu that influence an implementer's willingness.

Scholars of policy implementation study the evolution of implementation under two perspectives, that is the first generation which ranges from early 1970s-1980s and second-generation (from 1980s to present) (Paudel, 2009: 38; Dimiter, 2009: 4). First-generation was focused on how a single authoritative decision was carried out either at a single location or multiple sites in order to understand factors that facilitated or constrained the implementation of public policies (Paudel, 2009: 38; Dimiter, 2009: 4). First-generation studies were also concerned with describing numerous barriers to effective policy implementation (Khan, & Khandaker, 2016: 538). According to the first-generation wave, responses to policy outcomes were determined by local factors such as intra-organisation relationships, commitment, size, capacity and institutional complexities (Elmore, 1978: 195; O'Toole, 1995: 46; Paudel, 2009: 38). However, scholars of first generation have been criticised for being theoretical, case-specific and non-cumulative thus theory-building was not at their heart (Khan, & Khandaker, 2016: 538).

The second-generation studies focused on the relationships between policy and practise and resulted in a number of important lessons for policy practice and analysis. For instance, a policy cannot always mandate the outcomes at a local level, individual incentives and beliefs are central to local responses. Paudel, (2009), argues that effective implementation requires a strategic balance of support and pressure (Paudel, 2009: 39). The second-generation wave also focused on the importance of time periods, that is, the point in which implementation occurs in history is vital. Time duration or period within which implementation occurs is important in determining the success and the outcomes of implementation. Second-generation studies contributed towards developing analytical frameworks and models to guide research on implementation (Khan, & Khandaker, 2016: 538; Paudel, 2009: 39). These studies can be broadly classified into top-down and bottom-up approaches to policy implementation.

Bottom-Up Approach/ Bureaucratic Model

The bottom-up model considers the role of front-line staff members in the implementation of policies. The idea is that successful policy implementation relies heavily on the role of members of staff who directly come into contact with people and other stakeholders. This model is intended to ascertain social reality with regard to power of the front-line implementers (Khan, & Khandaker, 2016: 545). The front-line staff members are considered to have a better understanding of what clients need as it is they who have direct contact with the public. The bottom-up perspective directs attention at the formal and informal relationships constituting the policy subsystems involved in making and implementing policies (Robert, Laurence, & Jr., 1979: 466). Lipsky, (1980), focuses on the discretionary decisions that front-line staff members make in relation to individual citizens

when they are delivering policies to them (Lipsky, 1980). This discretionary role in delivering services or enforcing regulations makes staff members' essential actors in implementing public policies.

Top-Down Model

This model also assumes that policy goals can be specified by policymakers and that implementation can be carried out successfully by setting up certain mechanisms. This model emphasises that successful implementation depends on linkages between different organizations and departments at local level. The top-town perspective emphasizes formal steering of problems and factors, which are easy to manipulate and lead to centralisation and control. Interest will be directed towards things such as funding formulas, formal organization structures and authority relationships between administrative units, regulations and administrative controls like budget, planning and evaluation requirements (Elmore, 1978: 185-191). According to Elmore, the top-down begins at the top of the process, with a clear statement of the policy-makers' intent, and proceeds through a sequence of increasingly more specific steps to define what is expected of implementers at each level. At the bottom of the process, one states, again with as much precision as possible, what satisfactory outcome would be, measured in terms of the initial statement of intent (Elmore, 1978).

A Five-Lenses Analytic Framework for Policy Implementation

The study of regional political integration dynamics employs the five sets of political economy actors and factors and how they interact with one another in shaping or influencing behaviours and ideas, the incentive environment, distribution of resources and power (Mathieson, 2016). The five-lens framework employs a combination of political economy tools of development in the analysis of political context and processes at the country level in challenges of policy implementation. The five lenses analytic framework that is divided into five components namely: foundational/structural factors; formal and informal institutions; political elites, agency and incentives and external factors. Structural factors refer to historical processes, geographic, economic and demographic characteristics that create incentives for different actors and their impact may be hard to change (Byiers et al., 2015: 1; Mathieson, 2016: 2). Institutions refer to the rules of the game and are divided into two types that is formal and informal institutions. Formal institutions are guided by written rules such as treaties or protocols defined by informal practices associated with norms, customs and beliefs. The interaction between formal and informal institution is important for the comprehension of the behaviour of an institution in different contexts (Ibid, 2015 & 2016). According to Byiers, Political agency issues refer to the interaction between political and economic structures and institutions that shape the incentives of the state, economic elite, firms, farms and households. The lens particularly focuses on the influence of the economic elite on key policy reforms (Byiers et al., 2015: 1). The final lens focuses on external factors that affect the domestic political economy and the regional dynamics and organisations. These factors include investment patterns, global trade, consumers' preferences and attitudes towards a policy, donors among others can influence the choice of policies for implementation by governments.

Policy Diffusion

Policy diffusion accounts for the spread of policies among regional organisations. Dobbin et al., (2007) define policy diffusion as policy choices of one country, state or region being shaped by the choices in other units whereas conventional policy choices are influenced by domestic

conditions (Dobbin et al., 2007: 450). Gilardi, (2010), defines policy diffusion as a process in which policy choices are interdependent, that is, a choice made by one decision-maker influences the choices made by other decision-makers and is in turn influenced by them (Gilardi, 2010: 650). This means that policy diffusion occurs where one government, state or region's policy choices are influenced by the choices of another. According to (Maggetti & Gilardi, 2013) there must be some form of interdependency for the existence of policy diffusion as governments rely on their interconnectedness in the development of policy prescriptions. Globally the spread of policies is influenced and shaped by global norms defined by domestic pressures of a state. Therefore, International Organisations define global norms important for particular popular policies as per the time of a particular global dynamic event as in the case of women's right, human rights, climate change policies etc.

Risse, (2015), categorises two mechanisms that might lead to policy diffusion. The first category is direct influence where a diffusion agent actively promotes certain policies in his/ her interactions with a receiving actor(s) (Risse, 2015: 3). In the second category, indirect influence, the actions start at the receiving end, for instance, diffusion agents look for certain policies (successive) in other regions/ states in order to solve certain domestic problems or mimic the behaviour of their peers (Risse, 2015).

Mechanisms of Diffusion

Coercion can be exercised by governments, international organizations, and non-governmental actors through physical force, the manipulation of economic costs and benefits, and even the monopolization of information or expertise (Dobbin et al., 2007: 454). This tool of policy diffusion usually occurs at the national and international level and is most evident where one government coerces another government to adopt a policy through trade practices and economic sanctions. However, in regionalism, diffusion through coercion or imposition is extremely rare; although enforcement of legal standards through regional cooperation might occur more often (Risse, 2015: 3). Promoters of policy diffusion can induce actors to adopt their ideas and in turn offering rewards such as technical assistance, financial incentives or imposition of sanctions or empowering domestic actors who push for the adoption of the policy solution (Risse, 2015).

In persuasion, actors seek to meet social expectations in a given situation. Persuasion is based on the communicative framework of international negotiation or bargaining. According to Risse, persuasion refers to situations where actors try to negotiate with each other about policies inherent in any normative statement (Ibid, 2015). Mechanisms of persuasion are at work in inter-regional cooperation when regional organisations try to convince their counterparts of the benefits of increased regional cooperation.

Competition involves unilateral adjustments of behaviour toward best practices. Actors compete with each other over meeting certain performance criteria, for instance creating employment, obtaining funding from donors or fostering economic growth to which they unilaterally adjust their behaviour accordingly (Risse, 2015: 4). Policies also diffuse through the competition when there is a need for governments to attract or retain resources. This is usually the case with tax policies. Most policies related to competition usually take place in the context of governments needing to be attractive to investments and policymakers while considering the economic effect of the adoption of a policy before agreeing to its implementation (Gilardi & Wasserfallen, 2017).

In learning, actors look for other policies that effectively solved similar problems elsewhere and are applicable and transferable in their own context. For policies to be spread by the learning process, a government has to be influenced by the policies of another government. If the policy has been perceived as successful in one government, it is more likely that it will be adopted by another government.

Emulation or imitation occurs where policies are adopted whether they are successful or not. This involves downloading or mimicking policies of another government regardless of the consequences and the lessons learned. In other words, the adoption of the policy is not related to the objective consequence of the policy.

Empirical review

Function of Symbols

According to Van Der Velde, (2012), a symbol can be perceived consciously or unconsciously and the effects a symbol can be implicit (unconsciously) or explicit (consciously) (Van Der Velde, 2012: 19). Perception depends on the situation of the perceiver. When a symbol is present every day, it is thus perceived unconsciously.

Manners, (2011), distinguishes three uses of symbols that is; as emblems, representations and domination (Manners, 2011: 245). Symbols as emblems have a strong relation with their content and their primary function is to communicate (Ibid: 246). Symbols as representations have a complicated meaning which is not clear and they include memories, emotions and personal values (Ibid: 247). Symbols as domination are often used to change people's attitudes and to reach a certain goal. Symbols as domination are manipulated from above by political elites to bring about shared meaning (Ibid: 248). Anthems are symbols of domination represented in songs of patriotic in nature. As a means of constructing a shared identity, this thesis focuses on understanding how anthems (EAC anthem) and language (Kiswahili) are diffused into society to craft an East African identity.

National Anthems

According to Pavković & Kellen, (2016) anthems are symbolic means through which nations represent themselves to the world. Anthems and flags are regarded as national symbols of a state or nation (Pavković & Kellen, 2016). Anthems are less often perceivable than flags, they often originate in a popular song among the people or a choice by a government. Competitions to choose an anthem or explicit commissions to write an anthem have also been common (Cerulo, 1989: 78). They provide a clear element of national identity. National symbols bear a special relationship to the nations they represent, differentiating them from one another and reaffirming their identity boundaries (Cerulo, 1993). National leaders have adopted national flags and anthems since the inception of nations, to create bonds, motivate patriotic action, honour the effort of citizens and legitimate formal authority. A new nation will be recognized by the established nations when it resembles them and adopting symbols (the flag and an anthem in particular) is thus necessary (Billig, 1995: 85)

National anthems and flags serve similar functions across all nations (Mead, 1980; Smith, 1975; Cerulo, 1993). However, different anthems have different structures, designs or configuration and the relationship between symbols varies from nation to nation (Cerulo, 1993). These differences

depict variations of methods of conveying the national identities applied in different communication strategies. The differences are influenced by different factors such as nation's colonial influence, creative style in which the symbols were adopted, geographical location, historical and cultural factors (Pavkovic & Kellen, 2016; Cerulo, 1993; Smith, 1975). In addition, the adoption of symbols was influenced by factors such as wars, independence movements, revolutions, colonisation, and national forms of government.

Most national anthems are composed or written using the common language of the country whether de facto or official for instance, the South African national anthem "Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika," five of the eleven official languages of South Africa are used in the same anthem (Levy, 2012). The first stanza is divided between two languages and the other three stanzas in different languages.

National anthems can promote a common identity through the creation of groupness. When people pay tribute to their national anthem together, they all behave in the same manner. This common behaviour, like observing decorum while singing the anthem, removal of hats and singing the anthem, is expected to bring people closer together (Butz, 2009: 785). These activities stimulate people to experience a feeling of groupness. Together with this internal strengthening, national symbols often strengthen the perceived difference between a group within and external group membership. People become more conscious of their internal when they are exposed to their national anthems and consequently they also become more conscious of the external groups (Butz, 2009, 786). Feelings of groupness and identification by external groups are often experienced in international sports activities where recognition of the winning team or individual is recognised through singing the national anthem of the winner(s).

Promotion of Regional Anthem: the Case of European Anthem

Regional anthems function the same role as the national anthem, although their impact in arousing patriotic feelings is less pronounced (Van Der Velde, 2012). Since the foundation of the Council of Europe, an anthem, along with a flag, has been regarded as one of the concrete measures most likely to demonstrate the reality of the European unification process to the general public (Gialdino, 2005: 3). Celebrations in Europe particularly those of European in nature, for instance, the Europe day, were marked with lack of an anthem as a symbol of expression of European identity (Gialdino, 2005: 3). This highlighted the need for the development of an anthem. In 1955, the Consultative Assembly instituted the 'Europe Prize,' in 1961 it awarded 'Flags of Honour' to municipalities particularly active in propagating the Europe idea. A number of awards were given over the years, it prompted the need to close the ceremony by singing an anthem (Gialdino, 2005: 2; Radius, 1971: 2).

As it had happened with the adoption of the flag, following the foundation of the Council of Europe, proposals aimed at the adoption of the European anthem were sent to Strasbourg from individuals and associations (Radius, 1971: 2). Gialdino, (2005) and Radius, (1971), quoted that "After the various ratifications of the Paris Agreements, I think the time has come to publish the European anthem (Ibid, 2005; 1971). In particular, in 1955 Count Coudenhove-Kalergi proposed the Ode to Joy from Beethoven's Ninth Symphony. The anthem was sung by the choir of St. Guillaume, Strasbourg, in 1959, to mark the tenth anniversary of the Council of Europe (Gialdino, 2005: 3; Radius, 1971:3).

“Ode to Joy” was adopted at a time the song was popular among different States such as Germany (both East and West) and was played as a national anthem in their joint sporting events (Gialdino, 2005). The song was also adopted as the national anthem of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) under the regime of Ian Smith. Ode to Joy had gained much popularity throughout Europe and beyond. It was therefore easy for the EU to adopt it.

The adoption of the EU anthem followed a series of consultative meetings running from 1960-1985 when the anthem was adopted officially. The idea of the EU anthem was first initiated by the Council of Europe who entrusted the mandate to the Committee on Local Authorities of the Consultative Assembly (CLACA). Following parliamentarians’ disagreements on the anthem, Mr Kjell T. Evers, the President of the European Conference of Local Authorities (ECLA) asked Mr René Radius, Chairman of the Committee on Regional Planning and Local Authorities (CRPLA) to request the Council of Europe to adopt the European anthem officially (Gialdino, 2005). The request under the direction of Mr Radius who was appointed as the rapporteur was examined by the Committee in 1971 and put on an urgent agenda. The agenda provided for the immediate tabling of a draft resolution and the submission of a report accompanied by a recommendation which the Standing Committee could adopt on behalf of the Consultative Assembly (Gialdino, 2005; Radius, 1971). After several consultative meetings, a unanimous decision was arrived at in 1971 to adopt Ode to Joy without words. After the adoption, the Committee concluded that they would advise their governments on the steps that should be taken to ensure the popularisation of the European anthem in municipalities and schools and at as many events as possible (Gialdino, 2005:5). In 1985, the European Council approved the recommendations of the Committee and instructed the Commission and the Member States to implement the approved measures, adopting the famous last part of Beethoven’s ninth symphony as the official anthem of the European Union (Gialdino, 2005:7; Radius, 1971:8). The European anthem, Ode to Joy and the European flag were adopted as symbols of the European Union. Although the European anthem lacks words, the ideals that are expressed in the poem of Friedrich Schiller and are clearly seen as connected to the choice of the anthem (Van Der Velde, 2012: 29).

The Role of Kiswahili as a Social Integration Language

Kiswahili is undoubtedly one of the most developed and widely used indigenous African languages both locally and globally. Its contribution to the struggle for independence and in liberation movements across Africa is immense. Kiswahili is not only the lingua franca for the wider Eastern African region, but it has found deep roots in Central Africa (in the Democratic Republic of Congo) and the Southern African counties such as Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia (Choge, 2007/08). It has also spread fast into Southern Sudan through refugees returning from Kenya. Currently, the Kiswahili geo-linguistic zone in Africa boasts of about 150 million speakers (Mugane, 2015: 9).

Pan African leaders have over the years envisioned Kiswahili as the official language and the lingua franca of the proposed United States of Africa. Kwame Nkrumah envisioned Kiswahili as a language that would fast-track the unity of the African people and also define and articulate the identity of Africans (Macharia, 2013; Mugane, 2015: 10). The then Mozambique president Joachim Chissano was among the first African Presidents to address the African Union in Kiswahili, at Addis Ababa in 2004 (Mugane, 2015: 10). The African Union has since adopted Kiswahili as one of its official languages. Wole Soyinka, an African renowned writer, while addressing the Union of African Writers in 1976, called for the promotion, popularisation and

enrichment of Kiswahili to enhance the communication needs and the identity of Africans (Macharia, 2013; J. M Mugane, 2015).

Kiswahili is widely spoken by the citizens of EAC which gives it the status of the region's lingua franca. It is a symbol of the identity of EAC citizens and viewed as a means of forging a sense of shared values, culture and identity. The Treaty Establishing the EAC recognises the position of Kiswahili in the region and provides that Kiswahili is adopted and developed as the EAC lingua franca while English remains the official language (EAC Secretariat, 1999). In the continued pursuit to enhance integration, a need for the popularisation of Kiswahili language to promote a deep-rooted integration approach is necessary. While our multiplicity of languages and dialects thereof, acts as a constant reminder that we belong to different ethnic and communities, the promotion of Kiswahili in paper and deed will make the process of integration more feasible as an efficient exchange and flow of information. It is the uniformity of language that drives the attainment of harmony for people's perceptions of events in reality.

English is often associated with the elites and is treated as such, however, Kiswahili cuts across the social ties and social fabric as the language of inclusion, identification, transaction and socialisation. Having been developed through informal trade, Kiswahili continues to be used as the language of transaction and trade both formal and informal trade across the region and the border posts of EAC Partner States with non-EAC countries. In furtherance to the spirit of integration, the Community established an institution, the East African Kiswahili Commission (EAKC), which purely deals with the development and research of Kiswahili (East African Community, 2007).

Language Profile of Uganda

Uganda's linguistic division between the Nilo-Saharan languages and the Bantu languages is assumed to have a direct bearing on the language problems (Caesar, 2011). Foreign languages such as; English, Arabic, French, German, Spanish and Hindu languages were brought to Uganda through contacts with the external world in terms of trade, colonisation as the case of English, and education to mention but a few (Mugane, 2015; Whiteley, 1969). In 1894, Uganda became a British Protectorate. The British took over Uganda from the Chartered East African Company. According to Whiteley, (1969), the signing of the 1900 Agreement, commonly known as the Buganda Agreement, between the British Government and the Buganda Kingdom, gave rise to linguistic inequality in the country. The agreement favoured some languages and marginalized others. Henceforth, Uganda remained a chaotic island of English and tribal languages as expressed by Caesar, (2011).

Uganda's Post-Colonial Education Policy

Uganda gained independence in 1962. The pre-independence language policy still abounded until the government set up the Castle Committee to look into the language question for an independent Uganda (Mukama, 1994; Rosendal, 2010, Ssentanda, 2016). A report was produced in 1963 proposing English as the official language and six dominant indigenous languages as the medium of instruction in primary schools. The six languages were Akaramojong, Ateso, Luganda, Lugbara, Luo, Runyankore-Rukiga and Runyoro-Rutoro. In 1965, the government adopted the Castle report but never fully implemented it although it remained the guiding policy in Uganda until the early 1990s (Caesar, 2011).

In 1967, the then president, Milton Obote, stated that Uganda's identity was at stake because of its national language problem. He noted that the then language policy was committed to teaching more English in schools without being mindful of the disadvantages such a policy presented. President Milton Obote, this realisation notwithstanding, supported the continued emphasis of English at the expense of local languages until the downfall of his regime in 1971 (Caesar, 2011). The 1970s saw the revival of Kiswahili in Uganda's language policy. During that time, Kiswahili was mainly the language of the armed forces.

In 1972, army leaders under President Idd Amin's regime influenced a debate through the Parliament and Kiswahili was made a national language by decree. Despite this status, there was no systematic effort made to teach it in schools for it to become a medium of instruction until 1979 when the regime ended. English continued its domination in the education system as well as government business. In 1981, the Obote II regime came into power. Similar to the pre-1970 era, Obote II regime (1981-1985) made no conscious effort to address the language question, which was dominated by the national language debate and the language of instruction in schools (Mukuthuria, 2006: 168; Caesar, 2011: 37).

In 1986, following the establishment of the new government (the National Resistance Movement) National Education Policy Review Commission was commissioned. The commission recommended a language in education policy that would consider Kiswahili and other indigenous languages. The recommendation would introduce a policy that was similar to that which existed between 1931 and 1962. In 1992, The Government White Paper on the implementation of the recommendations of the Commission was published. The Government White Paper provided for the teaching of both Kiswahili and English as compulsory subjects to all children throughout the primary cycle, in both rural and urban areas. Following the publication of the Government White Paper in 1992, the amended constitution of Uganda of 1995 proposed the adoption of Kiswahili as the co-official language with English. Later in 2006, the language in education policy was also formulated based on the Government White Paper (Caesar, 2011: 9).

Uganda Internal Struggles with Kiswahili

Kiswahili is estimated to have reached Uganda in the 18th Century through trade from the Waswahili and Arab traders (Whiteley, 1969). According to Mukuthuria, (2006) and Mukama, (1995), Kiswahili was introduced to the Kabaka royal court and Kabaka Mutesa the ruler of Buganda at that time had a high proficiency of the language (Mukuthuria, 2006; Mukama, 1995). Kiswahili had gained the same status quo as it was in Kenya and Tanzania. However, the arrival of missionaries who learnt the local languages, prejudiced and associated Kiswahili with Islamic faith (Gerard, 1981).

Kiswahili development in Uganda was in constant resistance with the Buganda who were the administrators of other colonised regions of Uganda. Kiswahili language from the onset was viewed as a competitor and hence the hostility meted to this language up today (Mukuthuria, 2006). This was later galvanised with the Buganda Agreement of 1900 which recognised Luganda and English language (Mukuthuria, 2006). The Kabakas had not only autonomy in their language prowess, but also in informal identity, norms, belief and customs inception.

In 1928, the British colonial governors' had a meeting in Mombasa and it was agreed that the use

of Kiswahili is allowed. Gowers, who was the governor of Uganda emphasised the need for teaching Kiswahili as the language of workers. However, this did not change the attitudes and perceptions of Buganda people and the missionaries (Mukuthuria, 2006) and (Whiteley, 1969). However, in 1930 an inter-territorial meeting that was held with the aim of standardising Kiswahili, Uganda was represented. During the Second World War, Kiswahili language gained significance as it was the language of communication by the forces that side by side with the British. The role of this language at the time was to unify, mobilize and propagate war propaganda among the soldiers and other British colonial subjects in East Africa. During this time, many Ugandan soldiers learnt Kiswahili (Kiango, 2002; Mukuthuria, 2006; Vilhanova, 1996).

With the formation of the East African High Commission in 1948 headquartered in Nairobi, the employees were required to be fluent in Kiswahili. This move created a need to learn Kiswahili in Uganda and East Africa as a whole. Until 1952, it was one of the recognized vernaculars in Ugandan schools and it was the official language of the armed forces. Kiswahili continued facing challenges with its on and off status. In 1962, Uganda gained independence, however, there was no policy on Kiswahili language in Uganda, thus, English was adopted as the official language. In 1973, Iddi Amin, the then ruler of Uganda, declared Kiswahili as a national language. However, neither he nor his successors did anything to reinforce this decree although it has not been repealed. Due to the brutality experienced under Iddi Amin's rule, Kiswahili was associated with violence and brutality to date (Mukuthuria, 2006). Generally, Kiswahili development has been progressive with the climax being the year 2002 when it was given prominence in the education system (Mukuthuria, 2006). However, the declaration of this language as a compulsory subject in primary and secondary schools has not been entirely enforced.

1.5 Methodology

The study applied a comparative case-study research design because the design provided a basis for comparison between the promotion of the EAC anthem and the Kiswahili. Empirically, EAC anthem was adequately popularised in Uganda as compared to Kiswahili. This research design helped me in looking at their similarities and differences and also it was valuable in identifying the challenges of implementing Kiswahili in Uganda. This study was carried out in the Republic of Uganda because Uganda has been at the forefront in implementing the EAC anthem despite lagging behind in implementing Kiswahili language. The Republic of Uganda offers a good case study because of its internal struggles with Kiswahili language yet four of the countries that border Uganda uses Kiswahili in their daily transactions. The country also offers a good case study for comparative research in deducing why Ugandans opt to sing the anthem in Kiswahili and not use Kiswahili in their communication. The study was carried out in two areas that is the Capital city Kampala and Kasese district located at the Western region of Uganda which borders Democratic Republic of Congo to the West. Kampala is a cosmopolitan and administrative region that hosts the national government of Uganda. The location of Kampala city provided me with an opportunity to access and retrieve necessary information for the study as well as offering a good study on EAC anthem development. Uganda is a multilingual country, therefore Kampala being the capital city blends people from different ethnic groups who were important for this research especially on challenges of the promotion of Kiswahili in Uganda.

In this study, snowball sampling technique was used to randomly select the respondents of this research. This method was effective for my study as I had limited knowledge of the exact persons

that were involved in their different capacities in the implementation of the EAC anthem and promotion of Kiswahili in Uganda. The initial target population of this study was comprised of policymakers and policy implementers. These are individuals who were respectively involved in the policymaking process and implementation of both the EAC anthem and Kiswahili. My target population was made up of respondents from the Ministry of East African Community Affairs, the Ministry of Education and Sports and the National Curriculum Development Centre. These respondents were directly involved in the development and popularisation of the EAC anthem and in one way or the other, spearheading the establishment of Kiswahili Curriculum in schools and the community at large. I, therefore, categorised them as the policymakers and policy implementers. However, in the course of the research, 19 more respondents were recommended by the initial target population leading adequate data collection. They include 4 officials from the Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development responsible for the development of the anthem, schools that had rolled out EAC Clubs, the President of the Association of Kiswahili Teachers among others. The data collection methods included in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, documents review, and observation (charts, pamphlets, notice boards).

1.6 Findings

Factors that Affect the Choice of Policies for Popularisation at the National Level

To address this objective, I applied Byiers, (2015), analytic framework which is important in analysing underlying factors that affect the choice of policies for implementation. Whereas the bottom-up and top-down approach accounted for policy issues that affect implementation such as domestic interests, the five-lens framework accounts for the factors that make states behave in a particular way in regards to the choices of policy for implementation. There are various challenges that policymakers' face in the process of policy formulation and these challenges affect the choice of policies for implementation and popularisation. Therefore this section presents responses from policymakers. To ascertain roles, the following question was asked to the interviewees. *Why was the implementation of the EAC anthem a success while Kiswahili is still stalling?* To answer this question, respondents were supposed to give a comparison of the similarities and challenges of policy implementation of both the EAC anthem and Kiswahili.

Table 1: Summary of Factors Affecting the Choice of Policies for Popularisation

| | Kiswahili | EAC anthem |
|--|--|--|
| Foundational/ Structural Factors | The development of Kiswahili in Uganda was marred by the missionaries who associated it with Islam and the Buganda Kingdom whose language constructed as the lingua franca among the majority of Ugandans. As a result, Kiswahili did not pick up as a language of the masses, a factor leading to a low development and policy choice | The development of the EAC anthem begun in 2005 involving ordinary EAC citizenry in the construction. The anthem was a project of the Community spearheaded by the Assembly and the Council and the development was fully funded by the Community. |
| Legal and Institutional Factors | Kiswahili in Uganda lacks the zeal due to foundational factors of the language in the country as well as the role played by informal institutions and indigenous languages such as Luganda which is widely spoken in informal settings in the country. | The EAC anthem was supported by various ministries and institutions such as MOGLSD, MoES, MoEACA, MoP, schools among others. |
| Actors, Political Elites and Agency | A policy backed by political elites and resonates with the national interests and the budget of the country is bound to be implemented, The National Curriculum and Development Center (NCDC) argued that, Kiswahili has not received the same attention due to the cost to be incurred in implementation. | The implementation of the anthem was backed by members of the parliament who also sing it in occasions of regional significance. |

| | | |
|-------------------------|---|--|
| External Factors | Donor funding has always been a key factor influencing policies both at the regional and at national level. Whereas foreign languages such as German, French, Mandarin and other major languages are receiving funding from home countries, the absence of even local funding for Kiswahili in most spheres is a challenge to its growth. The funding of foreign languages has provided an extra incentive for people to learn these languages. | The development of the anthem was fully supported by the Community. Implementation of the anthem relied on the existing structures and systems in place and hence policy implementers required little to zero budgetary strain. Implementation of the anthem was also a joint effort across various ministries and institutions. |
|-------------------------|---|--|

Source: Author (2019)

In summary, policies are complex and multifaceted processes that involve the interplay of many parties. These include; businesses, interest groups, and individuals competing and collaborating to influence policymakers to act in a particular way and on a variety of policies. These individuals and groups use numerous tactics to advance their interests. The tactics can include lobbying, advocating their positions publicly, attempting to educate supporters and opponents, and mobilizing allies on a particular issue. Perfect policies rarely emerge from the political process. Most often policy outcomes involve compromises among interested parties.

As a result, the wide variety of influencing factors that tend to pull and push policy in different directions, policy changes often happens slowly. Absence of a crisis and sometimes even during a crisis, the influencing factors can tend to check and counteract each other, slowing the development and implementation of a new policy and tending to lead to incremental rather than radical changes in policy. And often, the influencing agents are more effective in blocking policy change than in having new policies adopted, as has been the case with the Kiswahili Language policy in Uganda. Competing factors play a role in the diffusion of Kiswahili in Uganda such as the cost of fully integrating Kiswahili into the national curriculum.

Strategies for popularisation of the EAC anthem and Kiswahili

The theoretical framework on policy implementation provided a framework to understand factors that influence policy implementation/ popularisation. The top-down approach posited that implementation can be carried out successfully by setting up certain mechanisms/ strategies such as linkages between different organisations, ministries or departments. The promotion of the EAC anthem was a joint effort between the policymakers at the (Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), Ministry of Eastern African Community Affairs (MEACA), Ministry of Gender, Labour and Social Development (MoGLSD) and Ministry of Presidency (MoP) and policy implementers/ promoters (District Education Commissioners, Schools, UNICEF, CSOs, Media, MTN and affiliate organisations to MoES). The anthem was diffused from one department/ ministry to the other and thus singing the anthem at the beginning of meetings became mandatory. However, based on the findings the promotion of Kiswahili has not been adequately done because there was no linkage between one department to another. Issues of the time in which the implementation of Kiswahili occurred have also been a key factor affecting the popularisation of Kiswahili in Uganda. While Kiswahili has had back and forth set up and failure, policymaker respondents' felt that, if the language is well promoted then its implementation would occur. To ascertain the findings, a number of questions were asked to the interviewees as follows; *how did Ugandans learn the EAC anthem and Kiswahili?* The aim of this question was to find out the approaches that the government applied to popularise the anthem and Kiswahili.

Table 2: Summary of Strategies for Popularisation of the EAC anthem and Kiswahili

| Roles of Different Ministries | EAC Anthem | Kiswahili |
|--|---|--|
| Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES) | MoES directed schools to sing the EAC anthem after the Ugandan national anthem MoES in conjunction with MoEACA rolled out the theme of the East African Anthem in one of the Music, Dance and Drama | Kiswahili lessons have only been rolled out in secondary schools while Primary schools are not teaching the language. MoES cited that this was caused by a number of factors such as lack of human resource, resources, and priorities of the MoES. The MoES has never organised a nation-wide debate or writing competition where students can share knowledge in their literacy of Kiswahili. |
| Ministry of East African Community Affairs (MoEACA) | To ensure the popularity of the anthem, the ministry partnered with the leading telecommunication company MTN, to have ring back tones of the EAC anthem so that all citizens could identify with the anthem, MoES and UNICEF to distribute EAC brochures and train teachers on the issues of integration and the importance of the anthem. MEACA also worked with the private sector, CSOs, MDAs and the government to create awareness so that the citizens could understand the benefits of EAC and why it's important to identify with the Community. MoEACA also established EAC clubs in secondary schools to create awareness of EAC affairs to the students. | MoEACA has introduced Kiswahili training every fortnight for the staff, business community and employees of other ministries in a bid to popularise the language. |
| Ministry of Presidency (MoP) | MoP through the National Secretariat for Patriotism Corps (NSPC), is the department involved in instilling values of patriotism, Pan Africanism and East Africanness to the students. NSPC has established over 5000 National Patriotism Clubs (NPC) in secondary Schools and developed routine patriotism activities and messages for secondary schools. These activities inter alia include; flag raising ceremonies-daily hoisting of the National Flag, the East African flag and any other flag the school may choose to have, and singing both the Ugandan national anthem and the EAC anthem for purposes of popularisation. | MoP through NSPC has not played a major significant in promoting Kiswahili except insisting that the anthem should be sung in Kiswahili. The purpose of the Kiswahili version is to recognise that Kiswahili is a factor of integration of East African countries. |
| Schools and School Clubs | All the schools interviewed acknowledged that they sung the EAC anthem at least every Monday and Friday morning after the Ugandan National anthem while in primary schools, the anthem is sung every day in the morning. Music Club was the club that was directly involved in teaching the EAC Anthem to the rest of the students. The students practised singing the anthem every Wednesday and in some schools such as Kasese Senior Secondary School, the anthem was sung before the beginning of Kiswahili lessons. Inter-classes competition in singing the anthem were a popular means to popularise the anthem among the Primary Schools pupils. | Kiswahili is not taught in primary schools while secondary schools teach it at least 3 times a week. School clubs were the most popular means through which students learnt and understood the Community's activities. Kiswahili clubs hold debates once in a while in the clubs discouraging students to join the club or even speak the language. |

Source: Author, (2019)

The EAC anthem vis-à-vis Kiswahili

“The anthem was given, it was delivered as a complete package in a CD-ROM, it came with the tune, lyrics, musical notes and a booklet with all information about the anthem, for instance, the occasion to sing, who is to sing, decorum to be observed while singing, and the application of the anthem,” (Key Informant MEACA, 2018 & EAC Secretariat, 2010). Popularising it was easy unlike teaching Kiswahili which involved curriculum development, teacher training and students' sensitisation. Musical connotations always appeal to the ears of the recipients especially when the notes are calm and are of patriotic in nature. This was the position of the EAC anthem when it was implemented in Uganda's education system about five years ago (2013).

“Kiswahili is the language of ordinary citizens and can be acquired either naturally or socially through daily transactions or in an academic set up,” (Osuban, 2018). In addition to this statement

(Mazrui & Mazrui, 1993) argued that “Kiswahili is the language of inter-ethnic communication, blue-collar vocations and national identity, and English is the instrument of administration, white-collar vocations, and international communication,” (Ibid, 1993). Political elites thus use English as a language of social distinction and the ordinary populace has utilised Kiswahili in trade and communication. East Africans have adopted Kiswahili as a common communication tool. Kiswahili has a highly developed grammar due to its Arabic influence and this has made the language suitable for administrative purposes (Mazrui & Mazrui, 1993).

The language has had a considerable influence on the construction of an East African identity. In Tanzania for instance, the language contributed to social integration and national identity. Mr Osuban, a key informant from the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES), acknowledged that “*Kiswahili is a language of East African identity, it is the language of socialisation, commerce and identification of the East African people,*” (Osuban, 2018). Ms Arinaitwe, an informant from National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) and Mr Lubuuka, an informant from An Association of Kiswahili Teachers, both stressed on the importance of Ugandans learning the language to boost themselves (Ugandans) economically (Arinaitwe, 2018; Lubuuka, 2018). Kiswahili language has been instrumental in informal trade especially among the border communities. It is the language of transaction and communication. According to Ms Ajom, the anthem was first composed in English and later translated to Kiswahili because of the position Kiswahili in the Community. The anthem lyrics have been reserved and copy written in Kiswahili the lingua franca of the Community.

1.6 Conclusion and Recommendations

Article 71 of the EAC Treaty¹ states that the Secretariat is mandated with the responsibility of the development and implementation of policies, however, the Community has not established formal institutions required for policy implementation. Instead, implementation is largely left to partner states and their respective national ministries responsible for the EAC affairs, which are generally institutionally very weak (Mathieson, 2016: 15). The Community through the Secretariat should set up an institution to oversee adherence to the Community directives by Partner states are adhered to.

National budgets just as national priorities, influence the choice of policies for popularisation. Policies that involve an economic constraint to the national budget are a hindrance to the national priorities. The government evaluates the needs of its citizens and prioritises those needs in accordance with budget allocation. The anthem required little to no budget in its implementation and popularisation unlike the promotion of Kiswahili. It was noted that the promotion of Kiswahili was hindered by some political elites who do not advocate for the language to be used in Uganda. As noted in its development especially in Uganda, the language has been imposed to Ugandans and in policies without any mechanisms for its operationalization in place.

The theoretical findings of this thesis suggested that governments are always in constant competition with each other thereby opting to implement policies that attract foreign direct

¹ Article 71, paragraph 2 states that “the initiation of studies and research related to, and the implementation of, programmes for the most appropriate, expeditious and efficient ways of achieving the objectives of the Community” (EAC Secretariat, 1999 p. 49)

investment. This is the case of Kiswahili in Uganda. Whilst teaching of foreign subjects in schools attracts donor funds to the country, Kiswahili requires funding from the government. The government of Uganda has not rolled out Kiswahili in all schools because of i). It lacks the capacity to do so. ii). The government has other national priorities such as the construction of more schools to meet the rising demand of the population. iii). The cost of running a new curriculum, teachers' enrolment, textbook and other resources required seem to strain the national government and its budgetary concerns. Thus rolling out other subjects that attract funds to the government is deemed more appropriate by the national government. The EAC anthem was funded by the Community and popularised using existing channels.

National public holidays are often days on which different States became independent or a commemoration of an event related to a particular nation. These celebrations are meaningful to the state and they are a significant way of preserving memory and to keep awareness of the past historical events alive and to unify citizens. They are also a significant learning time of past historical events hence instilling values of patriotism. A need for an East African Day is important so as to have an opportunity to bring EAC closer to the citizens. It is a day that EAC can disseminate information, guidance, and discussion of EAC themes, especially, in schools and universities, with events of a particular cultural and educational content. It is a Day to provide opportunities to forge closer ties between the citizens of EAC and overcome the sense of distance, indifference, and disaffection to the Community. It is a moment at which the symbolist role of other Community symbols can be emphasized. Therefore, it is recommended that the EAC to set aside 30th November as the EAC day since it is also the day that the Community was established.

It is recommended that the government should make deliberate efforts towards the realisation of the importance of Kiswahili language in uniting the region; hence massive promotion in language awareness campaigns should begin. The government should finance language institutions to translate English information guides into Kiswahili language. This will help visitors from the region and who do not know English to read and understand the translated Kiswahili version of the English word, as it is done in Tanzania and Kenya, and other countries in the world. This should target places with the following characteristics; Firstly, those which are full of people throughout the day. Secondly, those which are frequently visited by people. They include public offices, airports, the national stadium, schools' premises, religious places, public markets, roads, streets, and so on.

It is recommended that the East African Community in collaboration with the Kiswahili Commission fund Kiswahili courses to attract students' to learn the language so that the language ideals will be on to generations of East Africans. Funding of Kiswahili will not only restore its dignity but it will attract students from EAC countries that least speak Kiswahili as their national language like Burundi.

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