

**STATE STRETCH:
INTRASTATE IDENTITIES AND THE PROMOTION OF INTERSTATE
INTEGRATION IN UGANDA**

by

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State Stretch:

Intrastate Identities and the Promotion of Interstate Integration in Uganda

Godfreyb Ssekajja, (MA International Development)

In attempting to explicate why leaders of sovereign states promote inter-state integration (ISI), most literature emphasizes the economic benefits involved. But economic explanations are sometimes insufficient because regional unions not only involve economic losses; they are also eminently political constructs. Where political motivations are identified, the focus is on the distribution of power and the relative gains among states. Thus, these power theories cannot explicate why leaders of states that incur relative losses, and those that are less powerful, would promote ISI. In much of this literature, domestic conflict is largely ignored despite its usefulness in understanding the factors that shape policy preferences. Even in the analyses that point to domestic political processes, the focus is on economic and geopolitical interests. Therefore, certain crucial intrastate tensions that impact government decision-making are usually not identified. This thesis identifies one such tension – ethnic sub-nationalism – and attempts to establish its relationship to the promotion of ISI in Africa.

Realizing the threat posed to state sovereignty when ethnicity is expressed in the form of sub-nationalism, I demonstrate how a threatened state's leadership is more likely to promote ISI. My argument is that the need to discourage and replace a threatening subnational identity with a supranational identity causes the leadership to promote ISI. This allusion to the construction of social identities implies that the causal process is best contextualized within the constructivist

theory. For evidence, I focus on Uganda and link Buganda's ethnic identity to Museveni's promotion of ISI in East Africa through congruence & content analyses of his speeches. By presenting Uganda's ISI policy as an externalization of the country's internal weaknesses, my research underscores the importance of examining threats to a state's sovereignty from within in order to comprehend why that sovereignty is diminished from without. More crucially, I attempt to establish a causal link between the intrastate ethnic identities that threaten many African states and ISI promotion by the leaders of those states. However, my findings are largely exploratory and thus should be approached cautiously: they only provide an entrée into a subject that, I hope, will be subsequently studied more profoundly.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

In post-independence Africa, as ethnic tensions have threatened state cohesion, leaders have sought and embraced ISI as an important component of their governance strategy. In countries like Ghana, Uganda, Senegal, among others, sub-national groups with strong ethnic identities have sought autonomy while, at the same time, the leaders of these countries have championed the Pan-African identity and called for ISI. While these two developments have independently attracted considerable attention, literature on the motivations of government decisions with regards to ISI has ignored ethnic conflict. Instead, most scholars emphasize economic variables and argue that countries with relatively small economies are more prone to embrace ISI so as to boost the efficacy of their regional economy, something they cannot achieve if they operate as separate entities (Söderbaum, 2004). However, ISI can involve economic costs and even the benefits are never enjoyed equally among member states. For example, in East Africa, many analysts argue that economic integration disproportionately favors Kenya (BBC, 2012). Yet, the leader of neighboring Uganda zealously promotes ISI despite the economic losses involved for his country. This issue raises a question: why would a leader who expects certain economic losses continue to promote ISI? To answer this question, one need to realize that, despite their predominantly economic content, regional unions are eminently political constructs. Even then, arguments in the literature that relate to politics overemphasize the distribution of power and the

relative gains among states. Thus they cannot sufficiently explicate why states that are less powerful, and those that incur relative losses, would pursue ISI. (Pedersen, 2002; Waltz, 1979).

In these discussions about government decision-making processes, ethnicity is largely absent despite its salience to the understanding of socio-political dynamics, most importantly in Africa (Deng, 1997). Since the general concern is with questions about how the international arena impacts policies within states, the effect that components of domestic political processes have on the logic of government policy is mostly ignored (Allison and Halperine, 1972). Where domestic dynamics are identified, the literature limits the underlying sources of national preferences to economic and geopolitical interests, thereby ignoring certain important intra-state variables. This paper recognizes the interaction between domestic politics and diplomacy and delves deeply into the interface between intrastate ethnic conflict and policy preference for ISI (Putman 1988). I argue that a leader of a state that is threatened by a strong subnational ethnic identity is more likely and willing to promote ISI in order to replace the ethnic identity with a Pan-African identity (which ISI embodies). Moreover, without considering the role of such intra state political dynamics, current literature is insufficient in explaining the paradox presented by ISI to paradigms of political science that regard the international system as an anarchic arena in which states are expected to behave competitively and maximize relative gains (Waltz, 1979).

To develop this new analytical approach to the ISI discourse, I examine the antagonistic relationship between Uganda's government and the Buganda ethnic group and then explore how it has contributed to making the country's leadership a champion of political integration in the region (Kasaija, 2006). In the 1980s, President Yoweri Museveni heavily depended on Buganda support; first, during the guerilla war and later, to consolidate his new government's power (Goodfellow & Lindemann, 2013). One of the conditions for such support was reinstatement of

the Ganda kingship, an institution that had been abolished by the previous regime of Milton Obote in 1966. To be sure, Buganda's demands were not limited to cultural institutions; they called for restoration of an ethnic federal status with a political monarchy (Johannessen, 2006). However, Museveni not only saw in this sub-nationalism a threat to his regime's survival but also believed it was at the root of the country's tragic history and thus needed to be quelled (Museveni, 2009). Henceforth, minimizing the Buganda threat without giving in to its demands for political power became, and continues to be, a major challenge to Museveni and his NRM (National Resistance Movement) government.

In that context, Museveni became the leading advocate of integration in the region. Largely due to his urging, in November 1991, the heads of state of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania held a summit in Nairobi, after which they issued a formal communiqué committing them to East African Cooperation. This event set in motion a series of steps that have resulted in the current attempts to implement a common market and a monetary union. Even then, Museveni still asserts that economic integration, without a political union, is not enough. He makes public pronouncements to the effect that political integration is his burning ambition – vigorously elaborating a broad vision that calls for expediting the East African federation (Kasaija, 2006; Museveni, 1998). This situation, when placed within the framework of the aforementioned interplay between domestic politics and foreign policy formulation, raises a question: why does Museveni, whose domestic power faces the challenge of Buganda sub-nationalism, prioritize the promotion of East African integration? To rephrase, does the threatening Buganda ethnic identity influence Museveni's promotion of ISI?

I propose that East African integration, which is an offshoot of Pan-Africanism, avails him avenues for dealing with his domestic challenge. Since the main argument of this essay is

that Museveni attempts to replace the threatening ethnic identity with a Pan-African identity, it follows that he considered the idea of Pan-Africanism to be potent enough to rival the appeal of Buganda ethnic nationalism. I define identity as the way in which individuals categorize themselves and understand the power relationships in their society. To decipher Museveni's attempt to replace identities, I analyze his speeches: not only does he adeptly shroud his arguments against Buganda nationalism in the advocacy for the "higher aspiration" for African unity, but he also promulgates a vision of the future that transcends ethnic identities. As such, I argue, the promotion of a Pan-African identity is part of the causal mechanism leading to Museveni's promotion of ISI (See Figure 1).

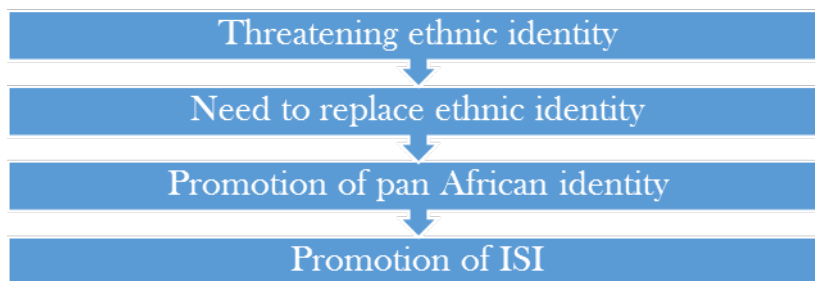


Figure 1: Causal mechanism leading from threatening ethnic identity to promotion of ISI.

Because the causal link from a threatening ethnic identity to a Pan-African identity can be seen as "social construction", my underlying argument is best understood within the constructivist framework. In this framework, the promotion of international institutions, like the EAC, is seen to be motivated by the need to "socially construct" new identities. To identify this construction of identities, I seek for evidence from Museveni's speeches in which he promoted ISI. As such, the key hypothesis to be tested is: The promotion of ISI is intended to discourage ethnic identity. Ethnic identity is defined as a people's sense of self that is built around

collectives that share history and culture (Brown, 2010; Bates, 2004). This paper argues that for ethnic identity to threaten the sovereignty of a state, we should expect to see unofficial ethnic-based institutions that demand sovereignty and clash with state institutions. Thus, I consider the existence or non-existence of such institutions to be the measure of the threat posed by an intrastate ethnic identity to the states' sovereignty.

To test the above mentioned hypothesis, I utilize the congruence and content analyses. Congruence analysis seeks for the congruence or non-congruence between a theory's predictions and the case outcomes (George & Bennet, 2005; Van Evera, 1997) while content analysis seeks to analyze the data in terms of the presence and frequency of specific terms, narratives or concepts (Tonkiss, 2004). In the analyses I reveal that although alternative theories provide useful insights, there are crucial aspects concerning Museveni's promotion of ISI that can be best explained within a constructivist framework. Although my analysis is a preliminary phase the findings suggest implications for further research on ISI, in addition to having practical relevance to policy on the feasibility of ongoing regionalist endeavors.

This thesis proceeds as follows. The first section develops the basic contours of my analytical framework, examining the limits of – and building on – existing literature to propose an appropriate context for deciphering why Museveni promoted ISI. The next section provides an analytical narrative of the 'Buganda question' in Ugandan politics, presenting a broad historical background and examining the appeal of the Pan-African identity. Then, using the methods of congruence and content analysis I adduce empirical evidence showing not only the causal relationship between Buganda ethnic identity and Museveni's promotion of ISI, but also how this relationship compares with rival alternatives. Finally, I draw together the threads of my

argument and conclude by arguing that although my findings are largely exploratory, they provide an entrée into a subject that needs to be studied more profoundly.

2.0 CONTEXTUALIZING UGANDA'S PROMOTION OF ISI

As the idea of ISI has remained largely theoretical elsewhere, since the early 1990s, the East African states of Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania (later joined by Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan) have implemented serious efforts to merge their economies with the ultimate goal of establishing a political federation (van der Mei, 2009). All along, the Ugandan leader's advocacy for a regional government has been so crucial that without him, some argue, the EAC (East African Community) – in its current configuration– would have been improbable (The Economist, 1996). Early on, he envisioned a union broader than the three states. Commenting on the salience of the issue, he asserted (Museveni, 1998):

“Having seen that it is feasible and desirable that we have a union... we should examine the mechanisms that can ensure its existence... I have already spoken to most of the leaders of these countries, and majority of them have not dismissed the idea.”

To be sure, Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania started exploring areas of cooperation in 1984 when they signed the East African Community Mediation Agreement for the Division of Assets and Liabilities of the defunct EAC. However, the singular event of Museveni's assumption of power two years later accelerated the process so much so that it is regarded by some as the beginning of the journey for the second EAC (Daily Nation, 2013). He was the first leader to come up with a clear view of what shape and form a revived regional block should take. Acting like a fanatic on a campaign trail, he immediately became active in negotiations, circulating

documents and zealously urging fellow leaders to embrace his vision. In November 1991, the heads of state held a summit in Nairobi, after which they issued a communiqué committing themselves to restore the regional community. The draft Treaty for the establishment of the EAC was signed into force by the heads of state on 30 November 1999 (Kasaija, 2006; The Economist, 2011). Since then, the integration process has proceeded so relentlessly that the regional block has expanded to include Rwanda, Burundi and South Sudan; and the member states are currently attempting to implement both a common market and a monetary union. In addition, steps have been initiated to establish the East African Federation (a single federated sovereign state), with Uganda, under its long ruling Museveni, pushing for the fast tracking of this political integration process.

Understanding Uganda's policy choices is largely a matter of deciphering Museveni's motives because, unlike in more institutionalized settings, the will of the president is indisputably the key to foreign-policy decision-making in the country (Clark, 2001). Although it is always hard to be completely confident about political intentions since they exist inside the heads of leaders and thus virtually impossible to see and difficult to measure (Jervis, 2001), a careful analysis of his words and actions can be quite revealing. By contextualizing his behavior in the literature on ISI, one can meaningfully sort through the various theories to analyze their applicability. Ideally, a plausible explanatory theory should help us understand the factors that shaped his afore-mentioned zeal in promoting ISI. To be sure, any such theory is premised on the literature that was developed to explain the paradox presented by ISI to paradigms of political science that regard the international system as an anarchic arena in which states— most especially geographically proximate ones— are expected to behave competitively and maximize relative gains in order to assure their survival (Waltz, 1979).

2.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON INTERSTATE INTEGRATION

In explaining why political actors in distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new center (whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over the pre-existing national states), a number of theories have emerged (Haas, 1958). These theories were mainly developed to explain European integration since it is the region of the world where ISI started, in the 1950s. Although some concepts applied in studies of European integration are considered too specific to transfer to other regional settings, by building on their underlying logic, one can derive a better understanding of Uganda's case elsewhere (Laursen, 2008). To reiterate, the analysis of these theories seeks to explain the foundational issue areas within which Museveni's preference for ISI emerged. Therefore, because some theories tend to stress the process while others emphasize the end product, the appeal of any theory's explanatory power needs to be contextualized in our specific case. Going forward, for a systematic analysis, the theories are grouped into three perspectives: (1) neo-functionalism and institutionalism, (2) power theories and (3) inter-governmentalism.

In the first group, neo-functionalism posits that supranationality is the only method available for states to cope with functional needs, such as securing maximum social welfare, due to increasing technological, economic and other complexities that they can no longer effectively solve at the nation-state level (Haas, 1958). Accordingly, once the political elite establish a cooperative arrangement, the theory predicts that ISI would become self-perpetuating through a "spillover" process by which success in one functional area increases demands for cooperative arrangements in other areas (Mattli, 1999). However, although this concern with the process offers a comprehensive account of ISI's building blocks (and thus would be useful in understanding the EAC's development), neo functionalism is an uncertain foundation for

comprehending why Uganda, under Museveni, is the most Pan-African state in the region (Mazrui, 2000). Because the theory takes integration's functional necessity as a given, it does not scrutinize the conditions under which certain political elite would be more willing to seek cooperative arrangements and therefore it cannot predict a priori the issue-areas in which ISI occurs (Pentland, 1973).

Institutionalism not only shares the above criticism; it also inherits the thinking of neo-functionalism. Put simply, this theory argues that international institutions promote cooperation by helping member-states overcome collective action problems: they provide precedents and symbols around which actors' behaviors converge and thus help determine particular choices made at critical decision points (Axelrod and Keohane, 1986). This theory can explicate the appeal of EAC organs to a country like Uganda with regards to coping with market failures, reducing transaction costs, making credible international commitments and responding to other problems that are difficult to manage at the national level. However, in addition to its failure to clarify why institutions came into existence when they did, institutionalism not only has a difficulty explaining the degree of institutionalization itself. Also, by focusing on absolute gains, it neglects the possibility of absolute losses and relative gains (Oatley and Nabors, 1998). As such, it would not sufficiently explain both Museveni's push for a federation that moves beyond economic considerations and his unparalleled zeal despite the challenge that Kenyan competition posed to Uganda's nascent industries (Clark, 2001).

Power theories offer an approach for realists trying to understand the politics surrounding the formative phase of regionalist endeavors. Unlike neo-colonialism and institutionalism, they stress the distribution of power among states as the central factor in influencing international outcomes (Pedersen, 2002). One line of thinking that is linked to the hegemonic stability theory

postulates that a relatively powerful state is more likely to promote ISI in a given region (Robert, 2001). A contrary argument asserts that a relative disparity in the capabilities of states is likely to compel the disadvantaged to oppose formal institutions (Grieco, 1997). However, both these explanations cannot apply to Uganda's case since the country is in many ways 'disadvantaged' and would thus be expected to oppose ISI. Additionally, because states in a realist world are primarily concerned about balance of power and relative gains concerns (Mearsheimer, 1994), and considering that the old EAC collapsed in 1977 largely due to accusations that Kenya was taking most of its benefits, Museveni would be expected to be hesitant to accept any new ISI arrangement (Twagira, 2012). As such, power theories would find Museveni's behavior ironic.

Unlike neofunctionalists and power theorists that stress the factors that influence preferences for ISI, Intergovernmentalists are overly concerned with the process by which those factors lead to the end product of ISI thereby shedding light on the complexities involved in ISI. Liberal intergovernmentalists argue that interstate bargains that lead to ISI result from converging preferences among the leaders of those states (Moravcsik, 1993). Such preferences are in turn shaped by both the distributional conflict among societal groups and leaders' individual interests (See illustration, Figure 2). This attention to preference formation enables Intergovernmentalists

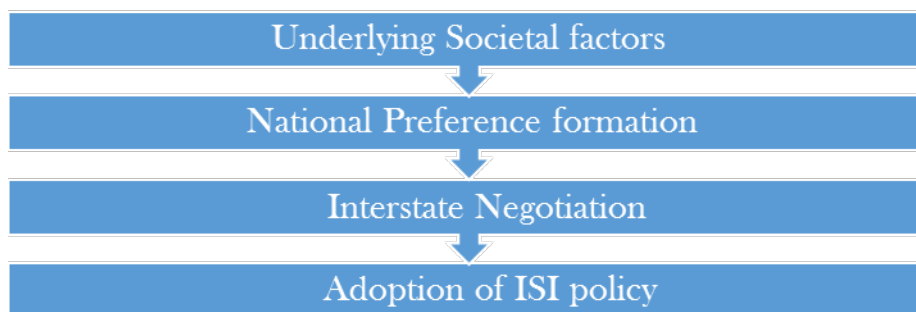


Figure 2: Moravcsik's theory of Intergovernmentalism

to elucidate important features of ISI that elude other theorists. And, by emphasizing the impact of member states with more at stake, (and thus working harder to influence outcomes), they help us to understand how more zealous leaders may drive interstate bargaining. More importantly, they offer a framework for scrutinizing the impact of a country's domestic political processes on shaping foreign policy preferences. However, because the theory was developed to explain the process of integration in Europe, it limits the underlying sources of national preferences to economic and geopolitical interests, thereby ignoring certain intra-state dynamics that are more crucial in shaping preferences elsewhere.

Each of the prior perspectives provides useful insights in understanding the sources of ISI. In fact, the problem with explanations of this kind is not necessarily that they are wrong, but rather, it's the complexity of the phenomenon under study that renders them insufficient. For Uganda's case, this paper builds on liberal Intergovernmentalism's prioritization of domestic political processes to decipher sources of national preferences. This emphasis on domestic politics does not in any way negate the role of international processes. However, theories that disregard the domestic political realm end up obscuring basic intra-national factors that shape foreign policy. In most cases, political leaders of nations rise and fall depending on whether they can manage domestic tensions, and it is these struggles that preoccupy them in foreign policy decision-making. Such threats from competing domestic political interests are usually more likely to materialize than threats from abroad. Although this does not imply that actions of other nations do not matter, those actions matter if and when they influence domestic struggles (Allison and Halperine, 1972). By implication, to understand Uganda's international posture, it is important to look inward; to recognize the major domestic struggles faced by the government and assess whether and how they impacted foreign policy decision-making.

2.2 THE PROMOTION OF ISI AS A CONSTRUCTIVIST ENDEAVOR

However, although Intergovernmentalism helps us to understand the link between the underlying social dynamics and national policy preference, it takes “the link” as a given and therefore does not establish the process that transforms such dynamics into preferences. For a more appropriate framework for understanding the process by which Uganda’s internal ethnic tensions are transformed into Museveni’s promotion of ISI, I turn to an approach that is largely absent in the literature on the motivations of ISI: constructivism. Like liberal intergovernmentalists, constructivists assert that the raw material out of which members of the state system are constituted is created by domestic society before states enter the international society (Wendt, 1992). However, in the constructivist context, an organization like the EAC is viewed less as a unique political order, and more as an exciting laboratory experiment that is influenced by the identities and interests of the state system and its constituent parts (Checkel, 2006; Christiansen, Jorgensen & Wiener, 1999). However, this essay does not examine how the interstate arrangements transform identities. Instead, the focus is on how the need to replace an ethnic identity with a Pan-African one influences Museveni’s promotion of ISI.

By placing Museveni’s policy preferences within this constructivist framework, the afore-mentioned limitations of the main theories in the current literature on ISI can be overcome. To begin with, constructivism provides a context for scrutinizing the conditions under which his preferences emerge, thereby explicating his push for a federation that moves beyond economic considerations and his unparalleled zeal for regional integration despite the challenge that Kenyan competition posed to Uganda’s nascent industries. In this way, constructivism helps to overcome the afore mentioned neo-functionalist and Realist inability to predict a priori the

issue-areas in which preference for ISI occurs. And, unlike Intergovernmentalism, it broadens the underlying sources of national preferences beyond economic and geopolitical interests, thereby considering intra-state dynamics that might be crucial in shaping preferences for ISI. Thus, by explaining Museveni's preference for ISI as a result of the need to construct new social identities, constructivism helps to explain a dimension of ISI that is yet to be identified by current literature.

2.3 THE CHOICE OF THE CASE STUDY

The study of the Uganda case is intended to explore the broader proposition that a country's internal ethnic conflicts influence its leaders' promotion of ISI. My choice of this case is based on the 'extreme case method', which selects a case because of its extreme value on the variable of interest. I consider it extreme because, elsewhere in Africa, most ethnic groups are relatively less important (politically, demographically and geographically) for their identities to pose a threat as substantial or direct as that Buganda posed to the NRM. Although this method appears to be subject to problems of sample bias, so long as the larger sample of cases is not forgotten, i.e. retained in subsequent analysis as points of reference, then it provides an entrée into a subject that can subsequently be interrogated with a more determinate method (Gerring & Seawright, 2008). Using this purely exploratory technique, I attempt to eventually reveal a relationship between the two superficially disconnected phenomena. In the meantime, to demonstrate both the seriousness of the threat posed by the Buganda ethnic identity and the appeal of the Pan-African identity to Museveni, the proceeding section provides a historical analysis of Buganda's relationship with Uganda.

3.0 THE 'BUGANDA QUESTION' IN UGANDAN POLITICS

3.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF A THREATENING ETHNIC IDENTITY

Buganda lies at the center of Uganda, both geographically and metaphorically (See Figure 3). However, contextualizing Buganda's historical relationship with Uganda is a rather complex endeavor. At one end of the spectrum, one sees a people's struggle to unshackle from the bondage of an artificial colonial state and restore their sovereignty as a nation. At the other end is a view of a monumental quest to integrate an obstinate Kingdom into a unitary republic. What is clear is that the question of Buganda's appropriate status has always been at the core of Ugandan politics (Golooba-Mutebi, 2011). At the dawn of European colonialism, Buganda was a centuries-old kingdom that displayed every attribute of a self-contained nation-state. Although it lost ultimate independence in the 1890s, the British protectorate government only circumscribed, but never destroyed its autonomy. This was allowed partly because the kingdom was considered to be more sophisticated than its neighbors; but more importantly, considering the indirect nature of British colonialism, the Anglo-Buganda alliance was crucial in the conquest and dominion of regions that surround Buganda. Thus, throughout the colonial period, Buganda retained a special status vis-à-vis the rest of Uganda (Low, 1971).



Figure 3: The geographical location of Buganda in Uganda

With colonialism becoming increasingly unsustainable in the post second world war period, the specter of independence brought a surge of anxiety in Buganda. If the protectorate government and non-Baganda were to have their way, Buganda's autonomy would be submerged in a unitary Uganda nation-state. This idea baffled many Baganda not only because they considered their kingdom a modern nation-state with all the requisite institutions already existing at Mengo (Buganda's capital), but their conception of citizenship correlated with how to be a subject to their king, the Kabaka. For them, it seemed nothing less than sacrilege to lay hands upon an identity that was already in full flower. In one of Mutesa II (the Kabaka)'s writings to the then colonial governor, Andrew Cohen, he bemoaned the idea of a unitary state in which Buganda would be on an equal footing with neighbors that he considered less civilized.

However, for the non-Baganda and some republican Baganda, such appeals had far too many archaic and autocratic overtones to be acceptable. They considered the preservation of a special status and institutionalization of a quasi-state for Buganda in an independent Uganda not only absurd but also contradictory to the notion of a modern state.

Most Baganda perceived such considerations as threats. They had first realized the nature of the threat in 1953 with the possibility of a British-imposed East African federation. Although this issue was resolved when the governor disowned such intentions, the Kabaka asked for the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Uganda because he saw clearly that, with universal suffrage, the numerical preponderance of the non-Baganda regions would erase the Kingdom's special position. At the time Cohen felt bound to resist any such demand because of the inextricable interconnections between Buganda and Uganda. However, the issue inevitably resurfaced in 1957; after the resignation of Buganda members of the Uganda Legislative Council, the kingdom's legislative organ (the Lukiko), declared that Buganda's future safety laid only in independence. This act eventually led to the Lukiko's unilateral declaration of independence in 1960 that, although never taken very seriously, demonstrated the urgency of the underlying concerns. Moreover, because the colonial government was not prepared to use force, in those last days of the British Empire, some kind of federal status for Buganda within Uganda became the only plausible option (Low, 1971; Apter, 1961).

These developments were not lost on non-Baganda, whose long standing unease had by then found expression in a clearly anti-Baganda party, the Uganda People's Congress (UPC) that was led by a rising Lango politician, Milton Obote. However, by 1961, Obote too seems to have realized that while those who held power in Buganda were not about to give it up lightly, a struggle with them seemed insurmountable. He, therefore, opted to formally accept the

compromise claim for a Buganda federal status within an independent Uganda. The result was an alliance between his UPC and Buganda's Kabaka Yekka (Kabaka Only) party, which swept the country to independence in October 1962. This marriage of convenience was confirmed when Obote, the new prime minister, was instrumental in procuring Mutesa's appointment in a ceremonial role as the first President of Uganda. Outwardly, this seemed a superbly well-contrived conclusion to the controversies of the previous decade (Low, 1971; Engholm, 1962). Yet the underlying hostility toward the kingdom's privileged status, especially among political elites from other parts of the country, rendered such arrangements unbalanced and ensured that their durability was uncertain, right from the start (Golooba-Mutebi, 2011).

Whatever constitutional genius existed, the 'marriage' ended abruptly and brutally in 1966 when Obote sent the army to bomb Mutesa out of his palace, thereby reversing Buganda's historic role at the center of Ugandan politics. The Kabaka fled into exile, and a year later, Obote abolished kingdoms and established Uganda as a republic (Onyango-Obbo, 2004). Although the blame game about the immediate cause goes on to this day, this forceful demise of Buganda's monarchy undeniably made violence an indispensable instrument of governance and engendered the era of militocracy. It was in the resulting climate of brutal dictatorships, civil wars and near anarchy that Museveni emerged as central actor in the Ugandan drama. He participated in ousting the notorious Idi Amin, and served as minister in the transitional government that followed. Nevertheless, in 1981, he took to the bush after contesting the results of the elections that brought Obote back to power, and with 26 followers, forged the National Resistance Army (NRA). To be sure, the NRA was just one of four rebel groups seeking to undermine the Obote regime. Even then, five years later, its forces marched on Kampala and Museveni was sworn in as Uganda's president on January 26, 1986 (Englebert, 2002; Museveni, 1997).

To understand this triumph, it's impossible to ignore the NRM's adept manipulation of the Buganda factor. Tellingly, although its leadership was from Western Uganda, the NRA made Buganda the epicenter of its struggle in order to tap into the unreserved anti-Obote sentiments. In addition to ordinary Baganda who offered their support and paid dearly in massive loss of life and destruction of property, several declared royalists and members with attachment to the royal family were activists in the NRA. Most important was the role of Prince Mutebi, son of the late Mutesa and heir to the throne, who lived in Britain at that time. Towards the end of the war, he came to Uganda and visited the liberated areas in Buganda, thereby boosting the morale of the soldiers. In return for their support, most Baganda insist, there was an agreement consisting two prominent demands (locally called Ebyaffe) that the NRA was expected to fulfill after the war had been won (The Independent, 2009). First, the restoration of the institution of kingship and the return of the properties that were confiscated by the central government when the kingdoms were abolished. Secondly, the resurrection of the federal status that Buganda enjoyed after independence (Johannessen, 2003; Goodfellow and Lindeman, 2013).

Shortly after taking power, Museveni rejected the existence of any such agreement, openly claiming that the NRA did not fight to restore the monarchy. In truth, whatever agreements were made and however vital the Baganda were to the struggle, their demands contradicted the NRM's ideological foundations (Johannessen, 2003). An argument was made that it was the chaotic situation in the country that had meant the necessity to accommodate people with contrary views and attitudes. The NRM vision for a new Uganda, clearly elaborated in the rebel group's Ten Point Program (written at the start of the war in 1981) emphasized the elimination of sectarianism and politics based on ethnic factional issues. In fact, this issue formed the basis of the third point, as noted (The Ten Point Program, 1981):

“One of the principal causes of strife in Uganda has been lack of national unity. Sectarianism has enabled dictators and idiots to emerge, take power illegally and perpetuate their stay in power with much greater ease... the NRM will not tolerate any sectarian opportunists of any shade.”

Because Museveni believed that Buganda’s demands would enhance sectarianism, he considered that any submission would not only threaten his government but also inevitably and cyclically trap the country in its tragic history. Although the realities of this history may be debatable, it is safe to say that the political players learnt nothing and forgot nothing from the past. On one hand, whatever ideological beliefs the NRM held, it had clearly manipulated Buganda sentiments in its rise to power. On the other hand, however glorious the Kingdom’s past was, it was no longer possible to ignore the reality of Uganda. Yet, in many ways, history was back.

With the struggle they considered their own won, the Baganda expected nothing less than a return to their lost glory. The Kabaka wasted no time. He progressively raised his visibility, touring and spearheading the organization of popular inter-clan soccer games, before returning for good and setting up a secretariat in 1990 to centralize the lobbying efforts. With the pressure rapidly building, Museveni realized that he could no longer simply wish away the Kabaka’s emotive power. In 1993, he installed an apolitical institution of Kingship. Unsurprisingly, this momentous event was not enough to satiate Buganda demands. Instead, the institutional reconstruction of the Kingdom acquired momentum: executive, legislative and administrative structures were created, even though the constitution only allowed for the restoration of ‘traditional and cultural chiefs’, not their states. The Kabaka appointed a parliament (Lukiko) and opened its session a mere two days after his coronation. With these unofficial structures

demanding to be formalized, it became increasingly clear that the “unstoppable force” of Buganda nationalism was back in full force (Johannessen, 2003; Nsibambi, 2014).

By the early 1990s, the tensions had arisen to the surface. Not surprisingly, managing this force has since then largely consumed government strategy. In a search of a workable solution, Museveni held a number of meetings with the Kabaka. Yet, as he later admitted, such dialogues were fruitless and the situation only grew worse (Museveni, 2009). Nevertheless, the Buganda question had to be solved, or at least controlled, if the regime (and even the Ugandan state) was to survive as a coherent and legitimate entity. The unofficial rival institutions mentioned in the previous paragraph not only continue to exist at Mengo, but also seek for sovereignty. In them is a manifestation of the threat posed by Buganda ethnic identity to Museveni’s government. This paper suggests that Museveni’s urgent need to replace this threatening ethnic identity motivates his zeal to promote ISI as a way of promulgating a Pan-African identity.

3.2 THE APPEAL OF THE PAN-AFRICAN IDENTITY

The vision of East African integration is an offshoot of the broader idea of Pan-Africanism which, according to Emerson (1962), emerged at the dawn of the 20th century deriving from the sense that all Africans have a spiritual affinity with each other; and that having suffered together in the past, they must march together in a new and brighter future. Its advocates aim to secure some sort of African unity which would bring together, within a common framework, either all the African peoples or such more limited groupings of them that are prepared to join forces for general or particular purposes. In its fullest realization, this would involve the creation of a huge political organ or association of African states. At a lesser level, it

might involve an almost infinite variety of regional groupings and collaborative arrangements—all partial embodiments of the unity that is the true dream of the true Pan-Africanist.

Because many Africans embrace Pan-African ideals, there is a widely held belief on the continent that such ideals would lead to harmony. One of these ideals is that for Africans to co-exist harmoniously and for the continent to prosper, the international boundaries that were drawn up by the colonialists should be removed. The main argument of this essay is that this Pan-Africanism, epitomized by East African integration, is considered to be potent enough as a political idea to rival the appeal of Buganda ethnic nationalism. As a result, Museveni uses it in his attempt to replace Buganda ethnic identities, hoping to replace such identities with the Pan-African identity. For example, in a bid to fuse the bitter stand-off after the 2009 Buganda crisis, Museveni cited Pan-African ideals while castigating traditional leaders for emphasizing the separateness, instead of the commonness, of Africans (NTV Uganda, 2010). To be sure, like most Africans, Museveni is a Pan-Africanist as evidently illustrated in the NRM Ten Point Program. However, this essay asserts that given the extent of the threat posed by Buganda nationalism, the idea became more valuable to him as a political tool, and in many ways explains why he became the most Pan-Africanist leader in the region (Mazrui, 1994).

To further appreciate the usefulness of Pan-African identity and the idea of Pan-Africanism, it's important to examine the alternative identities and ideas that were used by Museveni's government in its struggle with Buganda ethnic identity. I should note that I am less interested in whether these alternative identities were right or wrong. Instead, I am concerned with their usefulness for countering a threatening ethnic identity; in comparison with Pan-Africanism.

The idea of democracy was prioritized by Museveni's government. Since the NRM's conception of democracy was incompatible with Buganda's demands, the hope was that if individuals identify themselves as democratic, then the appeal of the ethnic identity would be overcome. However, "democracy" was insufficient considering NRM's complex history with Buganda. In Museveni's relentless search for what he describes as "principled politics", he cast Obote as the villain of Ugandan politics. Accordingly, Obote had acted undemocratically by abolishing Buganda's monarchy, thereby plunging the country into chaos (Museveni, 1997). It was such vilification of Obote's policies that endeared the NRA to Baganda, who believed that they were struggling for their "democratic right" to be governed under a monarchy. Whatever the truth is about the aforementioned war-time agreement, it is clear that most Baganda were led to believe that they were struggling to right the historical wrong that had befallen their Kingdom (Independent, 2009). To affirm their sentiments, in the early 1990s, a government commissioned report indicated that 97 per cent of the people in Buganda wanted "federo"— a homegrown concept that postulates a form of quest for power by the Baganda (Odoki Report, 1993). Therefore, however different (or superior) the NRM conception of democracy was, it was not only weak and confusing, but would also be perceived as an incredible betrayal.

Connected to the democratic identity, the government tried to promote the idea of an apolitical monarchy. The main argument was that a democratic society could still have a monarchy, as long as that monarchy was apolitical. Moreover, it was argued, because of the country's tragic history, the best way of preserving the monarchy was to keep it out of political affairs. In this view, the restored Kabaka was expected to be a cultural figurehead. In this way, the government hoped royalists would be appeased (Museveni, 2009). However, it was clear from the start that most Baganda were not only opposed to their Kabaka being a mere supreme

figurehead, but their very conception of the institution of Kingship– and culture– was inseparable from politics (Mayiga, 2004). In addition, they maintained that the full extent of their demands went beyond the institution of Kingship. No wonder, when the Kabaka was restored amid massive jubilation in 1993, most royalists perceived the coronation as an initial step to the rehabilitation of their Kingdom. They wondered out loudly why Museveni, a westerner, thought to circumscribe the authority of their Kabaka (Johannessen, 2005). Therefore, despite the practical value of the idea of an apolitical monarchy, it was, in many ways a non-starter: Not only did it confuse most Baganda; it also turned many against the NRM government.

Another idea linked to democracy was that of a decentralization. Upon capturing power, the NRM embarked upon a radical decentralization policy, considered to be one of the most far-reaching local government reform programs in the developing world (Francis & James, 2003). The success of this program, it was hoped, would make Buganda's need for alternative governance structures unwarranted. However, decentralization was widely viewed with deep suspicion, and was often seen as ‘a divide and rule’ strategy whose objective was to ensure that the Kingdom does not act as a single unit. In fact, the program never stopped royalists from demanding for a form of federalism whose envisaged structures and the rules of governance were to be based on historical custom. As Mpanga, a Buganda minister, asserted, ‘We make Uganda, Uganda does not make us’; the point, from Mengo’s perspective, was that communities predating colonialism were prior and in a sense morally superior to any other polity created since. (Goodfellow and Lindemann, 2013).

The second main alternative promoted by the NRM was the Ugandan identity, which is linked to the idea of nationalism. The hope was that if individuals, identified themselves more with Uganda than their ethnic group, then the threatening ethnic identity would be overcome. In

fact, in post-independence Africa, one of the predominant tasks for the new leaders was to enhance the emerging nationalism (which was engendered by the struggle for independence) and forge nations out of the artificially created colonial entities. At that time, retribalization was largely considered a taboo in intellectual circles; and therefore, a government could persuasively preach nationalism in resistance to agitation from ethnic groups (Mamdani, 1996 & Mazrui, 1994). However, starting in the early 1990s, indigenous political structures experienced a revival, and were formally re-instituted in places like Ghana, South Africa and Mozambique. This development was largely due to the phenomenon of the collapsed or failed states (intensely experienced in Uganda) that sapped the political legitimacy of most nations (Rubongoya, 2007). Many observers of this phenomenon called for traditional authorities, arguing that they would be forces for good in enhancing stability, government legitimacy and even democratic deepening (Goodfellow and Lindemann, 2013). The result for Uganda was that the idea of nationalism— which already lacked deep roots— further weakened as a credible rationale to ban or limit traditional authorities.

When the limitations of the above ideas as political tools are examined alongside the afore-mentioned value of Pan-Africanism in Museveni's confrontation with the threatening Buganda ethnic identity, one can better understand his promulgation of the vision for East African integration. However, although the knowledge of this revelation may have explanatory power, it remains incomplete and unsatisfactory unless the causal mechanism is specified and the validity of the causal claim is tested. As such, in the proceeding section, I establish an appropriate methodology that I subsequently use to empirically examine the research findings.

4.0 RESEARCH METHODS AND FINDINGS

I seek for evidence by analyzing Museveni's speeches in which he promoted ISI. If the need to replace ethnic identity with a Pan-African identity motivates his promotion of ISI, then this causal relationship should be reflected in his speeches: his references to the promotion of ISI should be strongly associated with references that discourage ethnic identity. If not, then there would be little basis to make the causal claim. In fact, these speeches are most likely the only source for accumulating knowledge concerning his intentions. Nevertheless, going forward, it must be emphasized once more that this research is a largely exploratory effort and thus a first stage in what I hope to be a profoundly examined subject in future. As such, I am aware of the methodological limitations and the threats to the validity of my causal claim, like those associated with the reliability of the coding procedures I use and the limited number of the sample of speeches I use as evidence. Even then, the findings can still provide a basis for subsequent research that can strengthen the argument I make for causation.

4.1 CONGRUENCE AND CONTENT ANALYSES

The methodologies I use to research this evidence emanating from Museveni's speeches are congruence and content analyses. The former focuses on drawing inferences to the relevance of a theory by seeking for the congruence or non-congruence between its predictions and the

case outcomes (George & Bennet, 2005; Van Evera, 1997). For this paper, the constructivist theory is used to make predictions about the construction of social identities in Uganda. If the discouragement of ethnic identities is congruent with the promotion of ISI, that revelation would be a basis to make an argument for causality: the more congruence the stronger the argument.

Content analysis, on the other hand, seeks to analyze the data in terms of the presence and frequency of specific terms, narratives or concepts. In this paper this is done by measuring the amount of space, in terms of the number of lines, given to different variables. To avoid the criticism that I am concerned simply with what is said rather than how it is said, I look not only at the amount of space devoted to different themes, but also the ways in which such themes are talked about. Thus, I use a quantitative content analysis together with a more qualitative analysis of textual meaning to formulate an interpretive content analysis (Tonkiss, 2004).

To gather the data, I constructed a research instrument that attempted to specify the conditions for selecting samples of speeches and ensuring that their content is analyzed reliably. Special attention was made to select only samples that are relevant to the research question. Focus was specifically on speeches intended for the domestic Ugandan audience. This is because the theory assumes that such speeches were expected to have an impact on domestic politics. As such, speeches made to audiences outside Uganda were not examined. It should be noted that some of these speeches are not entirely devoted to the promotion of ISI; in that case, attention is on the segments of the speech related to this research, examining the arguments he makes while promoting ISI. Problems of reliability relating to content analysis were approached through informed judgement instead of relying on multi-coders and inter-rater reliability measures. This is an appropriate basis at this preliminary stage of the research effort, particularly since the vast majority of coding problems involve decisions about the presence or absence of an

attribute (Dunn & Swierczek, 1977). The data was coded by categorizing the attributes and the key words related to them. Following are the key words related to the attributes: For ISI: regional integration, regional government, political unification, political union, Pan-African, East African political unity and political federation. For ethnic identity: tribalism, and ethnic sectarianism. For economic benefits: economic integration and regional market. For regional security: defense potential.

For a further test of the validity of the relationship being analyzed, the spuriousness of the causal claim is examined by questioning not only whether the constructivist-based argument about the “discouragement of ethnic identity” is a necessary condition for Museveni’s promotion of ISI, but also how much explanatory power it has when compared and tested alongside rival theories. In my research, references to (1) ISI’s economic benefits and (2) strengthening regional security stand out in Museveni’s speeches as the main alternative explanations. It is worth noting that both these alternative explanations are premised on Neo-functionalism. The absence of realist arguments in his speeches, and more importantly in my analysis, can be explained by the afore-mentioned inapplicability of power theories to Uganda’s case (See page 5).

4.2 FINDINGS

The analyses of the speeches are intended to compare the key constructivist argument with the rival neo-functionalist arguments. I begin by presenting the speeches, listed by date and event; and analyzing them separately. Then, I proceed with the statements of the different hypotheses and analyses on how data from all the speeches confirms or disconfirms them.

- June 10, 1998; NRM Conference: This speech is arguably Museveni's strongest argument for East Africa's political federation. Scholars like Kasaija (2004) have explored the plausibility of this argument. Without joining the debate, I seek to decipher the factors that influenced his preferences. It is noteworthy that he spends a better part of this paper attacking the "voices that still talk of tribalism". In fact, by the end of the presentation, his argument for a political federation is analogous to an attack on ethnic identity. Overall, the three variables (ethnic identity, economic benefits and regional security) are referred to in this speech. However, 63.5% of the space, determined by the number of lines, is covered by the discouragement of ethnic identity. 12.6% and 23.9% of the space was accorded to economic benefits and regional security respectively.
- June 25, 2010; NRM Conference: Although ISI was not Museveni's major focus, coming amidst a heated conflict between his government and the Buganda monarchy, it is interesting that his argument for ISI, which largely deals with the economic benefits, begins with the discouragement of ethnic identity. However, there is no mention of regional security. Overall, references to economic benefits dominate with 94% of the space. References to ethnic identity were accorded 6%; whereas, as noted earlier, there is no mention of regional security.
- May 11, 2011; Inauguration Speech: After winning a controversial election, followed by widespread opposition party demonstrations claiming vote rigging, in which the Buganda monarchy was openly against him, this was his first speech. Overall, the references to ISI also referred to both ethnic identity and economic benefits; and there were no references to regional security. However, ethnic identity dominated the space with 75% of the lines and 25% for economic benefits.

H₀: The promotion of ISI is intended to discourage ethnic identity.

He adeptly shrouds his arguments against Buganda agitations in the advocacy for a “higher aspiration” of wider African unity. Extolling the virtues of Pan-Africanism, he vehemently attacks “voices that still talk of tribalism”. Similarly, he ridicules the very idea of Buganda nationalism and the Kingdom’s past glory. Calling for larger political units, he not only repeatedly disparages the pre-colonial states’ weaknesses that allowed European conquest; he also blames some of them (especially Buganda) for collaborating with, and consolidating colonial rule (Museveni, 1998). Also, promoting ISI allows him to frame the argument for keeping the monarchy out of politics. He repeatedly presents a Pan-Africanist version of history, arguing not only that people within the East African region shared a lot in their past, but that the pre-colonial monarchs of Uganda were never fragmentalist, but aimed at uniting the tribes of Uganda and beyond. If their integrationist efforts were through conquest, he argues, those for modern leaders should be through negotiations and discussions. In this view, an integrationist history obliges the present generation to dream of, and work towards, an integrated future.

Results from the three speeches support the constructivist-based premise that Museveni’s promotion of ISI is strongly linked to his discouragement of ethnic identity. The congruence analysis reveals that he strongly discourages ethnic identity and advocates for a Pan-African identity. The content analysis reveals that, when compared with each of the alternative explanations, more space is accorded to the discouragement of ethnic identity. (See Table 1).

H1: The promotion of ISI is intended to encourage its economic benefits;

The economic benefits he emphasizes include the attractiveness of a larger market and the alleviation of economic challenges facing a land-locked country like Uganda. However, this argument fails to explicate Museveni's push for an arrangement that moves beyond economic benefits and ultimately does away with both state sovereignty and the geographical boundaries. Also, considering that the old EAC collapsed in 1977 largely due to the member states' economic disparities, with Kenya was taking a lion's share of the economic benefits (Twagira, 2012); and that for Uganda such disparities had only worsened due to the long years of political instability, the reestablishment of ISI mechanisms meant increased challenge from Kenyan competition to Uganda's nascent industries (Clark, 2001). In this context, the fact that Museveni became the strongest advocate of ISI in the region (Mazrui, 2000) would present a paradox that cannot be explained by the economic benefits.

Results show that Museveni's promotion of ISI is related to his encouragement of the benefits that come with ISI, although not as strongly as the replacement of ethnic identity. The congruence analysis reveals that in all three speeches, he encouraged the economic benefits of ISI. The content analysis reveals 43.8% of space was accorded to these economic benefits.

H2: The promotion of ISI is intended to strengthen regional security;

The aspect of regional security that is overly emphasized in Museveni's speeches concerns the incapability of individual states to sufficiently provide for their own military security from out-of-the region threats. Citing the example of the pre-colonial political organizations that were easily subdued by European imperialism, he argues that interstate

coordination would enable the establishment of a more formidable regional security mechanism. However, there are no imminent out-of-the region threats to Uganda’s security that could explicate Museveni’s urgent demand for such a mechanism. On the other hand, the main post-colonial threats to Uganda’s security have emerged from the country’s internal social dynamics, particularly strong sub-national ethnic identities. In fact, to a certain extent, Museveni’s references to the security weaknesses of pre-colonial ethnic-based societies reflect his discouragement of ethnic identity.

The analysis of the data suggests a weak positive relationship between Museveni’s promotion of ISI and his advocacy for strengthening regional security. In only one of the three speeches does Museveni emphasize how ISI strengthens regional security. The content analysis of the three speeches reveals very little space accorded to regional security (See Table 1).

	1998 Speech		2010 Speech		2011 Speech		References (average % Lines)
		Lines (%)		Lines (%)		Lines (%)	
Discouragement of Ethnic Identity	•	96 (63.5%)	•	2 (6%)	•	6 (75%)	3/3 (48.2%)
Economic benefits	•	19 (12.6%)	•	35 (94%)	•	2 (25%)	3/3 (43.8%)
Regional security	•	36 (23.9%)	0%		0%		1/3 (8%)

Table 1: Characteristics of Museveni’s speeches

Note: The mark of the black dot signifies reference to a variable in the speech

The congruence analysis reveals that references to both the economic benefits and discouragement of ethnic identity appear in all the speeches I have analyzed, while regional Security is only referred to in one speech. However, a content analysis reveals that the space accorded to the discouragement of ethnic identity is slightly more than that given to the encouragement of economic benefits and far more than that accorded to strengthening regional Security. Therefore, within the limited context of this exploratory study, this empirical evidence suggests that the discouragement of ethnic identity might be more than a contributing cause; it could very well be a sufficient explanation for Museveni's preference for ISI. This finding is crucial because the variables that I am attempting to causally link seem so disconnected that their relationship has not been studied by any previous research efforts; and the causal relationship, although not stated very affirmatively due to the limitations of this current stage of the research effort, provides a first stage in what I hope to be a basis for further research.

5.0 CONCLUSION

Since the early 1990s, there are two powerful forces pulling at the Ugandan state. At one end is the intra-state force of Buganda sub-nationalism marked by a strong ethnic identity. At the other end is a supra-state force of East African integration which is emblematic of the Pan-African identity. Although the government largely instigates the latter, the former is a threat to its coherence. The revelation of this discussion is that there might be a causal link between these two forces. What we see as Uganda's ISI policy could be an externalization of the country's internal weaknesses: Museveni's promotion of ISI could be caused by his need to construct a Pan-African identity that can replace an ethnic identity in Buganda that threatens his regime. Although the causal relationship is not well established in this thesis, I believe my research presents important findings that provide an entrée into a subject that, I hope, will be subsequently interrogated at a more profound level. A potential future attempt to augment my research and make a stronger case for causality would, for example, engage in efforts to:

1. Increase the sample of reported cases through further searches that can provide additional speeches on Museveni's promotion of ISI.
2. Examine the reliability of coding instruments by utilizing multiple observers.
3. Expand the coding procedures so as to generate in-depth interpretation of texts. For example, using content analysis software.

4. Take more care to report even those cases that were deemed unsuccessful.
5. Compare the findings of my single case to cases from other countries. For example, a comparison of ISI promotion in other African countries.

By building on my findings, this research project could eventually ascertain the nature of the relationship between the promotion of ISI and the threatening intrastate ethnic identity, and thus explicate a dimension of ISI that has hitherto been under-researched and under-theorized.

APPENDIX A

SEARCH STRATEGY

Speeches I looked for:

I looked for public speeches that the president made to the domestic Ugandan audience, in which he promoted interstate integration.

If a speech was not entirely devoted to promoting ISI, I analyzed only the segment in which he promotes ISI

It should be noted that short newspaper citations of the President promoting ISI were ignored since my aim is to analyze the entire reference to ISI

Where I looked

State House of Uganda website <<http://www.statehouse.go.ug/media/speeches>>

Online search of Ugandan newspapers like The Monitor, The NewVision, and The Weekly Observer.

Search engines like Lexis-Nexis,

Whom I contacted

Around one month ago, I contacted two Makerere University students to help me look for two speeches that I am very certain were made. Their role was to sift through the archives. Unfortunately, they did not find the speeches.

Why there is a spotty record of speeches

Most of the available online speeches are dated from around 2011. Even after that year, not all the information is available.

I believe that a thorough look at the hard copy Newspaper archives would be more revealing. As for the Makerere students' failure to find the two speeches, I am not certain whether they tried hard enough

Implications for future research

Any future attempt needs to have access to hard copy archives of Ugandan newspapers. I am convinced that such a search would definitely reveal more evidence.

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