

# Civic awareness and the prospects of the East African Federation on the people of Uganda

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## Research Paper

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### ABSTRACT

The thrust of the study is hinged on the investigation of civic awareness on the prospects of East African Federation in relation to the people of Uganda. The study used a cross-sectional survey design. The study used 385 respondents, selected using random and purposive sampling techniques who included; Cultural leaders, social workers, businessmen, Members of Parliament, and cabinet ministers, leaders of political parties and rural people like the Local council Chairmen / chair persons of border areas, and distinguished citizens in the study selected areas which included, Masaka, Katuna, Nimule, Kampala, Malaba and Mutukula. The study gathered information using questionnaires and interview guides and discovered

that, the idea of the East Africa Federation, its prospects, and benefits to Ugandan people was misunderstood and misconceptualised due to lack of proper access of information towards the project. The study recommends the need by the Governments of the East African States to design sensitisation programmes that would enable all people to access information about the East African Federation in Uganda. Such programmes could pass-on information to all masses through different radio stations, televisions, newspapers, drama and other mechanisms in all ethnic languages for the Ugandan masses to clearly conceptualize the East African Federation.

**Key Words:** Awareness, Federation, Uganda, and East Africa.

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### INTRODUCTION

The East African region is inhabited by multi ethnic populations and has experienced sharp economic and social problems, including unemployment, poor social services, and political fragmentation Baruti, (2008). To the minorities, the term federalism has always been challenging and unpopular issue in the region, with much politicized interpretation. The research study attributes the failure of the formation of the East African Federation to lack of civic awareness to the concept of a federation as the centre of controversy to the political, social and economic unity of member states. Unfortunately, the effect of civic awareness on the formation of the East African Federation remains unclear, but can lead to high conflict potential such as, ethnic prejudice, tribal wars and conflicts in business, politics and cultural conflicts which can generally lead to failure of the perceived Federation.

The study therefore, intends to establish the extent to which civic awareness influences the formation of the East Africa Federation in relation to Uganda.

Attempts have been made by successive leaders, one after another, to unite the social, political and economies of East African into a common force, first by the colonialists and later by the post independent presidents of the East African states, but in vain. Meetings have been organized and agreements signed between member states since time immemorial such as; during the colonial period, Kenya Uganda Railway 1897 - 1901, the establishment of the Customs Collection Centre 1900, the East African Currency Board 1905, the Postal Union 1905, the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa 1909, the Customs Union 1919, the East African Governors Conference 1926, the East African Income Tax Board

1940 and the Joint Economic Council 1940; provision was made by the East Africa (High Commission) Orders in Council 1947 – 1961, Baregu, (2005). During the Post colonial period, the East African Common Services Organisation Agreements 1961 – 1966 and the Treaty for East African Co-operation 1967, the East African Community agreement, signed on the 14th day of May, 1984, at Arusha, in Tanzania, the East African Community Mediation Agreement 1984, hereinafter referred to as "the Mediation Agreement" for the division of the assets and liabilities of the former East African Community, the 30th day of November, 1993 Agreement for the Establishment of a Permanent Tripartite Commission to be responsible for the co-ordination of economic, social, cultural, security and political issues among the East African states, and a Declaration was also made by the Heads of State of the East African states for closer East African Co-operation; the 26th day of November, 1994, Protocol on the Establishment of a Secretariat of the Permanent Tripartite Commission for Co-operation Between the Republic of Kenya, the Republic of Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania, the agreement of 29th day of April 1997 at Arusha in Tanzania, the East African Cooperation Development Strategy for the period 1997 - 2000, directed the Tripartite Commission to embark on negotiations for the upgrading of the Agreement establishing the Tripartite Commission into a Treaty; among others, (Treaty of the establishment of the East African Federation, 1999), but have rendered not unity, this can be because of lack of civic awareness to the prospects of the East African federation, especially to Ugandans.

East African states especially Uganda, leaders one after another, have been acquiring power through conquest, savage behavior and aggression and adopted policies to satisfy their personal desires and those of their tribesmen while neglecting those of other ethnic groups (Karugire, 1980; Karugire, 1985). This state of affairs has gradually become more and more intolerable as different ethnic groups have begun to injure each other over desirable national objects. A case in point is that of 2007 when Kenya organized national elections which transformed into ethnic violence all over the country, while in 2009 Kenya and Uganda were almost going to war, because of Migingo; an Island in Lake Victoria that borders Uganda and Kenya, each country claiming ownership. In the same vein, Rwanda experienced a sharp ethnic war in form of genocide in 1994, and is continuing to experience ethnic political struggles with Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, and Uganda that have created war involving individuals to acquire complete dominance over others, (Holt and Winston, 1979).

For this reason, in Uganda, ethnic struggles have been witnessed since the 1966 crisis and since then, there has been both interstate conflicts between Uganda and her neighbouring East African states, and also internal ethnic

resentment in running the affairs of Uganda. Prominent among them is the Uganda- Kisangani war in the Democratic Republic of Congo, which has persisted with changing faces. The Joseph Kony war in northern Uganda which has created divisions between the north-south ethnic tribes, the unsettled disputes between Buganda Kingdom and the Central government of Uganda, the recent being in 2009, when the Kabaka of Buganda, Ronald Muwenda Mutebi II was refused to travel and attend the Baganda Youth celebration day to Bugerere; one of Buganda's counties. The conflicts between Central government and the Muslim community in Uganda, and the political sentiments taking place in the country, are some of the classical examples that hinder the idea of the East African Federation. Although the Sectarian Law was enacted in the Uganda constitution, it has not helped the situation either.

### **Civic awareness and the East African Federation on Uganda**

Are the majority of Ugandans, or East Africans yet aware of the fact that they live in a pluralistic society and it's not easy to be effective, or fit for a union or federation? Since January 2009, I have been directly concerned with the question of the extent and nature of individuals and group-self awareness within East Africa, probably Uganda. Civic awareness, in relation of the people of Uganda about the East African federation, could mean the understanding, both in the life of an individual and in that of the community, the readiness to see the whole situation in which finds one self and not only to orient one's action on immediate task and purposes, but to base them on a more comprehensive vision. For the of East African federation the ways in which civic awareness expresses itself is the current diagnosis of this situation (Kenneth, 1975). Therefore, by civic awareness, the research tries to establish the extent to which different societies of people in Uganda perceive, or understand the concept of the East African Federation. Civic awareness is a central element in any approach to psychotherapy or human behavior, but is likely to be the most neglected aspect when it comes to unity and enquiry of states, like East Africa. Civic awareness in context of the East African Federation is interpreted as teaching and knowledge transmission of culture from one generation to another (Alan and Jonathan, 2000). Civic awareness maybe also defined as the extent to which the public is informed about the politics prevalent in their society. Politically, civic awareness in society possesses the following characteristics, "foundation and contemporary knowledge of politics, access to elite opinion, and forum to discuss individual opinion (Hutchinson, 2007). In other wards, awareness in the context of multi ethnic societies like Uganda, or East Africa, is the extent to which the public is able to look at

the long term and societal implications of a political, social and economic action thereby ignoring the short term personal gains. For the case of the East African Federation, awareness itself, however, is taken for granted. It is as if we are so concerned about where we drive, and how we drive, and the route we take, that we forget that we are in a car! While our daily destinations may be important, attention to the vehicle itself may prove to have some significant impact on all of our journeys! This seems to be the situation of civic awareness with regard to the East African states which seek to federate, especially Uganda.

The concept of civic awareness as a form of response to changing conditions is essentially a constructivist view. The primordial sentiments evolved by ethnicity cause a consign and rational problem to deceleration, and this has made it difficult to ask what civic awareness in response to federations, manifested in actions is meant to achieve Asgard, (2002). Ethnic self awareness occurs when a person engages in a process of self categorization. And uses ethnic criteria as a bases for this categorization, Forehand and Desphande, (2001). Here, a person becomes more sensitive to information related to his or her group interest, than focusing on the prospects of general unity, or federation. This is likely to be the case of Ugandan societies towards the idea of the East African Federation.

Karega (2009), establishes what the concept of East Africa in relation to people civic awareness meant. His interpretation in relation to the East African federation was free movement across borders, using a minimum of identification papers by 54% of Kenyans, 56% of Ugandans and 54% of Tanzanians. Other findings were free ownership of land, and free movement of labour, however, it is striking that, a big percentage of Tanzanians did not expect any benefits from the East African integration, while a quarter of Kenyans interviewed, said, that, they did not know if there would be benefits.

Thus, bringing about the actual concept of the East African federation to the people of Uganda has been a challenging phenomenon. The importance of Ugandan in joining the East African federation has been a Kaleidoscope of perceptions and positions, and a mixture of conflicting ethnic interests, constantly tumbling over one another and rearranging themselves. The differences in origin of Ugandan people, has made it possible for misinterpretation of the idea of the East African federation (Brubaker, 1996).

The nature of civic awareness in Uganda, in relation to the East African federation has been a focus of further debate. The perceptions of different peoples of Uganda has been a shift from general development to specific development of ethnic groups within the perceived federation, thus, this means, to achieve unity East Africans, especially Ugandans have to be numerous, and this is near to impossibility (Ray,

1998).

The misinterpretation of ethnicity and over polarization of the East African federation has made Ugandans to differ from its actual conception, and instead, develop a negative attitude towards the prospects of a bigger union. The prospects of the federation to Ugandans is explained and justified as a result of deep and in eradicable ethnic differences, Turtan, (1997). The failure of government officials to explain the special power of ethnic identity to move people to collective acts and some times of horrifying brutality has been a challenging phenomenon with regard to the civic awareness of the East African people regarding the East African Federation, especially Uganda. The reaction of people to the federation process has been slow and met with difficulties to choose and interpret between their ethnic affiliations and the federation concept.

The major problem has been failure in identifying and defining the identity of ethnic groups (Grren, 1999). The question of who are the independent subjects of the federation, or who are the ultimate bearers of the rights of sovereignty, how are they identified, and what is the criteria for determining their status has been un answered in the newly adopted East African federation. Thus, ethnic identity has become situational, changing in importance and manifestation with different social contexts (Asgard, 2002).

Ethnic awareness rather than civic awareness, is today is the most common social phenomenon among all classes of people, and is highly emotional, much because it is seen as a client (Hutchinson, 1996). Thus, ethnic identity and awareness has become deeply rooted in us, thus the experience of belonging to a given culture, with values that are deep rooted in the individual and in the communal share, are the building blocks of the realization of the East African federation, with reference to Uganda. The instrumentalist approach puts much emphasis on the role of elites, and leaders and how they use ethnicity and ethnic awareness as a way of furthering their interests. In fact ethnic sentiments seem to lead many actors into thoroughly irrational behaviour with unforeseen and unwanted consequences (Diller, 1999). It is this that has an influence in Uganda, on the formation of the east African Federation.

The changing conditions in a multicultural society can automatically influence and manifest ethnic action. Ugandan societies can be separated into a social and material sphere, both arguably influencing each other. An occurrence of, or increase in, ethnic awareness, should thus lead to the conclusion that either the material conditions of society, or its social organization or both have changed. This change could be a meeting between two, or more, formerly isolated cultures, but it could also be a change in the situation of production, for instance. This is the situation of Ugandan societies at this time of joining the East African federation.

In conclusion, the concept of civic awareness in relation to Uganda and the East African federation, is an attempt to draw from two different theoretical approaches, and to focus on the actions, and not so much the nature of ethnicity in the region. To see ethnic awareness as a form of response to changing conditions is essentially a constructivist view. The federation of East Africa can be realised if there is a clear consensus on the prospects of the federation, especially to the peoples of Uganda.

### METHODOLOGY

The study used a cross-sectional survey design, with both qualitative and quantitative approaches. The design was used, because it was deemed appropriate and fit for the nature of this study as Strauss and Corbin, (1998); and Creswell, (2003) recommend. It is also a method of investigation in which self report data collection from samples of pre-determined interest can be done at a point in time, this was stressed by Amin (2005), and Gray and Atkinson (1996). The study population was East Africa with an estimated 141.8 million people, (World Population Report, 2013), however the target population was Uganda (34.5 million people). The study targeted cultural leaders, politicians, civil servants, businessmen and women, and border communities within the region in areas of Kampala, Masaka, Mutukula, Nimule, Malaba and Katuna, because of the following; Kampala is a metropolitan for Uganda and transit for Rwanda, Burundi and northern Tanzania, while the rest, are business and border towns of Uganda that link it to East African neighbouring states and are occupied by cross border ethnic composition, for example, Mutukula borders Uganda with Tanzania, Malaba with Kenya, Katuna with Rwanda, and Nimule with Southern Sudan. The study employed the Purposive, and Random sampling techniques, and selected a sample of 385 respondents based on (Krejcie and Morgan, 1970) study, using questionnaires and Interview guides. For the study data analysis, quantitative data was subjected to coding and entered into Statistical Package for Social Scientists Program (SPSS), and for analysis, the findings were presented descriptively using frequency tables, and percentages, and interpretations and drawing of inferences was done depending on the number of occurrences of each item, and qualitative data was coded and thematically presented to incorporate the meaning into a theme that corresponds to the context of the study.

### RESULTS

#### Distribution of respondents by their regions of origin

The study examined respondents from all the four main

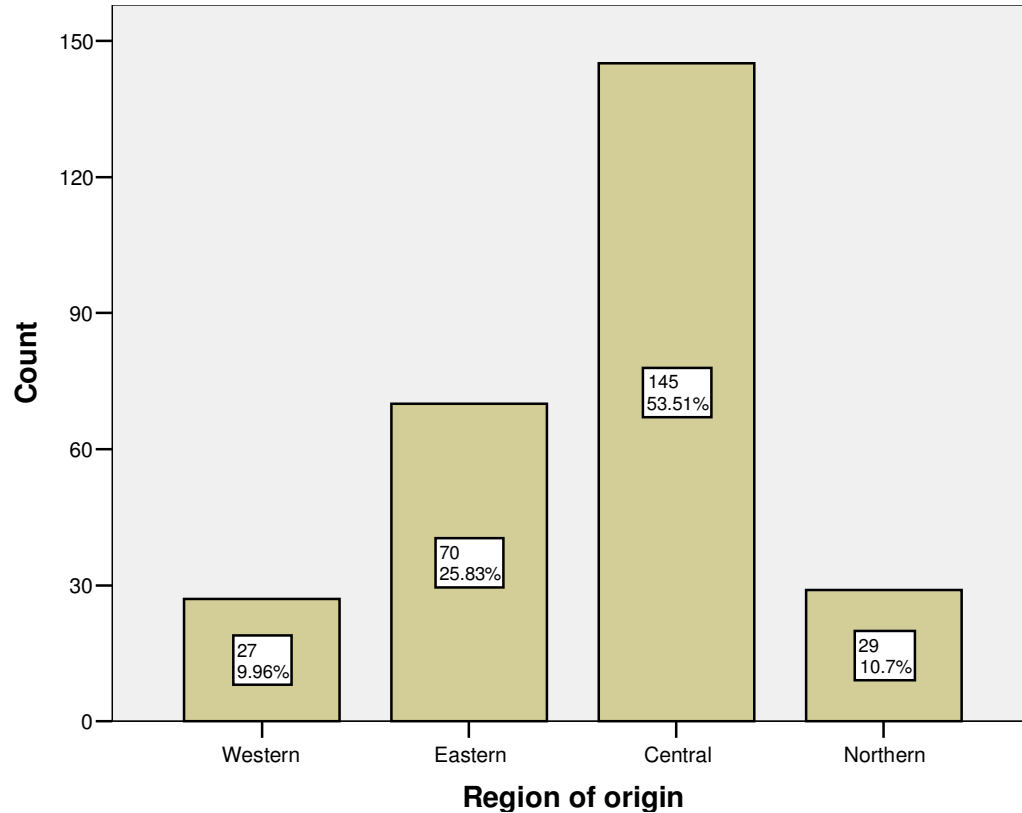
regions which make up Uganda. These included; East, Central, North and West, and are presented in the Pie Chart.

Data in (Figure 1) shows, that 9.96% respondent were from western Uganda, 25.83% respondents were from the eastern region, 10.7% respondents were from northern region, while 53.51% respondents were from central region. This was so because central region is where the country's capital city is located (Kampala), and also a centre of business and business transactions. Despite the fact that the region is owned by Baganda, it is also a multicultural region, especially in Kampala city and its outskirts.

#### Awereness and the East African Federation on Uganda

#### Research question: Are the people of Uganda informed about the prospects of the East African Federation?

The results of the respondents were in response to the research question. To test the research question, ten items were used, and responses were classified as agree, strong agree, not sure, disagree and strongly disagree. The responses were presented in frequency counts and percentages in (Table 1). The findings in (Table 1) illustrate different perceptions on several items about the relationship between civic awareness and the East African federation in item one when respondents were asked whether their cultural attachment cannot bar them from supporting the East African Federation, 92 (33.9%) disagreed while 159 (58.6%) agreed and in item two, when the respondents were asked whether they clearly understand the benefits of the East African Federation to Ugandans, 153 (56.9%) agreed, while 77 (28.6%) disagreed. These sentiments were also reflected in the interview when the respondents on the interview guide were asked whether culture has an influence on the formation of the East African Federation, a cultural royal in the Eastern region, specifically in Busoga Kingdom replied; "My culture is well known, and even when we join the federation will persist. In other words, us the people of Busoga we do not have problem with it unless it's against us..." (Interviewed on 15<sup>th</sup> June 2012). While a royalist in central region, particularly belonging to Buganda Kingdom replied; "We want all our people to live a happy life. So if they (government) feel it is the best way for our people to develop, then let them proceed, but I doubt, because even themselves (government) do not know how modern federations should operate in the twenty first Century (Interviewed on 17<sup>th</sup> June 2012). On the other hand, respondents from acephorus regions were in much support of the idea. One traditional healer in western region replied; "Some people think if you are



**Figure 1.** Distribution of respondents by their regions of origin.

not a Muganda in this country you cannot treat traditionally, so I support the federation so that we extend our traditional power to the whole region so that we are also known."When asked whether he understood the prospects of the East African Federation, this healer replied;"Anyway, what is it about? We may be digging into trouble!" (Interviewed 18<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

While another village house wife in Northern Uganda particularly, Gulu replied;"Specifically, I do not know why we do not go for it! But the going must be clear to us so that we can know our final destination."(Interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

This implies that many Ugandans especially at the grassroots do not understand the prospects of the East African federation. Some want to join while others are resistant to it. A great number of them live in speculation, but do not actually know about the East African Federation, its meaning and intention. This argument was confirmed in items four when respondents were asked whether they were aware of the process being undertaken to unite East Africa into a federation 113 (43.5%) respondents disagreed, while 81 (30.4%) agreed, and when the same question was asked on the interview guide, the respondents answers were in disagreement with the question as follows;"First of all they have not taught or informed us, we people in the villages, we only hear on the news like the recent East

African legislative assembly speaker of parliamentary elections. When did we choose our representatives?" A Muganda loyalist in central region responded;While in the northern region, one Iteso farmer replies;"I do not know how it will help me; by the way, do we need it? If so, why don't they tell us about it? We simply do not know."(Interviewed on 21<sup>st</sup> June 2012).

In item seven, when respondents were asked whether their political leaders in their residing regions understand and promote the establishment of the East African Federation, 147 (54.5%) disagreed while 58 (21.5%) agreed. This clearly shows that the people of Uganda are not aware of the prospects of the East African Federation. This view was supported by the local leaders on interview guide as follows;

One male local council leader in Gulu (Northern) Uganda replied;"Am very green about the East African Federation. The only thing I know about it is the name East African Federation. I hope government can organize and inform us about this project"(Interviewed on 30<sup>th</sup> May 2012).

And another resident commissioner in western region replied;"We only think about today and tomorrow, this is what we know in Uganda. The East African Federation is news to us unless you teach me about it. If we fail to know some government policies, like NAADS, Bonna Bagaggawale project (here was referring to prosperity for

**Table 1.** Respondents’ responses on civic awareness and the prospects of the East African Federation on Uganda.

ITEM	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Not Sure	Agree	Strongly Agree	Mean	Standard deviation
My cultural attachment can't bar me from supporting the East African federation.	44 (16.2%)	48 (17.7%)	20 (7.4%)	99 (36.5%)	60 (22.1%)	3.31	1.411
I clearly understand the benefits of the East African Federation to Ugandans.	20 (7.4%)	57 (21.2%)	39 (14.5%)	99 (36.8%)	54 (20.1%)	3.41	1.232
The East African federation means uniting our cultures.	63 (23.6%)	78 (29.2%)	45 (16.9%)	52 (19.5%)	29 (10.9%)	2.65	1.322
Am aware of the process undertaken to unite East Africa into a federation.	40 (15.4%)	73 (28.1%)	61 (23.5%)	63 (24.2%)	23 (8.8%)	2.83	1.212
It is very possible for the Ugandan people who share different customs, norms and traditions to unite under a federation.	56 (21.0%)	76 (28.5%)	23 (8.6%)	80 (30.0%)	32 (12.0%)	2.84	1.372
The East African federation will promote my region's development.	39 (14.5%)	58 (21.6%)	43 (16.0%)	100 (37.2%)	29 (10.8%)	3.08	1.264
All political leaders in my region understand and promote for the establishment of the East African Federation.	62 (23.0%)	85 (31.5%)	65 (24.1%)	44 (16.3%)	14 (5.2%)	2.49	1.162
The East African federation will promote Uganda's development.	25 (9.3%)	41 (15.3%)	43 (16.0%)	111 (41.4%)	48 (17.9%)	3.43	1.214
In the Federation, all Ugandans will get equal opportunities in matters concerning national life.	61 (23.0%)	87 (32.8%)	46 (17.4%)	49 (18.5%)	22 (8.3%)	2.56	1.257
My cultural leaders would welcome the East African Federation and work for its promotion	59 (21.8%)	59 (21.8%)	73 (26.9%)	55 (20.3%)	25 (9.2%)	2.73	1.263

all; Government project), how they operate, now what about East African Federation?!”(Interviewed on 20<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

And another local council leader in central region responded;I have heard about it just like in 1960s, but its aim, objectives and agenda, are confusing and unclear to me. Why don't they first give us federal in Buganda?” (Interviewed on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2012).This confirms that even the government leaders at District level in the country do not understand the prospects of the East African Federation.While in item nine, when respondents were asked whether they will have equal opportunities concerning national life while in the federation, 148 (55.8%) disagreed, which 71 (26.8%) agreed. When the same question was asked to the respondents on the interview guide, they responded as follows;

One female respondent in southern region replied;“That federation will simply cause more anarchy than solving our tribal divisions. First of all even the implementers are divided now what can we do?”(Interviewed on 25<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

Another female member of parliament from the northern region, replied;

“I do not think it's possible, because we are not at the same level of development and awareness. You people in central region will benefit more in terms of economic advancement and the westerners may be will benefit may be by taking leadership positions and the rest regions will be in the middle. Particularly, I do not like the East African Federation.”When asked why, when she is a legislator, she replied;“It's a gamble and that is why it will divide us more.”(Interviewed on 27<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

And a male entrepreneur in central region replied;“Definitely I do not think so! But it is going to export our bad behavior to the whole region and those who are more ill mannered will benefit more at the expense of the principled.” (Interviewed on 28<sup>th</sup> June,

2012).When asked what he meant by referring to bad behavior, he replied;“Corruption, belligerent behavior, theft, sectarianism, etc...”(Interviewed on 29<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

The implication of this is that, the idea of the East African Federation is not well conceptualized by the citizens of Uganda, and not exposed to them, thus they are continuing to question its relevancy to them in terms of economic, social and political phenomena.The study further established what Ugandans perceive, or understood about the East African Federation. Although they acknowledged that they understood the benefits, and the prospects of the East African Federation, they contended that they were not aware of the process undertaken to unite East Africa into a federation. This was expressed by 43.5%, against 33.0% respondents in statistical table above.

This was in agreement with the respondents on the interview guide who acknowledged the following; One government official in the North of the country, particularly in Gulu District acknowledged;

“For sure I don't know much about the progress of the East African Federation, Not because am a stupid student of political science, but simply because there is nothing provided to us to learn, and I think this is the reason why the federation will collapse in the near future, like the past attempts to it.”(Interviewed on 29<sup>th</sup> June, 2012).

Another business woman in Western Uganda replied;“The East African Federation, I read about it in the Daily Monitor news, (Uganda news paper publication) but I only see commentaries and not its concept and essence.”(Interviewed on 29<sup>th</sup> June, 2012).

While an illiterate retail shop attendant in Central Uganda acknowledged;“For sure I don't know, but I hear about the federation on radio stations like CBS (Central Broadcasting Service), but they also don't explain what it

clearly means. By the way, hope it will end Museveni's rule and entrenchment on us and our Kabaka. (Kabaka is a title name meaning King of Buganda Kingdom)".(Interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2012).In addition, there are mixed stereotypes and ethnic prejudices expressed among respondents at border communities as different sections of people gave their views about what they felt if they join with other ethnic groups of other member states, for example Ugandan believe that Kenyans are rude, especially non Bantu tribes while Kenyans believe that Ugandans are thieves. On the other hand, Ugandans also believe that Tanzanians are witches as they believe that evil spirits come from the Tanzanian coast, thus this mutual distrust and misunderstandings, pause a threat to the formation of the East African Federation.

These reactions clearly confirm that a great number Ugandan are not aware and do not know the meaning of the East African Federation.

Although the study further established that the East African Federation will promote Uganda's respondents, the respondents further contradicted themselves, and agreed that it was impossible for the Ugandan people who share different ethnic customs, norms and traditions to unite under a federation. This view was expressed by 49.5% respondents against 42.0%. This view was also shared by the respondents on the interview;

A market vendor in Eastern region, particularly Jinja town, when asked, replied; "Do I even know about it? By the way, what is it about?"(Interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2012).

And another Bismackan- bus driver from Western Uganda particularly Ibanda acknowledged;"For us we only owe allegiance to our bosses. I don't mind whether that unity exists, or not, after all we shall continue to suffer whether with, or without, at the expense of our corrupt leaders." (Interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2012)

Furthermore, the study results reveal that a great number of political leaders at all levels do not clearly understand and are not working towards the realization of the East African Federation. This view was represented by 54.5% respondents against 21.5% respondents. This was backed by different leaders on the interview guide who responded as follows;

One District education officer in Western region said,"Since I was appointed, I have been here purposely to promote government programmes, but I have never seen that programme on my office table. May be it is still in state House."(Interviewed on 1<sup>st</sup> July, 2012).

Another Chairman, Local Council Five (LC5) in Northern Uganda replied,"To the best of my knowledge, I do not want to lie you that I understand the prospects and concept of the East African Federation; people have continuously talked about it, but its no where to be seen..."(Interviewed on 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 2012).

While another Local leader in Eastern Uganda replied;"I don't know, but I predict the problems of that federation are the problems of Uganda. When you hide something

from the so called owners, then it will rotten."(Interviewed on 2<sup>nd</sup> July, 2012).

On the other hand, the study findings also reveal that Ugandans do not believe that they will not get equal opportunities in matters concerning national life. To this view, 55.8% respondents supported it against 26.8% respondents. The implication of this is that the perceived ethnic groups of respondents represent the fear of dominant identity while in the federation. In addition each of the ethnic group represented in this study, wanted to dominate the federation in terms of leadership and influence at the expense of others, or to abandon the idea. In conclusion, the research has clearly demonstrated that, civic awareness of the people of Uganda with regard to the East African Federation has been met with lack of proper information about the actual prospects of the agenda. Thus, it has been welcomed with negative attitude among Uganda, with key issues rotating around cultural diversity.

## DISCUSSION

The findings in this study showed that respondents expressed mixed perceptions on different ideas about their civic awareness on the East African Federation. The majority of the respondents agreed that their cultural attachment can not bar them from supporting the East African Federation, and the contradicting information was still revealed by the same respondents on how they understood the benefits of joining the East African Federation, to them and their country, Uganda. Respondents on the interview guide contradicted themselves. Here, respondents expressed little knowledge about the prospects and benefits of the East African Federation to their society. This contradiction is a result of ethnic categorisation dictated by government policies. This argument was also backed by Forehand and Desphande (2001), in the literature review who argued, that ethnic self-awareness occurs when a person engages in a process of self categorisation. This is the likely cause of Ugandan societies towards the idea of the East African Federation.

In addition, the differences in the origin of Ugandan people, has made it possible for the misinterpretation of the idea of the East African Federation. The different ethnic groups, backgrounds, cultures, norms, customs and traditions of Ugandan people have called for a kaleidoscope of perceptions and misinterpretation of the East African Federation importance to their regions and state. This view was also expressed by Brubaker, (1996), in the literature review.

The idea of joining Ugandan into the East African Federation has been met with a negative attitude by the Ugandan citizens. The failure of the Ugandan government officials in charge of the East African Federation have continued to seat in their offices,

projecting the federation in theory, but on the ground, the gospel of the federation crusade is clearly misunderstood, and bound to collapse.

This argument was revealed in statistical table above, item four. On this view, Kenneth (1975) in the literature review was also concerned about the extent and nature of individuals and group self awareness in relation to the people of Uganda, about the prospects of the East African Federation. He concludes by saying that, the lack of information by the prospects of the East African Federation. He concludes by saying that, the lack of information by the government officials to the citizens about the prospects of the East African Federation is the current diagnosis of the situation in Uganda.

The findings of the study also discovered, that there was lack of general knowledge on the East African Federation to the political leaders in areas sampled. This is evidenced in the research table, item seven, where 54.5% respondents revealed that their political leaders in their regions of residence do not understand and lack the required knowledge to promote the gospel crusade of the East African Federation, against 21.5% respondents who thought otherwise. This has led to the misinterpretation of the East African Federation by the local citizens to which it will apply. The findings of the study were also in agreement with Turtan (1997), in the literature review.

In addition, the findings also revealed, that, the prospects of the East African Federation has been attached to the ethnic differences among different ethnic groups. On this argument, Turtan (1997), again hinted, that the unwillingness of the government officials to explain the special power of ethnic ideas, to move people to collective acts, and off horrifying brutality has been a challenging task with regard to the East African Federation. The reaction of Ugandan people to the federation process therefore, has been slow and met with difficulties to choose and interpret between their ethnic affiliations and the federation concept. Grren (1999) adds that this situation has been a result of failure to identify and define the identity of ethnic groups, while in the federation.

The findings also revealed that there will be inequalities in the distribution of national resources to different ethnic groups in Uganda, as it now. This revelation was expressed in table, item nine, where 55.8% respondents confirmed the above argument. Hutchinson (1996) argues that ethnic identity and awareness became deeply rooted in us and that the individual and the communal share are the building blocks for the realization of the East African Federation, with reference to Uganda. Diller (1999) believes that ethnic awareness has been strengthened by the elites, and political leaders in furthering their interests.

In addition, the study findings also revealed, that there is general suspicion among the citizens in Uganda about their cultural, and tribal safety when they join the East African Federation. Brubaker (1996) believes that this is

the reason why the federation has been misinterpreted among different sections of Ugandan society.

## CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the idea of the East Africa Federation, its prospects, and benefits to Ugandan people has been misleading due to no proper access of information towards the project. This is the reason why the idea of the Eat African Federation is not popular in Uganda and in most cases, unheard off at grassroots level. Therefore, Uganda can not run away from its tribes. She can only work around them. Rather than seeking tribal dominance, we must seek tribal and regional harmony, thus the architects of the East African Federation must clearly sensitise the masses vividly on the prospects of the East African Federation, by selling it to the people of Uganda to understand it clearly and address their cultural concern before they join the federation. To achieve this, there is need to design programmes that would enable all people to access information about the East African Federation in Uganda. Such programmes could pass-on information to all masses through different radio stations, televisions, newspapers, drama and other mechanisms in all ethnic language for the masses to clearly conceptualize the East African Federation.

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