

3. THE TRENDS AND INFLUENCE OF UGANDA GOVERNMENT POLICY ON MAKERERE UNIVERSITY: A CASE STUDY OF THE PROCESSES AND TRENDS IN STAFF AND CURRICULUM LOCALISATION*

Introduction

One of the difficult problems faced by universities in new nations is that of localisation of staff and how such can be achieved. This case describes the progress made in Uganda and points to the issues associated with it. Even the term 'localisation' differs from country to country. What is its basis? Is it enough that the staff come from the same continent such as Africa, or is a region a desirable unit? This was not regarded as so by East Africans. Are national boundaries adequate or should localisation mean the employment of the members of the politically powerful racial groups within the nation? Where does localisation start and end?

The other thorny issue relates to curriculum. Is it sufficient, for example, to substitute African frogs for European frogs in zoological experiments, or is there a special kind of African or Ugandan zoology? Is it sufficient to add to the curriculum courses in local languages and cultures? Is indoctrination in the prevailing political system a part of localisation? If universities in the past have been seen as international sources of knowledge-exchange is this still relevant? If it is, how can the links be maintained in localised universities and colleges?

The Case Study

This paper presents a case study of the processes of staff and curriculum localisation in Makerere University. The study focuses on a government initiated programme of localisation that has been in operation in the University since 1963. This programme of localisation has passed through two phases. The first phase was the East Africanisation of the staff and curriculum of the University; and this took place between 1963 to 1970 when Makerere formed the University of East Africa jointly with the University College of Nairobi in Kenya and the University College of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania. The second phase, which is now in operation, is the one of Ugandanisation of the University. This process of Ugandanising the staff and the curriculum started in 1970 when the University of East Africa broke up and Makerere became an autonomous national University of Uganda.

The general background to this study is firstly, a brief review of the popular concepts concerning staff and curriculum localisation in the universities of the developing countries to which Makerere belongs. Secondly, an outline of the generation and the growth of the impetus for localisation of

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higher education in Uganda during the colonial period (1924-1962); i.e. Makerere started as a native technical college in 1922 and it had grown into a university by independence in 1962. Thirdly, the study will focus on the policy of East-Africanisation (1963-1970) and finally on the policy of Ugandanisation (1970 onwards).

Popular Concepts Concerning Localisation in Universities of Developing Nations

Governments of post-colonial nations of Africa, or perhaps of all Third World nations, have increasingly tightened their control over their national universities to an extent, perhaps, that their universities have been subjected to more national, political process than their counterparts in the developed nations. A lot of hypothetical concepts have been expounded in general about the desire of developing countries to increase their control over the universities by directly or indirectly influencing their activities, particularly in staffing and curriculum development. As this study will show, the Ugandan Government, for better or for worse, has tightened its control over Makerere University since national independence in 1962.

E Ashby(1) has argued that governments seek to exercise such control and influence over their universities, particularly in the matters of curriculum and staffing, because of nationalist feeling. The implications of having expatriate staff dominating the universities is inseparable from the emotions of nationalist opposition to colonial or neo-colonial domination. Some vocal African politicians, like J K Nyerere(2) and K Nkrumah(3), have also openly argued that although expatriates return to Africa in different roles (as professionals rather than masters), their very presence and influence lead one to question whether political independence is at all viable if the universities, which are regarded as the centres for ideological and socio-economic transformation of society from colonial to national orientations, continue to be dominated by them. Chango Machyo (4), taking a stronger nationalist view, has also argued that "a look around the world will show that no respectable nation has ever left the conditioning of the mind of its youth - its future manpower - to foreigners". Therefore the need for the localisation of the staff and the programmes of the universities in the developing nations are predicated on the same logic that underlies the staffing of English universities predominantly by the English, American universities by Americans and Russian universities by the Russians. In a similar way, a workshop(5) on staff development in African universities which was held in Accra in 1972 supported the efforts for localisation of universities on the grounds that "having been born, loved and nurtured in the locality, only the African can truly bridge the social and communication barriers that in their universities too often tend to separate the teacher from the student". The foreign academic, however objective he might be, is bound to be handicapped in his understanding of the social environment and in his interpretation of the local cultures and traditions that inevitably must increasingly influence his teaching, research and dissemination of knowledge. The workshop again stressed that staff localisation "facilitates the mental and ideological orientations of the outlook of both the teacher

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and the student, thus making it easier to gear the university system to the national realities".

The views of the workshop about localisation of universities in developing countries may perhaps appear, or even be dismissed as, mere expressions of political or nationalistic sentiments by people outside the developing world context. But the available literature on the development of Makerere University strongly supports the above views and indicate that curriculum and staff localisation were adopted after independence in 1962 as a reaction to the failure of the official colonial policy concerning higher education in Uganda and the colonial expatriates who controlled all aspects of life in the university to gear higher education to the realities of East Africa or Uganda.

The Colonial Policy and the Growth of the Impetus for Localising Makerere (1922-1962)

Started as a native technical school in 1922, Makerere became a university college affiliated to London University under a special relationship of tutelage with gradual development into the University of East Africa in 1949. All its lecturers were from Britain, the syllabus was that of London University which set and marked the examinations. The students at Makerere University College were regarded as external students of London University and after their graduation they were awarded London University degree certificates. This initially could not be surprising since there were no Ugandans or East Africans to be appointed as lecturers in the University, and there were again no local materials to be taught. But in the development of the University even at the level that some Ugandans or East Africans were available for appointment, unfounded assumptions and excuses were used by the colonial educational planners and the colonial expatriates in Makerere to maintain the status quo. The type of research that interested the expatriates was anthropological; not so much related to developing localised curriculum. Sir Phillip Mitchel, Governor of Uganda during this time, and regarded as one of the most instrumental people in educational policy formulation for the growth of higher education in Uganda at that time, is reported, in his support of the British oriented curriculum for the East African students in Makerere, to have asserted that "there is only one civilisation and one culture which we are fitted to lead these people...our own. We know no other and we cannot dissect the one we know and pick out this piece or that as being good or bad for Africa".(6) Again, P Forster, described as having been one of the most outstanding philosopher chaplains Makerere ever employed, put it bluntly in the 1950s when he said that "there is no such thing as African education. There are only Africans being educated like Europeans".(7) At this juncture it apparently appears that the education received in Makerere University was basically geared not to local reality but to conditions obtaining in Britain.

Yet another school of colonial expatriate academics used similar simple assumptions and excuses to exclude the appointment of capable Ugandans or Africans to teaching posts in Makerere. P Forster, in defence of the exclusion

of the indigenous academics from appointments in the University, argued openly that,

"To the young African, education is not the means whereby he may develop the acuteness of his perception either in his intellectual life or in his relationship to the external world with the purpose of gaining great human enjoyment and relish from life. The joy of learning to learn, of working for achievement of some substantial improvement of the human race, the thought of discovery or adventure of research, or the long labour of scholarship; they had not walked twelve miles to school in their early days for that. They had not suffered the agonies of examination fever in order to become scholars or thinkers."(8)

Without revealing what research he had done to come to such a conclusion, Forster's view came out openly through the paper of a prominent colonial expatriate head of department in the University, even as late as 1960 when Uganda was at the eve of independence, who was convinced that however academically capable the Ugandans might have proved themselves to be in their studies, the poor social background from which they came hindered their development to the level of a university intellectual, as he put it in the following words,

"Perhaps the time has come to try and see the position of these intellectuals and what there is to offer them when once they graduate from the ivory tower. In a house without electricity, in a school in a bush...ten miles from a town; and in a town without a bookshop...with no up country libraries, possibly not even a cinema; with no periodicals except Drum, and perhaps most important of all unacceptable in the alien society that dominates the intellectual life of his country what chance is there of being either civilised or intellectual in this wilderness?"(9)

Consequently, therefore, by independence in 1962, the only level at which a Ugandan or an African could be appointed in Makerere was at "research assistant" level. This was the only level of appointment in the University for which there was provision in the University budget for the appointment of the indigenous academics. While the expatriate academic quoted above was a senior faculty member but holding only a BA degree from London University the limited position of research assistants open to the indigenous academics were occupied by people who were greatly over-qualified for them, and, indeed, far more academically qualified than the expatriate academics. By 1962, for example, such positions were occupied by W Banage (Ugandan) with a first class Honours and PhD in Science from London University, Mwai Kibaki (Kenya) and Lameka Goma (Zambia) who were also PhD holders but could not be appointed to a higher level as a matter of official policy in the University. Immediately after independence the discrimination against the indigenous academics and the poverty of the University curriculum (in relation to gearing it to East African realities) came to the fore and the new Parliament

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passed a motion for an immediate and unrestricted localisation of the staff and the curriculum in Makerere.

The Implementation of the Policy of East Africanisation 1963-1970

By the time the policy of localisation came to be implemented in 1963 Makerere University College had joined Nairobi University College in Kenya and Dar es Salaam University College in Tanzania to form an autonomous federation of the University of East Africa. This new University of East Africa was financed by the three governments of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania through a body which was known as the "East African Common Services Organisation" which had been set up to administer all services that were being run jointly by the three states. The policy of staff localisation that was put in practice was therefore East Africanisation. The policy implemented therefore addressed itself to bringing East Africans of the highest academic training and promise to teach in any of the three colleges of the University irrespective of whether the college in question was in their respective nation or not, i.e. so long as a person was an East African that person could be appointed to the academic or administrative staff of any of the three colleges. The policy also aimed at devising ways and means of encouraging research to develop curriculum and teaching materials relevant to the East African context. In order to achieve this, two systematic programmes were devised. The first one was known as the "Staff Development Programme" and was devised to assure both numbers and academic quality during the take over from the expatriates by local academics. A Parent Staff Development Committee was formed at the federal level which co-ordinated the activities of the separate Staff Development Committees in each of the colleges and the day to day administration of the activities of the Parent Committee were managed by a full time "Senior Liaison and Staff Development Officer" at the Central Office of the University of East Africa, which was in Makerere University College itself. This Parent Committee had the Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa as its Chairman, the Academic Registrar as its Secretary and its membership was made up of the three Principals of the three colleges, three external members (one chosen from a university in Britain, one from a university in the United States and the third being the Resident Representative of the UNDP in East Africa). Each Academic Board of the three colleges sent one representative and Rockefeller Foundation (which was one of the leading sponsors of the programme) was represented by the Foundation's representative in East Africa. Also in attendance were the Senior Liaison and Staff Development Officer of the University, and representatives from the government Ministries of Education and Economic Planning. Membership to the individual college committees was made up of the respective college principals as chairmen, college registrars as secretaries and the deans of faculties and schools and institutes as members and, again, government representation from the Ministries of Education and Economic Planning in each of the respective states. The second programme set up was known as the "Research Grants Programme" which was devised to manage research funds and co-ordinate research activities for the production of East African

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text books and reading materials for the East Africanisation of the curriculum. This was also run by a parent committee at the university central administration level and separate research grants committees in each of the colleges.

Under the "Staff Development Programme", three categories of appointments were established within the University in order to effect the process of staff localisation. The first one was known as the category of "special assistant". This was meant for the recruitment of young graduates with upper-second honours or better qualifications at the end of each academic year who were remunerated with tax-free grants better than they would have got by joining the civil service. This was a one-year appointment during which time the appointee became familiar with his academic department, gained some teaching and research experience through conducting undergraduate tutorial classes and being involved in some research work going on in his faculty or department. In consultation with his head of department, he would formulate his area of specialisation and if facilities were locally available, he would register for the appropriate higher degree. Otherwise he would be sent on a scholarship to an overseas university. Since most of the scholarships were available from outside bodies such as the Rockefeller Foundation his local grant would be withdrawn and made available to one who could be trained locally.

The second category was of "tutorial fellows". This was a two-year appointment for holders of masters' degrees, though those with good first degrees could be appointed in the absence of better qualified candidates and if they had some relevant practical experience. This category was for people who were qualified for appointment to permanent academic posts but about whom the University did not have adequate information about their academic ability to teach. The two years were therefore a period of trial during which the appointee had to prove whether or not he could hold an academic appointment. He would immediately be slotted into a vacancy which occurred in his area of specialisation in his department if he proved capable of teaching. Otherwise his appointment would be terminated.

The third category was known as "special lectureship"; this grade was formed deliberately for the immediate replacement of expatriates by East African staff. Under this category, persons qualified and suitable for academic appointments but who had become available when there were no vacancies for them were appointed against vacancies occupied by expatriates. The appointment was supernumerary and was held for a maximum of three years during which period the college concerned had to absorb the appointee into its permanent staff. He would automatically fill a vacancy that occurred in his particular area of specialisation in the department, and this meant that it became difficult for the contract of an expatriate to be renewed in a situation where he was working in a department with a special lecturer of the same area of specialisation. The scheme, in addition, provided attractive allowances for one year of leave for further study at any acceptable university. The scheme also catered for those East Africans already in established posts but who wanted to complete their higher degrees of post-doctoral

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studies. They could get one year salary support during which they could do research in East Africa, or would be given overseas scholarships in cases where the study could not be done locally.

Other steps implemented to step up East Africanisation and to discourage the continued appointment of expatriates included the requirement for each head of department to identify suitable candidates at the time of graduation, even from overseas universities. As a result, colleges with consular assistance abroad, compiled long lists of such candidates together with their progress reports. Further recruitment on permanent and pensionable terms was stopped. At this time 40 per cent of the academic staff in Makerere University was made up of expatriates on permanent and pensionable terms. The University administration was to be East Africanised in the shortest time possible and total East Africanisation in this respect had been achieved by 1970. Headship of departments could now be held by associate professors and senior lecturers even where there were expatriate professors in the departments. This was aimed at putting the control of the decision and policy making organs of the University Colleges in the hands of East Africans. Expatriation allowances and gratuities which were meant to attract expatriates were cut down and a policy of "take-or-leave" was adopted.

Relations with Outside Agencies

In order to sustain the programme the three Governments of East Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania), besides funding the University through the East African Common Services Organisation, made individual financial contributions to the programmes in their respective colleges. Furthermore, they jointly solicited outside financial assistance and their first call for such assistance was answered by the financing of a Donors Conference(10) at Lake Como in Italy by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1963. This conference was attended by the Ministers and Permanent Secretaries of Finance and Education from Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; officials of the East African Common Services Organisation (through which the East African Governments financed the University of East Africa); officials of the Government of the United Kingdom, officials from USAID, IBRD, UNESCO and OECD; representatives of the German Federal Republic Ministry of Economic Cooperation; officials from Ford, Rockefeller and Carnegie, Nuffield and Wolfson Foundations; officials from Leverhume and Dulverton Trusts; representatives of the three colleges led by the college principals; the Vice-Chancellor and the Registrar of the University. Most outstanding responses were made by the UK Government (with a cash contribution of £1.5 million) and Rockefeller Foundation which contributed \$162,000 to the staff development programme for the triennium beginning June 1963 to July 1967.

Achievements and the Break-up of East Africanisation

According to the Staff Development Committee report of 1969(11), localisation in Makerere University College had jumped from 10 per cent of the total staff

at the end of 1963/64 academic year to 32 per cent. For the whole of the University of East Africa taken together, out of 817 total established posts in the University, 265 had already been East Africanised, and this represented 32.4 per cent of the total staff establishment; Makerere College 32 per cent, Nairobi College 33.7 per cent and Dar es Salaam College 31.8 per cent East Africanised. However, by this time strong nationalist feelings of separate national development and educational planning were coming to the fore in each of the three states of East Africa, particularly spearheaded by Tanzania which had adopted a more militant socialist development strategy of self-reliance. Political pressure was building up for the transformation of the respective university colleges into autonomous universities of their respective nations. These developments led to the Uganda Government appointing a "Visitation Committee"(12) in 1969 which was empowered to look at ways and means through which Makerere could be run more on a national rather than on a federal level. The Committee reported to the Government in 1970, clearly stating that it was not in the national interest for Makerere to simply East Africanise its staff and programmes. It had to specifically aim at Ugandanisation if it was to play a more meaningful role in the development of the country. The Committee therefore recommended the immediate establishment, by the Makerere University College Council, of an ad hoc committee for Ugandanisation, with adequate funds and facilities for drawing up a programme that would ensure that Ugandans were trained to take over the academic and administrative duties of the University as soon as possible. The Committee further observed that East Africanisation of Makerere had hindered the possibilities of the most important academic posts in the University, such as deanship and headship of departments, being held by Ugandans. It was stated that there were already qualified Ugandans to take over these posts and immediate Ugandanisation of the posts was recommended. The Committee further recommended that promising Ugandans who completed their undergraduate degree should be appointed directly to teaching posts and should pursue their postgraduate studies while actively carrying out duties of faculty members as a way of preparing them to take over responsibilities from the non-Ugandans. In July 1970, the University of East Africa broke up and each of its three colleges became an autonomous national university of the respective nations of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. As a result of this, and on the basis of the recommendations of the Visitation Committee, new Staff Development and Publications and Research Grants Committees were set up for the purpose of Ugandanising the new Makerere University.

The Current Policy of Ugandanisation

The policy of Ugandanisation replaced the policy of East Africanisation which came to an end with the break-up of the University of East Africa in July 1970 and, as has already been outlined, it was the implementation of the recommendation of the Ugandan Government appointed Visitation Committee. The Ugandanisation process is maintained by three main organs basically financed by the Government. These are:

1. The Staff Development Programme administered by the Staff Development

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Committee for the purposes of recruiting and training Ugandans for academic appointments in the University,

2. The Publications and Research Grants Committee,

3. The Makerere Institute of Social Research.

The latter two are involved in financing and administering research and publications activities for the production of teaching materials on Uganda. Each of these two groups of localisation activities will be dealt with separately under two headings, namely Staff Localisation and Curriculum Localisation.

Staff Localisation

After the break up of the University of East Africa and the emergence of Makerere as an autonomous national University for Uganda in July 1970, the ad hoc Ugandanisation Committee which had been established immediately following the report of the Visitation Committee took over the administration of the staff development activities which had hitherto been administered on the basis of East Africanisation. The Ugandanisation Staff Development Committee met for the first time on 8 March 1971. It was chaired by the Vice-Chancellor of the University. The Academic Registrar acted as its Secretary, while all the deans of the faculties and the heads of schools and institutes of the University formed its membership. This structure of representation on the Committee continues but has since been enlarged to include the Deputy Vice-Chancellor, the University librarian, and the Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries of Education, Finance and Economic Development. This high-powered representation on the Committee by both the University and the Government appears to be evidence of the importance attached to the process of Ugandanising the University and the role that the Government plays in the University's planning activities.

The Administration of the Programme

Administratively the Staff Development Programme is run as a section in the Academic Registrar's Department. Its day-to-day activities are carried out by a senior official of assistant registrar level who is directly responsible to the Academic Registrar. His role is to handle the correspondence and to prepare the agendas for the Staff Development Committee which meets at least three times per term (i.e. six times in a full academic year). The Committee, chaired by the Vice-Chancellor, sits as a sub-committee of the University's main Academic Board known as the Senate. The role of the Academic Registrar and his department is mainly secretarial. The executive powers to decide on any matters that may come up for urgent attention are in the hands of the Vice-Chancellor.

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Activities

The activities, aims and objectives of the Staff Development Programme are reflected in the Staff Development Committee's terms of reference which were recorded in the minutes of the Committee's first meeting on 8 March 1971(13) as follows:

1. to devise a realistic and effective programme for staff development;
2. to examine agreed established requirements over the following five to ten years, and devise a plan for Ugandanisation;
3. to ensure the quality of staff by supervising the training of potential staff and offering further opportunity for training for existing staff through short visits, study leaves, etc.
4. to disburse funds that may be made available for the Staff Development Programme;
5. to work in close relation with the Appointments Board and to send copies of the minutes of the Committee to the Board and to all heads of departments. The heads of departments should
 - (a) attempt to know their requirements in advance and plan accordingly.
 - (b) indicate the degree of commitment in respect of each candidate they forward,
 - (c) show the candidate's specialities and the department's need for them,
 - (d) track down at an early stage the potential academics; i.e. those who graduate with first class and upper second honours degrees.

From the evidence one noticeable bias is that the administrative staff is neglected in staff training and emphasis is put on training the academic staff. This may probably reinforce the view that the programme is more concerned with Ugandanisation in numbers than in raising the quality of existing staff. Administrative staff, who are obtained more easily than the academic staff, are expected to learn through experience while the academic staff must at least get a second degree before gaining permanent appointment. But even on the side of the academics, a more detailed look at the activities of the programme shows that since 1973 it has hardly catered for the already established staff. The programme appears to have concentrated on training young Ugandan graduates to acquire second degrees and automatically be appointed to lecturership positions. It can in fact rightly be categorised as a crash programme for the numerical production of Ugandan lecturers without paying adequate attention to the fact that those lecturers need doctoral or post-doctoral research experience if they are to effectively carry out the academic responsibilities of the senior expatriate counterparts they are replacing. One reason given in defence of this policy is that the shortage of staff that followed the mass exodus of expatriate academics, and

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eventually the fleeing of the country by the majority of the indigenous staff during the peak of the military dictatorship between 1973 and 1979, made it impossible for the University to release the few permanent academics left for study leave. Some departments, for example, according to the memorandum from the Academic Staff Association presented to the University Council on 28 March 1978, had lost all their academic staff while others remained with only skeleton staff. During the 1977/78 academic year, for example, the faculty of law had lost fifteen of its seventeen Ugandan academic staff; the faculty depended for its survival on special assistants and part-time legal practitioners. At the end of the same academic year the department of electrical engineering was unable to present its students for examinations because all its staff, the majority of whom were Ugandans, had fled the country leaving teaching to special assistants who, according to the University regulations, are not allowed to set examinations or mark them without senior supervision. With such staff shortages already qualified and appointed staff could not be released for study leave. Besides the great necessity for their services in the University, releasing staff for overseas study was regarded as one way of helping them out of the country to look for alternative employment abroad. By the end of 1979/80 academic year, an estimated 773(14) Ugandans had qualified for appointment to lecturership positions in the University, as compared to 625 established academic posts existing in the University at the time. But the University had had only half (303) of its established posts filled by 256 Ugandans and 57 expatriates. It is again estimated that at the end of the 1980/81 academic year 70 of the Ugandans who had fled the University were teaching at the University of Nairobi in Kenya, 12 in the University of Dar es Salaam, 30 in the University of Zambia, 200 in other countries of Africa, USA, Britain and Canada, and 70 who had just qualified from overseas universities had just not returned home and their whereabouts was not known.

Government Intervention

Realising the seriousness of the situation, the Ministry of Internal Affairs took over directly the responsibility of clearing any University member of staff travelling out of the country, a move which was intended to make sure that the Ugandan academics did not flee the country since it was very rare, and only in case of an academic sympathetic to the regime, that permission would be granted for any study tour abroad. Again, realising that even the special assistants sent for further studies abroad did not actually come back to the country, the Government acted by taking over the role of the University Appointments Board and pushed academics sympathetic to the regime to positions of deanship and headship in the faculties. These sympathetic academics were then directed to start postgraduate programmes in their respective departments so that the special assistants were trained locally and their chances of fleeing the country were minimised. The noticeable consequence was that departments without staff experienced in postgraduate training were forced to start postgraduate programmes. An example given of such a situation was given of one faculty. With none of the 17 special assistants sent for further studies overseas between 1973 and 1977(15) coming back to Uganda, and with the loss of fifteen of the seventeen established staff of the faculty, the faculty dean pushed through a postgraduate programme

to train the special assistants locally with the help of part-time lawyers and some expatriates from India and Pakistan. But the programme failed to attract the registration of well qualified special assistants to the faculty. Four candidates who registered for the programme were holders of lower second honours degrees though normally lower second degree holders are rarely admitted to postgraduate work in the University. One came from the city council and three from the Law Development Centre. After the military regime had been overthrown in 1979, the University senate had enough courage to dissolve the programme on the grounds that the faculty lacked adequate facilities and experienced teachers to embark on such a programme. Perhaps, to sum up the problems surrounding the programme of localisation of staff in Makerere, one would be right to say that an otherwise potentially successful policy of staff localisation has been thrown out of balance by an unfavourable political climate that even now has not improved much.

Pattern of Government Funding

Another noticeable development in this programme of Ugandanisation is the huge increase in government financial commitment to the programme since 1975 despite the fact that most of those who have been sponsored do not come back to work in the University. By 1971 government funding to the programme was minimal, with most of the funds and scholarships being provided by international agencies the biggest contributors being

1. The Inter-University Council (London),
2. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA),
3. The Rockefeller Foundation,
4. The Ford Foundation and
5. The Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan (16)

The period following the coming to power of the military regime in 1971 saw the international isolation of Uganda, and Makerere in particular, to an extent that, by 1975, almost all international agencies extending aid to Makerere had withdrawn and the Government was faced with either increasing spending on the programme in order to make it possible for the University to continue in existence or close the University since almost all expatriates had left the country and it was difficult for Makerere to attract any academics from outside Uganda. Consequently government funding to the programme rose from shillings 700,000 in 1975 to almost five times more by 1981, i.e. to shillings 3,386,240. These drastic increases are revealed in the 1976/81 University Quinquennial report(17) as follows:

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<u>YEAR</u>	<u>1975/76</u>	<u>1976/77</u>	<u>1977/78</u>	<u>1978/79</u>	<u>1979/80</u>	<u>1980/81</u>
Amount (in shillings)	700,000	1,946,000	3,102,500	3,216,000	3,295,616	3,386,245
Annual Increase	-	1,246,000	1,156,500	113,500	79,616	90,624
% Annual Increase	-	178%	60%	4.1%	4.4%	2.8%

Relations with Outside Agencies

Despite the increases in government funding, the University was facing a problem by the end of the 1979/80 academic year. Some of the special assistants who were coming back from studies abroad could not be appointed to lecturer-ship positions because they had no proof to show that they had successfully completed their studies. Lack of foreign reserves in the Uganda Central Bank had made it impossible for their tuition fees to be sent to the respective overseas universities. Their results had therefore been withheld until the University could pay the fees. At a second Como Conference financed by the Rockefeller Foundation, which was held between 13-17 May 1980(18), the University had appealed to the donors of scholarships for the rehabilitation of Makerere to release the funds in such a way that they paid for the tuition fees of some of those who had finished their studies abroad but whose results had been withheld by the universities because of the failure of the Bank of Uganda to remit their fees. But this request was in some areas not successful because the donors were interested in specific programmes with which they wanted to associate while others gave scholarships on condition that they had to be taken in universities of the awarding agency's country of origin. Attending this donors' conference were the Ugandan Ministers of Education and Rehabilitation, the Vice-Chancellor, the Secretary and the Academic Registrar, plus three professors from Makerere University, and the donors included the following:

1. Rockefeller Foundation: this Foundation facilitated the holding of the conference. Its representatives pledged support for staff development programmes in agriculture and social science, and to consider contribution to a fund for the repatriation of Makerere staff who had been in the University's staff development pipeline under the Foundation's sponsorship.
2. Inter-University Council/Overseas Development Administration: this donor promised to set aside £45,000 for the year 1980/81 for the sponsorship of Makerere staff on short term visits of 19-75 days in fields selected by the University, and to finance interdepartmental linkages between Makerere and British universities in fields such as staff exchange, etc.
3. International Development Office, Ottawa: this is a non-government agency of the Association of Universities and Colleges in Canada through which the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) had sponsored Ugandans for the Makerere Staff localisation programme prior to 1975.

It expressed willingness to resume such assistance to the University by sponsoring selected candidates for study in Canadian universities.

4. Carnegie Corporation of New York: this offered an immediate grant of (US)\$30,000 to be used for repatriating Ugandan academics back to Makerere and to assist towards the creation of a centre for the improvement of teaching and learning at the University campus.
5. Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust: this pledged an immediate grant of £12,000 to cover scholarships for two special assistants for the 1980/81 academic year, and a grant of £5,000 to cover short visits of staff, all of which were to be undertaken in UK.
6. World University Service (WUS) of UK and International World University Service of Geneva: these two bodies were already sponsoring 250 Ugandans on scholarships in universities in the UK, 180 of whom were finishing their undergraduate studies during the year. WUS expressed willingness to sponsor those that Makerere University was interested in for postgraduate studies.
7. The Australian Development Assistance Bureau: during the 1979/80 academic year, this agency had extended a grant of about (A)\$100,000 to cover training aids and equipment, and it had also made available 25 training awards to Makerere University. The agency promised to grant further short term training awards to the University; but all had to be undertaken in universities in Australia.
8. The Ford Foundation: this pledged to continue an aid grant of (US)\$100,000 and also to provide a new grant of (US)\$110,000 to the faculty of agriculture and (US)\$140,000 to the faculty of social science which would be used for the repatriation of Ugandan academics under the sponsorship of the Foundation, for staff training and staff travel for conferences and for staff visits overseas.
9. The Nuffield Foundation: this offered a fellowship for a special assistant to study paediatrics in the UK and pledged to continue such assistance to the faculty of medicine.

What is most noticeable about the above details of the donors' assistance to Makerere during this period of reconstruction is that while the University was more eager to meet the fees of those it had sent abroad for further studies between 1975 and 1980, the donors were interested in their own specific programmes and in new projects of staff training in their own countries. Some faculties and departments, like law and arts, which were facing acute shortages of staff emerged out of the conference empty-handed because the donors were not interested in them. Under such circumstances it becomes doubtful if a programme of localisation can be effective when the University or a host government, like Uganda, lacks the means to direct its own priorities.

Curriculum Localisation

As already outlined, two main organs exist in the University for the advancement of curriculum localisation. These are the Publications and Research Grants Committee and the Makerere Institute of Social Research.

The Publications and Research Grants Committee (19)

This Committee, as has already been outlined earlier in this paper, was started in 1963 as an organ for the East Africanisation of the curriculum of the then University of East Africa. Currently it continues to exist as an organ for the Ugandanisation of the curriculum in particular. The Committee is chaired by the Vice-Chancellor with the Deputy Vice-Chancellor as its deputy chairman. Membership is made up of one representative elected by the Boards of each of the faculties, institutes and schools of the University. The Academic Registrar is its secretary. It meets at least three times a term and its terms of reference are

1. generally to encourage research and other original work by members of the University,
2. to administer grants in aid for publications made from University funds for this purpose, and
3. to furnish an annual report to the Senate on the administration of such funds.

The Committee is funded by the Government through the University's Grants Committee. The funds are basically intended for the production of teaching materials on Uganda and all members of the academic staff are encouraged to apply and receive them provided their topics are approved by both the Committee itself and the government-owned National Research Council. During the period of military rule, the National Research Council could not approve any research in the country without permission from the President's Office, and this made it very difficult for the Makerere staff to engage in research.

The Makerere Institute of Social Research(20)

This institute was originally established by the British Colonial Government in 1948 as an independent regional centre for research in the social sciences, located on the Makerere campus. The emphasis during the colonial period was put on anthropological research. During the period of East Africanisation, it became an East African centre for doing government applied research. For example, in 1963, the Institute launched the Economic Development Research Project with a group of six economists, half of whom were from abroad, to carry out a four-year study of development planning in East Africa. After the break up of the University of East Africa and the idea of federalism in East Africa in 1970, the Institute became the Makerere Institute of Social Research. Currently it is an internationally recognised centre for research in the social sciences in Uganda in particular, administering research studies on the social, political and economic problems of

the country. Its functions are to provide research experience for Ugandans interested in academic careers, and to develop and publish teaching materials for the University, as well as to undertake some applied research for the Government and to provide a centre with which overseas research workers may be associated. The Institute has full time staff research fellows and senior research fellows involved in research who are paid by the Government through the University Grants Committee. It is administered by an executive director and an executive committee. The Committee consists of the dean of the faculty of social science (chairman), the heads of departments in social science and representatives from the faculties, schools and institutes of the University.

Relations with Outside Agencies

The Institute receives research funds from international agencies, the most noticeable of which are the Rockefeller Foundation, the United Kingdom Ministry of Overseas Development and the Ford Foundation. But the problem facing the planners in the Institute is that often such research funds are given on condition that research is undertaken in specific areas of interest to the funding agency. The problem here is that the Institute may at the time not have staff qualified or interested in the field selected. Moreover, the type of research funds seem to restrict the Institute in carrying out research in areas of priority to curriculum development in the University.

Achievements Towards Localisation of Curriculum

Perhaps the most important justification of the localisation of university programmes and research in any nation is the realisation of the fact that each nation has, to a large extent, a unique cultural, social and economic background that forms the basis of its development. Consequently the type of research and academic programmes derived from the cultural and social economic conditions of developed societies like Britain may not be appropriate to the less developed and culturally different society of Uganda. Even in the East African context, the diversity of cultural and social and economic history of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania, particularly due to the difference in climate, capacity for agricultural production and contact with colonialism, appear enough to justify each nation approaching development from its own angle.

Looking through the university calendars since the establishment of Makerere University in 1949 to the present, much has changed in the way of curriculum. After independence, the syllabuses were rewritten, particularly with the aid of the work of the research grants programme, to gear them to the East African context. Most noticeable was the upgrading of the Kiswahili language to degree level, Kiswahili having been identified as the unifying indigenous language for East Africa. From the break up of the University of East Africa in 1970 up to the present, efforts have been made, through the research undertaken by the activities of the Publications and Research Grants Committee and the Makerere Institute of Social Research, to rewrite the

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syllabuses of the University to reflect the reality of Uganda. Research in the University has broadened from the colonial anthropological orientation to other fields of national importance such as economics, education, geography, history, political science, rural economy, religious studies, sociology, social psychology, law etc. For example, where before, during the colonial period, Christianity was taught at the expense of traditional religions which were looked down on as paganism, the syllabuses of the University now contain comprehensive courses in traditional religions based on locally produced research materials. History syllabuses have also been rewritten with emphasis on local history where before the emphasis was put on British or European history. Similar steps have been taken in other departments - for example poems and novels written about Uganda by writers like Okot P'Bitek are replacing some of the English literature that used to dominate the English syllabuses. In the faculty of law, though basically the principles of the English legal system still exist, a lot has been done by way of reshaping the syllabuses to focus on East African realities in general and Ugandan realities in particular. Through utilising the funds of the Publications and Research Grants Committee, Ugandan law academics like Professor Abraham Kiapi, Dr Byamugisha, Mr J W Katende, have published materials and textbooks in Public Law, Criminal Law, Law of Banking and Insurance, Law of Business Associations, etc. which are replacing the predominantly English law text books. 1980 saw the first graduate in one of the indigenous languages in Uganda, the Luganda language; while at the same time the department of music, dance and drama has also been dramatically transformed to focus more on Ugandan culture. In all aspects of the University, therefore, it can now be seen that education at Makerere University is more and more being geared to the reality of Uganda through the activities of the localisation organs - the Publications and Research Grants Committee and the Makerere Institute of Social Research. One hindrance towards more progress has been the instability of local staff during the period of the military dictatorship which has disrupted research projects and scaled down research activities since most experienced senior staff fled the country during the period.

Conclusion

By way of summary, this paper has tried to reveal that government has increasingly exerted influence in the affairs and planning of Makerere University in order to make sure that the University is geared towards national reality. Steps to localise the staff and the curriculum were taken to achieve this aim. However, problems of political instability and lack of foreign reserves have made it difficult for what would be a successful planning venture to fully materialise. The lack of foreign money seems perhaps to have put the planning policy under the manipulation of outside agencies whose interests and priorities may not necessarily agree with national priorities or the University's priorities in localisation. But, again, it is hard to see how Makerere would have survived through the period of the military dictatorship had there not been such a planning policy of

staff Ugandanisation. When the expatriates fled the country in the early 1970s, the few Ugandans kept the University going. When even the Ugandans started to flee the country, the staff localisation programme assured that there were at least some who stayed to keep the University going. Perhaps the Ugandan example of staff localisation is a warning to many developing countries that at one time they may be forced to stand alone, and so they should speed up their programmes of self-reliance.

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