

## **Africanisation of Adult Education at Makerere University College in the 1960s**

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### **Abstract**

Africanisation was a major concern of post-independence in East Africa, and particularly in Uganda, its pursuit at Makerere University College was deliberate in the 1960s. While it was a major preoccupation of nationalist leaders, it has hardly received the attention of researchers on the history of education at the university. How was university adult education Africanised at Makerere? This article answers this question using archival sources and interview data from former members of Makerere University staff. The article argues that the Africanisation of adult education occurred through the recruitment of Africans and the modification of the curriculum and entry requirements to incorporate African perspectives and relevance to the needs at the time. Financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation was influential in attracting Ugandan academic staff for employment. By 1969, 79 per cent of the staff in adult education were African. An admission criterion, the mature-age admission scheme, was introduced to support Africanisation of the country through retraining of adults for employment, while learning content and language were adjusted to reflect a concern with African topics and perspectives. Therefore, these were the strategies through which the Africanisation of adult education occurred at Makerere.

**Keywords:** Adult Education, Extramural Studies, Africanisation, Makerere, Uganda

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## Introduction

After achieving political independence, the Africanisation of the country became a major preoccupation for East African leaders. Focusing on adult education at Makerere College, Uganda, this article answers the question of Africanisation in the first post-independence decade. Research on the Africanisation of adult education at Makerere College is scanty, thus the gap this article sought to address to show how Africanisation happened in the 1960s at Makerere. Data for this article were obtained from the archives at Makerere University Library and Uganda National Archives at the National Records Center and Archives located at Wandegaya, Kampala, Uganda. Key informant interviews were conducted with former staff members in adult education at Makerere, who worked as resident tutors in the 1960s. The findings were analysed chronologically and thematically, focusing on the activities and ideas that included elements of Africanisation in the years 1960 to 1969. The analysis was guided by the decolonial arguments of Mamdani (2019), Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2018), and Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1986), who argued for the need to transform educational and other systems of former colonies. This article shows how, in the 1960s, efforts were made to Africanise adult education staff and the content of the courses offered at the Department of Extramural Studies at Makerere. This was done through the recruitment of

Africans, introduction of the mature-age admission scheme as an avenue for adults to join the university college, and modifying the learning content to ensure that the curriculum incorporated African perspectives and relevance to the needs of Ugandans in the 1960s. This article also shows that financial support from the Rockefeller Foundation, an American philanthropic organisation, was influential in attracting East Africans for employment in the 1960s. Although Ugandans were recruited as staff members at Makerere, it did not guarantee complete Africanisation of adult education. As illustrated in this article, the Africanisation of staff was almost complete by the end of the 1960s. The Africanisation of content in adult education courses was not complete because the courses offered maintained influence from British-oriented subjects. The use of English remained dominant over indigenous languages in adult education at Makerere.

## Decolonisation and Africanisation

Uganda was a British colony, and the university was a colonial project, “a top-down modernist project whose ambition was the conquest of society, the frontline of the civilising mission” (Mamdani, 2019, p.17). The establishment of universities in the British African colonies and their subsequent attachment to the University of London or other advanced universities was part of the colonial policy to develop the African

university to the standard of the British one (Adams, 1975; Omolewa, 1975; Gordon, 1979; Khanakwa, 2022). Makerere became a college of the University of London in 1949, and the first students of the external degree programme graduated in 1953 (Goldthorpe, 1965). Whereas this relationship with the British was previously perceived as advantageous, following the achievement of political independence, Africanists became critical of the nature of the university and its educational offerings and sought to make it more African in character. The motivation to stop colonial and limiting tendencies was the main goal that inspired African nationalist leaders. National independence was therefore a landmark achievement, as colonial administration ended and nationalist leaders became the political leaders of independent nations. The nationalist movement and the actions of nationalists were the first critical reflections on subverting the colonising project by emphasising the need for the relevance of university education (Mamdani, 2019).

As one of the effects of political independence obtained by the three East African countries, the special relationship that Makerere had with the University of London was dissolved in 1963, and the University of East Africa (UEA) was formed (Makerere University College Report, 1963; Khanakwa, 2020). The UEA had three constituent colleges of Nairobi, Dar es Salaam, and Makerere. It was inaugurated amidst calls for

the decolonisation of the university and marked a significant point in Africanisation, setting off several changes in staff and curriculum to ensure that Africanisation did not stop with the political leadership taken over by nationals but included knowledge decolonisation as well (Khanakwa, 2020; Maringe, 2017). Mamdani emphasised that the university was colonised and therefore decolonisation involved undoing colonial legacies which included political, social, economic, legal, lingual, and epistemic/knowledge systems that were introduced by the British colonial power (Tobi, 2020; Mamdani, 2019). Academic staff at the university as a modern educational institution were classified as prisoners in the colonising project. Mamdani (2019) argued that the institutional form of the university and the discipline-based intellectual content therein were introduced to Africa by European colonialists who sought to civilise Africa in the image of Europe. Due to British influence, universities in Africa, such as Makerere, had little to offer that related to what existed in Africa before colonialism. Similarly, Khanakwa (2022) argued that Makerere developed basing on the British university, particularly the University of London, as the model, therefore emphasising the influence by the British university to which Makerere was attached. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) argued that imperialism of knowledge was more dangerous than physical political domination because it

involved control of the minds of the colonised people which he called epistemological colonisation and an articulation of Africans as inferior.

While identifying himself as one of the inmates of the university colonising project, Mamdani argued that, “I suggest we think of our task as one of subverting the project from within through a series of acts that sift through the historical legacy, discarding some parts, and adapting others to a new-found purpose” (Mamdani, 2019, p.17). The situation was similar in other former British colonies such as Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, whereby as an affiliate of the University of London, the University of Rhodesia (renamed University of Zimbabwe after independence) adopted Western knowledge canons, and as a result, excluded Africans, their culture, and values (Mavengano, Maveresa and Nkamta, 2022). Ngugi wa Thiong’o, a renowned intellectual, emphasised the need for language decolonisation, arguing that decolonisation involved dealing with the problem of colonial languages and suggesting the adoption of African languages as a solution as (wa Thiong’o, 1986). Indeed, Africanisation as part of decolonising included efforts to address the dominance of colonial languages such as English, French, and Portuguese in Africa. Mamdani (2019) added that since the African university was a colonial project and a top-down modernist project, wherever colonial universities were established, the coloniser’s language

was emphasised. The single language was projected as the one capable of performing the transformation of the colony’s elite in line with the coloniser’s interests; English, French, or Portuguese.

By emphasising their own languages, the colonialists barred the majority of the colonised from engaging in the colonial intellectual project. Mavengano, Maveresa and Nkamta (2022), citing Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986) argued that the dominance of English over African languages in Africa was linguistic imperialism and belittlement of indigenous cultures. Just as Ngugi wa Thiong’o emphasised that language was critical to decolonising education, Mamdani similarly emphasised that the decolonising project had to be a multilingual project to provide not only Westernised education but also resources to nurture and develop non-Western intellectual traditions. Mamdani (2019) argued that non-Western intellectual traditions were capable of sustaining public and scholarly discourse. Mavengano et al (2022), Ngugi wa Thiong’o (1986), and Mamdani (2019) agreed that the solution involved Africanisation as part of non-Western intellectual alternatives.

Bernard de Bunsen, the Principal of Makerere University College, referred to two aspects of Africanisation; members of staff and the content of education (De Bunsen, 1995). Africanisation emphasised manpower planning

and the relevance of the content of education “to the immediate problems facing governments and the public, but not to a localisation and narrowing of vision” (De Bunsen 1995, p.143). De Bunsen seemed to imply that Africanisation did not mean a focus on indigeneity, defined as localisation. De Bunsen suggested the need for a continued global outlook. Although De Bunsen never mentioned “African culture”, his argument against localisation almost tallied with Metz (2017), who argued that Africanisation implies preservation of African culture but added that not all indigenous African culture is worth preserving. The concept of Africanisation had a historical relationship with that of decolonisation because the need to Africanise arose in the light of the independence that the former British colonies attained. Africanisation was an indicator of decolonisation in former African colonies. Jansen and Osterhammel (2017) argued that whereas the concept of decolonisation could be found in literature of the period before the 1950s, “it was used more frequently in the mid 1950s at the apex of the developments that the term decolonisation described in terms of national independence from the imperial rulers” (Jansen and Osterhammel, 2017, p.3). The first meaning of decolonisation in Africa’s colonial history, therefore, included political independence and the change to African leaders.

Africanisation was one of the goals pursued following national

independence to recruit Africans as members of staff and, to bring to the forefront knowledge produced and held by Ugandans as one of the non-Western traditions. It was therefore an obvious expectation of the independent country, Uganda, and others like it, to Africanise all aspects of their countries. The first form of Africanisation in Uganda was the assumption of power by Ugandans, first to the Legislative Assembly, and then Ugandans becoming political leaders of the country as President and Prime Minister in 1962. However, political independence never guaranteed independence in a country’s educational, social, or economic aspects. Political independence of the country “makes possible, but does not guarantee, the independence of that country’s educational system” (Adams, 1975, p.51). When independence was gained by the colonies, only the political and legal frameworks were immediately Africanised by Africans taking leadership positions (Maringe, 2017). The expectation to Africanise all public institutions was reflected in communications prior to 1962.

One such communication was in 1958 from Uganda’s Chief Secretary’s office on the “Africanisation of the Civil Service” addressed to all heads of departments, including Permanent Secretaries, reminding them of the emphasis by the governor on the need for training indigenous people. It stated that “you will recollect that in his address to Heads of Department, His Excellency made it clear that the

main effort must be to accelerate the training and appointment of Africans” (A Correspondence from the Chief Secretary on Africanisation of the civil service, File EC8327/12, Uganda National Archives). Although Makerere was not directly addressed in the Chief Secretary’s communication, the correspondence illustrated that Africanisation was expected. The other issue illustrated by the Chief Secretary’s communication above was that the colonial administration was not ready to promote Africanisation if trained Ugandan staff were limited in number in 1958. It seemed like a last-minute thought, implying an unreadiness to end imperialism and grant independence.

Nyerere observed that, “the system of education inherited was both inadequate and inappropriate for the new state.” As he pointed out, “its inadequacy was most immediately obvious: so little education had been provided that at independence, we did not have enough people with the necessary educational qualifications” (Nyerere, 1968, p. 417). Nyerere lamented the few qualified people at independence, and the low number of qualified nationals was the reason for the failure to find enough Africans to recruit for socio-economic development and university work within particular countries after independence. The knowledge systems introduced by the colonisers in Africa were meant to serve the coloniser’s interests, especially the production of a limited number of Africans to work as clerks and occupy

other junior positions in the colonial government structure of each colony (Maringe, 2017; Nyerere, 1968). The education systems introduced in the colonies were never designed to meet the interests of the colonised people. Therefore, after independence, it was important that the new governments emphasised the need to tailor education to the needs of the country, such as the need to recruit Ugandans and offer relevant learning content.

### **Africanisation of adult education**

Although the first department focused on adult education at Makerere University College was established in 1953 as the Department of Extramural Studies, the first African member of staff, Erisa Kironde, was recruited six years later in 1959-1960 year (Makerere University College Report, 1960). Of the six staff members in the department in 1959, Kironde was the only African. The other, Enock Rukare, was recruited three years later in the 1962-1963 year with increased recruitment of Ugandans and other Africans after independence (Makerere University College Report, 1962). Recruitment of Africans to replace departing expatriates was an immediate problem facing Uganda’s civil service, and its solution lay in training and recruiting Africans. The Report of the Commissioners for Africanisation in 1962 supported the training and recruitment of Ugandans as a strategy to fill gaps left by expatriates who were not expected to leave at once but gradually so

as to allow preparation for their replacement: “it would be wrong to remain dependent indefinitely on recruitment from other countries to the Civil Service” (Uganda Protectorate, 1962, p.1). This was a recognition of the need to recruit indigenous Ugandans as opposed to retaining expatriates. Training Africans to take over the positions formerly occupied by expatriates was a step in the redistribution of power in favour of the formerly colonised and powerless.

Julius Nyerere, a renowned advocate and promoter of adult education, in the first Five Year Development Plan for Tanzania (1964-1969) announced a commitment to adult education. He emphasised the importance of educating adults because the impacts of their education on society were realised faster than those of educating children (Bhalalusesa, 2020). Nyerere advocated prioritising adult education. Another emphasis in the 1960s was pan-Africanism, popularised as a strategy to achieve solidarity against neo-colonialism and the continued colonial influence. Many African academics and leaders supported pan-African thinking in education, advocating for curriculum change (Nkrumah, 1962). The commitment to review the educational curricula was reiterated in 1963 at a Summit Conference for independent African countries attended by leaders from thirty-two countries in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. At that Summit, the leaders emphasised African civilisation through educational reform,

strengthening educational and cultural ties, and cooperation among the people of Africa (Secretariat of the Organisation of African Unity, 1963). Uganda’s Prime Minister, Milton Obote, in his speech, emphasised the need for unity among leaders to achieve economic and social freedom and transform the mental attitudes and orientation of the people of Africa for them to have a better life (Secretariat, 1963).

Adult education was important in the educational process to achieve the goal of transforming the mental attitudes and orientation of Africans as was deemed necessary after independence, thus an element of Africanisation in terms of relevance. Following the independence of East African countries, extramural studies became the responsibility of each university college. In June 1962, the University College Dar-es-Salaam took over the responsibility for extramural work throughout Tanganyika, while in July 1963, University College Nairobi took over the responsibility for extramural work in Kenya (Makerere University College Report, 1963). Makerere University College no longer had responsibility for extramural studies across East Africa, as it had before 1962. This was because each East African country had acquired its university college under the University of East Africa, which was launched in 1963, thus each gained autonomy over its activities. Educational activities organised by the Department of Extramural

Studies at Makerere included African-oriented topics.

## The Curriculum

The Annual Study Vacation (ASV), a yearly 10-day residential adult education event, was an example of educational activities respectful of African topics. The Report on the first ASV emphasised that the aim of the annual study vacation “was to bring together people who were interested in the discussion of public affairs in the atmosphere of impartiality appropriate to a university”. The Report added that the ASV was important as it set out “to offer a chance for isolated educated Africans to come together and to demonstrate to those who take part in extra mural classes that they share interests with fellow students throughout East Africa” (First Annual Study Vacation Report, 1957; AR/MAK/122/6). The ASV aimed to have participants share as much as possible with fellow learners and tutors, and this was maintained throughout the annual study vacations that were organised by the department. Sharing through seminars and meetings during the ASV resonated with Africanness because of the value of community. In 1960, the fourth ASV was held at Makerere between 19<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> April that year. Activities at the fourth ASV reflected an emphasis on African topics. The theme of the fourth study vacation was “The Arts in Africa”. The activities included a visit to the Uganda Museum, followed by a general lecture on “African

Sculpture”. The ASV included a visit to the National Theatre and Cultural Centre, a general lecture on recent African writing, and another lecture on African Crafts (Fourth Annual Study Vacation Report, 1960, AR/MAK/122/6). The visits to the cultural centres and the title of the general lecture promoted an appreciation of African culture. The focus on African writing was decolonising in as far as the title of the lecture suggested concern with Africans’ writing.

The fifth Annual Study Vacation held at Makerere University College between 11<sup>th</sup> and 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1961 included topics on nationalism, freedom, and the need for unity. These were tailored towards the African reality, enabling adults to develop awareness of the dangers inherent in the adoption of Western ideas. Particular courses included: “Writing in Africa” and participants at the writing seminar were encouraged to read some of the following before going for the seminar: *The Dark Child* by Camara Laye; *No longer at Ease* by Chinua Achebe, *The Palm-wine Drinkard* by Amos Tutuola, *Down Second Avenue* by Ezekiel Mphahlele, and *The African* by William Conton (Fifth Annual Study Vacation Report, 1961, AR/MAK/122/6). These were relevant to raising awareness among participants about nationalism and independence from colonial administration. The above texts by African writers promoted the appreciation of the need for political independence and for Africans not to lose their

values and traditions. For example, *No longer at Ease* was a criticism of Western education that separated the youth from their parents and culture. Having works by African writers at the seminar was Africanisation of content in adult education.

The study of African music as part of extramural studies was an Africanising aspect of the programme. In October 1961, Solomon Mbabi-Katana, a music tutor, secured a five-year grant of 17,930 pounds from the Rockefeller Foundation which enabled him to pioneer African Music as a taught programme at Makerere. This laid the foundation for the scientific study of African music, dance, and drama as disciplines at Makerere (Mngomezulu, 2004; Blacking, 1965). Similarly, Ssempijja (2022) argued that in the 1960s, the Department of English was the first to introduce a Certificate course in Drama. The course focused on writing and producing plays, offering Ugandan playwrights an opportunity to showcase their work through inter-hall drama competitions at Makerere. Mbabi-Katana was based at the Institute of Education of Makerere University College. He collaborated with the Department of Extramural Studies in teaching music and African musical instruments. Through the African music programme, he taught many musically talented teachers and students in East Africa (Blacking, 1965). In 1963-64, he started broadcasting lectures in English on Radio Uganda, reaching wider audiences in schools, colleges, and the

public. Radio Uganda also allowed him airtime on Saturday evenings to broadcast lectures on African Vocal Music using Luganda and Runyoro as indigenous languages of Uganda (Blacking, 1965; Mngomezulu, 2004).

One of the adult learners of music in the extramural classes was Zadok Adolu-Otojoka. He was a Grade II Certificate teacher. His music career started at the Annual Study Vacations, where Mbabi Solomon Katana and George Wilberforce Kakoma were the music tutors. Adolu-Otojoka recounted his experience of extramural studies: "...I had not studied music. I used to go for extramural studies at Makerere University every year... for 2 weeks" (Zadok Adolu-Otojoka Interview by Milton Wabyona on 6<sup>th</sup> April 2019 and quoted by Wabyona, 2022, p.11). Zadok was happy that he went through the extramural studies because they set the foundation for his music career on which later achievements were built. He remembered that the adult education "program was for people outside the university admission programs", the adults who could not be admitted like the younger students (Zadok interview by Wabyona 6<sup>th</sup> April 2019, in Wabyona, 2022, p.11). Adolu-Otojoka exemplifies the way extramural studies offered adults like him a chance to pursue their desired career paths.

The sixth Annual Study Vacation held on 29<sup>th</sup> April-10<sup>th</sup> May 1962 at Makerere University College had elements of African content; for

example, Seminar 11 on music had a topic on “The development of African music” with the tutor as George Wilberforce Kakoma (Sixth Annual Study Vacation Report, 1962, AR/MAK/122/6). These activities marked the pioneering efforts in teaching African music. In 1963, there was an increase in the number of extramural language learners for Luganda, Swahili, Advanced English, and French. It was Africanising to have Luganda and Swahili taught in the extramural activities as this reduced the dominance of English. The Director of Extramural Studies reported that 1963 was a great year “with considerable increases in class attendance with a large number of successful classes in Advanced English, French, Luganda and Swahili” (Makerere University College Report, 1963, p.116).

Language classes in Luganda and Swahili marked linguistic nationalism, similar to the efforts of Julius Nyerere, who successfully popularised Swahili in Tanganyika which was spoken across the country, uniting the people (Chacha, 2002). Nyerere mentioned that Swahili helped in the struggles for independence: “It was the unity of the people of Tanganyika which brought Independence. Language was a great help. I was able to express myself anywhere in Tanganyika directly in Swahili” (Nyerere, 1962, p.2). This was in line with Ngugi’s assertion that the liberation and unity of marginalised communities lie in the common language used (wa Thiong’o, 1986). However, the use of

indigenous languages in extramural studies remained limited to Luganda and Swahili. The lack of a national language intelligible to all Ugandans, selected from the many indigenous languages spoken, was a limitation to the Africanisation of language in education.

The Annual Study Vacations were not aimed at offering qualifications to the participants. However, Africanisation and the need to recruit Ugandans, especially in the civil service, led to a craze for qualifications among extramural students who lacked vocational training and certification (Makerere University College Report, 1963). As a result, the Department of Extramural Studies started offering vocational training as its major role. The Mature-Age Entry examination, introduced in 1963, provided an avenue for adults to join the University of East Africa. The admission scheme targeted adults holding at least a certificate and aged at least 25 years. However, but also the adult had to be one who was not attending any school-based education at the time of application and so must have been out of school (Okech, 1999). One of the study participants, names withheld and anonymised as RFC to ensure the safety of the study participant, recalled that the mature-age entry scheme was a brainchild of someone at University College Dar es Salaam to help “those people who had missed out in the school system but had the intelligence, the ability to go to university” (Interview with RFC, 11<sup>th</sup> November 2021).

Preparing adults for mature-age entry examinations became one of the department's activities in the 1960s. This certificate courses offered by the department contributed to the preparation of such adults to qualify and increase their chances of passing the mature-age examination. Another former member of staff who used to work as a Chief Clerk revealed that "there used to be a private arrangement between students and tutors to prepare for mature-age entry exam. This would be on Saturday and Sunday as Weekend courses" (Interview with WK, 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2024). The mature-age admission scheme supported adult education and Africanisation by offering an opportunity to adults who wished to pursue degrees; ; as such, the scheme supported the need to train Ugandans and build their capacity to take on jobs.

In 1964, *The People* newspaper on 11<sup>th</sup> April, p.16 reported on planned new courses for Makerere, noting that "the extramural department was proposing to establish regular full-time residential courses and each would lead to a certificate awarded by the University College". This was in respect to the beginning of residential courses which were not a regular provision before the 1960s. Chaired by Erisa Kironde, a former extramural studies resident tutor, the Kironde Committee was tasked with reviewing the Department of Extramural Studies (Atwaru, 1992). It recommended the introduction of certificate-oriented courses and the

change of the department's name to the Centre for Continuing Education (CCE). These recommendations were adopted immediately, although the writing always referred to the Department of Extramural Studies long after the name had changed (Kwesiga, 1969). The name change to CCE was an indicator of the intention to move away from the British tradition of Departments of Extramural Studies. It also implied a widened service in terms of content, target learners, and goals of the certificate courses. The name of the department in charge of extramural studies also occurred in Tanzania to become "The Institute of Adult Education", and in Kenya, it became "The Institute of Adult Studies" (Titmus & Steele, 1995, p.126).

At Makerere, the widened service was indicated in the introduction of the Certificate of Adult Studies (CAS) in 1965 as a one-year residential course, and admission was by special examination. The content of the CAS included English to improve one's ability to communicate effectively with others; Economics; to enable students to appreciate the use of natural resources and scientific discoveries; Political Science to assist students understanding the processes of government and national economies, enable students to analyse social problems of developing nations, and grasp the background to nation building and East African Social Institutions and Man and his environment (Nsamba & Atim, 2004; Slee, 1965). The offer of the

Adult Studies course and its pursuit by adults to earn the Certificate of Adult Studies as a qualification was, however, a European legacy on academic credentials as the main outcome in university education. Nonetheless, the CAS content was designed to build learners' ability to analyse their communities, and understand the social, economic, and political situations. This type of content made the certificate course relevant to the participants. Relevance was an important component of Africanisation, and the CAS content was tailored to be relevant learners' need for social and personal development.

In his memoir, one of the former expatriate staff members of Makerere University College noted that an Adult Studies Centre was established in 1965 as a constituent part of the Department of Extramural Studies to offer the Certificate in Adult Studies. It was a residential unit, admission to which was by examination. "Applicants largely came from extramural classes around the country. Successful applicants undertook the Certificate of Adult Studies for one year in three subject areas: English and Communication, Government and Society, and Economics" (Clarke, 2018, p.2). Although the entry examination and certificate course were important to enable adults to increase their chances of joining other academic programmes and to obtain promotion at work or acquire a new job in the civil service, it was ironically part of the colonial modernist project

alluded to earlier by Mamdani (2019). This was a continuation of the dominance of Western education. Ironically, to Africanise required training in non-African ways to fit in formal employment opportunities such as the civil service.

The University of East Africa was a case of formal employment that required Africans trained through non-African ways if they were to be able to perform the duties expected of them by the institution. At the formation of the University of East Africa, only 9 percent of the academic staff were East Africans, and this situation called for enhanced efforts to ensure training of staff for the university of East Africa. De Bunsen, its first Vice Chancellor, argued that "Makerere entered national independence vulnerably, with no overriding policy for the Africanisation of its staff" (De Bunsen, 1995, p.141). Later, opportunities and funds were sought for the "academically ablest of our graduates to deepen their qualifications through post-graduate work overseas, in the hope that some would become colleagues" as members of staff at the university college (De Bunsen, 1995, p.141). One of the deliberate efforts to Africanise the staff was supported by funding provided by the Rockefeller Foundation of New York. In 1964, the Rockefeller Foundation funded the first Staff Development Programme aimed at East-Africanisation, to attract East Africans to occupy teaching and research positions at Makerere. The staff development

programme was called the University of East Africa Staff Development Special Lectureship Scheme, and it started with a grant of 392,000 United States dollars. It aimed at “increasing the number of East Africans of outstanding academic promise into establishment posts within the University College” (East Africanisation Report, p.2, Bernard de Bunsen Reports 1954-1965, AR/MAK/6/9). The Report mentioned that there were: two types of appointments: The Special Lectureships and the Special Assistantship. The Special Lectureship appointments were intended for mature scholars who were, or would soon be, fully qualified for established posts. The Special Assistantship appointment was intended for young East Africans, the quality of whose work at the undergraduate level gave promise for eventual university appointment after pursuing a higher degree (East Africanisation Report, p.2, Bernard de Bunsen Reports 1954-1965, AR/MAK/6/9).

### **Donor funding and Africanisation of staff**

Support from philanthropic organisations such as the Rockefeller Foundation contributed significantly to Africanisation at Makerere University College. The Rockefeller support was guided by the main objective of assisting in the development of a strong university “staffed by indigenous scholars that were capable of meeting critical manpower needs and committed to

applying relevant knowledge in fields responsive to national development objectives” (Coleman and Court, 1993, p. xvi). Donor support led to an increased percentage of East Africans, among the academic staff at the University of East Africa although the increase in real numbers recruited was small in the 1960s. There were still fewer African staff members than expatriates because there were still few people with the required qualifications. Bernard de Bunsen, the Principal of Makerere University College in the 1960s observed that at the Conference of university administrators held at Makerere from 4<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> September 1969, in a paper presented on Staff Development, it was emphasised that “it was desirable that the majority of those who taught and ran the Institutions of Higher Education were of the same nationality as their students” (East Africanisation Report, p.1, Bernard de Bunsen Reports 1954-1965; AR/MAK/6/9). There was an emphasis on the need for staff who were East Africans, just like the students. A senior university administrator at the same conference responded to the paper on staff development by lamenting that “We all realise the need for East Africanisation but the problem is how to achieve it” (East Africanisation Report, p.1, Bernard de Bunsen Reports 1954-1965, AR/MAK/6/9). There were very few trained East Africans at the time of independence.

The Rockefeller Foundation grant and establishment of a

Special Lectureship Scheme for the appointment of lecturers led to the increased recruitment of African staff members. In 1965, the percentage of East African academic staff had increased to eleven, while in 1968, the percentage had increased to 29.3 percent (East Africanisation Report, Bernard de Bunsen Reports 1954-1965, AR/MAK/6/9). It was also possible to elect East Africans to the positions of Directors or Chairs of academic units. In particular, Senteza Kajubi was appointed Director of the Institute of Education, Kenyan Ali Mazrui became Chair of Political Science, and Joseph Lutwama became Chair of Preventive Medicine (Makerere University College Report, 1965; Khanakwa, 2020). There were recognisable efforts to recruit Ugandans during the 1960s. Semakula Kiwanuka, a former member of staff, applauded the action of Yusuf Lule, the first Ugandan Principal of Makerere University College: “When they wanted to Africanise Makerere, Lule came as the first Principal. I met him in London, and he later put me on the payroll even before I returned to Makerere in 1965” (Interview with SK, 5<sup>th</sup> April 2022). SK was a member of staff of the Department of History at Makerere University College who participated in teaching the extramural classes whenever invited. At the 1965-1966 extramural session, SK gave extramural lectures on the History of Uganda (Makerere University College Report, 1966) as part of the collaboration in delivering extramural classes between the

Department of Extramural Studies and other departments of the university.

Makerere University College in the early 1960s was determined to recruit Ugandans, as depicted in the incentives used. TA and CK, former members of staff at the Centre for Continuing Education whose identities were anonymised using initials, shared experiences regarding the way they got the university job of a resident tutor in the 1960s: “We were looked for to take up jobs, each one was given a house, a car loan, we left work at 4pm and went for tea and discussion with colleagues” (Interview with TA, 17<sup>th</sup> May 2024). There were many attractions about the job at Makerere University College and she added that “back then, we were not as many members of staff as it is today.” CK said that life changed for the better “after the appointment as the resident tutor (Interview with CK, 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2024; Kabuga, 1975). Favourable policies were adopted by Makerere to attract East Africans to take up jobs, facilitated by funding provided by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1964. By the end of 1969, only three out of a total of 14 members of staff at the Centre for Continuing Education were expatriates (Makerere University College Report, 1969). With 11 Africans out of a total of 14 members of staff, Africanisation of staff in adult education was 79 percent by the end of 1969, marking a high level of Africanisation of staff within the first seven years of independence.

Donor aid by the Rockefeller Foundation to Makerere's staff development programme, however, attracted criticism, especially the danger it posed of making Makerere less national since the largest percentage of funding came from external sources. Being less national had nuances of questioning the independence status of the country because it depended heavily on American donor aid. A Reporter writing for *The People* newspaper on Saturday, January 10<sup>th</sup>, 1970 observed that "Rockefeller Foundation pours money into the University of East Africa. A total of 4,114,000 United States dollars was granted to the University of East Africa in the period July 1963-July 1968" (Staff Reporter, 1970, p.1). The other concern was that the American team that monitored the funds was stationed at the University Colleges in East Africa and was paid high salaries. Therefore, those who monitored the grant indirectly repatriated a large share of it. The Staff Reporter argued that "in East Africa, by 1968, there were at least 15 Rockefeller field staff stationed at the University Colleges." (Staff Reporter, 1970, p.16). The Rockefeller Foundation dictated the policy of the departments it financed, and in January 1970, "nearly all members of the Department of Economics were American" (Staff Reporter, 1970, p.16). Although the Rockefeller Foundation's influence on the recruitment of Americans

was contradictory to the policy of Africanisation, it was possible that, as noted earlier in this chapter, the action was motivated by the limited number of qualified Africans who could perform expected duties in the immediate post-independence period.

## Conclusion

The Africanisation of adult education in the 1960s at Makerere University College was achieved through the recruitment of Africans and the introduction of courses leading to qualifications required as proof of the attainment of a particular educational level. The Mature-Age Entry Admission Scheme was introduced to support the Africanisation process by enabling adults of at least twenty-five years of age to enrol in academic programmes at Makerere University College. The course content also reflected Africanness, such as the topics handled at the Annual Study Vacation and the Certificate of Adult Studies for adults who lacked such a qualification. The teaching of languages like Swahili and Luganda, and the recruitment of East Africans was almost 80 percent by 1969 due to the support of charitable organisations like Rockefeller Foundation. The Africanisation of staff received more attention through the Special Lectureship scheme, while the review of content and language was slow. Africanisation continued in the 1970s and beyond.

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