

# The Funding History for Anthropological Research in Uganda since the Colonial Period: Implications for Decolonisation of the Discipline

*Stevens Aguto Odongob\* and Peter Atekyereza\**

## Abstract

This article examines the history of anthropological research in Africa, focusing on the relationship between funding, methodology, and the discipline's potential for decolonisation. It argues that the field's development has been significantly influenced by external forces, particularly colonial powers and subsequently, Western institutions. The British colonial office's Colonial Social Study Council (CSRC) funded anthropological study and education in Africa throughout the 1940s. Britain established the East African Institute of Social Research (EAISR) at Makerere University with the goal of gathering ethnographic data on East African peoples and reporting directly to the British government's colonial administration. Following the expulsion of anthropologists by President Amin, funding shifted to the Americas and Scandinavia. Anthropology has been criticized for its role in imperialism, and its post-independence trajectory remains unclear. Efforts to decolonise anthropology in the 1960s included Africanisation and breaking with colonial frameworks. However, the universities in the South have limited influence over altering the research agenda and the frameworks for its implementation, since the North continues to dominate funding and agenda-setting for anthropological research. This article questions the possibility of decolonising anthropology given that the field has been historically shaped and financed by those who once colonised Africa and other regions. We examine the funding trends in anthropological research and analyse efforts to make anthropology more African-centered or decolonised. This analysis considers the ongoing power dynamics and competition for research funds both within and between academic disciplines, as well as between the Global South and the Global North.

**Keywords:** Anthropology, Research, Funding, decolonisation, Makerere University, Uganda



\* The School of Women and Gender Studies, Makerere University

## Introduction

Apart from the value of research for its own sake (pure research), research is intended gather evidence on existing the theories and to contribute to building of knowledge in the field of study. Academic research is particularly useful to practitioners across professions (Piccoli and Wagner, 2003). These professions range from medicine, engineering, information and communication technologies, agriculture, politics, and/or social science generally for purposes of planning, implementing, and evaluating of development change. However, academic research is neither free nor cheap, and funding for research has varied interests. It is from this understanding that we historicise the funding for anthropological research in terms of the embedded interests and further interrogate attempts made to Africanise or decolonise it in the context of continued research funding politics (Cheek, 2007) among disciplines and between the South and the North. We historicise the funding analysis in three historical phases, i.e. 1800s-1971, 1972-1996, and from 1996 to date. Atekyereza and Odongoh (2022) noted that 1939-1971 corresponds with the period when a lot of anthropological information was collected by foreign agents, including missionaries, colonial administrative agents and their local representatives. It also includes the time when anthropology, as an academic discipline, started later

at Makerere University in 1939, up to its first disruption by President Idi Amin's declaration of an economic war that saw most foreigners, including academics, leave the country; from 1972 to 1996 represents the time when teaching and research in social anthropology were relatively more restrained. Then, from 1996 to date, the teaching of social anthropology officially returned to Makerere University. It is within these three periods that we analyse the funding that was available for anthropological research, the sources of funding, the research agenda and/or interests, the types of beneficiaries from this research funding.

From the onset, the interest in social anthropological research in colonial territories was borne and executed by the colonial masters, their agents and never in the favour of the local communities. "During the colonial era, anthropologists were trained to be of service to the colonial administration" (Nkwi, 1998:60). The coloniser dominated the research agenda, and in essence, controlled political power through funding research agenda (Mafeje, 1998). Social anthropology was seen as the study of people who do not look like us or simply as the study of other cultures that were primitive and often isolated or savages whom the ethnographer spent an elaborate period of time studying (at least for not less than one year) in order to bring out their social reality, knowledge of which was necessary for imperial progress (Asad 1973; Evans-Pritchard, 1940; Mafeje

1971; Mafeje, 1976). This formed the basis upon which social anthropology as a discipline was constructed. Talal Asad notes that “it is not a matter of dispute that social anthropology developed as a distinctive discipline at the beginning of the colonial era, that it became a flourishing academic profession towards its close, or that throughout this period its efforts were devoted to a description and analysis—carried out by Europeans for a European audience – of non-European societies dominated by European power” (Asad, 1973:14-15). Anthropology and anthropological research formed the centre of imperialistic western powers, with Britain taking centre stage in Africa.

The research agenda and research funding were being controlled by the Colonial Social Research Council (CSRC). The CSRC under imperial Britain started regional research institutes in Africa between 1930 and 1950. These included the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (RLI), formerly Rhodesia, now Zambia, the West African Institute of Social Research (WAISER) in Nigeria and the East African Institute of Social Research in Uganda. Before the establishment of these institutes, informal agents of the colonial establishment were already involved in collecting routine information that qualifies in all aspects to be anthropological data, which was later to serve the interests of the colonial establishment. Such agents included religious leaders, especially the catechists at the local community level. Among the main objectives of these research institutes,

was to undertake field anthropological research on African peoples and report directly to the colonial government. After the publication of *The African Survey*<sup>1</sup> (1938), “...Lord Hailey had come to be regarded as a principal spokesman for colonial reform and development, ensuring his close influence on the shaping of the postwar funding and structures of British social science” (Mills, 2005:11). This became what has been referred to as the *Hailey Effect*. For Hailey, anthropology was to be used to find out the cultures and resources of the peoples of the colonies, including how they were organised. Such knowledge would help in the administration of the colonies. The anthropologist, therefore, would help unearth social factors that must be understood in order for the colonial establishments to operate smoothly (1944). The research institutes noted above (RLI, WAISER and EAISER) in different parts of Africa were actually a response to what Lord Hailey is talking about. In this article, we focus more on Uganda where EAISER was placed.

## Methodology

Our analysis of the history of funding for anthropological research in Uganda, and at Makerere University in particular, is based on

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.nature.com/articles/143002a0>. *An African Survey: A Study of Problems arising in Africa South of the Sahara was a report originally published in 1938 by the Royal Institute of International Affairs*. Which paved the way for the reorganisation of research into the situation of the British Empire in Sub-Saharan Africa through the Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940.

information derived from archival work on research project work (call for proposals, research reports, publications, and a few interviews with research project coordinators) The archives looked at covered the periods (1800s to date), that is the colonial period, the independence period, and post-independence period. We used national archives, including the Uganda Museum, district archives, Makerere University Africana Archives, and Church of Uganda. This was intended to answer the questions of what anthropological research was done, by and funded by whom. By doing this, the intention is to explore in whose interest is the anthropological research is done and why.

### **Funding for Anthropological Research between 1800 and 1930**

The history of anthropological research and funding in Uganda can be traced back to the colonial era. This dates back to the activities of Christian missionaries and early explorers and travelers in Uganda. It is important to note that the discipline called anthropology as it is known today started around WWI (Eriksen and Nielsen 2001); however, some scholars trace it as far as the time of Greek philosophers (approximately 6<sup>th</sup> Century BC). For Eriksen and Nielsen, their focus is actually when anthropology gains academic status with Chairs appointed in academic departments within universities.

This classification is important to differentiate the Christian colonial anthropologists, or those who worked for or whose works aided imperialism. No matter the case, here, we focus on the intentionality of the respective research funds and the research that has been conducted over time. For the case of Uganda, we look at some of the significant personalities, who from the earliest time, in this case, the colonial era, did some fieldwork or anthropology-like studies and how or where they obtained their funding. We specifically focus on the missionary John Roscoe (1861-1932).

Around mid-December 2022, there was breaking news on *The Herald*: ‘*UK Varsity Agrees to Return Stolen Colonial Era Artifact to Uganda*’. The university in question is actually the University of Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology (MAA), which was engaged in talks with Ugandan officials to repatriate stolen artifacts from colonial times by 2023. Among the stolen items were Ugandan charms, locally known as *Mayembe*; traditional attire called *Kanzus*, barkcloth, inter alia<sup>2</sup>. Whether the artifacts have been returned or not is a topic for another time. The point here is that the ‘thief’ is none other than John Roscoe (1861-1932) of the Anglican Missionary Society in East Africa. Roscoe fits under the description of colonial anthropologist.

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.herald.co.zw/uk-varsity-agrees-to-return-stolen-colonial-era-artefacts-to-uganda/#:~:text=The%20University%20o> Also see: <https://www.monitor.co.ug/uganda/magazines/people-power/cambridge-university-to-return-uganda-s-historic-artefacts-3593386>

He represents that generation that has sometimes been referred to as missionary anthropologists who collected anthropological materials as they engaged in missionary work many times without respecting or following ethical standards<sup>3</sup>. Roscoe arrived in Uganda around 1884 and lived among different groups until about 1910. Through his experience in Uganda, he was able to publish several volumes. These included: *The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs* (1911), *The Northern Bantu: An Account of Some Central African Tribes of the Uganda Protectorate* (1915), and *Twenty-Five Years of East Africa* (1921). Most of Roscoe's works, especially the latter, became anthropological reference for the colonial state. In this book, Roscoe argues that a scientific approach to understanding African peoples is necessary. He also called upon the British to institute Christianity on African peoples. Most of the missionaries of Roscoe's time were sponsored by their imperial governments to help understand the social dynamics, value systems, and generally how native peoples organised themselves. Kenyatta (1938) writes: When the missionaries

arrived they had the Bible and Africans had the land. The missionaries told Africans to close their eyes and pray. When Africans opened their eyes, the missionaries had the land, and Africans had the Bible. This is a clever depiction of how Christianity penetrated colonial Africa. Most of the early anthropologists were part and parcel of this missionary colonial encounter.

As it has been argued, anthropology provided a unique methodological competence much needed in understanding unique cultures in the colonies (Atekyereza and Odongoh, 2022; Asad, 1973). The imperial state needed an ethnographic explanation of the socio-economic and political organisations of the different ethnic groups present, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa that the British needed to conquer. The genesis of this methodological competence is actually drawn from the Polish-British born social anthropologist Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884-1942). After World War I Malinowski conducted fieldwork that made him one of the most influential founding fathers of social anthropology and anthropological research until today. He lived for a long time among Trobriand Islanders, learning their ways of life observation and participation. Through engaging in the everyday social lives of the people, he discovered a method (participant observation) that became central to ethnographic research. His ground breaking doctoral thesis was

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.independent.co.uk/britain-returns-39-ugandan-artifacts/> According to Peterson, a history professor from the University of Michigan, currently working with the Uganda Museum says these were colonial loots. He argues: 'They ended up in Cambridge, because all the ways of life, all the religions, had been devalued, and collectors like John Roscoe, could go around and acquire extraordinarily important items and take them off to Cambridge where they became part of the museum's collections. Returning them is a way of honouring a past that Ugandans have lost but need to remember, and bring people's lives back in the focus, and recover'.

entitled: *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922). While Malinowski himself was not very active in Uganda, his students were. Malinowski "... produced most of the British-trained Africanist anthropologists of the 1930s (Middleton 1987: 99). And this is where the story starts, with the inception of the African Survey of 1933.

In the early 1930's, the British colonial state started a deliberate policy to revive the empire that was already crumbling (Butler 1991, 1999) through the enactment of an Act in support of a welfare programme termed CDaW—an acronym for Colonial Development and Welfare. The CDaW started with a hefty £120 million for social research that would help inform colonial imperial policies. The African Survey was about colonial interest in studying Africa's problems south of the Sahara. It received additional funding from Carnegie by 1938. It was a long report of 1837 pages showing the impact of British rule in sub-Saharan Africa it was part of the CDaW. Headed by Lord Hailey in 1933 in collaboration with some leading anthropologists, they worked to bring the survey to fruition. Among them were two of Malinowski's students who later became seasoned figures in anthropology: Lucy Mair and Audrey Richards. Lucy Mair had recently completed her PhD, writing an ethnography on Baganda peoples, where she conducted ethnographic fieldwork in 1931 which led to a publication entitled *An African People in the Twentieth Century* (1934). Mair

was concerned with social change, governance and politics in colonial Uganda. Her other works included: *The Protection of Minorities* (1928), *Native Policies in Africa* (1936) and *Welfare in the British Colonies* (1944). All these were related to the political and moral aspects of the colonial system. As noted that *African systems of governance in sub-Saharan Africa. It was written by a team of scholars, including Lucy Mair and Audrey Richards, who were seconded to the Colonial Office during the war. The experience convinced him[...] that anthropology could play an important role in informing development policies (Hailey 1944:72) and ... the post-war reconstruction of Britain led to plans for the building of a new 'welfare state'. At the same time, the British Colonial Office began to develop an ambitious blueprint for a new 'developmental' empire to complement domestic reconstruction plans. Known as the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDaW) Act, this major piece of legislation was passed in 1940, and sought to transform and revitalize the British colonial state (Butler 1991, 1999, as cited in Mills 2005:69).*

Lucy Mair is part of the first group of Malinowskian-trained anthropologists who conducted research in Uganda and elsewhere in the colonies through the CDaW. As Africanist scholars trained by Malinowski, the grandfather of ethnography Mair and Richards became specialists in African affairs especially East Africa. It was not surprising that Audrey Richards was sent to start a social science research institute in Uganda. Regional research institutes were set-up in Southern

Africa, East Africa and West Africa respectively. In the case of East Africa, Dr Audrey Richards an anthropologist who was a close associate of the British Colonial State was sent to Uganda with a group of anthropologists to start up what came to be known as the East African Institute of Social Research (EAISER), which later became the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) (Atekyereza and Odongoh 2022, Kuper 2001). Students and other researchers received grants and several fellowships at EAISER in an attempt to understand different aspects of native peoples. Among the prominent figures in anthropology were:

a) Audrey Richards was an anthropologist and the first chair of EAISER at Makerere, then an affiliate College of the University of London. Dr Audrey Richards, an active member of the CSSRC, was sent to East Africa in 1944 while others, like Raymond Firth went with West Africa to carry out feasibility studies of having social science research institutes affiliated to colonial universities in different regions. In 1948, Richards returned to Uganda, becoming chair of EAISER in 1950. Together with other colleagues, Richards carried out studies that were largely concerned with understanding native land-tenure systems, native law, and languages in East Africa and other colonies. Richards focused on understanding the impact of British system of indirect rule in

Buganda, as seen in one of the books she edited entitled: *East African Chiefs* published in 1959. Up to one million pounds per annum were delivered through the CSSRC to fund research that was related to colonial interests. The research institutes were also to help in identifying knowledge gaps, local areas that needed more scrutiny, and researchers to help with studies that would steer colonial projects. It has been noted that:

*By the end of the 1940s, a huge volume of social research had been commissioned by the CSSRC, much of which was published by the government in its extensive Colonial Research Series. Ethnographic work in Africa included research on land tenure in Nigeria by Charles Meeke (1957), in Zanzibar by John Middleton (1961), and in Basutoland by Vernon Sheddick (1954); work on native administration in Northern Rhodesia by Bill Epstein (1953) and Nyasaland by Lucy Mair (1952); and on the social organisation of the Nandi by George Huntingford (1950), the Hausa by M.G. Smith (1955), the Acholi by Frank Girling (1960) and the Tiv by Paul Bohannan (1954) (Mills 2005:87).*

b) LA Fallers who was very instrumental in starting EAISER was among the first beneficiaries of the Colonial Research Council Fellowships. As an EAISER Fellow in the early 1950s, Fallers focused on understanding the political system of the Basoga of

Eastern Uganda in the wake of the institutionalization of British administrative policies. He later published a book entitled: *Bantu bureaucracy: A Century of Political Evolution among the Basoga of Uganda* (1965). In 1956, Fallers became the Chair of EAISER and changed his fieldwork area from Busoga to Buganda where he focused his research on how the Baganda, were firstly acquiring colonial values and systems.

- c) Aidan Southall, who had first lectured in social studies at Makerere (1945–48), became a research fellow at EAISR (1949–54) after doing a master’s degree at the London school of Economics. He then became chair of EAISER (1957-1968). He conducted ethnographic fieldwork among the Alur people of West Nile for his doctoral thesis entitled *Alur Society: A Study in Processes and Types of Domination* (1956). Through his ethnographic studies, he not only became fluent in Luo, but his research helped the British understand areas related to the political system of the Alur people of northwestern Uganda. His other work, entitled: *Townsmen in the Making: Kampala and its Suburbs* (1957), was concerned with land, housing, marriage and other economic activities in Kampala.

We focus more on Britain for the best known reasons – firstly, because of its deliberate imperial tendencies to conquer several colonies at the

time and more importantly, because of Britain’s special interest in colonizing Uganda<sup>4</sup>. It is therefore important to note that Britain was not the only colonial power funding anthropological research in Uganda. Anthropological research also attracted research funds from the Americas and of late Scandinavia even seems to take the lead. American funding of social science and or anthropological research in Africa and Uganda in particular cannot be underestimated. One can even argue that they even supported one another- something that can be vividly seen right from the colonial days. We shall focus on mainly two major funding institutions – that is the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Wenner-Gren Foundation of New York – one of the leading funders of anthropological research internationally.

### **Carnegie Corporation of New York<sup>5</sup>**

Carnegie Corporation of New York was started by Andrew Carnegie in 1911 and one of their core missions is the ‘advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding.’ Right from the early days of British colonialism, the Carnegie Corporation of New York worked in support and collaboration of several colonial research institutes especial in Britain and its associates. A case

<sup>4</sup> Look at reports on several British colonial attempts find the source of the Nile.

<sup>5</sup> <https://www.carnegie.org/>

in point was the creation of the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDaW) Act – 1940 and the CSSRC – all received enormous funding from Carnegie right from the early 1930s. The African Survey (1933) where prominent anthropologists like Lucy Mair participated received hefty funding from Carnegie.

In addition, Professor M. J. Herskovits and W. R. Bascom had a special program known as the African Program at Northwestern University (1949-1959) with a grant of \$30,000 from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Carnegie Corporation also added an extra \$130,000 to the Social Science Research Council to support fellowships and travel to the colonies with imperial interests. This went on for a decade held at the Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University. The central purpose of this program was to understand different aspects of African culture especially the changes that had occurred due the external intrusions. It was argued that they needed to know particularly how native life style had changed as a result of the increasing influence by outsiders. Herskovits was the first American anthropologist to introduce African studies in America as an academic discipline. It is documented, *The extensive collections of anthropological Africana in Deering Library will be broadened by the acquisition of works dealing with other aspects of the African scene, especially periodicals and government reports. A faculty and advanced graduate interdepartmental seminar will be*

*instituted to provide for an integrated attack on the problems, both scientific and practical, of present-day Africa. It is planned to invite Africanists working in anthropology, economics, education, geography, missions, politics, and public health to discuss before the seminar the aspects of African life falling in their special fields, with the aim of providing Africanist work in other schools and departments of the University (Notes and News: The American Anthropologist 1949:170).* As noted earlier, just like several other programs concerning colonies at the time, the African Program at Northwestern University was concerned with establishing the different the aspects of African culture and the changes that were brought about by colonialism.

## The Wenner-Gren Foundation of NewYork<sup>6</sup>

The Wenner-Gren Foundation of NewYork, which was founded in 1941, is one of the leading funders of anthropological research internationally. Though its original mission was to fund advancement in science and other disciplines, in 1951 it changed to support anthropology and anthropological research. The Wenner-Gren Foundation's core values are 'providing leadership in support of anthropology and anthropologists worldwide'. Wenner-Gren funds, among others:

Dissertation and fieldwork grants for doctoral students, post-PhD research are grants, Engaged research

<sup>6</sup> Wenner-Gren Foundation | Supporting Anthropology and Anthropologists worldwide (wennergren.org)

grants, Wadsworth International Fellowships for students who come from countries where anthropology is not well established and lacks adequate resources. Hunt post-doctoral fellowship, The Historical Archives Program encourages the preservation of unpublished personal research materials considered of value to the history of anthropology, Under Wenner-Gren, there is specific funding for African students interested in studying a PhD or equivalent in anthropology at any South African university. Such scholars receive 20,000 USD annually and are entitled to more funding from Wenner-GREN. Anthropology is the priority field of study and specifically for African students interested in the discipline and who have the potential to developing anthropology in their home countries. The Wenner-Gren Foundation started one of the leading journals of Anthropology *Current Anthropology* in 1959 and has constantly funded it. *Current Anthropology* publishes articles both theoretical and empirical, commentaries, photo-essays, reviews, and even interviews. It has a broad scope that includes all aspects of anthropological interest that range from Charles Darwin's evolutionism to late complex modernity.

### **Anthropological funding from Scandinavia 1960 – 2023**

There has been several anthropological funding, from Scandinavian countries, – especially Sweden, Denmark and

Norway. In Sweden, most of the anthropological research on Uganda and Africa in general is done through the Nordic Africa Institute (NAI) or as its commonly referred to in Swedish as *Nordiska Afrikainstitutet* which was started in 1962 located in Uppsala. NAI is a research institution with the mandate of understanding modern Africa. NAI is jointly funded by Nordic group of countries as they all benefit from the findings on issues related to modern Africa and African studies generally. NAI is part of EAGIS or *Africa-Europe Group for Interdisciplinary Studies* which is centres on African studies in the fields of social science and humanities with the goal of improving an understanding about contemporary African societies.

*In Denmark, there has been the ENRECA - Enhancement of Research Capacity project which started in the mid-1990s at Makerere sponsored by DANIDA. Through ENRECA, several PhDs in anthropology were trained mainly by the University of Copenhagen (Atekyereza and Odongoh, 2022). The focus here was largely on child health and medical anthropology in Africa.*

### **Anthropological Research Funding between 1972 and To date**

Meanwhile the Norwegian funding of anthropology has seemingly been consistent since the early 1990s. Even in the wake of scarce funding for the humanities and social sciences, anthropology has continued to

attract support especially from Norway. Anthropology has always been among the disciplines funded through the different Norwegian agencies like: The Norwegian Agency for International Development (NORAD). In Uganda specifically, anthropology has been funded through: i) 1991-2012 - The drylands project under the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (through The Norwegian Universities' Committee for Development Research and Education – NUFU). According to the project director, “Researchers from five Nile basin countries and Norway came together in Bergen to conduct research on cultural issues related to the Nile and the use and cultural implications of water” (Saetersdal, 2009:5). ii) Lanekassen – Norwegian State Education Loan Fund which started in 1947 is under the Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (*Kunnskapsdepartementet*). Here several MAs and PhDs most of whom now have positions within the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Makerere University were sponsored to study in different Norwegian Universities across Norway.

The 2013- to date Norwegian Program for Capacity Development in Higher Education and Research for Development (NORHED) which has supported specific projects like the Borderlands Dynamics Project in East Africa, which was a network of programs for capacity building within the departments of social anthropology in the universities

of Khartoum, the University of Addis Ababa, Makerere University, University of Bergen, the Chr. Michelsen Institute, and The organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA). The focus of this project “was to study the dynamics between state processes, mobility, and territory at the margins of the various nation states of Sudan, Ethiopia, and Uganda” (Manger, 2019:1). Refugees on the Move; South Sudanese in Ethiopia, Sudan, and Uganda. Is a project within the Department of Sociology and Anthropology focusing of the dynamics of refugee mobility within the Great Lakes region. Medical and Environmental Anthropology for 21st century East Africa is another NORHED project housed by the Department of Sociology and Anthropology focusing on the relationship between environmental health and human health.

### **The Agenda for Africanisation and Decolonisation Anthropological Research**

In the 1960s, there were attempts to give anthropology a new image during the age of decolonisation by Africanising anthropology, training of home-grown African anthropologists and moving away from colonial epistemologies and theoretical traditions. However, with the funding of anthropological research still being dominated by the North, the universities in the

South have little impact in setting the research agenda and the frameworks for its implementation. Hence, the key question remains whether anthropology has been or can be decolonised under the financial control of the powers that set the methodological and theoretical traditions, which aimed at controlling Africa and other previous colonies. Anthropology has continued to attract funding from multilateral organisations such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, United Nations and its various agencies, World Health organisation and the World Trade organisation (Atekyereza and Odongoh, 2022). It is worth noting that anthropology as a discipline has been accused of aiding imperial expansionist project over the years. The question is, what has changed in post-independent Uganda? Anthropological funding in Makerere/Uganda since the colonial era has still been one-sided, with the north taking the lead. There is need to further interrogate this dominance of research funding by northern partners. In this regard, can one say that anthropology has been decolonised in Makerere and or Uganda and Africa generally? And what are the prospects of anthropologists from the south in an era when research funds, and in some cases research agendas seem to still be predetermined from the west? This continued imbalance of funding opportunities between the south and the north has left many questions unanswered regarding the decolonisation agenda.

Some scholars across disciplines have even called for the abolition of anthropology as a way of liberating Africa from her colonial past (Okot p'Bitek, Tibamanya Mwene Mushanga, Magubane, Kwame Nkrumah, etc.). That is why, after Uganda's independence and the Amin days of turmoil (1972 – 1979), many universities within the continent proposed or completely stopped the teaching of anthropology (Atekyereza and Odongoh, 2022). While others have argued that anthropology per se does not deserve the representation it has received, actually it's because of its utility, especially methodologically, that attracted the attention of the coloniser. "The discipline suffered a setback immediately after independence, but still trained people like Mafeje, Magubane, Kenyatta, Azikiwe, and Busia; it was the only discipline that had developed units of analysis, methods, and theories that could be applied to non-literate cultures" (Nkwi, 1998:60).

At this stage, only Mafeje and Magubane were preoccupied with debates on how to replace imperial European cultural thinking with an approach that is African centered (Nkwi, 1998). Mafeje became renowned for his critiques of colonial anthropology, and scholarship built on western hegemony, instead, he advocated for an African approach to anthropological studies – a kind of Afro-centered anthropology, that called for deconstruction of Eurocentric knowledge systems.

Africanising anthropology needs new methodologies, ontologies, and epistemologies. This is the only way to achieve an African view centered on African history and African peoples. To achieve this kind of approach, there is a need to develop pan African research organisations. This marked the start of the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) in 1973 and the Pan African Anthropological Association (PAAA)<sup>7</sup> in 1987.

CODESRIA was started to promote an independent community of pan African researchers<sup>8</sup>. After CODESRIA, in 1987, the PAAA was established as one of the initiatives to Africanise anthropology. PAAA's research agenda was committed to understanding the socio-cultural, including political landscape of the continent following African centered research (Nkwi, 1998; Mafeje 1998). As noted earlier, Western epistemologies and Western scholars had dominated the discipline throughout the colonial period and the relationship between anthropologist and imperialists was a cordial one. Agency and self-definition of African academics had been lost and independence meant a redefinition to the study of knowledge (epistemology). Mafeje becomes one of the first renowned decolonial thinkers within the discipline of anthropology in Africa (Nkwi, 1998) to agitate for a black anthropology.

<sup>7</sup> <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1002/9781118924396.wbiea1823>

<sup>8</sup> <https://codesria.org/about-us-codesria/>

## Conclusion

From its onset in the 1930s and even before, anthropological research in Uganda was externally funded. This external funding was based on the agenda and interests of the British Colonial Office. There are more funding sources such as the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Wenner-Glen Foundation of New York, which started in the 1960s but are still based on the same or similar interests. Though there was a change in coherence of anthropological research resource flows in Uganda upon the expulsion of the expatriates in 1972, the determination of the research agenda remained a preserve of the Colonial North. In a nutshell, the funding of anthropological research in Uganda and Africa generally is still being dominated by the North, which puts the decolonisation agenda into disarray. Amidst this dilemma, anthropology has continued to attract funding from both bilateral and multilateral organisations, sometimes on an ad hoc basis but usually aimed at solving critical social problems but ultimately in the interest of the funders. African countries including Uganda, need to prove their support for research that is in the national interest by mobilising resources to do the work themselves. Short of this internal resource mobilisation, most academic research, especially anthropological research, will remain under the championship and steering of the global north at the expense of the global south.

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