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**EQUITY, EFFICIENCY AND SUSTAINABILITY
IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY, UGANDA**

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

The World Bank is one of the most dominant influences in higher education policy in Sub Saharan Africa. Throughout the 1990s, the Bank consistently asserted that a reduced role of the state in providing and organising educational services, and a greater reliance on pricing systems in the allocation of those services would have a positive effect on both equity and efficiency in higher education. Critics of this approach countered that the Bank's neo-liberal framework was inappropriate to the provision of a public good such as education and that, in particular, the introduction of user charges was risky, inequitable and inefficient. This thesis explores these claims and counter-claims through an exploratory case-study of Makerere University (Uganda). Its particular focus is on the introduction of a series of cost-sharing measures, most notably the acceptance of 'privately sponsored students' to the University from the mid-1990s onwards. The thesis examines what impact these initiatives have had on questions of equity and efficiency within the institution, while also interrogating their sustainability.

Using a series of semi-structured interviews with senior university and government officials, as well as official university documents and World Bank reports, the major changes to student financing at Makerere are studied and described. The impact that the changes have had on the question of efficiency, equity and sustainability are analysed, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods, including a series of semi-structured interviews with senior academics and administrators; focus discussion groups with students; and a student survey (n 1,030).

It is demonstrated that the major effect of the changes to student financing has been the rapid increase of students being able to come to Makerere, as well as the associated increase in resources which these students have brought with them to the institution. It is argued that the injection of new resources has positively affected the efficiency of the university, but that increasing concerns are being raised about equity, as the poor are disproportionately excluded from the opportunities offered by the new funding approach. It is suggested further that the heavy reliance on extended family networks for financing ultimately raises questions about the sustainability of the new programmes.

Much of the debate over the financing of higher education has been underpinned by the concern that the way in which a higher education system receives funding has a powerful influence in determining what it does - in particular the impact that a shift away from public funding will have on the sector's contribution to national development. It is concluded here that the way in which the debate over the financing of higher education is currently constructed encourages an overly economic view of the sector and its role. It is argued that higher education is especially unsuited to this role. The case study demonstrates that currently there is less to be gained from being dogmatic about the role of either the state or the market, than a greater acceptance that failures of either can result in distorted development. Policy implications point towards a greater understanding of the need to identify what is the most appropriate role for each to play to complement one another in a given context. This is needed so that a particular mix is not at the expense of either equity or efficiency, and to ensure that mix remains sustainable.

For Ben Makau

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

When I was growing up in Zimbabwe in the 1970s, Uganda and Idi Amin were frequently held up to the white minority as the terrible spectre of what would happen if those fighting for majority rule ever triumphed. My father, who loathed Ian Smith and the crude propaganda of the governing Rhodesian Front party, was not convinced. It was his delight in pointing out the similarities between the two illegitimate governments that first piqued my curiosity in the 'pearl of Africa'. This interest was compounded 15 years later when I began to look at the issue of higher education on the continent, initially during my period of involvement in student government at the University of Cape Town (UCT), and then more seriously when I began working for Mamphela Ramphele in the University administration. Grappling with the issue of the transformation of South African universities, and seeking visions of quality outside of Western Europe and North America, Makerere was a logical starting point. What finally committed me to looking at Makerere as a case study, however, was a series of elegant articles on higher education in East Africa written by David Court in the 1980s. I read them when I was a student at UCT, and blame his dry wit and quiet authority for making the subject of higher education seem fascinating enough to be the focus of my studies.

I am much indebted to Mamphela, who finally forced me to leave the comfort of my job at UCT, and persuaded me that I needed to study further - away from the security of the institution in which I had spent my entire academic and professional career. She also assisted in securing the funds that made it possible to come to London. During the first three years of my studying I was supported by a generous Commonwealth Scholarship, provided by the Department for International Development. Towards the end of my degree, additional financial support was provided by the London School of Economics. I am grateful for that support, as well as the decision taken by the head of the Social Policy Department, Howard Glennerster, to take me in as a transfer student, after a shaky start at the Institute of Education.

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Surviving London on a student's grant can be a grim experience, especially during the long winter months. That I not only survived, but thrived, is in no small measure due to the fabulous friends that supported me (in countless ways) while in London: Oliver, Jane, Katrina, Tony, Celine, Dan, Solveig, Anne, Rachel, Jerry, Thecla, Isaac, Rafi, Sarah, Lise and Eren will be amongst the most delighted that they never have to ask again whether my thesis is finished. In particular, though, I want to thank Kevin and his mother Ruby, for their enormous generosity in allowing me to live with them while I was studying.

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As I look back over the last six years I am frankly amazed that (a) I have finished and (b) that I have reached the conclusions I have. This has become a quite different thesis from the one I imagined. In reflection, I realise that a part of the explanation for that lies further back in my intellectual development: this thesis, indirectly, owes a great deal to Mary Simons, who always insisted on asking difficult questions, and to Annette Seegers, who would never accept an easy answer.

No-one will be more relieved (or more keen to tell her friends) that this is finished than my mother, who had to bribe me to go to university in the first place, and who finally gets to see me leave more than twenty years later. My sister, Debby, provided invaluable support, by doing what big sisters do best, namely whipping my footnotes and bibliography into order and banishing stray commas and dashes during a mammoth proof-reading session. Bill Saint destroyed all my easy stereo-types about who worked at the Bank, by being incredibly helpful and patiently providing very useful feedback on work in progress. Other essential support and encouragement was provided by Gwen Williams, Anne Katahoire, Ingrid Fiske, Tony Morphet and Helen Bradford. Gentle teasing and much moral support was generously given by friends at home: Boyd, Susie, ET, Benjy, Janine, Lynn, Jenny, Barbara, Tembela, Pat, Thandi, Mandy, Mark, Ruth and Ash.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

One of Africa's most expensive imports is 'knowledge'. The knowledge that is imported takes many forms: professional expertise, technology, and books, as well as less tangible items such as ideas, concepts and theories. 'Knowledge' is expensive primarily because it is costly to produce and is a highly valued and competitive commodity. Further, in countries with developing economies¹ (CDEs) imported knowledge is often inappropriate and needs to be adapted to local conditions at added expense. Finally, the reliance on importing knowledge from countries with developed economies means that frequently indigenous knowledge is neither validated nor valued. As knowledge has become an increasingly important commodity in the global economy – supplanting physical capital as the source of present and future wealth – finding effective ways in which countries with developing economies can both produce more knowledge whilst also enabling more people to use it effectively has become an increasingly urgent task (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 9). One of the reasons that Africa has to import knowledge is that the institutions on the continent responsible for producing, transmitting and storing knowledge are often unable to perform these functions. The purpose of this study is to identify some of the reasons that have given rise to this situation, and to assess influential policy options which have been designed to assist the continent's institutions of higher learning. In this regard, particular attention will be paid to the World Bank's policy framework on higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA).

The World Bank (the Bank) is one of the most dominant influences in higher education policy in the region (Association of African Universities and World Bank 1997, 5). Throughout the 1990s, the Bank, in presenting aspects of the framework it developed from the mid 1980s for the 'stabilisation and revitalisation' of higher education (Saint 1992), has consistently asserted that a reduced role of the state in providing and

¹ The term 'countries with developing economies' (and its counterpart 'countries with developed economies') has been deliberately chosen in preference to more common terms (e.g. 'developing /

organising educational services and a greater reliance on pricing systems in the allocation of those services would have a positive effect on both equity and efficiency in higher education (World Bank 1994). Critics of this approach have countered that the Bank's neo-liberal framework was inappropriate to the provision of a public good such as education and that, in particular, the introduction of user charges – a central feature of the Bank's framework – was risky, inequitable and inefficient (Colclough 1996)². This thesis explores these claims and counter-claims through an exploratory case-study of Makerere University (Uganda). Its particular focus is on the introduction of a series of cost-sharing measures, most notably the acceptance of 'privately' sponsored students' to the University from the mid-1990s onwards. The thesis examines what impact these initiatives have had on questions of equity and efficiency within the institution, while also interrogating their sustainability.

In addition to these concerns, the thesis has been shaped by an understanding that the way in which a higher education system receives funding has a powerful influence in determining what it does (Williams 1984; Williams 1995). Much of the debate over the financing of higher education has been underpinned by this concern – in particular the impact that a shift away from public funding will have on the sector's contribution to national development. Exploring the contention (and its implications) that exposing the sector to greater marketisation has caused a 'narrowing down of the multiple social purposes and goods of higher education' forms an important aspect of the policy conclusions in the final chapter (Singh 2001, 1).

Finally, the thesis attempts to reflect the dynamism of the 1990s in relation to higher education policy. Over the last decade ideas about the financing and management of higher education in CDEs have changed considerably, particularly in terms of the most appropriate role of the state. While the 1990s began with the Bank having an 'almost uncritical acceptance' of the promotion of the neo-liberal position regarding the rolling back of the boundaries of the state, the new century has begun with a quite different

developed countries' or 'south / north') in order to emphasise that the distinction is an economic one and to limit any implied value judgement.

² See also Maliyamkono, T. L. 1988. Comments on the World Bank publication. *Higher Education Policy*. 1 (1) : 24-26. as well as: Eshiwani, G. S. 1989. The World Bank Document Revisited. *Comparative Education Review*. 33 (1) : 116-125; as well as Hinchliffe, K. 1993. Neo-liberal prescriptions for education finance: Unfortunately necessary or inherently desirable?. *International Journal of Educational Development*. 13 (2) : 183-187.

approach. Compared with a decade ago, there is much less interest in being dogmatic about the role of either the state or the market, and a much greater acceptance that failures of either can result in distorted development, and hence a need to identify what is the most appropriate role for each to play to complement one another in a given context. There is also a growing emphasis on the importance of the state in development, and the 'the need for capacity building within core state agencies and the public sector in general' (Martinussen 1998, 73). Similarly, there is increasing evidence³ to suggest that the Bank's 'long held and powerfully persuasive' view that higher education offered lower individual and social returns than primary education (a view which was responsible for drastic reductions in the levels of public investment in higher education in many countries in SSA) has been replaced by 'a new common sense' which acknowledges the 'social importance and value of higher education' (Singh 2001, 2).

Structure of the Chapter

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a broad over-view of the research problem explored within the thesis. It is a long chapter as it addresses the critical conceptual debates and key theoretical literature which has informed the research, while also outlining the basic framework of the empirical case study.

The chapter begins by providing a brief history of the way in which modern higher education was introduced to Sub-Saharan Africa. Particular attention is paid to examining the relationship between higher education and dominant notions of 'development'. A simple model (Clark's "Triangle of Co-ordination") is presented through which to view the engagement between institutions of higher learning and the outside world. The discussion about higher education policy in SSA in the 1990s begins by describing the importance of the Bank to the higher education sector in SSA. The Bank's initial framework for the reform of the financing and management of higher education is outlined in some detail, in order to allow an exploration of what has changed, and what has remained the same, in response to a variety of critiques of the framework.

³ See in particular the introduction to Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society. 2000. *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise*. Washington D C: The World Bank. and the important policy report, issued by the Bank late 2002, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* which adopts as Bank policy many of the issues raised by the Task Force Report (Saint, W. Lead Education Specialist, Africa Region, The World Bank. 2003. Email to author, 26th April). Please note: this thesis does not examine *Constructing Knowledge Societies* in any detail.

Prior to outlining the analytic framework of the thesis, the basics of the case study are presented. This includes both a brief history of Makerere as well as description of the key changes which took place at the University from in the mid 1990s. Three competing models of 'state-market articulation' (Middleton 2000) are identified in the dominant discourses about higher education financing and management in SSA, in part to demonstrate the important ways in which the debate has shifted during the time that it has taken to complete this thesis. The chapter concludes by identifying key areas of interest explored in the case study, and provides a chapter outline of the thesis as a whole.

1.1 Higher Education and Development

This section begins with a brief examination of the co-ordination of national systems of higher education, before moving on to provide a very brief description of the manner in which higher education developed in SSA⁴. This is done in order to provide a broader context through which to understand the debates over the sectors finance and management which took place in the 1990s. In particular attention is paid to examining how the changing notion of 'development' – and the imperative that higher education needed to be contributing towards this goal – underpinned the establishment, funding and direction of higher education on the sub-continent, and impacted on the changing relationship between the state and universities.

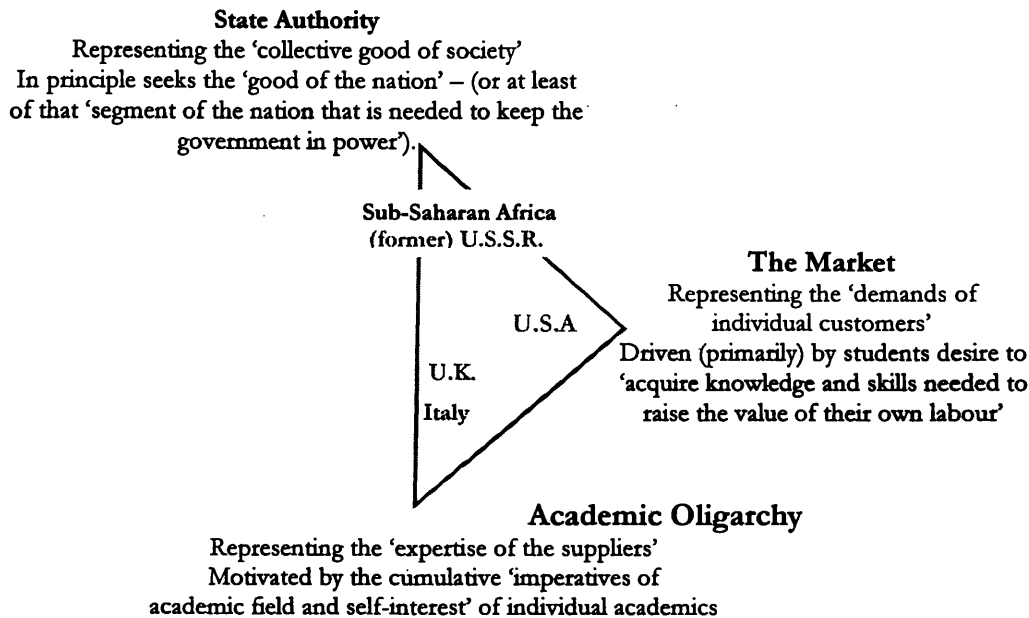
1.1.1 The Co-ordination of National Systems of Higher Education

One of the most widely used images to describe higher education's relations with the outside world is Clark's (1983) 'triangle of coordination'. Clark identified three forms of authority which can legitimately exert influence over the direction and development of national systems of higher education. These were (1) the 'state' (representing the collective will of society); (2) the 'market' (representing the desires and demands of consumers of academic services); and (3) 'academic oligarchies' (representing authority claimed through specialised knowledge and expertise). Clark argued that these different forms of authority operate in tension with one another, and demonstrated this graphically by putting each one at the three vertices of a triangle (see *Figure 1.1*).

⁴ Particular attention is paid to Anglophone East Africa.

National systems of higher education can then be placed within the triangle in the position which best captures the cumulative levels of influence exerted by the three competing forms of authority (Clark 1983).

Figure 1.1: Clark's (1983) Triangle of Co-ordination



Source: adapted from Clark (1983) and Williams (1995).

Throughout the 1980s in SSA most national systems of higher education (including Uganda) would have been clustered towards 'the state' apex of the triangle – with neither academic authority or the market having more than a limited impact on the development and direction of the sector. While the state has been (and indeed remains) an influential authority in most national systems of higher education, with few exception (such as the former USSR), this authority has tended to be mediated either by professorial or collegial authority (particularly in Europe) or the market (notably in the USA). In Italy, for example, until relatively recently senior professors have tended to dominate the system with regard to decisions about finance, personnel, curriculum and research. In the UK, while still influential, academics have never enjoyed the same levels of dominance as their Italian colleagues, as they have been contained by a much more organised state bureaucracy. In the USA, it is individual consumers (mostly students, but to a growing extent, corporations which finance research) who have had the major impact on the direction and development of a sector and heavily endowed it with characteristics of autonomous choice and market exchange (Clark 1983, 137-145).

The triangle is useful at providing a 'snapshot' of a particular country's higher education system, and hence for providing comparisons between different national systems. Similarly, it is possible to use the triangle as a means of demonstrating shifts in influence which might have occurred over time: in almost all countries around the world triangles drawn in the early 1980s and the early 1990s showed - no matter their starting point - that higher education systems had moved closer to 'the market' apex of the triangle⁵ (Williams 1992, 54). This trend developed later in SSA, so that it could be identified by comparing triangles from the late 1980s and the late 1990s. Understanding this process of marketisation of higher education (and its implications) is the core concern of this thesis. However, the starting point is examining why national systems of higher education in Africa were so strongly dominated by the state for so long.

1.1.2 The establishment of institutions of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa

While the University of Sankore, established in Timbuktu during the 15th century, lays claim to being one of the oldest universities in the world, higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) is essentially a 20th century phenomenon, primarily related to post-independence development. During the colonial period fewer than ten universities were established in SSA⁶, of which Makerere in Uganda was one. Just three decades later this had grown almost ten-fold to over 90⁷ institutions. (Association of African Universities and World Bank 1997). By the close of the century there were almost 300 universities in SSA, of which around a third were private (Saint 2003).

The Colonial Period

During the early colonial period in tropical Africa educational opportunity was offered almost exclusively by missionaries, who had found that offering access to school was one of the most effective means of Christian evangelism. ^{Lack of} Disinterest, more than active opposition, characterised the attitude of most colonial authorities, whose tolerance for missionary-based basic education essentially centred on the need to ensure a level of literacy in the colonial language amongst a small minority of indigenous people in order

⁵ This trend developed later in SSA, so that it could be identified by comparing triangles from the late 1980s and the late 1990s.

⁶ Excluding South Africa.

to facilitate limited local government and trade. Not surprisingly, there was also very little interest in establishing institutions of higher learning with the capacity to produce an indigenous political and economic elite, able to play a leadership role within the colonial territories. Beyond the obvious problem of such an initiative undermining the whole colonial enterprise, racist assumptions about capacity made even conceptualising it unlikely. Further, colonial governments were reluctant to invest in anything not strictly related to economic development, so it was inconceivable that the resources to fund expensive institutions of higher education would be found (Oliver and Fage 1995, Chapter 17). To the extent that there was any post-primary education provided (such as that offered at Makerere) these institutions tended to be confined to technical education, and were very closely tied to the immediate needs of the colonial state and the nascent economy.

Events leading up to the Second World War proved decisive to changing this situation. Amongst other factors, a recognition of the importance of the colonial territories to the successful war effort, fuelled the need for the 'carrot' of self-governance to be held out as an incentive for co-operation and support for the colonial power during the War⁸. This led to a dawning realisation that decolonisation was inevitable and an acceptance (particularly on the part of the British government) of the responsibility to prepare the colonial territories for self-governance (albeit in the somewhat distant future). Education, particularly higher education, was regarded as critical to this process. While expanding primary education was seen as crucial to the 'development' or 'modernisation' of 'backward' societies, the main thrust of colonial educational policy around the War period shifted towards providing unprecedented access to higher levels of education. Whether this was achieved by establishing or expanding existing institutions (the policy followed by Britain and heralded by the Asquith Commission

⁷ Almost half of these institutions were in either South Africa or Nigeria.

⁸ The struggle for independence in India in particular fuelled the need for the 'carrot' of self-governance and prompted a major revision of social policies in British colonies. Other factors of importance included: the greatly increased demand for the strategic raw materials of the African colonies ensured that many colonies, far from remaining economically dependent on Europe, were able to build up substantial credit balances during the War against which ambitious development schemes could be self-funded, and which suggested that they had far greater capacity for financial independence than had previously been recognised. Lastly, the changed international political and economic climate heralded by the establishment of the United Nations (UN) and its charter, underpinned by a shift in the international balance of power, with both the USA and USSR avowedly anti-colonial, ensured that colonial powers needed to be seen to be contributing directly and vigorously to colonial welfare and development, with independence as an explicit (albeit distant) goal (Oliver, R. and Fage, J. D. 1995. *A Short History of Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.)

(1943)⁹ - or by increasing opportunities to study in Europe (as done by France and to a lesser extent Belgium) the intention was the same: to create a 'home-grown' elite, initially to staff, but ultimately to inherit, the state bureaucracy, and other civic and economic organisations of the colonial territories (Oliver and Fage 1995, Chapter 17).

In the aftermath of the War, six universities (or rather, university colleges) were established¹⁰ in Sub-Saharan Africa. All were developed by the British government and were shaped by the modernising mission set out by the Asquith Commission. Modeled (to a greater or lesser extent) on Oxford, they were staffed almost entirely by British expatriates and had their curriculums set and examinations marked by the University of London. They were deliberately developed as fully residential universities (frequently isolated on the outskirts of towns) in order to create separate, self-contained academic communities. Immersing students within these communities was seen as an important means of facilitating students' breaking with traditional cultural values and practices (Ashby and Anderson 1966). From these scholarly environment emerged a tiny, very privileged elite. Though largely cut off from the experiences and concerns of the wider populace, the new graduates were strongly imbued with the notion that they were being appropriately prepared to lead their countries to independence (in the long term) - despite having been more likely to have taken courses in Latin, Greek, and ancient history, rather than in engineering, economics, geology and public administration¹¹ (Court 1980; Mamdani 1994 b).

1.1.3 The Expansion of Higher Education

While it was widely understood that the sustained political domination of Africa by Europe was not achievable, the speed with which decolonisation occurred was not anticipated. However, the newly created elite proved very capable at mobilising a wider constituency in opposition to the colonial state, and less than two decades after the introduction of a handful of higher education institutions on the continent, most former colonial territories had been granted independence by the late 1960s (Oliver and Fage

⁹ Discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

¹⁰ Three of the institutes (Makerere, Achimota, and Yaba) were expansions of existing institutions. See Court, D. 1990. The Development of University Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. In *International Higher Education: an encyclopaedia*, ed. P. G. Altbach. New York, London: Garland.

¹¹ Throughout the 1950s, the University College at Ibadan (Nigeria) offered Latin, Greek and ancient history, but had not courses in engineering, economics, geology or public administration. (Court, D. 1990. The Development of University Education in Sub-Saharan Africa. In *International Higher Education: an encyclopaedia*, ed. P. G. Altbach. New York: Garland).

1995, Chapter 20). Universities were regarded as critical to the process of nation building and development and the post-independence period saw a proliferation of new institutions – still based on models of Oxford and the Sorbonne – as well as the rapid growth of existing ones. States looked to these institutions to supply the staffing needs of the expanding bureaucracies as well as to provide the guiding ideas of the newly independent nations. The challenges facing the new institutions to meet these demands were many, as they strove to turn themselves into functioning and credible universities as quickly as possible.

Much was achieved by African universities during the first decade of decolonisation, primarily in terms of institution building. This included divesting themselves of dependence on European universities by setting their own examinations and awarding their own degrees; developing indigenous staff to replace expatriates, localising the curriculum; and establishing the foundations of a vibrant research community. (Court 1990). These changes took place against a backdrop of rapid expansion of student numbers, and was accompanied by diversifying the range of courses, faculties and departments, with an emphasis on providing those disciplines most needed for economic and social development. These impressive achievements would not have been possible without the extensive financial support which the sector received. The following extract, from a commission into higher education in Nigeria in 1960, captures the attitude about the importance of the sector, as well as its financing which dominated during the immediate post- independence period:

Our task is to forecast Nigeria's educational needs up to 1980. We could have approached this task by calculating what the country can afford to spend on education and by proposing cautious, modest and reasonable ways in which the educational system might be improved within the limits of the Budget. We have unanimously rejected this approach to our task. The upsurge of Africa is so dramatic and so powerful that proposals which today appear to be reasonable and sensible will in a very few years appear to be short-sighted and timid. Our proposals remain massive, expensive and unconventional. To accomplish them all would undoubtedly be beyond the present resources of the Federal and Regional Governments. But a way must be found. To the best of our belief nothing less than these proposals will suffice for Nigeria's development. To entertain any more modest programme is to confess defeat (Nigeria 1960).

Much of this enthusiasm for spending on education was driven by human capital theory (HCT), which provided an economic framework justifying massive public investment in this sector on the grounds that as people became better educated, they became more

productive, which in turn fuelled wider economic growth. Unsurprisingly, policies and programmes which supported the expansion of education proved very popular in developing countries. Amongst the broader population such programmes offered the opportunity for social mobility, with an improved income and standard of living; for politicians the appeal of such vote-catching policies was self-evident (Hinchliffe 1993). In addition, the economic rationale for investment resonated well with broader developmental goals of capacity building in developing countries, so governments found international donors and lending institutes very amenable to lending in this area¹². Indeed, new universities were amongst the most 'favoured objects of foreign assistance' – thus masking the full extent of their high costs (Coleman 1994, 337). Even with this support, towards the end of the 1960s, governments were looking more critically at institutions which were proving costly and exhorting them to ever greater development contributions:

We in poor societies can only justify expenditure on a University – of any type – if it promotes real development of our people. ... The role of a University in a developing nation is to contribute; to give ideas, manpower and service for the furtherance of human equality, human dignity and human development (Coleman 1994, 335), *citing Julius Nyerere. 'The University's Role in the Development of New Countries', Keynote address, World University Service Assembly, Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, June 17, 1966.*

1.1.4 The Development Imperative

Tying universities so closely to the imperative of 'national development' had a number of important consequences. First, universities were challenged to serve national policy and public welfare in ever more 'direct, immediate and practical ways'. Calls for a 'fundamental redefinition of the role of the university in Africa' culminated in a very influential conference organised by the Association of African Universities which argued that African universities needed to be 'different and distinctive [in] substance from traditions of Western universities'. Most centrally this demanded:

... [a] commitment, not just to knowledge for its own sake, but to the pursuit of knowledge for the sake of, and for the amelioration of the conditions of the common man and woman in Africa (Yesufu 1973, 40).

As part of the search for the model of a 'truly African university', institutions were pressed to extend their functions beyond teaching and research, to include 'community

¹² The World Bank began to lend to higher education for the first time in the 1960s, and USAID made grants in excess of \$1 billion to LDCs for development purposes.

outreach' as part of an expanded notion of social responsibility which emphasised the university's role in promoting social justice as well as economic growth. Despite a wide range of experiments designed to enhance the social relevance of what they were doing,¹³ few were successful or sustainable, and universities increasingly came to be judged not so much by what they had achieved (particularly in terms of institutional building), and more by an increasingly normative and prescriptive notion of what they ought to be doing – which appeared to encompass an ever increasing expansion of societal functions¹⁴ (Court 1980; Coleman 1994).

One of the most significant and lasting legacies from this period, which was prompted by this concern to be contributing directly to achieving national developmental goals, was that universities ceded much of their academic authority to the state. In particular, decisions about student numbers and access, but even what courses should be offered and (senior) staff appointments, increasingly came to be made by the state rather than universities (Court 1980). Mamdani (1994) argues that university autonomy was given up, with hardly a murmur, because of the dominant statist and developmentalist perspective of the period. He suggests that once the university came to be seen as the key training institution for those who would be responsible for managing the process of development, it was but a 'short step' to the conclusion that 'the independent state must have a key role in the very management of the university'. Further, he goes on to point out that in this context, the demand for 'university autonomy' (particularly in those institutions where there was a strong expatriate presence in the academic staff) would have sounded like 'a fig-leaf for anti-national expatriate dominance', whereas the presence of state representatives in decision-making bodies would have appeared as 'a solid guarantee of national interest' (Mamdani 1994 b, 2-3).

¹³ These included greater involvement in government policy making, developing more vocational courses, broader admission policies; as well as sustained attempts to bring research and teaching closer to problems being faced by the country. For a fuller discussion see, Court, D. 1980. *The Development Ideal in Higher Education: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania. Higher Education*. 9 : 657-680.

¹⁴ The University of Juba (Sudan) was charged in its founding document with the responsibility of national integration, social integration, socio-economic development, environmental enlightenment and action; cultural and technical enlightenment; modernisation of university education; democratisation of university admission; horizontal transfer of modern technology and the vertical transfer of improved indigenous technology; and to work towards regional and international co-operation and understanding. For a fuller discussion see Coleman, J. S. 1994. *The Idea of the Developmental University*. In *Nationalism and Development in Africa. Selected Essays*. James S Coleman, ed. R. L. Sklar. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

During this same period, international donors began to critically review their aid policies, in the light of the 'first development decade', with its heavy emphasis on 'high-level manpower as the critical variant in modernization' being increasingly judged to have been a failure. The 'trickle-down theory' of development increasingly being discredited, a common lament about universities was that they had failed to realise their development potential, and attention began to shift to more directly meeting the needs of the poorest¹⁵ (Coleman 1994). National governments – which under the best of circumstances would have struggled to find local resources to compensate for the steady withdrawal of donor money - were themselves experiencing a severe fiscal crisis, which was to ultimately impact on universities in a significant manner. Mamdani (1994), who was himself both a student and a leading academic at Makerere, is worth citing at length here. He describes the process thus:

By the late 1970s, a budgetary crisis was beginning to constrain the developmental efforts of many states. ... To finance its budgetary deficit, government after government turned to foreign donors for assistance; but as sources of bilateral 'aid' and foreign investment reduced to a trickle, most were forced to buckle under the pressure of international financial institutions and accept budgetary discipline as part of a structural adjustment programme. Part of this discipline, this 'shock treatment', was sharp devaluation of currencies. It was a discipline that governments resisted initially; but as they learnt that successive devaluation could be used to translate export and foreign aid earnings into ever-growing local currency budgets, their opposition melted. Not surprisingly, protracted devaluation reinforced inflationary trends set in motion by an earlier period of deficit financing. Inflation eroded fixed earnings, including that of academics. The demand for a living wage spread from one institution of higher learning to another, echoing similar demands amongst wage and salary earners in the society at large. Governments saw the growing activism on campus at a time of inevitable financial discipline as a threat to law and order, and responded to it with force. The presence of security forces on campuses, the inevitable confrontation with staff and students, finally leading to the closure of several campuses, became commonplace across the political map of Africa. It is in this context that the World Bank stepped onto the university scene in Africa, with a carrot in one hand and a stick in another (Mamdani 1994 b, 3).

The 'carrot' was the huge resources which the Bank had on offer for investment in the sector. The 'stick' was the conditions which were attached to these loans: an analysis of

¹⁵ For instance, the British Government, which had been heavily committed to providing aid to universities in the region, presented a White Paper in 1975 revealingly entitled *The Changing Emphasis in British Aid Policy: More Help for the Poorest*. For additional examples (such as USAID, Ford and Rockefeller) see Coleman, J. S. 1994. The Idea of the Developmental University. In *Nationalism and Development in Africa. Selected Essays*. James S Coleman, ed. R. L. Sklar. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

a sample of World Bank loans in SSA during the 1980s showed that in 51 loans, there were 87 conditions relating to financing in the education sector (Stewart 1994 b, 145).

The following section examines the central components of the policy framework which informed the Bank's approach to higher education in SSA from the mid 1980s. It begins, however, with a brief explanation for the level of influence the Bank yields in relation to higher education in the region, and concludes with a discussion of the most influential critiques of the Bank's framework.

1.2 Higher Education Policy in Sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s

The World Bank began lending for educational projects and programmes in 1962, with the first higher education project (establishing two agricultural universities in Pakistan) taking place two years later (Jones 1997). Between then and the late 1990s, the Bank funded around \$8.6 billion worth of education projects in 108 countries (Kagia 2000, 53). Initially, support to post-secondary institutions made up less than a fifth of all Bank investment in education. However, higher education projects grew rapidly until the mid-1980s when projects of this nature made up 40 percent of investments in this sector (World Bank 1994). As the principal external funder of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (having invested over \$350 million in higher education in the region) the Bank has enormous influence in the content of educational policy for governments in the region, and between governments and the wider donor community (Association of African Universities and World Bank 1997, 23). In short, what the Bank has to say about education policy in developing countries – particularly in relation to higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa – is extremely important (Bennell 1996).

Periodically¹⁶, comprehensive policy statements are issued by the Bank on education and development. These have provided both an indication of what the Bank regards as priority areas for lending at particular times, as well as a vehicle for advocating current viewpoints on education and development more generally (Jones 1997, 117)¹⁷. During

¹⁶ 1971, 1974, 1980, 1995, and most recently, in 2002.

¹⁷ The general policy statements are underpinned by a range of different kinds of papers (discussion papers, research and technical reports, country studies, technical staff briefings) that tend to deal with more specific issues, for example particular sectors (primary, vocational and technical, higher education); particular issues (financing, gender), and particular regions (with a major focus on Sub-Saharan Africa), as well as country specific studies. Notable reports have included: *General: Financing Education in Developing*

the period covered by this thesis, *Higher Education: The Lessons of Experience* (1994), the sector review *Priorities and Strategies for Education* (1995), and *Financing Universities in Developing Countries* (1995) provided the most authoritative statements on the Bank's views on investment and financing in education and higher education in particular¹⁸. These reports were based on the Bank's work in this area in the preceding decade, and drew on a series of regional and case studies, including two of the most comprehensive reports on the region *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1988) and the higher education sector in particular: *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization* (1992).

The foundation for all these reports, however, lies further back in a seminal document, *Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options* (1986). Jones (1997), in his review of Bank education financing, argues that this report was released as 'kind of discussion note' as it was 'too controversial' to be issued as a statement of formal bank policy. The following section explores what gave rise to this report, and its impact on the higher education sector in SSA.

1.2.1 The Counter Revolution

Arguments in Favour of State Provision and Funding of Education

Prior to the release of *Financing Education in Developing Countries*, the state's dominant role in funding education went largely unquestioned, particularly in countries with developing economies (CDEs). The arguments for the public provision and financing of education were well known and for the most part uncontroversial. It was widely accepted that the provision and financing of national education systems (particularly at higher levels) could only afford to be undertaken by the state. Moreover, it was understood that education (particularly higher education) was an investment that would pay for itself, primarily through the taxed increased earnings of the beneficiary students. (Williams 1984; Psacharopoulos 1988; Tilak 1997). These were the factors which had

Countries: An exploration of Policy Options (1986); *Priorities and Strategies for Education: a World Bank review* (1995); **Higher Education:** *Higher Education: the lessons of experience* (1994); **Sub-Saharan Africa:** *Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalisation, and Expansion* (1988); *Science, Education and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1990); *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilisation and Revitalisation* (1992); *The World Bank's Role in Human Resource Development in Sub-Saharan Africa* (1994); **Uganda:** *Strengthening Uganda's Policy Environment for Investing in University Development* (1993); *Implementing Educational Policies* (1992); *Social Sector Study* (1993).

¹⁸ The most recent policy document issued by the World Bank on higher education, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Higher Education*, which builds on the work undertaken by the *Independent Task Force on Higher Education*, is not discussed in this thesis. It was issued in late 2002.

been particularly influential in fueling the initial development of higher education in the region.

Beyond these base factors, it had also long been argued that the public provision of education was necessary to the promotion – or at least protection – of a number of commonly held equity and efficiency objectives, objectives which newly independent states were keen to see (and be seen to be) promoting. In addition, it was widely held that in developing countries the state was needed to play a role in correcting the imperfections of the market – this was particularly so in relation to the ‘public goods’ such as health and education (Colclough 1997d, 197). Three central arguments tended to be advanced in this regard:

- (1) From an *efficiency* perspective, it was argued that the many social benefits¹⁹ of an educated population (a more productive, healthier, better informed citizenry) meant that it was more than just the individual who benefited from education. Hence, to rely on the private purchase of education was to risk making a sub-optimal social investment in the sector (Le Grand and Robinson, 64; Colclough 1997d, 137; Oosterbeek 1998, 223-4).
- (2) From an *equity* perspective, basing an educational system on capacity to pay, without regard to merit or potential, would not only discriminate against the poor, but would be inefficient as it would mean society losing out on benefiting from the skills and opportunities from sectors of the population, unable to access a pay-based system (Le Grand and Robinson, 67). Further, there is a strong correlation between level of education and life-time earnings. For access to the education sector to be determined solely or primarily on capacity to pay for it – would mean creating or maintaining a deeply iniquitous system that would ensure only that the rich got richer. (Colclough and Manor 1991).
- (3) *Inefficient and under-developed credit markets* reduced access to education, particularly among those who tend to be more debt adverse (such as the poor) (Le Grand and Robinson). Moreover, *education markets*, suffered structural imperfections²⁰, which made it difficult for them to operate

¹⁹ Education is also a ‘merit good’. That is, it also benefits individuals more than they might realise. Hence individuals might also under invest in this good.

²⁰ In such countries the delivery of education may only be possible if the state is the monopoly supplier, as the market could not support competition in (for instance) areas where the population is not dense

efficiently or equitably, especially in small, predominantly rural countries with developing economies (Colclough 1996, 589).

Analysis of the Problems of Providing and Financing Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Financing Education in Developing Countries, supported by a range of other reports and studies commissioned by the Bank, took this dominant position (outlined above) and turned it on its head - arguing that increasing private funding for education in developing countries would be both *more* efficient and *more* equitable (Psacharopoulos 1981, 1985, 1987; Woodhall 1985; Thobani, 1984; Jimenez, 1987; Mingat and Tan, 1985). The argument was premised on a number of observations about the way in which the education sector was managed and funded in a range of developing countries.

The first part of the analysis that informed the Bank's approach was that education systems in developing countries were *under-expanded* (particularly with regard to the tertiary education level) and that *additional public resources were unavailable* to fund further expansion. As demonstrated in *Table 1.1* (overleaf) in the mid 1980s, while around seven percent of young adults in developing countries were attending institutions of higher learning (and three times as many as that in developed countries) only 1.2 percent of young adults in SSA were in higher education. Just over a third of children in the region had access to no schooling whatsoever. This was not due to a lack of social demand, but rather to insufficient supply.²¹ Beyond the individual disappointment of not being able to access higher education, low literacy levels, poorly educated workforces, and tiny numbers of highly skilled person-power were all regarded as serious inhibitors to the development potential of CDEs, and hence as urgent reasons for the expansion the education system at all levels.

While expansion was essential for development, the Bank argued that the resources needed to fund this expansion were simply unavailable from the public sector. The most

enough to support more than a single institution, and (particularly in relation to higher education) equipment and resources (e.g. libraries, internet connections, laboratory equipment) need a reasonable sized student body to justify costs.

²¹ Tarpeh notes how throughout the 1980s pressure on African governments from parents and other groups to expand higher education grew like 'an atomic umbrella about to explode'. In 1989 in Nigeria, the Joint Admissions and Matriculation Board had received a total of over 290,000 applications, but were

constraining factor was that economic growth in many CDEs was below that of population growth. This meant that maintaining, never mind improving levels of public spending (and hence access to and opportunity within the education system) was beyond the reach of an increasing number of developing countries²² (Zidderman and Albrecht 1995, 2).

Table 1.1 Enrolment ratios in primary, secondary, and higher levels of education, and public expenditure per student, in major world regions (mid-1980s).

Region	Enrolment Ratio			Public Expenditure per student as percentage of per capita GDP			Number of countries reporting
	Primary	Second ary	Higher	Primary	Second ary	Higher	
Anglophone Africa	77	17	1.2	18	50	920	16
Francophone Africa	46	14	2.4	29	143	804	18
Latin America	90	44	12.0	9	26	88	19
Developing Countries	75	23	6.9	14	41	370	74
Developed Countries	100	80	21.0	22	24	49	20

Source: World Bank, 1986, table 9, cited in Colclough (1997d).

In terms of the allocation of the public budget, education was regarded as a high priority for most governments in CDEs. In SSA, on average, approximately four percent of GNP was spent on education, consuming on average in the 1980s around 15 percent of government's budget²³ (Saint 1992, 12). In the context of competition from other sectors (health, housing, defence) it was unlikely to be increased. However, poor economic performance coupled with a high inflation rate meant that it was estimated that government expenditure on education in Anglophone Africa at the end of the 1980s was only 21 percent, in real terms, of the level of resources allocated two decades previously (in 1970/71)²⁴ (Woodhall 1991, 15). Moreover, despite the declining levels

only able to find spaces for under a fifth (17 percent) of them (Tarpeh, D. N. 1994. *Study on Cost Effectiveness and Efficiency in African Universities*. Dakar: Association of African Universities. December).

²² Economic growth in SSA during the 1980s and into the early 1990s was slow averaging around four percent which was barely higher than population growth which had averaged around three percent (Kagia, R. 2000. Financing of higher education in Africa. In *The Financing of Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa*, eds. B. Jongbloed and H. Teekens. Utrecht: Lemma.).

²³ From a low of 2.8 percent in war-torn Somali to over 40 percent in Ghana (Saint, W. 1992. *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilisation and Revitalisation*. Washington DC: The World Bank. Technical Report, 194).

²⁴ If the increases in population are taken into account, then the per capita, real value of public expenditure on education was only 13 percent of its level just a decade previously. See for a full discussion Woodhall, M. 1991. *Student Loans in Higher Education. English-Speaking Africa*. Paris: International Institute for Educational Planning. Educational Forum Series, 3. .

of resources in real terms, the education sector as a whole (particularly at the secondary and tertiary level) continued to grow, primarily in response to population pressure. Growth without associated investment had given rise to inadequate educational support resources (text-books, infrastructure), poorly paid and under-qualified teaching staff, and overcrowded classrooms, which resulted in most national systems in SSA in the 1980s being notable for their dubious quality and high failure rates (Psacharopoulos, Tan et al. 1989; Zidlerman and Albrecht 1995; Burnett 1996).

The second aspect of the Bank's analysis concerned *the distribution of public spending* within the education system. It was argued that this was both inequitable and inefficient. With regard to *inefficiency*, it was argued that expenditure on primary schooling associated with much higher social returns than those at a higher level. Rates-of-return (RoR) studies suggested that in terms of the effect of schooling on earnings and productivity in many developing countries 'the average dollar invested in primary education returns twice as much as the one invested in higher education' (World Bank 1986; Psacharopoulos, Tan et al. 1989, 55). Despite primary education offering the most productive investment, in SSA in the 1980s, less than half of all education expenditure was spent on primary school - even though it is the only part of the system that most people have a chance to join. In contrast, around one-fifth of the total public educational spending was used to provide higher education for a 2 percent of the age group (Colclough 1997d, 275).

Part of the reason for the proportional difference in expenditure between primary and tertiary education was that differences in the per-capita costs between the two levels were great. While this was to be expected, in SSA they were hugely different: in no small measure due to the way in which public resources were being used. *Table 1.1* (above) shows that a massive 50 times greater proportion of public expenditure per student was spent on students in a tertiary level institutions compared with those in primary schools in SSA. In contrast, in developed countries, only a little more than twice the amount of public resources per student was spent on students in higher education compared with students in primary schools. One of the reasons for the high costs was the levels of expenditure on student welfare. In Uganda in the late 1980s, for example, costs of food, lodging and student allowances (for books and other essentials) accounted for over 80 percent of the total recurrent budget at the university. The

remainder (20 percent) was used to cover all the associated costs of tuition (including teachers' salaries) (Woodhall 1991, 14).

With regard to *equity*, it was argued that too great a proportion of public monies were being spent on further privileging an already privileged sector of society – namely those few who were gaining access to the higher education sector. The education pyramid in 1985 in developing countries was steep (70 percent of participants in the education sector in the first level; 27 percent in the second level; and three percent in the third) but not as steep as SSA, which had just over one percent enrolled in tertiary level institutions and over 80 percent at the primary levels (UNESCO 1993). Further, the minority which accessed the higher levels of the education sector tended to come from an already privileged back-ground, and were likely as graduates to have privileged access to whatever formal employment was available (Barkan 1975; Psacharopoulos 1988; Habte 1989; Bennell 1996).

Despite this situation, while the majority of participants in the primary sector were frequently paying fees, and almost certainly making further private contributions through Parent Teacher Associations while also paying for books and uniforms and other incidental costs, students at the tertiary level were almost certainly not paying fees, and in a number of instances were likely to be receiving a government subsidy for related academic costs (books and stationary) and living costs (board and lodging). While there may have been some variations in specific instances, this certainly would have been the general pattern of public subsidy in a number of developing countries – especially in SSA - in the early to mid-eighties (Psacharopoulos 1991; Odaga and Heneveld 1995).

Finally, with regard to the problems being experienced at a tertiary level in SSA, it was strongly argued that there was a *need for greater institutional autonomy*. In particular it was argued that there were several constraints imposed by governments on universities which were contributing significantly on the financial crisis being experienced by most universities in the region. The major constraints included

- (1) the government setting enrollment policies (but frequently provide insufficient resources to meet needs);

- (2) governments restricting the capacity of universities to raise resources beyond those provided by the state; and
- (3) limitations on the use of resources within institutions through the use of restrictive financial mechanisms (such as line-by-line budgeting).

Hence, there was little scope or incentive for universities to match resources to their activities or for finding more efficient and effective methods for carrying them out (Zidderman and Albrecht 1995, 2).

One of the most serious effects of this restrictive approach to the funding of higher education was that access was limited to the number of students the national government could afford to sponsor. Kidd (1991), in an exploratory study looking at the (approximately) 93,000 students from SSA who were enrolled in foreign universities in the mid-1980s reports that the most commonly cited reason for studying abroad was the limited enrolment opportunities which had forced many students to find outside institutions in order to study further.²⁵ In calculating a 'conservative estimate of the costs involved' in studying abroad, Kidd restricted his focus to students attending a university in the United States of America (USA)²⁶ and calculated that the 'total 1987/88 investment in the education of SSA students in US universities was at least \$250 million'. Only about a quarter of this revenue was being raised in the USA (through the places of study or philanthropic organisations) leaving 76 percent to be paid out in local currency being converted to foreign currency. Of this almost two-thirds (65 percent) was being contributed by families of the students. In other words, approximately \$167 million was being spent by families in SSA to cover the costs of educating their children in the USA. This was potential revenue being lost to the domestic systems because of restrictive government practices (Kidd 1991, 44-46).

Proposed Solutions

At the heart of the Bank's framework for change was a belief that by 'bringing educational services further into the market place through increasing private provision,

²⁵ Other reasons cited included (1) declining quality of education on offer; (2) gaps in terms of what is taught – especially in science and technology and all post-graduate programmes; and (3) a comparative advantage in terms of job seeking on return (Kidd, C. V. 1991. *University Training Abroad: Sub-Saharan Africa. Higher Education Policy*. 4 (2) : 41-46).

²⁶ Kidd's focus was restricted because there was more available information on sources of funding for students in the USA. He based his estimate on the 20,477 students in the USA and estimated an average cost of \$12,000 per student, made up of travel, board and tuition costs (Kidd, C. V. 1991. *University Training Abroad: Sub-Saharan Africa. Higher Education Policy*. 4 (2) : 41-46).

and subjecting the public system to demand-led pressures and expanding the coverage of charges to the beneficiaries, both the efficiency and equity of the system would increase, as would the resources available to it' (Hinchliffe 1993, 183). While the details of how this was to be achieved changed at various times (in part in response to various criticisms) there were essentially four fundamental elements to the Bank's proposed framework for change that remained constant.

First, that *user charges* were to be introduced. Initially it was proposed at all levels of the education system, including primary school. By the late 1980s it was largely conceded that this approach should be restricted to the tertiary (and to some extent, secondary) level of the education system (Tilak 1997). User charges were intended to reduce or (preferably) eliminate government subsidies for non-academic purposes (accommodation, board, travel), but also included consideration of the introduction of tuition fees. It was argued this would make the system more equitable (those people - or rather their families - most directly benefiting would be contributing the most to its costs) and more efficient (payment would provide a spur to choosing economically rewarding courses of study and completing them as successfully and as quickly as possible).

Second, in order to ensure that the system did not become one in which finances (rather than ability) became the principle gate-keeper to access, it was argued that there was a need to complement shift towards greater private financing with the provision of widely available *student loans and selective scholarships*. The (limited) scholarships were intended to act as a 'safety net' to the danger of excluding poor but bright students - who might not be able to afford the direct user fees, or to survive in the absence of subsidies in higher education. More important was the widespread loan scheme that would be made available directly to students, to enable them 'to finance their current studies against future incomes' (Psacharopoulos, Tan et al. 1989, 56). A number of advantages were identified in this approach:

- (1) Loans would shift the burden of responsibility more directly to the most direct users - i.e. students themselves rather than their families. It was felt this would strengthen the efficiency arguments made above (Colclough 1996, 599).

- (2) Within education institutions students would shift from being users to being clients. It was anticipated that this would have a positive effect on institutional efficiency as students would become more demanding around quality and institutional fiscal responsibility as – in keeping with all purchasers - they would have an interest in agitating for the highest possible quality for the lowest possible costs (Lewin and Berstecher 1989, 69).
- (3) Direct government involvement would be lessened as a substantial portion of the funding of institutions would be coming indirectly to institutions via students themselves. It was anticipated that this might give greater autonomy (from state involvement) to the institutions themselves (Woodhall 1991).
- (4) As higher education is mainly the preserve of the privileged elite, and as graduates could look forward to high lifetime earnings, loans are more equitable than a system of free tuition, grants and allowances in operation in most African countries (Woodhall 1991, 16; Tilak 1997, 76).

The third aspect of the strategy involved supporting the *establishment of private educational institutions at all levels* within the system, for both equity and efficiency reasons. It was anticipated that the introduction of an element of competition would enhance institutional efficiency as institutions would be compelled to strive for low costs and high quality in the competition for a client base. Further, it was argued that the establishment of private institutions would free up resources (e.g. space in classrooms, time with teachers and so on) within the public system. As it would probably be wealthier sections of the population that would choose to attend private institutions this approach would facilitate more equitable financing of the system, as wealthier people would be subsidising (through tax) students from poorer households while also paying more directly for private education (Colclough 1997d).

The final part of the strategy involved ensuring that whatever savings were made would be *redirected to the most socially productive* parts of the system – namely to the primary and lower secondary schools, again for both equity and efficiency reasons (Psacharopoulos 1988; Hinchliffe 1993; Colclough 1997d).

Critical Responses

While the approach proposed by the Bank was rejected outright by those with fundamental ideological objections,²⁷ it was also challenged by critics who argued that the changes proposed would be neither efficient nor equitable and would be largely ineffective in increasing overall resources for the sector (Hinchliffe 1993, 183). The following section explores the central components of these criticisms.

Challenging assumptions and methodologies

Some of the early responses to the Bank's framework challenged the base assumption that cost recovery was necessary because the public purse could not deliver the resources needed to expand the education system. It was argued that too little attention had been spent exploring the restructuring of public budgets – especially cutting down military spending – as a way of getting more resources to development sectors (Tilak 1997, 66 citing UNDP 1991, 1992 and Looney 1990). Colclough (1996) challenged the notion that the disproportionate subsidy from poor to rich was as strong as believed by the Bank, arguing rather that although access to higher education is very unequally biased toward the progeny of the rich, taking educational expenditure as a whole, the incidence of subsidies in many developing countries was in fact mildly *progressive*. He conceded that this was least likely to be the case in Africa, as around a third of all children (primarily the very poor) were not in school at all and hence were receiving no public educational subsidy at all (Colclough 1996). Hinchliffe (1993) took on the notion that savings made at the higher levels of education would be translated to greater resources dedicated to primary school, suggesting that this reflected 'a misreading of budgetary practices in most countries'. He argued that education budgets were seldom developed by having a 'fixed aggregate amount which is then divided across levels of education'. Rather, an overall total was developed from the sub-totals so that whatever the allocation for higher education it was unlikely to have any direct

²⁷ Ideological objections tended to echo many of the views held about structural adjustment more generally: the continent was attempting to redress its legacy of colonial underdevelopment, while bearing the burden of debt created by broader inequities in the trade relations between the developed and developing world. This was the real development issue that needed to be addressed: If developing countries were allowed to participate in an international system that redressed these wrongs, then economies in the developing world would be able to grow. Strong domestic economies in developing countries would mean that national governments would be able to develop and fund their own social and political programmes: there would be no need for outside programmes to be imposed, particularly not those that in the views of the recipients would not be effective, only punitive to their long term goals and gains (Mugabe, R. G. 1988. Higher Education, Economic Development and National Independence. *Higher Education Policy*. 1 (1) : 17-18).

effect on the allocation to primary schooling (Hinchliffe 1993, 186). Further, it was pointed out that in a variety of different ways parents and communities were already contributing towards the cost of education - through various contributions such as supplementing teachers' salaries, the building of schools, the provision of text books - and that to expect any more from poor communities was unrealistic (Tilak 1997, 68). Indeed, several estimates (Tilak 1991, 1997) revealed that student household expenditure on education already equaled or exceeded that spent by governments.

It was the Bank's reliance on rates of return to support many of its recommendations which came under the greatest criticism. This was particularly so in terms of its justification of the shifting of public investment towards basic education and a greater reliance on household investment for higher levels of education. Bennell (1996) argued that the methodology and the data used were outdated, and was joined by Colclough (1996) in suggesting that the Bank was guilty of over-estimating private rates of return for higher education, and that the conclusions drawn on the basis of this approach were flawed. Both queried their use as an economic tool for education policy makers, suggesting that the Bank should have focussed more on positive externalities to really understand the social returns on investment in education in developing countries. Other, more recent critics, have argued that RoR studies are based on a 'limited understanding of what higher education institutions contribute', as they reduce the value of educated people to their greater tax revenue. Clearly educated people have a 'far-reaching impact on the economic and social well-being of their communities', not least of all because they are 'vital to creating an environment in which economic development is possible'. Finally RoR analysis entirely misses the impact of university-based research on the economy (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 39).

Responses from Inside SSA

Inside Africa, and in particular in academic and government circles, the response to the Bank's framework²⁸ was extremely critical (Daillant 1988; Economic Commission for Africa 1988; Maliyamkono 1988; Mugabe 1988; Sawyerr 1988). The central concern was that its effect would be to roll back the gains made in education in many countries since independence, and that this would have a long lasting and damaging effect on development in the region. While the emphasis on the need to expand primary

education was welcomed, it was felt that it would be unrealistic to rely on private resources, generated from higher levels of the education sector, to fund this process: indeed, it was argued that such a strategy, far from expanding educational access, would only result in education being offered to a small elite.

There was widespread concern that the long-term effect of the framework would be to not only harm equity (by excluding all but a tiny minority from the opportunity of attending university) but would severely impede the contribution institutions could make towards national development. Indeed, some viewed the report as little more than a thinly disguised attempt to condemn the continent to dependency on the developed world for ever. (Mugabe 1988). The report was particularly poorly received by academics who, working in underfunded institutions struggling with too many demands, were fearful of the implications of encouraging governments to divert resources to other parts of the education system. While conceding that the current funding of all students costs might not be sustainable there was little support for more than a removal of some of the non-essential subsidies such as transport and individual book grants. The notion that significant tuition fees should be charged for, supported by a system of student loans, was rejected, as many commentators argued that the real imperative of higher education systems in developing countries was to expand: if fees were introduced the majority of potential students would be excluded, at least partly because student loans were not a realistic alternative.

Particular Problems with Loans

While conceding that arguments in favour of cost recovery at higher educational levels are stronger than those directed at primary and secondary levels, many commentators argued that the central approach recommended by the Bank of loans for students at institutions of higher learning was flawed (Colclough 1996, 597). One of the central concerns raised was that poor students would be reluctant to take loans up as they would be more debt adverse, and so this approach would exacerbate existing inequalities of access (Dubbey 1988). In addition, it was felt that students would spend a great deal of time looking for money and working during term-time to supplement their incomes, thus detracting from study time, and that this would disproportionately affect poor students (Le Grand and Robinson , 76).

²⁸ As outlined in the 1986 report, and then more specifically in relation to SSA in the Education in SSA.

Loans were largely dismissed as difficult and costly to implement in SSA where adequate financial structures, particularly of the kind that would be needed to make loan collection effective, were very limited. Moreover, evaluations from a vast number of countries revealed that loan schemes do not usually become self-financing owing mainly to high default rates or to unemployment. Repayment rates in countries with some experience of student loans were very low: in the early 1990s India had a repayment rate of under five percent and Kenya of under six percent. While both have slightly improved, in Kenya the high administrative costs and levels of inflation meant that it would have in fact been cheaper to provide grants (Tilak 1997, 77). Moreover, putting to one side the fact that loans have a major weaknesses in terms of revenue generation, in terms of response to a crisis situation they solve very little, as Colclough (1996) demonstrates, with four years of study paid back over a 20 year period, governments would not recover anything for the first 14 years after the start of the loans (Colclough 1996, 599).

Exploring Better Alternatives

Colclough (1991, 1993, 1996) and Tilak (1997) in their major reviews of the Bank's framework argue that reform is clearly necessary, the solutions proposed are not adequate. They argue that the introduction of user charges, student loans, and the encouragement of private institutions have more to do with 'cost-shifting' than with 'cost-reducing' strategies. In their view the general case against cost recovery in education is very strong, but do concede that there may be a case for its limited use where it is 'partial, confined to higher levels of education, and supplemented by measures to protect access by the poor'. Their general conclusion is that there are *better alternatives* available to generate the needed resources and in a manner which is not as risky as user charges combined with student loans and targeted scholarships. Colclough in particular is a strong advocate of more effective use of taxation and the state's use of these resources to fund the expansion of all levels of education in developing countries (Colclough 1990; Colclough 1996).

1.2.2 Bank Responses to the Debate

While the Bank did not change its basic framework in response to these criticisms, there is an important shift in emphasis in position papers from the Bank from the mid-1990s

that distinguishes them from earlier ones. Later Bank position papers (notably *Higher Education: the Lessons of Experience* and *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilization and Revitalization*) do not emphasise the state's need to cut back on investing public resources in the sector, so much as a concern for the need for educational quality and relevance. There is also a much greater understanding of the political process of reform, and the difficulties of implementing change. Hence, while both the later reports continue to stress the need for further resource generation from private contributions, and to argue that student loans are the most equitable way to achieve this end, they are both equally clear that there is 'no blue print appropriate for every country'. Further, there is an understanding of the dangers of the reform process:

the predominant pattern of public higher education in the developing world principally benefits the most affluent households, who are also the most powerful politically. the children of the well-off are heavily subsidised by the rest of society to attend public universities, reinforcing their economic and social advantage. Experience demonstrates that breaking this pattern is essential, and also that the political difficulty of doing so should not be underestimated. Students with grievances can be dangerous – governments should tread warily in introducing reforms that affect the most powerful households and those with the potential to destabilise political regimes (World Bank 1994, 4).

While there clearly was much more agreement about the way in which to deal with the challenge of financing higher education in developing countries than there had been a decade previously, equally clearly there were some important differences, particularly with regard to the question of private contributions and the way in which these needed to be managed (Lewin and Berstecher 1989; Colclough 1996, 1997d; Tilak 1997). Critics of the student loan option continued to argue that these could not ensure that equity issues were adequately safe-guarded, and without this safe-guard that the introduction of fees would be impossible. Indeed, despite the Bank's pressure for a change in financing in higher education, 'the politics of introducing fees and cost-sharing was proving too hot to handle for most governments' and they were successfully resisting the Bank's insistence on this point (Saint 1999). In many senses, then, the theoretical debate had entered a cul-de-sac, which could not be resolved in the absence of real experience in testing out the different options being advocated (Hinchliffe 1993).

The problem with finding a case study in the mid 1990s to test out the different opinions about the best way in which to bring new resources into a national system of higher education was that few countries were willing or able to experiment. Even in

those cases where some degree of cost-sharing in university education was accepted by governments as a policy condition for a World Bank education loan, the Bank's experience was that these agreements were not implemented effectively – either because of widespread student protests, or unenthusiastic and ineffectual implementation on the part of the government and / or university bureaucracies (World Bank 1994).

One of the apparent exceptions to this general experience in SSA was Makerere University, where a 'quiet revolution' in financing and management was taking place (Court 1999).

1.3 The case study

Makerere is one of the oldest institutions of higher learning on the continent. It began as a technical school in 1924 before evolving into an autonomous degree granting university in 1970. Between 1970 and 1990 the University declined from being one of the finest universities in the developing world, to being the most commonly cited example of the general collapse of higher education Africa. The major reason for this was that the fate of the university was closely linked to that of the Ugandan state, as it was reliant on the state for virtually all its funding. A series of brutal regimes and military dictatorships oversaw the disintegration not only of the national economy, but effectively of most statal and parastatal institutions within it. It is only really since the mid-to-late 1980s that any semblance of peace and stability has come to the country - and the long hard process of institutional rebuilding has begun (Salmi 1992; Eisemon and Salmi 1993).

Makerere was not exempt from these hardships. In 1984, the gross unit cost of a student at Makerere was around \$350 - more than five times less than the East African average of \$2000. The consequence of this 'starvation diet' was economy measures across the board: professors earned about \$30 a month, no investment in capital (buildings, roads, sanitation) took place, the library received no new acquisitions, and essential teaching tools (chemicals, text books, computers) were never purchased. Incredibly, during the late 1970s and the late 1980s, arguably the period when the University faced its harshest period of austerity, student numbers continued to grow. Moreover, in addition to not paying any tuition fees, students received full board and lodging as well as other allowances. Student growth in a context of economic hardship

was achieved by simply increasing student numbers while not increasing the government subsidy to the institution. In other words, less was spent on each student, resulting in a steady decline in per capita costs and concomitantly the quality of both academic and welfare services (food, residence, health) offered by the university. Unsurprisingly in this context there was also a steady decline in terms of staff morale and quality of research and graduate output (Mayanja 1995).

1.3.1 The introduction of Cost Recovery Measures

In 1987, following a special government commission into the university to investigate how the above situation could be changed, consideration was given to the notion of introducing fees and cutting back on non-academic support to students. This was also in keeping with the broad framework proposed by the World Bank. Efforts to achieve this end were fiercely opposed by students (Eisemon and Salmi 1993). In 1989 and 1990 the university was closed in response to student strikes and protests in an attempt to prevent these kinds of policies from being implemented. While the abolishment of student subsidies took place, despite the student protests, the introduction of fees proved more difficult, and indeed, until the mid-1990s virtually all students attending Makerere had their fees paid for by the government (Kajubi 1999).

Throughout this period entrance to Makerere (and in particular the professional faculties within it) was highly competitive. This was because while increasing numbers of students were both writing and gaining the required amount of A level passes (two) to be considered for admittance to a post-secondary institution in Uganda, only a static number (around 2,000) could be admitted to Makerere and its affiliated institutes, primarily because this was the amount that the government could afford to sponsor. Admittance to Makerere was done on a strictly competitive basis: students were chosen on a point system - by weighting A level results with a small affirmative advantage given to female applicants. This began to change from the early 1990s onwards when the university introduced a range of income generating programmes, including the acceptance of private (i.e. fee paying) students to the University (Hyuha 1999).

Initially restricted to a few faculties, but later expanded to all, the programme allowed those faculties which had 'spare' physical and human capacity to take in private students either on to specially developed programmes or into the same programmes attended by

government sponsored students, once their quota of government sponsored students was filled (i.e. they had taken as many of the top students that the government could afford to pay for). These places were offered on a quasi-competitive basis to students - but was primarily determined by who were willing and able to pay fees to cover the cost of them attending the institution (Hyuha 1998). While there was some protest on the part of students - the manner in which had been done - clearly linking it to increased access and limited government revenue - meant that the protests were quite muted. The same process has been instituted on an annual basis since then, with increasing numbers of private students taking up the option. As the table below demonstrates this has resulted in a virtual explosion of students on the campus (Mayanja 1998).

Table 1.2 shows that over the last ten years there has been a massive expansion of the upper levels of the education system. During the 1990s the number of students writing 'A level' examinations almost doubled from just over 13,000 to well over 24,000. During the same period, the number of students gaining the necessary qualifications to be considered for admittance made a three fold increase from around 4,000 to over 13,000 (Court 1999).

Table 1.2: Undergraduate Admissions to Makerere University, by sponsorship (1988/9-1997/8)

Year	'A' Levels	Qualified for Makerere	Government Sponsor	Private Students	Total Admitted	Total Enrolled
1988/9	13 279	4 050	1 706	0	1 706	4 753
1989/90	13 306	4 403	1 720	0	1 720	4 955
1990/1	15 032	5 749	2 205	0	2 205	5 597
1991/2	15 944	5 654	2 114	304	2 418	5 969
1992/3	16 690	6 451	2 038	176	2 214	6 996
1993/4	19 601	7 947	2 299	1 062	3 361	7 344
1994/5	21 337	7 472	2 146	1 106	3 252	7 906
1995/6	21 704	9 332	2 280	2 521	4 801	9 369
1996/7	24 176	11 011	2 273	5 631	7 904	14 612
1997/8	24 639	13 057	2 330	5 919	8 249	14 367

Source: Academic Registrar's Office, Makerere University, 1999.

While ten years ago the government was able to sponsor just under half (1 706) of all qualified students, by 1997/8 they were sponsoring under a fifth (2 330) as the number of government sponsored students stayed relatively static, while the number of qualified students rose. Despite this, the total number of students admitted steadily rose over the last decade from under 2,000 in 1988/9 to over 8,000 last year - primarily because of the number of private students has risen very sharply from zero in 1990 to just under 6,000 in 1997/8, allowing the university to almost double in size over the last decade.

By the end of the 1990s, reports from the university suggested that student numbers (both undergraduate and postgraduate) had surpassed the 20,000 mark.

What made the growth of the university so remarkable is that it was being driven by private sponsored students who were bearing considerable costs to attend the University. While the costs of attending the University varied according to a number of different factors²⁹, most private students would have needed between \$750 and \$2,000 per year (for a minimum of three years) to study at Makerere. In a country where almost 90 percent of households spent less than US\$20 per capita per month the question of *who* could afford to pay fees, *how* they are doing it and at what *cost* (i.e. what is been given up by individuals, by households etc), and is an educational financing system dependent on this approach *sustainable* all become very pertinent.

1.4 Analysing the Case Study

The field work for the study took place over an eight month period, beginning in the summer of 1998. The context in which the results of the case study have been analysed, reflected on, and written up has changed in important respects from that in which the work was initially conceptualised and carried out. By the mid to late 1990s, it was clear that the Bank's enthusiasm for structural adjustment programmes (SAP), which had dominated the reform process in the region for (almost) the previous two decades, had begun to wane. This was largely due to the fact that overall economic growth in SSA had remained stubbornly slow (averaging only about two percent per year) despite at least some countries strict adherence to the Bank's programme (Green 1998)³⁰. Similarly, the 'counter-revolution', with its emphasis on a reduced role for the state and

²⁹ The cost of attending Makerere is affected by three different factors. First, the course that a student is doing. In general, non-professional courses (around \$625 for a year) are less expensive than professional courses (\$1,350). Second, the type of board and lodging, which could range from nothing (if staying at home with parents or relatives), to around \$350 in private accommodation near the university, and up to \$500 in the student stayed in a university residence. Finally, all students have to pay a number of additional registration and examination fees (around \$100 a year), and some have to pay additional faculty allowances to pay for equipment, field trips and so on.

³⁰ The notion that SAPs might have run their course as a central development theme in SSA had initially been heralded by the *World Development Report* of 1990 which 'resurrected the goal of absolute poverty reduction – not only through the promotion of overall growth, but also through investment in specific basic services and infrastructure as well as support and safety nets'. This is also the context in which to understand the Bank's push for state funding to be directed towards basic and primary education, and its critical stance on the proportion of public funds being dedicated to support the relative privilege of higher education (Cornia, G. A. and Helleiner, G. K., eds. 1994. *From Adjustment to Development in Africa. Conflict, Controversy, Convergence, Consensus?*. New York: St. Martin's Press Inc).

an increased dependence on free market allocation mechanisms, had come increasingly to be perceived as a reaction that had gone too far in its criticism of the state-managed development model. Instead, there was a renewed interest in looking at a more balanced approach between a state-managed and a market-led model. Further, a renewed emphasis on expanding access to basic services like health, education, water, food and security - as part of 15 year development strategies – had also necessitated the loosening of public sector purse strings and laid the foundations for a review of the very limited role which the Bank had allocated to the state (Cornia and Helleiner 1994; Green 1998).

The shift in the Bank's thinking around the role of the state in development has brought with it a recognition of the associated need for reinvigorating the state's institutions in response to the damage caused by the 'over-withdrawal' of the state in many CDEs (Cornia 1998). This in turn has led to a reassessment of the role and importance of higher education in development, not least of all because of a recognition that the local higher education sector contains the only institutions which are able to provide highly skilled labour to facilitate building the state's capacity to meet its expanding roles (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000). Adding further impetus to this re-evaluation of the importance of higher education is an increased understanding of the sector's critical role in enhancing national competitiveness within a global knowledge-driven economy (World Bank 1999; Singh 2001).

As early as 1997, the Bank had begun signalling its re-assessment of the value of investing in higher education³¹, but the most visible and influential step it took towards promoting higher education in development came through the establishment of an independent task force to explore the role of higher education in developing countries. The report of the task force, *Higher Education in Developing Countries, Peril and Promise*, was released in 2000, and the warmth with which it was received by the Bank³² suggests it

³¹ See Association of African Universities and World Bank. 1997. *Revitalizing Universities in Africa. Strategies and Guidelines*. Washington D C: World Bank. August.

³² At the launch of the report, the President of the World Bank said: 'So if we [the World Bank] talk of capacity building, which we do so often, in terms of the political and governance issues, how is that that is possible without tertiary education? I thought last night, Why is it you need a document like this? What they are saying is absolutely straight forward. Well, we need it because we've forgotten it, because we don't give the added weighting [to higher education] that is required (Wolfensohn, J. D. Launch of the Higher Education Task Force Report. 2000. World Bank, March 1, Washington, D.C. Speech. Omni Shoreham Hotel).

will be a highly influential document³³. It begins by criticising the neglect of the higher education sector by donor and development organisations:

During the past two or three decades, however, attention has focused on primary education, especially for girls. This has led to a neglect of secondary and tertiary education, with higher education in a perilous state in many, if not most, developing countries. With a few notable exceptions, it is underfunded by governments and donors. As a result, quality is low and often deteriorating, while access remains limited. Higher education institutions (and whole systems) are politicized, poorly regulated, and sometimes corrupt. ... We believe that a more balanced approach to education at all levels is needed. The focus on primary education is important, but an approach that pursues primary education alone will leave societies dangerously unprepared for survival in tomorrow's world (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 16).

In looking at how this situation might be remedied, *Peril and Promise* avoids trying to provide a recipe for reform for individual countries. Rather, the reports emphasis is on reinserting higher education into the development debate, by repeatedly underlining the central conclusion that while 'higher education cannot guarantee rapid economic development,... sustained progress is impossible without it'. The report makes clear that higher education is too important to be left to the profit incentives of the market to decide on its direction and development. Instead, an argument is made for the enhanced role of the state, promoting the 'public interest' in order to guard against any excesses of the market. However, it is also made clear that what is being sought is 'state supervision' rather than a return to the 'state control' model of the sector (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 91-97).

In terms of the central concerns of this thesis, it is important to note that *Peril and Promise* does not challenge the Bank's approach to the *financing* of the sector³⁴. It is argued that substantial new resources are needed to invest in the sector, and while it is suggested that international donors are likely to provide some of the needed resources, it is emphasised that the 'majority of additional resources will necessarily have to come from within developing countries'. In this regard, and echoing the arguments of the Bank's earlier frameworks, it is argued that 'common sense' suggests that the

³³ In late 2002, the Bank issued its most recent policy document on higher education, *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (Saint, W. Lead Education Specialist, Africa Region, The World Bank. 2003. Email to author, 26th April). Based on the findings from the Task Force, it is **not** addressed in this thesis.

responsibility for generating any new resources should be shared by the 'beneficiaries' of higher education, namely 'students, private firms, and the public' (represented by the state). There is little interest in exploring options which relies more heavily on public finance (such as increased taxation) as a means by which to curb market influence (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 53).

As a means of promoting 'the public interest', it is recommended that the state manage the resources in at least three ways. First, by *channelling public resources* to meet those needs which are not appealing to the market but which are critical to the public interest. This includes basic research, the natural sciences, the preservation of culture. It may also include the directed (limited) financing of students in order to promote 'equal opportunity' objectives. Second by *facilitating the generation of private resources* (through the establishment of a national student loan scheme, tax breaks to individuals and private firms and other incentives) in order to fund the (implicit) expansion of the system. And third by *regulating the use of private resources* both by 'directing' ways in which they are spent (regulating for minimum academic standards and policing the private higher education sector in order to encourage quality), and by guiding consumer choices about investing in the sector (by providing unbiased and relevant information about different institutions and degree programmes) (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 95-96).

A new orthodoxy

It is tempting to see the release of *Peril and Promise* as an indication that what is emerging from the debates around higher education in development over the last decade is a 'middle-ground' consensus, which seeks to find an appropriate role for both the state and the market. Singh challenges this notion, arguing rather that what has emerged rather is a 'new orthodoxy about the value of higher education and how it should be managed'. While this orthodoxy is more apparent in developed countries, Singh (2001) suggests that it is also 'functioning as a powerful and influential global paradigm, shaping higher education policies and practices in many developing country economies, despite huge social, economic and historical differences' (Singh 2001, 1-3).

³⁴ Readers are referred to World Bank. 1986. *Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options*. Washington D C: The World Bank. as well as World Bank. 1994. *Higher Education. The Lessons of Experience*. Washington D.C.: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development..

Many of the key trends of this new orthodoxy identified by Singh have strong echoes of the framework proposed by the Bank in the mid 1980s. These include:

- (1) declining amounts of public funds to subsidize student fees and service costs;
- (2) the push to diversify sources of funding, thus reducing the primary responsibility of the state for public education; and
- (3) the development of market responsive curriculum reforms, with an increased emphasis on academic/industry links (Singh 2001, 6).

Most importantly, she argues that during the 1990s what was largely 'lost' from the discussion about higher education and development was any sense of the 'social responsibility' of the sector to address broader social concerns. Much of the current discussion about the potential contribution of higher education to development has been reduced chiefly to the sector's *economic* contribution. Singh's major concern is that the 'enterprise culture' - which is becoming increasingly pervasive within the sector - is 'leading to an increasing focus on the private goods yielded by higher education, in contrast to a range of public goods which are in the common interest of a country or society at large' (Singh 2001, 7). This has profound implications for the kind of contribution that higher education can make in development, a point underlined by Singh's concluding question:

Is the hegemony of the market paradigm inevitable or can a more complex notion of higher education transformation be meaningfully and realistically asserted, given the financial, governance and other crises in African higher education? (Singh 2001, 7)

The implications of this are explored further below, as well as in the concluding chapter.

1.4.2 Models of State and Market

Three competing models of 'state-market articulation' can be identified in recent discussions about the financing and management of higher education in SSA³⁵. The *first* of these models treats marketisation and state intervention as 'alternative and essentially incompatible' strategies for reforming higher education and learning. Structuralists,

³⁵ Middleton (2000) identified these models through an exploration of state/ market interactions in recent discourses examining the post-Dearing era of higher education in Britain. The Dearing Committee, which published its report in 1998, was established to investigate widening access to higher education in Britain. Significant changes in student funding, notably included the (continued) withdrawal of government grants and the introduction of tuition fees, were introduced on its recommendation. For a fuller discussion see Middleton, C. 2000. Models of State and Market in the 'Modernisation' of Higher Education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*. 21 (4) : 537-554.

such as Colclough, fall into this category - with their rejection of a role for the market in the delivery of higher education, and their insistence that the development of the sector is best determined through a 'conscious political strategy' under the direction of the state, and with public finances procured through progressive taxation strategies (Middleton 2000, 540-1). Softer echoes of this argument are apparent in Singh's critique.

The *second* model, while insisting on the need to open up the sector to market forces, is less assertive about the incompatibility of the two approaches, suggesting rather that the state has an important role to play in 'establish[ing] the conditions for a successful higher educational market economy' (Middleton 2000, 543-7). This is essentially the early neo-liberal position, softer echoes of which are also evidenced in the *Peril and Promise* report with its emphasis on governments acting 'as supervisors, rather than directors, of higher education' ... 'concentrat[ing] on establishing the parameters within which success can be achieved' (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 53).

It is the *third* model which offers the most useful insights into the ways in which the debate over the role of the state and market is currently unfolding in relation to higher education reform in developing countries. This model has at its centre the notion of the state 'steering' institutions of higher education 'at a distance'. The 'remote control' model, (as it has come to be called) comes closest to capturing the current dominant position on the direction of higher education of in developing countries, as exemplified by the *Peril and Promise* report. The 'remote control' model shares with the first an understanding of the need for the state to set the change agenda in higher education and to direct and manage the process, but differs from that model in two important respects. First, it is open to using market forces as part of the change process; and, secondly, the political primacy advocated is pragmatic, not principled. It also differs in important respects from the second (neo-liberal) model. In particular, it rejects the notion of relying solely on market forces to determine the direction and development of the sector, insisting that the importance of the sector demands centralised political control and management (Middleton 2000, 548-9).

The crucial point about the ‘remote control’ model is that it emphasises that market relations are not simply ‘*managed*’, but that they are ‘*mobilised*’ to achieve particular goals:

The model’s essential claim is that government support for market relations in higher education – fostering competition between providers, the re-invention of students as ‘customers’ etc. – is not a policy sufficient to itself. On the contrary, it has an ulterior political objective (Middleton 2000, 549).

Middleton – in raising this discussion in relation to higher education in countries with developed economies - does not explore whether there are limits to the nature of goals for which market forces can be mobilised, preferring simply to make the point that in harnessing market forces in order to deliver on substantive policy objectives, the market is made subordinate to central policy. He concludes by stressing that:

[t]here is, however, an instructive difference between this version of the primacy of politics and that of the traditional conservatives who ... value political authority over economic efficiency. Within the context of higher education, the primacy of the political is pragmatic and bounded, not advocated as a matter of high principle. Its ascendancy is due to a belief that, given higher education’s vital role in providing an advanced skill base for a supply-led regeneration of the national economy, the outcome of reform cannot be left to the vagaries of the market (Middleton 2000, 550).

In Middleton’s discussion the ‘ulterior political objective’ for which market forces are mobilised in Britain is the ‘enhancement of graduate skills and employability’. This is precisely the kind of goal that Singh identifies with the ‘enterprise culture’, fanned by marketisation, which emphasises private gain over public benefit. What is not asked of the model is whether the state could use market mechanisms to achieve a different set of political objectives, particularly ones more closely associated with the sector delivering a range of public goods. Exploring the extent to which market forces can be mobilised by political powers to ensure that the higher education sector meets wider ‘social, moral, political, intellectual and cultural’ objectives, rather than accepting as paramount its economic contribution (Singh 2001, 6) forms an important aspect of the concluding chapter.

1.5 Overview of the Research Process

Three central concerns underpinned my interest in looking at the changes introduced at Makerere University. The first was to explore the *process* by which these changes were instituted, in order to understand what it was that made the introduction of a new approach to funding at the university possible, and to explore to what extent it had been

influenced by the Bank framework. The second was to look at what *impact* the changes in financing had had on questions of equity and efficiency at the University. The third issue was to investigate whether the new financing system was *sustainable*.

In regard to the impact that the introduction of private students has had on campus, Makerere offered some important points of comparison. With regard to *equity*, at a contemporary level, the fact that there were both government-sponsored and privately-sponsored students meant that I would be able to explore whether there was a major difference (in terms of gender, socio-economic background, home region, and rural or urban base) between these two cohorts of students. Further, Makerere offered some important possibilities of exploring equity issues from an historical perspective. Two previous studies had been undertaken at the university at a time when the colonial government, and the newly independent Ugandan government were (virtually) exclusively responsible for funding students, providing an opportunity to compare the effect of the new financing arrangements at times when there quite different approaches. With regard to *efficiency*, I wanted to look at both internal and external efficiency. Quality issues were the central focus of internal efficiency: the standard of students admitted to the university, teaching qualifications, process and equipment, and research output were all explored under this heading. External efficiency was limited to students' perceptions of how difficult they thought it would be to find a job on graduation. However, as these questions had also been put to students in a study undertaken in the 1970s I was able to include an historical picture for comparison. Finally, with regard to *sustainability*, I was interested in looking at *how* students were getting the resources together to pay to study. I wanted to see what impact particular factors (gender, rural / urban divide, socio-economic status) had on the *access and means* by which students collected resources - and what implications this had (or insights this provided) both for short-term equity questions, and for the long-term sustainability of the new approach.

1.5.1 Research Approach

In terms of the research approach used to explore these questions, I begin by providing a contextual analysis within which to situate the case study. For this aspect of the work, I have relied on secondary documentary evidence to review World Bank policy as well as to examine the structural conditions which gave rise to and shaped Makerere and

Uganda more broadly. The core of the thesis, draws on empirical research work which was conducted at Makerere in 1998. The experiences and perceptions of staff (particularly senior management) and under-graduate students was explored through a series of semi-structured interviews with senior management (n 31) at the University, as well as a survey (n 1,030) of a cross-section of undergraduate students at Makerere in 1998, supplemented by a series of (n 39) of focus discussion groups with students. The *institutional* dimensions of change were investigated using primary documentation (primarily drawn from the University archive) and semi-structured interviews of University staff and government officials (n 5).

Limitations of the research approach

As with all case studies, there are limitations to this study. The most important of these is that the focus is almost exclusively on the experiences, perceptions and realities of staff and (particularly) students on the campus. This has a number of important implications. The first is that no attempt was made to explore who does *not* get access to campus and why - which would be useful in order to fully understand the equity implications of the current financing arrangement. Related to this point is the fact that the views of parents and guardians, as well as potential employers, have not been canvassed: all that is recorded are students perceptions of why their families are willing to invest in their education and their potential for securing a job at the completion of their studies. However, some attempt (albeit limited) has been made to document the views of the Ugandan government and the Bank, primarily through documentary analysis.

Second, Uganda (and Makerere) have a number of unique features which make it difficult (if not impossible) to draw conclusions about a debate on the sub-continent from the experiences of a small, very poor country which until recently was dominated by a single institution of higher education: there are clearly limited points of comparison with much larger and wealthier countries on the continent with much more complex and differentiated systems of higher education. Further, Makerere was shaped by a very particular colonial policy which was not shared by countries which experienced colonisation under the French, Belgium or Portuguese, and which was also very different from British colonies which had large settler communities. Finally, while dictatorships and military rule giving rise to civil war, anarchy and economic decline are

hardly unique to Uganda, it is arguable that the experiences in Uganda under Amin and Obote were amongst the more extreme on the continent. Similarly, the relative success of the economic and political recovery programme of the country ushered in by Museveni and strongly supported by the Bank and the IMF, culminating in Uganda's relatively privileged debt-repayment status, makes direct comparison with other countries, even in the region, more difficult.

Finally, as with most large empirical studies and especially with doctoral thesis, over-ambition in the field, tempered by the realities of limited resources (both temporal and monetary), resulted in some limitations to the data collected. Fortunately none of these were serious - but it should be noted that the study should be regarded as no more than exploratory.

While a more detailed research appendix is provided at the end of the thesis, within each chapter a short discussion is included of the research approach and its limitations in terms of the data used within that chapter.

1.5.2 Chapter Outline

While the three central concerns (equity, efficiency and sustainability) have provided the broad structure for the thesis, the initial chapters concentrate on providing a broader context in which to situate the case study. The thesis begins with *Chapter Two* which locates Makerere within its historical context, by documenting the various stages of its progress within the history of Uganda, and situating the higher education sector within the broader educational system of the country. *Chapter Three* provides some insights into the key development challenges faced by Uganda, through a detailed description of the structure and shape of the formal education system in Uganda. Particular factors are identified which privilege some students in relation to others in terms of access to, and opportunity within the educational system. The factors discussed are regional differences, the urban / rural divide, gender relations, and socio-economic status.

Using a series of semi-structured interviews with senior university and government officials, as well as official university documents and World Bank reports, the major changes to student financing at Makerere are described in *Chapter Four*. Particular attention is paid to examining the causes that have given rise to these changes. The

impact that the changes have had on questions of efficiency (*Chapter Five*), equity (*Chapter Six*) and sustainability (*Chapter Seven*) are then carefully analysed, using both qualitative and quantitative research methods. The research methods used include a series of semi-structured interviews with senior academics and administrators, who reflected on the most positive and negative aspects of the impact of the innovations at Makerere. A series of focus discussion groups with students were held, documenting how they secured funding to attend the institution. A questionnaire was distributed to a cross-section of second-year students at Makerere (n1030), which explored some basic demographics of students, their experiences on campus, the way in which their studies were being financed, and their hopes for the future. The questionnaire was designed to allow an historical comparison with two earlier studies undertaken at Makerere University in the late 1950s and the late 1960s.

The concluding chapter (*Chapter Eight*) provides a more structured engagement with the debate over the role of the state and market in the funding of higher education, by seeking to link the insights offered by the Makerere case study to that wider discussion. Finally, the chapter looks at what impact different systems of financing higher education have had on the role that universities can play in development. As the answer to this question is only partial, key research questions for the future are identified.

CHAPTER TWO

'MY HUSBAND'S HOUSE IS A DARK FOREST OF BOOKS': A HISTORY OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an historical context for the case study. It deals with the period from the declaration of the Protectorate of Uganda in 1893, until the establishment of the current constitution, almost a century later, in the late 1990s. The various stages of the development of Makerere University are identified and discussed within this wider historical framework. The chapter is divided into four sections dealing with the establishment, the growth, the decline, and the rebuilding of Makerere. These stages are linked to broadly definable periods in the country's history - namely the colonial period, decolonisation and independence, suspension of the constitution and general decline into anarchy, and the early period of rejuvenation under Museveni and the National Resistance Movement (NRM). The emphasis of the chapter is on the earlier periods as later chapters deal with more contemporary issues. Particular attention is paid to examining the impact that different types of governments had on the institution - especially with regard to its financing. Also explored is the impact that Makerere had on the development of the formal education system, not only in Uganda, but across the region.

Existing literature

The early period of Makerere is well documented - Macpherson's (1964) *They Built for the Future*, Furley and Watson's (1978) *A history of education in East Africa*, and Ashby's (1966) *Universities: British, Indian, African* - being the classic texts. Increasing numbers of African voices are providing a different viewpoint about this early period. While not dealing exclusively with Makerere, of note are Ssekamwa (1997) *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, and Nwauwa (1997) *British colonial policy and the development of higher education in West and East Africa*. It is more difficult to find coverage of the later years. While the Hansen and Twaddle (1988, 1991, 1998) series of books provide excellent broader coverage, only a handful of chapters address education - Furley (1988) and Kajubi (1991) - and only one - Dinwiddy and Twaddle (1988) - deals with Makerere. More contemporary perspectives on education in Uganda tend to be

dominated by policy documents, many generated by the World Bank (1994, 1998, 1999). This is not all that exists, as Mamdani's previously cited work and Garvey's (1996) important exploration of relations between the state and education in Uganda attest. Finally, Makerere has started to produce interesting material about itself - much of it generated by Mayanja (1995, 1997, 1998) in the Planning Unit of the University. His major study (1995) on student access and equity builds on important work previously done at the University by Goldthorpe (1965) and Barkan (1975).

While relying on these secondary sources to provide a broad historical framework, some primary sources - mostly interviews with past and present members of staff at Makerere - are also used. While a few interviews were undertaken by myself with current staff at Makerere, asking them to reflect on the history and development of the University, most of the personal comments, particularly from the early period of the institution, are taken from reports and interviews with staff who were working at Makerere during the time that Uganda was a British Protectorate. Access to these records was provided through the *Bodleian Library of Commonwealth and African Studies at Rhodes House, Oxford*, which houses an unpublished collection of interviews and papers of former Makerere staff members. The collection forms part of the *Oxford Colonial Records Project* and documents the experiences of academics who participated in the development of colonial universities in Anglophone Tropical Africa¹.

Writing an institutional history largely concerns what to leave out. For the most part I have been guided by what is essential in terms of building later arguments, but also by the stories that are available in these primary sources.

2.1 The Colonial Period

Uganda, like many countries in Africa, was a colonial creation. It was established as a British Protectorate in 1893, but at this point the Protectorate was essentially the Kingdom of Buganda. The British spread their influence to the north, east and west,

¹ The *Higher Education in Anglophone Tropical Africa* project set out to record the experiences of people involved in higher education in the region. In the early 1980s an aide memoire was sent to potential contributors who were invited to answer in the form of a memorandum. Some of these were followed up by interviews, which have since been transcribed. Many of the contributors also donated original papers.

until, in 1921, the current borders of Uganda were established. Uganda was now a much more ethnically diverse country with a broad north/south divide, and a centre held by the Kingdom of Buganda. In the south and centre were Bantu speakers, who had little in common with the Nilotic speakers of the North. Northern societies also tended to be more dispersed than the well established kingdoms in the centre and west. The Buganda had been actively involved in the expansion of British rule, and were rewarded for their assistance in the Uganda Agreement of 1900, which gave the Kingdom special privileges with regard to law enforcement, land tenure and tax collection. The special status conferred on Buganda ensured that the Kingdom could maintain a degree of political, cultural and economic cohesion that the rest of the already fragmented Protectorate could not hope to achieve. Indirect rule saw the maintenance of ethnically homogeneous districts, initially run by the Baganda, but eventually achieving a measure of elective self-government. Differential treatment of the various communities meant that by the end of the colonial period some broad generalisations could be made: southern societies tended to be wealthier as they had become cash-crop producers or part of the educated elite; the northern communities, less educated and with less fertile land, supplied the police and the army; while the Asian community, initially brought in to work on the railways, managed the modern commerce. There was little in the way of national politics, although local government activity was extensive, particularly in Buganda (Wrigley 1988, 29; Hansen and Twaddle 1995, 4; Garvey 1996, 58 - 59).

2.1.1 Educational developments

Missionaries preceded the arrival of British colonialists by more than a decade. As early as 1875, missionaries had been invited to the court of Mutesa I, the Kabaka of Buganda, to teach his subjects. The invitation was conveyed by the explorer Henry Morton Stanley, in the form of a letter published in *The Daily Telegraph* in November 1875, following Stanley's visit to the Kabaka's court while on his Royal Geographical Society expedition to establish the true source of the Nile (Ssekamwa 1997a, 26). The Kabaka's interest in missionary educators appears to have been driven by at least two factors. Islamic teachers had been present in the Buganda kingdom from the late 1840s, suggesting that education in the kingdom was valued as an end in itself. However, alongside this educational interest, there is also evidence to suggest that the Kabaka was motivated by a desire to look to European powers to provide some protection from the

more immediate threat of Islamic imperialism from the north² (Oliver and Fage 1995, 152-156).

Whatever the reason for the Kabaka's invitation, the first missionaries from the Church Missionary Society arrived in 1877. British and Protestant, they were followed two years later by the White Fathers Society, who were French and Catholic. The detail is important because it resulted in one of the most fundamental organising principles in education in Uganda, namely religion. From this beginning grew up three distinct streams of education (Islamic, Protestant and Catholic) with separate schools, curricula and training colleges - and a sense of rivalry that would eventually find expression in national politics (Garvey 1996, 58). In some senses, the history of education in Uganda has been about efforts, with varying degrees of success, to meld a national system of education from these fragmented beginnings (Ssekamwa 1997a, 25-27).

Partly spurred on by this inter-denominational rivalry, the education system expanded rapidly. Around the turn of the century a number of important schools were established by the Protestants (Mengo in 1904; Kings College, Budo and Gayaza both in 1905; Busogo College in 1911) and the Roman Catholics (Namilyango in 1902 and the Kisubi group of schools in 1905). These elite boarding schools were the top of a rapidly developing system of education that ranged from simple 'catechist' and 'village' schools, which taught in the vernacular and were run by locally trained teachers, to 'central' schools, which were headed by European missionaries, but staffed by local teachers. While it was mostly the sons of chiefs, clergy and other influential people who were able to move their way through the system to make it to the elite boarding schools, it was not their exclusive preserve. Gayaza, for instance, was for girls, and very bright students, whatever their background, could advance through the system with church sponsorship (Ssekamwa 1997a, 40-41).

In the early 1920s the various missionary societies were running approximately 100 central schools, around 2,000 village schools, as well as a handful of boarding high schools, and seminary and teacher training colleges (Phelps-Stokes Fund 1925). All of

² Competing slave traders from Egypt had recently invaded a neighbouring kingdom. For further discussion see Oliver, R. and Fage, J. D. 1995. *A Short History of Africa*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

this was noted with approval by the Phelps Stokes Commission which visited the Protectorate in 1924. However, the Commission was very clear that in order for education to be improved - both in scope and quality - the Protectorate government needed to be providing more resources to the sector:

One of the most remarkable features of mission education in Uganda is the degree to which it is being financed by the fees of the people. The fees, chiefly collected in central and boarding schools, amount to twice that given by Government as grant-in-aid. Grants are also appropriated by the Native Parliament and large gifts are given from diocesan funds made up of collections from Natives. In addition to this, practically every [village] school is a gift from the Native community. If all voluntary gifts of the Natives to mission educational work could be computed it would be realised more clearly how comparatively small is the government grant (Phelps-Stokes Fund 1925, 158).

The attitude that education could be left in the hands of missionaries began to change after the First World War when the likes of Lord Lugard began to argue that responsible colonial powers should do more than merely govern justly - that what was needed was a commitment to 'carry the colonial peoples decisively forward both economically and politically' (Oliver and Fage 1995, 187). Initially this merely resulted in colonial governments providing small sums of resources to support missionary schools. However, after the submission of the report on the Phelps-Stoke Commission on East and Central Africa in 1925, the Colonial Office held a consultative meeting with the governors of all African colonies. A new educational policy was thrashed out that, in essence, committed the colonial governments to subsidising, inspecting and improving the schools already operated by various missionary bodies. This policy ensured that within most British territories (albeit unevenly) the nascent educational systems were gradually but systematically improved and expanded. Within two decades around a quarter of children in African colonies were attending school for two to four years, while an elite group, were receiving around eight to twelve years (Oliver and Fage 1995, 186-188). These moves greatly bolstered the development of education in Uganda, particularly in terms of higher levels of education.

2.1.2 The establishment of Makerere

Makerere, during the colonial period, was not so much a controversial institution as a contested one. There were a great many interests jostling to be taken into account in the development and direction of the institution: these were the British government

and its colonial government in Uganda; the various missionary societies and the chiefly elite (particularly in the Kingdom of Buganda) in Uganda; and the colonial governments in the surrounding territories of Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar. Frequently there were differing interests within these broad categories so that, for instance, the Treasury and the Colonial Office at various times held quite different positions on the importance of higher education in the colonies of Africa, and in particular about who should pay for it (Nwauwa 1997).

General colonial policy in Britain had begun to change after the First World War, and attitudes towards the importance of education, especially higher education, began to shift in response to that. Increasing American interest and involvement in events in the colonial world accelerated this process. The colonial government in Uganda was experiencing its own set of challenges: the growing economy was making new demands for labour and skills; the ambitions of the Kingdom of Buganda, central to the success of indirect rule in the protectorate, needed to be managed carefully in the context of growing resentment on the part of other ethnic groups in the territory; and the resurgence of interdenominational competition between various missionary societies vying for control of the growing education sector also demanded attention. All these factors impacted on the direction and shape of the Protectorate's nascent educational policies - including the establishment of Makerere. Further, within Makerere itself, the newly appointed academics had their own ideas about the institution and its direction, as did sympathetic and involved academics in London and Oxford.

Uganda Technical College

Reflective of these different interests and the dynamism of the period the initial period of the College saw the institution change its name four times in forty years, (the first name change coming less than six months after it was established), and transform from being a local, technical school for boys, to becoming the principal college of the University of East Africa, with a diverse student body and well regarded in the international academic community (Macpherson 1964).

Originally named the Uganda Technical College, Makerere was the first educational institution to be established by a colonial government in East Africa. Up until this point, as in the rest of colonial Africa, educational institutions had been the almost

exclusive preserve of various missionary societies (Oliver and Fage 1995). A number of factors prompted the government's entry into the education sector in Uganda. The *first* was that there was an increasing need within the Protectorate for educated and skilled labour, as the growing economy was matched by an expanding colonial bureaucracy. Further fanning demand for labour was a special agreement with the Kingdom of Buganda. This agreement gave the Kabaka rights and responsibility with regard to tax, law, and property and meant that in Uganda, Africans had access to positions of authority and competence that were more usually the exclusive preserve of colonial officials. *Second*, the opportunities offered in the Kabaka's administration meant that demands for higher levels of education and training opportunities, particularly on the part of the elite of Buganda, were more widespread and insistent than in other parts of the continent. As none of the schools in the Protectorate, even the elite boarding schools, offered anything more than the equivalent of a primary school education, many of the sons of the chiefly elite were beginning to travel abroad - particularly to Britain - to find access to more advanced education. The colonial government was becoming increasingly concerned about the problems that might result from an elite seeking an education outside of Africa, in particular the dangers of encountering new ideas about democracy and development. *Lastly*, interdenominational conflict was on the increase again. The Protectorate government was eager to prevent a revival of past hostilities, as well as ensuring that excluded groups, such as Muslims, might also have access to education (Ssekamwa 1997a, 48-49).

In order to address these concerns, the Governor of Uganda, Sir Robert Coryndon, established a committee in 1919 to investigate what role the Protectorate government should play in education in the territory. It was decided to recommend to London that a local technical training school should be established, access to which was not in any way linked to a particular religious organisation. Coryndon sent in the request to the Colonial Office and, in August 1920, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Winston Churchill, gave the go ahead for the proposal. While the request would have arrived at a time when there were already shifting notions about British responsibility towards the development of her colonies, part of the reason permission may have been granted so quickly was that proposed institute did not undermine the most fundamental principle of colonial finance, namely the need to be self-sufficient (Nwauwa 1997). The cost of the College was to be borne by the Protectorate. It had also been decided that fees

should be charged (at a rate of 60/- a year) as it was estimated that this would cover all working expenses. While local governments were to be encouraged to provide scholarships to cover fees, it was anticipated that there would also be some self-financing students. Building on the College began in 1921, and in the following year, the first class began. It was made up of fourteen day students, all boys, studying carpentry, building and mechanics. None of the students were proficient in English, as most had come directly from schools where they were taught in the vernacular (Macpherson 1964, 4-6).

The shift to professional education

Portending the future, within six months of opening, the College's name was changed from the 'Uganda Technical College', to 'Makerere College'. The shift away from 'Uganda' was meant to signal that the College 'should be for the benefit of every tribe in the Protectorate' (Macpherson 1964, 5). There was some concern that 'Uganda' might be confused with 'Buganda'. The government was becoming increasingly aware of the resentment that the privileged access of the Baganda to colonial resources was causing in the rest of the country. Further, the government was beginning to reconsider its policy of using Baganda Native Administrators in all areas of the country, and rather looking to recruit and use local people in these positions. The government needed to be sure that it was understood that the central training institute for these kinds of positions was open to all. The decision to move away from using 'technical college' was equally deliberate. It was in response, in part, to pressure from the chiefly elite of Buganda who had anticipated that the College would provide advanced education for their children. There was little interest, indeed some outrage, at the notion that a technical college could provide this. Hence, the name change to suggest that a broad range of vocational training was envisioned (Macpherson 1964; Ssekamwa 1997a).

Shortly after its establishment, the government's intentions for the institution were highlighted in the first report of the newly created Department of Education, where it was noted that Makerere was 'destined to become the University College for the Protectorate'. This was a brave prediction as, for the first fifteen years of its existence, Makerere was 'little more than technical high school with attached professional courses'. Moreover, the professional courses were held at some distance from Makerere itself - medicine at Mulago Hospital and veterinary science at Entebbe. Further, the College

itself, with school caps, prefects, games and corporal punishment had more in common with an English boarding school than a University college (Macpherson 1964). Staff recruitment, in the early years of the College, owed a great deal to the 'old boys' network' as this comment from John Marriott, the first 'Master of Mathematics and Science', illustrates:

... Mr Hussey, [the first Director of Education in Uganda], an old Reptonian who had been seconded by the Uganda government ... [to] report on how an education department should be started. ... went to Repton and he saw Fisher who was the headmaster there, ... and he said "Have you got any names, any Reptonians you can think of who would go out to Uganda possibly and start this College I want to start?". ... [H]e got my name, John Sykes and he got Ronnie Potts. He wrote to all of us ... [asking] would we care to go out there and see whether we liked it and do some teaching? (Marriott 1983)

The direction that Makerere was to take became much clearer when H O Saville, the first principal of the College, left in order to develop an alternative technical school. This new school, the Kampala Technical School, was much closer to the original vision of Makerere, and opened in 1926. By 1928 all the technical courses on offer at Makerere were shifted to this institution. This allowed Makerere, under the leadership of D G Tomblings, to begin to focus more closely on its professional courses, in particular medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary science, and teacher training. Essentially, the purpose of the College, at this point, was to train African assistant officers for the government. The College was expanding. There were around 100 male students. Standards were improving, with English now the accepted medium of instruction. Increased funding and centralised supervision on the part of the protectorate government to the broader education system in the country was also beginning to pay off in terms of better standards and quality. This meant that Makerere was receiving a better quality of student, so much so that some of the basic courses in English and Mathematics could be dropped, as the central schools increasingly took on this responsibility (Macpherson 1964).

British intervention

Despite these advances, there was considerable government concern when, in 1933, the College introduced courses leading to the Cambridge School Certificate (roughly corresponding to O-level in contemporary British terms). Students were 'warned' that it did not really qualify them for immediate employment, and that they would therefore

have to be prepared to take a vocational course afterwards. Further, they were informed that as it was a 'luxury course', they should not expect government scholarships (Macpherson 1964, 16-18). Certainly the Governor at the time, Boudillion, was particularly worried about the impact that the introduction of the course at Makerere might have on the broader education system. While conceding that there was a need for a small educated elite, his central concern - based on his observation that 'literary education fitted [people] for nothing else but clerical jobs and agitation against the established order' - was that if such a policy was persisted in, it would spread throughout the system and would

only lead to the creation of a discontented community divorced from its own heredity and environment with no outlet for its energies but political intrigue and the flouting of authority (Ssekamwa 1997a, 65).

If attitudes like this had been able to dominate the process, developments at Makerere might well have slowed down. However, events were moving outside of the Protectorate, and the newly established Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies (ACEC) had begun to push the Colonial Office in London to take a much more proactive position on promoting higher education in the colonies than had previously been the case. What prompted ACEC's direct involvement in Makerere was a request for advice, in 1932, from the Directors of Education of the four East African territories (Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar) about the standard of admission to Makerere, and whether Makerere should continue to set its own examinations, or should adopt London examinations. ACEC dealt with the query by appointing a sub-committee, chaired by James Currie, and dominated by academics. While the sub-committee's brief was quite limited, they chose to use it as a spring-board to comment on the whole question of how the British Government should approach higher education in her territories in tropical Africa. The main conclusion made by the sub-committee was that

the only right policy for the [British] Government is to think out ahead a scheme of developing selected institutions in Africa up to a real university standard, and that this policy, as soon as decided upon, should be publicly announced as officially adopted (Nwauwa 1997, 16).

This is not to suggest that there was widespread support for higher education for Africans in the colonies. On the contrary, there was great suspicion and resistance to

the notion. The reason the Currie sub-committee was able to overcome such opposition is that it made effective use of a spectre that was of greater concern to the British government than that of Africans *locally* trained to university level - namely, large numbers of Africans from British territories attending University *outside* of Africa, particularly in the United States of America. While the report discussed a range of issues (of note, the need for education appropriate to local conditions in terms of content, not in relation to standards) the heart of the argument lay in the point above: Britain needed to meet the continually growing demand for ever higher levels of education on the continent, or live with the consequences of the need being met elsewhere. The success of private education in Uganda, and the interest and role of the United States of America after the Phelps-Stokes Commission would have made it clear that the spectre of large numbers of people educated outside of missionary and British institutions had some substance. It was enough to persuade the majority of the Colonial Office, and the report was forwarded to the colonies for further discussion towards the end of 1933 (Ashby and Anderson 1966; Nwauwa 1997).

The Higher College of East Africa

The response from the colonies in response to the Currie sub-committee report was disappointing. The Directors of Education in East Africa, whose query had set these processes in motion, disagreed with the sub-committee's assessment that there was a strong demand for higher levels of education, and argued that training for supervised assistants remained the educational priority in the region. These views were endorsed (in varying degrees) by the Governors of territories across East, West and Central Africa. However ACEC was not ready to let the matter go. In November 1935, they invited the Director of Education of Uganda to London to explain to them the negative response to the report. Flowing from this meeting, ACEC recommended to the Secretary of State that a special Commission should be established to review the position of higher education in East Africa and the future development of Makerere College. Once the Secretary had approved the proposal it was forwarded to Uganda for approval (Nwauwa 1997). The arrival of a new Governor, Philip Mitchell, in late 1935 had ushered in a whole new attitude towards Makerere and higher education in the Protectorate. Mitchell had already decided to throw his weight behind the Currie report, agreeing that the development of education in the country was important and that Makerere could act as a catalyst for improvements within the system as a whole.

Moreover, Mitchell was both able and willing to commit Protectorate resources to the enterprise, as Uganda's domestic economy was continuing to flourish. With a budget surplus of around £1,5 million, it was clear that if necessary the resources for the development of Makerere could be found within the Protectorate (Macpherson 1964).

With this support the Commission was established. Chaired by Earl de la Warr, its membership included a number of people who had participated in the Currie sub-committee. Following a visit to East Africa in 1937, a report was submitted which, unsurprisingly, echoed many of the conclusions reached in the Currie report. This time, however, the central recommendations was bold and unequivocal:

We are proposing the establishment of a University College in the near future, and of a University at no distant date (Macpherson 1964, 19).

The main point of disagreement was over what should be done with Makerere as an institution. The majority of commissioners felt that Makerere College should continue as a secondary school, while the professional courses should be reorganised and form the basis of a new Higher College at Mulago. Mitchell, concerned that if a new site was to be established momentum would be lost, disagreed and pushed for the minority opinion in the report, namely that 'the functional continuity of Makerere College should be preserved during the transition stage' (Macpherson 1964, 20).

In November 1938, the new buildings for the College began at the Makerere site. The building costs for the new College were met exclusively by contributions from Uganda: £170,000 from the Protectorate government, £7,550 from the local government level, and £10,000 as a private donation from the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation for the construction of a biological laboratory. A further £250,000 was contributed by the Ugandan government to the endowment fund. Tanganyika and Kenya agreed to contribute £100,000 and £50,000 respectively. Of most significance, however, was the £100,000 contributed by the British government (Macpherson 1964). While dwarfed in monetary terms by the Ugandan contribution, ACEC had worked hard to persuade the Treasury to contribute towards the establishment of the College, and to break with its insistence on financial self-sufficiency in the colonies. Against a backdrop of increasing national and international criticism of imperial rule, and the lack of initiatives towards eventual self-governance in the colonies, and increasing concern about stability in the colonies themselves (following the uprisings in the West Indies) a reluctant Treasury was pushed into acting. Insisting that the Makerere allocation was a wholly exceptional

measure, it made a reluctant, but significant, contribution towards the endowment fund (Nwauwa 1997). In January 1939 the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, Malcolm MacDonald, appointed George Turner, a former principal of a boys school in Fiji, as the new principal of the College. A new era had begun, and Makerere had a new name: the Higher College for East Africa (Macpherson 1964).

Transition from school to university

Makerere, while growing steadily, was still small in absolute numbers. In 1939 there were only 200 students - a few of whom were drawn from the surrounding territories, particularly Zanzibar. However, the impact that Makerere was having on the wider educational system in the country was far greater than the number of students suggests. Entrance to Makerere was becoming 'the be all and end all' of parents' and schoolboys' educational ambitions. Secondary schools began to orient their entire focus to college entry, despite the fact that only a minority would be able to achieve that ambition. This caused considerable concern, particularly in the Department of Education, but there was little that could be done in the face of the strength of demand for at least a chance at the glittering prize of Makerere (Ssekamwa 1997a).

The start of the Second World War slowed down developments at Makerere quite considerably. While the College remained open, and the buildings were completed, the initial uncertainty about the outcome of the war, and the demands that it made on colonial personnel, meant that new staff were difficult to recruit, and there was little opportunity to introduce major changes, particularly in relation to the curriculum. The war also affected student numbers - which dropped from a new high of over 200 in 1939, to a low of 141 in 1943 (Macpherson 1964). However, as Dr P Elliot, a member of staff during this period points out, this was also the period when a significant transition was made:

It is sometimes said that because of the war George [Turner] was able to do nothing at Makerere. This is far from the truth. In ways that were often unseen by the outside world because they were comparatively inconspicuous, George paved the way for the development of Makerere, often in the teeth of bitter and occasionally malicious opposition. In particular he taught the students to be students rather than schoolboys (Elliott 1983)

The most visible changes to the routine at Makerere were the dropping of the school cap, the outlawing of corporal punishment and compulsory games, and the decree that

'inmates' of the College were to be known as 'students' not 'boys'. There was some resistance to all of these changes - in particular Turner's attempts to change the teaching time-table:

Under the previous regime the British staff had lived a life of Riley. There was teaching only in the mornings, the afternoons being devoted to siesta and later to games. Holidays were not infrequent. ... George instituted teaching in the afternoons. ... I was present at the meeting where much ... opposition was voiced. I shall not forget George's face when it became clear that at least one member of staff retired to bed for two hours every afternoon, "pyjamas and all" (Elliott 1983).

Asquith Commission

However, one of the most significant events in the development of the higher education in the British colonies, including Africa, was initiated during the War. In 1943 the British government established a Royal Commission to consider 'the principles which should guide promotion of higher education, learning and research and the development of universities in the Colonies' (United Kingdom 1945, A2). Chaired by Justice C Asquith, the Commission delivered its report in June 1945, and on the basis of its recommendations monies from the British Treasury were made available to help establish and develop six university colleges in Africa (including Makerere) in the following 12 years (United Kingdom 1955, 2). In his opening address to the Commission, Asquith made clear that the Commission had been established to assist in the acceleration of the colonial people towards the ultimate goal of self-government:

It is obvious that a pre-requisite to that progress is an advance in education, and ... it seems to me in our terms of reference, that the Government considers that there is no more hopeful means of providing a way to self-government than the extension and improvement of higher education (United Kingdom 1945, 11)

Moreover, the British Government was willing to invest considerable resources in this endeavour. Less than a decade previously the Treasury had balked at the notion of providing £100,000 to the Makerere endowment fund. By 1945, however, the government amended the Colonial Welfare and Development Act, to make provision for £120 million pounds to be made available for economic development and an extension of the social services (including education) in the Colonial territories over the next ten years (United Kingdom 1945, 3). Mr Creech-Jones, later the Secretary for State of the Colonies, on welcoming the Bill introducing the amendment on behalf of the Labour Party, had this to say:

It is significant that the purpose of this Bill is to achieve ... the liberation of the Colonial peoples, and the liquidation of Colonial Status ... I doubt if any Imperial Power has ever before embarked upon a policy of deliberately disintegrating its Empire. That is the effect of this Bill in the long run. It will contribute to training the Colonial people for complete and responsible self-government and fitting them socially and economically, to discharge their responsibility in the world (United Kingdom 1945b, 541).

While certainly the 1945 Act recognised the importance of hastening internal economic development and the promotion of services, particularly education, within the Colonial territories, it would be inaccurate to overstate the extent to which this, or the comments in the Asquith Report, illustrated anything more than a general commitment to independence in the somewhat distant future. Indeed, much of the rhetoric about self-government was directed not towards the colonies themselves, but to appeasing the powerful and influential American anti-colonial sentiment in the aftermath of the Second World War. Reflective of the widely held notion that even with this level of assistance, it would still take 'generations, or even centuries, for the peoples in some parts of the colonial empire to achieve self-government', the recommendations within the Asquith report are for a slow process of tertiary education development, firmly guided by British universities (Crowder 1984, 18-20). Fundamentally, the 'Asquith Colleges', as they come to be called, were modelled largely according to 'the accepted British pattern in terms of academic standards, costs, teaching methods, the narrow range of subjects, and the facilities for top-level research' (United Kingdom 1945, 6).

It was proposed that the colonial universities were to be attached to London University, as University colleges, with the same entry qualifications, and the same basic curricula, albeit with negotiated changes to ensure local relevance. Students would write London examinations, validated by London external examiners, and effectively would be awarded their degree by London University. Ultimately it was anticipated that these University colleges would develop into universities in their own right (United Kingdom 1945). In order to facilitate this process a number of key advisory committees were established by the Government to assist in the implementation of the recommendations. Of particular note was the Inter-University Council for Higher Education in the Colonies (IUC), made up of representatives from British and colonial universities, and which was responsible for advising and assisting in the colleges' development. Foremost amongst these tasks was the recruiting of British academics to staff the new

universities. The University of London also established a powerful Senate sub-committee, the Special Relationship Committee, to manage the University's relationship with all the various colleges in colonial territories in the Caribbean, Asia and Africa (Ashby and Anderson 1966; Nwauwa 1997).

The 'Special Relationship' with London University

In July 1946 the IUC sent a delegation to visit Makerere College to explore what needed to be done to upgrade Makerere to University College status. The chair of the delegation, Sir Alexander Carr-Saunders reported that 'indispensable foundations for a college of a university standing have been laid' and urged that efforts should be made to build on them as quickly as possible (Macpherson 1964, 150-152). To this end, Dr William Lamont, was appointed Principal, and it was hoped that he would guide Makerere swiftly to the status of University College. It was not to be, and in the end the relationship between Lamont and the College proved to be an unhappy one. While speculative, this succinct description of what Makerere was like in the 1940s, points to some of the possible reasons for Lamont's difficulties during his short stay:

It now seems probable that the Lamonts were bitterly disappointed, even appalled at what they found in Uganda. It is difficult to understand how Dr Lamont, a shrewd, careful man, should not have informed himself about conditions. Possibly he was misinformed by the Colonial Office. Whatever happened, it appears that he and his wife expected Makerere to be other than what it was. Uganda at that time was run down after the war. It was in any case a backwater. It was an African country. There were few Europeans, and the amenities to be found in South Africa, or even Kenya, were lacking. Makerere was a small college, its standards were low. In particular the staff consisted of schoolmasters, there were no academics ... none of the kind of people with whom the Lamonts had associated with in Glasgow (Elliott 1983).

What made Lamont's task particularly difficult was that the nucleus of academic staff - most of whom had been recruited before the war - had 'little realisation of what was involved in the process of becoming a university' (Wilshire 1983). The accounts by academics (or wives of academics) of their life at Makerere during this period provide a picture of quintessential British colonial eccentricity - not an easy group to build an academic institution with:

The academic staff of 1944 consisted of some fifteen Europeans and two Africans, excluding wives who, however, considered themselves, and were considered by others, to be an integral part of Makerere. The assignment of staff to subject appeared erratic, but was probably due to difficulties of recruiting during the war. ... Many had been seconded from colonial service and

were approaching retirement age. ... Four of the staff were women. The librarian's temperament was incompatible both with the climate and the inhabitants of Uganda, and after years of guarding her hoard of books against the depredations of those wishing to read them, she sat Cerberus-like at her desk, and on more than one occasion the Vice-Principal, not renowned for his pacific disposition, was observed by an entranced staff creeping on all fours past the desk to escape a verbal flagellation. The senior history tutor ... a catholic convert and thus *plus catholique que le pape*, spent, to the fury of his junior colleague, not a few contented hours clipping from the library History collection such passages as he considered anti-Catholic. ... In 1946, there arrived as Registrar one Lt. Col. Arthur Scragg, late of the East African Army and confident of his ability to lick freckless academics into shape. ... [F]or a number of years battles raged back and forth between academics and administration. ... One anthropologist even carried the fight outside territorial waters by refusing to have any communication with the Registrar's department except through his solicitor, who was domiciled in England (Wilshire 1983).

The reason that the development of the special relationship was so slow, was that many of the staff members at Makerere actively opposed the proposals for the 'link-up' with the University of London, so much so, that it became 'a virtual revolt' against the Principal (Baker 1983). Samuel Baker, who arrived at Makerere in 1947 - and was part of a new generation of academic staff that would replace the old and take Makerere forward in a very different direction - was one of the few members of staff who supported the special relationship with London. In his assessment, apart from a general resistance to change, the opposition to London was motivated by a number of different concerns:

There were fears that the distinctive character of the college might be changed in such a way that valuable adjustments to local conditions would be lost as a result of the "inflexibility" of London. It was known that the experience of UK colleges linked with the University of London had not been entirely happy. There was the belief that the African student was incapable of reaching university standards: a view held perhaps especially by those who might find it difficult to teach at university level! There was a lack of sympathy in various government circles, including the Uganda Department of Education, encouraged by canvassing from the college staff. ... Another concern was lest the adult women students who through no fault of their own did not attain normal entrance standards would be squeezed out of the college. An athlete feared lest in the pursuit of London degrees the students should become too intellectual! (Barker 1983)

Makerere College, the University College of East Africa

Eventually change did come, although only gradually. In reflection, Baker argues that ultimately there was the realisation that 'London represented the only practicable way of

progressing to university status' (Barker 1983). Further, it was clear that other colleges throughout the colonies, including elsewhere in Africa, were advancing quite quickly and that Makerere risked falling behind. In particular, there was the ever present concern that students would go outside of the Protectorate in order to get a university level education. The person who suffered most during this process of gradual acceptance of change was the special relationship's staunchest advocate, Lamont, who resigned just prior to Makerere being granted University College status in 1949. Once more there was a name change, this time to 'Makerere College, the University College of East Africa'. Although, as before, everyone simply continued to refer to it, as Makerere (Macpherson 1964). However, change, of a magnitude much greater than anything thus far experienced by the College, was close - and largely unanticipated by the staff who were slowly adjusting to being part of the University College:

... And we answered our social summonses to Government House or to the Kabaka's Palace. And we went on safari. And we handed out prizes at school speech days. And staff came and went. And the first students took their London degrees. And we registered with shock, as did the whole community, African and European, when the new Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen, remarked during a party that he was to be the last Governor of Uganda (Wilshire 1983).

2.2 Decolonisation and Independence

Uganda became an independent state in 1962. However creating a 'nation', with more substance than a flag and a national anthem was difficult, as the divisions in Uganda proved hard to overcome. Political life continued to be locally centred and ethnically distinct. National politics was divided most visibly by religious sectarianism and this factor, coupled with ethnic sensitivities, meant that Parliamentary elections were dominated by the need to have uneasy alliances between quite different political parties in order to secure fragile majorities. Milton Obote, the first Prime Minister of Uganda, proved a master at these alliances, and it was this skill which saw him rise to power in 1962. The army was dominated by two Northern tribes, while the centre, in particular the Baganda, continued to dominate in all other areas (Wrigley 1988, 29; Hansen and Twaddle 1995, 4; Garvey 1996, 58-59).

All these difficulties were exacerbated by the somewhat ambiguous position of the Kingdom of Buganda within the national constitution. In the run-up to independence, the Baganda had resisted all attempts to force them to give up their special status and to participate in the transition to a nation-state. The British Governor, Andrew Cohen,

convinced that the Kabaka Mutesa II was a major hindrance to the independence process, deported him to Britain. Using this leverage, Cohen managed to persuade the Baganda to agree to be part of a unitary Uganda, but on the Kabaka's return, Baganda resistance and delaying tactics continued. Eventually a compromise constitution was agreed in 1961, which saw a continuation of Buganda's special status within the 'sovereign state' of Uganda. Following Obote's election victory, thanks in part to an alliance with Baganda neo-traditionalists, Kabaka Mutesa II, became not only the king of Buganda, but President of the country in 1963. (Wrigley 1988; Hansen and Twaddle 1995; Garvey 1996)

2.2.1 Educational developments

At independence around 30 percent of children of school-going age were attending primary school. A great many did not go on to secondary school: the enrolment rate for secondary school dropped to only seven percent of the appropriate age group. While missionary schools continued to dominate the system, private schools, created and run by African school teachers frustrated by the missionary system ('I could not stand being so belittled and led by such a batch of incompetent white men, so I resigned and started my own school') began to be established, particularly post the Second World War (Ssekamwa 1997a, 96). What fuelled their growth was increasing antagonism on the part of parents to changes in the curriculum to promote technical and vocational education. While the elite were more vocal and articulate in their opposition ('[our] boys [go] to high school not to learn to drive bullock wagons and to look after cows, but to learn to be fitted for posts of high standing'), it was equally clear that peasant farmers in rural areas were looking to schools to 'provide an escape from the routine of village life ... not [to] return to it with new knowledge and ideas that would make that life acceptable and of worth to them' (Ssekamwa 1997a, Chapter Seven).

Despite great hostility from the missionary societies, no funding from the Protectorate government, and uneven quality, increasing numbers of Ugandans chose to send their children to these schools. Just prior to independence, the Director of Education, in his annual report, noted this increase:

Private schools continue to be popular in some parts of the country, notably in Buganda. Primary classes during 1957 were conducted at 154 such schools with an enrolment of some 13,000 children while there were 63 private schools offering some form of secondary academic education with 7,000 students

enrolled. Many students of these private schools, particularly on the secondary level, come from Kenya and other East African territories; they do not appear to be deterred by the comparatively high rates of fees charged, poor accommodation in most cases offered, and poor examination results of such schools. *Cited in* (Ssekamwa 1997a, 109).

A number of reforms were ushered in at independence. Two influential reports guided the new government's policy on education were two influential reports. These were a World Bank survey mission and the government sponsored Castle Commission Report. Both pointed to the need to develop the secondary school system in order to support the expansion of the civil service, as well as to replace departing colonial administrators, with appropriately qualified Ugandans. The aim was to double the numbers in secondary schools in five years. This led to a rapid increase in the numbers of government funded secondary schools in the country - from 21 in 1960, to 66 by 1965. This further reduced missionary dominance of the education system - something the government was promoting anyway. The secularisation of the education system was completed and formalised by the Education Act of 1970, which took the management of schools away from the missionary societies. In terms of numbers, the results of this period were impressive: between 1963 and 1970 student numbers almost trebled from just over 18 thousand (18,282) to just under 50 thousand (46,626). Such a rapid expansion, however, took its toll on the system. There were shortages of all kinds - materials, accommodation, and equipment. Overcrowding, poor administration, and harsh discipline resulted in frequent and violent school riots in the late 1960s. There were increasing concerns about poor examination results, declining job prospects, and increasing unemployment (Ssekamwa 1997a, Chapter Seven).

At the heart of these concerns, at least from a government perspective, was a realisation of how expensive the system had become to maintain. The major shortage within the system was that of qualified teachers. The rapid growth of the system had only been possible due to the number of expatriate teachers brought in and maintained at enormous expense to the government. In the late 1960s, of the 1,500 teachers in the country, barely 200 were Ugandan. Further, the major strategy in a divided country where only a few had access to higher levels of education was to make most of the secondary schools boarding schools, in order to ensure that access was not limited to location. However equitable this strategy might have been, this factor, coupled with reliance on a large expatriate staff, was making the system prohibitively expensive. It

was clear that change needed to be introduced (Furley and Watson 1978). Obote's approach was to highlight the broader impact that the country's elitist educational system was having on the country as a whole, as a prelude to a major push to promote vocational and technical education as a means of addressing all these concerns. In his *Common Man's Charter*, introduced in 1969, he argued:

We cannot afford to build two nations within the territorial boundaries of Uganda: one rich, educated African in appearance, but mentally foreign, and the other, which constitutes the majority of the population, poor and illiterate. ... our education system aims at producing citizens whose attitude to the uneducated and to their way of life leads them to think of themselves as the master and the uneducated as their servants. *Cited in* (Ssekamwa 1997b, 1).

While the critique that Obote offered of the system was probably correct, the impact that his proposed new programme might have had was never tested, as Obote's government was overthrown, by a coup led by Idi Amin, before it could be implemented (Ssekamwa 1997a, 184).

2.2.2 The Growth of Makerere

Bernard de Bunsen replaced Dr Lamont as the Principal of the College, just at the time that Makerere entered into its 'special relationship' with London University. Despite all the previous difficulties the fifties were to prove a time of enormous growth and reorganisation. Most visibly, the number of students coming to the College increased rapidly, particularly from the mid-fifties onwards, as *Table 2.1* (over page) demonstrates.

By 1960, the College was almost unrecognisable from the institution of a decade previously. There were over 800 students. Further, entrance to the College had been raised to the level of Higher School Certificates (an A-level standard), as the schools had developed to a point that made this possible and desirable. The raising of standards at the schools had been achieved, in part, by the number of graduates in education that the College was producing to staff the lower levels of the system. Science and Arts had been flourishing for some time, as the first degree examinations in these subjects had been taken as early as 1953. Medical students, from 1958, were taking Medical degrees recognised by London and the Medical School itself was becoming a recognised authority on Tropical Medicine. Even Agriculture had expanded to a degree level, leaving only Veterinary Science still offering East African diplomas, rather than British degrees. In terms of the general shape of the College, the two general faculties (arts

and science) dominated, accounting between them for around three fifths of the student body. The medical school was the largest of the professional courses, followed by education. Agriculture and Veterinary Science were both relatively small (Macpherson 1964).

Table 2.1: Students attending Makerere, by faculty (1949-1959/60).

Year	Medical	Agriculture	Vet. Science	Education	Science*	Arts*	School of Art	Other	TOTAL
1949	28	16	4	26	55	75	6	12	222
1950	30	8	7	38	69	70	11	4	237
1951	33	9	10	37	68	70	12	5	244
1952	30	5	12	32	86	88	11	9	273
1953	30	9	15	42	120	135	8	8	367
1954	36	17	12	31	162	168	17	6	449
1955	51	27	20	65	186	186	18	6	559
56/7**	62	34	27	79	192	203	19	9	625
57/8	89	38	34	72	210	229	18	6	696
58/9	101	50	37	78	244	288	22	3	823
59/60	121	49	32	66	263	317	28	5	881

* this figure includes students not registered on degree programmes

** the academic year was changed to match with the University of London

Source: Adapted from Goldthorpe (1965).

What is not apparent from the table, however, is that the student composition was beginning to become more diverse. Up until this point, the student body had been entirely male, and almost exclusively African - although there had been a handful of Arab students from Zanzibar. The first women students were admitted in 1946. While the admittance of women students was widely welcomed, they remained a tiny minority on campus. In 1948 out of the 177 students on campus, only ten were women; by 1954, while there were 449 students on campus, only 17 were women (Macpherson 1964). What was more controversial was the declaration in 1951 that the College was formally opened to all, irrespective of race. This opened the way for Indians to be admitted to the College. Previous to this attempts on the part of Indians to be admitted had been resisted in a polite manner which did not make public the unofficial policy of their exclusion, due to concerns that 'Indians ... would swamp the Africans because of their better educational facilities' (Baker 1947).

Fears that the College would be 'swamped' proved unfounded. By 1959/60 there were only 69 Asian students on campus - a little over seven percent of the total student body.

However, Alice Burnet, the women's warden on campus from 1954, argues that the opening up of the campus particularly assisted Asian women - as

families willing, and financially able, to send their sons abroad to England or the United States, welcomed an opportunity to educate their daughters nearer home (Burnet 1983).

The first women students on campus were from Uganda, but eventually women from both Kenya and Tanganyika followed. Given that the student numbers were so small - the diversity that Burnet lists as members of her residence in the early 1960s is impressive:

Muslim, Hindus, Sikhs, Goans, one Jewess from India, Arabs from Zanzibar and the Kenya-Tanganyika coastal strip, then more English, and finally, in 1961-2 an influx of Americans and one West Indian (Burnet 1983).

One of the factors that affected the diversity of the student body was the development of other centres of higher education in East Africa. Until 1956, Makerere was the only institution in the region offering university level courses. A Working Party, of the territories concerned recommended that there was a need to develop colleges, similar to Makerere, in Kenya and Tanganyika. In 1956, the Royal Technical College, opened in Nairobi, and was followed in 1961 with the University College, Dar es Salaam. These two colleges, joined with Makerere in 1963 to become the three constituent Colleges of the University of East Africa, heralding yet another name change for Makerere, this time to Makerere University College (Furley and Watson 1978). It was to be a short lived enterprise. Less than a decade later (1970) the University was dissolved to allow each of the three Colleges to become separate national Universities. Bernard de Bunsen, who had been the Principal of Makerere, and moved on to be the Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa, suggests that at least part of the problem faced by the institution was that the 'the African leaders themselves, who were to become presidents and so forth, had little hand in creating it, and found this thing on their doorstep'. Indeed, de Bunsen goes so far as to suggest that the University of East Africa was a good example of mistakes that can happen in development due to donor pressure, however well intentioned:

[W]e came under very strong wind of the American foundations, who, excited by the idea of a federal university, said what we want from you, before we consider how much we are prepared to give you, is a detailed quinquennial programme, backed by detailed annual estimates worked out by the university, not by each college separately. The university administration therefore must be strengthened and must rule the roost far more than it's doing at present, and on those terms we will be very generous, as indeed they were. It was a quite fatal

capitulation, if you like, in order to acquire the funds, which of course government welcomed too because they had only a limited amount of money to spare. We were pressed into an impossible job of relationships not so much, I think, between the colleges as between the governments who were becoming very possessive about their colleges, and it was this factor, I think which was the fatal flaw in the university (de Bunsen 1983).

The central problem in terms of managing the University was that it was trying to meet the needs of three different countries. Moreover, each of these newly independent countries were making major demands on their respective education systems to help fulfil their particular political, social and economic visions. One of the key rationales for the University was to prevent expensive duplication of courses. This meant, for instance, that most of the technical courses were allocated to Nairobi, while Law was centred at Dar-es-Salaam. Makerere, as the most developed of the three colleges, felt particularly hindered by the arrangement, as it was best placed to expand rapidly into new areas. Certainly, the Ugandan government was looking to Makerere for the production of graduates needed for development, and felt frustrated by the restrictions of the prevailing arrangement (Macpherson 1964; Furley and Watson 1978). While relationships between the three Colleges remained 'rather good and fruitful' throughout, the ultimate demise of the University was a 'sorry affair', prompted, in part, by the deliberate action (or rather, inaction) on the part of the Ugandan government:

At that time, in the months before I left, and why I left, was that Uganda had deliberately abstained from attending planning meetings – the Uganda government, not Makerere – and were developing thoughts of setting up Makerere on its own. How far this was Obote's idea I rather doubt. I think it was mainly his Minister of Education, Dr Zake. ... I said unless Uganda rejoined the ranks and helped and didn't thwart these meetings – there we sat and the other Ministers for hours waiting for Uganda to arrive (de Bunsen 1983).

At a more formal level, the University of East Africa was discontinued following the recommendation of the Philip Commission Report that it be brought to a close on the 30th June 1970, and the constituent Colleges be allowed to develop into three separate national universities. In anticipation of this event, Obote's government established a Visitation Committee, chaired by Justice K Fuad, to make recommendations about the direction and development of Makerere and its possible contribution to Uganda (Macpherson 1964; Furley and Watson 1978). Clearly influenced by Obote's *Common Man's Charter*, which had been released the previous year, the Committee argued that the

new University needed to be 'a completely different institution' from Makerere University College:

The College was born out of a Colonial era when capitalism, feudalism and foreign domination were the order of the day. The new University, however, is being born in a revolutionary socialist era when a united, coherent and homogenous society with equal opportunities for all is being created. Thus the University must not be an "ivory tower"; it must not be an institution to which the lucky few go, to obtain an education to entitle them to further privileges; it must not be an institution where foreign ideologies and foreign ways of life are perpetuated; it must not be a sanctuary where intellectuals can indulge in all sorts of pursuits regardless of the wishes and needs of society. The university must be a Ugandan institution. It must be a University of the people of Uganda. (Uganda 1970, 5).

For all the fervour of the rhetoric, the recommendations primarily concerned such mundane issues as the expansion of the University, with calls for the introduction of a range of new courses (such as dentistry, and rural development), new departments (such as Forestry and Wildlife, Pharmacy, and Law); and a new faculty of Technology, at Kyambogo (Uganda 1970, 91-100). More controversial were the recommendations about the way in which the College was to become a 'national university'. Here attention was paid to the curriculum, staff, students and the management of the College. The University was urged to shift away from its dependence on expatriate staff (who made up the majority of the academic staff) and to 'Ugandanise' rather than 'East Africanise' both the staff and the curriculum. Of most significance, however, was the fact that the Committee made it clear that the Government was to play a much more active role - indeed, dominant role - in the process of ensuring that the University was a 'Ugandan institution'. A much closer working relationship with the government was envisioned, with the government 'pronouncing upon the objectives of the University' and relying on the 'expertise of the staff' at the institution to ensure that these goals were realised:

In short, we recommend exactly a similar relationship as that which obtains between the State and parastatal bodies (Uganda 1970, 5).

These latter recommendations were part of a new wave of reform that was to affect a number of universities in post-colonial Africa. In newly independent countries governments were grappling with the question of how to transform institutions that had been designed with colonial concerns in mind to meet new needs and demands. Some of the fiercest debates of this nature were over the role of universities - and ways in

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which they could be shifted from elitist institutions, to ones dedicated to developmental ideals (Court 1990, 329). What the debate tended to ignore, was the gendered dimension to this question, and the implications that the limited access that African women had had to higher levels of education had for questions of national development. During the late sixties and early seventies, if gender was taken into account it was to point to women as the keepers of tradition, uncorrupted by Western influence, in particular education. One of Uganda's most famous poets, Okot p'Bitek, captures this sentiment in his famous *Song of Lawino*:

My husband has read much,
He has read extensively and deeply,
He was read among white men
And he is clever like white men

And the reading
Has killed my man
In the ways of his people
He has become
A stump

My husband's house
Is a mighty forest of books,
Dark it is and very damp,
The steam rising from the ground
Hot, thick and poisonous.
(p'Bitek 1972, 113).

It is difficult to know how the continental debates about development and cultural imperialism might have influenced the direction and development of Makerere in the 1970s. However, the period when these debates were having a significant impact on other universities (notably Dar-es-Salaam)³ coincided with Idi Amin's rise to power in Uganda. One of the consequences of this was the increasing isolation of the country, not only from developed Western countries, but from the region as well.

Prior to his overthrow, Obote was able to implement many of the recommendations of the Visitation Committee, leaving a lasting legacy of greater government control of the University, particularly with regard to senior staff appointments. The first Ugandan Principal of Makerere was Joseph Lule. A former student and member of staff he had

³ For a fuller discussion see Court, D. 1980. The Development Ideal in Higher Education: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania. *Higher Education*. 9 : 657-680.

been appointed Principal in 1963, when de Bunsen became Vice-Chancellor of the University of East Africa. Lule was a competent and popular Principal, so it caused 'great shock' on the campus 'to hear on the radio one morning that Lule had been relieved of this duties and that Frank Kalimuzo was the new Vice-Chancellor'. Kalimuzo, also a former student of Makerere, was Obote's Cabinet Secretary. He had an 'uphill road in his first years', from the University staff who had not wanted Lule replaced. More importantly, there was also resentment at such blatant government interference in the running of the University (Macpherson 1983). Far worse government interference was to come in the years ahead.

2.3 Decline into Anarchy

The first suspension of the national constitution, and the sowing of the seeds of the decline into anarchy, took place under Obote, some time prior to Idi Amin's rise to power. The alliance between Obote's Uganda Congress Party and Kabaka Yekka eventually collapsed, when the Lost Counties - then a part of Buganda - were returned to the Kingdom of Bunyoro, despite the Kabaka (as President) refusing to ratify the results of the referendum. Due to defections to the UPC, Obote's government survived, but the political tensions between the central government and Buganda continued to fester. In 1966, Obote suspended the constitution, declared himself Executive President, and used the army to overrun the Kabaka's palace and force him to flee into exile. There were no ambiguities in the new republican constitution brought in by Obote in 1967: all kingdoms were abolished and Uganda was made a unitary state. After a failed attempt to oust Idi Amin from his army position, Obote himself was overthrown by Amin in 1971. Initially greeted with much enthusiasm by a populace tired of Obote and his failed economic policies and increasingly authoritarian rule, few anticipated that Amin was to usher in a devastating period of destruction and decay. Amin's ethnic purge of the army, followed by the elimination of high profile citizens, and then a policy of virtual genocide aimed at the people of Acholi and Langi tribes, saw an estimated 300,000 dead under his regime. The economic collapse of the country in the wake of these actions was accelerated in 1972 by the expulsion of Asians, and the distribution of their businesses and assets to Amin cronies and supporters under a programme of nationalisation. The increasing international isolation of the country witnessed many western democracies severing all ties with Uganda during this period (Low 1988; Hansen and Twaddle 1995; Garvey 1996).

Amin was eventually overthrown by invading Tanzania troops and Uganda exiles in 1978/9. Relief at the overthrow of Amin's regime was short-lived. Political violence and economic decay barely paused under a series of brief regimes that followed, until Obote took power after controversial elections in December 1980. Yoweri Museveni and a small group of followers took to the bush to fight the newly installed administration. Obote II, as it is called in Uganda, proved to be a brutal and corrupt regime. Uganda was one of the first African countries to experience IMF/World Bank assisted plans for the structural reconstruction of the economy. The economic policy shocks, aimed at bringing inflation under control and correcting foreign exchange anomalies, were absorbed by the peasants and urban poor, while Obote and his supporters looted the newly propped up national economy. A vicious civil war continued to rage: while focused particularly in Luwero triangle where Museveni had considerable support, it left few unscathed, and the economy devastated. In July 1985, the army mutinied and Obote was overthrown. General Tito Okello became Head of State, with the former Vice-President, Paulo Muwanga, as Prime Minister. There was no peace in the country, however, as Museveni, close to controlling the country, refused to recognise the new regime, and pressed on towards the capital, Kampala (Hansen and Twaddle 1995; Garvey 1996).

2.3.1. Educational developments

Amin's coup of 1971 had a devastating impact on the country, including the education system. In terms of educational policy, however, little was changed from the previous regime. Initiatives introduced by the Castle Commission continued, including adapting the curriculum to allow for a greater emphasis on local issues, and promoting English as the medium of instruction. While secondary school growth slowed a little, primary school enrolment continued to grow, almost doubling in the time that Amin was in power. Amin's impact on the system was more indirect: almost all of the expatriate teaching staff left the country, particularly after the expulsion of Asian citizens, and the severing of diplomatic ties with Britain and the United States of America. Further, as increasing numbers of intellectuals - including academics, teachers and civil servants - were either killed or forced to flee into exile, the system slowly faltered. What nearly killed it was the lack of resources available for government spending as the economy crumbled and international aid disappeared. By 1980, Uganda, which had always been

the educational success story of Eastern Africa, had fallen behind most other countries on the continent. Primary school enrolment in Ghana was 80 percent, it was around 90 percent in Zambia and Tanzania, and in Kenya, universal primary education had been realised. In Uganda, it was 50 percent (Furley 1988; Garvey 1996).

Obote II brought with it a much needed improvement in government revenue, as a result of funds released to the country by the IMF/World Bank. Little of this went on education, as most of the funds were either spent on the civil war or looted. The civil war was also having a deeply destructive effect on the country. Agricultural output declined even further and the economy could not begin its recovery without this critical sector. However, despite this bleak situation, the education sector continued to grow with both primary and secondary school participation almost doubling between 1980 and 1986 from 1.3 million to 2.2 million primary school students; and 62,000 secondary school students to 123,000. The number of primary school teachers during this period rose from 44,000 to 74,000. Unlike the previous Obote administration, which had expanded the teaching pool through expensive expatriate labour, this expansion was purely local, with more than half of the new teachers having no training. What made the system's expansion all the more remarkable was that it was not the result of sustained government initiative, nor of an increase in government spending. Reminiscent of the period immediately post the Second World War, the expansion was driven by private initiatives. However, while the earlier expansion had involved frustrated teachers, this time around, it was the result of the entrepreneurial activities of local politicians. There was little direction or planning from the national ministry and efficiency and quality were badly affected as a result (Furley 1988; Garvey 1996; Ssekamwa 1997a).

2.3.2 The decline of Makerere

Very little changed at the University when Amin came to power. Indeed, immediately following the overthrow of Obote, Amin had invited a number of Makerere graduates and staff to be a part of his cabinet. It was a brief honeymoon period (Macpherson 1964). The military and the academy seldom make good partnerships, and within a short period of time the academics and civil servants were out and Amin's cabinet was dominated by soldiers. The divide between the military and the academy was especially

deep in Uganda, as one of the most devastating legacies of the colonial period was the regional differences in development. This had given rise to a broad north/south divide, with the south having privileged access to education, and thus to the growing modern economy; and the north with limited access to educational facilities, and poor soils and rainfall, providing ready recruits to the army and police. Further complicating the broad north/south divide was the close association between geographical area and ethnic groupings - adding yet another ingredient to an already lethal situation. Amin's first target, however, was his own institution. Throughout 1971, he systematically eliminated from the army any suspected supporters of Obote, primarily through an ethnic purge of Acholi and Langi members of the army (Furley 1988).

Following an abortive invasion of Uganda by Obote's supporters in 1972, Amin's attention shifted to the civilian population. Makerere was not exempt from this attention, and the Vice-Chancellor was the first casualty. While it may have been that it was enough that Kalimuzo was a high profile Obote appointee, the fact that his wife came from 'Ruanda' was enough to cause for the regime to label him 'a spy and a disrupting agent'. He was detained on the basis of this allegation, but released, only to 'disappear' early one morning (Macpherson 1983). That he had been killed, along with 85 other prominent citizens, including the Chief Justice and the Governor of the Bank of Uganda, was admitted by the regime in January 1973. Asavia Wandira, then the Registrar of the University, 'took over at short notice, was confirmed in his appointment' and served until 1975, when, according to Makerere staff, 'his protests that Makerere needed other things more urgently than a new Mosque, meant that he was relieved of his duties' (Macpherson 1983).

In many ways 1973 was a watershed year. It was from this point on 'that things began slipping badly'. Amin's expulsion of the Asian population included an edict for all expatriate staff to leave. Literally overnight around 400 of the most senior staff members of the University left. Some departments and units, such as the library, were left with almost no-one in any senior position. Increasing numbers of Ugandans were forced to flee into exile, including a number of senior Makerere staff members. Those that stayed ran the real risk of being detained or disappeared, particularly if they were perceived to have said anything that might be understood as criticism of the government. Suspicion was rife, as spies were everywhere, including the classroom.

International contact was becoming increasingly limited, not only because of the country's pariah status, but also because the collapsing economy meant that books and journals could no longer be purchased. International travel, especially to conferences, was effectively stopped as a result of the financial situation and also because government permission was needed and seldom given. The only way for Makerere staff to leave the country was to go into exile (Macpherson 1983). It was a very bleak time at the University, as this recollection by current staff members at Makerere demonstrates:

Things started to go badly in 1973 when Amin said all the expatriates must leave along with the Asian community. Overnight. Overnight. I think about 400 European professors had to leave. One or two remained. ... I think they were just brave. ... Langland stayed. I think they tried to kill him. Macpherson - she stayed to the end. ... You had to be careful what you said - even in class. It was well known that many of the students in class were not students, they were government spies. so you had to be extremely careful. If you said something - even if it sounded innocent - and the guy in class thought you were trying to ridicule the government or something like that, the next time you would see dark bearded people with dark glasses coming for you. ... That is the time that most of the senior academics left Makerere. ... You couldn't travel. Because Amin feared if you travelled you would not come back. So you couldn't go for international conferences. You got cut-off you couldn't get research. Even the funding agencies wouldn't come to Uganda. ... We were almost prisoners within the country. For an academic - not to do research, not to travel to conferences, not to meet other colleagues in other countries, not to share ideas - you can imagine - that's absolutely difficult (Rwabukwali 1999).

The army invasion of campus in 1976, however, focused on students rather than staff. Dinwiddy (1983) argues that Makerere students had long held the military in contempt, refusing to play sports against the army team, because they were 'rough and uncouth chaps, utterly beneath contempt'. This arrogant attitude, which students did little to disguise, coupled with their much greater material wealth as many had inherited European positions and privileges soon after Independence, 'reaped a bitter harvest in the soldiers' harassment of students after the Amin coup' (Dinwiddy 1983, 202). Langland, one of the handful of expatriate academic staff who had remained at Makerere post-1973 (he was later forced to leave) recalls in a letter to *The Times* (n.d.) his experience of student protests on campus, and his admiration for their actions:

Almost the entire body of Makerere students, probably as many as 3,500 out of 4,000, paraded through the streets of Kampala on March 6 [1976], following the shooting of a student within five yards of the campus fence. ... On the following Monday, the President came to the campus to address the student body, but in the face of a total boycott addressed only professors, lecturers, clerks and cleaners. ... In the afternoon thousands of students milled around the main campus square (Freedom Square) and hurled abuse at the Minister of

Education, Brig. Kili, calling him to his face a killer and murderer and singing the national anthem with emphasis on words like 'liberty' and 'freedom'. ... [T]he student body had intended to demonstrate again on Thursday, July 8 [following the vacation] but were prevented from doing so by the security forces. On this occasion the students were wanting to protest against the murder of a member of staff, the warden of Africa Hall. ... In a country, and indeed in a university, in which so little regard is paid to human life, any protest, whether by an individual or by a corporate body is an act of bravery, if not of martyrdom (from papers in Dinwiddy 1983a).

The army invasion, and the subsequent ritual humiliation and beating of students on campus in their residences, coupled with the severe harassment of members of student government, led to a dampening of student politics (Dinwiddy 1983). The student guild was dissolved, and only resurrected in 1979 .

It was during this period, that Makerere's attempts to ignore 'hints that President Amin would like an award' were over-ridden: 'Pressure became too strong and we made him, surely tongue in cheek, Doctor of Laws' (Macpherson 1983). It was, no doubt, pragmatic decisions such as these which kept the University open - at enormous cost to individuals and to the institution as a whole. There is an important sense pride and community on the part of members of staff who struggled on, teaching at a University, in a country being destroyed around them:

[Senteza Kajubi, Amin's last appointed Principal] saw Makerere through the Liberation War, staying on the Hill when most staff who could ran away, enduring the bombardment, making sure that everything was as sage as possible, even persuading Amin's men to get out so that their presence was not a threat to the liberators, keeping a sense of community going, sending out for food which was issued outside the Main Building daily, and using the leadership which he had always possessed ... to get things done that needed doing (Macpherson 1983).

But it was such fun also in a way because despite the fact, you know, despite those problems we managed to keep an institution going and we made sure the school never closed its doors. students continued studying. Students continued graduating. And you know the students that graduated during that period were still good quality products. Because where ever they are in the country or outside the reports were always good those who went to train elsewhere they performed as well as other graduates from elsewhere (Sewankambo 1999).

When Amin was around we felt very insecure. You could not identify yourself as a student of Makerere - because Amin and his government felt that the greatest opposition was from Makerere. 1976 we had a bad experience when the army invaded the university and beat up students. And also in 1979 when we were doing our exams, that was the time when the liberation war was going

on - so while we were sitting exams the bombs were flying all over. and we were told we had to do the exams then because there will be no other time to do them - so while they were shelling Kampala and Mulago and everywhere we were sitting our exams. in the main hall. ... But we managed to pass, and finish our course (Katunguka-Rwakishaya 1999).

There was little chance to celebrate the overthrow of Amin, in 1979, before it was realised that Obote II brought with it little respite from the previous difficulties. The state continued to keep a close watch on the University, making it impossible to speak out against the repression and terror caused by the government. Student politics continued to be seriously censored. Faculty were harassed, and intimidated, and many were incarcerated. From an economic perspective, University lecturers 'were dirt poor' (Oloka-Onyango 1999). Salaries barely met the needs for two or three days a month. Academics, like many civil servants, were forced to find means of supplementing their income, and there are many stories of Makerere professors driving taxis and selling vegetables to make a living during this period (Luboobi 1999). While some international contact had been re-established, the external resources available to the University were meagre, and the difficulties associated with connecting with an international scholarly community continued (Ssekamwa 1999). The Makerere of the 1980s was virtually unrecognisable from the institution of just 30 years previously:

When I first served on the student Welfare and Discipline committee we dealt with such cases as an occasional drunk and disorderly student, sometimes an accusation of seduction, a student suspected of misappropriating guild funds, another guilty of defacing library books. One cause célèbre was of a finalist who had secreted some fifty library books to prevent others from reading them. Now we have to deal with a group of students caught stealing electrical fittings, sabotaging the electricity supply to the University farm, assaulting not only a waiter when drunk but members of staff, grievously damaging university property, menacing fellow students with different political beliefs, and being concerned with vast misappropriations. It is the scale of the misdemeanours which is notable, an indication of the increase in violence in general perhaps, but also an indication of a crumbling community where negotiation seems less effective than violent action (Macpherson 1983).

2.4 Museveni's Inheritance

In January 1986, the National Resistance Army (NRA), led by Yoweri Museveni captured Kampala, and Museveni was installed as president. Since then he has ruled Uganda under a number of constitutional devices, and has become one of the continent's most respected, albeit increasingly controversial, statesmen. In contrast to Uganda's past experiences of new leaders, there were no immediate purges. Museveni

offered government posts to members of the previous administration as well as leaders of rival guerrilla factions. However, he also declared that were to be no elections for five years while his government attempted to bring stability to the country, through a series of Resistance Councils, established at the local level.

The country's elections were duly held in 1989, and members were elected to a national parliament in a system which forbade the involvement of national political parties. This structure confirmed Museveni as President, and took on the responsibility of developing a new constitution. While awaiting this new constitution, the government in 1993 allowed for the restoration of the monarchies abolished by Obote. The Kabaka of Buganda was the first to be crowned. Museveni also made conciliatory moves towards the expelled Asian population, restoring reclaimed property during the early 1990s. The new constitution was passed in 1995, and Museveni won the Presidential elections in 1996. Political parties, while legal, are still not allowed to campaign openly in elections⁴ (Mutibwa 1992).

Initially, Museveni's economic policies proved far less successful than his political programme. Openly hostile to the IMF/World Bank, but saddled with the debts incurred by the previous regime, Museveni's attempt to 'go it alone' had little chance of success. Faced with a country devastated by fifteen years of civil war, spiralling inflation, few options for raising domestic finances, and spending heavily on the military in attempting to overcome opposition forces in the northern part of the country, Museveni had little choice but to agree to a series of structural adjustment programmes. These programmes focused on stabilising the economy, through a set of market-based reform programmes, which included the devaluation of the currency, cutting deficit spending in the budget, and the privatisation of many parastatals. Key members of Museveni's government were fiercely opposed to these initiatives, which were only half-heartedly implemented until, in response to pressure from donors, the Minister of Finance was fired in 1992. Since then, the programmes have been more effectively and successfully implemented: economic growth during the nineties was high and sustained.

⁴ This, the most controversial of Museveni's policy, was confirmed in a controversial referendum in 2001. For a fuller discussion see Collier, P. and Reinikka, R. 2001. *Reconstruction and Liberalization: An Overview*. In *Uganda's Recovery. The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government*, eds. R. Reinikka and P. Collier, 15-45. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

Political stability and economic growth have improved living conditions in all areas of Uganda, excepting for the north, where resistance movements persist. However, poverty remains widespread, and many of the most vulnerable groups (particularly those affected by the AIDS epidemic and those in rural areas) continue to suffer disproportionately (Brett 1996).

2.4.1 Educational developments

Museveni's takeover of the government brought with it an end to the civil war - although insurgencies and unrest have continued in the periphery of the country: to the north, throughout his rule; increasingly to the west; and initially (but not currently) in the east. The NRM's effective political programme combined with relatively widespread peace and stability allowed the revival of productive activity, primarily in agriculture, but also in manufacturing. The continuing military activity in the north, a world wide fall in the coffee price, and the government's failed attempts to find alternative policies to those offered by the IMF/World Bank, saw Uganda's economy falter during the initial period of the NRM's rule (Brett 1995).

Despite the bleak economic situation the government continued to seek solutions to the many social problems facing the country - including education. An Education Commission was established in 1987 to advise the government on the future direction and development of the sector. Chaired by Professor Senteza Kajubi, a former Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, the Commission submitted its report in 1989. The report contained 220 proposals affecting almost every aspect of the educational system, from pre-primary to post-graduate level. In essence the report proposed an expansion of the system, at all levels, but particularly at the tertiary level. The medium of instruction for the first primary years was to change to the vernacular, with the basic educational cycle expanded to eight years, and was to include pre-vocational studies in the curriculum, in order for the partial skilling of children who would not proceed beyond primary education. Secondary education would be diversified into three types: a minimum of one general (academic) secondary school in each district, supplemented by pure vocational and comprehensive (mixed curriculum) schools (Kajubi 1991; Ssekamwa 1997a). Tertiary level education was to be expanded with the addition of two new universities, a super-polytechnic, and a number of teacher training and business colleges .

The recommendations contained in the report formed the essence of the government White Paper on Education, which was released in 1992 (Uganda 1992). One of the reasons for the delay on acting on the White Paper was the issue of costs, which were seriously under estimated by the Commission. A World Bank review of the report suggested that the capital investment estimated by the Committee (600 billion shillings) would need to be increased by more than 50 percent to over 900 billion. Further, and of greater concern, the Bank calculated that if the report's recommendations were implemented the recurrent annual expenditures would be around 60 billion shillings year - more than double the actual recurrent budget of the sector at that point. Despite the massive economic growth that the country was sustaining in the early 1990s (averaging around 5 percent per year) the report's recommendations were clearly not financially viable for the country (World Bank 1998a).

How this issue was resolved, and what the current shape and structure of the education sector looks like, is discussed in the following chapter.

2.4.2 Makerere: Laying New Foundations

In addition to establishing an Education Commission to look into the sector as a whole, in 1987 Museveni established a Visitation Committee to make recommendations about the future direction of Makerere. The composition of the Committee reflected the importance that the new government attached to trying address the problems that the University was facing in order that the country's highest institution of learning might contribute towards the and the rebuilding of Uganda. The Committee was chaired by the Vice-President of the country, Hon. S T Manyindo. The Chair of the broader Education Commission, Senteza Kajubi, was a member, as well as the future Minister of Education, Hon. Amanywa Mushega. Underpinning the terms of reference for the Committee was a central concern - namely how to rehabilitate and expand the University in the context of the very severe economic crisis facing the country. Hence, the Committee was asked to consider ways in which the structure of courses might be adjusted to create greater opportunity for increased numbers of students, particularly at the post-graduate level (Uganda 1987, xi-xii). The only way to expand, both in terms of diversifying course options and increasing student numbers, was either to find additional

revenues, or do more with less. In cash-strapped Uganda, finding ways to minimise the government's contribution to the University was essential, and this is clearly the directive given to the Committee. To an institution, effectively starved of essential resources for more than a decade, there was very little room for 'cost saving' measures, but the Committee did try and find some, primarily by examining 'the cost of education per student, with a view to reducing it but without lowering academic / professional standards' (Uganda 1987, xii).

The Committee was particularly keen to see the notion of student welfare revisited, arguing that it had been 'grossly misconceived' by both students and government. At this point, the government was responsible for providing to students – over and above free tuition – free accommodation, meals, transport allowances, living-out allowances, boom, dependants' allowance. The commission called this 'bottle feeding', and argued that the effect was detrimental to both students and the institution:

Over generous student welfare has the effect of perpetuating attitudes of dependence and extended babyhood on the part of students. Students for example, like infants, expect to be fed on better food and to be given better attention in the university than they would receive in their own homes. Most student strikes are related to welfare issues of this kind – food, boom, toilet paper, bulbs, candles and text-book allowances, etc, rather than to academic welfare such as the quality of teaching. Students demand better food, rather than better and more relevant curricula and better teaching. The students on the whole, regard themselves as special and take it as a right to be treated in a special manner. They demand privilege rather than responsibility (Uganda 1987, 140).

In some senses, the Commission could be accused of being disingenuous. The students most certainly were not living a life of high luxury. Accommodation at this point was in overcrowded halls of residence with intermittent electricity, water shortages, and broken sewage systems and food was limited and rudimentary, with sugar and salt unaffordable luxuries (Ekudu-Adoku 1999). Teaching staff, no matter what the demands being made by students, had hardly been in a position to give better service, given the repressive political and economic context in which they had been working. However, they were correct to point out, that students in were an elite in Uganda, and that the State could no longer afford to provide even these dismal privileges. It was strongly recommended that students should make a contribution towards the cost of their education, both in terms of a small contribution towards fees, and more importantly, in terms of providing for themselves their living expenses, as the

government was to remove almost all the subsidies the subsidies discussed above (Uganda 1987, 222-223). While there were other recommendations made (such as the promotion of post-graduate studies, the changing of the academic terms, and small improvements in the conditions for staff) it was the recommendation about the changing of the financing of the institution, in particular the shift away from the state being the sole provider of resources for students, that was the most controversial (Ssekamwa 1997b). Significantly, the government was unable, at this point, to implement this recommendation. How and why they were prevented, and what process this set in motion, is discussed in later chapters.

Conclusion

Trevor Coombe (1991), in one of the most frequently quoted assessment of universities in sub-Saharan Africa in the early 1990s, began his report by noting:

One of the abiding impressions of this consultation is the sense of loss, amounting almost to grief, of some of the most senior professors in the older African universities as they compare the present state of their universities with the vigor, optimism and pride which the same institutions displayed twenty or thirty years ago. It is not just the universal regret of age at the passing of youth, nor the sad awareness that a generation of unique academic pioneers has almost run its course. It is also the grim knowledge that the nature of the university experience today is profoundly different for many teachers and students, so different and so inferior that some wonder whether it can rightly be called a university experience at all (Coombe 1991, 2).

This chapter has provided an account of events in Uganda which helped lead Coombe to his conclusion. It has tracked the process by which one of the oldest institutions of higher learning in tropical Africa was established as a technical high school for boys, whose graduates went on to become assistants in the colonial government; through its development as a College of the University of London, producing graduates who it was hoped, in the somewhat distant future, might play a leadership and development role in a self-governing Uganda; next to the short period where it was the principal College of the University of East Africa, participating with a reluctant government in regional co-operation – with the University and, indeed, the country thrust into self-sufficiency long before many anticipated; then, just as the institution became, finally, a fully-fledged University, on the threshold of finally delivering on the promise of all its potential, plunged into a situation of political, economic and educational chaos, which nearly destroyed it.

How the education sector, and Makerere in particular, were affected by (as well as contributed towards) the long hard road that Uganda has travelled, in terms of reform and institutional rebuilding, is the focus of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE

UNEQUAL PASTS, UNEQUAL FUTURES: EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the development challenges faced by Uganda in the 1990s. This is done through an exploration of the structural factors which give rise to unequal educational opportunity within the country. The chapter begins with a brief introductory section which provides a descriptive overview of some of the country's key development indicators. The Ugandan government's strategies to address poverty and to promote economic and social development are then described, paying particular attention to the basic framework of the various structural adjustment programmes which have been implemented by the National Resistance Movement (NRM) government.

The second section of the chapter looks more closely at how education fits into the government's development programme, and the challenges that are faced in the sector. The basic structure and shape of the formal education system - as it operated prior to 1997 - is described. Next, a set of factors are identified which privilege some students in relation to others in terms of access to, and opportunity within, the educational system. Factors discussed are regional differences, the urban/rural divide, gender, and socio-economic status. The third section of the chapter examines what has given rise to the persistently unequal educational profile, pointing to historical, political and economic reasons for the continuing low equity and efficiency of the system. The chapter concludes with an examination of education finance under current (post-1997) educational policy, and the role of the World Bank in the sector.

Limitations of Approach Adopted

This chapter relies heavily on official statistics provided by both the Government of Uganda and the World Bank. As the case study is concerned with events in Uganda during the late 1990s, I have drawn on the statistics which the University, Government and donor agencies would have had access to during this period - most notably the 1991

Population and Housing Census, (Census) and the *1992 Integrated Household Survey* (IHS)¹. These figures should be treated with a measure of caution. The official statistical services in Uganda collapsed in the early 1970s, and were only resurrected in the early 1990s. Prior to the Statistical Bureau becoming operational, studies such as the Census, the IHS, and a number of follow-up monitoring surveys were undertaken in the country with the assistance of the World Bank and other donor agencies². While these studies are very useful - and allow Uganda to be one of very few Sub-Saharan countries that can properly report on what has happened to poverty over the last decade (Appleton 2001, 84) – these figures should be considered as providing no more than a general pattern of access and persistence.

A pattern of being suspicious of any officials collecting information has long been established in Uganda, so that while great care was taken in the planning, implementation, and reporting of the surveys, it is unlikely that all information given to the various enumerators was accurate (Brett 1995, 3). For instance, in the education sector, since the main means of determining the amount of resources to be released to individual schools was based on a head-count of teachers, ‘ghost workers’ on the payroll (and hence in reporting to any official) remains a common problem. In addition, an accurate head-count of pupils, in the Ugandan context of overworked and underpaid staff at schools, is unlikely (Munene 1995; Mills 1999). Finally, official education statistics tend to refer only to government-aided institutions, despite the fact that these represent between a third and a half of all educational institutions. At times, especially in reported analyses, it is difficult to be certain which types of institutions have been included or excluded. In general, therefore, it is likely that most official figures under-represent the numbers of institutions and students participating in the system (World Bank 1998a, 7).

¹ The 1992 IHS was followed up by a series of four monitoring surveys carried out between 1993 and 1997. See Appleton, S. 2001. Changes in Poverty and Inequality. In *Uganda's Recovery. The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government.*, eds. R. Reinikka and P. Collier, 83-121. Kampala: Fountain Publishers. for a fuller discussion.

² The Uganda Bureau of Statistics became operational in 1998 and is now responsible for producing a wide range of statistical reports. Many of them continue to be based on the 1991 Census and the 1992 Household Survey (and the follow-up monitoring surveys).

3.1 National Development Indicators

The purpose of this section is to provide an overall picture of key development issues in Uganda in the 1990s. Excluded from this introductory section is an exploration of access to formal education, which is dealt with in greater detail in the rest of the chapter. The special focus on education as a development issue arises both because of the core concerns of this thesis, but also because universal primary education is widely regarded as an essential development goal and forms a central pillar of the Ugandan Government's current poverty eradication programme (Uganda 2000, 1).

3.1.1 Key Indicators

In 1991, the population of Uganda was just over 16.5 million (16,671,705). By 1998 it had risen to 20.4 million and was projected to increase to by another third (to 32.5 million) by the year 2015. There are slightly more women than men in Uganda, with the sex ratio in 1991 reported as 96.5 males per 100 females (Uganda 1998b, 13-14).

Uganda is essentially a rural country. During the 1990s almost 90 percent of the population lived in rural areas, with just 11 percent living in urban areas (gazetted areas with more than 1,000 inhabitants) at the beginning of the decade. The urban population is growing at a rate of just under five percent (4.7 percent) per annum, so that in 1998 almost 15 percent of the population was urbanised (United Nations Development Programme 1998, 26). The economy reflects this situation: over 90 percent of the population depend on subsistence agriculture farming and light agro-based industries. Farm households earn cash by selling surplus food stuffs and cash crops, notably coffee, cotton and tobacco. Just over five percent of the population were in paid employment in the mid 1990s, as civil servants (1.7 percent) or in the limited - but growing - private sector (3.8 percent) (Uganda 1997, 2).

Uganda remains numbered amongst the forty 'least developed' countries in the world. Using the Human Poverty Index (HPI) to give an indication of the proportion of people who can be considered 'poor' in a population³, the United Nations Development

³ The Human Poverty Index was developed and is used by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Three measures of human deprivation are used to calculate the index: being deprived of life (the proportion of a population not expected to live beyond the age of 40); being deprived of knowledge (the proportion of a population who are illiterate); and being deprived of essential factors to ensure a

Programme (UNDP) reports that Uganda as a whole is 'severely affected by human poverty'. Almost four out of every ten people (39,3 percent) are classified as human poor by this definition: in sub-Saharan Africa only Malawi, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Burundi have worse levels of poverty (Uganda 1997, 15, 84-85). Life expectancy - despite having increased by almost a decade since 1991 - was 50.4 years in the mid-1990s. Just under half of the population (49 percent) have no access to health services: there is only one doctor per 27,140 persons in the country. Around half (54 percent) of the population do not have access to clean drinking water (72 percent of people living in rural areas and 42 percent of the urban based population). While the vast majority of the urban population (94 percent) have access to sanitation facilities, just under half (48 percent) of those people living in rural areas do not. Around a third (32 percent) of the population is malnourished, with 38 percent of children under the age of four being stunted (Uganda 1997, 25-26).

Income Distribution

In 1995, per capita income in Uganda was \$240 - less than half the average in Sub-Saharan Africa (\$490) and other 'low income' countries (\$460) - making it one of the

Table 3.1: Percentage distribution of households in Uganda by monthly household income, by residence and region (1994/95)

	under 50,000/- (percent)	50 – 100,000/- (percent)	above 100,000/- (percent)
Uganda	54	32	14
Residence: Rural	54	33	13
Urban	19	29	52
Region: Central	34	32	32
Western	54	34	12
Eastern	58	31	11
Northern*	61	33	6

* excluding Kitgum District

Source: Compiled from Uganda 1997, 44-45.

poorest countries in the world (Brett 1998, 2). In 1996, more than half (55 percent) of the population lived on less than one dollar a day, with 80 percent of the rural poor

subsisting in 'absolute poverty' (United Nations Development Programme 1998, 25-26). As shown in Table 3.1, in 1994/5, mean monthly per capita incomes showed a major difference between urban and rural areas: the urban per capita income of

basic standard of living (the proportion of a population who do not have access to safe water, health services, and adequate nutrition).

Map 3.1: Regional and district map of Uganda (1991)



Source: Uganda (1999).

47,500/= (\$35) per month is more than three times as large as the 14,400/= (\$11) in the rural areas (Uganda 1997, 44-45).

While the economy in Uganda is strengthening - GDP per capita by 1997 had increased to \$300 from \$240 in 1995 - the gap between the richest and the poorest is still great. The UNDP estimated that in 1995, the real GDP per capita - an adjusted per capita measurement that looks at purchasing power - at \$1,483. However, the richest quintile had a real GDP of \$2,189 - approximately 7 times greater than the \$309 of the poorest quintile (United Nations Development Programme 1998, ix).

3.1.2 Regional Differences

During the period under review, Uganda was divided administratively into 45 districts - which were further divided into counties, sub-counties and parishes. For statistical purposes, Uganda is divided into four regions. As is shown on *Map 3.1* (on previous page) these are the Central, Eastern, Northern, and Western regions. There are 10 - 12 districts in each region. *Table 3.2* provides a breakdown of the population of Uganda by region and by urban/rural area. The Central region has the greatest proportion of the population (29 percent of the total). In contrast, the Northern region, while the biggest

Table 3.2: Population in Uganda by percentage of urbanisation, by region and by sex (1991)

	Population	% of whole	% urban
Uganda	16,671,705	100	11,3
Region: Central	4,843,594	29,0	24,4
Western	4,547,687	27,3	4,8
Eastern	4,128,469	24,8	7,8
Northern	3,151,955	18,9	5,4
Sex: Male	8,185,747	49,0	11,2
Female	8,485,958	51,0	11,4

Source: Uganda 1997, 16.

of the regions, is sparsely populated and has just less than a fifth (19 percent) of the country's population. The Eastern (25 percent) and Western (27 percent) regions have

roughly a quarter of the population each. The Central region is also much more urbanised. Almost a quarter (24 percent) of people living in the Central region live in urban centres, compared with a around five percent in the North and the West. There is no significant difference in the level of urbanisation by sex (Uganda 1997, 1-3).

A closer examination of poverty in Uganda reveals clustering by geographical location and gender. As *Table 3.3* shows, poverty is more pervasive in the Northern region than

Table 3.3: Human Poverty Index in Uganda, by residence and region (1996).

Region	Human Poverty Index
Uganda	39.3
Residence: Urban	20.5
Rural	42.9
Region: Central	31.2
Western	39.3
Eastern	40.0
Northern	45.7

Source: United Nations Development Programme 1998, 19-20.

elsewhere in Uganda, particularly when compared with the Central region: while almost half (46 percent) the population of the Northern region were classified as poor, just under a third (31 percent) were similarly classified in the Central region. Poverty is also particularly a rural problem:

while about one out of every five people in urban centres would be classified as poor under this system, more than twice that number would qualify in rural areas (43 percent). Rural women in Uganda constitute a particularly disadvantaged social group. Contrary to other sectors of the population where poverty is decreasing, it is increasing amongst this social group (United Nations Development Programme 1998, 19– 31).

Table 3.4 (below) provides a summary snap-shot of key development indicators in Uganda in the mid-1990s while also demonstrating the relative deprivation between urban and rural areas. On all key development indicators - illiteracy, access to safe water, access to health services, malnutrition and early death - the rural areas of Uganda have considerably lower scores than either the national average or urban centres. Recalling that just under a quarter (24 percent) of those people living in the Central region live in urban areas (compared with under ten percent in the other three regions) gives some insights into the relative degree of privilege/development of this region.

Table 3.4 Deprivation in rural and urban areas of Uganda, by selected variables (1996).

Region	Illiteracy	Lack of access to safe water	Lack of access to health services	Mal-nutrition	Early Death	Human Poverty Index
Rural	43.0	58.6	56.5	26.8	37.5	42.97
Urban	16.4	23.2	5.0	15.3	26.5	20.56
Uganda	38.4	51.5	51.0	31.8	36.3	39.30

Source: Adapted from United Nations Development Programme 1998, 19– 20.

3.1.3 Strategies to Promote Economic Development

Despite the bleak picture painted above, Uganda is frequently heralded as a 'rare economic success story in Sub-Saharan Africa' (Appleton 2001, 83). This assessment is

best understood both in the context of the poor economic performance of many countries on the sub-continent, as well as Uganda's emergence from the economic collapse of the 1970s and 1980s to the relative 'macroeconomic stability, high growth, and considerable political freedom' which has characterised the country since the early 1990s (Collier and Reinikka 2001, 1).

Labelling Uganda as having 'considerable political freedom' is a contentious point for many. On coming to power in 1987, Museveni's government introduced a 'no-party democracy' which he labelled the 'movement system', arguing that the NRM (his own party) was less a political party and more a 'movement' which was able to claim the loyalty and support of all Ugandans. While alternative political parties do exist (most notably the Ugandan People's Congress and the Democratic Party) there is an embargo on formal campaigns by parties during elections. This gives the ruling NRM significant advantage over other parties in elections, and has lead many analysts to argue that the country is effectively a one-party state. The continuation of the 'no-party democracy' was confirmed in a controversial national referendum in June 2000, when over 90 percent of people who voted endorsed this approach. However, participation was low (around half of all registered voters cast ballots) - a factor which appeared to be at least partially affected by the opposition's call for a boycott⁴.

While Uganda's claim to a full democracy may be contentious, it cannot be disputed that the country's economic performance over the last decade has been amongst the most successful on the continent (Collier 2001, 15-22). Throughout the 1990s, the country experienced growth rates averaging around six percent per annum, with the high-water mark coming between 1994 and 1995, when the national economy grew by 10.5 percent. Growth has slowed down since then, but the economy still managed to be one of the fastest growing in the world⁵ (Uganda 1998a, i – iii).

⁴ For further discussion see Oloka-Onyango, J. 2000. Development in Structurally-Adjusted Uganda. *Netherlands Quarterly of Human Rights*. 18 (1) : 23-44; as well as Carbone, G. M. 2001. Constitutional Alternatives for the Regulation of Ethnic Politics? Institution-building Principles in Uganda's and South Africa's Transitions. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 19 (2) : 229-252; and Haynes, J. 2001. 'Limited' Democracy in Ghana and Uganda. What is most important for International Actors: Stability or Political Freedom? *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. 19 (2) : 183-204.

⁵ The recent economic slowdown has been attributed to a range of factors such as poor weather conditions rendered by El Nino, declining prices for key export commodities such as coffee, escalating unrest in the North of the country, and involvement in the war in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). The Ugandan Government has explained the downturn in terms of the economy being heavily dependent on agriculture, and this sector, in turn is dependent on the vagaries of the weather and world

Structural Adjustment Programme

Three periods can be identified in relation to Uganda's economic recovery programme under Museveni. These are (1) 1987-1992, when few economic reforms were undertaken as the focus was on political reconstruction; (2) 1992-1998, when the government became committed to monetary stability and many structural reforms were carried out; and (3) the current (post 1998) period which has seen a greater focus on poverty eradication, particularly with regard to providing basic social services (especially primary education) to all Ugandans (McGee 2000, 86). From 1987 onwards, albeit with varying degrees of enthusiasm and commitment on the part of the NRM Government⁶, the basic framework for economic recovery has been a 'virtual textbook adaptation of the "standard" structural adjustment programme (SAP) sponsored by the IMF and the World Bank' (Haynes 2001, 197). As discussed in *Chapter One* this has centrally encompassed working towards a market-based economy, through the privatising of state-owned companies, the establishment of an independent central bank operating with a stable, convertible currency, in a context of tighter fiscal control on government spending, with a particular emphasis on the reduction in the size of the civil service and the army.

In a recent World Bank examination of Uganda's economic performance, Collier and Reinikka argue that the country's success rests on three major achievements on the part of Museveni's government:

1. the provision of a 'reasonable level' of internal peace (the continued conflict in the North, notwithstanding);
2. the rescinding of 'predatory' state taxation, particularly in relation to export taxation on coffee; and

trade. A long drought, followed by very heavy rains, coupled with a deterioration in Uganda's terms of trade made it very difficult to sustain previous levels of growth: in 1997/8 the economy grew by 5.5 percent, which while still respectable, was almost half the 10.5 percent (1994/5) and 8.1 percent (1995/96) of the preceding years Uganda. 1998a. *Background to the Budget 1998/99. Budgeting for Poverty Eradication*. Kampala: Government of Uganda, Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development. . June. For full discussion see Collier, P. and Reinikka, R. 2001. Reconstruction and Liberalization: An Overview. In *Uganda's Recovery. The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government*, eds. R. Reinikka and P. Collier, 15-45. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

⁶ This point is discussed more fully in *Chapter Five*. For a fuller discussion see also Mugenyi, J. B. 1991. IMF conditionality and structural adjustment under the National Resistance Movement. In *Changing Uganda. The Dilemmas of Structural Adjustment and Revolutionary Change*, eds. H. B. Hansen and M. Twaddle, 61-77. Kampala: Fountain Press; as well as Harvey, C. and Robinson, M. 1995. *Economic reform and political liberalization in Uganda*. Brighton: Institute of Development Studies..

3. the establishment of a relatively stable currency, whose value has largely been maintained through strict control of the government budget (Collier and Reinikka 2001, 2).

The Bank frequently suggests that Uganda ‘exemplifies successful African liberalisation’ and this is at the heart of the remarkable economic turn-around (Oloka-Onyango 2000; Collier and Reinikka 2001). Other analysts have argued rather that Uganda’s macro-economic stabilisation is dependent on foreign aid, which is causing increasing external indebtedness and hence is not sustainable. Further, they suggest that recent economic growth, while impressive, is more a reflection of Uganda’s very low starting point than proof of the efficacy of economic liberalisation, pointing out that Uganda has not yet returned to the real per capita income levels enjoyed in the 1970s, and that much of the boom of the 1990s in Uganda was related to an atypical period of high international coffee prices (Oloka-Onyango 2000; Appleton 2001; Collier and Reinikka 2001).

Government Strategies to Address Poverty and Development in Uganda

While the debate over what has underpinned Uganda’s economic growth is important, of more concern to the argument here is the increasingly critical attention being paid to examining whether this growth is being translated ‘into measurable improvements in the standard of living for the majority of people’ (United Nations Development Programme 1998). A number of influential studies⁷ from the late 1990s have argued that poverty levels throughout the decade had remained largely unchanged – and reported that there was a perception within the country that there has been ‘more movement into poverty than out of it’ (Uganda 1999, 10). While more recent studies suggest otherwise⁸,

⁷ See for instance Uganda National Examinations Board. 1997. *Report on the Result of Mathematics and English Assessments, National Assessment of Progress in Education*. Kampala: Uganda National Examinations Board.

⁸ See Appleton (2001) for a full discussion. His study was based on the baseline IHS study (1992) and the four monitoring studies which followed. He argues that the picture provided by these surveys shows that living standards have risen in accordance with macroeconomic growth – in both urban and rural households. Moreover he demonstrates that living standards grew most rapidly for poorer families, which suggests that there has been a fall in inequality through the 1990s Appleton, S. 2001. *Changes in Poverty and Inequality*. In *Uganda's Recovery. The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government.*, eds. R. Reinikka and P. Collier, 83-121. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.. Appleton concludes by arguing that the monitoring studies show that there has been a ‘significant and substantial reduction in poverty’ in the five years following the base-line line study. In 1992, the IHS suggested that around 56 percent of Ugandans lived beneath the poverty line, but that this percentage fell to 44 percent in the last survey (1997/98). There were significant regional variations in this national trend, with the Central regional benefiting the most and the Eastern region lagging behind. Much of this had to do with the fact that different sectors were differently affected: people involved in cash crop farming, manufacturing, and trade did particularly well over the period; those engaged in other sectors did less well.

McGee suggests that the perception that the economic reforms of the early 1990s had not benefited the poorest groups prompted Museveni, following the 1996 election, to implement two high profile initiatives to address these concerns. These were the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP) and Universal Primary Education (UPE) (McGee 2000, 87).

The core strategy of PEAP is to direct government spending to those areas which will have the greatest impact on the poor. The first aspect of this strategy is to support those sectors which can increase the incomes of the poor (for example, the building of roads, especially feeder roads from the rural areas, to assist the rural poor to gain easier access to greater markets). The second is to focus government resources in those sectors which have the greatest impact on poor people's quality of life - education, health and water - and within those sectors in areas which will reach the greatest number of poor (such as primary education and preventative health care) (Uganda 1998a, 58).

In relation to primary education, the Government of Uganda has set as its principle development and poverty eradication target for the sector, the achieving of Universal Primary Education by 2003. In order to achieve this, under UPE policy launched in early 1997, tuition fees for primary school have been effectively removed by the state assuming all enrolment and teaching costs, as well as part of the costs of school construction at the primary school level. Households are required to meet other costs such as uniforms, books, and some school maintenance. The massive response to the promise of free primary education - enrolment in primary schools more than doubled from around 2 million to just under 5.5 million in the year the policy was introduced - meant that a regulatory framework needed to be developed to manage the process more effectively. There are three core strategies to this framework, which has been implemented with varying degrees of enthusiasm and success. First, the framework restricts beneficiaries to four children per family. In practice this has largely been ignored. Second, and most controversially, has been the institution of a process of automatic promotion from year to year for all pupils regardless of achievement. This has caused major concern over the quality of education being offered. Finally, national standards of 55 pupils per teacher, 55 pupils per classroom and one book per pupil were

established. These have proved difficult to meet, especially in the short term (McGee 2000, 88).

The following section examines patterns of access and exclusion to opportunity within the pre-1997 education system, both in order to understand why UPE was developed as a way of addressing poverty and extending the benefits of economic growth to the poorest sectors of society, as well as to lay the foundation for understanding patterns of access to Makerere. In the concluding section of the chapter there is a brief examination of the way in which UPE has impacted on the education system as a whole.

3.2 Formal Education in Uganda

In this section the basic shape and structure of the formal education system is described, as it operated prior to UPE. Part of the reason for this particular focus is that all of the students at Makerere during the period covered by the case study would have gone through the pre-1997 system: the first students who will gain entrance to Makerere - having benefited fully from the post-1997 changes - will only arrive at the University in 2020⁹. In addition, in some important respects, the structure of the education sector has remained unchanged with the introduction of UPE.

3.2.1 The Shape and Structure of the Pre-UPE Education Sector

Formal education in Uganda begins around 6 years of age, when students enter primary school. At the end of their seventh year, primary school students sit the national Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). Based on this performance students are either admitted to a lower secondary school or to a technical school. Four years of lower secondary ends with the Ugandan Certificate of Education (UCE), which determines access to either senior secondary school, or to a lower technical or professional college. Those students who make it into senior secondary write the final school examination - the Ugandan Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) - two years later. There are a range of higher education institutions in Uganda offering both degree and diploma courses to students who successfully complete their UACE. Entrance to these institutions is largely - but not exclusively - determined on the basis of performance at

⁹ It takes 13 years to move from Primary One through to Secondary Six.

the UACE. As discussed previously, competition to enter Makerere University is particularly intense (Uganda 1997, 20).

Access to Formal Education prior to the UPE Initiative

In 1995, the formal education system provided services for an estimated 3.2 million students. Just over 90 percent of these students (around 2.9 million) were in the primary education sector; 7.8 percent (250,000) were attending secondary level institutions; about 40,000 (1.25 percent) were in post-primary/lower secondary training institutes - primarily teacher training; and about 35,000 (one percent) in the broad tertiary education sector - of whom about 11,500 were in universities (0.35 percent) (World Bank 1998a, 8).

Table 3.5: Summary of the structure of the formal education system in Uganda (prior to 1997).

Level	Entry Age*	Length of Time	Examination	Options	
				Academic	Other
Primary	5 [6] 7	7 years	Primary Leaving	Lower Secondary	Technical School
Lower Secondary	13 [14] 15	4 years	Ugandan Certificate of Education	Upper Secondary	Technical or Professional Colleges
Upper Secondary	17 [18] 19	2 years	Advanced Certificate of Education	University	Professional Colleges or Polytechnic
Tertiary	19 [20] 21	2 to 5 years	Diploma or Degree	Post-Graduate (University)	

* Brackets indicate recommended age. Figures outside are ages at which a significant number of children enter that level of education.

Source: Compiled from Uganda 1997.

Students in the education sector at this time had a choice between government-aided and private institutions at all levels of education, from primary through to tertiary. In 1995 around 90 percent of primary education students were enrolled in just over 8,500 government aided schools (World Bank 1998a, 8-9). In the secondary school sector, there were 619 government-aided and 409 private secondary schools. While almost half (44 percent) of these institutions were private, they serviced only around 20 percent of all students in the sector (Ssekamwa 1997a, 117). With regard to the tertiary education sector, prior to 1989, there was only one university in Uganda - Makerere University. In that year the government established Mbarara University of Science and Technology. Since then, although there have been no new government universities, there have been a range of private universities established, and many more planned. In 1997 there were

four new government licensed private universities, with three more awaiting licences, and six more in the process of applying for a licence (Kajubi 1997, 23). This was in addition to the 64 primary teacher colleges, the 58 technical schools and institutes, and the 22 technical, business, and teacher training colleges that made up the rest of the post-school sector in 1995 (Uganda 1998c).

Table 3.6: Distribution of population aged 6 years and over in Uganda, by educational attainment (1991).

Level of Education	(%)	No. of Institutions (1995)
No Formal Education	37	
Primary 1 – 3	22	8 550 *
Primary 4 – 6	23	
Primary 7 (PLE)	8	
Senior 1 - 3	4	619 *
Senior 4 (UCE)	3	
Senior 5 - 6 (UACE)	1	
Post Senior 6	0.3	146 * (2 * universities)

* Government-aided institutions only. *Note:* while there were an unknown number of private primary schools in 1995, there were 409 private secondary schools and one private university.

Sources: Uganda (1998c) and Uganda (1992).

The Educational Pyramid

The majority of Uganda's citizens have not had access to the formal education system outlined above. This is especially so amongst older people: the 1991 census revealed that almost 70 percent of people in Uganda aged over 46 years had received no formal education. Within the population as whole, just over a third (37

percent) had no formal education and almost half (46 percent) were illiterate. Of those who gain access to the education system, the vast majority do not complete even the first level: just under three quarters (72 percent) of people who reported that they had been to school, had left before finishing primary school. In 1991, the median level of education achieved in the country was 5.4 years and under two percent of the population held any professional qualifications (defined as any certificate post four years of primary school, or above). *Table 3.6* (above) summarises the level of educational attainment in the country in 1991. 82 percent of the population (aged six years and above) had either no formal education or had not completed primary school, while at the other end of the spectrum under half a percent (0,3 percent) of the population held a tertiary level qualification (Uganda 1992, 6-9, 20-25).

Even prior to the introduction of UPE this situation was improving, particularly in relation to access to primary education. In 1995, approximately 75 percent of Ugandan children aged between six and 13 were attending primary school. Since the introduction

of UPE and the effective abolishment of tuition charges to government-aided institutions in 1997, the enrolment ratio has risen above 100 percent (as children over the age of 13 are also enrolled at primary school). However, the enrolment ratio for secondary schools is not impressive, suggesting massive inefficiency within the system. In 1995, the enrolment ratio dropped to approximately ten percent of the age appropriate group at a secondary school level, and down to two percent of young people (20 - 24 years) studying at a tertiary level institution (World Bank 1998a, 6-9). This does not compare well with many African countries, even those with a similar GNP per capita, as *Table 3.7* (below) demonstrates (World Bank 1999, 57).

Table 3.7: Education Indicators in Selected African Countries (1995)

Country	GNP per capita (1997 US\$)	GER Primary (%)	GER Secondary (%)	GER Tertiary (%)
South Africa	3,400	131	94	19
Zimbabwe	750	114	47	7
Uganda	330	74	12	2
Kenya	330	85	24	2
Tanzania	210	67	5	1

Source: World Bank 1999, 57.

In some senses the primary enrolment ratio is misleading. This is because so many students are clustered in the first few years of primary school. In the early 1990s just over a quarter of all students attending government-aided primary school were enrolled in the first year. As *Table 3.8* (below) demonstrates, the educational pyramid in Uganda is particularly steep. Of the cohort of students who enrolled in government-aided

Table 3.8: Cohort of Ugandan Students, from Primary One to University (1982-1995)

Year	Level	Students
1982	Primary 1 *	375 221
1988	PLE	146 649 **
1989	Senior 1 *	61 977
1992	UCE	47 862 **
1994	UACE	21 704 **
1995	Tertiary (General) *	8 931
1995	Makerere University	4 419

* Government aided institutions only.

** Examination numbers include students from private institutions.

Source: Developed from World Bank (1998a) and Makerere Admissions supplied by Academic Registrar's Office.

schools in Primary One in 1982, a little under a third managed to make to the end of primary school; just over 15 percent of the cohort made it into government-aided Senior Schools, and just over one percent made it into Makerere University (Uganda 1997, 22-3).

3.3 Factors Affecting Equitable Access to the Formal Education System

While access to the formal education system in Uganda is generally poor, it is also clear that some children – particularly prior to the introduction of UPE - had a better chance of entering and completing the education cycle. A more nuanced examination of educational access and attainment reveals that there are some important differences in terms of geographical placement (both regionally and in relation to the urban/rural divide), gender, and socio-economic class (which closely correlates with geographical placement). Each of these issues is discussed below.

3.3.1 Patterns of Educational Privilege

Factors Affecting Access

One of the major reasons for introducing UPE was that, prior to 1997, there was a much greater likelihood that children who grew up in rural areas would not go to school. According to the 1991 census (and restricting the discussion to those aged 6 and over) almost four out of ten people in Uganda's rural areas had never attended school. (See *Table 3.9*, below). In contrast, almost 85 percent of people living in urban areas had attended school at some point in their lives. There were also important differences in the non-attendance ratio across regions. Reflective of a higher level of urbanisation, only a quarter of the population living in the Central region had never attended school.

Table 3.9: School non-attendance ratio for Ugandan population, aged 6 years and over, by Sex, and by Residence and Region (1991)

Sub-Population Category	Male	Female	Total
Uganda	28.2%	45.7%	37.2%
Residence			
Rural	30.3%	49.2%	40.0%
Urban	11.7%	19.8%	15.9%
Region			
Central	21.7%	28.5%	25.1%
Western	31.2%	49.0%	40.4%
Eastern	29.9%	48.9%	39.6%
Northern	32.1%	62.3%	48.0%

Source: Uganda (1992).

In contrast almost half (48 percent) of the population in the Northern region (with its very high rural population) had not had access to the formal education system, while the Western and Eastern regions more closely resembled the national average of 37 percent.

There were also stark differences in relation to access to formal education on the basis of sex, particularly prior to UPE, suggesting that gender plays an important role in determining who goes to school: while 28 percent of males in 1991 had never been to school, just under half (46 percent) of females were in the same position.

Geographical location strengthens these sex differences: in the Northern region, more than six out of every ten females had not been to school, while in urban areas it was only two out of every ten females. This, however, was twice the ratio of urban males, who had the highest access of any group: just over one out of every ten males living in an urban centre had not access to some sort of formal education (Uganda 1992, 8).

Factors Affecting Educational Advancement

Providing further evidence that access to education was biased in favour of urban males (particularly those residing in the Central region) in the early 1990s is *Table 3.10* (below), which shows the mean years of schooling attained by Ugandans aged 10 years and older, who were not students at the time of the *Integrated Household Survey* (1992). While rural females spent, on average, under 2 and half years at school, urban males spent almost three times as long (7.4 years). Females in the rural areas of the Northern province had the lowest mean years of schooling, just 1.5 years. Bearing in mind that in rural areas approximately half of females have attended at school, the fact that those that do, on average, spend just 2.3 years in school, speaks eloquently to the levels of educational deprivation in Uganda (Uganda 1992).

Table 3.10: Mean years of schooling for non-students aged 10 years and older in Uganda by sex and residence, by region (1992)

	Males		Females	
	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
Uganda	7.4	4.0	5.4	2.3
Central	7.9	4.1	6.7	3.3
Western	6.9	3.6	5.1	2.1
Eastern	7.3	4.2	5.2	2.4
Northern	7.1	4.1	4.1	1.5

Source: Based on Integrated Household Survey (1992) and compiled by World Bank (1998a).

Factors Affecting Educational Attainment

The educational attainment profile further emphasises the very low level of educational access in the country. It takes (at minimum) seven years of schooling to gain a Primary

Leaving Examination certificate, 11 years for the Uganda Certificate of Education, and 13 years for the Advanced Certificate. Given the mean years of schooling (reported above) that Ugandans have spent in the formal educational system, the fact that under two percent of the total population have an educational qualification (defined as the UCE and above) is not surprising (see *Table 3.11*, overleaf). The way in which urban areas are privileged in relation to rural areas, suggests a domestic brain drain, as those either with, or seeking, qualifications move to urban areas. Perhaps the most stark evidence of this is that while eight percent of people in urban areas have an educational qualification, in rural areas it is just over one percent. Looked at in another way, of the persons who hold qualifications, just under half (47 percent) live in the Central region, fully 26 percent of them in Kampala alone. The educational attainment profile by sex repeats the pattern of male privilege: while just under a quarter (22 percent) of males have completed at least primary school, only 13 percent of females have done so (Uganda 1992, 27, 36).

Table 3.11: Level of education attained by Ugandan population aged 6 years and over, by residence and sex (1991)

	None	Incomplete Primary	At Least Primary	(of which UCE or above)
Uganda	37%	45%	17%	(1.95%)
Residence: Urban	16%	41%	43%	(8.04%)
Rural	40%	46%	14%	(1.16%)
Sex: Male	28%	50%	22%	(2.67%)
Female	46%	41%	13%	(1.27%)

Source: Compiled from Uganda (1992).

3.3.2 Geographical Equity

There are a number of factors which need to be taken into account in exploring issues of geographical equity in access to education in Uganda, particularly prior to UPE. The first is that the development of the formal educational system is very much a part of the development of the country itself. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, 'Uganda' was a British colonial creation. At its core was the Kingdom of Buganda, with the surrounding areas to the north, east and west, being claimed from the centre in a piecemeal fashion. The four statistical regions - Central, East, Western, Northern - which are referred to in this thesis are reminiscent of the four provinces of the early Protectorate. Three of these provinces, to greater and lesser extent, were ethnically and politically fragmented, but the central province had no such diversity as it consisted solely of the Kingdom of

Buganda. The Kingdom of Buganda also became the headquarters of the colonial government, the base of the country's main commercial enterprises, the centre of the Christian churches, and the focal point of educational agencies.

Historical Factors

In part, the citing of so many key colonial institutions and enterprises within the Kingdom of Buganda was due to historical circumstance. One of the legacies of the Kabaka's invitation to the Christian teachers (as noted in the previous chapter) was that the kingdom and its educated inhabitants (estimated at around 200,000 in 1910) were particularly well placed to make the most of the new political and economic system that was ushered in by the colonialists. Especially during the early colonial period there was a need for people who could understand, speak, and write both indigenous languages and English, and who could understand and work in both cultures (Ssekamwa 1997a).

Given the long engagement with the missionaries who had come in increasing numbers since the turn of the century, a disproportionate number of people with these kinds of skills lived in the Kingdom of Buganda. As such, of all the peoples of Uganda, the Buganda most easily moved into the colonial economy - as clerks, missionaries, and teachers to begin with, and in the longer term as industrial and service workers - so that the Buganda became 'by some margin the most affluent, the best equipped, and the most self-confident of Uganda's peoples' (Wrigley 1988, 29). The early engagement that the Kingdom of Buganda had with missionaries, and the advantage this gave them in dealing with the new colonial authorities, is perhaps the most important underlying reason why, almost a century later, the Central province continues to have the most educated populace of the country.

Geographical Factors

However, it is not only historical factors which give rise to regional educational advantage and disadvantage in the country. The other underlying reason for such difference is geographical. The Central part of the country also has the most fertile soils, and the most reliable rainfall. The Northern region is more arid and has poorer soils. As such, the Central region was better placed to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by cash crops such as coffee. While cotton was grown extensively and with much success in the North, it proved a less profitable crop than coffee. This

was particularly so during the difficult periods of widespread unrest, as coffee, unlike cotton, could be smuggled into neighbouring countries such as Kenya and so continue to make a profit for its growers. The impact that this had on the provision of education in the country is that it has tended to be people in the Central and Eastern areas who during the many different political periods in Uganda's history have had access to cash resources to purchase education for their children. Moreover, this factor has been strengthened by the fact that it was in the centre where the most visible rewards for education (e.g. a job in the formal economy) was most prevalent as this was where such jobs - again across all political periods - tended to be found.

Placement of Educational Institutions

Finally, the last factor to take into account in relation to geographical equity is the placement of educational institutions. In terms of distribution of educational institutions, in the mid-1990s, the Western region had the highest number of all levels of institutions (primary schools, secondary schools, and other post school institutions, such as technical schools and institutes and teacher training colleges) excepting for universities, of which 75 percent of which are based in the Central region. Roughly a third (between 31 percent and 34 percent) of all educational institutions (except universities) were based in the Western region. While the Western region has a slightly larger population, it is clear from *Table 3.12* (below) that this region has a bigger share of the national education cake than the other regions. This is particularly so in relation to secondary schools. The Western region has a secondary school for every 25,000 people that live in the region; in contrast the Central and Eastern regions, while having more schools in absolute numbers than the Northern region, with their higher populations, in fact have more people per school (37,300 in the Central region and 33,000 in the Western region) than in the North (32,000) (Uganda 1998c).

Table 3.12: Educational Institutions per population, by region in Uganda (1995)

	Population	Primary / Population	Secondary / Population	Post School/ Population	University / population
Uganda	19,262,700	2,300	31,100	129,300	2,407,000
Central	5,486,000	2,600	37,300	211,000	914,000
Eastern	4,824,500	2,300	33,000	120,600	4,800,000
Western	5,301,500	2,000	25,000	115,200	5,300,000
Northern	3,650,700	2,200	32,000	99,000	-

Source: developed from Uganda (1998b) Uganda (1998c).

Distribution of Private Schools

The table tends to disguise the extent to which the Central region is educationally privileged. This is because, with the exception of universities, the institutions discussed above are government-aided institutions only. There are a large number of private schools (primary in particular, but also secondary) which are not reflected in these tables. In the most recent *National Household Survey* it was reported that the 'Central region is likely to have a much larger percentage of private schools [than other regions] and may thus have a larger share of overall primary schools' (Uganda 1997, 24). As early as the mid-1940s, and continuing until the mid-1950s, private schools were being identified as a significant issue in the Director of Education's annual report. While the quality of these primary and secondary schools may have been uneven, it is clear that they were catering to the needs of a large number of children and that most of these schools were to be found in Buganda (Central Province) (Ssekamwa 1997a, 116-118).

3.3.3 Gender Equity

There is no single factor which can account for the gender differences in educational access and advancement in Uganda, as summarised in *Table 3.13* (below). However, a commitment to ensuring that girls had access to basic education, and a belief that a system which demanded substantial private resources to access institutions discriminated against girls' full participation, at least partially underpinned the Government's introduction of UPE.

Table 3.13: Participation in selected levels of the education system in Uganda, by sex (1995)

Sex	Primary One	Primary Seven	Senior One	Senior Six	Makerere (under)	Makerere * (post)
Male	355,423	108,533	40,881	9,700	6,501	347
Female	317,139	70,463	27,606	3,752	3,155	178
% Female	47%	39%	40%	28%	33%	34%

* excluding teaching diploma (which 222 women, and 78 men were registered for in 1995/96)

Source: Uganda (1998c).

However, simply addressing the financial aspect of access to primary school will not necessarily change to the gender profile of the educational pyramid, as the privileged access and opportunity that boys and men experience in the education system both reflects and reinforces a wider pattern of male privilege in the country. Indeed, it is reflective of the generalised male privilege of patriarchy that is essentially universal.

A useful way of looking at the complex web of reasons for the under-representation of women in the education sector, especially their relative absence from the higher echelons of the educational pyramid, is Hyde's (1991) framework of educational exclusion, which separates out familial, social, and institutional factors which act as barriers to girls' and women's full participation within an education system¹⁰. This allows for a focused discussion on gender equity in the education sector in a specific national setting. While this approach is useful in terms of identifying - albeit in a somewhat piecemeal manner - the range of factors affecting gender equity in education, one of the disadvantages of using such an approach is that it tends to disguise the extent to which the three areas (i.e. family, society and institution) are interlinked and shaped by their interconnectedness. However, it remains a useful means of ordering the range of factors, which are discussed below.

Familial Factors

Decisions within a family about whether to send a child to school tend to be complex, particularly in poor households with limited resources. Straightforward financial issues (do we have the money for fees? if not, how can we get them?) are only one component of the decision-making process. Other considerations have to be taken into account as well: is there a better way in which family resources can be used? how will a child going to school enhance the general well-being of the family? can the family afford to lose that family member's labour (in the fields, the family business, or in contributing to child-care)? While a range of factors affect the answers to these questions, a number of recent studies have confirmed that gender plays an important role in these considerations (Muranga 1977; Kwesiga 1993; Kasente 1995; Kyamureku 1995; Basirika and Manyire 1997; Kyomuhendo 1997).

In general, most families in Uganda will invest in children's education (both boys and girls) to the extent that family finances make it possible. In very poor families, where there is competition for household resources, education may become a luxury that cannot be afforded - a factor which has been partially addressed by UPE. Most evidence suggests that it is a highly valued commodity that parents will go to great

¹⁰ For a fuller discussion see Kwesiga, J. C., 1993. *Access of women to higher education in Uganda: an analysis of inequalities, barriers and determinants*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of London (Institute of Education)..

lengths to secure (Kajubi 1991; Garvey 1996; Ssekamwa 1997a). The most important way in which gender affects this process is that when limited family finances mean that a choice has to be made about which child to send to school, boys are much more likely to be favoured over girls (Kwesiga 1993, 273; Kyomuhendo 1997, 5-7). Explanations for this choice tend to be instrumental: education is regarded by parents as a family investment, and within this framework, boys are viewed as a better investment, for two main reasons. The first is that labour market clustering by gender means that economic opportunities - particularly with regard to paid employment in the formal economy - are much greater for men than for women in Uganda (Obbo 1991, 99). Second, investing in boys' (rather than girls') education is likely to be of greater direct benefit to the family making that investment. This is because in Uganda widespread patrilineal practices means that a son tends to contribute more directly to the welfare of the family that has raised him (and from which he will inherit); in contrast, daughters tend to contribute to the family into which they marry (Kwesiga 1993, 27-28, 271-272; Kasente 1995, 3).

The importance of gender as a factor in the decision-making process is strengthened or weakened by a number of other issues. For instance, geographical location influences the process: customary and familial ties are frequently loosened in an urban setting, as other networks and ties become more important. This suggests that traditional views about family obligations and gender may be of less importance in urban areas than in more traditional, rural areas (Kwesiga 1993, 39). Additionally, there is the question of the structure of the family: repeated evidence finds that female headed households make a greater effort to ensure that girls attend schools than households which are headed by males, especially polygamous households (Muranga 1977, 16; Kasente 1995; Kyomuhendo 1997, 8). Finally, the gendered division of labour within families also has the potential to negatively impact on girls participation in the education system. Girls and women carry a disproportionate share of household related labour - meaning that sometimes mothers are more reluctant to lose the labour of a daughter than a son - a factor which might reinforce the choice of sending a son, rather than a daughter, to school (Kwesiga 1993, 273).

It is important to bear in mind that the most important aspect of this decision making process is the socio-economic status of the family. Evidence suggests that it is only in times of economic hardship that a family will choose which children to send to school.

In one study, which drew on in-depth interviews with parents of primary school children, it was shown that much attention was paid to ability, competencies, and chances of academic success of the children concerned, suggesting that such choices may be less instrumental than some commentators have reported (Kyomuhendo 1997, 6-7).

Social Factors

The gendered division of family labour is similarly reflected in broader society. According to the 1991 census, and shown in *Table 3.14* (below), two-thirds of working women were unpaid family workers, compared with under a quarter (23 percent) of men. Under five percent of women were in paid, formal employment, compared with just under a fifth (18 percent) of men. The manner in which geographical location interacts with gender to reinforce and strengthen this general pattern is evidenced by the very different profiles of urban and rural areas: under five percent of urban men are unpaid family workers, while 70 percent of rural women fulfil this role (Uganda 1992).

An examination of the working population by occupation demonstrates a similar pattern of advantage and disadvantage in relation to gender. Women, particularly those in rural areas, have both fewer opportunities open to them in the world of work, and also are disproportionately clustered in low status, low remuneration areas of work. 86 percent of rural women are agricultural workers (compared with just over-three quarters of men). Even in urban areas 20 percent of women - twice the proportion of men - report agricultural work as their occupation. The most common occupation for women in urban areas (two in five) were in service (most likely domestic service), compared with just over a quarter (26 percent) of urban men (Uganda 1992, 74-75).

Table 3.14: Distribution of working household population in Uganda by employment status, and by sex and residence (1991)

	Employee	Self-Employed	Unpaid Family Worker
Uganda	12%	45%	43%
Male	18%	59%	23%
Female	5%	29%	66%
Urban Male	55%	41%	4%
Urban Female	38%	45%	17%
Rural Male	14%	61%	25%
Rural Female	3%	28%	70%

Source: Uganda (1992).

This pattern of economic opportunity both reflects and reinforces educational ‘choices’ and opportunities - which in turn reinforce a broader set of gendered social norms and values about the appropriate place and roles for women in society. Reflect, because a lack of educational qualification will preclude some occupations and economic possibilities from women; reinforce, because this situation becomes self-perpetuating as limited post-school economic possibilities mean, for example, that it becomes less worthwhile investing in girls’ education (Kwesiga 1993; Kasente 1995).

Part of the underlying reason for both the educational and occupational profile of Uganda is that women’s status is strongly associated with that of wife, mother and principal family carer. There remains an enormous amount of pressure for women in particular, but also men, to be married. Perhaps the clearest indication of this is the fact that while marriage below the age of 15 is rare (although 2 percent of children in this category are married), for those aged over 15 marriage is virtually universal. In a small study (n 130) which asked parents to list the main factors affecting the school drop out rate for girls and boys, see *Table 3.15* (below), the most commonly cited reason (78 percent) for boys being withdrawn from school was economic causes - such as parents being unable to secure school fees. In contrast, for girls, while economic causes was still the most important influence (43 percent), marriage related reasons ran a close second (39 percent) (Kwesiga 1993, 184).

Table 3.15: Parental perceptions for causes of dropping out of school in Uganda, by sex of child (1993)

Causes	Male child	Female child
Economic	78%	43%
Marriage related	11%	39%
Academic performance	3%	5%
Other (e.g. limited access, parental etc)	8%	13%

Source: Kwesiga (1993).

Institutional Factors

Gender has been one of the major organising principals in the institutional arrangement of the education system in Uganda. While boys and girls were admitted to the first formal school which opened at Mengo (in the kingdom of Buganda) in 1898, in general single sex schools were favoured, with schools for boys being the priority. The legacy of this approach is that there are fewer girls-only schools, and fewer girls attend mixed schools (roughly a third of places at mixed schools go to girls) so that there are

physically fewer places for girls within the system. This is particularly so at schools which offer A-levels, which goes some way to accounting for the fact that just over a quarter (28 percent) of pupils in Senior 5 and 6 are girls (Kwesiga 1993, 276-277; Ssekamwa 1997a, 217-222).

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Further, single sex schools facilitated the development of a different curriculum for boys and girls. While boys were being prepared for work in the church, or in the offices of colonial government, the curriculum at girls school was much more focussed on domestic concerns. Given that many parents felt that an indigenous education might as well, if not better, prepare their daughters for the role of wife and mother, it was not surprising to discover that the demand for education for girls in the early days of missionary education was somewhat limited (Ssekamwa 1997a, 217). When opportunities for women school graduates began to include the profession of teaching and nursing - indeed, these were the only options for many years - demand for education for girls increased. The curriculum continued to emphasise domestic concerns, not least of all because many decision makers - especially missionary and colonial authorities - argued that the most important role of girls' education was to provide educated wives for the growing elite (Ssekamwa 1997a, 218).

While there were important curriculum changes in the 1960s to address this issue, the legacy remains in the form of gender clustering within particular subject groups: girls' subjects such as home management, foods and nutrition are still offered in single sex schools, although they have now been supplemented with shorthand, typewriting and office training. All of these subjects are regarded as relatively low status subjects, and terminate at O-levels - thus limiting the chances of girls continuing on to the highest levels of education. Those girls who do go on to A-levels tend to concentrate on arts, rather than science, based subjects thus also limiting the options that they can take up at university to generally less prestigious professions, and excluding the possibility of entering technical colleges (Kwesiga 1993, 278-279).

3.4 Economic Privilege and Deprivation

As is clear from the preceding discussion there are a range of reasons underpinning the inequitable distribution of educational access and attainment in Uganda. One of the most important - both in terms of explaining access to education, but more especially,

advancement within the education sector - is the private cost of education. Prior to the introduction of UPE the private cost of primary and secondary education in Uganda was high in relation to per capita income inside the country. This means that, particularly prior to the introduction of UPE, the poorest tend to be excluded from educational opportunity, particularly at more senior levels of the educational system. Concomitantly, more wealthy Ugandans capture a disproportionate share of educational opportunities. This is perhaps most graphically demonstrated by looking at the differences in enrolment ratios between the poorest 20 percent of the country, and the richest 20 percent: prior to the introduction of UPE. As is shown in *Table 3.16* (below) under half (46 percent) of appropriately aged children from the poorest quintile in Uganda were enrolled in primary school, while more than 80 percent of the wealthiest children attended school. The biggest contrast comes in access to secondary schools: while just over a quarter (27 percent) of adolescents from the richest quintile attend a secondary school, while only 2 percent of the very poor are able to do so. This level of schooling will not have been affected by UPE policy.

Table 3.16: Enrolment Rates (age appropriate groups and level of education) by richest and poorest quintiles in Uganda (1992)

	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Uganda	75	10	3
Poorest Quintile	46	2	1
Richest Quintile	81	27	5

Source: Compiled from 1992 Integrated Household Budget Survey, cited in *World Bank (1998a)*, 11-13.

3.4.1 The Price of Education in Uganda

A World Bank study, based on data given in the *Integrated Household Survey* (1992), estimates that the private contributions towards the cost of primary education in 1992 (i.e. prior to the introduction of UPE) were, on average, just under 19,000 /= (\$14) per child, per year. Government fees for attendance at Primary school were set at a nominal rate of 7,000/= (\$5), but during this period (that is, prior to 1997) all government-aided schools charged Parent Teacher Association (PTA) levies, primarily to top up the inadequate salaries paid to teachers by the government. Much of the outstanding 12,000/= (\$9) would have gone towards meeting these costs, but some of it would have been spent on meeting the costs of attending schools (for example, textbooks, school supplies, uniforms) as well paying additional one-off fees (for example, admission and examination fees) at various times during the year (World Bank 1998a).

The private cost of attending secondary school was, and continues to be, considerably higher than primary school. On average just under 115,000/= (\$90), of which around 45,000/= (\$35) would have been on fees. Many secondary schools in Uganda are boarding schools (which charge additionally for board and lodging). This factor coupled with greater school costs (text books and other materials, as well as uniforms) plus contributions to schools' governing boards (along similar lines to the primary school PTAs) accounts for the remaining 70,000/= (\$55). Private secondary schools can be considerably more expensive: in a study investigating the socio-economic background of Makerere students, it was estimated that in 1994 about 20 percent of first time entering students had been paying school fees (excluding other costs) of between \$400 - \$600 per year (World Bank 1998a).

Table 3.17: Private and social education expenditures in Uganda by level of school (1992)

	Primary Education		Secondary Education	
	Cost	% of total	Cost	% of total
Private Direct Contribution (of which Annual School Fees)	18,989/=	62%	114,726/=	75%
	(7,050/=)		(45,832/=)	
Social Direct Contribution: Government and donors	11,704/=	38%	37,330/=	25%
Total (private + social)	30,693/=		152,056/=	

Source: Based on Integrated Household Survey, Uganda 1992. Compiled by World Bank (1998a).

The World Bank study estimated that private contributions to primary and secondary schooling costs covered almost two-thirds (62 percent) of primary school, and three-quarters (75 percent) of secondary school, total costs. A small, more in-depth study of household costs and public expenditure on primary education in Uganda conducted in 1995 by UNICEF, estimated that private contributions to this sector exceeded 80 percent of the total cost (see Table 3.17, above). This higher figure is arrived at, in part, by including the contribution that communities make towards the building and maintenance of schools. While government-aided schools charged uniform fees, the PTA contributions varied considerably from school to school, region to region and between urban and rural areas. The UNICEF study estimated that in urban areas, the average annual pupil costs may be around 55,000/= (\$42), dropping to around 20,000/= (\$15) in rural areas (Mehrotra and Delamonica 1998, 51-52).

Perhaps the most powerful demonstration of the exclusionary effect the price of education has in poor countries is the dramatic increase in the number of participants in

the system when direct costs are lowered (Mehrotra and Delamonica 1998, 53). When the government began implementing its Universal Primary Education (UPE) programme in mid 1997 there was a massive increase in the primary school sector, from around 2.7 million students to 5.2 million. The bulk of this expansion took place in Primary One, which saw a two and half fold increase in the 1996 intake of a little over 800,000 students to 2.1 million in 1997 (Mehrotra and Delamonica 1998, 109).

UPE gave access to the very poorest in Uganda, who had previously been excluded by the high private cost of primary education. Inevitably, an expansion of this nature, in so short a space of time, and without massive increases in other resources (there was a *decrease* in the number of teachers in the system) has taken its toll on the system, particularly in relation to quality (Okee 1999). The unequal way in which this policy has impacted on rich and poor in Uganda is explored below.

3.4.2 Economic factors influencing educational quality

The Impact of Universal Primary Education Policies

The fact that secondary education is so much more expensive than primary education - the mean cost of secondary education is five times higher than that of the mean of primary education - goes some way to explaining why prior to UPE the participation rate of the richest quintile (27 percent) is comparatively so much higher than the poorest quintile (2 percent). This is only a part of the picture, however. Another side is the competition that ensues for the limited number of secondary school places that exist in Uganda. Physically, there is only one secondary school for every 15 primary schools in the country. Entrance to these schools, particularly those that are government-aided, is primarily achieved on the basis of merit, determined by success in the Primary Leaving Examination (PLE). While entrance to private schools is heavily influenced by capacity to pay, when demand exceeds supply, as it frequently does, access is determined by merit.

The results of the 1998 PLE, and the competition for the 1999 entry to Senior One, is illustrative of this problem. In this year, just over 250,000 candidates wrote the PLE examination. Approximately one in five failed (21 percent), while just under one in ten passed in the highest division. The Ministry of Education - responsible for allocating

the government-aided places - announced that 138,000 pupils were projected to be absorbed into government-aided and private secondary schools, leaving just under 60,000 students who had passed the PLE with no place to go. Only those students who had passed in grade one were certain of finding a place in a top senior school, while those in grade two had no guarantee of the quality of their school, and not all students in grade three could be sure of even securing a place in any school (Nganda 1999).

In analysing the results, it was apparent that private schools (that is, fee charging institutions) had far-out performed government-aided institutions: of the top 50 schools, 30 were private. Bearing in mind that approximately 90 percent of primary students attend a government-aided school, this suggests a major disparity in quality (Eremu 1999). The high performance of private schools was a change from years previously, and commentators were quick to point to the change in the financing of the primary sector as the cause for the demise in quality education offered at government-aided schools:

Schools which were once shining and had permanent positions among the best 30 slots are hardly sighted on the lists, while hitherto unknown private schools are taking the day. ... Records show that all the government schools in Kampala which used to be among the best in the country have deteriorated since the introduction of UPE. ... 'You do not expect me to supervise a class of 100 pupils perfectly when I am poorly facilitated and motivated' a teacher said. ... [A headteacher] added that following the poor performance of government schools, parents are withdrawing their children, relocating them to private schools which seem to hold the future of this country (Okee 1999).

However, as dramatic a change as this looked one important factor remained constant: the children of the rich, outperformed the children of the poor, and hence captured a disproportionate share of the limited secondary school places. All that had changed was that the rich had moved from government-aided to private schools, primarily in response to UPE policies.

In order to ensure genuine access to primary schools for the very poor, as well as abolishing fees, the government also outlawed government-aided schools from raising additional resources through PTA levies. In many schools the levies far exceeded the fees charged, ranging from 5,000/= to 55,000/= a term in 1995 (Mehrotra and Delamonica 1998, 52). As the main purpose of PTA levies had been to supplement teachers' salaries, to mitigate the effect of this loss, in 1996/97 the government almost

doubled teachers' salaries to 72,000/= (\$55) (World Bank 1998a; Okee 1999)¹¹. But in order to achieve this end and in keeping with the government's general approach to the public service, teaching places had been cut back. Hence, precisely at the point that student numbers had leapt exponentially, the numbers of teachers in the system was cut back. The effect, not unexpectedly, was a dramatic decline in the quality of education on offer in the government-aided schools, as class sizes increased from an average ratio of 38:1 prior to UPE, to 52:1. In some popular urban schools, however, ratios of 200:1 were not uncommon: (World Bank 1998a; Okee 1999)

Besides the hundreds of 'mango-tree schools', where children are taught by the proverbial teachers with dusty buttocks peeping through torn trousers, classroom sizes in places just went out of control. In some schools, classes are so big they are taught by two teachers at a go, with one standing in the middle and teaching the lot behind. The rich, not-so-rich, and many dogged ordinary folk have deserted state schools in a mass exodus and put their children in expensive privately run ones (Onyango-Obbo 1999).

What makes private schools expensive is precisely what is needed to ensure that pupils from these schools perform well in the PLE: well 'facilitated and motivated' teachers, who earn up to ten times what their counterparts in government schools earn; small class sizes, with ratios not generally exceeding 45:1; and well equipped classrooms and libraries (Okee 1999). However, as Onyango-Obbo reminds us, this is what existed in a small number of government-aided schools, when education was an elite experience, accessed primarily by the children of the rich, and supported by the taxes of ordinary Ugandans who had little chance of sending their children to such schools:

UPE pupils ... are elevated from lower to upper classes whether they fail exams or not. Many children from poor families, therefore, register in the school, take off half the time to help their parents tend gardens and scare away birds, then return to school when the harvest is done, assured they will go on to the next class. At this rate, the best UPE may do in the long run is turn out more enlightened peasants and fishermen, not rocket scientists. That is an important achievement in itself. On the other hand, the children of the rich no longer get subsidies in elite government primary schools, which they had hijacked. The rich must now pay serious money to private schools for their kids to get an education. No other government policy in Uganda has ever had this effect - of giving to the poor free of charge, and taxing the rich heavily (Onyango-Obbo 1999).

¹¹ In the early 1990s, the government paid teachers a monthly salary of between \$1.50 - 2.00, which had the purchasing power of a kilo of sugar Munene, J. C. 1995. Organisational pathology and accountability in health and education in rural Uganda. In *Uganda. Landmarks in rebuilding a nation*, eds. P. Langseth et al, 133-154. Kampala: Fountain Publishers..

This is not to suggest that it is only the rich who fare well within the Ugandan education system: on the contrary, there are frequent stories in the press about exceptional individuals who have negotiated their way through the system and who do make it. The point rather, is that, structurally, the system is designed to depend on substantial private contributions. In other words, a system that is ostensibly built around merit, in fact provides real opportunity only to those with substantial private resources. This is mitigated by a number of safety nets within the system, such as individual philanthropy and institutional scholarships. The limitations of this approach, and its consequences, are a source of lively and repeated debate within the media:

In 1996, Brian Baingana was one of the best pupils in the Primary Leaving Examination. He was going to waste away because he had no relative who could afford to pay for him fees in any secondary school. ... Uganda Travel Bureau (UTB) managing director ... offered to pay Brian's fees through 'O' level. ... There are hundreds upon hundreds of Brians out there, but only a handful of companies who can be as generous as UTB. It is therefore not surprising that Brenda Najjalwambi, the 4th best student in the just released 1998 PLE results, is unlikely to go to secondary school unless she gets sponsorship. ... In the USA, children who show a significantly higher than average intelligence, even if they are technically not geniuses, are taken care of very early. ... That is why Americans landed on the moon until they got bored, and that is how they successfully landed a probe on planet Mars. There are no shortcuts to the planets. If we don't take care of smart kids like Baingana and Najjalwambi, the clouds, not the sky will always be our limit (Onyango-Obbo 1999).

Quality in the Broader Education System

The general quality of education offered at schools in Uganda is poor and of concern to the government. Building on a base line study undertaken a year previously, in 1997, the Ugandan National Examinations' Board (UNEBC) investigated students' and teachers' proficiency in mathematics and English. Almost 7,000 students (and their teachers) participated in this nationally representative study, which involved rural and urban schools from all four regions. Below is a summary of some of the results:

1. In the English proficiency test, 65 percent of urban students in P3 failed the section related to language structure. More than four out of every ten students (41 percent) scored zero in the composition question;
2. In rural areas, almost three quarters of the P3 students (72 percent) did not pass the language structure test, and almost six out of every ten students (59 percent) scored zero in composition.
3. In the Mathematics test, 30 percent of urban students failed. In the rural areas, almost twice as many students failed (58 percent).
4. Amongst the older students (in P6), in the English proficiency test, fewer than a quarter (23 percent) passed the language structure test; less than a third (29 percent) passed the vocabulary section, while 38% passed comprehension.

Students from the Northern region did particularly poorly averaging below 20 percent in all of these three sections.

5. While teachers generally did well in the English section of the test, in Mathematics 40 percent of teachers failed. Hence, it was not surprising to find that many of the P6 students had almost no understanding of geometry, and while two-thirds understood basic mathematics, almost two-thirds of students taking the test failed the more conceptual part of the paper (Uganda National Examinations Board 1997) cited in (World Bank 1998a, 14-15).

The factors which give rise to the poor quality described above, have their roots much further back than the introduction UPE, primarily in the series of civil wars which devastated Uganda and destabilised the economy from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. Dilapidated infrastructure, inadequate sanitation, lack of electricity, absence of teaching materials (such as text books and black boards), increasingly became the hall marks of the education system over this period. But perhaps the most devastating legacy of this period is what happened to educational personnel during this time.

The Systemic Corruption of the System

One of the consequences of the breakdown of the state in Uganda during the period of deep crisis in the country was the loss of reciprocal accountability between the state and its civil servants, including teachers. As the government became less and less capable of meeting the most basic needs of its employees (that is, paying a living wage and providing a secure and professional work environment), so the majority of employees resorted to 'privatising public time and public resources' as a means of coping with the situation they found themselves in (Munene 1995, 139). In a study of health and educational professionals (n 566), which included 206 teachers from schools and colleges in rural areas in Uganda, in the early 1990s, it was found that all were involved in a range of income generating activities, ranging from black market trading (*magendo*) of goods procured from their place of work (for example, drugs and other medicines) to petty trading. As one head teacher commented:

to try and improve their status teachers have opened market stalls and retail shops, those with marketable teaching subjects such as accounts take part-time jobs in the private sector, other teach in more than one school, an activity referred to as 'cassava packing'. Whatever they are doing - teachers report to class ten minutes late and leave 10 - 15 minutes early (Munene 1995, 140).

Many of the more overtly corrupt practices which became widespread in the education sector from the late 1980s onwards were linked to the competition for pupils amongst

the increasing numbers of private schools that were being established during this period. The need for schools to score well in national examinations resulted in the practice of purchasing PLE papers becoming so institutionalised that many urban schools established funds for this purpose. In rural schools, with fewer resources, teachers would help their students during the examinations. While the Uganda National Examinations Board has to a large extent stopped 'examination leakages' (Hyuha 1999), other practices continue. For instance, coaching has become so widespread that in some schools it is virtually compulsory: students who are not paying extra to class teachers do not get homework assignments, do not have their work marked, and receive little or no attention from the teacher, even during the school day. In other schools, little work is done during the term, as teachers are absent for long periods, involving themselves in income generation schemes of one sort or another. The real teaching (or rather, examination preparation) takes place during school vacations, in crash learning courses, which pupils have to pay additional fees to attend (Munene 1995, 146-148). It is likely that these issues will have been exacerbated by the introduction of UPE policies, and indeed there have been increasing reports in the press about 'backdoor' charges in government-aided schools (Okee 1999).

3.5 Educational Finance in Uganda

One of the reasons for the low efficiency of the education system in Uganda - both in terms of the high drop out rate, but also in terms of the quality issues raised above - is the low level of investment in the sector. While the private cost of education in Uganda is beyond the reach of many in the country, in comparison with other low-income countries, it is actually quite low. In the comparative study undertaken by UNICEF (referred to previously) Uganda's private primary education costs were found to be in the 'medium' range of comparative costs (Mehrotra and Delamonica 1998).

Table 3.18: Public and private recurrent unit cost per primary student in Uganda as a per cent of per capita income, and teachers' salary (1995).

	Per pupil recurrent cost (% of per capita income)		Teacher salary / per capita GDP
	Private	Public	
Burkina Faso	20.1	28.6	8.2
Bhutan	20.3	54.2	4.7
Myanmar	8.7	6.1	1.8
Uganda	15.4	3.2	0.9
Vietnam	7.9	7.4	1.0

Source: Mehrotra and Delamonica (1998), 42.

Further, and this point is central to any long term solutions, the public contributions to the sector were also found to be low: at 3.2 percent of per capita income, a far lower investment than in either Burkina Faso (28.6 percent) and Bhutan (54.2 percent) - both of which have a higher GNP per capita than Uganda. Finally, teachers' salaries in Uganda are extremely low in comparison with other developing countries. As this tends to be the major cost borne by governments in developing countries, the fact that these costs are so low, goes some way to explaining why Uganda's public investment in this sector is lower than many other countries (World Bank 1998a, 42-43). However, as previously demonstrated, the consequences of such a strategy can be devastating on the moral and professionalism of teaching staff, and can lead to endemic corruption and the lowering of educational standards (Munene 1995).

3.5.1 Government Strategies Towards the Education Sector

Government budget policy in Uganda 'has two main objectives: to promote rapid economic growth and ensure that all Ugandans benefit' (Uganda 1998a, iv). As discussed previously, to a large extent, the first objective has been achieved. The introduction of a series of structural adjustment measures from 1987, has seen the stabilisation of the economy. During this period, particularly since 1992, when the programmes were implemented with more commitment on the part of the government, inflation has been brought under control, and there has been sustained economic growth, albeit more unevenly from the mid-1990s (Brett 1995, 10-26).

The second objective, namely the commitment to ensuring that all Ugandans benefit from this growth, has proved more difficult. The difficulty of meeting equity goals has been exacerbated by the focus of early structural adjustment programmes, on the stabilisation of economies, in part through cutting back social spending, and in the process 'exact[ing] intolerable burdens on vulnerable social groups'. Increasingly, particularly since the mid 1990s, and in keeping with important shifts in the Bank's policies around adjustment programmes more generally, the budget is being oriented towards addressing the needs of the poor (Lateef 1991; Mugenyi 1991; Brett 1996).

As discussed in the introductory section, the policy framework that is directing this process is the Poverty Eradication Action Plan (PEAP). The core strategy of PEAP is to direct government spending to those areas which will have the greatest impact on the

poor. In relation to education, the strategy is twofold. The government's 'Education Strategic Investment Plan' (ERIP), released in 1997, committed the government to increase the overall level of public spending in the education sector, to at least 25 percent of the overall budget. This was in keeping with the overall trend of public spending in education, and in fact was reached the following year in 1998. The net effect is far more resources to the education sector, as not only is the sector's proportion growing, but the overall budget has been increasing year by year (see *Table 3.19*, below).

The second key aspect of the ERIP framework, again in keeping with broad government policy, is to direct public resources to the primary level of education. The proportion of the budget to this specific level of education has almost doubled from 6.4 percent to 12.7 percent in four years - evidence of the substantial financial commitment made by the government to UPE (Uganda 1998a, 60)¹². The increased level of government support to the primary sector has come at the expense of the higher levels of the sector. In introducing UPE, the government made it clear that it expected parents and students at post-primary levels of education (but most especially at a tertiary level) to contribute more towards their costs - to make up for the decreasing level of support from government (Uganda 1998a, 2).

Table 3.19: Budgetary allocation to key sectors in Uganda, by percentage of the whole (1994/95-1997/98)

Sector	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98
Roads and Works	4.5	4.4	6.8	6.0
Agriculture	2.5	1.4	1.4	1.4
Education (of which, on Primary Education)	20.0 (6.4)	19.0 (7.1)	22.0 (10.2)	25.0 (12.7)
Health	6.6	6.4	6.3	6.3
Security	20.1	18.8	18.4	14.4
Law and Order	8.9	9.7	8.7	8.3
Public Administration	21.0	25.5	22.9	24.3
Interest Payments	8.2	8.7	7.0	9.4
Other	8.3	6.0	6.4	4.8
Total (billions of shillings) (of which, on Primary Education)	578.7 (36.9)	620.5 (44.3)	791.3 (81.1)	813.9 (103.5)

Source: Uganda (1998a), 60

While there are effectively no tuition fees to be paid at government-aided primary schools, there remains an expectation that contributions, in kind, will continue to be made at this level. As referred to previously, under the UPE programme, the

¹² This proportion of the budget being dedicated to education has been maintained: it was forecast that in 2002/3, 24.8 percent of the government budget was to be spent on education.

government provides resources for teachers' and heads' salaries. Parents and communities assist in the building of new schools, with government providing only materials (such as iron sheets, cement, timber and so on) and relying on local, voluntary labour for the actual construction (United Nations Development Programme 1998, 58). This framework for funding education - namely an expectation that it is a partnership between the public and the private sector across all levels, but accompanied with a shift in government resources from higher to lower levels, and concomitantly a demand for greater direct private contributions at those higher levels - is in keeping with the Bank's broad approach to social sector funding (World Bank 1999, Chapters Five and Six).

Conclusion

Uganda is a poor country, with most people living a rural life, dependent on subsistence agriculture, supplemented by cash crops. For nearly two decades, from the early 1970s to almost the 1990s, the country was ravaged by a series of brutal regimes and civil wars, which killed hundreds of thousands of Ugandans, displaced nearly a million into neighbouring countries and destroyed the economy. In this context it is extraordinary to recall that the education system - particularly since Independence - has continued to function and grow: teachers may have been paid in a haphazard fashion by the government, classrooms may have been burned down in the civil wars, schools may have been looted and any moveable asset sold, but every year, without exception, students have registered and been taught, examinations have been written and marked (Furley 1988, 183). This factor, perhaps more than any other, demonstrates the value that is attached to the attainment of education within the country. It is a value driven by the overwhelming poverty of the country. Few have more than a little hope of escaping from the circumstances in which they find themselves - the drudgery of rural subsistence farming or the degradation of urban slums - but education offers at least the possibility of a different future. Families will invest in their children's education as far as they can afford. With limited resources, most families will choose to invest in boys' rather than girls' education, in order to maximise the family return. It is easier to make an educational investment in the Western, Eastern and Central regions and in any urban area, as schools are more accessible. While the cost of education in the Central region and urban areas is higher, the returns are also greater in terms of access to quality education and the possibility of employment afterwards.

Despite the high value attached to the attainment of education, the country has a very low level of educational attainment. Historically, most people have not had access to the formal education system, and of those who do gain access, few complete the primary cycle, and only a tiny minority advance to the highest levels. While there are a variety of reasons for this (such as the historical development of the sector, and the limited number of spaces within the system), much of it has to do with the private cost of education. There can be no clearer indication of this than the fact that when the current government lifted educational fees, and banished PTA charges at primary school, the number of children who registered doubled. This is an impressive achievement. However, there have been associated costs of efficiency (there continues to be a very high drop out rate) and there remain real concerns about the quality of education that can be provided within the current levels of private and public resources. The government response to this situation has been both to increase its own contribution to the education sector, particularly at the primary level, while also looking for greater private contributions, particularly at higher levels of the system. The impact and implications of this process on Makerere is explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

STRETCHING THE DONS' IMAGINATION: THE PROCESS OF CHANGE AT MAKERERE

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an account of the manner in which Makerere University was able to transform itself during the 1990s from an institution on the verge of collapse, with demoralised staff and a numerically stagnant student population, into a vibrant and dynamic campus, able to attract and retain high calibre staff, and with rapidly rising student numbers. Attention will be paid to the broader context in which this was achieved, specifically the context of declining government resources to Makerere, as a result of the poor economic situation in Uganda, and exacerbated by primary education being increasingly prioritised in public education spending from the late 1990s onwards.

Using a series of interviews with senior University and government officials, as well as official University documents and World Bank reports, the major changes that took place at the University are described, and some of the causes that have given rise to them are examined. It is argued that Burton Clark's (1998) 'demand-response imbalance' is a useful means through which to understand the factors which initiated the institutional changes at Makerere, while drawing on Ronald Dore's (1997) 'diploma disease' thesis to explain the relentless pressure for expansion of the higher levels of education in the country.

4.1 Pressure for Change

The preceding chapters have demonstrated that there were a number of factors which laid the foundation for spiralling demand for access to higher education in Uganda during the late 1980s. Of most importance was the expanding secondary school system generating increasing numbers of students who were qualified for entrance to the University, in a context of increased (albeit limited) opportunities for advancement for university graduates compared with school leavers. However, despite the enormous need for high level skills within Uganda, the University's capacity to respond to this demand was severely limited. This was primarily because the University was heavily

dependent on the state for its funding, and the state in Uganda in the mid-1980s, and for some time previously, was effectively bankrupt. The following section examines the way in which the Ugandan government and the University dealt with the challenge of demand for access to Makerere far exceeding capacity to respond, beginning by placing this challenge in a broader framework.

4.1.1 Demand/Response Imbalance

Burton Clark (1998) argues that over the last quarter century universities have increasingly been propelled towards change and adaptation, making institutional innovation more common and widespread than ever before. At the heart of his thesis is the notion of a 'demand/response imbalance'. That is, that there is a 'deepening asymmetry between environmental demand and institutional capacity to respond'. Clark's framework was developed through an examination of selected European universities. While not stated explicitly, it is clear from the discussion that the argument he develops is meant to apply to universities in developed economies, with well established and diversified systems of higher education, underpinned by a dynamic, well-resourced and competitive research community. He suggests that relentless demand in this context is primarily driven by the number and range of people seeking diverse kinds of courses at institutions of higher learning. This is largely fuelled by the demands of knowledge driven economies for increasingly specialised and highly trained labour. On the response side of the equation, Clark argues that there tends to be a limited capacity on the part of institutions to respond to these demands, both because of resource constraints, but also because of institutional management capacity (Clark 1998, 129-131).

This context is quite different from the one in which universities, such as Makerere, in developing countries, such as Uganda, operate within. Despite this fundamental difference, it will be demonstrated below that the notion of a demand/response imbalance is a useful way in which to understand the reasons underpinning the pressure for change at Makerere.

4.1.2 Demand for Access to Higher Education

In *The Diploma Disease*, Dore (1997) argues that what underpins the demand for higher levels of education in late developing countries is the linking of highly desirable jobs in the modern sector to the attainment of educational qualifications. Governments tend to find this pressure practically irresistible, partly because of a sincere belief in the intrinsic value of education in the development process, but also because of the value of education in garnering popular support for politicians and parties. Central to his argument is the notion that the greater the gap between what can be earned through self-employment (including subsistence agriculture) and what can be earned salaried employment, and the stronger the connection between access to salaried employment and scholastic achievement, the greater the public demand for schools and universities¹ (Dore 1997).

While Uganda bears little resemblance to the countries that were included in Clark's study, it does fit very well the profile of countries discussed in *The Diploma Disease*. In the late sixties, access to and advancement within the public service in Uganda was rigidly governed by academic qualification. A Ugandan graduate entering the civil service could expect his - very seldom her - income to be *fifty times* the average income per head in Uganda. (Dore 1997, xi). As discussed in the previous chapter, while the specifics have changed, there persists in Uganda a strong correlation between the level of education achieved and employment status, and hence earning capacity. In 1991, while only five percent of people who had no education, and who were reported as economically active, were in salaried employment, almost three-quarters (74 percent) of the people who held an O level certificate or above were in a similar position. In direct contrast, only a tiny minority (three percent) of people with secondary level qualifications and above were unpaid family workers, largely involved in subsistence

¹ Dore demonstrates that where there is a strong link between jobs and qualifications there is inevitably 'qualification inflation', that is a 'steady fall in the job-getting value of any particular qualification', as the education sector expands more quickly than the economy. Dore argues that this process of 'qualification escalation' intensifies the examination-orientation of schooling which ultimately has a 'backwash' effect on the entire education system. That is, the entire education system becomes oriented towards ensuring that students pass examinations so that they can move up the education pyramid to compete on the job market. Dore's thesis primarily concerned the 'backwash' effect that the process of linking jobs and qualifications had on the education system as a whole. The point I wish to stress here, however, is his underpinning argument about why there is spiralling demand for higher levels of education in late developing countries. See Dore, R. 1997. *The Diploma Disease. Education, Qualification and Development*. London: Institute of Education University of London..

agriculture, while this formed the majority (53 percent) occupation for those who had received no formal education (Uganda 1992).

It is more difficult to be definitive about the link between employment status and income in Uganda in the late 1980s and early 1990s. As discussed in *Chapter Two*, by the late 1970s the formal economy in Uganda had effectively collapsed. While people living in rural areas could fall back on subsistence agriculture or coffee smuggling to survive, a great many people in urban or more developed areas were forced either out of the country or back to the land. For those that remained, particularly by the mid-to-late 1980s, the informal economy - in particular, the black market - came to dominate. However, Obbo (1991) argues that government jobs, despite their 'starvation wages', was still one of best and most sought after jobs in Uganda in the late 1980s. In part this was because it gave the holder the opportunity to access the advantages offered by the black market economy. In addition, the jobs in of themselves had 'prestige' because they indicated 'a person's high educational status' (Obbo 1991, 99-100). In other words, the evidence seems to suggest that even at a time when the formal economy had effectively collapsed, the connection between educational achievement and economic opportunity was maintained. This factor contributes towards explaining why the education system was able to continue functioning throughout the years of virtual anarchy under Amin and Obote II. It certainly gives an insight into why there was pressure for expansion of access to higher levels of education.

Further, Museveni's rise to power in 1986 brought with it the first period of sustained stability that Kampala and most of the country had seen for around a decade and half. The relative peace brought with it a rapid expansion in the secondary schooling system. Between 1987/88 and 1990/91 the number of candidates writing A level examinations in Uganda rose from 11,674 to 15,032, an increase of almost a third (29 percent) in a four year period. As discussed in *Chapter One*, Makerere's minimum entry requirement was two principal passes at A-level. Approximately one in every three candidates who wrote A-levels managed to achieve this requirement. Hence, between 1987/88 and 1990/91, the number of students who qualified for entry to Makerere rose from around 3,500 to just over 5,700.

In a country desperately short of qualified and skilled personnel to rebuild its shattered economy and institutions, the tiny proportion of students who had entered school who had managed to complete the school cycle and write A-level examinations (less than 5 percent) was of grave concern. That fewer than *half* (47 percent) of those who qualified for entrance, were admitted, must have been seen as a tragic waste of valuable individual and national resources. That proportion declined over a four year period to just over a *third* (39 percent) as the number of students who qualified rose, but the number that the government could afford to sponsor remained static, making it effectively impossible for the government not to increase student numbers to Makerere. (*This will be discussed below*).

One of the other factors driving this expansion was the vocal demand for admittance from parents of school leaving students who had qualified but did not do well enough to gain the points needed for entry to Makerere (Mushega 1999). No doubt some of this demand was fuelled by the fact that entrance to Makerere brought with it, not only free tuition, board and lodging, but also a number of small cash subsidies for books, 'boom', and transport. In the extremely bleak economic times of the late 1980s, the desire for privileges of this nature would have been immense, further fuelling the demand for greater access (Ekudu-Adoku 1999).

In sum, the conditions in Uganda during the late 1980s: an expanding secondary school system; the tiny gross enrolment ratio for higher education; the enormous need for skills to rebuild the country; the economic privileges while on campus; and the opportunities - or more accurately, the potential - for advancement that graduation brought with it, were such that demand for expansion of the University was inevitable. But what of the University's capacity to respond to this spiralling demand?

4.1.3 Capacity to Respond to Increasing Demand

Makerere's capacity to respond to growing demands for access was largely dependent on the resources that its primary funder, the Ugandan Government, was able to provide. In 1989, Makerere received 82 percent of its annual recurrent budget from the state. By 1991, this had risen to 90 percent. Other main sources of financial support included international donors (ten percent in 1989, dropping to seven percent in 1991), and tuition fees from the small number of postgraduate and foreign students on the campus

(five percent in 1989, dropping to two percent in 1991). Between 1987/88 and 1990/91 the government's contribution rose from 593,063,742/= to 3,570,694,000/=. However during this period inflation was very high so that in terms of 1987/88 shillings, the contribution made by government in 1990/91 was only 511,044,285/=. In other words, over this period there was a *decline* in government support in real terms. The following section examines the reasons underpinning the government's declining contribution to Makerere, and the impact this had at the institution (Hyuha 1998).

National Economic Context

The primary reason for the government's inability to adequately fund the University was the bleak national economy, compounded by the IMF's structural adjustment programme which restricted government spending. As raised previously, when the National Resistance Movement (NRM), led by Museveni, came to power in 1986 it inherited an effectively bankrupt state and an economy in shambles. Further, the NRM was heavily influenced by Marxist thinking and, while continuing to pay the debts incurred by the previous regime, was fiercely opposed to doing any further business with the IMF and the World Bank (Mugenyi 1991, 69). Initially, Museveni's government attempted to go it alone in terms of developing economic policy. In complete disregard of previous attempts to stabilise the economy, the government reversed the process of liberalising the shilling, by freezing its value in foreign currency, and then attempting to raise it. The result was rising inflation (170 percent) and a massive gap between the official exchange rate of 14 shillings to the US dollar, and the black market rate of a 100 shillings to the dollar (Harvey and Robinson 1995, 3). Alternative arrangements such as barter deals with Cuba and Yugoslavia (agricultural goods in exchange for assistance with road building and repairs) proved of little real value in the face of the imploding economy, and not sustainable after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Hansen and Twaddle 1991, 7). The declining economic situation and the realisation that the economy was not going to recover without donor aid, which was being withheld pending changed policies that would be more in keeping with the IMF and the Bank's general structural adjustment programmes, finally forced Museveni's government into reluctant negotiations with the IMF and the Bank within ten months of coming to power.

In May 1987, the government announced a comprehensive IMF package, consisting of many of the standard components of structural adjustment programmes - most centrally a massive devaluation of the shilling and increased interest rates. Just over \$150 million was released in various stages to Uganda from the IMF, the Bank, and other bi-lateral donors, notably the European Economic Community (EEC) and the United Kingdom government. Despite these measures the economy did not improve. Inflation rose to a massive 240 percent, the black market in foreign exchange persisted, and the balance of payments worsened, in part because of an unanticipated fall in the international coffee price. There were many inter-related reasons for the programme's lack of success. The IMF was certainly guilty of being insensitive to the lack of capacity in the economy and the state. Uganda after almost two decades of anarchy and civil unrest simply did not have in place the administrative, managerial and technical capacity to deal with a massive infusion of resources, and resultant responsibilities, into the state. However, the government's open hostility to the measures imposed exacerbated this situation. In addition, a number of pre-requisites of the adjustment programme were ignored, as the government responded to its own priorities, not least of which was the escalating war in the northern part of the country. In response, the IMF refused to release further funds until a second agreement had been negotiated for the 1988/89 budget. This agreement brought with it further devaluation, extremely tight monetary measures including income-driven budget controls. After an initial period of instability, prices began to fall within a few months. Most importantly, inflation began to drop (180 percent in 1988 and down to 90 percent the following year) and the gap between the black market and official rate of exchange narrowed down to a ratio in the region of 2:1. The success of the programme saw the international community (including the IMF and the Bank) pledge, in various forms, \$550 million to the country. However, the cost of the government sticking to the agreed terms was that there was a sharp reduction in government spending on development projects and other social services (Mugenyi 1991; Harvey and Robinson 1995).

Throughout this period there was an on-going debate within the government about IMF policies, as the advantages of a stable economy were weighed up against the imposed limits on development and social sector spending, and the various mechanisms of achieving stability were evaluated. Arguments in favour of the IMF-style reform were led by the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MPED), who were keen

to see the foreign exchange market liberalised as the key component of any stabilisation programme. By 1989 this argument effectively had been won by the MPED, particularly as Museveni had been persuaded, and Uganda became a 'leader not a follower in IMF debates about liberalisation' (Harvey and Robinson 1995, 5). Uganda was well rewarded by this shift, during this period \$550 million was pledged to the country by the international community. The next battle was over the management of the government budget as continued overspending by the government was jeopardising further donor funding and support. The Ministry of Finance was proving to be an obstacle in curtailing spending, despite the assertion from the MPED that this was what was continuing to fuel inflation, which was hovering at around 30 percent during this period (1990-1991). When the President accepted the argument that the budget deficit was the main cause of inflation, it led to the merger of the two Ministries, with the personnel from the MPED clearly in charge and given a free hand in curbing the deficit. The shift to income-driven (rather than demand-driven) budgeting for the government saw a significant drop in the government deficit from the previous year. Inflation similarly dropped, so that by 1993, it stood at six percent (Harvey and Robinson 1995, 4-6).

The University's Capacity to Respond to Increasing Demand and Access

As discussed in *Chapter Two*, shortly after coming to power Museveni (as Chancellor of Makerere) established a Visitation Committee to make recommendations about what should happen at the University (Manyindo 1987). The central concern of the Committee was how to rehabilitate and expand the University in the context of the very severe national economic crisis. It is clear from the Committee's recommendations that the initial response from Museveni's government to the demand/response imbalance was to simply increase student numbers, without increasing the resources available to the institution. As touched on in the introductory chapter, over the period 1987-1990 student numbers increased from just over 1,600 to just over 2,200. However, despite the increase, the percentage of qualified students admitted to the University actually fell during this period from 47 percent to 38 percent as the secondary school system continued to expand (see *Table 4.1* below):

Table 4.1: Students writing A-level examinations, qualifying for, and being admitted to Makerere (1987/88 – 1990/91)

Year	Wrote A Level	Qualified for Makerere		Admitted to Makerere		
		Number	% of A levels	Number	% Qualified	% A levels
1987/88	11,674	3,586	31%	1,673	47%	14%
1988/89	13,279	4,050	30%	1,706	42%	13%
1989/90	13,306	4,403	33%	1,720	39%	13%
1990/91	15,032	5,749	38%	2,205	38%	14%

Source: Figures provided by the Academic Registrar's Office, 1998

Between 1987/88 and 1990/91 the University's requested budget more than doubled in real terms - not least of all because of the increasing numbers of students being admitted at the government's behest. However, during this same period the government's contribution to Makerere declined in real terms, leaving a greater and greater gap between what the University needed and what it was given, as the table below shows:

Table 4.2: Makerere's proposed and actual budget received from the government in millions of shillings, adjusted for inflation (1987/88-1990/91)

Year	Inflation rate	Proposed budget	Proposed in 1987 shillings	Actual budget	Actual in 1987 shillings	Percent Approved
1987/8	238	953,376,840	953,376,840	593,063,742	593,063,742	62%
1988/8	183	2,719,454,955	1,142,628,132	1,512,702,126	635,589,128	55%
1989/0	90	6,920,898,437	1,643,918,868	2,426,369,000	576,334,679	35%
1990/1	33	10,656,533,898	2,085,427,377	2,611,436,300	511,044,285	25%

Source: Calculated from Makerere University council's submission to the 1991 Visitation Committee Uganda (1991), 2. Inflation rates taken from Harvey and Robinson (1995).

4.2 The University's Response to the Funding Crisis

Operating on a steadily declining budget from its primary funder (the government) meant that the University was forced to make do on much less than it needed. Moreover, this was not a new situation, rather a continuation of the past in which Makerere had seen the resources made available to it under Amin and Obote II also decline as the economy spiralled out of control. After more than a decade and a half of inadequate funding the University had reached breaking point. On the 4th of November 1988 the Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA) sent a communication to Museveni as President and Chancellor of the University. Entitled *Makerere is sick but not (yet) dead* it made an impassioned plea for more resources to be

given to the University, and in particular for the (academic) staff to be paid properly. The memorandum details the way in which the *magendo* (informal) economy was operating at Makerere, and the impact this was having on the education system as whole, in terms of quality but also of equity:

Makerere's once enviable reputation has for a long time been on the decline. ... [M]orale among the teaching staff [is] dangerously low. Makerere has lost and continues to lose a lot of staff and [is] no longer "the best in East Africa". ... The few staff left are increasingly working shorter hours i.e. "stealing time". Due to poor or inadequate teaching, examination irregularities are rampant. Cases have been recorded in the recent past of staff succumbing to bribes, in one form or another. ... Coaching is one of the big distractions to University staff. ... If a professor is going to prepare lectures / tutorials / practicals for ... students and earn 6,000/= a month (if at all it comes on time) he is likely to be tempted to prepare ... lessons for s.6 pupils and earn himself 30,000 a week.

... In the long run under trained graduates have started affecting the whole nation with grave consequences. Take the education system: Makerere is passing out under grade "teachers" who go back to the school system "to murder infants". These children are "taught" by "teachers" who are half-baked and cannot guide them to pass examinations unless they get "extra" aid. This "extra" aid is partly in the form of "coaching" (the other being buying extra examination papers or bribing for marks at UNEB) done by people who are more competent than school masters. And these people happen to be University professors and lecturers. Every weekend, every holiday, Makerere is swarmed by hordes of teenagers coming for coaching in offices, garages, boys' quarters, living rooms etc.

... Only children of wealthy parents / relatives can afford this extra aid and so, Makerere is admitting only the children of the well-to-do. Gone are the days when a son/daughter of a peasant could make it to University (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 2 – 3).

At the time that the memorandum was written University professors were earning 7,500/= a month and lecturers, 6,200/=. This was the equivalent of \$16 and \$13 respectively, at the unofficial, but more widely used, exchange rate. According to MUASA the monthly salary of a lecturer was barely enough to purchase 'five average-sized bunches of *matooke* (bananas)'. Their call to Museveni was to provide staff at the University with an 'adequate remuneration', on which they could live with dignity and not have to resort to 'coaching' to survive. At the same time the Association insisted that the salary should be supplemented by a range of benefits, which most universities would regard as fairly standard, such as housing, medical, travel, books, and a well resourced retirement scheme (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 3-4).

The Government Responds

Museveni chose to address the issues raised in the memorandum at the 25th Graduation ceremony of the University, over which he presided on the 20th of January 1989. In his speech he sought to contextualise the difficulties faced by Makerere within the broader economic and social challenges being faced by the country, by stressing that Uganda was a poor agricultural country which had as its first priority the strengthening of the agricultural sector (through the purchase of machinery and the development of transport infrastructure) and the development of the small manufacturing industry (with a focus on import substitution). However he emphasised the fact that the government was fully aware of the 'crisis in the education sector', and the importance of the University in addressing the 'backwardness' of the country. He argued that the government would do what it could within its limited means, and called upon the University to 'look at the present salary packages for its members of staff and make recommendations towards a living wage'. The extent to which the economy as a whole had been reduced to dependence on agricultural subsistence is perhaps best illustrated by the fact that ultimately the government had little to offer the institution in terms of concrete resources other than more efficient means of accessing food crops, primarily from the rural areas:

I am glad to announce that, with immediate effect, Government has agreed to allocate four lorries to the University to enable it to secure ration for sale to members of staff and the halls of residence at more reasonable prices. The University will be allocated land and other facilities to enable it to enter into a commercial farming to supplement its own budget ... [and] as a personal gesture of support, [I will] provide 100 indigenous cattle towards this farm (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 16).

Following detailed discussion within MUASA, the University presented a proposal to the government containing an estimate of the cost of living for feeding, clothing, transporting and educating a family of six (two adults and four children). The proposal suggested that staff should receive an 'academic allowance' ranging from 140,000/= per month (for professors) to 70,000/= per month (for assistant lecturers) as well as a range of standard benefits. Using the unofficial exchange rate the total would have been \$306 and \$153 respectively. While this represented a substantial increase over salaries being received at that time (almost twenty-fold for professors, and just under twelve times for assistant lecturers) the request itself was in fact based on a very modest assessment of living needs. For example, second hand clothes, and the exclusion of 'luxury' items

such as 'bread, butter/magerine or rice' from the food basket. The gap between what the academic staff were requesting and what they were receiving served to underline the extent to which academics could not be expected to live on their current salaries. However, when these figures were presented to the Treasury by the University administration it quickly became apparent that there was no way in which the government could meet their demands in the subsequent financial year, let alone 'in the very bleak present'. After reporting back to its members, MUASA reflected that since their original memorandum to the President there had been three devaluations of the shilling which had 'led to steep price increases' and 'exacerbated an already very desperate position'. Accordingly, and 'having exhausted all other avenues for reaching satisfactory resolutions to the numerous problems', it was decided to give the government an ultimatum: if the Association's demands for a living wage for its members was not met by the 1st of May 1989 'the members of Academic staff shall regrettably be constrained to take action and lay down their tools ... to highlight their plight and the urgency and desperateness of their position' (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 36- 37).

'The Laying Down of Tools'

In a series of increasingly hostile meetings between the government, University authorities and MUASA in the week preceding the deadline, the Minister of Education 'categorically stated' in a number of the meetings that straight forward salary increases 'would NOT be possible given the conditionalities of the IMF programmes'. In the absence of having anything of more substance to offer than lorries and land to a sceptical academic community with no interest in arranging food-runs (and, moreover, able to work out that if they were expected to absorb the running costs of the lorries the advantage offered would quickly become a liability) the government had little to really negotiate with the staff who were desperate and resolute. Hence, on the 2nd of May 1989, and for the first time in the history of the University, the academic staff 'lay down their tools' and went on strike. As this reflection on the strike by the MUASA newsletter editorial collective demonstrates, the impact of the strike stretched far beyond the campus:

Beyond Makerere, this campaign by 400 men and women to get a modest living wage for themselves and their families, consumed the attention and interest of people in Kampala in a way very few things in this country have done. One of the reasons for this was because the government's reaction to what the public

saw as a modest and legitimate demand was unusually venomous. First, the government could not brook the strike as a challenge to its authority; and it seems to have taken the view that giving MUASA what it had asked for would have been a sign of weakness. ... Many wage earners were not bothered whether giving concessions and being flexible was a sign of weakness or strength. For them the strike held out the possibility that if government gave MUASA a living wage, then it would in turn be more sensitive to their own more muted demands for a living wage too. The more advanced variation of this was the demand that MUASA should actually champion the case for a living wage for all Ugandans, and that the dons climb down from the 'Ivory Tower' and organise and lead 'the masses' in political action that would empower them. But MUASA is not a political party. It is, in fact, not even a trade union. It is more an overgrown and outspoken debating club (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, Editorial).

One of the reasons that the 'don's strike' came to capture the imagination of Kampala citizens was that Museveni's government had ushered in a new era of press freedom, which Uganda had never really experienced. MUASA was very effective in using the media to make its case, as this inter-change between MUASA and the government demonstrates:

Of the [MUASA food basket] government considered the following to be not essential under conditions now obtaining in the country: clothing, tomatoes, tea/coffee, curry powder, onions, assorted greens, fruits, bogoya and tooth paste. As regards the remaining, government argued that food items should be directly procured from the country side using officially provided lorries and that the remainder be bought from profits generated by these lorries. Though the government refused to work out this arrangement in any detail, it maintained that our weekly expenditure would thus be cut down to between 6 and 8,000 shillings for an average family. To arrive at this obviously unrealistic estimate, government insisted that the average family at Makerere be of 4. We have pointed out to government that this can not be a matter for negotiation; the average family at Makerere cannot shrink from 6 to 4 simply because government wishes that! *MUASA press release on 14th May 1989* (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 45).

The response from the government points to their frustration with the continued strike in the face of the dire economic situation nationally. The government had begun negotiations with the academics in the aftermath of it having been forced into a series of humiliating climb downs in relation to its economic programme. Strict conditions had been imposed on the government's 1988/89 budget by the IMF, who had refused to release further funds in the face of the government ignoring the first set of conditionalities in the previous year. The conditionalities that accompanied the second (1988/89) round of international financing for the country meant that the government's

hands were effectively tied in terms of being able to respond to the Makerere strike. The government simply did not have the resources to be able to give further funds to the University. In addition, in the light of the negotiations with the IMF, the government must have been concerned that if the Makerere demands were acceded to a wide range of groups – civil servants and teachers in particular – would follow suit. Hence, in public statements by the government, MUASA was labelled ‘belligerent and arrogant’, and the demands for salary increases ‘unrealistic, unpatriotic and disruptive’. Stressing that there were no further resources available for the salary increases within the sharply restricted government budget, it was explained that the government had gone to great effort to try and find ways to ‘ameliorate the situation at Makerere ... within the realities of the country’s resources’. Further, it was suggested that the timing of the strike (shortly before end of year examinations) was ‘tantamount to blackmail and intimidation’. The government statement ended with a demand that the strike end immediately and threatened to dismiss all academics who were not at work the next morning. Shortly afterwards, on the 8pm radio news, there was an announcement that the government had banned MUASA (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 80 – 82).

The Government Negotiates

The stage looked set for a very nasty confrontation, but this was averted by a last minute meeting between Museveni and the Executive of MUASA on the evening of the 17th of May. Shortly after this meeting it was announced that the ban on MUASA had been lifted. At the MUASA report-back meeting the next day, members agreed to ‘suspend indefinitely the laying down of tools’ pending further negotiations with the government, and directly involving the President. Four days later (21st of May) the President, accompanied by the Minister of Education and the Deputy Minister of Finance, met with a University delegation, led by the Vice Chancellor, Professor Kirya, and the Executive of MUASA. Museveni captured the government’s position in a single sentence, arguing that ‘if the money was there, everything would be provided, but if it wasn’t, striking wouldn’t provide it’. Museveni also indicated his interest in attending workshops ‘to consider aspects of the economy’ and indeed this might have been the antecedence to the series of workshops that were to prove so influential in changing his position on economic growth and development in the country. Moreover, it was clearly indicated by the government that the economic situation was going to change in the

near future, not least of all because of the necessity of borrowing from the IMF to fund the country's recovery programme. In this context, while promising that the government would do all that it could, Museveni emphasised the need for the University to look at ways in which it might be able to generate its own resources, in the way in which the army, also reliant on the state for funding, had been forced to do:

[Museveni] suggested that part of the financial problems at Makerere University should have induced the dons to stretch their imagination a little. ... He noted that in 1987 the army, using its own grown cotton, negotiated to import 70 million dollars worth of weapons from North Korea – an importation that would have been impossible had it been through the national budget. ... Since the army had been able to do all that in a short time, he wondered why the brain-power concentrated at Makerere could not be utilised. “What were the constraints?” *Minutes of Meeting between MUASA and Government Officials, chaired by Museveni* (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 95).

Finally convinced that the government did not have additional cash resources, MUASA was willing to accept a compromise position. Rather than a ‘living wage’ it was agreed to adopt the notion of a ‘living package’. The package included a smaller wage increase, that was supplemented by a range of income generating and saving schemes that would more indirectly benefit academic staff at Makerere. Many of these proposals had previously been tabled by the government and included food trucked in from the rural areas and sold at cost to the campus community; the improvement of health, housing and schooling for children of academics on campus at government cost; and the employment of Makerere academic staff to undertake government research work, enabling them to earn ‘extra and legitimate income’. While the supplementary schemes would be initiated as quickly as possible, it was agreed to leave the announcement of salary increase to the forthcoming budget. In the meantime the strike was to remain suspended (Makerere University Staff Association 1989, 139).

Following the reading of the 1989/90 budget, it became clear that the government was still not in a position to offer even what the academic staff had been promised in the compromise package, negotiated directly with Museveni. In place of the promised ‘living package’, what was announced in the budget were ‘professional allowances’ for academic staff at Makerere. The allowances, intended to supplement academics’ salaries ranged from 40,000/= (senior academic staff) to 12,000/= (junior academic staff), fell well short of the amount that the Association had painstakingly documented as needed for a living wage/package. Moreover, at this point the economy as a whole was

strengthening, since by mid-1989 the IMF imposed stabilisation package was beginning to take effect with inflation and prices were falling. However, the price for this success was continued restrictions on government spending. Hence, the budget eventually approved by the government for the University for the financial year 1989/90, and including the professional allowances, far from being the hoped-for increase, was actually a *decrease* in real terms. It is not possible to know if the government was being disingenuous in its negotiations with MUASA. What is clear is that over this period (1989–1991) the government was shifting away from demand-driven budgeting, and becoming more serious about developing budgets that were in keeping with its income. In this context, the cutting of government spending was a high priority, and support to a variety of social services were cut in real terms during this period (Harvey and Robinson 1995). As academics and the University administration slowly acknowledged that, whatever they did, there was little real chance of succeeding in forcing the government's hand to provide greater resources, so attention shifted to the way in which the University's budget was being apportioned.

Student Demonstrations

At Makerere during the period under review, less than 40 percent of the University's annual recurrent budget was being spent on staff pay and allowances. This was extremely low by international standards, where these costs would generally account for between two-thirds and three-quarters of an institution's budget. In sharp contrast, it was estimated that just over a third (35 percent) of the recurrent budget was being spent on student allowances and support. Student support claimed a significant proportion of the budget because no direct student fees were charged, so that almost all costs associated with the maintenance of students had to come out of the budget allocated by the government (Hyuha 1998). Perhaps the clearest indication of the difficulties of this practice was that the daily maintenance allowance for students in 1987, while still only providing little more than a diet of *posho* (maize porridge) and beans in the halls of residences, if calculated on a monthly basis, was still higher than a professor's salary (Ekudu-Adoku 1999). The government had made it clear from 1987 onwards (following Museveni's first visitation committee's report) that it intended to cut back on the direct support offered to students. However, it was not until 1989, following the increases that were offered to academic staff, that the government acted by abolishing a range of student allowances. While the amount concerned was quite small (between 30

– 45,000/= per student) the material impact on students was considerable. The allowances were meant to be used to purchase stationary, subsidise travel home, and provide some pocket money. While it is likely that many of the students spent the money in ways other than intended ('bars of Wandegya full to overflowing on the night after the distribution of book or transport allowances'), for the poorest of students this subsidy would have been regarded as essential, and even for those students for whom it was not essential, it would have been regarded as a privilege well worth protecting (Mushega 1999). The announcement sparked off a series of student boycotts of lectures, which led to the closure of the University in November 1989. With the support of MUASA, students continued to put pressure on the University administration throughout 1990 in order to persuade the government of the importance of reinstating the allowances. When it became clear that the government was determined to stand firm, despite even the University Council's support for the demand, a new wave of protests followed. The protests were fuelled by rumours of further cuts to student subsidy and the possible introduction of other cost-sharing measures. On 10th December 1990, as students were gathering at Freedom Square to discuss their boycott of lecturers, two students were killed by the police. Many others were injured. The University was closed and Museveni established a second Visitation Committee to investigate what might be done to restore stability to the campus (Ssekamwa 1997b).

4.3 A New Direction

The 1991 Visitation Committee Report

Museveni's second Visitation Committee's report was published in January 1991. While the Committee had been established to look into the question of the staff and student strikes, the report makes it obvious that the long-time festering impasse of inadequate resources combined with increasing demands had to be addressed. In other words, that University finance was the key issue that needed to be examined as the root cause of the problems at Makerere (Uganda 1991). In persisting in looking for ways to increase participation while at the same time reducing unit costs (such as the introduction of a semester system) the Committee echoed its 1987 predecessor. The Committee was clearly angered by students' protests in response to their privileges being removed, labelling them as 'generally insensitive to and unappreciative of the national economic problems facing Uganda as a country and the under developed countries generally' (Uganda 1991, 2). However, the real emphasis in the 1991 report was on how

additional resources might be raised for the University, from sources other than the state. The Committee was adamant that despite the protests the initiatives towards cost-sharing must be continued, and that a contribution of some sort to the cost of university education must be made by students themselves or by their parents/guardians, or potential employers. It was also recommended that the government look towards the establishment of bursaries or loans at a local level to assist in this regard (Uganda 1991).

Of most significance, however, were the series of recommendations looking at ways in which the University could raise its own resources. The first of these recommendations was that

Students obtaining minimum qualifications should be encouraged to join the University ... through self-sponsorship. ... This would be another way of raising funds for the University while giving more Ugandans a chance to receive University Education (Uganda 1991, 22).

In order to achieve this end, it was recommended that the 'University should introduce evening classes for paying students'. Other measures designed to encourage the University 'to move towards financial self-reliance' were recommended. For example, improving 'the existing Commercial Units', such as the bookshop and the Guest House, and making 'some teaching units income earning'. The example offered by the Committee was using the University farm, then simply used for teaching agriculture and veterinary students, to supply food stuff to halls of residence (Uganda 1991, 23).

In retrospect these recommendations do not look that radical, but at the time they represented a significant break with past practices. It would be difficult to overstate the extent to which there was widespread belief that the government should provide free tertiary level education, along with the attendant privileges of boom, transport and so on. Ssekamwa (1997), the Dean of Education at Makerere, suggests that students at the time regarded government sponsorship an 'inalienable right'. While the 1987 Committee was responsible for abolishing some financial privileges for students, it was this later Committee which made it clear that alternative means to government financing would have to be found to fund the expansion of the student body and the general rejuvenation of the institution (Ssekamwa 1997b, 1).

The University Re-opens

Makerere reopened in May 1991, having been closed since early December 1990. Returning students were required to sign an undertaking to abide by University regulations. The allowances that students had protested over remained abolished, but in order to ameliorate their loss a number of schemes had been instituted. For instance, all students were issued with writing paper and a blue biro pen. Further, government money was given to the University to administer a 'needy student' allowance, in particular to assist in transporting students back home. This scheme, however, was poorly thought through (reliant on student's self-assessment as 'needy'), difficult to implement (students were meant to work for their money, but most simply refused to) and, unsurprisingly, regularly abused:

One end of term, [the Dean of Students] decided to hire buses for these 'needy students' to carry them straight to their homes upcountry instead of giving them 'clean money' for each one to find his/her own way back home. The buses, fifteen in number, did not get any 'needy students' to board them. ... At that end of term, the drinking places which had stocked up liquor to full capacity in anticipation of the usual boom of business from the 'needy students' at the end of term, had no kind word for [the Dean's] reading between the lines (Ssekamwa 1997b, 3).

In 1995, with support from the University Administration, Hon. Amanywa Mushega, the Minister of Education, abolished the scheme.

4.3.1 Entrepreneurial Experiments

A number of other experiments in alternative financing for the University were much more successful. The first of these was the 'External Degree Programme' offered by the Institute of Adult and Continuing Education. Begun in 1992, the Institute offered two degrees, a Bachelor of Education and a Bachelor of Commerce. It was largely instituted at the behest of the government, and was modelled on the distance education programme offered by the University of Nairobi. While the degrees offered were essentially by correspondence, provision was also made for a series of intensive 'face-to-face' teaching sessions at the University during the vacations. The examinations were the same as those taken by full-time day students. All students on the programme were self-sponsored. In the first year, the programme began with around 50 Commerce students, and 80 Education students. By the following year the numbers had more than doubled to 135 commerce students and 130 education students. Five years later the Institute had around 1,300 students in total, making up just over 10 percent of the total

undergraduate student body. Of these, just under 1,000 were taking the Commerce degree, while 350 were enrolled in the Education programme (Ssentongo 1999).

The success of the external degree programme was matched, and then exceeded, by two further initiatives led by the faculties of Law and Commerce. In 1993, a new degree - the Bachelor of Business Administration - was introduced for private students in the evenings at the Faculty of Commerce. The Faculty of Law did not introduce a special degree, but similarly began an evening programme for self-sponsored students. The numbers for both programmes were modest, indeed very small for Law (12 - 15), while slightly larger for Commerce (around 50). However, they both grew very quickly, as did the range of faculties that began to participate in 'the evening programme' - so-called because it was a set of special courses that were offered to privately sponsored students in the evening, that is, in addition to the normal day programme of the University. Law and Commerce were joined by the faculties of Social Science, Arts and Education in 1995, following a decision by the University's Council that all faculties could offer evening courses. A wide range of new degree programmes were introduced alongside more traditional degrees in Arts, Social Science and Education. Bachelor degrees in Tourism, Mass Communication, Urban Planning, Development Studies, Catering and Hotel Management, for example, all proved to be popular new programmes. In 1997 a diploma programme was introduced offering courses as varied as Translation and Interpretation, as well as Transport Management, and Leisure and Hospitality. By 1997/98, a total of just over 2,600 students were participating in the programme - one in five (21 percent) of the undergraduate student body (Hyuha 1998; Hyuha 1999; Oloka-Onyango 1999; Ssebuwufu 1999).

In 1994 the University Council ruled that faculties with places remaining after the agreed government intake could fill those places with private students. In other words, that existing programmes could be expanded to make full use of 'spare' resources, both human and physical. As the growth of the student body of the University had been determined largely by the government's very limited capacity to fund the process there was in fact quite a lot of space for growth. In part, this initiative was prompted by the fact that some faculties were not able to develop evening-based programmes. In the Science and Medical Faculties, for instance, students were required to do laboratory work and hospital rounds which precluded the possibility of running parallel day and

evening programmes. The private 'day programme' allowed these faculties, along with Technology, Fine Art, and Veterinary Science, to join in the drive to provide space to increasing numbers of fee-paying students. Again, while the initial intake was small - and remained so in the science-based faculties - within a matter of years the overall numbers had increased dramatically. By 1998, 37 undergraduate programmes, and 40 post-graduate programmes had been introduced and the undergraduate student body had increased from 5,711 in 1990/91 to 12,518 in 1997/98² (Court 1999).

While perhaps the most visible and dramatic, the various private student programmes have not been the only innovations in relation to income-generating initiatives developed by the University. Three other initiatives are important to note, but will not be dealt with in any detail. The first is the commercialisation of University units such as the bookshop, the University Guest House, and the University printing shop. Prior to the mid-1990s these units had been run and subsidised by the University. In keeping with the institution's new found determination to generate new funds, the bookshop was rented out to private management, while the Guest House, and the printing shop are now run on a purely commercial basis - no longer costing the University, but rather providing another source of revenue. Second, the University has introduced, and strictly enforces, a wide range of user fees, over and above tuition fees. These fees apply to all students, including the government sponsored students. Examples of these kind of fees include application fees, late registration fees, graduation fees, and examination fees. Some of the fees are quite substantial (examination fees in 1997/8 were 60,000/=), but most are between 6,000/= to 12,000/= (Hyuha 1998, 5-6). Third, and most recent, is the University's attempt to regularise and institutionalise consultancy arrangements. This has been done in order to ensure that the institution shares in the profits made by individual staff members who benefit from being accommodated and serviced at the institution (Court 1999, 5).

4.3.2 Major Impacts of the New Initiatives

The most obvious impact that the new measures introduced by the University had was that the size of the student body increased significantly, as described in Chapter One, and detailed in *Table 1.2*. To recall, in a ten year period the University almost trebled

² This total includes external and evening students.

in size from just under 5,000 students to just under 15,000. The one other expansion of particular significance to note is the growth of students' undertaken post-graduate degrees. In 1990/91 there were 362 post graduate students and in 1995/6 there were 450. Just two years later there was an increase of more than three-fold to 1,611. This growth in higher degree levels is strongly in keeping with Dore's diploma disease thesis. The growth of the student body has been driven almost entirely by the massive and rapid increase in the numbers of private students coming on to campus. The number of government sponsored students has stayed static at around the 2,000 mark, while in contrast admissions of private students have risen from below 200 in 1992/3, to just under 6,000 in 1997/8 (Hyuha 1998; Court 1999).

New Resources

The private students have brought with them considerable resources. In 1995/96 fees from private students generated just over 4 billion shillings (approximately \$4 million). Two years later (1997/98) this had risen to a massive 10 billion (approximately \$10 million). The fees collected from private students make a significant contribution towards the University being able to meet its budgetary needs. As *Table 4.4* (below) shows, since the mid-90s, when private students began to be admitted in significant numbers, the University has been able to raise around two-thirds of its financial needs. This is a far cry from just a decade previously when the institution was attempting to make ends meet on approximately a quarter of its proposed budget.

Table 4.3: Makerere proposed budget and government and private students' contributions, in billions of shillings (1995/96-1997/98).

Year	Proposed University Budget	Government Contribution	Fees Collected from Private Students	Outstanding (% of total)
1995/96	37.9	20.3	4.1	13.5 (35%)
1996/97	37.4	20.5	5.1	11.8 (32%)
1997/98	47.8	20.3	10.3	17.2 (36%)

Source: Makerere University Academic Bursar's Office, 1999

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to document some of the reasons underpinning a series of innovative institutional initiatives which were introduced in the mid-1990s and which

have transformed Makerere University. It has been shown that in the late 1980s and the early 1990s, Makerere's capacity to respond to growing demands for access was severely restricted by the declining resources that its primary (indeed, virtually sole) funder, the Ugandan government, was able to provide. While pressure for expansion was growing, the Government's capacity to meet even existing needs was limited. This situation was exacerbated by a decade and a half of under-funding which had seen the physical infrastructure of the campus virtually collapse; essential scholastic materials (such as library books and laboratory equipment) become almost unobtainable; and the salary of staff become negligible. Attempts by the government to increase access by reducing unit costs and by cutting down on non-essential subsidies to students, was met with fierce resistance. A further compounding problem to this approach was the fact that academic staff were insistent on the need for the government to increase their remuneration. The primary reason for the government's inability to adequately fund the University was the bleak national economy, in conjunction with the IMF's structural adjustment programme which restricted government spending.

In response to this demand/response imbalance the University introduced a number of entrepreneurial experiments, including the admittance of fee-paying students on a number of different programmes. This chapter has highlighted some of the major impacts that these programmes have had in terms of the massive increase in student numbers and the substantial resources that have been brought into the institution. The following two chapters more closely assess the impact of the new initiatives at Makerere, by examining the effect the changes have had on efficiency and equity at the University.

CHAPTER FIVE

NO LONGER A SLEEPING GIANT: EFFICIENCY AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

The previous chapter documented the causes which gave rise to a range of institutional innovations with regard to student financing which were introduced at Makerere in the mid 1990s. The purpose of this chapter is to analyse more closely the impact that these changes have had on efficiency at the University. The chapter begins with a brief examination of the notions of efficiency and effectiveness, before identifying some key indicators of efficiency in higher education. The chapter then moves on to contextualise Makerere within a general discussion of efficiency in African universities. A series of structured interviews with senior academics and administrators were carried out in the summer of 1998 and were analysed to identify the most positive and negative aspects of the impact of the innovations at Makerere at that time, while also detailing the ways in which the resources generated through the fees of private students were utilised by the institution. In addition, some of the responses to a questionnaire distributed to a stratified sample of 2nd year students at Makerere (1999) are interwoven in the discussion to provide further insights into the way in which the new funding system has impacted on efficiency at the University¹. It is concluded that the injection of new resources into the institution has had a largely positive effect on the University, but that there are increasing concerns about the questions of equity and sustainability.

Limitations of the Approach Adopted

During the second term of the 1998/99 academic year I undertook semi-structured interviews with the eleven Deans (or nominated alternatives) of all faculties, as well as ten nominated Heads of academic departments (one from each faculty², nominated by the Dean). This chapter is based primarily on an analysis of those interviews. The most useful insights into efficiency at the University were provided by responses to the question '*What has been the most positive/negative impact of the introduction of private students to the University?*'. In addition, comments from interviews which were undertaken with the

¹ Referred to as the '1999 Makerere Student Survey'. This survey is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

² I was unable to interview a Head of Department from the Law Faculty.

senior leadership figures (the Vice-Chancellor, the Academic Registrar, the Chair of Council) of the University are also included, alongside an analysis of documents provided by the Academic Registrar's Office.

There are obvious limitations to an approach which relies on the subjective assessment of a relatively small sample of members of staff³. While senior leadership figures do provide an important perspective on events at the University, it cannot be claimed that they represent the whole. It is likely, for instance, that more junior members of the staff, as well as support and general workers, might have had quite different perceptions and experiences from those reported below. Further, an approach which is reliant on the reported views of individuals is vulnerable to the accusation that opinions which are not widespread, are presented (inadvertently) in a way which suggests otherwise. In an attempt to limit this possibility, I have tried to triangulate information conveyed by the interviews with less subjective measures, such as official documentation and records from the University. In addition, and where appropriate, the responses from a questionnaire distributed to a stratified sample (ensuring a cross section of all faculties) of second year students are also included. The responses from the 28 interviewees to the question '*What has been the most positive/negative impact of the introduction of private students to the University?*', have been summarised in *Box 5.1* (positive impact) and *Box 5.2* (negative impact) to give an indication of strength of feeling.

Finally, it should be noted that the interviews were conducted less than 3 years after the initial expansion of the private student programme (1994/95), and only a year after the major growth of the programme which took occurred with the 1996/97 student intake. This is a very short period over which to ask people actively involved in a programme to reflect on its impact and to attempt an evaluation of its success or failure. Some of the enthusiasm for the programme, for instance, may have been prompted simply by its novelty or its capacity to alleviate in the short-term long-standing resource constraints. Concomitantly, it is sometimes difficult to tell if problems identified are merely ones associated with 'teething problems' of a new programme or simply resistance to any kind of institutional change. While the process of evaluation is almost always enhanced by distance, the comments contained below provide a valuable record of key staff

³ See *Appendix One: Research Methodology* for a fuller discussion

members' initial analysis, understanding and evaluation of the programme as it was instituted over the first five years at Makerere.

5.1 Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education

An 'efficient' system is one which enables set outputs to be met at the lowest possible levels of inputs or costs. While efficiency is a desirable goal, it is possible that an efficient system could produce outputs of limited value or quality. Hence, the 'effectiveness' of a system is also important. Effectiveness is the extent to which a system's output achieves specified objectives. An 'efficient and effective' system achieves the best, or the most desired, outcome as economically possible (Australia 1986, 3). The application of these concepts to the higher education system is not easy. While it is possible to define an effective and efficient educational system as one which obtains the best educational benefits for a given level of expenditure, it is not a simple matter to objectively define or measure 'best' in relation to 'educational benefits' (Lockheed and Hanushek 1994, 2).

A useful way of engaging with efficiency and effectiveness in higher education is to examine the key inputs and outputs of a university, and to identify commonly used indicators which provide some insights into how well an institution is managing available resources to achieve intended outcomes. One way in which to define the central purpose of a university is to produce new knowledge through research, and to pass on knowledge and high level skills through teaching. Some may add to these central roles a notion of service and outreach to broader society, and others of storing or recording knowledge through libraries and other forms of documentation and preservation. The key inputs to universities are the human and material resources needed to achieve these functions. Such inputs include students, academic and support staff, teaching materials (such as text books and classrooms) and technical equipment (such as computers and laboratories), as well as the financial resources needed to meet the capital and recurrent cost of establishing and maintaining the institution. The two major outputs from institutions of higher learning are graduates, and new knowledge (concepts, theories, equipment, ideas) generated through research. Commonly used measures to given an

indication of how well (or badly) an institution is managing these inputs in order to maximise the most useful outputs include⁴:

Students: numbers of students enrolled, areas of study, graduation rates and wastage rates due to repetition, failure and drop out.

Staff: numbers of academic and support staff, established and filled posts, teaching loads and research output.

Teaching Process: staff:student ratio, qualifications of academic staff, size of library, age and range of books and journal subscriptions, ratio of books to students, levels of computerisation, and availability of technical equipment.

Research Output: amount of research undertaken, use made of it, and the recognition accorded to it by the scholarly community

Graduates: employment of graduates, time spent looking for first job.

Financing: cost of education per student and per graduate, ratio of funding dedicated teaching, research, administrative and support functions.

Individually, none of these indicators can provide a thorough measure of the efficiency or effectiveness of a given institution or system. Indeed, many of them tend to be most revealing in a comparative context, when looking at a range of institutions or national systems of higher education. In the following section, a general sense of the efficiency of African universities, is provided by looking at a number of studies which have compared a variety of African universities (including Makerere) with one another, as well as - albeit in a more limited fashion - with other systems of higher education.

5.1.1 Efficiency and Effectiveness of Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

In an interview with the former Minister of Education of Uganda, Hon Amanya Mushega, he suggested that 'there are a number of falsehoods about education in Uganda ... the most spurious is that the British left us with an efficient educational

⁴ For further discussion see Australia. 1986. *Review of Efficiency and Effectiveness in Higher Education*. Canberra: Commonwealth Tertiary Education Commission. Report of Committee of Enquiry., September; as well as Windham, D. M. 1988. *Indicators of educational effectiveness and efficiency*. Tallahassee: Agency for International Development and Winkler, D. R. 1990. *Higher Education in Latin America. Issues of efficiency and equity*. Washington D C: The World Bank. World Bank Discussion Paper. Additional information can be found in Lockheed, M. E. and Hanushek, E. 1994. *Concepts of Educational Efficiency and Effectiveness*. London: Human Resources Development and Operations Policy. Working Paper, HROWP 24. March. For an African perspective see Tarpeh, D. N. 1994. *Study on Cost Effectiveness and Efficiency in African Universities*. Dakar: Association of African Universities. December.

system'. In support of this statement he pointed out how few graduates have been produced by Makerere:

When I became Minister of Education in 1989, I asked for a quick statistical study. ... Since Makerere started up until about 1989 it had not graduated even 2,000 doctors. That includes the dead, the living, those who have left the profession, those whom are abroad - from Tanzania, from Kenya, from Europe - who had come to train at Makerere. In *all* the time that Makerere has existed it has graduated less than 25,000 people. In *total*. ... It had graduated about 1,800 people in Agriculture. And had graduated less than 4,000 people in Arts, and less than 2,500 in science. These were shocking statistics. So we said something has to be done (Mushega 1999).

The Minister was not alone in his assessment of the inefficiency of the systems of higher education inherited by former British and French colonies across the continent, and his concerns about Makerere could be applied to most universities in Sub-Saharan Africa (Saint 1992, 9 and Kagia, 2000, 58).

Effectiveness Overridden

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, the initial impulse of the Ugandan government to address its concern over the small number of graduates from Makerere was simply to increase the numbers of students admitted, despite not having any additional resources to give to the university. The results, also documented in the previous chapter, provide an apt demonstration of what happens when efficiency concerns are promoted at the expense of effectiveness. A similar strategy was adopted at a range of other universities in *developing countries*, such that by 1995 the tertiary gross enrolment ratio of the age group 20 – 24 had risen by two percentage points to 8.8 percent, with Sub-Saharan Africa almost doubling up from 2.2 percent ten years previously to 3.5 percent. In more developed regions the proportion rose by a third, to just under 60 percent (Kagia 2000, 58). In the Sub Saharan Africa (SSA) region, as in Uganda, the world wide economic recession and the growing impact of Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) meant that this growth was not matched with an increase in resources. Indeed in the late 1980s there was a real term decrease in resources allocated to the higher education sector in the region. The inevitable result is described in this study commissioned by the Association of African Universities (AAU) into cost effectiveness and efficiency in African universities:

The harsh effects of the contraction of funding levels in real terms [in the 1980s] was felt in the form of inadequate text books and teaching materials, low allocations to research and library, outdated journals and reference materials, and departure of their most experienced and promising academic staff due to

poor salary levels and lack of enabling environment. These conditions raised serious questions on the quality of output (Tarpeh 1994, 50 –51).

Capacity to meet objectives

A range of efficiency indicators, drawn from a study investigating the question of financial diversification and income generation at African universities, provide substance to these generalised observations (Blair 1992). In a questionnaire sent out in May 1991 to 29 universities in anglophone Africa, senior university administrators were asked to rate their institution's capacity to meet their own objectives across a range of facilities. *Table 5.1* (below) summarises the responses from some of the universities which responded, including Makerere.

The table presents a bleak picture of higher education on the continent. Of the choices on offer (poor, fair, good and excellent) only one institution rated a single one of its facilities as 'excellent'. The most common choice was 'fair'. Indeed, the report, recognising this is a subjective assessment, goes so far as to suggest that the picture may be bleaker than even the one painted above, arguing that the fact that 'no university rated its library facilities as poor is misplaced optimism'. Recalling that Makerere's library had virtually no new acquisitions throughout the mid seventies to the early 1990s this seems a fair point (Blair 1992, 13).

Table 5.1: Selected Sub-Saharan African institution's self-rating of capacity to meet selected objectives (1991)

	Library	Computer Equipment	Class Rooms	Teaching Equipment	General
Botswana	Good	Fair	Good	Good	Fair
Ghana	Fair	Fair	Fair	Poor	Fair
Kenyatta	Good	Poor	Fair	Poor	Poor
Lesotho	Good	Poor	Fair	Fair	Fair
Malawi	Good	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair
Ibadan	Excellent	Fair	Good	Good	Good
Swaziland	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair
Dar-es-Salaam	Good	Poor	Fair	Poor	Fair
Makerere	Fair	Poor	Fair	Fair	Fair
Copperbelt	Good	Fair	Good	Fair	Fair
Zimbabwe	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair	Fair

Source: Compiled from Blair (1992), 13.

Other less subjective measures appear to endorse this view. For instance, amongst the participating institutions the average proportion of the recurrent budget spent on the

library was under five percent. The highest proportion (eight percent) was spent by Botswana, the lowest (one percent) by Makerere. On average, just over 40 percent of the recurrent budget went to academic departments, with just under 60 percent being allocated to non-academic departments (including research, administration and student support). Makerere was very close to this average, with 42 percent for academic departments, and 58 percent on non-academic departments. Only in three universities, Zimbabwe, Kenyatta and Lesotho, was a greater proportion of the recurrent budget spent on academic departments than non-academic departments (Blair 1992, 12).

Research Output

The low level of research output from the region continues to be an area of particular concern with regard to the efficiency of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA). Research output is not easy to measure, but a useful indicator is provided by looking at the number of academic journal articles produced by a country, or an institution. On an annual basis, the Science Citation Index provides information on journal articles from 3,300 academic journals across 100 scientific disciplines. While the resource base of the Index does reflect the dominance of Europe and North America, it does draw on work from journals across the world, and covers all major language groups. In 1995, the Index listed 607,409 articles. Of these, 5,857 (under one percent of the total) were authored by persons living/working in countries in SSA. Over half (54 percent) of the SSA articles (3,158) were produced in South Africa. Nigeria (555) and Kenya (479), while producing substantially more than the next cluster of countries (Tanzania, 154; Zimbabwe, 152; Senegal, 142; Ethiopia, 140; and Cameroon, 120) did not come close to matching this contribution. The majority of countries in SSA (including Uganda) produced under 30 articles which were printed in internationally recognised journals in 1995⁵.

The very low levels of national investment in research is one reason for the 'weak performance' of the universities of Sub-Saharan Africa in research output. In a study undertaken in the early 1990s, the African Academy of Sciences estimated that African countries spend around a tenth of one percentage of GNP on research (Saint 1992, xiii). In 1991, under one percent of Makerere's total recurrent and capital budget was dedicated to research expenditure. While lower than many universities, this level of

expenditure was not exceptional, as J. Kenyatta University (Kenya) and the Copperbelt University (Zambia) spent the same proportion. South African and Nigerian universities that spent the highest proportion (around six percent) of their budgets on research related activities (Saint 1992, 52).

Another of the causes for the low levels of research output is the low numbers of highly skilled professionals, especially in the areas of science and technology, in the region. This is an issue directly linked to the relatively small numbers of graduates from institutions of higher learning in SSA. Further exacerbating this situation is the fact that less developed countries frequently are unable to retain the small numbers of qualified personnel that are trained in the region. It is estimated that around 20,000 professionals emigrated from Sub-Saharan Africa during the 1990s (Kagia 2000, 59). Despite this drain, and the identification of attracting and retaining high calibre staff being identified as one of the critical problems being faced by most institutions in SSA, the staff:student ratio at many universities in the region is so low as to be a critical efficiency issue. The explanation for this apparent contradiction lies in the fact that it is the most experienced and best qualified who have tended to leave the region, and they simply have been replaced by less qualified and less experienced colleagues. While this has allowed staff numbers to be maintained to some degree, the change to the staff profile of many institutions in the age and experience profile has made the maintenance of standards, and the academic development and management of institution, even more challenging (Saint 1992; Salmi 1992; Blair and Jordan 1994).

Staff Student Ratios

The relatively low numbers of students at individual institutions - many have under 3,000 students – mean there is little opportunity to benefit from economies of scale. In Blair's sample of 14 anglophone universities across the region, the average overall academic staff to student ratio was around 1:12. Makerere was very much in keeping with this average. The ratio of non-academic staff to students across the region was more problematic. For instance in one university, Dar-es-Salaam, non-academic staff members actually outnumbered students, by around 20 percent. Makerere, while not as bad as this, was below the group's average, with a ratio of 1:2.4 for overall non-academic staff to students (Blair 1992, 11).

⁵ Compiled by the author from the 1995 Science Citation Index.

Graduate Employment

Finally, with regard to the employment of graduates, the study by the Association of African Universities into cost effectiveness and efficiency in African universities (referred to previously) echoes earlier studies in identifying graduate unemployment as an area of concern⁶. However, the AAU report points out that all the universities that took part in the study reported that they have very little information about the employment situation of their graduates. In the absence of hard data, most were reduced to anecdotal evidence, which suggested, unsurprisingly, that the 'persistent economic problems in most African countries' means that graduates were finding it hard to find 'immediate employment'. In one of two tracer studies discussed in the AAU report, the Ministry of Education in Ghana reported that of the 1,200 employed graduates in the study, around 70 percent had found employment within five months of graduation, while 20 percent took more than a year to find a job (Tarpeh 1994, 46).

From the above discussion, it can be seen that the problems faced at Makerere University in the late 1980s and early 1990s (and documented in the previous chapter) were by no means unique that institution. However, since this period, few African universities have managed to change their circumstances, despite a range of initiatives intended to 'stabilise' and 'revitalise' universities in the region (Kagia 2000, 66–67). Indeed, for many institutions, the situation has only worsened. In contrast, Makerere appears to have successfully transformed itself.

To a large degree, this has been possible because private students have brought considerable resources into the institution. In 1997/98, the fees generated from students amounted to a little under \$10 million. This income has made a considerable contribution towards making the University's more efficient, as the priority areas for spending have been supplementing staff salaries, improving the physical facilities of the campus, and research and development, including staff development and re-stocking the library (Hyuha 1999; Ssebuwufu 1999; Tibarimbasa 1999). The following section examines more closely what has been achieved.

⁶ See for instance Saint, W. 1992. *Universities in Africa: Strategies for Stabilisation and Revitalisation*. Washington DC: The World Bank. Technical Report, 194.

5.2 Assessment of impact of the changes at Makerere

Management of Income Generated by the University

Before assessing what impact the student financing innovations have had at Makerere, mention must be made of the way in which the institution manages the resources which it generates. During the period under review, while some money was raised by the University through the charging of registration and examination fees, and some departments raise additional revenue through the hiring of its buildings and consultancy fees, in the late 1990s all of this was dwarfed by the revenue generated through fees paid by private students. The focus of discussion in this chapter will be almost exclusively about private students' fees.

When the University first introduced programmes for private students departments were able to keep much of the income they generated. However, in an effort to ensure that some essential functions of the University were adequately maintained and managed, this practice has changed considerably. By 1998/99 the University had developed a complicated - but transparent - formula to divide the income generated between the individual departments/faculties engaged in this work and the central administration. At the time that the interviews discussed below were conducted, the funding formula involved all programmes contributing five percent of income generated for the maintenance of buildings and ten percent for the university staff retirement benefit scheme. Of the remaining income, 45 percent (from fees from private day students) and 25 percent (from evening, post-graduate and external students) were forwarded to the Central Administration for staff development (around ten percent), wage top ups (ten percent), the library (five percent) and contribution towards the running costs of the Administration (between 10 and 20 percent). It is important to note, therefore, that all staff, whether they participated in the teaching of private students or not, benefited from the resources generated through enhanced wage packages and other communal benefits (such as an improved library).

Further, during the period under review, departments had considerable latitude in how they chose to spend the remaining resources (55 percent of day programmes and 75 percent of external, evening and post-graduate programmes). However, most resources tended to be absorbed in the running costs of the programme itself. These costs

primarily concerned the paying of staff members for running the programmes and marking examination scripts and term time work. Staff members were drawn either from within the department, who earned additional money to their university salary, or part-timers hired specifically for the programme, and who were not university establishment staff (Hyuha 1998; Hyuha 1999).

5.2.1 Student Numbers

In terms of assessing the impact that the various income-generating schemes have had on the University, it is the rapid increase in student numbers which generates both the greatest pride, as well as the greatest concern on the part of senior staff members who participated in the interviews. There is genuine pleasure taken in the knowledge that the admittance of private students has meant that students who did well enough to qualify for entrance to Makerere, but not well enough to secure government funding, have been given the opportunity to study:

‘Lots of students who had been left behind, now have a chance to join. So many have been given a chance to come to Makerere. It’s a very good thing’ (Kirumira 1999).

The numbers have certainly been impressive, as the former Minister of Education Hon Amanywa Mushega, attests to with considerable satisfaction:

In the next ten years, Makerere will graduate more people than it graduated in the first seventy years. ... This year they graduated more than 4,000 people. Ten years ago that was about the total enrolment of the University (Mushega 1999).

There is also a very realistic appraisal that private students bring with them substantial resources (‘Some objected to the idea of private students, but when the students came and they saw how much money could be made, they wanted more!’ (Higenyi 1999)) without which the University would not have been rejuvenated:

Considerable resources have come into the University through these programmes. It simply would not be possible for us to be doing what we are without private students (Higenyi 1999).

Fee paying students have made Makerere more visible and more exciting. The University is re-finding itself. ... It is not a sleeping giant any more. (Rwabukwali 1999).

Box 5.1: Summary of responses to question ‘What do you think have been the positive effects of the introduction of fee paying students at the university?’ (1999)

Category	Examples
Improved physical facilities and general equipment <i>15 mentions</i>	Resources available for spending on <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - new buildings, and improving existing infrastructure - office stationery, pens and papers - office equipment such as computers and printers - fuel for faculty and departmental vehicles. Being able to create a pleasant working environment, by providing carpets and curtains in the workplace Computer laboratories for students
Staff members properly paid, which results in increased morale and higher output. <i>14 mentions</i>	Better remuneration for staff, which has the following consequences: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - are present in the department, given up part-time jobs - working much harder - morale has improved - treated with more respect off-campus - much more committed to academic work Increasing focus and concern about research and own academic standing as more invested in their university jobs
Administrative system is more efficient and easier to manage with less bureaucracy <i>9 mentions</i>	Much greater degree of autonomy, which has allowed <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - decisions to be made much quicker - for a simpler process with much less bureaucracy - for focus to develop and implement own programmes - the setting of departmental priorities and the space to ‘get on with it’
Students who have not qualified for government support are given a chance, rather than being excluded <i>6 mentions</i>	Students who did not qualify for government support, now have a chance for education – ‘they can come to Makerere and make a dream come true’ There is a revitalised student body, as there are resources available to make the study environment for students that much more positive (e.g. resurrecting the student newspaper and faculty journals)
A generally improved academic ethos on campus. <i>5 mentions</i>	‘Proper’ academic research taking place, rather than commissioned consultancies, supported by <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the re-introduction of academic departmental journals - funds for research and staff development The development of new programmes and courses, and the restructuring and revising of old
Other <i>Single mention each</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - developing and maintaining regional, Africa wide and international links, as resources now available to attend and host conferences - a ‘changed culture’ in which the institution is not looking for hand-outs all the time, but generating its own - raised status of faculties which generate resources: ‘We used to be poorly regarded, but because we are now attracting private students and generating resources we are seen to be contributing to the whole university’ - in contrast to many African countries, student strikes and disruptions very rare: ‘Students are much more focused on getting value for money’.

The single most commonly cited example of the positive benefit of the admittance of private students was the improvement of physical facilities and general equipment that the new resources have provided. Almost everyone interviewed made some reference to this issue, from the Vice-Chancellor, who expressed considerable relief at the fact that the sanitation systems in the administrative block and the residences were now working due to the resources available for maintenance of University buildings, to a number of Heads of academic departments who expressed real pleasure in being able to provide basic furnishing like carpets and curtains in their offices for the first time in more than a decade. The faculties of Law and Social Science had each been able to pay for the own building with lecture theatres and offices, while the Makerere Business School had virtually built a new satellite campus, with a computer laboratory with over 100 machines for students. While few faculties could rival the resources generated and hence the purchasing power of Law, the Makerere Business School and Social Science, all faculties had materially benefited in some way or another. However, the fact that so many departments mentioned being able to purchase 'pens and paper' and 'office stationery' as a positive change gives some insight into how difficult the situation was when the institution was solely reliant on government funding. Some sense of the levels of inefficiency and frustration previously endured under the strictures of such limited funding is expressed in this explanation from the Dean of Law about why the Faculty, despite some uneasiness, agreed to experiment with the admittance of private students:

We began a debate here at the [Law] Faculty about generating money. ... One member of staff wrote a paper, first of all justifying the case for having fee paying students, secondly, making projections on how much he thought we could earn, and also demonstrating what kinds of spill over effects it would have. He said, "Look, right now, we go to the supplies department to get all our stationary and three quarters of the time when you go there they will tell you we don't have any" (Oloka-Onyango 1999).

However, significant numbers of staff expressed disquiet about how rapid the increase has been, which has resulted in serious overcrowding in classrooms, in the library, and in examination halls:

Sometimes you can't move here. There are students everywhere. ... We have even been forced to teach classes on Freedom Square⁷ (Rwabukwali 1999).

Student numbers have increased three-fold in a very short period of time. ... You can't really *teach* 150 students in a class. ... Mathematics is about relations

⁷ The open parade grounds in front of the main Administrative building.

and thinking. It can't be done with the ratio of staff to students that we have currently. ... What are we giving these students? We might be able to give degrees in large numbers, but can we give an intellectual training? (Baryarama 1999).

We don't count the numbers of students who use the library. What would be the point of counting? We don't have to. All I can tell you is that this place is full from early morning until late at night. All 1,000 places are taken and there are still students around. ... Even at night when students are escaping the noises in the residences. ... We are looking at trying to cater for between 20 and 30 thousand students in the future (Mugasha 1999).

Most staff argue that this is a 'temporary situation', in part necessitated by the legacy of poor investment in and maintenance of the institution, and compounded by the need to generate the necessary resources to undertake major capital projects. The Academic Registrar provided an eloquent defence of the University's strategy, while the Head Librarian provided a concrete example of how the strategy is put into operation:

Of course there have been problems. ... We have very large numbers now, and we don't really have the facilities to deal with them all. But it is a short term problem. We need new resources to expand our facilities, and it is those students who bring the resources. ... It is *not* a chicken and egg situation. We know what needs to come first. We must have the money and then we can build the facilities. We can't do it any other way (Hyuha 1999).

The rapid growth of student numbers has given rise to new approaches to management. While these new approaches have offered the possibility of efficiency gains, they frequently have resulted in some tension between the Central Administration and academic departments, particularly the Business School, about the best way in which to manage the process. The Administration has come into some criticism for their 'inefficiency' and 'old fashioned' management approach:

The management of these programmes has not been a cup of tea. ... The responsibilities that emerged out of this went beyond the ordinary responsibilities for an academician and also led to conflict as an attempt was made to distinguish between the traditional roles of an academician and the new roles brought by the extension programmes. ... New administrative roles emerged [for academics] and this definitely led to a friction between the academics and the administrators (Balunywa 1999, 11).

The biggest problem is the University has failed to manage the process successfully. There is an old fashioned administration using old structures and ideas that haven't changed from 30 years ago ... Can you believe that they use a manual process for admitting students and keeping records? (Sejjaaka 1999).

Whether these criticisms extend beyond the Business School is difficult to conclude. No other faculties or departments questioned the management of the process in the same way, but few faculties have the experiences of the Business School in terms of the growth of student numbers (the School has expanded tenfold in the last decade) or the same vision for further expansion. The major concern raised by other faculties has tended to focus less on University management, and much more on the question of 'quality'. The quality of students admitted, the quality of teaching offered, and the quality of the university's increasing numbers of graduates, informs much of the debate about the future direction of the private students' programmes on campus.

5.2.2 Quality Issues

Students

There were very different views expressed about whether the quality of students admitted to the institution had declined noticeably since private students began to be admitted. A handful of academics (from departments reliant on a good school grounding in mathematics or science) argued that overall the quality of students admitted to the institution had declined, due to the declining performance of the secondary school system:

I think the overall quality might have dropped a little. Students seem less able to express themselves, and they seem be less serious than the students, say of my generation. They need more guidance and help than in the past. ... It does concern us (Sewankambo 1999).

Generally speaking the quality of students is low. Really, it's a school issue. Secondary school teachers are paid so badly. They are constantly having to look for supplementary incomes which means they don't have time to prepare lessons properly and they don't have proper contact with the students. So it is a national issue. ... But here in the Medical School there is a devoted old cadre of staff members who have been here a long time. I think they have been able to work to maintain standards (Nzarubara 1999).

Students are definitely not being adequately prepared by the schools for university level maths. ... We have to be gentler with first years than ever before (Baryarama 1999).

However, a large number of staff members were very firm in their rejection of the notion that quality might have been adversely affected by the more open admissions policy, pointing out that all students admitted had achieved the minimum standard necessary for entrance (2 principal passes at A-levels). Further, the Head of Political Science pointed out that the standards required for entrance were much higher than

when he was admitted to study at the University in the mid-1960s. Most people interviewed tended to give more equivocal responses, acknowledging that government students tended to be stronger academically than private students when they first arrived at the University:

The competition for government sponsorship is very fierce. So the quality of government students has remained high. The same can't be said for private students. They do have lower grades (Kiggundu 1999).

Oh, the government definitely sponsors the brightest and the best. Which is not to say that private students are weak. They can cope, but there is a difference (Ssekamwa 1999).

There is a difference, you can't say otherwise. The government only take the top 2,000 school leavers. They come into this faculty with around 40 points, whereas some private students come with just 18 points (Higenyi 1999).

Government students tend to have gone to the better schools. They've had access to good teachers and to text books. And it shows in their marks (Sejjaaka 1999).

However, even those who argued that there was a qualitative difference between government and private students, tended to suggest that this difference was mitigated by private students' commitment to work harder and more conscientiously than government students, so that in terms of overall performance there was little difference between the two groups of students:

We get good marks from both categories of students. Although private students don't have such high school leaving marks as government students they work very hard when they get here. They know how much they – or their parents – have paid to be here and they don't want to let them down. ... The government students tend to relax more (Sengendo 1999).

There's not a noticeable difference between private and government students. Except that private students are definitely a different kind of student. They tend to be older and many of them are already working. It makes them more disciplined (Mungoma-Mwalye 1999).

Box 5.2: Summary of responses to question ‘What do you think have been the negative effects of the introduction of fee paying students at the university?’ (1999)

Category	Example(s)
Overcrowded facilities <i>11 mentions</i>	<p>The rapid increase in student numbers has led to over crowding in classrooms, the library, and examination halls, impacting on capacity of students to learn effectively</p> <p><i>Most believe it is a temporary problem and that the resources generated will be used to improve and expand existing facilities</i></p>
Concern over the ‘quality’ of student being admitted to the University <i>8 mentions</i>	<p>The issue about student quality is informed by two concerns</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - students who are getting lower marks but who can afford to pay are being admitted, while better students are excluded - this is exacerbated by the large number of students on campus, with overextended staff <p>Many of the interviewees argued that there is a ‘trade-off’ between admitting high numbers and maintaining quality</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - some suggested that there are now more ‘pass’ rather than ‘distinction’ students; - some argued that while the institution ‘can give degrees in large numbers’, but suggested that ‘an intellectual training’ demanded more intensive relationship between staff and students than big numbers allowed <p><i>Many of the people who raised this issue pointed out that all students admitted had achieved the minimum entry qualification.</i></p>
Large numbers have impacted on the teaching and learning process <i>6 mentions</i>	<p>Not enough material and human resources to engage properly with large numbers</p> <p>Forced changes in assessment process (e.g. shift away from essays to multiple choice questions) which is of concern in the humanities and social sciences</p> <p>Can no longer sustain the tutorial system in many faculties. Far less personal contact between students and academic staff.</p>
Academic staff under enormous pressure and stress in trying to cope with student numbers <i>5 mentions</i>	<p>Some Heads of department expressed concern that staff were working so hard that they ‘may be breaking down quietly’</p> <p>Exacerbated by government ban on recruiting new permanent staff, and difficulties of recruiting some staff in specific subject areas, especially science and technology. <i>(Ban has since been lifted)</i></p>
Other <i>Single mention each</i>	<p>Concern over the amount of time and energy private students spend struggling to raise resources to pay fees, especially during examination time</p> <p>Concern that the University has failed to ‘manage’ the whole transition process successfully. Argue that it is an ‘old fashioned administration using old structures and old ideas’ trying to manage a whole new system</p>

The acting Dean of Social Science made a more interesting argument, suggesting that whatever advantage government students had on entering Makerere, that 'at this level cramming and coaching doesn't work'. This is an obvious reference to the widespread belief that students who do well enough in their A level examinations to secure government sponsorship tend to come from families which can afford to pay for extra-curricula tutoring and examination preparation classes. The acting Dean argues that with hard work that private students can definitely do as well as government students (Rwabukwali 1999). But not all private students fit into this category of hard working, conscientious students. The Head of Finance suggests that at the Business School there is increasing concern about a small minority ('maybe 2 to 3 percent of my class') of private students who come from the 'super rich of Uganda'. He labels these students as a 'big headache' who 'never have a clean academic bill of health':

They haven't earned the money that has brought them to Makerere. ... They don't take studying seriously and are *always* asking for special favours and privileges (Kakuru 1999).

In general then, it appears that the increase in student numbers has not been achieved by compromising the quality of students admitted to the campus. While private students do have lower entering grades than government sponsored students, most of the senior leadership on the campus believe that this factor is largely evened out through hard work and application on the part of private students, motivated by the fact that they (or their families) have paid for them to be at Makerere.

This view is only partly borne out by a stratified survey of selected second year students (n 1,030). In this survey, there was a statistically significant difference in the self-reported academic results of government and privately sponsored students. Government sponsored students reported disproportionately higher results than privately sponsored students. Over 60 percent of government sponsored students reported receiving mostly As or Bs for their work, with only 45 percent of privately sponsored students reporting the same. It needs to be borne in mind that surveys which rely on participants self-assessment of success may do little more than point to the fact that a particular group of participants (in this case government sponsored students) have a greater tendency to over-estimate how well they are doing. Certainly, the overall pattern does suggest a tendency to over-estimate academic success, as more

than half the sample reported getting mostly B's (65 – 79 percent), when it is more likely that the greatest proportion of the sample would have been getting mostly Cs (50 – 64 percent).

Table 5.2 : Selected 2nd year students' self-reported average academic results, by major sponsor (1999)

Type of Sponsorship	Average Academic Results					Total
	mostly A	Mostly B	mostly C	mix C and D	mix D and E	
Government Students	27 4.8%	329 58.3%	188 33.3%	17 3.0%	3 .5%	564 100.0%
Private Students	12 2.9%	176 42.3%	194 46.6%	29 7.0%	5 1.2%	416 100.0%
Total	39 4.0%	505 51.5%	382 39.0%	46 4.7%	8 .8%	980 100.0%

Sours: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

What is also interesting to note (despite the limitations of the survey) is that proportionately more private students report doing less well. This concurs with the sentiments of a number of senior academics. The Head of Food Technology and Science, for instance, argued that one of the key differences between private and government students is that 'private students struggle so much for funds' to the detriment of their academic work:

I think [private students] would do as well if they didn't have to spend so much time just before examinations looking for fees so that they don't get excluded (Kikafunda 1999).

I know that private students do less well than government students – those are the results that are on my desk. But I also know that basically there is very little difference between government and private students. But the quality of life for private students is quite different here. They have problems that no-one else seems to see. The University has to do something about looking after them better (Baryarama 1999).

This has important implications for the efficiency of the institution, and will be properly explored in *Chapter Seven*, which looks at the sustainability of the new programmes.

Staff

The income generating programmes of the University have had a dramatic impact on the conditions of service for academic and other senior staff members at the University as all programmes make some sort of contribution towards 'wage bill top-up'. In

addition the University has also established a retirement benefit fund to supplement the very meagre government fund. The University's 'top ups' have ensured that Makerere staff are amongst the best paid in the region, a far cry from the early nineties when Professors were earning in the region of \$30 per month. In some cases the top-up provided by the University almost trebles staff's government salaries. For instance, in 1999, a professorial member of staff earned just over \$1,000 a month, of which \$470 was paid by the government. Further, the Vice-Chancellor, has argued that 'with continued improvements in revenues' that it is 'expected in the near future' for this to rise to 'well over \$3,000' per month. While the Dean of Law argued that the increases to academics' salaries as a result of income generated through student fees meant that staff were only 'half-way to a living wage', the effect on efficiency has been considerable:

It's changed the place so much. You can come here anytime and you will see staff and students. They work sometimes past 10 o'clock at night (Sengendo 1999).

The University used to be *dead* over the holidays. Now people are around. ... Staff are working much harder now (Mungoma-Mwalye 1999).

'But the big thing that we've been able to do is to start to pay our teachers properly. Teachers here earn more than administrators. ... [It means that] teaching has become the most valued activity in the faculty' (Rwabukwali 1999).

Perhaps of greatest importance is the fact that earning a proper salary meant that academics could begin to give up 'second income' jobs, which they had been forced to take up to survive. One Dean, with considerable distress, recalled how he had been reduced to driving a taxi to make ends meet during the late 1980s. Other senior staff interviewed said that generally staff morale on the campus has improved considerably, not only as a result of better salaries, but also in response to academics being able to 'get on and do the job they were trained to do' (Kiggundu 1999). A sense of dignity has been reclaimed by Makerere academics ('We're no longer the laughing stock of Kampala') as they are able to perform their duties in a more professional manner in more suitable environment (Ndoleriire 1999).

The greatest problem being faced by most academic staff members is how to deal with exceptional student numbers. Staff student ratios have changed dramatically in some faculties, and in ways which suggest that quality must have been compromised. For

instance, according to the acting Dean the staff:student⁸ ratio in the Social Science Faculty has mushroomed from 1:13 to 1:300, which has made it effectively impossible for staff to ensure that teaching, but particularly marking of students work and examination scripts, is done effectively and efficiently:

There's been no increase in staff as posts have been frozen, despite the massive growth in student numbers. ... With up to 1,500 students taking a course, marking is an absolute nightmare. And how can we be sure any longer of well it is being done? (Rwabukwali 1999).

Large student numbers has meant that personal contact between staff and students has all but disappeared in the larger departments, particularly in the arts and humanities, where many staff struggled to provide adequate assessment and feed-back to students on their progress throughout the year. The traditional means of assessing students through essays was in the process of being replaced by multiple choice and short answer papers, but some staff expressed disquiet over what implications this might have for quality in faculties like Social Science, where a key skills is the capacity to develop a written and substantiated argument. In some departments tutorial systems have been abandoned, only to be replaced by long queues of students outside lecturers' offices. It is not unusual to see harassed academic staff lock their doors and ignore insistent knocking, before running the gauntlet of students hands and voices when forced to appear for lectures (Akiiki-Mujaju 1999; Rwabukwali 1999; Ssekamwa 1999).

The very large numbers are cause for a concern. Not only because of quality, but I fear that some staff members are working so hard that they may be breaking down quietly (Sengendo 1999).

The pressure of work at the moment makes me wonder for how long things can go on in this way. Everybody works so hard. For such long hours (Kiggundu 1999).

Part of the reason for the very high staff student ratio is that the University has been unable to expand its establishment posts. As part of its structural adjustment programme the Ugandan government agreed to a ban on all new recruits to the civil service, which technically includes staff at Makerere. However, most faculties have got around this ban by recruiting part-time lecturers (Kakuru 1999; Mungoma-Mwalye 1999). Further, departments and faculties have been given a great deal of independence in deciding how to spend any resources they generate. The Vice-Chancellor, therefore,

⁸ Full-time student equivalent.

has little sympathy for over-extended departments arguing that greater resources should be dedicated to securing the necessary staff to run the programmes: 'They mustn't complain. We don't force them to do anything. They set the numbers' (Ssebuwufu 1999). Alternatively, as in the Medical Faculty, students numbers could be trimmed, if it becomes apparent that resources (human and material) cannot cope with the numbers admitted. In the case of the Medical Faculty numbers were cut back by around 20 percent (Sewankambo 1999). Certainly, the Vice-Chancellor has argued elsewhere that 'the beauty about paying programmes, besides earning income for the University, is they create their own capacity in terms of space, books, journals and equipment' (Ssebuwufu 1998, 6). The experience of the Business School appears to suggest that it is possible to expand class sizes without reaching unacceptable limits of staff:student ratios:

We've currently got around 800 face-to-face private students. ... It'll probably be increased, as the basic inputs can all be increased. Books, staff, computers, physical space. It's all there. ... We pay our part-time staff \$30 per hour, which is a competitive rate. ... We've got the money, and it can be managed properly (Kakuru 1999).

However, even those senior staff members who complained about the current system, were very sure that it was a substantial improvement over the past. Along with more resources had come a more efficient system which has far less centralised bureaucracy:

'We can now set our own priorities. ... We can make a decision and just get on with it. There's no waiting for endless committees to make a decision and then to be told that there's no money anyway' (Rwabukwali 1999).

This point is perhaps best illustrated by contrasting that perception and the attitude in the Business School with the experiences of departments still largely dependent on government resources and so far more constrained in their choices:

It's not easy. ... We want to increase our establishment posts. At the moment it is under consideration, but it will be long, long process – maybe about five years or so. ... You put in a request to Planning and Development, they do the calculations based on anticipated student numbers. ... Then they make a recommendation to the Establishment Committee who decide (Kikafunda 1999).

We don't get many private students, and that makes things really difficult. ... We expect to get government money to meet day to day expenses and it is just not happening. It's difficult to be a good teacher while also trying to focus on income generation. But the real difficulty is this ban on recruitment. We can't fill places while people are away training. ... Not even if they are dead! (Katunguka-Rwakishaya 1999).

Academic Ethos

The injection of new resources into the University has undeniably improved the academic ethos of the institution. The most obvious ways in which this has happened have been the improvements to buildings and creation of professional work spaces, including proper investment in the library. A number of academics also made mention of important initiatives like the resurrection of departmental academic journals (Political Science); the participation in regional and international conferences, for students as well as staff (Law Faculty); the revitalisation of old curriculum and the introduction of new courses (Arts Faculty); the provision of updated course materials (Geography); and the purchasing of new teaching equipment such as over head projectors (Civil Engineering).

For the former Minister of Education, and the most senior leadership figures in the University, the best measure of an improved academic ethos is that at Makerere, unlike many universities in Sub-Saharan Africa, student strikes and disruptions are very rare. Those people who raised this issue did so in the context of illustrating how much better (more efficiently and effectively) the University is functioning since the introduction of private students:

It solved many problems. ... Student demonstrations stopped. ... The students who were complaining that they were too poor now had a problem. Because they knew the people they had been to school with. ... And you cannot go and say you are the poorest and the government must help when you know that a person like you is paying 100 percent (Mushega 1999).

Student strikes – like those in Nairobi – don't really happen here. Students are much more focused on getting value for money. They want to finish their courses (Sejjaaka 1999).

Student perceptions

To get an indication of students' perceptions of the quality of education they were receiving at Makerere, one of the statements posited in a questionnaire distributed to a stratified sample of second year students in 1999⁹, was '*I am very satisfied with the quality of education I have received at Makerere*'. Students had five options to choose from in their response. Around a third of the 1,030 respondents indicated no strong agreement or disagreement with the statement, while around 50 percent of the sample agreed, with just 15 percent disagreeing. In terms of strength of feeling, under five percent 'strongly disagreed', while more than twice this proportion (12 percent) 'strongly agreed'. This

suggests that around eight out ten students in the sample were either satisfied with the quality of education, or at least, were not actively dissatisfied with it.

Table 5.3: Selected 2nd year students' responses to statement 'I am very satisfied with the quality of education I have received at Makerere'

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	125	12.1	12.1
Agree	399	38.7	50.9
Don't really agree	315	30.6	81.5
Disagree	98	9.5	91.0
Strongly disagree	49	4.8	95.7
No answer	44	4.3	100.0
Total	1 030	100.0	

Source: compiled from the 1999 Makerere student survey

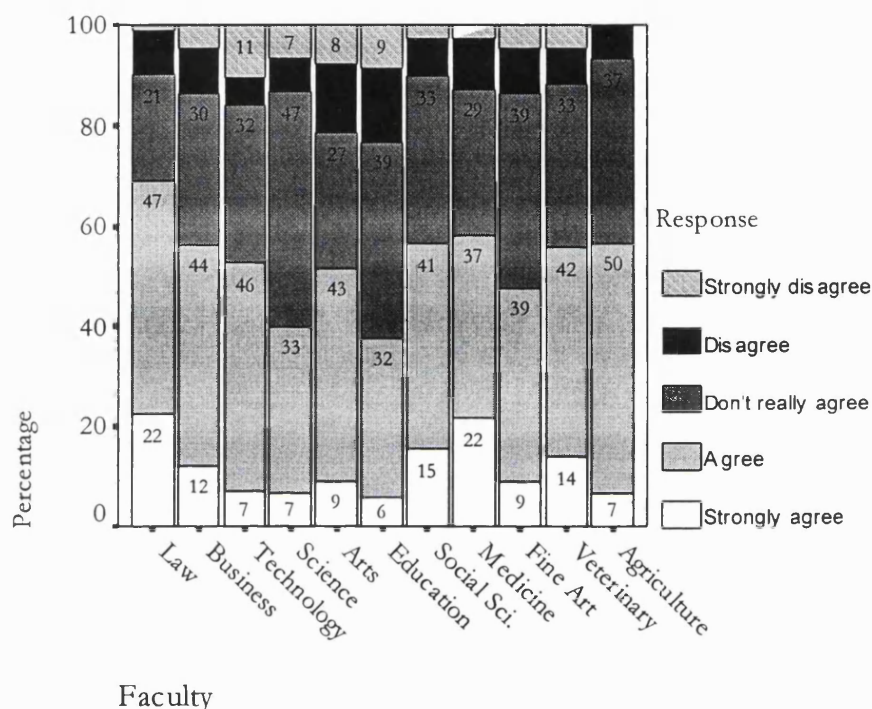
The pattern of responses did not differ significantly when comparing private and government funded students, nor men with women. However, there were significant differences by faculty in the degree of satisfaction expressed by students, as demonstrated in *Figure 5.1* (overleaf). Students in the faculties of Law (22 percent) and Medicine (22 percent) most strongly agreed that they were very strongly satisfied with the level of education they had received at Makerere, followed by Social Science (15 percent), Veterinary Medicine (14 percent) and Business. Over two-thirds (69 percent) of Law students agreed that they were satisfied their education at Makerere. The faculties of Education (38 percent) and Science (40 percent) had the lowest levels of satisfaction, with amongst the lowest proportion of students agreeing that they were satisfied with the quality of education. However, it was the faculty of Technology which had the highest proportion of students (11 percent) of students who 'strongly disagreed' that they were satisfied with the quality of education.

This pattern suggests that students in the high status professional faculties tend to be most satisfied with their education. The low ratings for Science and Education are likely to be influenced by the fact that these faculties tend not to be 'first choice' faculties, in which there is a preponderance of students who have tried unsuccessfully for admittance to other faculties. However, the good results from the Social Science faculty suggest that those faculties which have grown very rapidly with the introduction of large

⁹ The student survey is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

numbers of private students have not (at least in terms of students' perceptions) suffered a dramatic loss in terms of the quality of education that they can offer.

Figure 5.1: Selected 2nd year students' responses to the statement '*I am very satisfied with the quality of education I have received at Makerere*', by Faculty (1999)



Source: Compiled from the 1999 Student Survey

In addition to a statement about the quality of education offered at Makerere, the students who participated in the survey were asked also to respond to the statement '*I have complained to members of staff about the quality of teaching at the University*'. Part of the reason for the inclusion of this statement, was to test the notion that students paying for themselves would be more demanding of academics, and that this would enhance the efficiency of the institution. Certainly, there is a perception that this is the case amongst many of the academics who were interviewed: 'Private students are very demanding. They want their money's worth' (Rwabukwali 1999).

Around one in three (36 percent) of respondents agreed that they had complained to members of staff about the quality of teaching at the University. Given the relatively

high levels of satisfaction expressed about the quality of education received at Makerere, this response seems higher than might have been expected, and does seem to suggest that students are quite demanding in terms of the level of service they expect from the institution.

Table 5.3: Selected 2nd year students' responses to the statement '*I have complained to members of staff about the quality of teaching at the University*' (1999)

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	136	13.2	13.2
Agree	241	23.4	36.6
Don't really agree	137	13.3	49.9
Disagree	267	25.9	75.8
Strongly disagree	170	16.5	92.3
No answer	79	7.7	100.0
Total	1 030	100.0	

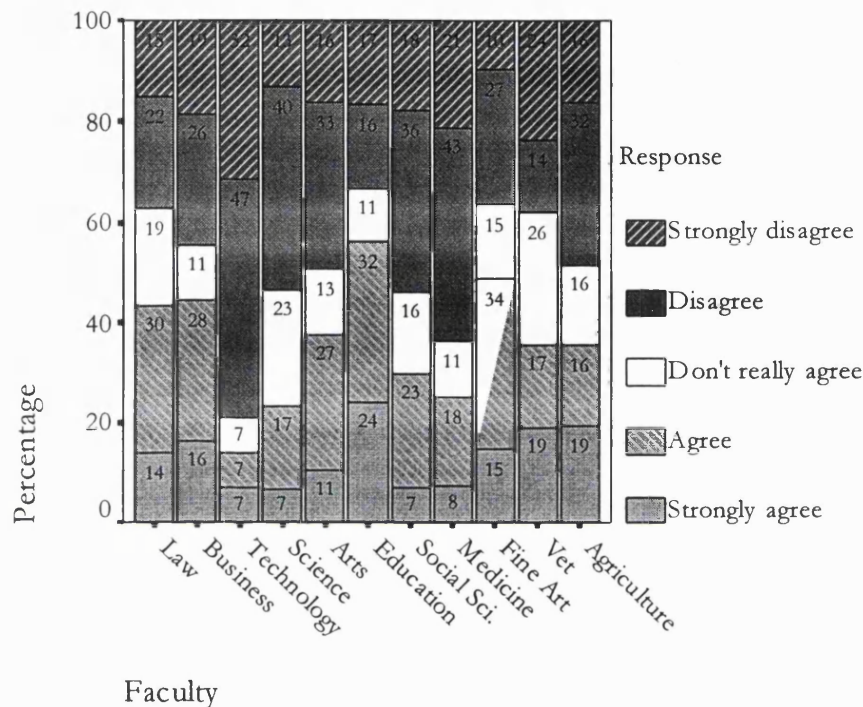
Source: Compiled from the 1999 Student Survey

However, the pattern of responses from private and government students was very similar, against expectations and the anecdotal impressions of academic staff interviewed that private students would be more demanding. There were also no significant differences in the responses of men and women students. Across faculties a very interesting pattern of responses emerged, with significant differences between the faculties. More than half (56 percent) of student respondents in the Education faculty agreed (24 percent strongly so) that they had complained about the quality of teaching. In contrast, only around a quarter (26 percent) of students in the Medical faculty, and a third (30 percent) of students in the Social Science faculty similarly agreed. However, in the Technology and Science faculties (both of which scored very low on the satisfaction rating) also had the lowest proportion of students who complained about the quality of teaching. In the Technology Faculty, for instance, almost 80 percent of respondents disagreed that they had complained about the quality of teaching.

This suggests either that the source of students' dissatisfaction with the quality of education they have received at Makerere is unrelated to the quality of teaching (being perhaps more associated with the curriculum or access to technical equipment), or (more likely) that they feel unable to raise complaints, which may be an additional source of dissatisfaction about the quality of education in the Faculty. It is not possible

to tell what is the underlying reason for this apparent contradiction, but the results suggest that it would be an interesting area for further investigation.

Figure 5.2: Selected 2nd year students' responses to statement '*I have complained to members of staff about the quality of teaching at the University*', by faculty (1999)



Source: Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey

In sum: the picture drawn from the student survey of is of student body generally satisfied with the quality of education on offer at the institution, although with significant differences across the various faculties. While the professional faculties tend to receive higher satisfaction ratings, there is no evidence to suggest that the more general faculties which have grown very rapidly over the last five years have significantly less satisfied students than the rest of campus. Moreover, it appears that students in most faculties are willing to raise complaints when they are dissatisfied with the quality of teaching, suggesting a student body conscious of its rights with regard to services on campus, a practice which the University is reportedly encouraging:

The chairman of Makerere University Appointments' Board Prof. Mondo Kagonyera has said non-performing and lazy lecturers will be punished. "Report lecturers who do not perform. ... I will not hesitate to punish them. I went

to the Faculty of Social Sciences recently and found that there are some lecturers who are not teaching. ... We would like you students to report them to us so we can punish them and enable you to get your money's worth" (Mucunguzi 1999, 3).

5.2.3 Research

In explaining why research is 'not really' regarded as a priority issue by the government, the former Minister of Education argued that there is a tension between short term and long term investments. Research is regarded as a 'long term investment'. In the context of great poverty and hunger ('a lot of our people still want their daily bread') it tends not to be prioritised, other than to some degree in relation to agriculture and health (Mushega 1999). This attitude goes some way towards explaining the low levels of investment in research in the University which persist in Uganda, despite the improved financial position of the current government and the national economy.

However, one of the major changes that has resulted from Makerere's improved capacity to raise its own resources, is that within the University there is growing attention being paid to the question of research output. Only one person interviewed argued that research output and quality from the University had gone down since the new funding initiatives were put in place, arguing that 'there is not much time for writing with the number of students we are trying to teach' (Sengendo 1999). The majority stated that research had improved, suggesting that the key to this improvement lay in the growth of post-graduate studies, coupled with the substantial investment the University was making in staff development. Over the past two or three years, there has been increasing encouragement for staff to get higher degrees, and real investment on the part of the University to support this process. In 1999, there were around 125 staff members on study-leave in various universities around the world. Just under two-thirds (80 in number) were on doctoral programmes (Ssebuwufu 1998, 7). Further, the Head of Veterinary Medicine argued that shifts in donor funding towards an emphasis on 'sandwich training' (which sees substantial parts of training taking place in Uganda, rather than exclusively at institutions in donor countries) has meant both that more staff have access to opportunities and that 'people don't just disappear' afterwards:

They remain in the department to do their research, bringing with them new equipment and drugs. ... We benefit much more from this process (Katunguka-Rwakishaya 1999).

Other members of staff, while acknowledging that more research is being done, were more circumspect about its quality:

It's mostly the quick and dirty type of research, with a donor driven agenda. And because it's so tied up with money making it's really viewed as an individual pursuit there isn't much sharing of ideas and work. ... Sometimes you don't know what your colleagues are doing till you see them on tv presenting their results! (Rwabukwali 1999).

But in fact most of the participants who addressed this issue suggested that in fact there had been a noticeable shift away from consultancy driven research in more recent times, which they regarded as a indication of the positive effect of institutional investment in research (Kiggundu 1999; Nzarubara 1999). However, most participants did identify 'funding', or rather the lack of it, as the key challenge to be addressed in the improvement of research quality and output. They argued that these resources were more likely to come from donors, than the government or the University, and a number expressed some concern about the continuing influence of donor organisations in setting research agendas. It is likely that greater institutional resources will be dedicated to research activities in the near future, as the Director of the School of Post-Graduate Studies reported that the University was intended to take an additional sum (around five percent) from income generating programmes to be dedicated to institutional research activities (Mugerwa 1999). While greater dedicated resources will no doubt have a positive impact on research, a number of the academics interviewed argued that 'time' and a change of attitude were what was needed to really impact on the research ethos at Makerere:

Certainly the research output has increased, but then it had to, it was going up from around zero! ... But there is still a problem. We need to work on the consciousness of staff, so that they research not so much as a painful necessity but rather as something genuinely important. Only then will the quality really improve (Kakuru 1999).

5.2.4 Graduate Employment

If there is considerable satisfaction in the growing numbers of students at Makerere, both from the University and the government, there is also increasing concern about the growing problem of graduate unemployment:

The biggest problem now is how to absorb this mass of graduates leaving the University. Yes, definitely, the biggest challenge we are getting now is a

mass of unemployed secondary school leavers, A-level leavers, graduates and diploma holders (Mushega 1999).

The newspaper coverage of University graduation ceremonies in 1999 were almost all accompanied by dire warnings of how poor job prospects were for most of the graduates:

The good news is the number of graduands this year have increased by 15 percent. ... The bad news is that the job market is too small for the graduands. ... Ojok Fred Ongom, who graduated in 1990 with an upper second honours degree in Arts ... collapsed on the streets of Kampala. He was job hunting. On him were several copies of job applications. ... The private sector which is supposed to be the leading employer at the moment is not yet fully developed to take up all the graduates. The ban on civil service recruitment, adopted as part of government's restructuring programme has only added insult to injury. There have been reports that it was lifted but there is nothing on the ground to show that it no longer exists (Mugeere 1999).

Students, however, continue to be fairly optimistic about their job prospects. In the survey of second year students, referred to earlier, selected participants (n 877) were asked to respond to the statement '*I don't think it will be a problem to find a job when I graduate*'¹⁰.

Table 5.4: Selected 2nd year students' responses to the statement '*I don't think it will be a problem to find a job when I graduate*' (1999)

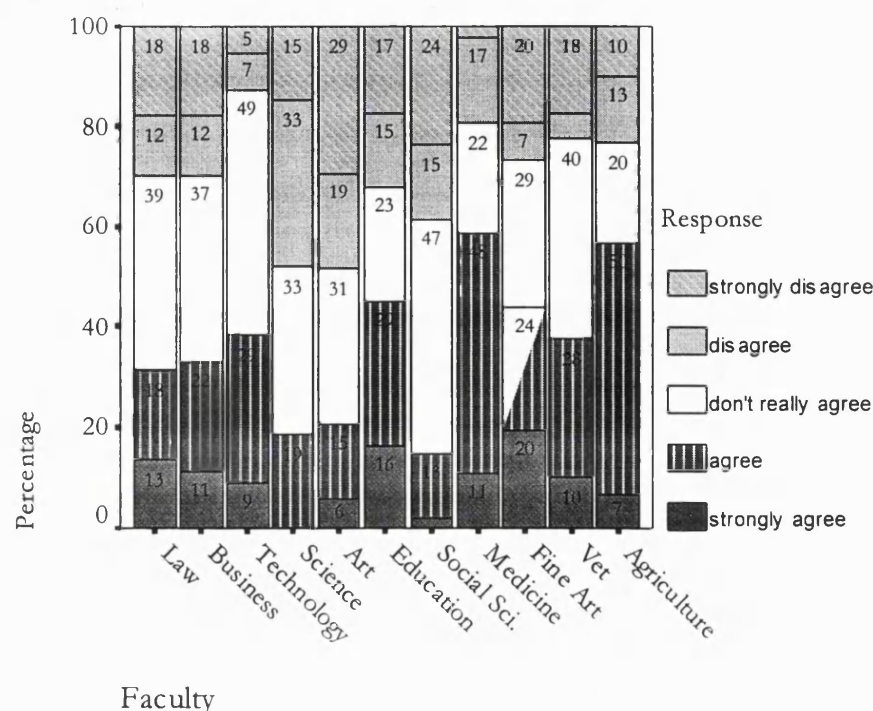
Response	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	84	9.6	9.6
Agree	196	22.3	31.9
Don't really agree	264	30.1	62.0
Disagree	108	12.3	74.3
Strongly disagree	140	16.0	90.3
no answer	85	9.7	100.0
Total	877	100.0	

Source: Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey

Just under a third (32 percent) of students agreed with this statement (under 10 percent strongly). While men students were slightly more optimistic about getting a job than women students, the difference was not significant. The response pattern of government and private students were also very similar.

¹⁰ Students on the evening programme were not asked as many would be in paid employment already.

Figure 5.3: Selected 2nd year students' responses to statement 'I don't think it will be a problem to find a job when I graduate', by faculty (1999)



Source: Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey

As Figure 5.3 (above) demonstrates, there were significant differences in responses when the results were analysed by faculty. While it was not unexpected to find that students from Arts (48 percent) and Social Science (39 percent) were among the least sure of securing a job on graduation, it was perhaps surprising the extent to which respondents in the Science Faculty were unsure about their future on graduation. Almost half (48 percent) of respondents from this faculty disagreed with the statement that they did not think it would be a problem to find a job, and none strongly agreed with this sentiment. However, this result should be treated with a measure of caution as the sample size ($n = 32$) is very small. Even in the prestigious faculties of Law and Business, one in three respondents felt that it would be a problem to find a job on graduation. Students from the faculties of Technology, Medicine and Education were the most certain that they would not have a problem securing employment on graduation.

Students in the survey were also asked to respond to the statement 'I will only accept a well-paid job when I leave University'. A very similar pattern emerges to that which was revealed in the responses to the question about a job on graduation, with under a third of students (29 percent) agreeing that they would only accept a well paid job. Similarly,

there were no significant differences by sponsorship or by sex. While there were some differences in responses across the various faculties, they were not statistically significant, but it is perhaps interesting to note that Law and the Business School, with around 40 percent each, had the highest proportion of respondents agreeing with the statement.

Table 5.5: Selected 2nd year students' responses to the statement '*I will only accept a well paid job when I leave University*', 1999

Response	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
strongly agree	81	9.2	9.2
agree	174	19.8	29.1
don't really agree	349	39.8	68.9
disagree	126	14.4	83.2
strongly disagree	62	7.1	90.3
no answer	85	9.7	100.0
Total	877	100.0	

Source: Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The concerns expressed by the media, the government, and students about graduates' job prospects are confirmed by the empirical evidence. Since 1994 the University has carried out a 'First Destinations' survey of university graduates. This information is collected at graduation, which takes place around six months after students have completed their studies. 531 students filled in the survey in 1994, while around 1,200 students completed a slightly revised questionnaire in 1997. In a report which analysed the responses of the first four years of the survey (1994 – 1997) it was found that the percentage of students 'managing to get secure employment is declining'. In 1994, 42 percent of respondents reported that within six months of graduating that they had secured either a permanent or contract job, or that they were self-employed. In contrast, only 33 percent of graduates who participated in the 1997 survey reported the same (Mayanja and Nakayiwa 1997, 70).

While these figures are of growing concern, the former Minister of Education provides an important perspective on this problem:

How do we find employment [for all graduates]? But to me that is a better problem than – it's like when you have been having no shelter, and your neighbour is having too much rain. He's worried about how to store the rain water for the future, but you are worried about how to keep dry. You can't see the two problems as the same. You both cry that you have problems, but they

are different. Having illiterate people is not the same thing as having too many educated people without jobs. I think the educated group is more creative. It puts pressure on the government. It may bring them down, but at the end of the day it will bring the country up. That is my own outlook (Mushega 1999).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have shown that while Makerere shared many of the efficiency problems faced by most African universities in the late 1980s, that unlike many of these institutions, things have changed quite considerably at Makerere. To a large measure this is due to the new resources which have been generated by the institution, primarily through the fees of private students admitted to the University since the mid-1990s. These new resources have been responsible for creating a new academic ethos on campus: buildings have been repaired; staff are properly paid; the institution is investing in staff development and research; the library is expanding, and students generally express satisfaction with the quality of education that they are receiving.

However, while it is widely agreed that in general the impact of the new programmes which have admitted large numbers of private students to the University has been positive, there are a number of concerns that are being raised in response to these initiatives. The first is some concern about the way in which the process has been managed thus far. Some staff have argued that the increase in private students has been too rapid and has resulted in poorer quality students being admitted in numbers which has caused debilitating overcrowding on the campus. Senior leadership at the University argue that this is a temporary situation, which needs to borne while the institution generates enough resources to compensate for the legacy of limited capital investment, and while new buildings and resources are built or acquired. The major long-term concern is that graduate unemployment appears to be increasing as the national economy is unable to keep pace with the growth in university graduates. Finally, there are some voices expressing concern about whether the new measures have been equitable, and whether they are sustainable. These two issues are addressed in the following two chapters.

CHAPTER SIX

MY VILLAGE ISN'T REPRESENTED ANY MORE: ACCESS AND EQUITY AT MAKERERE

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the impact that the changes in student funding at Makerere have had on the question of access and equity. This issue is explored by examining the way in which the student profile has changed since greater numbers of privately sponsored students were admitted to the University. The chapter is primarily based on the analysis of the student survey which I undertook in 1999 which explored participants' backgrounds, the manner in which their studies were being financed, and their expectations of the future. The questionnaire was designed in such a way as to allow for comparison with two earlier studies, undertaken in the late 1950s and the late 1960s, when the circumstances of the University and the country were quite different from present times.

The chapter begins with a brief discussion about the research approach adopted, noting the problems associated with getting accurate figures for student numbers at the University, and the limitations of the 1998/99 student survey on which much of the discussion of the chapter is based. Before moving on to look at the effect that the new measures have had on access to the institution, there is an examination of the equity issues underpinning the reasons that some staff at Makerere opposed the introduction of fees at the University. A broad brush-stroke picture of the way in which the student body changed between 1990/91 and 1997/98 is painted, paying particular attention to changes to the shape of the University, that is, to proportional changes in the size of faculties, and post-graduate and under-graduate students. The chapter then moves on to focus on the 1999 student survey, and to investigate the key differences in the profile of government sponsored and privately sponsored students. The chapter concludes with a brief historical comparison between the contemporary student profile and earlier student profiles, focusing on the issue of parents' educational background and occupational status. It is argued that while there are some important differences, the very elitist profile of students in relation to the rest of the country has remained remarkably stable over time.

6.1 Limitations of the Research Approach

In order to explore the changing profile of Makerere, and in particular to contrast government and private students' demographic profiles, I have relied on two major sources of information. These were the 1997/98 nominal student roll, (the most up-to-date information available at the time I was at Makerere) and the student survey which I undertook during the 1998/99 academic year. Both of them have limitations, which are discussed briefly below, and in greater detail in the *Research Appendix*.

6.1.1 University statistics

Despite the existence of a range of University records, it was difficult to ascertain the precise number of students at the institution during the period that I was at Makerere. For instance, and with regard to the figures I use throughout this chapter, the nominal student roll for 1997/98 gives the total number of undergraduate students at Makerere as 12,581 whereas the Registrar's Office, in reporting on student numbers for the period 1983/84 – 1998/99, suggests that in the year under discussion (1997/98) there were 14,367 undergraduate students.

In part the problem arose because the University was growing so rapidly, with a myriad of new courses and variously classified students, and so it was sometimes not clear which students were included in the figures provided by the University¹. The key distinctions made between students concern the level of study (undergraduate or postgraduate); type of sponsorship (government or private); and type of programme (day, evening, or external). 'Day' students are predominantly government sponsored students who attend the traditional University programme. 'Evening' students are those participating in one of the newly introduced programmes for privately sponsored students, which are taught in the evening. 'External' students are correspondence students who only come to campus two to three times a year for a week to ten days during University vacations for an intensive period of learning².

¹ In the case of the discrepancy between the nominal roll and the Registrar's Office, it may simply be an issue of timing. The Registrar's figures were finalised in June 1998, the student roll a few month's previously. It is conceivable, although I was not able to confirm this, that a rush of students paid their fees just prior to final examinations being undertaken, and hence appeared in the later figures.

² See *Appendix One, Research Methodology* for a more detailed discussion.

The problem of keeping accurate records of all students was compounded by the fact that the rapid growth of the student body was preceded by a decade or more of under-investment in the institution, so that much of the University Administration was neither adequately staffed or computerised, making the production of student data time consuming and difficult, and almost certainly resulting in some inaccuracies. As increasing resources are being directed towards the Central Administration this problem is being eased. The point to stress here, however, is that in terms of the data presented below, while the trends are clear, the precise figures should be treated with a measure of caution.

6.1.2 The student survey

1,500 questionnaires were distributed to a stratified sample of second year students at Makerere over a three week period in the second term of the 1998/99 academic year. The sample was limited to a single academic year in order to be able to get an indication of a cohort's progression from primary school through to Makerere. The sample was stratified to ensure that there was coverage of all eleven faculties, in part because implementation of the new programmes for private students had largely been introduced at a faculty level, but also because there is a definite 'hierarchy' of faculties in terms of status and prestige which needs to be taken into account in the discussion around access and equity.

Survey Distribution

In order to make the distribution and collection of questionnaires as efficient as possible, questionnaires were distributed and collected in selected classes in each of the faculties. As external students are largely correspondence students and only on the campus for very limited periods of time, they were not included in the study. Attendance at lectures at Makerere is compulsory (in some classes an attendance record is still kept), but it was becoming more difficult to enforce, particularly amongst private students. Hence, it is important to note the potential bias, namely that the sample is only of those students who attended class on the day the questionnaire was distributed. Classes were selected on the basis of the recommendation of the Dean identifying a department which was 'broadly representative of the Faculty' in terms of size and composition, and the Head of department recommending an individual second year

class on the same grounds. These precautions, while yielding a very good response rate (68 percent), meant that the results should be taken as no more than an indication of patterns emerging at the University, rather than as representative of the student body as a whole³.

Purpose of the Survey

The purpose of the survey was three-fold: to explore participants' backgrounds; the manner in which participants' studies were being financed; and participants' expectations of the future. In *Chapter Three*, a series of factors were identified which I suggested affected educational opportunity in Uganda. These were gender, geography and socio-economic class. It is these factors which have informed the choice of demographic features that I have explored within the survey.

Difficulties of measuring Social Class

With regard to the factors discussed above, while sex and geography were easy to demarcate and report on, social class was not. Yet clearly, in discussing key issues related to equity and access in relation to fee-paying or government sponsored students, it is a critical point to consider. I had intended to rely largely on parents' background to determine socio-economic status, but this proved more difficult than anticipated, largely because there was an abnormally high non-response to questions dealing with participant's parents. For instance, in the case of father's occupation just under half (46 percent) of respondents gave no answer to this question, with slightly fewer (41 percent) providing no response to mother's occupation. Just over ten percent of respondents provided no information about their mother's education (this level was more in keeping with the non response rate of other questions) while twice that (20 percent) provided no information about their father. Around a third (28 percent) of respondents provided no information about their father's form of transport, while around a fifth (20 percent) did the same with regard to their mother⁴.

However, in further examining patterns of responses, it became apparent that very few participants had given no information at all about their parents. In general, there was at least some information about one parent. (Those students who gave little or no

³ See *Appendix One, Research Methodology* for further discussion

information most often fell into the expected category of being an orphan or having no contact with either parent). Hence, it was possible to use a process of combining family status with occupation, education, transport to allocate the participants to three socio-economic levels – ‘high’, ‘medium’ and ‘low’. This process, discussed in greater detail in the *Research Appendix*, is by no means precise as it is based more on information available, rather than information that was desirable. In the absence of better measures, the factors of family status, family background and school fees – both separately and combined - have been used to give some indication of relative economic privilege both within the sample of students, as well as in relation to the general population. However, given the low response rate in relation to parental background, and the inexact way in which they were combined, these measures should be treated as no more than exploratory findings, indicating areas which need further investigation.

6.2 Concerns about the impact on equity

As documented in *Chapter Four*, there was initially great resistance to introducing cost sharing measures at the University. Unsurprisingly, students were overtly hostile to the idea of tuition fees, and vocal in their objections. The University staff tended to be more ambivalent, torn between a recognition of the need to raise new resources, but conscious of the hardships that would be imposed on students and their families if fees were introduced. In interviews reflecting on this period, a number of senior academics recalled how uncomfortable they had felt about the whole notion of charging fees, not least of all because they were conscious of the fact that their own University education had been free. Opposition about shifting from a situation in which the government sponsored all students to one in which some students would pay their own way, stemmed from a range of concerns. Some opposition was ideological, deriving from a political position which viewed the provision of free education by the state as a point of principle:

I mean you know, because - to be honest there were a lot of socialists - and I was one who was also not very comfortable with the idea - just the concept you know. Why should we charge people fees? It's a government obligation (Oloka-Onyango 1999).

I believe very strongly that it is wrong to exclude someone from a public institution simply because they cannot afford the fees. The government is avoiding its responsibility (Baryarama 1999).

⁴ Further detail is provided in *Appendix One*.

More often, however, initial opposition was expressed in terms of concern about quality, and arguments around the need for the University to admit students on the basis of merit, rather than on ability to pay:

How can you say that it is right to exclude this one who has more points but who cannot pay, while you let in this one, because his father has money to pay? Of course the quality of the students has dropped. And that is what worried us when we first talked about letting in students who could pay (Mungoma-Mwalye 1999).

There was much debate. People were frightened of where it would go. ... What it would mean if people thought you could buy a degree at Makerere (Akiiki-Mujaju 1999).

More specifically, there was a fear that removing the guarantee of state sponsorship from admittance to the University would mean that bright, but poor students, would be excluded from access. There was a recognition that this issue was linked to broader educational concerns (namely the availability and quality of schools outside of the central region and more urban areas generally), and an understanding that rural students were already disadvantaged in the competition to secure government funding to attend Makerere. However, in the debate about the possible consequences of the new measures, there was concern that this problem would be further exacerbated:

My village isn't represented here [at Makerere] any more. If you haven't been to the right school then you can forget it! And how are you meant to get to the right school from a rural area? That's the real problem in the rural areas – getting to a school that can get you to Makerere. And if you don't have fees for the top schools, how are you meant to afford to come here as a private student? (Rwabukwali 1999).

The biggest problem in this country is the difference between urban and rural schools. If you want equal access that's the place to start. The rural areas need good teachers who are well paid and with proper teaching resources. ... Take my niece. She comes from a rural area. She is bright, but she is not even going to make it to Senior Secondary – let alone Makerere. There aren't the schools in the rural areas to make it possible to compete fairly on a national basis. ... If you can't get out to a good school then for most people it ends right there. ... [W]hat good is it to have private students at Makerere? How does that benefit my niece? (Akiiki-Mujaju 1999).

Finally, there was some scepticism that in a country as poor as Uganda there would be enough students with available resources to be able to afford to make use of the new opportunities at all:

I was happy to see students being given a chance to come here, but I didn't believe it would be so successful. I mean, who would have thought that so

many could afford to come. This is a poor country. Most people really struggle (Sengendo 1999).

Ultimately, as outlined in *Chapter Five*, these concerns were overridden. The new measures were introduced primarily because the institution was in desperate need for additional resources, and it had becoming increasingly clear that the government had no more to provide. In addition, however, there was also a realisation that depending solely on the government to fund *all* students would mean that there would be students who were qualified and willing to pay for themselves who would continue to be excluded from access. In other words, allowing private students to study alongside government students to generate new resources for the institution while also allowing the opportunity for previously excluded students seemed a measurable improvement from the existing situation:

Then we became very hard nosed capitalists. [as] eventually the benefits became apparent. Not only for us in terms of getting half way to a living wage - but also as we saw how many kids got to come to Makerere. I mean, how many kids in this country get to come to University anyway? It's so few. Just a handful. At least this way some more were able to come (Oloka-Onyango 1999).

I think that's the most positive thing. ... That we opened our doors. ... That we gave an opportunity to people who had been excluded before (Kiggundu 1999).

Makerere certainly managed to 'open its doors' successfully. In the space of a decade or so, the numbers at the University look set to more than quadruple. While the previous chapter explored what benefits accrued to the University with regard to efficiency as a result of this expansion, the focus here is on probing the extent to which the concerns felt by the academic staff, and others, around equity and access were realised. More specifically, this chapter examines whether linking access to Makerere to capacity to pay would mean that the University would become the sole preserve of the wealthy, urban elite, or whether a close examination of the student profile on campus would reveal a more complex picture.

Government Sponsored Students

While concentrating on the way in which the student profile has changed with the entry of privately sponsored students, it is important not to lose sight of the question of equity in relation to government sponsored students. At present, government

sponsorship is awarded on a strict merit basis. As discussed previously, 'merit' in relation to government sponsorship is determined by the number of points earned at A-levels, with a small affirmative action advantage given to women⁵. Competition for government sponsorship is very intense, and is becoming increasingly so, as the numbers of qualified entrants rises, but the number of students the government sponsors remains static. In the year under review (1997/98) just under 25,000 school pupils wrote the A-level examination. A little over half (13,057) qualified (i.e. received two principal passes) to apply to attend Makerere. Only around one in ten of these students (2,300) received government sponsorship. However, as may be recalled from *Chapter Three*, the most difficult part of the education pyramid to ascend is the early stages, in particular the transition from primary to secondary school. For the 1997/98 cohort of Makerere entrants, around 412,000 pupils entered into the formal education system in Primary One, only 64,000 made it through to Senior School, with just over 8,000 entering Makerere, with just under 2,500 receiving government support (Uganda 1998c).

A recent study, commissioned by the Association for African Universities (AAU), to assess the implications of Makerere's new approach to student funding, was undertaken using first-time entering students to Makerere in 1994/95 (Mayanja 1995). Based on an analysis of the social background of these students, Mayanja (1995) was able to demonstrate the extent to which 'students from well to-do, learned families, in the more prosperous districts' dominated access to government sponsorship to the University. For instance, he found that while 0.1 percent of the general population in Uganda were in a 'high income bracket' in 1991/92, around 42 percent of students from his sample were in a similar bracket. (Similar ratios emerged in relation to the level of education achieved by Makerere students' parents, when compared with the general population) (Mayanja 1995). As was shown in *Chapter Four*, part of the reason for this pattern is that students with privileged socio-economic backgrounds are better able to pay the fees needed to attend the good primary and secondary schools, and so do well enough to secure top A-level results, and hence secure a disproportionate share of available government sponsorship. Mayanja goes on to argue that the effect of opening

⁵ Women are awarded an additional 1.5 points in calculating their scores. As entry to a professional course may demand any upwards of 38 – 40 points, this does not appear a hefty advantage, but it has seen the profile of the student body change quite considerably (from around 25 percent female students to over 30 percent) in the time that it has been in operation.

the University to private students has only further entrenched this pattern as the rural poor, especially women with these backgrounds, lack the necessary resources to make use of the new opportunities to study at Makerere (Mayanja 1995).

Mayanja concludes that the current two tier funding system needs to be replaced by a single system, in which all students are expected to pay for their own tuition and accommodation costs. In other words, that the current 'performance based subsidy' be scrapped altogether. In order to ensure that poor students continue to have access to higher education, Mayanja advocates both the setting up of a national loan scheme, as well as the introduction of a government funded 'equity based subsidy', to be administered to 'needy' students at a district level (Mayanja 1995). Mayanja's study was undertaken in 1994/95, just three years after the introduction of the new programmes which allowed private students access to the campus. At that time, government students outnumbered private students by a ratio of around 4.5:1. In a very short space of time, that ratio has fallen dramatically. By 1997/98 it was roughly equal (1.1:1) in terms of total numbers of undergraduate students.

Do Mayanja's conclusions continue to hold true in the face of the rapid increase in the numbers of private students coming on to the campus?

6.3 Changes to the Size and Shape of Makerere

While the growth that has taken place at Makerere has been rapid and dramatic, it has also been uneven. *Table 6.1* (overleaf) compares the size and shape of Makerere in 1990/1991 with what the institution looked like just seven years later (1997/98). While the total number of students had more than doubled (from just over 6,000 to just over 14,000) in fact the most dramatic growth had occurred at a post-graduate level. In 1990/91, Makerere was essentially an undergraduate University, with under 400 students (just over five percent of the student body) undertaking post-graduate degrees. By 1997/98 there were over 1,600 postgraduate degree students, and they constituted 11 percent of the student body. The growth in higher degree levels is strongly in keeping with Dore's diploma disease thesis, and is a trend that is being strongly encouraged by the University authorities (Hyuha 1999; Motavu 1999; Ssebuwufu 1999).

As can be seen in *Table 6.1*, with regard to the individual faculties, growth has also been uneven, with some faculties increasingly dramatically, others more slowly, and some remaining virtually the same. In general, the science based faculties have tended to grow the least. In 1990/91, 41 percent of the student body were registered in the science based faculties. By 1997/98 this had dropped to 25 percent. The Science Faculty (around 1,000 students) and Veterinary Medicine (around 200 students) stayed virtually the same size over the seven year period. Medicine and Agriculture grew by about a third (from around 450 students in each, to around 650). The exception to the general trend of no or limited growth in the sciences was the Technology Faculty (which includes Engineering, Architecture and Surveying) which grew almost three-fold from just over 200 students in 1990/91 to just under 600 in 1997/8. In size, however, the Technology Faculty remains one of the smallest at the University.

Table 6.1: Change to size of faculties at Makerere (1990/91 and 1997/98)

Faculty / Institute / School	1990/91		1997/8	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
Medicine	461	8.1	688	5.6
Veterinary Medicine	187	3.3	208	1.6
Agriculture and Forestry	427	7.4	640	5.1
Technology	218	3.9	564	4.5
Education	816	14.3	1,556	12.5
Law	169	2.9	474	3.8
Commerce	269	4.7	2,104	16.8
Science	1,057	18.6	1,039	8.4
Arts, Social Science, and Fine Art	2,038	35.6	4,700	37.5
Library Science	69	1.2	134	1.0
Institute of Applied Statistics	-	-	247	1.9
Adult and Continuing Students	-	-	49	0.4
Other	-	-	115	0.9
Total	5,711	100	12,518	100

Source: Table compiled from statistics supplied by the Academic Registrar's Office (1999) and Eisemon (1992).

The Faculties of Arts, Social Science, and Fine Art have been included together for comparison - as this is how the figures were included in the 1990/91 report. As can be seen from the table, combined they more than doubled in number, up to nearly 4,700 students by the late 1990s. The Education Faculty has a similar profile, being a big faculty to begin with (just over 800 students in 1990/1) and almost doubling in size (1,500 students) in the same period. The Law Faculty almost trebled in size, but remained a relatively small faculty (just under 500 students) in comparison with the major faculties. Proportionately, all these faculties remained roughly the same at the

beginning and the end of the 1990s: around a third of all students in Social Science, Arts and Fine Art; a little over ten percent in Education, and under five percent in Law.

However, it is the growth of the Commerce Faculty (later renamed the Makerere University Business School) which is the most noteworthy, as it dwarfs the expansion of all other faculties. In 1990/91 there were 269 students in the Commerce Faculty. Seven years later there had been an almost *ten-fold* increase to 2,104. In the early 1990s, the Commerce Faculty accounted for just under five percent of the students at Makerere. By the latter part of the decade, almost 1 in every 6 students (17 percent) at the University was registered at the Business School.

6.3.1 The significance of the shape of the University

The significance of the shape of the University with regard to equity, lies in understanding the hierarchy in terms of the status and prestige of various faculties, and the degree of clustering that takes place in the faculties, by sponsorship and by sex.

Status and Prestige

The status and prestige of individual faculties is most visibly reflected in the intensity of competition for entry. When applying to the University, prospective students are asked to list their three top choices in terms of courses. Competition for access to all the professional courses (e.g. Pharmacy, Medicine, Engineering, Business Studies) but particularly those that are *not* mathematics based - as relatively fewer students qualify in mathematics and science subjects - such as Law and Mass Communication is very intense. It is only the very cream of the students who get sponsorship to these courses, as there might be upwards of two or three thousand students applying for the 70 or so sponsored places in Law, or the 90 or so sponsored places in Medicine. Students are selected on the basis of the number of points that they scored at A-levels. Those students who fail to get into the professional faculties or courses are then offered places in the more general faculties doing general degrees in Arts, Education, Social Sciences, and Science. When all the government places have been allocated, the University calls for applicants for private places. Competition for access to the professional faculties in this second round of selections remains high, in part because in some faculties (especially for those faculties which do not offer evening or external degrees) there are

very few private spaces available. In Medicine, for example, there are only between 10 and 20 private places offered. In addition, increasing numbers of government students at general faculties are opting not to take up the sponsorship, but to become private students in the course of their first choice (Hyuha 1999).

An idea of the relative status of the various faculties is provided by looking at the proportion of students in each faculty that are studying the course that was their 'first choice'. Table 6.2 (below) reports on the results of the 1999 Makerere Student Survey, by faculty. Under half (47 percent) of the government sponsored students in the sample were studying their first choice course. Reflecting their greater freedom of choice, 58 percent of private students were on the course that they had selected as their top choice. Almost all the students in Law (97 percent), Technology (88 percent), and Medicine (86 percent) were studying their first choice course. Just under two thirds (65 percent) of students at the Makerere Business School were in a similar position.

Table 6.2: Selected 2nd year students by choice of faculty and sponsorship (1999)

Faculty	Percentage in faculty studying course of their 'first choice'
Law	97%
Technology	88%
Medicine	86%
Makerere University Business School	65%
Agriculture and Forestry	57%
Fine Art	56%
Social Science	33%
Education	31%
Veterinary Medicine	19%
Arts	11%
Science	10%
Sponsorship	
Government	47%
Private	58%

Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

In sharp contrast, only about one in ten students in the faculties of Art (11 percent) and Science (ten percent) were on courses that had been their first choice in applying to Makerere. The only professional faculty which scores low is Veterinary Medicine. According to the Dean of the Faculty, this is because students who do well enough in science and mathematics to be considered for the faculty would prefer to be in the Medical Faculty, as the financial rewards for the same amount of study and work are

much greater for doctors, dentists and pharmacists, than for vets. This is primarily because there are far greater opportunities for private practise in those professions – while vets are mainly restricted to working in the poorly paid state sector (Katunguka-Rwakishaya 1999). There was almost no difference between male and female students in terms of who was able to study their first choice course: close to 50 percent of each sex were on their first choice course.

6.3.2 Evidence of Clustering

The 1997/98 nominal student roll

All figures reported below are taken from the 1997/98 nominal student roll⁶. The total number of under-graduate students reported in the 1997/98 nominal student roll was 12,518. Just over two-thirds of these students (68 percent) were ‘day’ students, a little under a quarter (21 percent) were attending the ‘evening’ programme, and 11 percent were ‘external’ students.

Table 6.3: Makerere undergraduate students, by faculty and programme (1997/98)

<i>Faculties</i>	Total	%	Day	%	Eve	%	Ext.	%
Medicine	688	5.4	688	8.1	0	-	0	-
Veterinary Science	208	1.5	208	2.4	0	-	0	-
Agriculture & Forestry	640	5.1	640	7.5	0	-	0	-
Technology	564	4.4	564	6.6	0	-	0	-
Business School	2 104	16.7	339	4.0	779	29.3	986	73.8
Social Sciences	2 521	20.1	1 701	20.0	820	30.8	0	-
Sciences	1 039	8.2	1 039	12.0	0	-	0	-
Arts	1 996	15.8	1 405	16.5	591	22.2	0	-
Law	474	3.7	316	3.7	158	6.0	0	-
Fine Art	183	1.5	183	2.1	0	-	0	-
Education	1 556	12.3	1 013	11.8	193	7.3	350	26.2
<i>Institutes</i>								
Applied Stats & Eco.	247	1.8	247	2.9	115	4.4	0	-
School of Librarianship	134	1.0	134	1.6	0	-	0	-
Adult & Contin. Edu.	49	0.4	49	0.6	0	-	0	-
Other	115	0.9						
Total	12,518	100%	8,526	100%	2,656	100%	1,336	100%

Source: Compiled from the 1997/98 Nominal Student Roll, Makerere University.

⁶ The nominal student roll provides a detailed breakdown of students registered at Makerere in a given year. Excluded from this roll are post-graduate students. Included in the roll, but excluded from the analysis are students at ‘connected’ institutions. Only under-graduate students at Makerere are included in the discussion.

Clustering by Sponsorship

Table 6.3, (above) shows the 1997/98 undergraduate students by faculty and by programme. With regard to funding, the government only sponsors undergraduate students on the day programme. In 1997/98, while the government sponsored just over half (53 percent) of all undergraduate students, all of these 6,590 students were 'day' students. In contrast, of the 5,928 privately sponsored students, only a third (33 percent) were on the day programme, nearly half (44 percent) were on the evening programme, and just under a quarter (23 percent) on the external programme. Put another way – all evening and external students were privately sponsored, while amongst day students, just over three quarters (77 percent) were sponsored by the government, with the remaining quarter (23 percent) sponsored privately.

In terms of clustering by sponsorship, those faculties which have not been able to participate in the evening or external programmes continue to be dominated by government sponsored students. For example, in the Medical Faculty there were only 87 privately sponsored students, who made up under 15 percent of the students in that faculty. In contrast, the four major faculties (plus Law and to a less extent Technology) have a much greater mix of private and government sponsored students. In the Social Science Faculty, for example, there are almost equal numbers of private (1,375) and government (1,144) students. The exception to this general trend is the Business School. The massive expansion of MUBS has been driven almost entirely by private students, as only 339 of the more than 2,000 students (16 percent) were government sponsored.

Clustering by gender

According to the 1997/98 nominal student roll, of the 12,518 undergraduate students just over a third (36 percent) were women. There is strong evidence (albeit not unexpected) of clustering by sex in various faculties. Only five percent of the students in Veterinary Medicine were women. According to the Dean of the Faculty this is partly because the profession is not regarded as something that is appropriate for women ('few parents are going to let a daughter go and fight with a cow as a job'), but also because the options are limited if for any reason she fails the course ('If you drop out after five years, then what? Go and work on a farm?') (Katunguka-Rwakishaya 1999). The low proportion of women in Veterinary Medicine reflects the general trend of the under-

representation of women in any of the mathematics or science based faculties. Women students made up around a fifth (between 19–21 percent) of students in the Technology, Science, and Agriculture and Forestry faculties, and just under a third (30 percent) of the students in Medicine and Business School.

Women were slightly over-represented in Arts, Social Science, Education and Fine Art, where they made up around 40 percent of the students in these faculties (see *Table 6.4*, below). It is tempting to conclude on the basis of this evidence that women tend to be over-represented in the lower status faculties, and under-represented in the higher status faculties. However, it is in one of the highest status faculties on campus that women make up a slight majority of students: in Law just over half (52 percent) of all the students were women.

Table 6.4: Makerere undergraduate day students by sex and by faculty (1997/98)

Faculty	Total Students	Male Students	Female Students	% Female
Law Faculty	316	150	166	52%
Arts Faculty	1 405	770	635	45%
Social Sciences	1 701	981	720	42%
Education	1 013	585	428	42%
Fine Art	183	108	75	41%
University (day programme)⁷	8 526	5 544	2 982	34%
Medicine	688	477	211	30%
Business School	339	237	102	30%
Agriculture and Forestry	640	500	140	22%
Sciences	1 039	833	206	20%
Technology	564	454	110	19%
Vet	208	197	11	5%

Source: Compiled from the 1997/98 nominal student roll

This profile of participation of general under representation in the science and mathematics based faculties, but a small majority in one of the most competitive professional faculties where neither of those subjects are required suggests that one of the most important barriers to women's advancement within the University is how poorly girls perform in mathematics and science at the school level. Indeed, as may be recalled from *Chapter Three*, the starting point needs to be securing girls increased participation in these subjects.

⁷ This figure only includes the 11 major faculties. The smaller, new schools (e.g. Statistics and Economics) have been excluded from this analysis.

The pattern of participation by sex and sponsorship is more complex, and will be explored in greater detail in the following section. However, using the figures provided by the 1997/98 student roll, it is clear that one of the effects of opening up the University to private students is that it has *increased* access for women. Of the students on campus that year who were being sponsored by the government 69 percent were men. In contrast, amongst private students, while men continue to outnumber women, the gap is not as large, as the following table shows:

Table 6.5: Makerere undergraduate students, by type of programme, sponsorship and sex (1997/98)

Type of Programme and Sponsorship	Male Students	Female Students
All Undergraduate Students	64%	36%
All Government	69%	31%
All Private	58%	42%
Private – Day	53%	47%
Private – Evening	54%	46%
Private – External	71%	29%

Source: Compiled from the 1997/98 nominal student roll

Of the total number of women studying at Makerere that year, (4,578), more than half (55 percent) were privately sponsored, with 45 percent government sponsored. In contrast, of the total number of men (7,940), almost 60 percent (57 percent) were government sponsored, while 43 percent were privately sponsored.

In sum: the shape of the University has changed considerably since the introduction of private students. The new students have entered the University in large numbers, into particular faculties. The most noteworthy growth has been in the former Commerce Faculty (now called the Makerere University Business School), where student numbers have increased almost ten-fold. There has also been considerable growth in the Arts, Social Sciences, and Education faculties, but not on the same scale as that of the Business School. The profiles of the science-based faculties (Science, Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary Medicine) have remained the least affected by the introduction of fee-paying students, as they have been unable to introduce evening or external programmes. More men than women gain access to the campus, and in particular men gain a disproportionate share of the available government sponsorship. The gap between men and women is narrowing since the introduction of private students. This

is because, while more men than women have taken up private places, the ratio of men to women is lower than for government sponsored students. There is strong evidence of clustering by gender across various faculties. Women are under represented in the science and mathematics based faculties, slightly over represented in the non-professional faculties of Arts, Social Science and Education, and form a small majority in Law.

The following section examines more closely the profile of private students at Makerere, in order to address the question of who has been able to make use of the opportunity of studying privately at the University. Particular attention is paid to exploring in what ways the demographic profile of self-sponsored students differs in respect to the demographic profile of government students.

6.4 The 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The following section reports on the results of the survey that was undertaken in the second term of 1998/99. It begins with a broad outline of what the sample looked like in comparison with all second year students on campus, before moving on to explore who has access to Makerere. The central focus is on key demographic differences between private and government students, both within the University as a whole, as well as within selected faculties. Where possible and relevant, I have indicated with a simple statistical measure (chi square) when the difference between groups of students have been statistically significant, but in the main the results are presented as cross tabulation tables. The concluding section explores the historical dimension of the study, by comparing the results of this survey with those undertaken by Goldthorpe (1965), Barkan (1975) and Mayanja (1995).

6.4.1 Gender Equity

Women make up over half (51 percent) of the population in Uganda, but only around a third (36 percent) of students at Makerere. However, and this may be a fairer point of comparison than the general population, in terms of potentially *qualified* persons to attend University, women are actually slightly over-represented (see *Table 6.6*, below).

Table 6.6: Participation in selected educational institutions and programmes in Uganda, by sex (1990s)

	Male	Female	No answer
University (1997/98)	64.0	36.0	-
Uganda (1991)	49.0	51.0	-
'A' level year at school (1995)	72.0	28.0	-
Sample (Selected 2 nd year)	59.1	39.7	1.2
High Status Faculties	58.4	40.3	1.3
Government Sponsored	64.0	35.0	1.0
Private Sponsored	53.4	45.7	0.9

Source: Compiled from Uganda (1998c) and 1997/98 Nominal Student Roll

In 1995, just over a quarter (28 percent) of students registered in Senior Six classes (the year in which A-level is written) were women. 72 percent were men. This is an important distinction, not so much in relation to equity as a principle (where clearly it is desirable to have opportunities and privileges distributed as close to the national population as possible) but in terms of understanding whether the University is either perpetuating an existing inequity, or is guilty itself of creating new inequities. Understanding this question will inform what strategies need to be developed in order to see a more equitable distribution of places at Makerere. In this instance, it appears any effective strategy to address gender inequity in the higher education system will need to have its starting point in the lower levels of the education system.

In the sample of selected second year students, the participation rate of women (39.7 percent) was slightly higher than for the University as a whole. In the sample there was no indication of women being under-represented in the high status faculties (faculties in which over 85 percent of students were studying their first-choice course) of Law, Medicine, and Technology. This is likely to be because of the high (52 percent) rate of participation by women in the Faculty of Law, and the over-representation of this faculty in the sample. In relation to sponsorship to the University, the figures from the sample are very much in keeping with the picture painted for the University as a whole from the 1997/98 nominal student roll. While around two-thirds (65 percent) of the government sponsored students were male in the sample, there were more equal numbers of male (54 percent) and female (46 percent) students who were privately sponsored. The differences between sponsorship by sex are statistically significant⁸. As

⁸ The observed significance level for the Pearson chi square value of 11.889 is less than 0.001. The null hypothesis that there is no relation between sex and sponsorship can be rejected.

indicated previously, this suggests that one of the most important effects that opening up the University to privately sponsored students has had, is that it has *increased* access for women.

These findings echo the results of the Mayanja (1995) study, which also documented a proportional increase in the number of privately sponsored women. While at odds with the expectation that the new funding measures would disproportionately benefit the already privileged in Uganda, if a closer examination of the sample is undertaken, the picture becomes more complex. In Mayanja's study, he goes on to demonstrate that women who study at Makerere, disproportionately come from higher income families (Mayanja 1995, 37). With regard to father's occupation, a very similar pattern emerged in my survey. Of those who reported a 'professional' occupation for their father, 54 percent were men and 46 percent women. Of the 87 students who reported that their father was a peasant, only 16 percent were women and 84 percent men.

Table 6.7: Selected 2nd year students by economic status, sex and sponsorship (1999)

Status	Sex	Total	Government sponsored		Privately Sponsored	
			Count	%	Count	%
High	Male	192	102	53%	90	47%
	Female	190	89	47%	101	53%
Medium	Male	211	138	65%	73	35%
	Female	134	68	51%	66	49%
Low	Male	158	110	69%	48	31%
	Female	51	29	57%	22	43%

Source: Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey.

But what effect has the introduction of private places had on this pattern of participation? In Table 6.7 (above), the findings of the sample are presented by sponsorship, sex and economic status⁹. From this more nuanced perspective, the level of under-representation of women from low economic status families can be seen very clearly. Only 51 students (out of a total of 1,030) in the sample are women who fall into the category of low economic status. 'Low economic status' includes family with low income occupations (primarily peasants), and/or families with little or no education, so with relatively limited opportunities for access to high income opportunities. More

⁹ The limitations of the process of allocating students to economic status categories, as outlined at the beginning of the chapter, should be borne in mind. See *Appendix One* for further details.

than three times as many male students (158) fitted into this category. There were roughly twice as many students in the sample (382) who were classified as coming from a high economic status background. In further contrast to the low economic status category, is that there were almost equal numbers of women and men in the high economic status category.

With regard to sponsorship, the breakdown between government and private sponsorship varies greatly by sex. For female students, the breakdown is roughly equal between government and private, across all the economic status categories, with a general trend of private sponsorship decreasing as the economic status lowers (from 52 percent down to 43 percent). This general trend (of decreasing private sponsorship, as economic status lowers) is reproduced with male students, but much more dramatically. 47 percent of high status male students were privately sponsored, while only 30 percent of low status male students were in a similar position. In other words, male students, across all economic status categories claim a disproportionately higher share of 'free' education. There are fewer female students than male students in every category, other than privately sponsored, high economic status, where female students (101) outnumber male (90). Somewhat unexpectedly, therefore, it appears that male students confirm the notion that the introduction of privately sponsored places would adversely affected the participation of poorer students. The case of female students, however, appears to suggest that the measures have had little or no adverse impact on the participation of poorer students, and in the case of wealthier students has improved participation¹⁰.

6.4.2 Geographical Equity

There appears to have been no effect, either adverse or positive, on the regional participation at the University post the introduction of fee-paying students. As documented in *Chapter Three*, the Central and West regions are the most populous, with 28 percent of the national population living in each of them. The North is the least populous: despite being the largest region geographically, it contains just under a fifth (19 percent) of the total population.

¹⁰ The chapter which follows, is based on discussions with students, and provides some insights into why this might be the case.

Table 6.8: Selected 2nd year students by high status faculties and sponsorship, by region (1990s)

	Central	West	East	North	No answer
Uganda (1995)	28	28	25	19	-
Human Poverty Index Score	31.2	39.3	40.0	45.7	
Sample (Selected 2 nd year)	33.9	27.6	19.2	16.2	3.1
High Status Faculties	32.6	24.5	19.5	20.8	2.7
Government Sponsored	34.3	26.4	20.1	16.1	3.1
Private Sponsored	32.7	29.5	18.3	16.5	3.0

Source: Compiled from Uganda (1998c), 1997/98 Nominal Student Roll, and 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The participation of Makerere students, suggested by the sample of second year students, appears to roughly follow these divisions. Within the sample, a third (34 percent) named the Central region as their 'home region' (a slight over-representation); while just over a quarter (28 percent) came from the Western region. The Eastern and Northern regions were both under represented, both with under 20 percent of the sample.

6.4.6 Analysis by Socio-Economic Status

If the new funding measures appear to have had no impact on the question of geographical equity at Makerere, the same cannot be said of socio-economic status. All the proxy measures for this factor suggest that access to Makerere has further privileged the most privileged sectors of Ugandan society.

Combined Indicators of Economic Status

As discussed previously, within the sample around a fifth (21 percent) of the participants were classified in the low economic status category. Roughly twice this proportion (38 percent) were allocated to the high economic status category, and third (35 percent) to the medium economic category. 6.7 percent of the participants could not be classified as they did not provide enough information in their responses. With regard to the high status faculties (Medicine, Law, and Technology) there were slightly more (42 percent) high status students in these faculties, compared with the general sample. There were also slightly fewer (18 percent) low status students in these faculties.

Table 6.9: Selected 2nd year students, by economic status and various variables (1999)

	High	Medium	Low	No answer
Sample (Selected 2 nd year)	38.0	34.6	20.8	6.7
High Status Faculties	42.3	33.2	17.8	6.7
Government Sponsored	33.1	35.5	24.2	7.2
Private Sponsored	44.3	33.2	16.2	6.3

Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

In keeping with expectations, there is a significant difference between categories of economic status and sponsorship¹¹. As shown in Table 6.9 (above) much higher proportion (44 percent) of privately sponsored students in the sample fell into the high economic status category, than did government students (33 percent). In contrast, while just under a quarter (24 percent) of government sponsored students were classified in the low economic status category, only 16 percent of privately sponsored students were included in this category. Around a third of both government and privately sponsored students were in the medium economic status category. This general pattern serves to confirm the fear that it would be the wealthy who would be able to claim a disproportionate share of the new opportunities offered by the introduction of private places at the University.

A similar, confirmatory pattern, emerges if level of school fees is used as a proxy for socio-economic status. The range of termly school fees reported in the survey (1,000/= to 900,000/=) were ordered into three categories based on an equal proportional representation (around 300 participants in each category, with 100 non responses). Low school fees ranged from 1,000/= per term to 120,000/=; medium school fees from 121,000/= per term to 160,000/=:, and high school fees from 161,000/= to 900,000/= ¹². The mean was 162,000/=:, and the mode 200,000/=:.

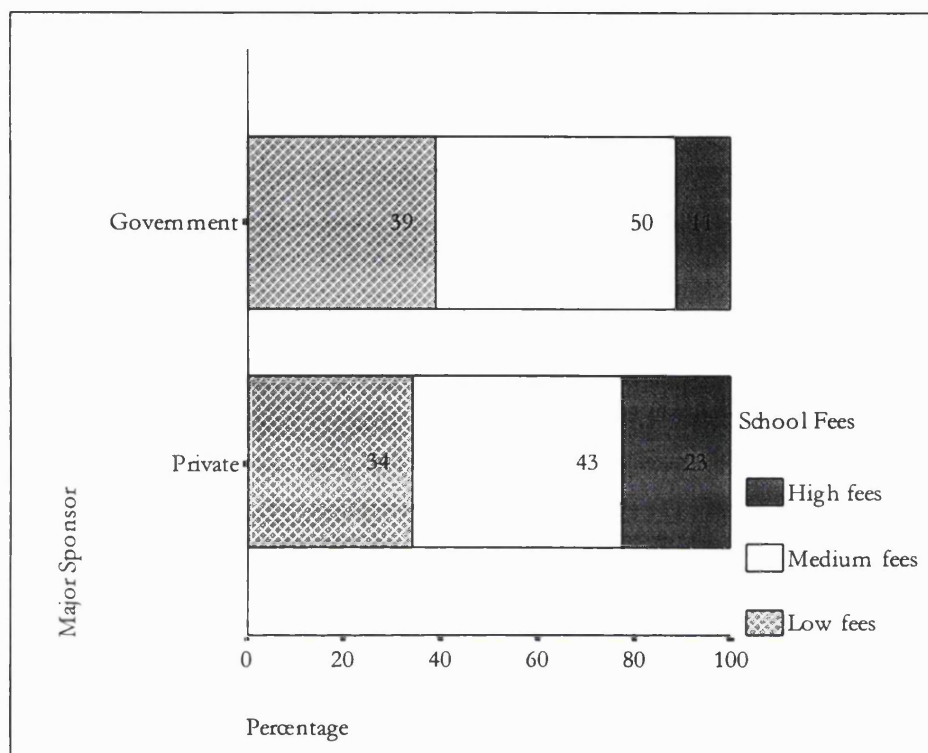
These fees that would have been paid, for the most part, in the academic year 1996/97. It is worth noting, therefore, that just two years previously (so some allowance needs to be made for inflation) the average household monthly consumption expenditure for education in Uganda was 3,800/=: . This is an annual average of 45,600/=: . While in the

¹¹ The observed significance level for the Pearson chi square value of 16.081 is less than 0.0005. The null hypothesis that there is no relation between ^{economic status} and sponsorship can be rejected.

¹² A handful of participants reported fees over 400,000/= per term. It is highly likely that these very high fees were annual rather than termly.

Central region the average was considerably higher (84,000/= per annum) than the national average, even so it is clear that considerably more was being spent on education by Makerere students' households, than the national average (Uganda 1997).

Figure 6.1: Selected 2nd year students by sponsorship and school fees (1999)



Compiled from 1999 Makerere Student Survey

From Figure 6.1 (above) it can be seen that roughly a third of both government (39 percent) and private students (34 percent) come from schools that fall into the 'low fee' category. The major difference between private and government sponsored students is most apparent at the level of high school fees. While more than two out of every ten private students fits into this category of schools fees, just over one of every ten government students does the same. The difference between government and private sponsored students is statistically significant¹³.

¹³ The observed significance level for the Pearson chi square value of 14.626 is less than 0.001. The null hypothesis that there is no relation between χ^2 and sponsorship can be rejected.
school fees

The concluding section of this chapter examines more closely the socio-economic profile of students in the sample, paying particular attention to the question of parental occupation and educational attainment. This analysis is situated within a broader historical context – by comparing the results with two previous surveys undertaken at the University in the late 1950s and the mid 1960s. The purpose of this process is to explore (albeit in a limited manner) the extent to which the profile of Makerere has changed over time.

6.5 An Historical Comparison

The two studies, briefly described below, were undertaken at very different points in Makerere's history. Information for the first, the Goldthorpe study (Goldthorpe 1965), was collected in the 1950s during 'the late colonial period', when Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania were all still under British rule. All three territories were sending students, in roughly equal numbers, to study at Makerere. Makerere was still a College in a special relationship with the University of London, and almost exclusively staffed by British expatriates. Student numbers, while growing rapidly in the years immediately post the Second World War, were still below 1,000 and overwhelmingly male.

Barkan's survey (Barkan 1975), the second study to be examined, was undertaken in 1966, only seven years after Goldthorpe's major survey, but in the wake of major changes for Makerere and Uganda. The colonial relationship with Britain had changed with Uganda gaining independence in 1962. The special relationship with the University of London had ended to allow Makerere to become the senior college of the University of East Africa. Professor Y K Lule had just been appointed as the first Ugandan to the position of College Principal, but almost 80 percent of the staff were expatriates. Student numbers had increased to well over 1,000 students, but the student body remained overwhelmingly male.

In what ways does the contemporary student profile of Makerere differ from these earlier periods, when the vast majority of students at the institution were fully funded by their national governments, and the national political context in which the University was operating was quite different from the Uganda of today? This question is addressed by examining each of the studies in turn, and by attempting to contextualise the student

profile in relation to the broader national population, before moving on to look at the 1999 Makerere Student Survey.

6.5.1 The Goldthorpe Study

J E Goldthorpe was a lecturer in the Geography Department at Makerere from 1951-1962. During that period he completed his PhD on '*Makerere Students: studies in the social origins and formation of an educated African elite*'. In his study he

tried to trace the origins from which its students have to [Makerere] College - their tribal and family backgrounds; to describe, in outline, the system of schools through which they have come, and their experiences on the way; to look at the problems of adjustment to the wider world, which they have encountered through their education; and describe how they have ended up - their careers, style of life, and later adjustment (Goldthorpe 1965, 2)..

While Goldthorpe's whole study was carried out in stages over a period of about ten years during the fifties and early sixties, the information reported on below, concerns only the survey that he undertook during the 1958/59 academic year. At that point the University numbered just over 800 (823) students. 11 percent of the students were women. According to Goldthorpe, and shown in *Table 6.10*, just over 80 percent of the students who participated in his survey (n. 160) had literate fathers, while just under 60 percent had literate mothers. This suggests that the students at that period come from a set of households quite different from the general population. At that time, only around 15 percent of adult women in Uganda were literate, and well under half (40 percent) of adult men were literate (Goldthorpe 1965, 32-35).

Table 6.10: Literacy rate by sex, by total population and by parents of Makerere students (1958/59)

	Literacy Rate	
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Total Population (1959)	15%	40%
Makerere Parents (1958/59)	58%	82%

Sources: Compiled from Uganda (1960) and Goldthorpe (1965), 32.

A similar pattern of privilege emerges when looking at the occupation of students' fathers (see *Table 6.11*, overleaf). According to the Goldthorpe survey, more than a quarter of the students who participated in the survey reported a professional occupation (10 percent), such as a lawyer or doctor, or a lower professional occupation (18 percent), such as a teacher or health assistants, for their father's occupation. Under

half of the students (47 percent) reported that their father was a farmer (including peasants) or a fisherman (Goldthorpe 1965, 40).

A direct comparison with the general population is difficult to make, as no question about occupation was asked of the African population in the *Uganda General African Census 1959*. However, it is possible to estimate that only around 15 percent of the adult male population would have been in formal employment, with the remainder (somewhere between 75 – 80 percent) engaged in peasant agriculture. (The proportion of women in peasant agriculture would have been even higher). This estimate is based on the number of African employees recorded in the 1959 *Enumeration of Employees* (just under 225,000), compared with the African adult male population at that time (just under 1,400,000) (Uganda 1960). This contrasts strongly with the Goldthorpe's Makerere sample. Almost 40 percent of the participants' fathers were in some form of formal employment; a significant minority (10 percent) of whom were in professional occupations. No information was provided about the occupation of participants' mothers (Goldthorpe 1965, 40-41).

Table 6.11: Fathers' Occupations of selected Makerere students (1958/59)

	Number	Percentage
Higher Professional	17	10.8
Higher Commercial	-	-
Lower Professional	28	17.7
Lower Commercial	12	7.6
Clerical and Allied	5	3.2
Artisans and other Manual	18	11.4
Farmers and Fishermen	74	46.8
Miscellaneous / Unclassifiable	4	2.5
Total	158	100

Source: Compiled from Goldthorpe (1965), 40.

As shown in Table 6.10, the general educational levels in Uganda in the late 1950s were very low. Only a small minority (15 percent) of adults were literate. Similarly, only a small proportion (less than one in five) adult males had access to formal employment. By comparison, the parents of Makerere students who participated in Goldthorpe's study were extremely well educated. The majority were literate (58 percent), particularly fathers (82 percent) and less than half (47 percent) were farmers or fishermen. This strongly suggests that students at Makerere, in the late 1950s, were being drawn

disproportionately from the educated, wealthy elite of Uganda. Moreover, a significant minority of Makerere students' fathers (for example the 11 percent who reported being in professional occupations) would have attended a University, most likely Makerere, themselves.

To what extent is this pattern apparent in Barkan's later survey?

6.5.2 The Barkan Study

Barkan's study (also for his PhD) was undertaken in the late 1960s. He had much broader concerns than Goldthorpe. Essentially he was interested in the roles that students' planned for themselves in the future in their countries and in examining the major factors which shaped students' conceptions of their future. In particular he was interested in 'the basic values which guide student behaviour', as he was interested in understanding the ways in which students were 'likely to affect the process of change and development in their countries'. The study looked at University students in three countries: in Uganda (at Makerere), Tanzania (University College), and Ghana (University of Ghana) (Barkan 1975, xii-xv).

When Barkan undertook his survey (1966) there were 1,351 students at Makerere. (This was an increase of around 60 percent in the seven years following the Goldthorpe study). Two-thirds of the students were from Uganda (double the proportion from the Goldthorpe study), and one-third from other countries, primarily Kenya and Tanzania. Barkan reports that 13 percent of the student body were female. In terms of his survey, there were 790 participants from Makerere, 493 from University College (Dar-es-Salaam), and 632 from the University of Ghana. Just over 500 (n. 547) of all the participants were Ugandan students, the vast majority of whom would have been at Makerere. The figures reported below are based on these Ugandan students, as opposed to general Makerere students. Women students made up 13 percent of the sample.

Although the specific categories used by Barkan are different from those chosen by Goldthorpe, an interesting pattern emerges with regard to parental levels of education. In the Barkan survey, a relatively high proportion of the Ugandan participants reported that their parents had 'no formal education': almost 60 percent of mothers, and a little

over a quarter (28 percent) of fathers (Barkan 1975, 27). In keeping with the Goldthorpe survey, these proportions were much below the proportion of the national population of adult males (51 percent) and adult females (73 percent), who were reported in the Uganda Census (1969) as having had no access to formal education (Uganda 1969). However, the more dramatic difference between the students' parents and the national population, becomes apparent at the higher levels of educational attainment. In Barkan's survey, around one in ten (11 percent) of participants reported that their mother had attended a secondary school or a higher level institution. For fathers, the proportion was much higher, around one in three (33 percent) (Barkan 1975, 27). This was quite different from the national population, see *Table 6.12*, where only one adult women in a hundred (1 percent) had attended secondary school or above. 4 percent of adult men in Uganda had done the same (Uganda 1969).

Table 6.12: Total population and selected Ugandan students, by sex and level of education (1966 and 1969)

	No Formal Education		Secondary School and Post	
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Total Population (1969)	73%	51%	1%	4%
Ugandan Students' Parents (1966)	57%	28%	11%	33%

Source: Compiled from Uganda (1969) and Barkan (1975).

With regard to father's occupation, again it is difficult to directly compare Goldthorpe's and Barkan's results as the different occupational classifications were used in each of the studies. However, it is possible to get an indication of the relative privilege of Ugandan students in relation to the general population by comparing the responses from the Ugandan participants in Barkan's study to those of adult males as reported in the 1966 *Statistical Abstract*. According to the Abstract's figures, only around 12 percent of the adult male population were in formal employment (Uganda 1966). In contrast, as shown in *Table 6.14* (overleaf), just under half (49 percent) of Barkan's respondents reported that their father was engaged in this sector. But the strongest contrast comes with regard to the public sector. As the abstract provides a breakdown of employment by private and public sector, it is possible to estimate that around five percent of the adult male population were employed in the public sector. In contrast, Barkan's survey suggests that around 30 percent of Ugandan students' fathers were employed in this sector (teachers 14 percent and civil servants 15 percent) (Barkan 1975, 28).

Both the Goldthorpe and Barkan surveys demonstrate the extent to which Ugandan students were drawn disproportionately from the elite of the country. This was particularly so with regard to levels of educational attainment. A more detailed examination of the levels of educational attainment and the socio-economic status of the parents' of the participants in my 1999 survey show clearly that this pattern has been maintained and strengthened – particularly with regard to privately sponsored students.

Table 6.13: Fathers' Occupation of selected Ugandan students (1966)

Occupation	Percent
Professional	2
Businessman	4
Civil Servant	15
Teacher	14
Clerk	3
Shopkeeper	7
Worker	2
Craftsman	2
Peasant	50
Other	1

Source: Compiled from Barkan (1975).

6.5.3 Comparison with the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

As discussed previously, the survey I conducted in 1999 was done at a time when there were around 12,500 undergraduate students at Makerere, of whom roughly a third were women. In the period since the Goldthorpe and Barkan surveys were carried out the student body at Makerere had grown more than tenfold, and the proportion of women students had trebled. The selection below compares some selected results from the earlier surveys with the later (1999) survey.

Levels of Educational Attainment

With regard to parents' educational attainment, a comparison between the surveys shows that there has been a steady increase in educational attainment in the country. In the Barkan survey, almost 60 percent of participants' mothers and 30 percent of participants' fathers were reported as having had no access to formal education. In the 1999 survey, under ten percent of participants' mothers, and under five percent of participants' fathers reported the same. At the higher levels of educational attainment

the increase in access to education is even more dramatic. While in the Barkan survey, 11 percent of mothers had attended Secondary School or higher, over 60 percent of respondents' mothers had done the same in the 1999 survey. Similarly, while around one in three of participants' fathers had at least attended Secondary School, thirty years later, the proportion was over two out of every three.

Table 6.14: Levels of educational attainment of parents of selected 2nd year students, by sex (1999)

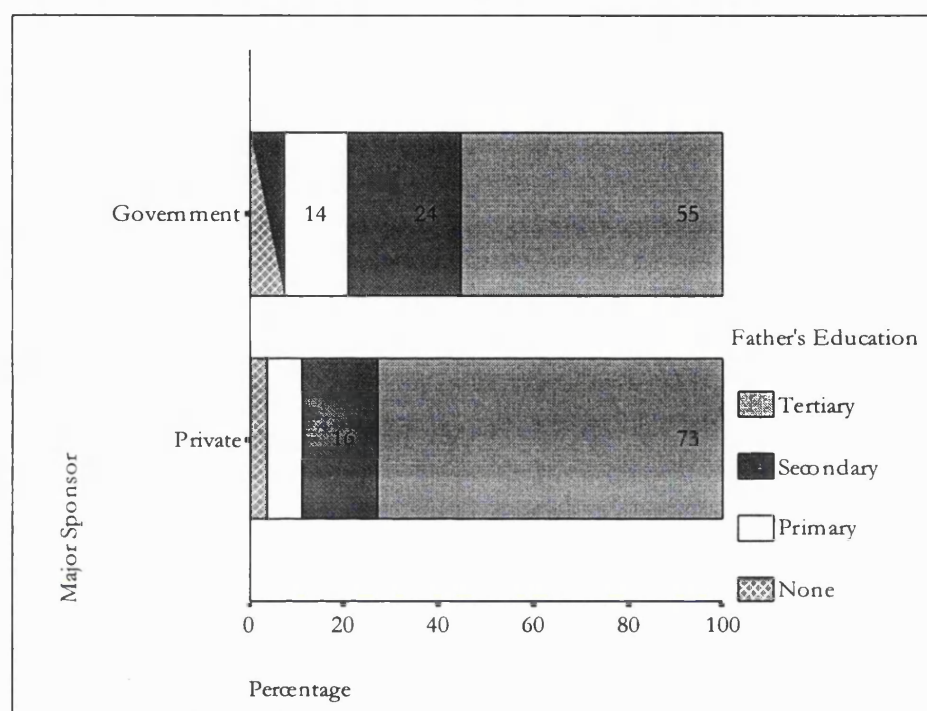
Educational Level	Mother		Father	
	Number	%	Number	%
None	89	8.6	47	4.6
Some primary	83	8.1	46	4.5
Completed primary	95	9.2	44	4.3
Some secondary	90	8.7	54	5.2
O levels	136	13.2	72	7.0
A-levels	54	5.2	41	4.0
Diploma	227	22.0	196	19.0
Degree	101	9.8	210	20.4
Post Graduate	28	2.7	116	11.3
No answer	127	12.3	204	19.8
Total	1 030	100.0	1 030	100.0

Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

While educational attainment for the general population in Uganda had also increased during this period, a comparison between the parents of the selected students in the 1999 survey and the general adult population shows strongly that students continue to be drawn from an educational elite (see Table 6.14). In 1994/95, it was reported that around a quarter (24 percent) of the population of Uganda had received no education. More men than women had had access to schooling. While around one woman in three (32 percent) had never been to school, only 15 percent of men were in a similar position (Uganda 1998b). These proportions were roughly three times as large as the sample of Makerere students' parents. While slightly more out of date, the *Uganda 1991 Census*, reported that under 2 percent of the population had a 'qualification' (including school certificates). Of those holding a certificate, around 10 percent held a University degree. In other words, under half of one percent (0.2 percent) of the population in Uganda had a degree level qualification (Uganda 1992). In contrast, fully 30 percent (40 percent if

non responses are excluded) of participants' fathers held either a degree or post graduate degree, while 13 percent of mothers were in a similar position.

Figure 6.2: Selected 2nd year students by sponsorship and father's education (1999)



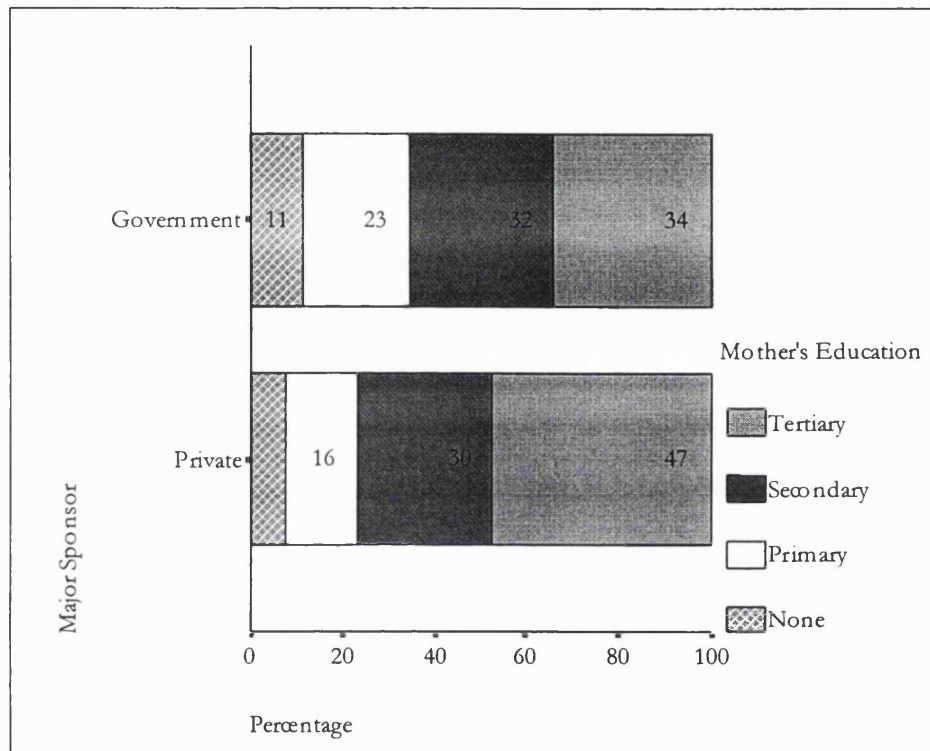
Compiled from the 1999 Makerere student survey

While it is clear that in general students' parents are very well educated, especially by Ugandan standards, further analysis reveals that private students' parents are significantly better educated than government students' parents¹⁴. In the case of fathers almost three quarters (73 percent) of the private students' fathers hold a tertiary level qualification, whereas only 55 percent of government students are in a similar position. Under four percent of private students in the sample reported that their father had no education, roughly half of the seven percent of government students. The contrast is slightly less dramatic with regard to mothers' education. Almost half (47 percent) the

¹⁴ With regard to fathers levels of education, the observed significance level for the Pearson chi square value of 26.863 is less than 0.0005. With regard to mothers levels of education, the observed significance level for the Pearson chi square value of 19.815 is less than 0.0005. The null hypothesis in both cases can be rejected.

private students in the sample reported that their mother had a tertiary level qualification, compared with a third (33 percent) of government students. Around one in ten (12 percent) of government students had mothers who had no education, while about half of that proportion (7.5 percent) of private students reported the same.

Figure 6.3: Selected 2nd year students by sponsorship and mother's education (1999)



Compiled from the 1999 Student Survey

Occupational privileges

In the context of around half (47 percent) of the survey's respondents not providing information about their father's occupation, and a slightly lower proportion (41 percent) providing no information about their mother's occupation, it is difficult to be definitive about any patterns that might be evidenced in the 1999 student survey. However, even a brief examination of the sample compared with the general population (as shown in *Table 6.16*, overleaf) confirms that Makerere students tend to be drawn from a particularly privileged sector of Ugandan society. According to the *1991 Census*, under one percent of the population were professionals or managers. Within the Makerere sample, in contrast, at least 24 percent of father's would have fitted into this category,

and at least 14 percent of mothers. This is also a much higher proportion than either the Goldthorpe (11 percent) or the Barkan (six percent) surveys.

Table 6.15: Occupation of parents of selected 2nd year students (1999)

Occupation	Father		Mother	
	Number	%	Number	%
Professional	134	13.0	29	2.8
Business	101	9.8	111	10.8
Farmer	43	4.2	30	2.9
Civil Servant	63	6.1	28	2.7
Lower Professional	59	5.7	116	11.3
Lower Business	12	1.2	25	2.4
Self Employed	23	2.2	20	1.9
Peasant	87	8.4	101	9.8
Wife	-	-	123	11.9
Retired	23	2.2	8	.8
None	2	.2	7	.7
No answer	483	46.9	432	41.9
Total	1 030	100.0	1 030	100.0

Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

Conclusion

In looking at the significant changes to the profile that have occurred as a result of opening up the campus to private students, the following is suggested by the analysis of the student body at Makerere in 1999. Firstly, that around 6,000 more students were given the chance to study at Makerere than would have been the case if access had continued to be tied to state sponsorship. The new students tend to be studying different subjects (mainly law and business studies) from traditional, government sponsored students. In particular these new students are not going into the science and mathematics-based faculties. This may have to do with opportunity as there tend not to be evening programmes in these faculties. But it may also have to do with a perception that greater rewards can be gained from studying in other faculties. Certainly more private students are studying the course of their first choice, than their government sponsored counterparts.

In terms of profile, private students look much the same as government students in terms of geographical representation. Against expectation, the students making use of

the opportunity to study privately at Makerere are no more privileged in terms of regional and district representation than government sponsored students. However, private students differ significantly from government students with regard to socio-economic class. While this study can be regarded as no more than exploratory, it confirms the trends identified in previous studies. Students from higher socio-economic classes tend to claim a greater share of the new opportunities. In other words, the poor tend to be disproportionately excluded from the opportunities offered under the new funding system. Perhaps most surprising is the fact that women have claimed a very high share of the new opportunities on offer, not in absolute numbers, but proportionately in relation to the share they claim of government sponsored places. However, it is these women in particular who tend to come from high income families.

With regard to the way in which the profile of Makerere students has changed over time, perhaps the most remarkable observation is the degree to which the relative privilege of most students at the University has stayed stable over time, even as the general levels of educational attainment and occupational privilege have improved in Uganda. However, it is also clear that throughout its history Makerere has managed to continue to attract significant numbers of students from poorer, rural backgrounds. This has continued to hold true, albeit to a lesser extent, even under the new funding regime. The next chapter explores how students from poorer backgrounds are managing to afford to come to Makerere, within a broader exploration of the sustainability of the new funding measures.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE SUSTAINABILITY OF STUDENT FINANCING PROGRAMMES AT MAKERERE

The purpose of this chapter is to look at the sustainability of the new student financing programmes at Makerere, by investigating the impact that cost sharing measures are having on students at the University. The central question explored is how children from poor families finance their studies while at Makerere, and what implications this has for sustaining the current initiatives in the longer term. The chapter relies on a series of focus discussion groups with students, supplemented by the results of a student survey, which looked at what it costs to attend University and how funds are secured to meet these costs. The results are analysed using a livelihoods systems framework. It is shown that while students use a variety of strategies and sources to secure the necessary funds to attend University, they are all very dependent on family funding. Students suggest that families invest in higher education because of the promise of increased earning power in the future, and because families believe that students will use those earnings to fund younger family members' education and in caring for their parents in old age.

In the concluding part of the chapter the differences between students' capacity to raise funds is discussed, with particular reference to gender. It is shown that as increasing numbers of students gain access to Makerere, securing family funding becomes more competitive, as more young people lay claim to this source of financing. Hence, in part, the long term sustainability and expansion of the University's private student programme is dependent on current graduates from Makerere securing jobs and being able (and willing) to contribute back into the extended family pool by financing younger siblings and other family members.

7.1 The Research Process and its Limitations

This chapter draws heavily on an analysis of four focus discussion groups (two drawn from women's only residences; one from a men's residence, and a mixed group of privately accommodated students). A total of 39 students participated in the

discussions, who were randomly selected from students who had participated in the 2nd year student survey, and who indicated a willingness to participate in further research. Information was only used from 36 as one student was from Kenya, and two students did not fill in the accompanying forms adequately enough for them to be used. In the sample of 36 there were 10 men and 26 women; ten were in private accommodation and 26 in residence; 16 were government funded and 20 privately funded; 19 reported coming from a rural family background; 13 from urban; and the remaining four said that they came from both a rural and urban background. Interestingly, in the context of Mayanja's study which demonstrates quite how privileged the majority of students are when compared with the general population (Mayanja 1998), none of the students reported that they came from a 'wealthy' family. 23 said they came from an 'average' family; ten reported they came from 'poor' families; and three provided no answer.

In terms of process, each of the groups discussed the following questions in an open forum for around 45 minutes:

- where do you get money from to attend University?
- how do you get that money?
- what do you spend that money on?
- what strings (if any) are attached to the money you get?
- how difficult is it to get money?
- what problems and difficulties do you generally experience on campus?

In order to encourage as much honesty as possible, students were then asked to answer the same set of questions individually on specially prepared sheets. This way none of their peers could see their answers¹.

Limitations of the Focus Discussion Groups (FDGs)

Clearly a study which draws on such a small sample of students should be regarded primarily as exploratory, as no claims to representivity of the focus discussion groups (FDGs) can be made with regard to the broader student body at Makerere. It is largely reliant on self-reported assessments from the student participants. Further, only students' voices are reported here, so that it is their *perception* of why their families (and other institutions) fund them, and the process by which that occurs. Self-reporting on

¹ See *Appendix One, Research Methodology* for further details.

financial issues is notoriously difficult² but there was a similarity of patterns that came from all four focus discussion groups, suggesting - within the above constraints - a degree of dependability. Finally, no broad generalisations about what makes it possible for students to raise resources to attend University can be made, as there is no comparison that can be made with the experiences of applicants who tried to raise the necessary resources, but failed. However, where possible I have attempted to triangulate the reports of students with other information (interviews with academics and administrators on campus and newspaper reports) in order to increase the credibility of the information provided by students. In particular, I have used some of the responses to similar questions in the 2nd year student survey (the 1999 *Makerere Student Survey*) to provide a broader context for the analysis of the focus discussion groups.

7.2 Deciding who comes to the University

This sections begins by looking at the costs associated with studying at Makerere, before moving on to a discussion about 'livelihood strategies' in relation to families' choices about investing in advanced education and training of individual family members.

7.2.1 Costs to Attend University

For private students, the cost of attending Makerere is affected by three different factors. First, the course being undertaken. In general, non-professional courses (around \$625 for a year in the late 1990s) are less expensive than professional courses (\$1,350). Second, the type of board and lodging, which could range from nothing (if staying at home with parents or relatives); to around \$350 in private accommodation near the University; and up to \$500 if the student stayed in a University residence. Finally, all students (both private and government) have to pay a number of additional registration and examination fees (around \$100 a year), and some have to pay additional faculty allowances for equipment, field trips and so on. The range of costs that must be

² See for example Powlson, H. and Winn, S. 1997. *The financial situation of students at the University of Brighton: The sixth report, 1996/97*. Brighton: University of Brighton. Health and Social Policy Research Centre, 97/6. September as well as Ruben, T. and Winn, S. 1995. *The financial situation of students at the University of Brighton, 1994/95*. Brighton: University of Brighton. Health and Social Policy Research Centre, 95/9. July 1995.

met by private students attending the University are summarised (approximately) in the table below:

Table 7.1: Estimate of range of costs to private students attending Makerere University (1998/99)

Type of Degree	Board and Lodging	Additional Costs Registration, examination and necessary purchases	TOTAL (per academic year)	
Non professional	Parents or Relatives	No faculty allowance	980 000/=	\$750
Professional	Parents or Relatives	Faculty allowance	2 030 000/=	\$1 530
Non professional	Off campus	No faculty allowance	1 330 000/=	\$1 100
Professional	Off campus	Faculty allowance	2 380 000/=	\$1 880
Non professional	University Residence	No faculty allowance	1 660 000/=	\$1 350
Professional	University Residence	Faculty allowance	2 710 000/=	\$2 030

Source: Compiled from papers from the Academic Registrar's Office, and the Dean of Students Office (1999).

The costs that have to be met by government sponsored students are considerably lower. All tuition fees and basic board and lodging costs are met by the government. In the past this was achieved by a direct subsidy from the government to the University. Successful students were admitted to Makerere and housed in a University residence. With the massive growth in student numbers, however, not all government sponsored students can find a place on campus. Those students unable to secure a place on the University are given a small allowance to house and feed themselves. This situation has been exacerbated by the University wishing to provide some space for private students in the residence system as the University makes money from this process which is then used for repair and renovation of the buildings. Further, the government also provides faculty allowances for students in (mainly) professional degrees. However, even government students have to find some personal resources: At the beginning of each year, each government student has to pay a registration fee, which along with the purchase of a University id card, caution money in the residence, and a compulsory University rules booklet, works out at around \$45 for the year. Along with the necessary purchase of a mattress, stationery and basic toiletries (about \$30 per year) it is estimated that even a government sponsored student would need to find from private resources \$75 per year.

In a country where almost 90 percent of households spend less than \$20 per capita per month, and where the cost of a private student at Makerere ranges between \$750 to \$2,000 per year (for a minimum of three years) the question of who *can* afford to pay fees, *how* they are doing it and at what *cost* (i.e. what is been given up by individuals, by

households etc) all become very pertinent. Part of the answer of who can afford to attend Makerere lies in the fact that per capita income. While uniformly low in relation to the rest of the world, within Uganda it is uneven. As shown in the previous chapter, Mayanja (1998) in his exploration of the social background of Makerere University students concluded that the majority of students come from well educated families, predominantly urban dwellers, more prosperous regions and – most importantly – from families in higher income brackets. However, what Mayanja's study also shows is that 40 percent of students at Makerere come from homes which have a monthly income of less than 50,000/= per month (approximately \$40) (Mayanja 1998). So how do these students in Uganda get funds to come to University? And what is the process by which this is made possible?

7.2.1 Livelihoods Systems Framework

Decisions within a family about whether to send a child to University can be a complex, particularly in poor households with limited resources. Straight forward financial issues (do we have the money for fees? if not, how can we get them?) are only one component of the decision making process. Other considerations have to be taken into account as well: is there a better way in which family resources can be used? how will a child going to University enhance the general well-being of the family? can the family afford to lose that family member's labour, particularly if there has already been a high cost in financing attendance at school? A range of factors affect the answers to these questions. Certainly, one of the most important will be the financial situation of the family concerned: do resources need to be carefully conserved or can risks be taken? But other, perhaps less obvious or less conscious issues also affect the decision. For instance, cultural norms and values will influence attitudes about what are appropriate ways for men and women to behave in relation to both raising, but also spending, resources. Further, if we want to understand the way in which these decisions are made, consideration needs also to be given to who makes these decisions, and what informs the way in which choices around those decisions are made.

A useful way of exploring the way in which families make decisions such as these is the livelihoods systems framework. One of the strengths of the livelihoods systems framework is that it insists on broadening the way in which economic activities have

been analysed and understood in relation to households. A livelihoods system refers to 'the mix of individual and household survival strategies, developed over a given period of time, that seeks to mobilize available resources and opportunities'. In this definition, 'resources' encompasses a range of assets such as property or money, but also people and the way in which they spend their time and use their skills and talents. 'Opportunities' are possibilities that can be exploited, such as connections that might give a family or individual a competitive advantage in seeking employment, or provide a safety net in difficult times. This can include kin and friendship networks, and organisational or group membership. 'Survival strategies' are the choices (sometimes extremely limited) made by individuals or households to secure the means to survival or betterment. In general there is a 'mix' of different strategies - such as involvement in the labour market; borrowing from family, friends or institutions; changing consumption patterns; and income, labour, and asset pooling within the household or more broadly. This mix will change over time - influenced by 'the season, locale, and climate, as well as their age, life cycle, educational level, and time-specific tasks' (Grown and Sebstad 1989, 941).

With respect to the work that I have undertaken, the framework has proved useful at a number of different levels. First, the framework provides an interesting way of viewing the way in which students as individuals secure funds to attend University. The framework's focus on resources and opportunities, and the very broad way in which these are understood, ensures that a wide variety of activities are explored. Second, it has been useful in identifying students' perceptions of how households view the purchase of higher education, and the role that it plays in the particular mix of strategies that different households have developed in their pursuit of survival, security or growth. Finally, the framework's insistence on understanding the way in which social identities impact on accessing and using resources and opportunities, facilitates the integration of gender and other equity issues into the analysis.

7.3 Students' Financial Status

The purpose of this section of the chapter is to provide an overview of students' financial status. It begins by examining students' reported incomes, before moving on to discuss the sources of these funds, and how they are spent.

7.3.1 Students' reported income

In discussion, it became clear that there are different categories of money that students need to raise. Most often, these different categories of money are provided from different sources. 'Core' money is the quite considerable sum that has to be found for tuition fees and accommodation. Once this money has been secured, students begin to look for money to meet 'essential' costs. These are smaller, but still important, sums to meet the additional, and variable costs, of attending Makerere. Such costs include the University registration fee, faculty allowances, transport costs to the University, and necessary stationary (pens, paper etc), toiletries and living goods (including mattress, cutlery and crockery and so on which are not provided by private or University residences). 'Disposable' is any money that students have after they have met their core and essential costs. This category had the most variation within it, both in terms of the amount of money students had in this category (some students had no resources for this area, others had sums which exceeded the average per capita income in the country) and the kinds of purchases that are made with it (primarily clothes and entertainment).

Table 7.2 (below), provides a summary of students' reported incomes, core and essential costs, and their disposable incomes. The students are listed according to their disposable income (per annum, in US dollars). These range from a low of \$150 (indicating a gap between core and essential costs and total reported income) to a high of \$835. Some demographic details (sex, primary sponsor and degree) of the participants are also included. One student, Leticia³, while providing other details, so justifying her inclusion in the sample, did not provide any specific details about her finances - only saying that she receives 'more than enough [money] for an average student'. She has been ranked along with other students that fit into this category. Other students did not provide details about small sums of pocket money that they received - but as this clearly needs to be included in the calculations, I have indicated it by a '+' sign in the 'reported income' and the 'disposable income' columns, and tried to take it into account in discussions.

³ In order to ensure their anonymity, all the participants in the FDGs chose a pseudonym for use when reporting the discussions. These pseudonyms are used throughout. See *Appendix One* for further discussion.

**Table 7.2: Reported income and expenditure (by category) of participants.
Listed by ascending disposable income (1999)**

Name *	Sex	Primary Sponsor	Reported Income	Core Costs	Essential Costs	Disposable Income
Struggling to Survive						
Susan	f	parents	920	970	100	-150
Roxynne	f	mother	1,540	1,560	120	-140
Grace	f	uncle	1,130	1,125	120	-115
Joselyne	f	parents	+1,045	1,045	100	(+) -100
Carolaina	f	father	+1,500	1,425	120	(+) -45
Sandra	f	siblings	+1,275	1,200	120	(+) -45
Daisy	f	parents	1,230	1,160	100	-30
Brenda	f	mother	1,230	1,160	100	-30
Just Surviving						
Geoffrey	m	government	75	-	75	0
Jackie	f	government	75	-	75	0
Alison	f	mother	+1,560	1,425	120	(+) 15
Firma	f	mother	+1,080	930	120	(+) 30
Benadeth	f	parents	1,275	1,125	120	30
Alengo	m	government	115	-	75	40
Margaret	f	government	115	-	75	40
Sharifa	f	government	125	-	75	50
Secure						
Jackline	f	government	175	-	75	100
Benson	m	father	1,525	1,275	120	130
Lillian	f	parents	+1,230	970	100	(+) 160
Joyce	f	government	300	-	75	225
Joseph	m	self	1,500	1,155	120	225
Rosie	f	government	310	-	75	235
Very Secure						
Leticia	f	government	Not given	-	75	not given
Mary	f	parents	+1,805	1,425	120	(+) 260
Jouillet	f	government	350	-	75	275
Spike	m	government	370	-	75	295
Joe	m	father	+2,230	1,770	150	(+) 310
Jacqueline	f	government	400	-	75	325
Tod	m	siblings	1,240	1,200	120	380
Moi	m	government	480	-	75	405
Moestia	f	mother	1,660	1,125	120	415
Elite						
Frank	m	government	600	-	75	525
Tracy	f	government	770	-	75	695
Hope	f	government	770	-	75	695
Bogi	m	father	2,755	1,770	150	835

* The names presented here are pseudonyms chosen by the students

Source: Compiled from 1999 focus discussion groups

Five bands of students are identified within the table. The first band (*'struggling to survive'*) includes those students with a negative disposable income. The next band up (*'just surviving'*) covers those students who have enough to meet their core and essential costs, and a few of them have a very small disposable income for additional purchases, ranging up to a maximum of \$50. The next group of students (*'secure'*) have disposable

incomes ranging from a low of \$100 per year to a high of \$235. The rest of the students listed (*very secure*) all have disposable incomes that exceed the national per capita income of \$240 per annum. Within this group there is an *'elite'* group - consisting of four students, who reported a disposal income of over \$500 per year.

The total reported income (per annum, in US dollars) of the participants varied from a low of \$75 to a high of \$2,755. The major difference in total reported income is in terms of government and private students. The revenue that government students have to raise is considerably less than privately sponsored students, as the state bears their core costs of tuition and accommodation. This money does not come directly to the students, but is given as a grant to the University. Income that government sponsored students reported ranged from a low of \$75 to a high of \$770. The range of disposable income for government students ranged from zero to just under \$700. In contrast, reported income from private sponsored students ranged from a low of \$920 to a high of \$2,755. While this is considerably more than the government students, concomitantly the costs being met by private students are much higher as well. If core costs are deducted then the range is quite similar to that of government students: \$50 to \$985, with the bulk of students between \$70 to \$460.

7.3.2 Sources of Funding

A wide range of possible sources of funding were identified in the general discussion with students, but a somewhat narrower group were reported on by the students in the forms discussing their individual experiences. In terms of reported sources of funding these included:

- the national government
- close family (parents, siblings, guardians)
- extended family (grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins)
- partners (boyfriends)
- friends (family friends and students' friends) and
- self (savings, and paid or self-employment both during the term time and/or vacations).

The following sources of funding identified in the group discussions, but which none of the participants reported on in the forms they filled in on their own, tended to generate much discussion in the group. However, it is unlikely that they are widespread sources of student funding:

- 'state house sponsorship'
This is government sponsorship outside of the usual open competition for school leavers. It is given directly by the President to children of loyal party members - primarily orphans of soldiers who died in the civil war. There is much resentment on the part of students about this funding.
- district level government support
- churches and other charitable organisations
- ethnic organisations
- Non-Governmental organisations, especially foreign ones
- corporate sponsorship
- exchange of sexual favours for financial incentives, variously labelled as 'sugar mummies', 'sugar daddies', prostitution and 'de-toothing'⁴
- gambling

It is unlikely that any of the institutional sources listed above provided substantial revenue to a wide range of students. The absence of any structural mechanisms to make these institutions accessible, such as advertisements for applicants, knowledge on campus about how to apply and so on, suggests that only a minority of students benefit from any of them. For instance, the Minister of Education reported that fewer than 60 students in total received 'State House' support, although most students on campus persist in their belief that it is far more widespread than this⁵. With regard to sexual favours and gambling - despite it exciting much discussion on the part of the students - again it is highly unlikely to be a major source of revenue for anyone. This is not to suggest that sexual exploitation is not occurring on campus - on the contrary - there is enough anecdotal evidence in the newspaper to suggest that it is horrifyingly widespread among women students. However, in terms of it generating revenue for students, there is nothing to suggest that it is widespread, although obviously a lack of financial resources may make some students more vulnerable to exploitation than others.

This view is confirmed by the 1999 Makerere student survey of selected 2nd year students which gives some indication of both the variety of sources of funding, as well as how widespread they are. In the survey students were asked who was their primary sponsor, the results (excluding government sponsored students) are outlined in *Table 7.3* (below). Despite the wide array of funding sources listed in the discussion groups,

⁴ 'De-toothing' is the practice of promising sexual favours, but having secured the financial reward - which may simply be drinks or dinner - to escape without paying.

⁵ When the Minister of Education came to campus to discuss student financing with students, he was repeatedly challenged on this issue by the students. He eventually promised to look into the question and a week later a statement was released to the press confirming the existence of the scholarships, and putting the number of recipients at 57.

there is little evidence of diverse sources of funding. Only a handful (under 15 percent) of students reported receiving sponsorship from sources outside of their immediate family. Two thirds (66 percent) of privately sponsored students were being paid for by their parents, with a further 20 percent sponsored by their guardians. 38 (just under 10 percent) students were sponsoring themselves. Eight students (all women) were being sponsored by their spouses. One student was being sponsored by a business, three through Church support, and eight by NGOs.

Table 7.3: Primary sources of funding of selected 2nd year private students (1999)

Source of Funding	Frequency	Percent
Parents	284	65.9
Guardian	88	20.4
Self	38	8.8
Spouse	8	1.9
NGO	8	1.9
Foreign Government	1	.2
Church	3	.7
Business	1	.2
Total	431	100.0

Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

Securing resources for 'core' expenses

The starting process to securing funds to attend Makerere as an undergraduate student is applying for state funding. As discussed in the previous chapter, this automatically occurs as part of the process of applying for admittance to the University, so involves all students. Hence, any student admitted to Makerere on the first round of admissions receives government sponsorship. However, as indicated previously, some students will only be accepted to their second or third choice of course, and so will decline to take up that sponsored place, in order to be considered for the next round of University selection. The second round of selections is for privately sponsored places. The core expenses of tuition fees, and board and lodging have to be found if students follow this route.

Students agreed that it was 'damn difficult' to get government funding - primarily because there are 'so many bright people, and the competition is high' (Rosie, government sponsored student). There was a strong belief that the system was fair as it was based on merit. There was no problematising of the link between attending good (and hence often expensive) schools and doing well at A-levels, although there was a

widespread understanding of the fact that students who receive government sponsorship tend to come from a limited pool of schools. This may be because there is no doubt that those students who do well enough to score a government sponsorship have to work very hard - whatever school they attended - as their privilege certainly does not extend to bypassing this process: 'A level exams requires a lot of hard working and dedication. You have to get down really on your books to pass highly' (Moi, government sponsored student, who attended a school that was ranked in the top 100 of the country). Most students addressed the need to continue working hard and passing all examinations on campus as the major, indeed only, obligation that they had to fulfil in relation to receiving government funding. Only one student, Geoffrey, linked his funding to a future obligation: 'The government wants me to work for the future development of the country'.

In contrast the majority of privately sponsored students were deeply conscious of their future obligations. This was explained primarily in terms of 'paying back' their sponsors (primarily parents) after they left University. While not really explored by the participants, it appears that parents and relatives look upon their contribution to enable students to attend University, not so much as a *loan*, but as an *investment* that needs to be paid back. Moreover, this investment is paid back, not so much in terms of a set amount, but rather in kind: for example, by providing support for their sponsor in the future, when they are unable to work. Of particular interest was the extent to which the pay back was explicitly linked to paying the school and University fees of younger siblings and nieces and nephews:

[I am expected to] pay for my young brother's fees in the future when I have a job. [Also to] take care of my parents in future e.g. paying for their medical bills, buying salt, sugar, soap and even food for them in the future *Lillian*.

The condition is to pay back [my parents] immediately after finishing and getting a job, though it is not stated direct to me. This can be through paying tuition for the young ones, feeding my mother, dressing her, building for her a permanent home if all goes well *Brenda*.

Supporting evidence that the pay-back cycle between siblings is a widespread practice is suggested by the fact that within the sample of 36 students, two students reported having their almost all their costs met by their siblings, and a further 13 students reported receiving regular financial contributions from brothers and sisters.

There was only limited discussion about why parents and relatives were willing to pay for children (or nieces and nephews) to attend University. As the following extracts from the discussion groups demonstrate, the conclusion generally reached quite quickly was that parental (and broader family) support was an 'obligation', some of the students even described it as a 'culture' of obligation. The other word that was used repeatedly in this context was 'investment'. Students were also keenly aware that in a context of limited resources, support for family assistance is competitive - between siblings and more broadly. In this regard, they were in no doubt that that financial help is dependent on their capacity to assure their sponsors (relatives in particular) that they will be paying back into the family pool in the future. Hence they were very conscious of the need to project a responsible, disciplined and considerate demeanour, particularly in relation to wealthy family members:

Facilitator: How do you get money from your family?

(interjections: 'It's usual'. 'It's an obligation'.)

1st participant: Usually most families - you find, so for example, in my case most families are attached. You know your cousins, you know your cousin's cousins. You know your uncle, your grandfather. The whole big family is attached. So if there is anyone within that big circle that has got a lot of money on them and somebody needs to go to University usually they know about it. They know that so and so - my nephew from there has registered for University but has got no money and can I help him? So they dig into their pockets and they come up with something.

2nd Participant: Some families - they contribute to a pool - which then sponsors somebody from the family to make it to University. And others - the uncle can afford. And he'll say, I'll pay for that one. That kind of thing.

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

Facilitator: if you have to go to extended family, aunts and uncles and so on, how difficult is that?

1st Participant: Even more difficult.

2nd Participant: You need to put up a good case and be around. You have to work. You have to show that you can be something after that education that will make their sacrifice worthwhile. (interjection: "sometimes they just select one person that they think is most capable of going far"). You need to be able to help. You know, some people finish school and run off. (interjection: "depends on personal character"). You need to know how to conduct yourself. Sometimes like you don't greet people. You don't help. They know that this person must be a bad one. I mean they don't help anybody - so they think, no.

So they like to support people that they think will help other people in the future?

Yes. mmmm. (warm group agreement)

So there must be lots of pressure on children that are at school?

oh yes. a lot. (warm group agreement)

It's like not turning back. You can't sleep. You're supposed to go straight. Read. Finish. You have no chance to sleep even. You can't take one year off school and all that. Time is so important.

Is there a constant feeling of being watched by all the family?

Yes. mmmm. (warm group agreement and laughter)

You can't stray ever. Just in that line. Because everybody will be looking at you. and...

Facilitator: ... and you are not going to get involved in strikes on campus?

NO! (exclamation) Not ever! (group agreement and much laughter)

That's not why you came to campus. You don't care about rights or anything. You just came to read.

(picked up by next participant) You came to read, and to finish and get a job and make a contribution back to the family.

Extract from discussion with mixed-sex, non-residence, private students.

In exploring the amount of support that students said they received from various sources in their forms, it became clear that there were some important differences in terms of the kind of support that is offered by close, as opposed to, extended family. Despite the emphasis on 'relatives' as major sources of funding in the discussion groups, in the completed forms (reflecting individual experiences) the importance of extended family support appears more limited. For instance, all the private students' primary funders are close family members, except in two cases where a student was paying for himself (his father was dead), and a guardian was paying for a student (again, both parents were dead). Other than a further two students who were being paid for by their siblings, all the other private students were being paid for by their parents, which matches the general profile suggested by the results of the 2nd year survey. The role of extended families (grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins) tended to be limited to supplementing the primary resources provided by close family, and so will be discussed in the following section.

Securing substantial funds from parents to pay for University does not appear to involve much strategizing on the part of students, indeed, for the most part, they appear not to be very involved in the decision making process at all:

I just ask my parents politely *Mary*.

Basically its her obligation and she gives it to me *Firma*.

My brother and sister know its an obligation for them to pay my fees *Tod*.

My mother just felt it would benefit to pay me in the University. She decided alone and when its time to come to school she gives me the money *Roxynne*.

While it is likely that the process is more complex than this, the students comments do accurately capture the notion that with such a major expense (as tuition and accommodation) there is a sense in which parents have either got the resources or they

do not. In this sense there is very little negotiation or strategizing about how to get them. Alison, captures this notion very well:

It is not difficult to get the money from my mother first because she feels obliged to let me have it, but not because she is rich. We discuss a few difficulties she faces and so when she doesn't have it, I don't feel like it's a difficulty, but rather an impossibility sometimes *Alison*.

Further, the fact that only one student, Benson, reported having to 'convince' his father of the 'importance of education' in the process of securing his tuition fees, similarly supports the idea that at this level students are not really able to impact on the decision making process.

Not all students perceive their parents' demands for 'pay back' in the terms of looking after them in the future. Bogi, for instance, reports that his father expects him 'to work in the family company because the course I am doing is related'. This is a prospect he is not all that enthusiastic about: '... and the fact that jobs are quite few in this country I don't seem to have an option'. More common, however, is the experience that students work for (or with) their parents, while still at University, but particularly during the holidays:

[I get money from my father] by working on his farm when I am home, especially during the holidays *Benson*.

I have to work in [my guardian's] shop every holiday or when I am on study leave *Grace*.

My parents expect me to help them doing some work on the plantation especially during the holidays *Josehlyne*.

.... when I do go home I help [my mother] do some little work like selling in the shop, cooking and doing all possible things to get the money *Roxynne*.

'Pay back' was not limited to financial demands. Many students receiving parental support reported that their parental expected them to behave in particular ways if they were to continue receiving this support. In most cases the emphasis was on working hard and passing exams well. In others, there was a need for the student to show their gratitude, to be polite and well-behaved, and in one case 'not to get married'. There was an underlying sense that funding could be withdrawn if parental conditions were not met, and in one case a student reported that she got 'threats that [her] tuition will be withdrawn' if she did not fulfil her parent's expectations:

I have to be nice, grateful, well behaved and generally disciplined for my mother to keep on paying for me that money *Alison*.

... I have to read hard, behave well so as not to disappoint [my mother], and also try and live within her means *Firma*.

I have to perform as expected, including bending to [my father's] every whim
Joe.

People at home expect me to pass my exams they don't want to see me fail or repeat the year *Moestia*

Basically there are no conditions. It is all up to me to work hard and to please them [my brother's family] or show that their money is being spent for a worthy issue *Sandra.*

Securing resources for 'essential' funds

In terms of a broad pattern, the participants identified three major sources of funding for essential funds. Government sponsored students tended to draw on close family members, especially parents, for this support. Private sponsored students, many having already received considerable support from their parents, tended to get resources for this level of funding from siblings and from extended family members. There were also a significant number of students, particularly men students, who were raising their own resources through paid or self employment.

Geoffrey, a government funded student, reported getting additional resources from a wide range of family members (his father, his elder working brother, mother and uncle) to pay for 'small assistances, maintenance and pocket money'. His perception about why they gave him this money, and the conditions that were attached to it, captures the most important elements of the high number of government students who receive similar family support:

[They] first give me for the love they have on me and because of the good behaviour I always show to them. [I am expected] to support the education and social welfare of the future generation of the family when I get a job *Geoffrey.*

While he is not expected to work in return for this money, a small number of students in a similar position were expected to do so:

I have to work very hard at home, do housework, sometimes even dig on the shamba *Jackie.*

[My brothers and sisters] expect me to work for them at home in the holidays. Also I have to be disciplined and respect them *Jackline.*

In contrast to the experience of private students getting money from their parents to pay for tuition fees and accommodation, students in this category appeared to be much more involved in the process of securing this money from their parents. Spike, a government sponsored student who relied on his parents to provide important resources to purchase essential items, reported that he got this money through

'INTENSE PERSUASION!!!', and that the major condition attached each month was that it should not be repeated: 'this is the last time I'm doing such thing!! (my father)'. In terms of explaining why it was so difficult to get resources regularly Spike said he has 'a polygamous father with many children and obligations and an unemployed mother'. This captures the sense of competition between siblings discussed previously. Many other students spoke of the need to actively persuade family members to support them. Of interest, was that in a few cases siblings were sending money to Uganda, while working overseas, the United Kingdom, Japan and the United States of America were the three places identified in this regard.

For private students, relatives and extended families (grandparents, aunts and uncles, cousins) played an important role in terms of providing resources at this level. However, this support while widespread was not as extensive as suggested by the group discussions: over half of the participants were receiving *no* resources from extended family members. Students who were not receiving support from their relatives tended to fall into two distinct groups. The first were relatively wealthy students, who had resources, after essential expenses, of more than \$250 per annum. This suggests that there might have been students who do not need (or at least, do not actively seek out) support from relatives, as their needs were being adequately met from other sources. In contrast, the other group of students not drawing on their extended family for financial support were the very poorest of the sample - those who were struggling to meet basic costs, and with no, or very limited, disposable income. This group tended to come from poor, rural families - many in the Northern region of the country. They appeared not to have access to relatives to provide assistance, or their relatives did not have resources to provide. However, in some cases, the reasons were more complex than the lack of relatives or a lack of funds:

Relatives don't easily provide for you some kind of assistance because sometimes they feel jealous of the success of your education and the kind of future you will have *Brenda*.

There is no family contribution since some family members like uncles and aunts are against it *Daisy*.

The students - both private and government sponsored - who did receive money from relatives used a wide range of tactics to get it. Leticia captured many of the strategies hinted at by other students used to secure this kind of funding:

Helping out during the holidays; or visiting relatives who feel an obligation to help out; being nice to relatives - smiling out to their children and visiting them *Leticia*.

However, most relatives appeared to want more than smiles and pleasantries. Very seldom was money given by relatives without conditions: Alengo, a government sponsored student, argued that before his relatives gave any money they 'first study your lifestyle [to see] whether there are any prospects in the future or not'. Almost all students who received money to support them during their studies spoke about their sense of responsibility to pay it back in kind. Many of these relationships did not appear to be easy. Some students spoke about how 'exploited' they felt within these relationships:

Family members expect a lot from me, though they don't say it openly *Frank*.

[My uncle] wants to exploit me and make profits *Grace*.

My guardian sometimes is so rude to me *Jackie*.

Those students who felt exploited tended to be those who were expected to work for their relatives in return for funding, as opposed to having to pay it back in kind by paying fees for nieces and nephews in the somewhat distant future. The kind of work mentioned by students being done for relatives included farm work and running errands (for the men students), and a wider range of chores such as digging on shambas, housework, looking after children, and working in shops and hotels for the women students.

The other major source of income to meet 'necessary' costs were from students themselves. Two thirds of the students in the discussion groups reported that they were working in order to raise money to attend University. One male student was paying for himself to attend University - working at nights and over the week-ends as an 'assistant bursar to the manager of a transport company'. Five other students (two men, three women) were making a considerable contribution towards their total income. The women were all teaching during the term time ('I go looking for schools around the city when I teach in the afternoon after my lectures in the University') and during vacations, primarily back in their home districts. The two men students were self-employed, but earning a considerable amount of money from quite large scale operations:

[I run a] piggery unit. ... I get the sows pregnated and sell off the litter and breed the animals again. When they are done, I get rid of 'em and start afresh. I get close to 500 000/= a year *Bogi*.

I make flower pots out of concrete and sell them to make a small profit. ... [I do] everything for the business - manufacture, advertising, marketing and delivering. ... I get around 50 000/= a month *Joe*.

Both these students reported coming from middle class backgrounds, and it appeared from the nature of the project that their family must have assisted in the establishment of them. An extract from the discussion group that they participated in explores this question further:

1st participant: There are so many businesses on campus that are owned and run by students. There's a laundry in here (the residence) that's owned and run by students.

...

Facilitator: Is it hard for students to set up a business?

2nd participant: ... that's why I'm telling you its acumen. The students who do it, they are innovative, they know who to ask, they know who to go to, and then of course, they have a base. They have a foundation.

1st participant (interjection): because you can't start a business, you can't start that laundry, you can't buy those machines - they are very expensive - you can't pay a little money to that women who works there - without a base. You have to have some money to start with.

2nd participant: Money makes money.

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

Clearly, not all students have access to 'money to make money' and were involved in much smaller scale projects to provide them with pocket money. As such the kind of work they undertook, and how they gained access to it, is discussed in the following section.

Securing resources for 'disposable' income

This was the level at which students were the most creative in terms of securing resources. While the pattern of working for family members (especially siblings and relatives) persisted at this level, in much the same way as discussed above, there was a much greater reliance on students working to raise pocket money themselves. Further, perhaps because the amount of money being raised at this level was considerably less (in most cases) than with the amount needed for essential or necessary costs, students appeared to be involved in some quite 'shady' practices to secure this money. At one end of the scale of behaviour in this regard was misleading parents, as Leticia, a government sponsored student, explained:

[I get money from my parents by] requesting for non existent school demands; threatening to get a boyfriend if my mother does not meet my demands; talking about things my fellow girls have and I can't have - this makes my mother very

sympathetic; putting up a good show for really needing the money - being confident about how needy I am; creating a conducive atmosphere, by first helping out at home and then finally asking for the money *Leticia*.

This theme was also picked up in the men's discussion forum, suggesting that the practice was widespread:

If your dad is a general manager somewhere and he is making a lot of money and you know it, but he can't give you this money because he is trying to restrict you - because he doesn't want you to get spoilt, for example. And maybe you are the type of guy to spend a lot of money on entertainment or going out for movies or going parting and that kind of stuff. And so you need say 100 thousand [\$75] for the weekend and you can't get it from your dad by asking him "give me 100 thousand". So what you do is you exploit him. You come back here and you make some official - you forge some official list of maybe academic needs. And then you go to your dad and you say "ja, look I need these things" - because he has the money and he can pay for them - "So can you give me the money for these things?". But really you are not going to use that money for those things you are going to buy half a bowl [alcohol] with it. (interjection (admiring): "sharp!" much laughter and clapping).

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

A variation on this practise was to spend the government faculty allowance on luxury goods and then to ask parents to provide resources for the field work trips or equipment that was meant to be purchased with the allowance. Within the men's discussion forum, a more creative use of the faculty allowance was discussed:

Other people just go to town and do what is called "bulk breaking". So maybe you are a government sponsored student you've got your faculty allowance. So when you get this money some of them go to town and use it to do what is called "bulk breaking" - when they go and create market for certain commodities. They go into the city and talk to business people, and find out what it is that they want. And then they go - where ever, say Nairobi, - and get the goods and come back and sell it to them to the people. Then they just take the profit.

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

The Dean of Students when questioned about ways in which students raise money also addressed this issue, but suggested that it was less successful that the students implied:

They try to do business - which always ends badly (chuckle). You know, like the private students. Their parents give them money to come and pay fees. They don't pay - some of them don't. They try to invest that money in some business in town hoping that they will make some profit and then they can pay and have profit for themselves. And they end up normally not succeeding (Ekudu-Adoku 1999).

Of slightly more concern was the fact that at least one student reported embezzling of University funds as a way of earning an extra income:

I sometimes make a difference from the budget. ... Money from the budget only comes when I budget strictly and sometimes lie that I have to buy certain things which actually I don't buy.

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

This point was also linked to the government and its alleged involvement in student politics:

You know, government tends to sponsor certain candidates [for student government] here during campaigns. And sometimes they make a balance. They get, if they get like 5 million (\$3,750), they spend 3 (\$2,300) and they get the balance. But that is on condition that they support the government.

Extract from men's, University residence, mixed-sponsorship discussion group.

The Dean of Students, when pressed on whether he thought the difficult financial situation of many students had prompted some to get involved in illegal activities, confirmed that poverty had had a corrupting effect on many students:

There are also problems with (pause). Generally students are not (pause). Because of problems that we go through, their integrity is low. If, given money (pause). If you give them money to handle, to carry out something, you can more or less be sure that they will not use it for what it is meant to be used for. So it has eroded their integrity (Ekudu-Adoku 1999).

This limited integrity appeared to extend to the academic arena where 'course assessment investment' was reported as being widespread. Raised in two of the four discussion groups, this practise consists of either writing essays for students for payment, or hiring out your own essay, for parts of it to be copied. My experience of marking second year sociology students' essays suggested that many students indulged in it. The following extract from a newspaper column *The Campus Eye* about at events at Makerere similarly confirmed that it was widespread, and that it was principally about monetary gain:

When numbers in class burst into the hundreds, lecturers could recognise only a few Johns and Janes that sat in the front row. The class of seven hundred are like congregations. Students realised that lecturers could not recognise seven hundred handwritings. Hence the haves started to hire needy students who could spare a few more hours to sit in the library to do all the research and write essays for them. Marks had become cheap. For sh 10,000 to sh 20,000 (\$7.50 to \$15) an academic broker (sic.) could hand in two course works, one for you and the other for himself (Campus Eye 1999).

Of course not all students were involved in these activities. For the most part the jobs or activities that students undertook in order to get a few more resources for luxury items were the standard kinds of jobs that students frequently participate in. For instance, during the vacation, many students, especially those from outside of the Central region, reported that they taught in their home district. During the term, the majority of students were involved in income generating schemes or in part-time jobs. Jobs held by men students during the term time included taxi driving; taking photographs; writing articles for newspapers; and working for companies in Kampala. Jobs or income generating activities reported by women students included writing for newspapers, selling clothes, door to door selling of cosmetics and clothes, working as a DJ on a local radio station, selling insurance, collecting debts, and promotional work for companies at trade fairs and on campus.

Finally, about a third of all the women students reported receiving 'gifts' from male friends. On one end of the spectrum this included what one respondent, Alison, called 'emotional refreshment' from her boyfriend in the form of 'a few weekly dinners, roses, sweets and the like', to the more business like process of 'conning' rich men out of money or a meal in return for 'giving in to their demands - if not they stop giving'. This practice has given rise to another - called 'de-toothing'. De-toothing is when a woman goes out for a meal implying agreement to 'give in to demands', but at the last minute this 'obligation' is avoided, most often by excusing herself to go the toilet and running away. The fact that this practise has a name - implies both that it is common - but more so, that the practice from which it springs, namely of women providing sexual favours of some sort to men in return for their purchase of (mainly) meals and drinks, is institutionalised in Ugandan urban culture. The Dean of Students, when asked about particular problems that women students face on campus, explained how class and gender interact to create a context which makes women vulnerable to this practise:

Women students face a problem of how to cope with peer pressure. The boys do, but the girls, the women, the female students seem to face it a lot more. When they come in, and they can't make it. ... So they begin to also want to conform, and so they want to change their dressing from the time they came from school to here. And they must look for ways in which they can be taken out. And so there have been times when there have been relationships which are not desirable, but they want to conform. Because for some students going to the dining hall, going to eat food all the time - University food or government food - is not accepted. I mean, you must be very poor. You must belong to a poor class if you can go there all the time. At least if you can go out and have a

change. *Facilitator: So is there some shame attached to being poor? Here? Yes. Yes there is* (Ekudu-Adoku 1999).

In examining the ways in which students raised funds for disposable income, it is important to bear in mind that at least one third of the students (disproportionately women students) in this sample did not have *any* resources for this level of funding.

7.4 Livelihood Strategies

The livelihoods systems framework suggests that people use a different mix of survival strategies in order to make the most use of resources and opportunities they have access to. This section explores what mix of strategies individual students used in order to attend University. There were some common features in the strategies that particular groups of students used in order to raise the funds to attend University. These closely corresponded to the financial bands of disposable income previously identified in *Table 7.2*.

7.4.1 Struggling to Survive

The very poorest group of students in the sample were all women, and all privately sponsored students. Most of them reported coming from poor, rural backgrounds. While it is important to bear in mind that they have raised considerable resources to attend University (in the region of \$1200), it is clear that this was not enough on which to survive. All of them were struggling financially with a gap between what was needed and the resources they had access to.

Brenda is a good example of the students in this group. She came from a poor, rural background and was privately funded by her parents, in particular her mother: 'My source is always from my mother since she is the only person who feels responsible for my future'. Brenda thought her mother was funding her so that when her mother retired she would be able to help her out financially. She also knew that in the nearer future she would need to take over responsibility for her younger siblings education. Further, she was expected to work for her mother during the holidays, 'cooking, washing clothes, digging and all kinds of house work activities'. Her mother was a nurse, and was solely reliant on this income 'because ... I come from a war raged area (northern part of Uganda) where its so hard to perform other kinds of activities like

digging or agriculture in general which can supplement your income'. Her relatives did not contribute to her education.

The main strategy for survival for this group of students was cutting costs, particularly in relation to accommodation and feeding. None stayed in residence, as this would be too expensive. Instead they made-do with crowded, frequently unsafe, private accommodation around Makerere. They lived on a very basic diet: 'with feeding you find other times when you don't have money and yet you actually don't have the appetite to eat beans' (*Roxynne*). They were able to draw on only a very limited social network. Only two of the group work in paid employment - the other major source of revenue for the better off students. In part, this appeared to be because they were already working on their parents land or at home during the vacation as a prerequisite to securing their basic funding. All identified 'finance' as their greatest concern, particularly meeting all the University fees. It is highly likely that at least some of these students dropped out before the end of their degrees.

7.4.2 Just surviving

There were two categories of students in this group. While most (but not all) came from a similar background from the students above, one sub-group received government sponsorship, and the other sub-group drew on a wider social network for support, and it was these factors which allowed them to 'just survive'. Many of the government sponsored students in this group would probably not be able to attend Makerere if they had not been receiving free tuition and accommodation. Those students who were not government funded were getting small sums of money from a wide range of family members. Some of the students in this category were also working for themselves.

The major strategy pursued by this group of students was exploiting all available opportunities: working hard at school to secure government funding, and securing family funding by appearing responsible, hard working and willing to contribute back to the family in the future. Alengo, a male student studying civil engineering, provided a good example of students in this group. He was a government sponsored student, and came from a poor rural background. While he struggled a little financially, unlike the previous group, he was unlikely not to complete his degree as the government met his

essential costs, and his parents, sisters, aunts, and family friends all contributed small amounts to cover his other costs. He subsidised this by working during the vacations as a teacher in his home district. He was very clear that in the future he would need to assist in paying for the education of his younger siblings and cousins, while also caring for his elderly parents. He understood that in his family getting support from the broader family network was a competitive process - and that his relatives chose to support him because he has 'prospects in the future'.

7.4.3 Secure

This group of students reported having a disposable income of between \$100 and \$235 per academic year after they had met all their essential and necessary costs. Again, there was a mix of government and private students, most of whom come from a middle class background. As in the previous group, they had access to a wide range of family and relatives who were supporting them. One of the reasons that they had a higher disposable income than the previous group was that a number of students in this group had older siblings (especially brothers) who were giving them small sums of money. In addition, many were working during the term time, and using that money for themselves. Some of these students were already contributing back to the family, by giving money to their younger siblings at school.

Benson, although not a government sponsored student, provided an interesting example of the broad range of strategies that students in this group were using to finance themselves through University. He came from a middle class, rural background. His father provided enough money to pay for his fees, in return for which he had to work in his father's fields in the holidays. Unlike many of the students in the sample he had to actively persuade his father to supply this money: 'I take too much time to convince him on the importance of education because he is semi-literate'. Benson also had an uncle in Kampala who allowed him to use his taxi for the afternoons - which earned him enough to be able to pay for his accommodation in a University residence. This was not an easy relationship either, as the men quarrelled over the use of the car and the conditions of Benson's use (to return it by 7pm each evening). He also got money from his grandfather - who gave him around \$50 a semester. This money had no strings attached, and he reported with some relief that he does not have to work his grandfather's land for it. However, he did spend some time 'convincing [his

grandfather] of the problems he faces as a private student'. Finally, during the term Benson also held down an unspecified job on campus, which he gave up further free time for, but which (on average) brought him \$30 a month. This money enabled him to make additional purchases, such as 'dancing, lotions, perfumes and buying a few drinks'.

The important point to note here, is not only that Benson used a wide range of strategies to raise funds, but also that those sources, provided a high rate of return. In other words, what appears to separate out this group from the previous is that their social networks are wealthier than the previous ones.

7.4.4 Very Secure

The final group of students had a disposable income, after core and essential expenses, in excess of \$250. Given the widespread poverty in Uganda, this put them in a small elite in the country. The majority of students in this group were receiving government support. All were receiving quite substantial support from their parents, and most were earning an additional income that did not have to be used to meet essential or necessary costs. Not all were receiving support from extended families. While it was not clear why this was the case - it was also clear that they were not in desperate need for additional funds. A disproportionate number of men from the sample were in this group, primarily by virtue of the amount of money they earned from part-time and vacation jobs, which they could spend on luxury items.

Representative examples from this group were Jackline and Moi. Both were government sponsored students, from middle class rural backgrounds. Both received considerable family support: Jackline from both her parents and relatives; Moi from his elder brother. Jackline did some work for her relatives at their homes in the vacation - but these were more like chores - as she also held down an unidentified vacation job. Finally, what set Jackline apart from the previous group was that she also had a boyfriend, whom she intended to marry, who provided her with a supplementary income. Moi, also worked during the vacation, and he was able to keep this money for himself as he was not expected to work in return for the money given to him by his brother or his uncles.

7.5 Results from the Student Survey

A little under half the students in the focus discussion groups could be described as merely 'surviving' at University. Within this category of students, there was a small, but significant, minority (around a quarter of the total sample) of students who were really struggling. These students were not really able to meet any costs beyond the very barest essentials of attending University. In terms of the remaining students, most were secure in their being able to meet essential and necessary costs, while about a third (again about a quarter of the sample as a whole) had under a \$100 per year for disposable income, while a small elite (about 10 percent of all the students concerned) reported a very large (exceeding \$500 per year) personal income.

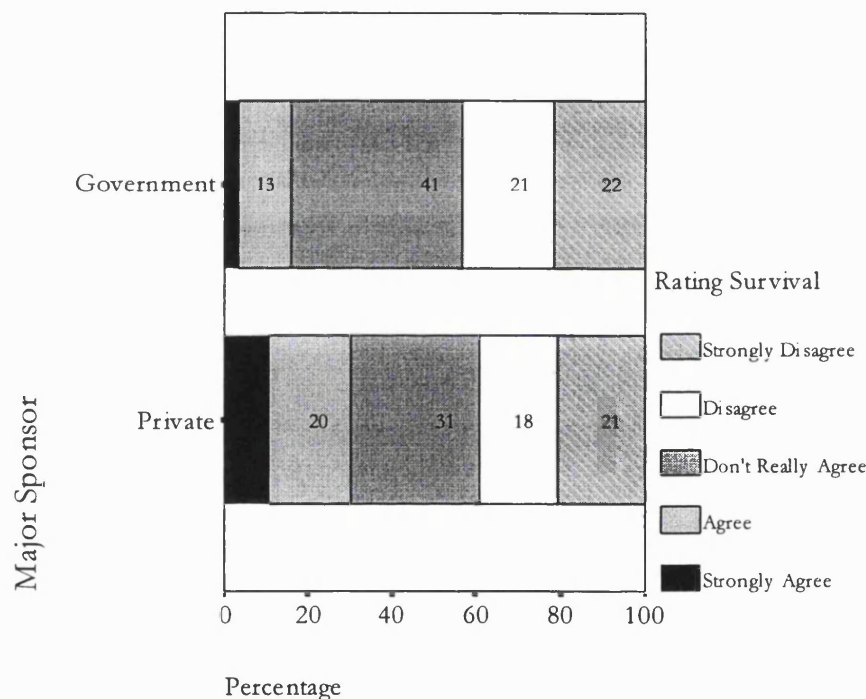
To what extent did this picture (a minority of students really struggling to make ends, with the majority getting by, and a handful of very wealthy students) mirror the situation more broadly on campus?

The results from the 1999 Makerere 2nd year student survey suggest that the picture painted above was a fairly accurate presentation. In response to the statement '*I can survive very well on my current income. All my needs are taken care of*', around 20 percent of participants indicated that they agreed, 6 percent strongly so. One in three of the participants 'didn't really agree', with just under a fifth (18 percent) disagreeing, and a further fifth (19 percent) strongly disagreeing. While there were no significant differences between how men and women responded to this question, a different picture emerged when comparing students by primary sponsor. A significantly higher proportion of private students 'strongly agreed' that they were able to survive well on their current income. This clearly reflected the views of the minority of wealthy students, mostly privately sponsored.

More than half (54 percent) the participants in the survey agreed with the statement '*I worry constantly about money and finances*', with more than a quarter (27 percent) strongly agreeing. A small minority of wealthy students, around one in ten (9 percent) of students in the sample, disagreed 'strongly' with the statement. Again, there were no significant differences between the responses of men and women, but statistically significant differences between government and private sponsored students. Unsurprisingly, given the amount of resources they had to secure, private students,

tended to worry more about money. However, fewer students than perhaps would have been anticipated by the focus group discussions agreed with the statement ‘*I spend a lot of time trying to get money from friends and relatives*’. Just over a third (36 percent) of students in sample agreed - 16 percent ‘strongly’ so. Almost 60 percent of the sample disagreed, with roughly equal proportions (around 20 percent) either ‘not really agreeing’, ‘disagreeing’ or ‘strongly disagreeing’.

Figure 7.1: Responses by selected 2nd year students to statement ‘*I can survive very well on my current income. All my needs are taken care of*’ (1999).



Source: Compiled from the 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The majority of students in the sample, perhaps optimistically, agreed with the notion, ‘*I would have performed better in my studies if I did not have to worry so much about finances*’. Around 60 percent of the sample agreed with this sentiment, with just over a third (35 percent) ‘strongly’ so. Again, it was privately sponsored students who tended to express the greatest agreement, significantly more so than government sponsored students. While students might believe they could do better academically without financial concerns, few were concerned enough to imagine that they may have to give

up studying altogether: More than a third (35 percent) of participants in the survey 'strongly disagreed', with a further 28 percent 'disagreeing', with the statement '*I have considered giving up studying because of my financial position*'. However, of particular concern must be the one in five students (20 percent) who agreed (6 percent strongly so) with this sentiment. Significantly more private students felt this way than government sponsored students. This profile tends to confirm the picture presented by the focus discussion groups, of a small, but significant proportion of mostly private students, struggling to survive. It is highly likely that many of these students would drop out of University before they complete their studies.

Conclusion

Students from poor families used a wide variety of strategies and target a wide variety of sources to procure the funds necessary to cover the costs of attending University in Uganda. The differing capacity of students to raise resources appeared to be most strongly influenced by how much access they had to kin networks and how wealthy those networks were. In most cases the resources students secured from their parents and relatives had to be paid back in some way: in the present by working for their sponsor during the holidays, and/or in the future by looking after the sponsors, or by educating the sponsors' children. Those students who did not have to work for their sponsors in the present, and were able to secure vacation employment tended to have a much higher disposable income than most other students. There was strong evidence to suggest that gender influences what kinds of resources were available to students, what strategies were used to acquire them, and what obligations and responsibilities were imposed in order to secure them.

To some extent the relatively informal system of student financing is self-perpetuating: the best means that students have at their disposal to convince their families to invest in their higher education is the promise of their increased earning power in the future, but along with this capacity they have to demonstrate a commitment to using that earning power for the good of the extended family. Those students who could do this, were most likely to gain support to make it possible to study at Makerere. In other words, the long term sustainability and expansion of the University's private student programme is dependent on current graduates from Makerere securing jobs and being able (and willing) to contribute back into the extended family pool by financing younger

siblings and other family members. In the following chapter the implications of this are explored more fully, through a critical examination of the implications of an increasing reliance on market financing for higher education in countries with developing economies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

HIGHER EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT: MAKERERE AT THE CROSSROADS

The recent policy initiatives and changes that have taken place at Makerere have attracted considerable interest, primarily from other universities in the region, but also from a wider international audience of higher education policy makers and researchers. In part this is because the issue of how to finance, equitably and efficiently, an expanding, quality higher education system is one which has dominated the higher education agenda of most countries over the previous two decades. During the 1990s, as many governments pondered the projected expansion and costs of state funded systems of higher education, a flurry of national commissions and public inquiries increasingly shifted the debate over University financing away from *whether* costs should be shared privately and publicly, to *how* best this might be achieved¹. It is this context which accounts for much of the interest in the outcome of the policy initiatives at Makerere, and underscores the topicality of the present research. Within the region, the changes at Makerere have tended to attract attention because there are few examples of universities in Sub-Saharan Africa managing to extricate themselves from the cycle of rising student numbers overwhelming available government resources and leading inevitably to deteriorating quality. This cycle has characterized much of higher education in the sub continent (and elsewhere) since the mid 1980s (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 54).

Reviews of the changes at Makerere have ranged from those which herald them as a potential pathway to the future for African universities (Hyuha 1998; Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000), to more sober assessments, which see them as offering little more than innovation in the face of crisis, with no transformative potential (Singh 2001). The obvious intention of this research has been to contribute to that debate, by analysing the *process* by which these changes were introduced, rather than simply documenting what has been done and reporting on its impact. The

¹ For example, during the 1990s, national public debates led by the government, took place in Spain, Japan, the Netherlands, Chile, Australia and Britain. For a fuller discussion, see a special volume of *Higher Education Policy*, September 1997 (10) 3.

purpose of this concluding chapter, however, is broader in its scope. It seeks to link the insights offered by the Makerere case study to the wider discussion over the role of the state and the market in the provision of higher education in developing countries. At the same time, the analysis explores the implications that a particular funding approach has for the role of higher education in national development.

The chapter begins by engaging with the question '*What does this case study tell us about the role of the state and market in the provision of higher education in developing countries?*'. It does this by addressing the four framing questions of the thesis, namely:

1. What made the introduction of a radical new way of funding possible at Makerere?
2. What impact did these initiatives have on efficiency and equity at the University?
3. Are these initiatives sustainable?
4. What impact does a shift away from total reliance on public funding have on the sector's contribution to national development?

It is suggested that this exploratory case study was conducted too soon after the implementation of the innovations at Makerere to allow a proper assessment of their impact on equity and efficiency, and to make a judgement on their sustainability. However, the case study does provide some interesting insights into the wider debate over the role of the state and the market in the provision of higher education in developing countries. In this regard it is argued that the way in which the debate over financing of higher education is currently constructed encourages an overly economic view of the sector and its role. It is concluded that higher education is especially unsuited to such a narrow conceptualisation.

State vs. Market Funding of Higher Education

As discussed in the introduction to the present research, underpinning the debate over the 'state' versus the 'market' in the funding of higher education are a broader set of economic and ideological issues, essentially concerned with attitudes towards the desirability of high levels of public expenditure in the provision of public goods and services. In countries with both developed or developing economies, discussion over the public financing of higher education was largely initiated by more general macro-economic concerns over the fiscal and monetary policies needed to sustain high levels of public expenditure. In relation to education generally, debate over the sector's financing also included arguments around the sector's need for privileged access to

public resources, primarily based on education's status as a 'merit good', and its claim to 'externalities'². Specifically with regard to higher education financing, discussion also focussed on the extent to which the benefits from attending institutions of higher learning are directly enjoyed by graduates (and their employers), so justifying greater private contributions to the funding of the sector from these beneficiaries (Le Grand and Robinson 1989; Williams 1992; Colclough 1997d).

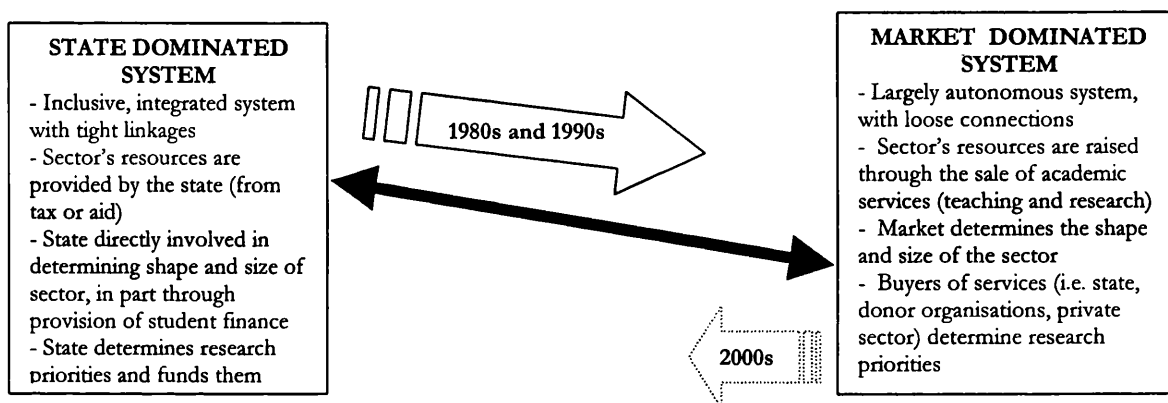
Hinchliffe (1993), in examining the manner in which the debate over educational finance manifested itself in relation to countries with developing economies, asked whether efforts to bring 'educational services further into the market place' (most notably through the introduction/expansion of user charges and the active promotion of the establishment of private institutions) were 'unfortunately *necessary*' (because of limited / dwindling state resources in a context of rapidly growing populations) or 'inherently *desirable*' as ends in themselves. He suggested that by the late 1980s it was clear that supporters of the neo-liberal framework were advocating market-related policies not only in response to resource constraints, but because it was believed that subjecting the public system to such pressures would improve both the efficiency and equity of the system, as well as increase the resources needed to sustain the sector. As outlined in *Chapter One*, opponents of such policies countered by arguing that market-oriented changes to the financing of higher education in developing countries would be neither efficient nor equitable, and would be largely ineffective in increasing sustainable resources for the sector (Hinchliffe 1993).

By the mid-1990s the debate over the best way in which to bring new resources into a national system of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) had entered a cul-de-sac in the absence of empirical case studies against which to test the theoretical arguments. It was a recognition of this stalemate that prompted the present research. Few countries seemed either willing or able to introduce new ways in which to finance the sector, despite considerable pressure from the World Bank to do so. As discussed in the introductory chapter, the one exception appeared to be Makerere³. Currently, however, almost all universities in SSA are moving away from state-dominated systems

² Similar arguments are also advanced about the health sector. See for instance Colclough, C., ed. 1997 a. *Marketizing Education and Health in Developing Countries. Miracle or Mirage?* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

towards ones in which the market has a much greater role. The system which characterised most post-independent African universities, in which the state provided virtually all resources to the sector and determined its size, shape and role, is rapidly changing. In its place is developing a system, that is still largely dominated by the state, but that is both funded and shaped to a far greater extent by the choices of private individuals – albeit only by those who have sufficient resources to access the system⁴.

Figure 8.1: Moving from State to Market dominated systems of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa



Source: Adapted from Williams (1984) and Clark (1983).

Until recently, the pressure for change was largely directed at shifting systems of higher education towards the right of the continuum (Figure 8.1, above), that is away from continued state domination. It should be noted, however, with the declining influence of the neo-liberal framework, the increasing recognition of the limitations of a developmental approach which only focused on basic education, and the renewed understanding of the importance of the state in directing national development, the external pressure for change towards greater market involvement appears to be slowing. Similarly, pressure from within the sector, while always more opposed to these changes, has gathered momentum as concern has grown over the implications that greater market involvement has for a range of developmental goals, particularly equity.

³ It is clearer now that other, albeit smaller, experiments and initiatives in University financing, particularly in terms of cost-sharing initiatives with students, were happening across the region, for example in Kenya.

With this in mind, the concluding chapter explores what insights are offered by the Makerere case study into the debate over what role the state and the market should play in the provision of higher education in developing countries. It begins by examining what factors enabled Makerere to break the Sub-Saharan African mould of relying virtually exclusively on the state for finance, by introducing a range of initiatives aimed at making the University more financially self-sufficient. As discussed in *Chapter Five*, during the period under review, the vast majority of revenue generated by the University came from fees charged to private students. Hence, it is these programmes which form the focus of discussion in this concluding chapter. The chapter examines what impact the opening up of the University to market forces had on equity and efficiency, before moving on to look at issues related to the sustainability of these funding sources. Each of these sub-sections begins with a brief summary of the debate over the anticipated outcome of relying on either the 'market' or the 'state' to provide resources, before examining what exploratory insights are provided into these issues by the case study.

8.1 'The Quiet Revolution': Factors giving rise to the process of change at Makerere

Clark's (1998) 'demand/response imbalance' (discussed in *Chapter Four*) provided an important prism through which to understand Makerere's 'entrepreneurial response'. However, these challenges (increasing numbers of students qualifying for entrance to University, with a declining capacity of the state to meet this demand) were not unique to Uganda and indeed were, and remain so, apparent in almost all countries in SSA. In contrast to Makerere, however, most universities in the region have had 'great difficulty in extracting themselves' from the 'inherited model ... of total state control and finance' (Court 1999, 1). What made it possible for Makerere to shift away from this model, and provide access to higher education for increasing numbers of students, by introducing various programmes for privately funded students, particularly in a country as poor as Uganda?

In 'Peril & Promise' it is argued that the explanation for Makerere's 'tradition-breaking accomplishment' lies in the 'interplay between a supportive external environment and an

⁴ It is important to note that it is also increasingly a system which is shaped by the fact that particular individuals (those without adequate resources) are also excluded (not by choice) from participation, and hence from influence on the shape and direction of the sector.

innovative institutional context' (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 55). The 'supportive external environment' included favourable economic and political factors – both necessary to create a context in which the marketisation of Makerere could be conceptualised, instituted, and expanded. Museveni's rise to power in the mid-1980s brought with it a degree of peace and stability (in most of the country⁵), as well as democratic accountability and openness⁶ which had not been seen in Uganda since the late 1960s and that are currently absent in a great many countries in the region. From this foundation, the country's economy has been able to expand rapidly (as outlined in detail in *Chapter Three*) to become one of the fastest growing in the world. Further, Uganda has been able to maintain a high level of macro-economic stability, with inflation being brought under control and the maintenance of a relatively stable, convertible currency. Again, both these features (a growing economy and a high level of macro-economic stability) set Uganda apart from many Sub-Saharan African (SSA) countries. Moreover, Uganda's economy has been managed along the lines of a 'text book' structural adjustment programme. As documented in *Chapter Three*, this has centrally involved working towards a market-based economy, with an emphasis on the privatising of state-owned companies, and maintaining tight fiscal control on government spending. Few countries in SSA have engaged with the implementation of structural adjustment programmes with the commitment and enthusiasm of Museveni's government. This has facilitated the marketisation of Makerere in two related ways. First, the tight control on government spending in the late 1980s and the early 1990s exacerbated the severe resource constraints being faced by the University. This forced the management of the University to look more creatively for alternative sources of funding, as they eventually accepted that the Government could not provide the resources needed to run the institution. Second, the process of privatising state companies is likely to have made the government more open to allowing the University to explore private sources of funding, as this would have been in keeping with the general privatisation framework of the government.

The strike of 1989 (described in *Chapter Four*) which was led by the Makerere University Academic Staff Association (MUASA), was a watershed period for the University. At the conclusion of the strike it was finally accepted by University staff that the

⁵ Museveni's government has been unable to effectively deal with the persistent conflict in the North of the country.

Government had no additional resources for the institution and that the University management committed itself to finding alternative sources. Similarly, the Government had conceded that the institution could not be expected to survive on public funds alone, and agreed to the institution looking beyond the state for support. In agreeing that the students (or their parents/guardians) should contribute towards the costs of their education, both the Government and the management of the University would have been conscious that they were merely imitating what was already in place in the lower levels of the education system. This long standing practice of paying school fees may have also facilitated the process of students to Makerere accepting more readily the notion of having to pay for higher educational services. But perhaps the most important factor which ensured the initial success of the various self-sponsorship programmes at Makerere was the manner in which these programmes were introduced. The process allowed a range of powerful stakeholders' interests - both inside and outside of the University - to be advanced, or at least not compromised. Of particular importance were:

1. *de-linking admittance to the University from full-cost state sponsorship.* This meant that a large number of potential students (that is, high school leavers who had the minimum qualifications) who would have previously been excluded from the University, because of limited state resources, were given the opportunity to attend the premiere University in the country - albeit only if they could raise their own private resources - rather than having to take up a less prestigious local option, such as attending a teacher training college, or being forced to seek an alternative, and much more expensive, option outside the country.
2. *not removing existing privileges* (that is, maintaining the full state sponsorship of the top high school leavers) protected the programmes from criticism/sabotage from the middle and upper class urban elite, who through privileged access to secondary school services (as described in *Chapter Three*) were securing a disproportionate share of state support to attend Makerere (as outlined in *Chapter Six*).
3. *expanding access to Makerere at private, rather than public, expense* relieved pressure on the Government to deal with the rapidly increasing numbers of high school leavers at no real cost to themselves. Without the need to allocate additional

⁶ Please note the caveats previously outlined in *Chapter Three*.

public resources, which would not have been available under the structural adjustment programme, government support for the initiatives was ensured.

4. *materially benefiting all academic staff on campus* (in part by the Government allowing the University control over the resources raised so that internal cross-subsidisation could take place) ensured a high level of support and interest in the programmes from the entire academic community, whether they were directly participating in the programmes or not.

The final factor to be taken into account in understanding the rapid growth of the self-sponsorship programmes at Makerere is the timing of their introduction. The opening up of the University to private students coincided with one of the most successful economic periods in Uganda. As described in *Chapter Three*, the economy grew at a staggering 10.6 percent in 1994/5 and averaged more than six percent from 1992 onwards. Moreover, a central feature of this growth was a massive coffee boom, one of the most commonly grown crops in the country, particularly the Central region. Further, international coffee prices rose to record heights, just as the Ugandan government instituted a new tax regime⁷ which ensured more cash was being received directly by farmers. In addition there was also an influx of hard currency which flooded into the country's development and reconstruction programme. This meant that during the mid-to-late 1990s, despite the widespread poverty in the country, that a large number of families (particularly, but not exclusively, those engaged in coffee production) would have had the necessary cash resources available to invest in their children's education and hence to take advantage of the new programmes offered at Makerere.

While this analysis provides a framework for understanding the initial success of the self-sponsorship programmes, it does not predict its sustainability. There are a number of factors which suggest that maintaining the programmes in the longer term may be difficult, and indeed which suggest that it may well be those factors which gave the programmes their initial impetus which might jeopardize their longer term viability. For instance, introducing the new programmes to run alongside existing programmes, while easing their acceptance, may prove to have placed too many demands on staff

members. As noted in *Chapter Five*, some Heads of departments expressed concern that staff were working so hard that they 'may be breaking down quietly'. As the initial novelty of the programmes begins to wear off, staff may be less inclined (and indeed less able) to offer this level of commitment to the new programmes. Further, while Makerere retains a significant competitive advantage due to its status and prestige, the many other private universities which have opened over the last five years in the wake of the success of the programmes at Makerere, mean competition for the institution, not only for students, but also for the best academic staff members. Second, Uganda remains a very poor country, and economic growth has recently slowed. The long term success of the self-sponsorship programmes, which demand substantial private resources, is dependent on graduates getting jobs and justifying extended family investment in their education. As discussed in *Chapter Six*, Makerere graduates are finding it increasingly more difficult to find jobs as they discover that the job market is 'flooded' with similar graduates. Moreover this problem is likely to be exacerbated: as the programmes grow and expand the value of a Makerere degree (in terms of competitiveness for jobs) will inevitably be lessened. Although Dore's (1997) diploma disease thesis (outlined in *Chapter Four*) suggests that in the longer term this should result in 'qualification inflation' and hence a growth in postgraduate degree programmes, ultimately investment in the self-sponsorship programmes is dependent on success in the job market too.

As previously noted, one of the major limitations of this exploratory study is that it is only able to examine the initial period following the introduction of the self-sponsorship programmes, and hence is unable to do more than note these longer term concerns. While the section below explores the issue of sustainability, within these constraints, more systematically, it begins with an examination of what insights the case study provides into the debate over the state and market and its impact on efficiency and equity.

⁷ For a fuller discussion see Collier, P. and Reinikka, R. 2001. Reconstruction and Liberalization: An Overview. In *Uganda's Recovery. The Role of Farms, Firms, and Government.*, ed(s). R. Reinikka and P. Collier, 15-45. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

8.2 Efficiency

Chapter Five explored what impact the introduction of self-sponsorship programmes at Makerere had on efficiency at the University, paying particular attention to the issue of quality. This section begins by outlining the terms of the wider debate, by examining the anticipated outcomes on efficiency in national systems which shifted away from a reliance on the state to the market for financing. *Table 8.1* (overleaf) summarises the arguments in favour of state funded and market funded systems in relation to efficiency, which were captured in greater detail in *Chapter One*. This frames the review of the findings from Makerere in order to identify what insights are provided into the debate through the empirical evidence of the case study.

Table 8.1 State vs. Market in the funding of higher education: Efficiency Issues

	State funded systems	Market funded systems
Efficiency	(1) Able to overcome market imperfections – so ensure that enough of an essential merit good is provided, and that there is not any under-investment due to externalities. (2) As access is not determined by capacity to pay, the most talented have unrestricted access. (3) Students and academics are not distracted by the search for resources either through part-time jobs for students, or competitive research funds/courses by academics.	(1) Direct public subsidy of institutions can be a disincentive for improvements in efficiency. (2) Individuals paying for themselves will be more motivated and selective about their choice of degree than those receiving a public subsidy. (3) A national higher education system will be more efficient as institutions compete for students, and so are careful about what courses are offered and work to keep costs down to make themselves competitive.
<i>Particularly in relation to</i> Quality	(1) Quality is enhanced because the most able students have access to the system. (2) Students are able to focus on academic studies rather than material concerns. (3) Academic direction not motivated by fads and fashions.	(1) In developing countries, most able staff are lost in global brain drain because of lack of adequate state resources to remunerate them properly. (2) Poor states, with competing demands for scarce resources, will be unable to provide resources necessary to purchase essential resources like academic journals and laboratory equipment etc., without which excellent work cannot be done. (3) Competition amongst individuals and institutions encourages excellence and prestige.

Beyond the standard arguments over merit goods and externalities discussed in *Chapter One*, proponents of the state funded system argue that in terms of efficiency public resources are needed to ensure that the most able and talented students have access to higher education, rather than simply those who can afford the fees. Further, they

argue that public funding ensures that students and academics are able to dedicate themselves to academic pursuits rather than being distracted by the need to secure private resources to finance their studies/research. Finally, they argue that state funding protects institutions from academic fads and fashions which tend to develop in response to the need to 'follow' available funding.

Market supporters counter by arguing that relying on state financing can lead to complacency and that competition – between students, academics, researchers and institutions - is far more likely to lead to greater efficiency and higher quality. Moreover, they argue that in countries with developing economies public resources are scarce and the demands on them great. This means that higher education tends to be underfunded which can compromise quality in a number of ways: the best academics are seduced away by more attractive packages in wealthier countries; resources are simply not available for basic teaching and research materials; institutions and academics become isolated from the wider international academic community (and hence current debate and developments) as there are no resources available to fund international travel to conferences, to have adequate computer and internet support and access, to purchase international journals, and to fund visiting scholars.

The case study of Makerere forcefully exposes the central weakness of the argument in favour of state funded systems, namely that it *presumes* enough public resources to adequately fund a system. In very poor countries, such as Uganda, the state may simply not have them. As *Chapter Four* demonstrated, restricting/limiting Makerere to public funds clearly inhibited the effectiveness of the institution as the state simply did not have the resources needed to pay lecturers, to maintain, let alone expand, the institution, and to adequately fund students during their time at University. Moreover, this situation extended beyond the crisis war years, to include Museveni's peace time reconstruction and development programme, when the sector was unable to compete with other development priorities. *Chapter Five* captures the extent to which the injection of new (private) resources rejuvenated the institution.

The case study provides ambivalent evidence about the issue of motivation, suggesting that it would be hard to make a compelling case either for a state or a market funded system being better able to promote efficiency in this way. For instance, in *Chapter Seven*, it was shown that many of the students in the group discussions regarded family

sponsored students as highly motivated and diligent, as they needed to demonstrate these qualities to secure continued funding and most were conscious of the debt they owed. However, it is important to recall (from *Chapter Five*) that a range of academic staff also voiced their concern over the rising numbers of very wealthy students, who were 'not serious' about their studies because they had 'bought' their way into the University, rather than earning it on merit. Moreover, this attitude was often contrasted with government sponsored students, whom many academics reported as being conscious of having earned their privileged position (through doing exceptionally well in A-levels) and highly motivated by that status. Moreover, this certainly resonates with the competitive nature of the education system as a whole (as described in *Chapter Three*) in which advancement up the educational pyramid, particularly from primary to secondary school, is only secured by doing well at the preceding level. The only evidence which suggests that government students are less motivated than privately sponsored students comes in *Chapter Seven* where one of the few differences detected between government and private students is in the levels of satisfaction in their courses. Government students in the survey reported being less satisfied with their courses, a factor at least partially affected by the fact that government sponsored students have more restricted choice about the courses they can take.

Finally, the assertion that a higher education system which relies on public funding ensures that the most talented, rather than those with resources, secure access, presumes that the entire education sector is similarly funded. In Uganda this is not the case. There is no way of knowing how many able students are filtered out of the lower levels of the education system because of a lack of resources. As discussed in *Chapter Three*, in countries with a limited number of secondary school places, there may be a case for prioritising increased government support at the *secondary* level of education, in order to expand access and hence prevent leakage of talent earlier on in the system. This approach might well prove to be a more effective means of promoting efficiency, rather than providing state sponsorship for the privileged minority who manage to navigate their way through the lower levels of the education system.

8.3 Equity

Chapter Six explored the impact of the introduction of self-sponsorship programmes at Makerere on equity and access. The evidence from this chapter will be compared with *Table 8.2* (overleaf), which summarises the most widely made arguments in favour of state funded and market funded systems in relation to equity, as outlined in detail in *Chapter One*.

Table 8.2 State vs. Market in the funding of higher education: Equity

	State funded systems	Market funded systems
Equity	<p>(1) Public subsidy of HE ensures that access does not become the exclusive preserve of the wealthy as (especially in CDEs) the poor would be excluded in its absence.</p> <p>(2) Left to the market, these advantages would be self-perpetuating as educational attainment has positive implications for future earnings, particularly in CDEs where there is a high difference in pay for graduates.</p> <p>(3) Loans do not provide a solution, both because the infrastructure for their effective implementation is very limited in CDEs; but also because some groups (especially those already under-represented in higher education) are more risk averse than others, and so would be less likely to take them up.</p> <p>(4) Market imperfections might further exacerbate inequalities. For example, spatial monopolies exacerbating existing differentials between urban and rural areas.</p>	<p>(1) Even the staunchest advocates of market funding concede that there would be a need for equity protection of some sort (e.g. scholarships or government backed loans) to ensure access was not dependent solely on private resources.</p> <p>(2) However, they are also quick to point out that state funded systems do not protect the poor either because:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - state funded systems in developing countries will inevitably be elitist, because limited resources will mean limited numbers, and resources will always be limited in CDEs because they are poor states with a multitude of competing priorities. - An elite system reliant on public finance is deeply inequitable, as in effect the poor (who are excluded at lower levels of the education system) are subsidising the wealthy. <p>(3) Hence a more equitable use of limited public resources would be to redirect those resources towards the lower levels of the education system to which the poor do have access, while making higher education more reliant on funding from immediate beneficiaries.</p>
<i>Particularly in relation to Social Justice</i>	<p>(1) The state can direct public subsidy to actively promote advancement of disadvantaged groups.</p>	<p>(1) In reality, access is very limited in an elite system – which is all that a state funded system can provide – so in fact genuine social advancement is denied.</p>

The essence of the equity debate in relation to funding systems of higher education concerns securing access to opportunity within the system for the ‘poor but able’, or

more fully: those who qualified for entrance, wished to attend, but could not afford to pay fees or support themselves while studying. Both sides of the debate concede that some kind of equity safety net is needed. However, proponents of the market based system argue that this is best achieved through a loan and restricted scholarship system, rather than providing public subsidies to all students. Further, market advocates suggest that arguments in favour of public funding in poor countries with developing economies are misleading, as the state is never likely to be able to fund more than a small, and hence restricted access, higher education system. An elite system reliant on public finance is deeply inequitable, as in effect the poor, who are already excluded at lower levels of the education system, subsidise the wealthy, who claim a disproportionate share of limited places, since they can afford to remain in school to secure the necessary qualifications to gain access to the higher levels of the system.

Chapter Two clearly demonstrated how the very poorest in Uganda, in particular girls and women; those from the rural areas; and the Northern region in general, are excluded from participation in the education system at the lower levels. Indeed, prior to the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE), many failed to gain a foothold in the system at all, let alone being able to progress far enough to compete for entrance to Makerere. Further, the massive increase in pupils gaining access to primary school following the introduction of UPE supports the notion that state resources invested at the lower end of the education system is of more direct benefit to the poorest.

The findings from the student survey, discussed in *Chapter Six*, showed how the pattern of access at the lower levels of the education system persist into the higher education sector, with the most privileged groups in Uganda (males, urban based, from the Central region) claiming a disproportionately high share of places at Makerere. This is despite the availability of public sponsorship. Further, the evidence from two earlier surveys, Goldthorpe (1965) and Barkan (1975), demonstrated how this pattern has remained consistent over an extended period of time. However, it is also important to note that in terms of the self-sponsorship programme, while some previously marginalised groups (for example, women) have been able to substantially benefit from the increased access, these groups are still disproportionately drawn from the wealthier segments of the population (urban, middle class homes) and that it is the most marginalised (poor women from rural areas) who have been able to benefit the least from the programmes.

One of the major limitations of the case study is that it provides no insights into the question of student loans, as the self-sponsorship programme was introduced in the absence of any national loan scheme (an issue further discussed below). Bearing this constraint in mind, what the case study suggests about state or market funding of higher education in relation to access and equity is as follows:

1. where the state has sufficient resources to make access available to all, that public funding is the most equitable as it ensures that the poorest benefit most immediately and directly;
2. where public funding is more limited and access is necessarily restricted because of this, that the most privileged sectors of society will claim a disproportionate share of available places;
3. total reliance on private funding is the least equitable approach to adopt as the poorest are excluded.

Uganda is a country in which it is highly unlikely that the state will ever have the kinds of public resources necessary to fully fund the education system in order to ensure access to all. This means that the state needs to carefully consider how best to invest its scarce resources to maximum benefit to those who need it most. While the current system of providing public subsidy to students on the basis of merit, rather than need, does little to promote the principle of equity, removing all levels of public funding for students to Makerere, particularly in the absence of a national loan scheme, would only worsen the situation. In terms of promoting equity, the best approach appears to be a mix of state and market funding, with state resources being prioritised for those with the greatest need.

8.4 Sustainability

The question of the sustainability of the self-sponsorship programmes at Makerere was explored in *Chapter Seven* by looking at how students from poor families are financing their studies. This section begins, however, with *Table 8.3* (below) summarising the arguments in favour of state funded and market funded systems (made in *Chapter One*) in relation to sustainability (understood as the continuing capacity to raise resources for the sector) before reviewing the findings of the case study in order to identifying what insights are provided into the debate through the empirical evidence of the case study.

The debate over the sustainability of funding systems for higher education in countries with developing economies (CDEs) has mostly focused on national loan schemes for students. Advocates of state sponsored higher education system have consistently argued that the private contributions made by households to meet the direct and indirect costs of education are extremely high. Moreover, they assert that most people in CDEs are simply too poor to the resources necessary to fund a quality higher education system. Finally, they suggest that loans systems are costly and difficult to administer effectively, and that more creative options for raising additional public resources dedicated to higher education finance have not been investigated carefully enough. Opponents of this position counter that the state in CDEs will never be able to raise the resources necessary for the development of an expanding, quality higher education system, in part because of other pressing needs for public resources in CDEs, and that seeking additional funds from the private sector, primarily through a national loan scheme for students, is both necessary and inevitable. Moreover, they argue that the private rates of return for investment in higher education in CDEs is high enough, in terms of job opportunities and rewards, to ensure that these funds will be provided if the opportunity is offered. Finally, they suggest that no great hardship will be endured by poor students in the paying back in the loan, particularly if it is paid back through a graduate tax scheme.

Table 8.3 State vs. Market in the funding of higher education: Sustainability

	State funded systems	Market funded systems
Sustainability <i>(capacity to raise resources for the sector)</i>	<p>(1) Communities are already providing substantial resources (either through opportunity costs or provision of living costs) which are not included in calculations. There is limited potential for increasing the resources generated through this source as most people are simply too poor to contribute further.</p> <p>(2) The cost of administering loan programmes means frequently they have severe problems in terms of revenue generation; indeed, there is little evidence that they work effectively, especially in CDEs.</p> <p>(3) More creative use of tax options (e.g. graduate payroll tax or graduate employers' tax) provide largely untested options in CDEs for necessary and sustainable resources for providing mass-based, quality systems of HE.</p>	<p>(1) States in developing countries simply do not have the necessary resources to fund a mass-based, quality HE system.</p> <p>(2) There are more pressing priorities on limited state resources.</p> <p>(3) Returns on private investment are high enough to ensure that large numbers of people will find the resources necessary to access HE, most probably through national loan schemes.</p>

The case study emphatically demonstrates that even in very poor countries private resources can be generated to fund access to higher education. As shown in *Chapter Five*, opening up the University to private students more than doubled the size of the institution over a five year period, and by the late 1990s was generating over 10 million US dollars annually for the institution. Moreover, these funds were generated from ‘up-front fees’, that is, in the absence of a national loan scheme, which many analysts argued was essentially *prior* to any cost sharing initiative.

While the initial success of the programme (in terms of revenue raised for the institution) is a critical point to note, what should not be lost sight of is that the case study provides little insight into the longer term viability of the programme. The field work was conducted less than five years after the programme’s introduction, which is too short a period to provide any valuable conclusions. However, the evidence from the case study does suggest that cost sharing measures can be successfully introduced, at least in the short term, in the absence of a national loan scheme, if the economy is doing well. What appears to have made this possible (as discussed in *Chapter Seven*) is a family based loan scheme, that is, the collection of extended family resources being invested in selected family members. The long term viability of this ‘loan scheme’ is dependent on resources being returned to the unit in order that they can be reinvested in other family members. This can only be ensured by students, not only remaining committed to ‘paying back’ their ‘family loan’, but also earning good salaries on graduation. Rising numbers of graduates, coupled with a declining economy, suggest that this will be increasingly difficult to achieve, with negative implications for the sustainability of the self-sponsorship programmes.

8.5 Contribution to National Development

Chapter Three identified the key development challenges faced by Uganda, and outlined the framework of the Government’s strategy to address them. Providing universal access to basic primary education was noted as a core strategy of Museveni’s government, in keeping with its overall aim of directing public resources to those areas which will have the greatest impact on the poor. *Table 8.4* (overleaf) summarises the arguments in favour of state funded and market funded systems in relation to a system’s

contribution to national development, as outlined in *Chapter One*, before reviewing the findings of the case study in order to identify what insights are provided into the debate through the empirical evidence of the case study.

Table 8.4 State vs. Market in the funding of higher education: Contribution to National Development

	State funded systems	Market funded systems
National Development	(1) State best placed to identify national needs in relation to HE, as national development best met if not responding to narrow self-interests of the market and narrow commercial interests. (2) If unfettered from special interests can act as national conscience and critic, and be a place of debate and discussion. (3) Ensures that the focus is not only economic development.	(1) Large numbers of well-educated citizens best for national development – only way to get a mass-based system is to break with state only funding. (2) Naïve view of the state – biggest special interest of them all. Also state is vulnerable to pressure from other interest groups (e.g. students). (3) Academic autonomy best protected by receiving funding from many sources.
<i>Particularly in relation to Research</i>	(1) Basic and long-term research can be promoted and protected. (2) Research agenda would not be motivated by fads and fashions.	(1) In CDEs, limited resources mean that frequently research is simply not funded– in part because so much goes on student welfare or on other areas. (2) Commercial research agenda not necessarily at odds with national interests.

As was shown in *Chapter One*, discourses about the role of higher education in development have changed considerably over the past fifty years. What has remained constant, however, is a very *functional* view of the sector. Prompted in part by the need to justify the relatively large amounts of public funds absorbed by the sector, the dominant discourses about higher education and development have largely focused on the sector's potential (or not) to make a direct and immediate contribution to achieving national development goals, however they have been defined. *Table 8.5* (overleaf) summarises thematically (rather than chronologically as was done in *Chapter One*) the variety of ways in which it has been suggested that this contribution can be realised. These roles are organised in relation to each of the primary functions of institutions of higher education, namely the creation of knowledge (*research*); the passing on of knowledge (*teaching*); and the labeling and documenting of knowledge (*archival*). The table demonstrates the breadth of possible roles that have been allocated to the sector in

Table 8.5 Roles of Higher Education in Contributing to National Development

	Teaching	Research	Archival
Economic Role	<i>Production of skilled workforce</i> Leads to a more productive workforce (and hence wealthier society) as a more skilled workforce is better able to deal with new technology, and to keep abreast of new developments. Also higher education enhances / creates capacity to be innovative and entrepreneurial	<i>Invention / application of technology (science, engineering etc)</i> Making technology more appropriate to local conditions, and hence improving productivity and global competitiveness	<i>Documenting the past</i> Record of the past means mistakes don't have to be repeated, and can build on existing knowledge
Social Role	<i>Production of informed citizens and more able leaders.</i> Improves quality of life – both directly for immediate participants by providing opportunity for higher level learning, and potentially for broader society by: Encouraging informed political participation Promoting democratic governance (through value of reason and analysis) Strengthening civil society Providing space for political debate and discussion	<i>Identification and investigation of key social / political problems</i> Ensure that key economic, political and social institutions are able to make informed decisions / choices, based on rational knowledge.	<i>Documenting the past, and providing a record for the future</i> In order to ensure same mistakes are not repeated, and that sense of connection to the past is not lost, so as to combat cultural imperialism.
Social Justice	<i>Creation of elite based on merit and potential for social mobility for disadvantaged groups</i> Potential to equalise opportunities in later adult life for all citizens, based on capacity and merit, rather than on wealth, ethnicity or any other ascribed status. Through positive action can advance minorities / disadvantaged groups.	<i>Identification of key social problems and research into how to address them.</i> Potential for particular focus on the needs of the poor and disadvantaged, and for promoting human rights.	<i>Documenting the past, and providing a record for the future, especially with regard to human rights</i>
Educational outreach and extension to broader community	Acts as a 'focal intellectual point' for the education system, particularly, as well as wider society. General adult education outreach responsibility.	Seek ways in which to involve the wider community in the institution, and of providing services to outside groups.	

debates over the role of higher education in development⁸. However, despite the range of possibilities which have animated discussion around higher education in developing

⁸ Indeed, Court (1980) has argued in relation to universities in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), that the excessively *high* expectations about what institutions of higher learning *might* contribute towards development has been one of the main problems facing these 'small, beleaguered, and underfunded' institutions. Court, D. 1980. The Development Ideal in Higher Education: The Experience of Kenya and Tanzania. *Higher Education*. 9 : 657-680.

countries, proponents of state funded systems have noted that what is being emphasised, to the virtual exclusion of all other roles, is the *economic* contribution of institutions of higher learning, primarily through the production of graduates to form a skilled workforce.

While the production of graduates to play has always been the central focus of the sector's agenda, as was noted in *Chapter One*, Singh (2001) argues that over the last decade there has been a qualitative shift in emphasis, to the exclusion of all other roles. She further suggests that what is accelerating this process of narrowing the conceptualisation of the role of higher education is the insistence on allowing market forces a greater influence on determining the direction and development of the sector:

[Currently] the role of higher education in facilitating social benefits is viewed mainly through the prism of market responsiveness. The social, moral, political, intellectual and cultural dimensions of higher education responsiveness are increasingly under siege in planning for the funding, management and renewal of higher education, especially on the African continent. The facilitation by higher education of 'public good' benefits is receding from the scene or given lip service only. Such a narrowing down of the multiple social purposes and goods of higher education to economic imperatives is particularly worrying in contexts where democratic dispensations are fragile and public institutions like universities have broader social development responsibilities than their counterparts in more stable political and economic systems. Such stable systems usually have a range of social institutions and agencies to draw on for the sustenance of a democratic culture (Singh 2001, 4).

Implicit within the argument above is the notion that state funded systems are more likely to be able to ensure that the multiple social roles of higher education are encouraged, rather than being squeezed out by a focus on economic concerns. More explicitly, proponents of state funded systems argue that the state is better placed than the profit-driven interests of the market to identify national development priorities, and to ensure that the higher education system contributes towards achieving them. For example, it is argued that basic and long-term research in state funded systems is more likely to be promoted and protected from short-term, commercial interests that tend to dominate systems which are privately funded.

Advocates of greater market involvement in higher education counter by suggesting that arguments in favour of state funded systems tend to be premised on a 'naïve' view of the state. They argue that the state, particularly in CDEs, is frequently a vehicle for

promoting elite interests, rather than genuine national development. Moreover, in terms of the multiple roles of higher education, in poor countries states are seldom able to fund more than undergraduate teaching programmes, since even the most basic research tools (such as laboratory equipment and international journals) are unaffordable in many higher education systems. Shifting away from total reliance on state funding would enable systems of higher education to raise the resources needed to fund expansion, both in terms of student numbers, as well as teaching and research programmes. This, they argue, would ensure a far greater contribution to national development in CDEs.

Over the last decade, considerable changes have taken place in Uganda with regard to educational finance. As discussed in *Chapter Three*, prior to the introduction of Universal Primary Education (UPE) policies in 1997, pupils attending primary school were charged a variety of fees. Children who were unable to secure these funds were unable to attend school. Enrolment in primary schools more than doubled when these fees were lifted under UPE. It is predominantly children from the poorest sectors of Ugandan society who have benefited most directly from these initiatives, as a lack of resources no longer excludes them from participation. While UPE has not been without its problems, in particular in terms of its impact on efficiency within the system, it is indisputable that access to basic education, especially for the most disadvantaged in Uganda, has considerably expanded since its introduction.

During roughly the same period, participation at Makerere has more than doubled. This has meant that in the last five years, Makerere has produced more graduates than in the previous four decades. However, in contrast to the primary education sector, this rapid expansion has not been achieved through the investment of additional public resources, but by opening up the University to private students. Moreover, far from compromising the efficiency of the institution, evidence from the case study suggests that efficiency has been considerably enhanced through the injection of new resources. Further, these resources have been used to cross-subsidise the work of the institution so that those faculties which have proved to be less 'marketable' than others (such as the Faculty of Science) and which have been unable to attract private students, have not been excluded from the benefits of the new programmes. In addition, other essential functions of the University (most notably research, the library and further training for academic staff) which have not been able to secure adequate (if any) public financing for

a number of years have similarly benefited from this cross-subsidisation process. This belies the notion that the marketisation of higher education necessarily undermines the public interest roles of the sector.

This is not to suggest that the introduction of private students to Makerere has been unproblematic. Clearly, equity remains a key concern although, as has previously been noted it needs to recognise that in absolute numbers participation has increased considerably. Specifically in relation to the institution's contribution to national development, the fact that the growth of the institution has disproportionately been in the Commerce Faculty raises questions about whether, with all of Uganda's development needs (such as only one doctor for every 27,000 people), this is the most useful direction for the University to take. Further, given that this lop-sided growth may produce a glut of unemployed graduates raises questions about the institution's rapid expansion being a *de facto* positive contribution to national development. However, on balance, the evidence at this stage suggests that the sector's contribution, far from being damaged by the process of marketisation, may have been considerably enhanced.

8.6 Reconsidering the Debate

In considering how the debate over the role of the state and the market in financing higher education has developed, it is important to recall (as was noted in *Chapter One*) that the major push to review state domination of the funding of higher education arose, not so much out of concerns intrinsic to the sector, but rather out of the dynamics of a broader set of issues. These concerned a range of neo-liberal initiatives, aimed at adjusting (limiting) public spending, while also redirecting those more limited public funds to meeting more basic needs. This initial impetus to the review of financing higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) has meant that the debate over funding has tended to be structured less by the specificities and needs of the sector, than by a wider debate between 'structuralists' and 'neo-liberals' over the role of the state and market in achieving particular development goals. As a result, the debate over financing of higher education is also characterised by many of the problems and limitations of that wider debate:

1. structuralists, who have consistently argued for state funded systems of higher education, are accused of being naïve about the capacity of the state to act in

‘national interests’, and of ignoring the extent to which the state can be used as an instrument to promote and protect narrower interests, based on socio-economic privilege, ethnicity, geography and so on;

2. neo-liberals, who have advocated greater market involvement in the sector, are charged with being insensitive to the specificity of local conditions in developing countries and of imposing solutions better suited to countries with advanced economies and developed markets;
3. structuralists’ solutions are dismissed as being unrealistic as they rely too heavily on an over-optimistic assessment of the potential of the state to raise sufficient local revenue through taxation;
4. neo-liberals are found guilty of advancing solutions which offer little protection to the poor and disadvantaged, and which are perceived as promoting or perpetuating the interests of the privileged.

Even a cursory examination of the arguments advanced in favour of state or market funded systems of higher education (as outlined in the previous section) demonstrate the extent to which these key issues in the broader debate between structuralists and neo-liberals underpin the central disagreements in relation to financing higher education in developing countries.

The following section explores alternative ways in which to frame the discussion over higher education finance. This moves beyond the narrow, albeit essential, economic view of the sector and its role, as well as beyond the confines of the core concerns of structuralists and neo-liberals, in order to foreground those aspects of the sector which make it unique.

8.6.1 Range of Roles

Williams (1992) begins his investigation into *Changing patterns of finance in higher education* by arguing that:

Higher education is not one activity but many. Serious discussion of its finance cannot ignore its heterogeneity. Not everything that takes place under the name of higher education has the same claim to resources, nor should it be financed in the same way (Williams 1992).

One of the major limitations of the debate over financing in higher education in developing countries is that this simple principle has tended to be overlooked. Prior to the review of higher education financing imposed on many countries in SSA by the widespread structural adjustment programmes of the 1980s, it was widely accepted that the state should bear *all* costs related to higher education. These costs included not only the recurrent and capital funds for the sector's core activities (teaching, research, archival and outreach), but also providing the resources to meet the costs of a variety of services (housing, health, transport) associated with staff and student welfare. Beyond a cursory examination of the various areas of state funding of higher education, and widespread agreement that excessive spending on staff and student welfare should be cut-back, little attention has been paid to looking at the wide range of activities that the sector is currently, and could potentially be, engaged with (*as outlined in Table 8.5*). It is necessary, however, to critically examine each activity's particular claim to public resources, while exploring the possibility, and implications, of securing funding for those activities in a different manner.

Part of the reason for the limited focus on activities beyond under-graduate teaching is that few universities in SSA (outside of South Africa) are able to engage in much more than this. One of the major constraints to developing vibrant research, and associated post-graduate teaching programmes, let alone a viable archival or outreach/service role, is the absence of resources. Emphasising (rather than ignoring or paying lip-service) to the heterogeneity of the possible activities of 'higher education' could deepen the debate over higher education financing by exploring what activities are able to lay priority claim to limited public resources, and why. Critical to the debate would be an exploration of what activities might benefit from being exposed to market related funding, and why. A more nuanced examination of the various roles of a higher education system might well lead to an argument, for instance, that public resources are better used in financing basic research - an activity unlikely to attract funding from elsewhere as there are very limited short term returns - rather than financing all students, irrespective of their private capacity to contribute towards costs, as access would not be denied to qualified students who could afford to pay. Whatever the conclusion reached, the starting point needs to be a critical reflection on the range of activities which could receive public funding and an understanding that, in the context of limited resources,

informed choices need to be made about which are the most appropriate to be funded in a competitive environment.

8.6.2 De-linking from the rest of the education sector

Much of the debate over the role of the state and market in financing higher education in CDEs tends to focus exclusively on the sector, and makes little or no reference to the broader education system of which it is a part. Detaching the higher education sector from the wider education system in debates over its direction, development and funding is fuelled by governments frequently having separate funding and management processes for the sector, and also encouraged by higher education increasingly becoming a specialised academic/policy arena. However, not placing the sector in a wider educational context tends to limit our understanding of key aspects of the market/state debate. For instance, restricting the focus to the higher education sector alone when discussing equity issues, particularly in CDEs, tends to narrow the debate to the concerns of the minority of students who have managed to complete secondary school, and can allow us to lose sight of the fact that many young people – especially those from poor, rural backgrounds – are filtered out of the system much earlier on. Insisting on understanding the sector in relation to the system as a whole would allow a more nuanced examination of the responsibilities of the state towards the most marginalised sectors of the national population.

8.6.3 Mechanisms of Funding

Much of the debate over the financing of higher education in developing countries has concentrated on *sources* of funding, as it has been widely understood that the providers of a system's resources will have a powerful influence in determining its size, shape, role, agenda and goals: 'the one who pays the piper, calls the tune'. In contrast, little attention has been paid in the debate, in developing countries, to the *mechanisms* of finance in higher education, and the possible impact that these different mechanisms can have on the behaviour of institutions of higher learning: not only does 'the one who pays the piper call the tune', but as Williams notes, *the way payment is made* determines how the tune is played (Williams 1984, 84). Three basic models can be identified in relation to possible ways in which universities can receive funding:

1. The *bureaucratic model* in which financial decisions are made by a body external to the institution and resources are distributed according to specified distributional rules.
2. The *professional / collegial model* in which control over the use of finance is internal to the institution. While this is generally because an institution might own land, property or endowment fund (and is thus generating an independent income) it may also be because a system is funded through an autonomous institution (for example, the now defunct University Grants Committee in Britain).
3. The *market model* sees financial power held by numerous individual customers, who purchase the academic services of an institution. This primarily takes the form of students paying fees, but also includes outside institutions (such as the state or the private sector) that commission research (Williams 1984, 84-85).

One of the reasons why it is important to distinguish the *sources* of finance from the *mechanisms* by which they are allocated, is that a single source of finance (e.g. the state) may choose to adopt all or any of the three financial mechanisms for channelling funds into universities. Indeed, no system of higher education is ever financed using a single mechanism: markets are never completely unregulated, while all financing mechanisms have market elements of some sort. Market regulation includes the setting of minimum entrance requirements, by the state or by individual institution, which restricts the market to students who are qualified for access, as well as basic health and safety legislation which provides parameters for research and consultancy (Le Grand and Robinson 1989). Of greater interest is the way in which the allocation of resources, whatever their source, within a system can be used to promote (or inhibit) particular activities: academics can be encouraged to dedicate more of their time to research or teaching, by rewarding one more highly than the other; state subsidised student loans can be used to direct students to particular courses and even institutions; tax breaks for commercial firms can stimulate the contract research market in priority areas (Williams 1984; Williams 1992).

Debates over University finance in CDEs frequently have been structured around an implicit notion of the 'bureaucratic state' versus the 'unregulated market'. Only

recently⁹ has a more nuanced view been introduced which allows for a less polarised examination of the possibilities of public and private interaction in the funding of higher education. The potential this offers in terms of deepening our understanding of the way in which the state and market can interact to achieve particular ends is discussed below.

8.6.4 The Absence of ‘Academic Authority’

Williams (1995), in analysing the changing role of the state in financing national systems of higher education in highly developed countries, argues that

... a marked shift is occurring away from input based budgeting whereby the state supplies educational services, either directly or indirectly, and the main criterion determining what is provided is knowledge and expertise, towards output and performance-based budgeting, in which suppliers receive resources to the extent that they provide services that satisfy consumers. This represents a massive cultural shift with which many academics are having difficulty in coming to terms (Williams 1995, 174).

Despite a similar process of marketisation, the situation which Williams describes is significantly different from the one found in the vast majority of countries of SSA. As discussed in *Chapter One*, one of the most lasting legacies of the demand that higher education be seen to be contributing in a ‘direct, immediate and practical ways’ to the process of national development was that universities ceded much of their academic authority to the state. From the 1960s onwards, decisions about student numbers and access, what courses should be offered, and senior academic and management appointments, increasingly came to be made by the state rather than universities. Or to borrow Williams’ terms, the state supplied educational services, but the main criterion which determined what was provided was not academics’ knowledge and expertise, but rather the state’s notion of ‘national development’.

Despite the major changes being advocated in the financing and management of higher education in SSA, with institutions such as the World Bank advocating a shift to ‘output and performance-based budgeting’, little room is being created for a more prominent role of academic authority. Rather, the approach which is emphasised is one in which

⁹ Discussion over these issues in CDEs has tended to lag beyond the debate in countries with more developed economies where the debate (particularly in Europe) where review and debate of, for example,

suppliers (institutions of higher learning) receive resources – only partly ‘to the extent that they provide services that satisfy consumers’ (students) – but also to the extent to which they ‘advance’ a state managed notion of ‘public interest’. What is largely absent from current debate over the financing of higher education in developing countries, is an examination of the ways in which ‘academic authority’ could, and should, impact on the debate both in terms of considering how to raise resources - but particularly in determining how best to utilise them. Further, this exclusion fuels an overly economic and narrow view of the sector and its role, and makes it difficult to focus on those aspects of the sector which make it unique.

The Importance of ‘Academic Authority’

As argued in *Chapter Three*, interest in how higher education is financed, particularly in countries with developing economies, is most often underpinned by an understanding that the way in which a higher education system is funded is a powerful influence in determining what goals the sector can achieve. In terms of setting the goals of the higher education sector, both the ‘state’ and the ‘market’ lay claim to the right to influence the agenda. Few would disagree that institutions of higher learning, especially those funded with public resources, need to be responsive to some kind of notion of ‘national needs’ as interpreted by a democratically elected government. This is particularly so in poor countries where the claims to public resources far outweigh their availability. Similarly, while neo-liberals have been the most vocal advocates, many would agree that the direct consumers of the services produced by institutions of higher learning should have some influence over the ‘products’ which are offered. Williams (1995) concurs with both these points, but then goes on to argue that the particular and unique responsibilities that universities have, demands that ‘authority given by knowledge and expertise’ should also be used to determine the sector’s direction and development:

Certainly any publicly funded higher education must be responsive to national needs as interpreted by a democratically elected government: certainly privately funded higher education has to respond to what its consumers are willing to buy. But universities have other responsibilities as well: to truth, to professional integrity, and to longer-term cultural traditions. They should not be subject to every whim of political or social fashion (Williams 1995, 175).

In the *Peril and Promise* report - discussed in *Chapter One* as the most likely direction of the World Bank's approach to higher education CDEs¹⁰ - while mention is made of the importance of academic freedom, far more emphasis is placed on the need to 'balance' an individual institution's claim to this right and the state's responsibility 'to protect and promote the public's interest'. In order to achieve this balance, it is suggested that 'buffer mechanisms' – statutory bodies that include 'representatives of the government, institutions of higher education, the private sector, and other important stake-holders such as student organisations' – should be used to advise the government on a variety of issues, but in particular

1. the size, shape and funding of higher education
2. quality assurance, promotion mechanisms, and accreditation
3. funding and promoting research

Similarly it is argued that the 'most natural starting point for higher education reform' in developing countries involves 'crafting a vision of a rational system' through a dialogue between 'educators, industry, government, prospective students, and other relevant stakeholders'. It is the state which then bears responsibility for implementing this vision, with guidance and direction from the 'buffer mechanisms' (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 95-96).

I need to emphasise that I am not arguing against the processes of engaging with a wide range of stakeholders in determining a vision for a national system of higher education; nor am I against the use of 'buffer-mechanisms' to advise governments on the sector's funding and development. On the contrary, such mechanisms, depending on how they are constructed and used, have the potential to be powerful tools in the struggle to ensure that the sector does not become responsive only to privileged private needs, and in determining that it delivers on the full range of potential public goods (social, moral, political, intellectual and cultural) that it can. The point I want to make is more prosaic. The approach advocated in *Peril and Promise* reduces 'academic expertise' to just one voice amongst many in deciding issues which traditionally have been regarded as important components of academic freedom (for instance, research priorities, accreditation of professional training, and quality assurance in teaching). And indeed, it is not even clear from the terms used ('institutions of higher education' and 'educators')

¹⁰ The release of the policy report *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* in late 2002 confirms this.

whether it is this level of expertise which would be sought rather than (for instance) University administrators or teachers at primary and secondary schools (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 95). The main danger of advocating an approach which fails to value enough the authority which comes from specialised knowledge and expertise is that higher education loses its 'special status' and is reduced to simply another kind of social activity and area of expenditure:

Clark's (1983) triangle of tension [*outlined in Chapter One*] is not just a model of the claims of competing interest groups, but also a representation of different 'ideas' of higher education. There are three legitimate claimants to legitimacy in higher education. ... One is the collective will of society; the second is the particular wishes of individual consumers; the third is authority given by knowledge and expertise. It is the special position of the last that gives higher education its claim for special status. If higher education is not about the creation, development and transmission of higher level knowledge, it is an empty box. Academic expertise gives a right to claim to represent wider interests and those of future generations that are not adequately represented in current political or market forces (Williams 1995, 175-176).

Williams, in making this argument, is also quick to point out that 'academics are themselves a vested interest and sometimes find it difficult to choose between global and long-term interests and their own self-interest'. For this reason he hastens to add that academic expertise cannot go 'unconstrained' (Williams 1995, 176). But the approach suggested in *Peril and Promise*, while arguably a matter of emphasis, appears to go beyond this.

Excluding 'academic authority' from the debate has particular implications for the development of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa where the historical development of universities has resulted in academic authority either been ceded or claimed by the state almost from the time that these 'fragile institutions' were first established (Court 1980). Diouf (1994), in an important survey of academic freedom in Africa in the 1990s, provides extensive evidence of academics from across the sub-continent coming together in increasingly organised ways in order to fight against both state and market encroachment on their rights (Diouf and Mamdani 1994). The impact that this had on the reforms undertaken at Makerere are explored in *Chapter Four*, which clearly establishes the central role of academics in bringing about the changes in Makerere. However, the current debate over the development of higher education in SSA does little to encourage reflection on the issue of academic freedom and authority, in part because as it does not sit comfortably within the dominant structuralist/neo-

liberal debate over the financing of the sector. The tension between 'state authority', the 'market' and 'academic oligarchy' is intrinsic to higher education (Clark 1997). It is my contention that the current debate over the role of the state and the market in higher education in SSA - which ultimately has to do with the direction and the development of the sector - would be considerably strengthened if attention was paid to examining ways in which to incorporate the issue of academic authority. The present research strongly endorses this viewpoint by demonstrating that while academics at Makerere clearly acted in their own self-interests in encouraging the marketisation of Makerere, that they also have the capacity to speak with genuine authority and understanding of the broader equity and efficiency issues, and to act in the interests of broader institutional and national development concerns through the cross-subsidisation of courses and activities.

8.7 Makerere at the Crossroads

The *Peril and Promise* report, while lauding the progress that Makerere has made, concludes that 'income generation, disengagement from the state, and managerial improvement do not alone ensure academic quality'. It is suggested that the challenge for the institution in the longer term is to 'find incentives for quality research, as well as teaching, and to promote the public interest above and beyond the limits of the market' (Independent Task Force on Higher Education and Society 2000, 55). Singh (2001) is more sceptical. While she echoes many of these points in her assessment of the growing marketisation of African universities, including Makerere, she ends with a sharper challenge:

More worrying are the trends which show that issues of access have become more difficult for women, minority ethnic groups and the rural poor in a context that prioritises a 'user pays' mindset. The line between public and private provision has become blurred often within the same institution, bringing ambiguity to the role and responsibility of higher education in the broader transformation of those societies. The quality of provision is clearly in jeopardy as large numbers of fee paying students are enrolled and staff student ratios grow more unmanageable. The lack of time and attention to research and the shift away from certain fields of study especially in the basic sciences and humanities, are threatening the longer term needs of society for stable systems and capacity to generate, absorb and use knowledge for the benefit of all. The 'innovations' which are revitalising higher education institutions which were on the verge of collapse look largely like survival strategies in the face of fiscal austerity, with the promise not yet evident of the socially transformative potential of these innovations (Singh 2001, 5).

The evidence from the present research suggests a more generous assessment is needed, at least in relation to Makerere. For instance, this case study suggests that since the introduction of the self-sponsorship programmes access for women has *increased* overall; the quality of teaching and learning has considerably improved as lecturers are now present on campus and students have access to a growing library and computer and internet facilities; far from being weakened, the cross-subsidisation of the basic sciences has considerably strengthened the faculty and its capacity; and finally, that research has been rejuvenated through support for further studies for staff (again paid for through cross-subsidisation) and the massive expansion of post-graduate studies (almost all privately funded).

Dismissing these innovations as mere 'survival strategies' with little or no 'transformative potential' appears to be either indulging in comparisons with an idealised model of higher education in CDEs, or to be ignoring the wider context in which institutions like Makerere exist. Indeed, Court (1980) has argued previously in relation to universities in SSA, that measuring institutions' contributions against external expectations, rather than against a more realistic framework, has 'distracted attention' from the considerable achievement of these universities. In the early 1980s he suggested that the most important achievement of these institutions was to build up 'indigenous teaching and research capacity' (Court 1980). This achievement was largely dismissed, or went unnoticed, by critics demanding that institutions contribute more visibly and immediately to 'national development' - in part through expanded access, but also through the production of graduates able to contribute towards that process. For SSA universities, such as Makerere, at the start of the 21st century it is tempting to argue that halting, or at least slowing, the steady decline of higher education and the demoralization and drain of academic staff due to inadequate public investment, while rapidly expanding access to a range of institutions and programmes for qualified entrants previously denied such an opportunity, in a context of improving access and public investment in basic education, is a substantial achievement worthy of being celebrated, if not emulated. However, a more reasoned assessment, drawing on the limited evidence of the present research, points to the view that the initiatives at Makerere are simply the first stage in a much longer process – the final outcome of which remains undecided.

In considering what insights the present research, as well as current debates over the role of the state and market in higher education in CDEs, offer into the way forward for Makerere, two key points emerge:

(1) The need for a more creative role of the state.

While the increased marketisation of the University has led to a decrease in the direct influence of the Government over the direction and development of the University, this does not mean that the state should not find alternative means of exercising its responsibilities in relation to higher education. The starting point to examining this question is exploring what responsibilities the state has towards the sector. The state/market debate points to the need for the state to address those concerns and interests which the market, through its profit motive, either neglects or harms. This suggests that the Government needs to act consciously to protect and promote the following issues at the University:

- *equity and social justice*, by ensuring that the poor and marginalised are not excluded from access;
- *efficiency*, particularly by ensuring a base level of quality;
- *national development*, particularly through the support of long-term research, ensuring that research reflects the concerns of the poor and marginalised, and the promotion of courses which advance development priorities.

Persisting in simply providing merit based scholarships to a minority of students seems the least creative way for the Government to respond to the increasing marketisation of Makerere. Similarly, although at the end of the 1990s there was discussion about the establishment of a national loan scheme¹¹, it seems to me that there are a range of other actions which the Government should be considering. As noted in *Chapter One*, a Government can 'steer from a distance' by encouraging or discouraging particular activities at the institution in a variety of ways (Middleton 2000). In the Ugandan context this might include reviewing:

1. whether public resources are best invested in providing student financing on merit, or whether public support should be provided on the basis of demonstrated need (albeit relative) as well as merit;

2. considering how best to promote particular courses and faculties, rather than supplying funding across all disciplines. For instance, mathematics and science based subjects could be encouraged by providing a disproportionate share of government sponsored places in these courses. In addition, support could be provided to subjects which tend not to be very marketable, but whose absence would be a loss to national development and culture, such as philosophy and poetry;
3. weighing up whether particular educational and development goals (e.g. increasing access for the poor, or promoting quality) can best be met by providing further funding to the tertiary level or through increased support to primary or secondary education (e.g. providing more secondary schools in particular regions, or providing increased resources for educational materials, such as text books);
4. examining how best to ensure a minimum level of quality in all institutions through (for instance) provision of funds for independent inspections, finance for peer reviews, and other measures of quality assurance;
5. contemplating how best to promote research which reflects national development priorities, providing incentives to the University and the private sector, and by making seeking support for this work from the international donor community.
6. understanding the impact of the current system of 'up-front' fees, and examining whether it is acting as a deterrent to participation, and exploring what actions might be taken (such as a national loan scheme, or graduate tax programmes) to relieve students and their families of the sole responsibility of finding the necessary resources *prior* to students being admitted to the University.

None of these roles demand that additional resources be fed into the sector. On the contrary – all these aims can be achieved by redirecting current resources, and seeking additional funding from elsewhere. What is needed is the development of a funding framework which recognises that the marketisation of the University provides an important opportunity for a wider set of priorities to become part of the Government's higher education agenda. By the end of the 1990s there was little indication that the

¹¹ Currently there appears to be little enthusiasm for this approach, particularly from the World Bank.

Government was prepared to grasp and act on these possibilities. As Makerere moves beyond the initial stages of its experimentation, it is important that the innovations at the University are matched by as creative a response from the Government.

(2) The need for a more conscious and organised response from the academic community.

The second point to emerge from a reflection on the present research and current debates over the role of the state and market in higher education in CDEs in relation to the next steps for Makerere, is the need for academics at the institution to more consciously claim and assert their academic authority, both in relation to the state as well as the market. One of the great dangers of the rapid expansion of the private sponsorship programme, and the associated benefits to the academic community at Makerere, is that decisions about the direction and development of the institution (particularly in terms of its size and shape) will lack academic integrity, being informed rather by the profit possibilities of the market. Few would disagree that action needs to be taken to guard against this prospect, indeed some might argue inevitability. The point to make here is that it is far preferable for the academic community – rather than for the state – to act to check it occurring, or at least act to limit or contain it.

It is preferable, for two reasons. First, as argued in the preceding section, the particular history of the development of universities in Sub-Saharan Africa has seen much of the academic authority of universities in the region ceded to the state. As outlined in *Chapter One*, this approach began with the best of intentions, but as later developments across the sub continent demonstrated, organising relationships between the state and the higher education sector on the premise of a benevolent development state is a risky business. The lesson of the development of higher education in the region is that academic freedom - which centrally involves decisions about what is to be taught and to whom – is a freedom which needs to be actively fought for by the people most affected by its absence – namely the academic community. It is not simply a right which can be claimed (Mamdani 1994 b). Second, the specialised knowledge and expertise of the academic community privileges them in relation to a wider community (Williams 1995). Such a privilege demands that they accept responsibility for protecting the disciplines which underpin that knowledge. For instance, the primary responsibility to protect and promote the basic sciences and humanities, must lie with the academic community. It is this community which is best placed to understand their value and importance, not

only (albeit most immediately) in relation to them being the foundation of the knowledge base, but also because of their implied importance to national development. Similarly, it is the academic community which has the opportunity for informed reflection. A reflective academic community is best placed to guard against fads and fashions, rather than disciplinary integrity, in the development of new academic courses and the general direction and development of the University.

While there are welcome examples of the manner in which the academic community at Makerere has responded to these challenges, most notably in the cross subsidisation of courses and activities, there is also cause for concern. For instance, there are increasing reports of new courses being established which have very tenuous disciplinary links to the departments in which they are based, as the battle over the ownership of the resources they generate has become more intense¹². Similarly, there are also reports of a reluctance to take on new staff, despite the need to have a manageable staff/student in order to provide the essential support for the teaching programme (especially with regard to marking academic scripts and tutorials), as this would decrease the proportion of the income which incumbent staff are currently claiming. These are worrying, albeit entirely human, signals of a previously impoverished community adjusting to new found opportunities. How this process is managed, however, has major implications for the kind of future which Makerere will create for itself in a new context where academic autonomy is challenged by both the state and the market.

8.7.1 Further research questions

As noted previously, the present research can be regarded as no more than an exploratory case study. Its strength lies in documenting and analysing the process by which the marketisation of Makerere began, and contextualising and interrogating that process within the context of a broader policy debate. It also establishes some 'base' measures of equity and efficiency against which later studies can be compared to provide a more nuanced examination of the impact of the new financing initiatives. It is particularly limited by its time frame: no attempt has been made to capture and understand more recent initiatives at the University, and between the Government and the University. The analysis is based on events throughout the 1990s. The most

¹² The most notable of these was the battle over whether Development Studies should be based in the Arts or the Social Science Faculty.

obvious area for further research would be to record what events have taken place since then, and to analyse them in relation to the propositions and conclusions of this study.

There are two, inter-related, areas of particular interest in this regard. The first is the to explore more fully the issue of sustainability. Throughout the late 1990s there was discussion of an imminent loan-scheme initiative, backed by the Ugandan government (Mushega 1999). Understanding what impact the introduction of a government supported initiative (be it a national loan system or a graduate and/or employer tax scheme) which most importantly did away with the need for 'up front' fees might have on equity and efficiency would be a logical extension of the work contained here. An important aspect of this work would need to be examining more closely the informal, extended family system which operated at the time the present research was conducted, as it might provide some very useful insights into the debates over student financing. Greater attention could be paid to teasing out the livelihood framework, for example, by including discussions with the parents (and other family members) who were covering the cost of studying at Makerere. Understanding what sacrifices are made by families and how those decisions are reached, and with what consequences (both short and longer term) are the kinds of questions which would need to be addressed in a thorough examination of student financing.

The second priority area in need of further examination concerns one of the major limitations of the study, and is related to the point above. The focus of this study was restricted to students who had already gained admittance to Makerere. To really understand the issue of access – particularly in relation to equity, but also efficiency – demands a wider study which examines school leavers and the choices they, and their families, make - or have imposed on them by their circumstances. Such a focus would have the added advantage of underscoring the importance of examining equity and efficiency in the higher education sector in its proper context: namely within the education system, and broader society as a whole.

APPENDIX ONE:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The core of the thesis draws on empirical research work which was conducted at Makerere over a eight month period, beginning in October 1998. While conducting the fieldwork I was based in the Sociology Department at the University. I participated in the formal teaching programme of the department, teaching a module - the sociology of education - to third year students. Participating in the formal teaching programme of the University gave me access to students and staff members in a different capacity from that of a research student from the London School of Economics and allowed me insights into the running of the institution, while also providing me with an alternative and supplementary way of engaging with the more intangible issues of 'quality' and 'efficiency'¹. This helped considerably with the design of the research tools discussed below.

There were four components to the fieldwork that I undertook while at Makerere. The major piece of research was the design and distribution of a student questionnaire to selected 2nd year students (n 1,030). Supplementing this work was a series of four focus discussion groups with students (n 39). Accessing views, experiences and opinions of university academics and senior management was done through a series of semi-structured interviews (n 28). Government policy towards the university was explored primarily through policy documents - both government and World Bank - but also with a handful of interview with government officials, past members of the University administration (n 5) and through contact with a number of World Bank officials. Finally, being in Uganda and based at the University, allowed me to read and collect a wide range of newspapers and have access to 'grey literature' which was not generally available outside of the country.

The purpose of this appendix is to document the way in which the key research tools were developed and used, as well as to identify some of their challenges and limitations.

¹ Finally, it may be pertinent to point out that in the early 1990s out of 845 established posts, just over half (437 or 52%) were filled. In part this is because salaries are so low - in 1992 a lecturers' salary was approximately US\$20 per month (Eiseman, T. and J. Salmi. 1993. *African Universities and the State: Prospects for Reform in Senegal and Uganda. Higher Education*. 25 : 151-168). In such a context - and requesting the institution's hospitality and assistance - it felt essential to make some sort of direct contribution to the teaching or research programme.

1. The 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The purpose of the student survey was to

- Develop a profile of students at the University, in order to identify who had access to the institution by gender, region, and socio-economic status so that comparisons could be made with national demographics, and to provide for some key points of comparison within the student body, particularly in relation to government and private sponsorship;
- Explore where students were getting resources from to attend and survive at University, and to identify how those resources were being used, particularly in relationship to differences between government and privately sponsored students;
- Explore how students' spent their time at university; their self-reported academic success, their attitudes towards their experiences at the university and their future employment and economic prospects, particularly in relationship to differences between government and privately sponsored students.

The survey provided data in terms of all three of the central concerns of the thesis, namely, equity, efficiency, and sustainability.

Equity

With regard to *equity*, data was provided which could be used from a contemporary as well as an historical perspective. Having both government-sponsored and privately-sponsored students meant that an exploration of major differences (in terms of gender, socio-economic background, home region, and rural or urban base) between the two groups of students could be undertaken. Further, within the survey the question of access to the 'University' as a whole was broken down to explore what kind of programme students were attending as well as the faculty in which they were registered.

Type of programme refers to whether students were attending the full-time day programme; the part-time evening programme; or were external students (i.e. studying by correspondence). The full-time day programme was attended predominantly by government sponsored students, the part-time evening (and afternoon) programme by part-time private students who could afford to support themselves in Kampala, while the external courses were regarded as the most affordable option, as they were essentially correspondence study.

Faculty was important as there is an informal hierarchy, based on how competitive it is to gain entrance to various faculties on campus, with the professional faculties (particularly Law, Medicine, and Technology, and Commerce) having a higher status than the other faculties. The survey provided data to demonstrate evidence of clustering in relation to type of programme and faculty in terms of the key socio-economic factors previously identified.

Finally, the survey was deliberately designed to explore equity issues from an *historical* perspective. Two previous studies – Goldthorpe (1965) and Barkan (1975) - had been undertaken at Makerere at a time when the colonial government (Goldthorpe), and the newly independent Ugandan government (Barkan) were exclusively responsible for funding students.

Gaining access to some of the original data from both these studies provided an important opportunity to compare and contrast the effect of different financing arrangements.

Efficiency

With regard to *efficiency*, the data from the survey was limited to issues of external efficiency, and focused on students' perceptions of how difficult they thought it would be to find a job on graduation. However, as these questions had also been put to students in a study undertaken in the 1970s, an historical point of comparison was also provided.

Sustainability

Finally, with regard to *sustainability*, the survey provided data into at how students were getting resources needed to pay fees, as well as to support themselves while studying. The survey also allowed an exploration of what impact particular factors (gender, rural/urban divide, socio-economic status) had on the access and means by which students collected resources - and what implications this had (or insights this provided) both for short-term equity questions, and for the longer term issues of external efficiency and sustainability .

1.1 The Design Process

The development of the questionnaire involved three steps.

First, I had the opportunity of looking closely at three previous surveys (Goldthorpe, 1965 Barkan, 1975; and Maynja, 1995) of Makerere students. In particular, I was able to benefit from examining a series of papers related to the Goldthorpe study undertaken in late 1950s, in which he traced the origins of early students to Makerere (Goldthorpe 1965). These papers are currently lodged at the Rhodes House Library as part of the *Oxford Development Records Project*². While there were a number of components to Goldthorpe's study, I used only the full-scale student survey which he undertook in the latter part of 1958. The first part of this questionnaire focussed on the education and occupation of respondents' parents, as well as other members of the extended family network. Questionnaires were sent out 182 male students, and 58 female students. The response rate was 56 percent (Goldthorpe 1965, 94).

² The *Oxford Development Records Project* brings together a wide range of personal papers and recollections of British civil servants who were involved in the Colonial transfer of power in Africa. An important aspect of the broader collection are the papers relating to the establishment of universities on the continent, including papers from between 40 – 50 people involved in the establishment and early workings of Makerere University. J E Goldthorpe, who was a lecturer in the Geography Department from 1951 – 1952, did his PhD (at the LSE) on *Makerere College Students 1922-1960*. Primarily based on interviews with

The original questionnaire for the Barkan survey was attached as an Appendix to his book. In addition, I was able to access the original data from the survey which is housed at the Social Science Data Archive at the University of Iowa. Ultimately I did not use the original data, as I found the information contained in the published material adequate for my needs. Barkan's survey was conducted across three countries, at three institutions. The surveys, undertaken between November 1966 and December 1967, focused on students' perceptions of their future roles in their countries, and included an examination of the major factors which shaped those conceptions, particularly the various educational systems through which the students had progressed. Questions were also asked about students' social background, in particular their parents level of educational achievement and occupation. The survey was large, with 790 participants from Makerere, 493 from University College, and 632 from the University of Ghana. The response rate from Makerere students was 63 percent. Despite my attempts to isolate the Makerere students from the broader sample, ultimately I had to rely on the published evidenced presented by Barkan. Unfortunately, his evidence was presented by *nationality*, rather than by institution. Just over 500 (n. 547) of all the participants were Ugandan students, the vast majority of whom would have been at Makerere. The figures discussed in *Chapter Six* are based on these Ugandan students, as opposed to general Makerere students (Barkan 1975, 208-213).

The final study I considered was conducted by Muhammad Mayanja, the Planning Officer at Makerere University. This was commissioned by the Association of African Universities and undertaken in 1995. The study most closely related to the core concerns of this thesis, with its focus on the social background of Makerere students. The report on the study included a copy of the questionnaire used and provided some very useful ideas into how to measure socio-economic background in the Ugandan context. The sample size and response rate were not included in the report (Mayanja 1995).

In addition to these three African studies, the questionnaire design was also influenced by a series of annual student surveys conducted at the University of Brighton (Ruben and Winn 1995; Powlson and Winn 1997). Begun in 1990, these surveys, comprising of both questionnaires and in-depth interviews, attempt to provide the University with a 'realistic picture of students' financial situation'. I travelled to the University of Brighton in March 1998, and met with Sandra Winn to discuss some of the challenges in conducting research into students' finances. She provided me with a copy of the 1997/98 student finances survey.

The *second* stage of the survey design was the piloting of the initial questionnaire. The piloting was carried out on the third year sociology class which I was teaching. 47 questionnaires were distributed to the students at the end of a lecture. All were returned the following day. Following this lectures, around half of the class stayed behind on a voluntary basis to provide feed-back on the questionnaire. The comments from the students were most helpful in terms of the phrasing of questions, especially in terms of complicated or unclear language, and in terms of using language or 'slang' which Ugandan students would understand and appreciate, such as '*benching*' (visiting a member of the opposite sex in a hall of residence). Suggestions about issues which had not been adequately covered were also provided. In particular the students raised questions about the section of the questionnaire dealing with how students' spent their time. My draft analysis of the piloted questionnaires confirmed that there had been problems filling in this section of the questionnaire, and I completely rewrote this section.

The *third*, and final, design stage of the questionnaire laying out the questionnaire in an attractive manner in order to facilitate its completion by participants, and ease of data entry for analysis. A copy of the questionnaire used is contained at the end of this appendix. 1,500 copies of the questionnaire were printed (at my expense) at the University printers.

1.2 Distribution Strategy

Developing a profile of the University

It proved very challenging to gain a clear picture of University in terms of student numbers by faculty, programme and year. This was important to do in order to develop an appropriate distribution strategy for the survey which would provide a broadly representative image of the University as a whole. Prior to my arrival at Makerere, and based on reading of the most contemporary material available (Eisemon 1992), I had anticipated engaging with an institution of around 6,500 full-time undergraduate students (*see Table 1, below*). Hence, I had hoped to be able to distribute a questionnaire to all second or third year students, as I anticipated that there would be in the region of 1,500 – 2,000 students at this level.

When I arrived in Kampala, I discovered that the figures I had been using were completely out of date. While I knew that the University was expanding, I had not anticipated the speed at which this change was taking place, and was quite thrown to discover that the institution had more than doubled in size. My initial distribution strategy clearly needed revising.

Table 1: Enrolment at Makerere, by level of study and faculty (1990/91)

Level of Study	No. of Registered Students	% of Total
Undergraduate	5,886	91%
<i>Diploma and Certificate</i>	175	3
Medicine	383	6.5
Veterinary Medicine	187	3
Dentistry	50	1
Pharmacy	28	0.5
Agriculture and Forestry	427	6
Engineering, and Architecture	218	3
Education	816	12.5
Law	169	3
Commerce	269	4
Library Science	69	1
Science (including statistics)	1,057	16
Arts and Social Science	2,038	31.5
Postgraduate	610	9%
Total	6,496	100

Source: Adapted from Eisemon et al, 1992

However, understanding what the rapid growth meant in terms of the shape and structure of the institution proved difficult as I struggled to find accurate data capturing the changing student numbers. The central reason for the lack of these figures was that while student numbers were rapidly increasing at the University, staff numbers – particularly within the Administration – were not keeping pace. Moreover, at the time I was at Makerere, the University Administration was not fully computerised, which made the process of collecting and compiling accurate statistical data much more difficult. This problem was compounded by the problem of having a great many categories of students (e.g. day, evening and external students; government and private students; admitted and registered students) which meant that figures which might appear wrong at an initial glance, were correct in terms of the categories that had been included – but it was not clear which categories had (or had not) been included. Within these constraints, the most accurate picture of the undergraduate student profile that I was able to develop was based on the 1997/98 nominal student roll, as outlined *Table 2* (overleaf). The nominal roll was not available electronically, so manipulating and cross-checking and cross-referencing the data was extremely difficult and time-consuming.

Table 2: Undergraduate students Makerere, by faculty and programme (1997/98)

Faculty	TOTAL		Day		Evening		External	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No	%
Medicine	688	5.5	688	8.1	0	-	0	-
Veterinary Science	208	1.6	208	2.4	0	-	0	-
Agriculture and Forestry	640	5.1	640	7.5	0	-	0	-
Technology	564	4.5	564	6.6	0	-	0	-
Makerere University Business School	2104	16.8	339	4	779	29.3	986	73.8
Social Sciences	2521	20.1	1701	20	820	30.8	0	-
Sciences	1039	8.3	1039	12	0	-	0	-
Arts	1996	15.9	1405	16.5	591	22.2	0	-
Law	474	3.8	316	3.7	158	6	0	-
Fine Art	183	1.5	183	2.1	0	-	0	-
Education	1556	12.4	1013	11.8	193	7.3	350	26.2
Other ¹	545	3.3	430	5.1	115	4.4	0	-
TOTAL	12,518	100	8,526	100	2,656	100	1,336	100

Source: Adapted from the 1997/98 Makerere University Nominal Student Roll

According to the roll, there were 12,518 undergraduate students in 1997/98. In addition, there were approximately 3,000 additional students (2,000 post-graduate and just under a 1,000 at 'connected' institutions outside of Kampala⁴). The total number of students at the University could be broken down into the following broad categories:

- *Level of Study:* 80 percent undergraduate; 13 percent postgraduate; 7 percent diploma students (at connected institutions)
- *Type of Programme:* 68 percent 'day students'; 21 percent 'evening students', and 11 percent 'external students'
- *Sex:* 63 percent male students, and 37 percent female students
- *Sponsorship:* 53 percent government sponsored 53 percent, and 47 percent privately sponsored
- *Year of Study:* 44 percent first year, 29 percent second year, 22 percent third year, and 5 percent 'other' (e.g. 4th and 5th year Medical students)

Sampling Process

I decided to distribute the questionnaire to 2nd year students, as I wanted to be able to focus on a single level of students – in order to be able to trace the process of attrition of a single cohort from Primary One, through Secondary school and final year examinations, to admittance into Makerere. My second concern was to ensure that I covered the entire university by faculty, as I felt sure that 'faculty' was an important factor in terms of access and equity. For instance, a cursory analysis of the changing profile of the University indicated that since the introduction of

³ The Institute of Applied Statistics and Economics, the East African School of Librarianship, and the School of Adult and Continuing Education

⁴ The institutions are the National Major Seminary, Katigondo (132), the National Major Seminary, Ggaba (91), Bishop Tucker College, Mukono (61), and the Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo (704). Numbers in brackets are the number of students as reported in the Nominal Roll for 1997/98. By far the largest of these institutions is the Institute of Teacher Education at Kyambogo. All the students at these connected institutions are private students, with the exception of just over 400 government students at the Institute of Teacher Education.

privately sponsored students some faculties (notably the Makerere University Business School, and to a lesser extent Education, Arts, and Technology) had changed almost beyond recognition, while others (for example Medicine and Science) had changed hardly at all. I was also interested in exploring the extent to which small faculties differed from the larger ones. Moreover, as I was interested in quite a few variables in terms of equity (region, gender, socio-economic class) I wanted to be sure to be able to get a big enough grouping from each faculty to be able to manipulate these variables. In this context taking a sample year seemed good strategy to approach, as it would enable me to hold one variable stable. Second year was chosen mainly for pragmatic reasons, as it allowed me to deal with the lag between arrival of students and the production of university statistics of who was at the university.

Distribution Process

In the absence of a computerised data base of students, which would have made a random survey a possibility, I decided to use 'purposive sampling', seeking to get a broadly representative coverage of the University across all faculties (Robson 1999, 141). These are the steps that I took towards the distribution of the questionnaire:

- *I interviewed the Deans of all eleven faculties:* I successfully managed to meet with the Dean (or deputy) of all the faculties.
- *I requested the Dean to nominate a Department:* as part of a more wide ranging interview (discussed in the next section) I asked each Dean to identify a department which was "broadly representative of the faculty of the whole".
- *I interviewed the Head of the nominated Department:* on the basis of the Dean's introduction I got quick and ready access to a head of department in each faculty.
- *I asked each head to nominate a "broadly representative" class:* as part of a more wide ranging interview, I asked each head of department to nominate a second year class in which I could then distribute my questionnaire.

While the approach was logistically successfully, (many of the Heads nominated classes they themselves were teaching, which made for easy organising on their part and relatively easy distribution on mine) there is no way in which I can claim a representative sample of second year students at the University as it is clear (particularly with hindsight) that many factors influenced and biased my sample. Some of the problems that I encountered included:

- some heads were definitely more enthusiastic than others - which meant that there were varying degrees of encouragement to students to fill in the questionnaires. For instance, the Head of Food Science passed me along to a colleague who clearly resented having to help and signalled that to the students - so I had a very poor response rate;
- some days were bad weather days: on one occasion there was a torrential tropical storm which resulted in very low student turnout at lectures;
- some days were bad students days: there was a protest march organised by student government on one of the days that I was distributing my questionnaire, which accounted for a very low turn out in some of the classes;

- some distribution strategies worked better than others:
 - in general, if I was allowed to distribute and collect in class during the lecture - preceded by an introduction about what I was doing and why - I got a high return rate. This was particularly so if I was allowed to wait and collect them;
 - in general, I had a low response rate if I had to depend on a special meeting of students being set up in order for the questionnaire to be filled in, then turn-out tended to low;
 - the lowest response rates tended to result if I had to rely on the lecturer distributing them at the class him/herself and collecting them over the next few days or so.

I think that the central weakness of the survey was the decision to distribute by class. This biases the sample towards those students that actually attend lectures, thus risking the over-representation of a particular group of students. For instance, it is likely that within the survey there is an over representation of 'traditional' students that Makerere has always attracted: that is, *young* (i.e. just recently left school) *full-time* (i.e. not working) and *single* (i.e. no dependants) students – in other words, the traditional kind of student that Makerere has always attracted. From my interviews with staff members, I was informed that this profile is beginning to change. Certainly this would be in keeping with changes taking place in terms of access in the rest of the world in response to different kinds of financing options different kinds of people are getting access to the campus - i.e. older, part-time, and with bigger family / domestic responsibilities. It is this group of people that I think is less likely to be attending lectures, and are therefore likely to be under-represented in the survey.

Table 3: Proportion of 2nd year students responding to survey (1999)

Faculty	Second Year Total		No. of Respondents		% of total second year students
	No.	%	No.	%	
DAY					
Medicine	156	5.2	95	11.0	60.8
Vet	42	1.4	46	5.3	~100
Agriculture	188	6.3	31	3.6	16.4
Arts	664	22.3	76	8.8	11.4
Soc. Science	620	20.8	112	13.0	18
Fine Arts	84	2.8	46	5.3	54.7
Technology	200	6.7	64	7.4	32
Law	141	4.7	82	9.5	58.1
Education	382	12.8	195	22.7	51
MUBS	121	4.0	68	7.9	56.1
Science	369	12.4	31	3.6	8.4
Total DAY	2967	~100	846		29
EVENING					
MUBS	356	23.8	98	43.2	27.5
Social Sciences	492	32.9	12	5.2	2.4
Arts	411	27.5	25	11.0	6.1
Law	103	6.9	81	35.6	78.6
Education	132	8.8	0	0.0	0.0
Total EVENING	1494	~100	216	~100	15.2

Source: Compiled from Makerere Student Survey 1999

I distributed 1,500 questionnaires. 1,062 were returned – a response rate of 70 percent. However, this varied greatly across the different programmes and faculties. The broad distribution of my questionnaire, in relation to the different faculties and programmes is illustrated in *Table 3* (above):

Analysis

While I was at Makerere the data from the questionnaires was inputted into SPSS, with the assistance of the four paid student research assistants. After the data was checked and cleaned I had 1,030 useable questionnaires, upon which the analysis is based. The analysis of the data was largely restricted to simple frequency tables, and the examination of relationships between key variables, testing for significance with chi-square tests.

The key variables of interest were similarities and differences between private and government sponsored students with regard to gender, geography, and socio-economic class. In the thesis (particularly in Chapter Three) I demonstrate how *gender* (differences between men and women), *geography* (the rural / urban divide, as well as regional differences), and *socio-economic* status (the differences between the wealthy and the poor) privilege some students in relation to others in terms of access to, and opportunity within, the education sector in Uganda. In analysing the data I had gathered, I found that while sex and geography were easy to demarcate and report on, social class was not. Initially I had intended to rely largely on parents background to determine socio-economic status – but this proved more difficult than anticipated, largely because there was an abnormally high non-response to questions dealing with participant's parents. In the case of father's occupation just under half (46 percent) of respondents gave no answer to this question, with slightly fewer (41 percent) providing no response to mother's occupation. Just over 10 percent of respondents provided no information about their mother's education (this level was more in keeping with the non response rate of other questions) while twice that (20 percent) provided no information about their father. Around a third (28 percent) of respondents provided no information about their father's form of transport, while around a fifth (20 percent) did the same with regard to their mother.

In exploring the possible reasons for the low responses, I looked at family status. One of the most devastating legacies of the civil war (and continued troubles in the Northern region), but also of the spread of AIDS in the country is the number of orphans in Uganda. Nationally, it is a recognised problem, mentioned specifically in most development plans, and the education statistics keeps specific records (in part because they are exempt from school fees). In 1996, there were 351,932 registered orphans in the primary school system. As I was interested in understanding what sort of financial support students might receive from their parents, the

questionnaire included a question which asked students if they had regular contact with their parents. Within my sample of second year students at Makerere, under half of the sample (45 percent) reported that they had regular contact with both parents. Almost one in five (19 percent) of the students in the sample; just over a quarter (26 percent) said they did not have regular contact with their father, while a much smaller proportion (7 percent) reported that they had no contact with their mother. In many instances this would be because either or both parents had died, but it also might be due to divorce or disappearance.

Table 4: Family status of survey respondents (1999)

Family Status	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Neither parent	203	19.7	19.7
Single parent – mother	271	26.3	46.0
Single parent – father	69	6.7	52.7
Two parents	453	44.0	96.7
No answer	34	3.3	100.0
Total	1 030	100.0	

Source: 1999 Makerere student survey

These figures raised further questions about measuring socio-economic status on the basis of parental background, as any assumptions about parents' background and current socio-economic status became even more tenuous in the context of fewer than half the sample having ongoing contact with both parents. Further, there appeared to be no correlation between information provided about parents and regular contact with them: more than half of the respondents who reported that they had no regular contact with their father, gave details about his occupation. Indeed, the group that provided the least information was the group that reported the most contact!

However, in further examining patterns of responses, it became apparent that very few participants had given no information about their parents. In general, there was at least some information about one parent. Those students who gave little or no information did tend to fall into the expected category of being an orphan or having no contact with either parent. Hence, it was possible to use a process of combining family status with occupation, education, transport to allocate the participants to three socio-economic levels – high, medium and low. In the absence of better measures, the factors of family status, family background and school fees – both separately and combined – were used in the family manner to give some indication of relative economic privilege both within the sample of students, as well as in relation to the general population:

High Level Status: those students who had one or more parents (or a guardian) with whom they had regular contact, and who they reported held down a professional

occupation, and/or a tertiary level qualification, and/or who travelled in either their own or an official vehicle.

Middle Level Status: those students who reported that they had one or more parents (or guardian) with whom they had regular contact, and who were employed in trade or industry or who owned their own business, and / or had completed primary school, and/or travelled on public transport.

Low Level Status: those students who were orphans, or whose parents were unemployed or peasant farmers, and/ or who had not completed primary school, and who travelled by bicycle or on foot.

It is important to note, in terms of methodology, that given the low response rate in relation to parental background, and the inexact way in which they were combined, that the results reported in this thesis should be treated as no more than exploratory findings, indicating areas which need further investigation.

The full questionnaire is contained at the end of this appendix.

2. In-depth Interviews

The primary purpose of the in-depth interviews was twofold:

- *First*, to situate the university historically, by getting academics and administrators to reflect on the changes that have taken place at the university over the last fifty years. I was particularly interested in the period covering the late seventies to early nineties as little has been written about this period.
- *Second*, to gain some understanding of the process by which student fees had been introduced, as well as to get an insight into how different people perceived the effect that the innovation had had on issues of equity and efficiency.

Within these broad concerns, I had more specific aims with different groups or individuals, which are discussed below. In total I interviewed 31 people while in Kampala. These interviews can be broken down into the following broad categories:

Senior Management of the University

Mr. Ekudu-Adoku *Dean of Students*, (1999). 22nd March, Makerere University.

Prof. Hyuha, M. A. *Academic Registrar*, (1999). 24th March, Makerere University.

Mr. Mugasha, J. *University Librarian*, (1999). 22nd March, Makerere University.

Dr. Mugerwa, P. J. S. *Director, School of Postgraduate Studies*, (1999). 2nd April, Makerere University.

Prof. Ssentongo, N. *Director, Institute of Adult and Continuing Education*, (1999). 23rd March, Makerere University.

Mr. Tibarimbasa, A. K. M. *University Secretary*, (1999). 2nd April, Makerere University.

Prof. Ssebuwufu, J. P. N. *Vice Chancellor*, (1999). 13th March, Makerere University.

Deans of Faculties

Dr. Higenyi, J. K. D. *Dean, Faculty of Technology*, (1999). 2nd March, Makerere University.

Dr. Katunguka-Rwakishaya, E. *Dean, Faculty of Veterinary Medicine*, (1999). 24th February, Makerere University.

Mr. Kwesiga, P. *Dean, School of Industrial and Fine Arts*, (1999). 22nd February, Makerere University.

Prof. Luboobi, L. S. *Dean, Faculty of Science*, (1999). 22nd February, Makerere University.
 Dr. Ndoletire, O. *Dean, Faculty of Arts*, (1999). 23rd February, Makerere University.
 Dr. Okot, M. *Associate Dean, Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry*, (1999). 28th March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Oloka-Onyango, J. *Dean, Faculty of Law*, (1999). 2nd March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Rwabukwali, C. *Acting Dean, Faculty of Social Sciences*, (1999). 22nd February, Makerere University.
 Mr. Sejjaaka, S. *Associate Director, Makerere University Business School*, (1999). 4th April, Makerere University.
 Dr. Sewankambo, N. K. *Dean, Faculty of Medicine*, (1999). 8th March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Ssekamwa, J. C. *Dean, School of Education*, (1999). 24th February, Makerere University.

Heads of Academic Departments

Prof. Akiiki-Mujaju, B. *Head, Department of Political Studies and Public Administration*, (1999). 7th March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Azuba, R. *Head, Department of Veterinary Medicine*, (1999). 2nd March, Makerere University.
 Mr. Baryarama, F. *Head, Department of Mathematics*, (1999). 23rd March, Makerere University.
 Mr. Kakuru, J. *Head, Department of Finance*, (1999). 29th March, Makerere University.
 Ass. Prof. Kiggundu, B. M. *Head, Department of Civil Engineering*, (1999). 4th March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Kikafunda, J. K. *Head, Department of Food Science and Technology*, (1999). 11th March, Makerere University.
 Ms. Kirumira, R. *Head, Department of Sculpture*, (1999). 12th March, Makerere University.
 Mr. Mungoma-Mwalye, P. *Head, Department of Curriculum Teaching and Media*, (1999). 3rd March, Makerere University.
 Ass. Prof. Nzarubara, G. R. *Head, Department of Anatomy*, (1999). 23rd March, Makerere University.
 Dr. Sengendo, H. *Head, Geography Department*, (1999). 1st March, Makerere University.

Influential persons outside of the University

Prof. Kajubi, S. *Former Vice Chancellor of Makerere University*, (1999). 16th March, Kampala.
 Hon. Dr. Motavu, D. B. *Chairman of Makerere University Council*, (1999). 30th March, Makerere University.
 Hon. Minister Mushega, A. *Minister of Public Service (former Minister of Education)*, (1999). 27th March, Ministry of Public Service.

I developed a basic framework for the interviews adapting each to the needs of the various groups above. An example of an interview schedule is contained at the end of this appendix. The interviews themselves were quite uneven. While most people were very generous with their time, and open about their opinions, some interviews worked less well than others as they were rushed (because the respondent was pressed for time) or because I found it impossible to keep them on track with the interview schedule, or the respondents were simply not very forthcoming.

Before each interview this was the general introductory blurb that I gave about myself and the research I was doing:

I am a PhD student from the London School of Economics. I am currently based in the Sociology Department of the University for six months while I undertake my field work. What I am exploring is the impact of the introduction of fee paying students at the University. I hope to be able to use a case study of Makerere University to inform policy debates about higher education in my own country - South Africa.

Thank you very much for making the time to see me - the interview should not really last more than half an hour.

As a key informant, this interview will be open and reported - that is, your name will be attached to the views that you express.

Process

In terms of my interview approach, I began with all the *Deans* of the university, partly in order to get permission to distribute questionnaire to various departments, but also because structurally the Deans are the key players in the new decentralised management of the University. In my interviews with the Deans I particularly tried to explore the issue of 'quality' – both in terms of students being admitted to the university (to see if quality had fallen as access had widened) as well as staff (in terms of teaching and research). I was also interested in mapping how student fees had been introduced, as well exploring the Dean's perceptions of the impact that fees had had on the institution.

My next goal was to interview one *Head of Department* from each Faculty. I interviewed 10 Heads. While I had good coverage of all the faculties (except for Law) I only interviewed a small cross-section of the approximately 90 departments in the university. For the most part these interviews worked well. The main problem encountered was trying to schedule the appointments. I had much more difficulty getting access to Heads than to the Deans. I think this was because the Heads have less effective administrative support and with their teaching loads and seemed to be carrying the heaviest work load of the various groups of people that I met on campus. In terms of what I was looking for from this set of interviews, my goal was simply to explore the impact of the introduction of fees on individual departments, paying attention to both the 'efficiency' and 'equity' sides of the equation. Hence in these interviews I asked much more explicit questions about gender (especially as I found in previous interviews that without this explicit prompting gender was never discussed) but also about the exclusion of poor students.

The next set of interviews that I undertook was *key players within the university hierarchy*. Specifically this included the

- *Vice Chancellor and Principal* (responsible for the overall direction of the university: chief co-ordinator of all administrative, academic and public affairs of the university, in particular liaising between the university and the government.)

- *University Secretary* (responsible for the general administration of the university - in particular policy and finance)
- *Academic Registrar* (chief co-ordinator of all academic matters of the university - including admissions, research, postgraduate studies, academic staff development and examinations. Secretary to Senate)
- *University Librarian* (responsible for the direction and development of the main library and its seven branches)
- *Dean of Students* (responsible for the welfare and discipline of students - especially those in residence)

While each of these interviews was adjusted to take into account the specific area of expertise / responsibility that the person held, in general I was interested in exploring:

- an assessment of the process of the introduction of student fees and its impact on the university thus far;
- university priorities for the future
- university relationship with government
- internal and external efficiency issues (and research on them)

With regard to the Dean of Students, I was particularly interested in looking at what effect the introduction of fees and the lessening of state support had had on student welfare. With the University Librarian I was interested in exploring efficiency issues, and in particular investigating the extent to which cross subsidisation of university functions was occurring.

The final group of people I attempted to interview were influential players who might be able to provide an outside (and hence more objective) perspective on the changes that were taking place in the university. I was least successful at securing interviews with this group. Interviews I tried, but failed, to secure included:

- *The two editors of the two national newspapers*: While the editor of the main government daily did not respond to my request, the editor of the independent paper agreed, but then went travelling in Europe and was ill on his return, and so cancelled our appointment.
- *The chair of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry*: This interview did not take place as I simply approached the Chamber too late. By the time I put forward my request (a month before I left) it was during the period that the Chamber was assisting in the hosting of the G112 economic conference, so I was not surprised to receive no response.
- *The Minister of Education*: This was a key figure whom I really wanted to be able to interview. I spent around two months trying to get past his secretary, appeared to have succeeded, only to discover that the week in which I had an interview a cabinet reshuffle was announced and the Minister to be was made Prime Minister! I gave up at that point.

The three important outside voices I did manage to capture were:

- *The Chair of Council*, who was also able to provide some insights into government thinking as a Member of Parliament. However, this interview was not as interesting as I had hoped, as the incumbent was a new appointment, and had not been involved in the discussions around the introduction of private students.
- *The former Minister of Education*, (now the current Minister of Public Service) who really was the key player from the government that authorised the changes.
- *The former Vice Chancellor* of the University and a major architect in the original conceptualisation of the whole process. Professor Kajubi was also a member of the

Visitation Committee in 1987 (which first seriously raised the question of introducing student fees) and was the Vice-Chancellor when they first tried to do so. He was also chair of the major education commission that underpins government policy at present. He was relieved of his office after the 1991 Visitation Committee, following the student protests against the introduction of fees in the early 1990s that saw two students killed.

At the conclusion of this process I realised that out of all these interviews (just over 30) I had only managed to interview two women (who were Heads of academic department). In order to try and gain a more gender balanced perspective I set up a focus discussion group and invited one senior woman academic from each faculty. While only four of the 11 women invited turned up, we had a fascinating, albeit relatively informal, discussion looking at

- the factors that influence access to Makerere for women students,
- women academic's perspective on the nature of women students' experiences while at the university, and
- factors which impact on the recruitment of students to academic staff which might explain the under-representation of women academics, particularly in more senior management positions, at the university.

The emphasis in the discussion group was on the women's *own* experiences as a student and teacher, and their perception of the kind of problems that women students face on campus. The discussion provided some very useful background material to understanding gender dynamics on campus, but was not rigorous enough to be included in the formal material presented here.

Analysis

All the interviews were structured around a set of questions addressing the key points of concern. Follow up and alternative questions were prompted occasionally by the respondents' answers. All the interviews were taped. I also took long-hand notes. As soon as was possible the interviews were written up. This centrally involved summarising the interviewees answers onto research matrices based around the interview questions. This proved very useful to the process of identifying core themes and categories of analysis, around which the discussions on efficiency and equity are based. Key points of the interview were noted, and transcribed in full.

3. Focus Discussion Groups (FDGs)

Originally I had hoped to address the issue of student finance by selecting a group of student volunteers to keep a 'time and finance' diary for a two week period. However, when I got to Makerere and talked to students about how much they thought I would have to pay participants to do this properly it became clear that either I would have a very small sample or I would have to come up with another approach. Initially I tried to address these issues through the student survey by including a range of questions on how students' spent their resources and time while

at Makerere. However, the low response rate on these questions suggested that this approach was flawed, and that the data would be of limited value.

Anticipating this outcome, when distributing the questionnaires, I handed out slips asking students if they wanted to take part in further aspects of the study. I selected a stratified random sample of 40 students from these slips. I selected 4 groups of 10 students: two groups of women students living in residence; one group of men living in residence, and one mixed group (i.e. men and women students) not living on campus. I divided the 40 students into four groups of 10 students.

A total of 39 students participated in the discussions. Information was only used from 36 as one student was from Kenya, and two students did not fill in the accompanying forms adequately enough for them to be used. In the sample of 36 there were 10 men and 26 women; 10 were in private accommodation and 26 in residence; 16 were government funded and 20 privately funded; 19 reported coming from a rural family background; 13 from urban; and the remaining 4 said that they came from both a rural and urban background. In terms of self-reported socio-economic status, of the options presented to them, none of the students reported that they came from a 'wealthy' family. 23 said they came from an 'average' family; 10 reported they came from 'poor' families; and 3 provided no answer.

Process

Each of the groups discussed the following questions in an open forum for around 45 minutes:

- where do you get money from to attend university?
- how do you get that money?
- what do you spend that money on?
- what strings (if any) are attached to the money you get?
- how difficult is it to get money?
- what problems and difficulties do you generally experience on campus?

I facilitated these discussions, and recorded the answers on large sheets of manila pinned on the wall. During this general discussion, which lasted for an hour, participants were encouraged not only to talk about their own experiences and perceptions but also to report on other students' experiences and stories that they might have heard on campus. At the conclusion of this general discussion, and in order to encourage as much honesty as possible, students were asked to answer the same set of questions individually on specially prepared sheets. This way none of their peers could see their answers. These forms were handed back to me in envelopes on which the participants wrote:

- an anonymous name,
- their sex;

- the course they were taking and in which faculty;
- the name of the school they attended and whether this school was in the national top 10 or 100;
- whether the school they went to was government or private;
- whether they came from a wealthy, average, or poor family background;
- what region they came from and whether they had an urban or rural background.

In this way I will be able to see what kind of sample of students I had, and what demographic features may have an impact on their experiences on campus. The anonymous name was used when reporting on the discussions, in order to encourage the participants to be as open and honest as possible.

Analysis

The general discussion session in all four discussion groups was taped. As soon as was possible this general discussion was written up. As with the in-depth interviews, this involved summarising the four sets of responses from the focus discussion groups onto research matrices based around the discussion questions. This proved a good means of identifying themes and categories of analysis. Key points from the discussion groups were noted and transcribed in full. In addition, the forms filled in by each of the 36 participants was inputted into SPSS and a set of basic frequency tables were formulated for analysis.

Appendix Two: The 1999 Makerere Student Survey

The Impact of the Introduction of Student Fees on Equity and Efficiency at Makerere University

This questionnaire is completely anonymous - no-one will know who has filled it in. It should take approximately 15 - 25 minutes to complete.

Instructions: Please place a tick (✓) in the box (☐) of your choice: ☑

a. First, some facts about you:

1. Sex: ☐ Male ☐ Female

2. Age: ☐ Under 20 ☐ 28 - 33
 ☐ 20 - 23 ☐ 34 - 40
 ☐ 24 - 27 ☐ Over 40

3. Are you a Ugandan citizen? ☐ Yes ☐ No
 3.1 If "yes" then: What is your home district? _____
 3.2 In what region: ☐ North ☐ East ☐ West ☐ Central
 3.3 If "no" then: Of what country are you a citizen? _____

4. What is your Mother Language? _____

5. What is your Marital Status: ☐ Single ☐ Married ☐ Living Together
 ☐ Divorced ☐ Widowed

- 5.1 How many children do you have: ☐ None ☐ 1 - 3 ☐ more than 3
- 5.2 How many people are financially dependent on you:
 ☐ 0 ☐ 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ more than 5

b. Next, some facts about your Family Background:

- | | Mother | Father |
|--|------------|------------|
| 6. Are your parents still alive? | ☐ Yes ☐ No | ☐ Yes ☐ No |
| 6.1 If "yes", do you have regular contact? | ☐ Yes ☐ No | ☐ Yes ☐ No |

If your parents are no longer alive please fill-in with information at the time of their death, or with information on your guardian.

- | | Mother | Father | Jr Guardian
(if applicable) |
|---|--------|--------|--------------------------------|
| 7. Occupation | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| | Mother | Father | or Guardian
(if applicable) |
| 8. Highest Educational Qualification | | | |
| None..... | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Some Primary | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Completed Primary | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Some Secondary | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| O Level | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| A Level | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Diploma | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Degree | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |
| Post-Graduate Degree | ☐ | ☐ | ☐ |

	Mother	Father	or Guardian (if applicable)
9. Principle Mode of Transport			
Own vehicle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Official vehicle	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public transport	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please state) _____	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c. This section is about your Educational Background

Please tell me about the School at which you did your 'A' levels:

10.1 Name of School: _____

10.2 What District was it in? _____

In what Region: ☐ North ☐ East ☐ West ☐ Central

10.3 Was it in an Urban or Rural area? ☐ urban ☐ rural

10.4 Was it a Day or Boarding school? ☐ day ☐ boarding ☐ both

10.5 Was it a single sex or mixed sex school? ☐ single ☐ mixed

10.6 Approximately what fees (incl. PTA) were paid for one term? _____

10.7 What year did you take your 'A' levels: _____

d. Now some information about your experiences at Makerere University

11. What course are you doing: _____

11.1 Was this your first choice? ☐ Yes ☐ No

11.2 In what Faculty / School / Institute: _____

11.3 Entrance to Makerere was by: ☐ H.S.C. points ☐ Mature Entrance
Number of points: _____ ☐ Diploma Holder

12. At the moment how well are you doing in your studies?

☐ Very well, I am mostly getting A's (80-100%)

☐ Well, I am mostly getting B's (65-80%)

☐ Okay, I am mostly getting C's (55-65%)

☐ Not so well, mostly I am getting a mixture of C minus and D's (45-55%)

☐ Badly, I am mostly getting D's and E's (below 50%)

13. Do you live in a University Hall of Residence? ☐ Yes ☐ No

13.1 If no, then do you live in:

☐ a rented room in house

☐ your own home

☐ with your parents / guardians

☐ a hostel

☐ other (please state) _____

13.2 In what area (e.g. Wandegya) is this place of residence: _____

e. Next, some questions about who sponsors you at the University:

14. Who is your major sponsor at Makerere University?

☐ Ugandan Government ☐ Privately Sponsored

14.1 If Private, please indicate major sponsor below:

☐ Parents ☐ Guardian ☐ NGO ☐ Foreign Gov. / Body

☐ Self ☐ Spouse ☐ Church ☐ Business

14.2 What does this sponsorship cover?

place a ✓ in as many of the boxes as appropriate

- | | |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> application fees | <input type="checkbox"/> examination fees |
| <input type="checkbox"/> tuition fees | <input type="checkbox"/> accommodation |
| <input type="checkbox"/> stationary / photocopying | <input type="checkbox"/> academic text books |
| <input type="checkbox"/> transport back home at vacation time | <input type="checkbox"/> personal living expenses |
| <input type="checkbox"/> transport to and from campus during term time | |

14.3. Approximately how much is this sponsorship worth?

_____ shillings per year

15. Do you agree or disagree with the following statement about how well you live on the sponsorship you receive?

place a ✓ in the ☐ at the point on the scale which best indicates your feelings:

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| | Strongly
Agree | Agree | Don't
really agree | Disagree | Strongly
Disagree |
| | <input type="checkbox"/> 1 | <input type="checkbox"/> 2 | <input type="checkbox"/> 3 | <input type="checkbox"/> 4 | <input type="checkbox"/> 5 |
- I can survive very well on my sponsorship. All my needs are taken care of.

16. Do you receive additional resources - beyond your main sponsorship

- ☐ yes ☐ no

16.1 If yes, then from what source?

(tick ✓ as many as applicable)

- ☐ money earned from *paid employment* during university vacation time
approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings
- ☐ money earned from *paid employment* during university term time
approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings
- ☐ own savings
approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings
- ☐ gifts from family and friends
approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings
- ☐ loans from family and friends
approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings

Any other sources of income? ☐ yes ☐ no

If yes, then what? _____

and approximate amount for the academic year: _____ shillings

f. Just a few questions about how you spend your resources by WEEK, by MONTH and by YEAR while studying:

17. During an average WEEK in the term time at university, how much do you spend on:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| Accommodation | _____ shillings |
| Food | _____ shillings |
| Transport | _____ shillings |
| Alcohol | _____ shillings |
| Entertainment | _____ shillings |
| Benching / Dating | _____ shillings |
| Stationary / Newspapers | _____ shillings |
| Photocopying | _____ shillings |
| Telephone | _____ shillings |

Any other major weekly expenses? ☐ yes ☐ no

if "yes" then what? _____

and how much do you spend: _____ shillings

18. During an average MONTH in the term time at university, how much do you spend on:

Hair / Beauty products _____ shillings
 Health _____ shillings
 Sport _____ shillings
 Any other major monthly expenses? ☐ yes ☐ no
 if "yes" then what? _____
 and how much do you spend: _____ shillings

19. How much money do you think you spend over the YEAR for yourself on:

Academic Text Books _____ shillings
 Clothes _____ shillings
 Any other major annual expenses? ☐ yes ☐ no
 if "yes" then what? _____
 and how much do you spend: _____ shillings

g. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about your experiences at the university:

place a ✓ in the ☐ at the point on the scale which best indicates your feelings:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't really agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I am very satisfied with the quality of education I have received at Makerere	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I have considered leaving university because of my financial position.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I tend to get sick a lot and end up missing lectures and class	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I think the government should sponsor all students	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I have complained to members of staff about the quality of teaching at the University.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I would have performed better in my studies if I did not have to worry so much about finances.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
On most days I manage to have three good meals - breakfast, lunch and supper.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I spend a lot of time trying to get money from friends and relatives.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I worry constantly about money and my finances	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

g. Now some questions about how you spend your time at the University:

On one "average" (normal or usual) **WEEK-DAY** (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday etc) what would you **most likely** be doing at these different times?

Place a ✓ in the space of the activity that you usually do at that time. You may use more than one ✓ if you do more than one activity in the space of one hour.

Activity → Time ↓	Sleeping	Travelling between where you live and campus etc.	Eating	Attending Lectures / Classes	Studying reading, writing, library etc.	Paid Employment	Household or Family Work childcare, cooking, cleaning etc.	Entertainment watching tv, time with friends, relaxing, parties, dating etc.	Sport / Exercise	Religious Activities attending church or mosque etc	OTHER Please STATE what activity in space provided below. e.g. Hair Dresser, Meetings etc.
Midnight - 1am											
1am - 2am											
2am - 3am											
3am - 4am											
4am - 5am											
5am - 6am											
6am - 7am											
7am - 8am											
8am - 9am											
9am - 10am											
10am - 11am											
11am - Noon											
Noon - 1pm											
1pm - 2pm											
2pm - 3pm											
3pm - 4pm											
4pm - 5pm											
5pm - 6pm											
6pm - 7pm											
7pm - 8pm											
8pm - 9pm											
9pm - 10pm											
10pm - 11pm											
11pm - Midnight											

i. And **FINALLY** - how strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements about how you see things in the future:

place a ✓ in the ☐ at the point on the scale which best indicates your feelings:

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Don't really agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
I would like to go on to do further studies.	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I don't think it will be a problem to find a job when I graduate	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Getting a good education is the best way to get ahead in Uganda	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
I will only accept a well-paid job when I leave university	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 5

Thank you very much for your assistance.
It is very much appreciated

Appendix Three: Dean's Interview Schedule

1. When did you first come to the University? (check if a student)
and when did you begin to work here?
2. So you have been here for approximately years? The University has gone through some very interesting times - you must have seen lots of changes.
 - 2.1 For yourself - what was the most difficult period that the university went through? what made it so difficult?
 - 2.2 And the best period? what made it so good?
3. With regard to fee paying students:
 - 3.1 When did the faculty begin to accept fee-paying students?
 - 3.1.1 What kind of fee paying students are accepted (check day and evening programmes)
 - 3.2 How were fee paying students introduced? (decision at Senate? discussion at Faculty Board level? left to individual departments?)
 - 3.3 Was it a smooth process or did it cause much debate within the faculty?
 - 3.4 How have student numbers increased over the last five years?
 - 3.5 And have you increased staff to deal with new numbers?
- 4.1 What has your faculty been able to do with the resources generated by fee-paying students?
- 4.2. What other income generation programmes does your faculty participate in?
- 5.1 What do you think have been the POSITIVE effects of the introduction of fee paying students on your faculty?
- 5.2 What do you think have been the NEGATIVE effects of the introduction of fee paying students on your faculty?
- 5.3 Do you think that there should be more, less or about this number of private to government sponsored students?
6. Do you think there is a difference between the government sponsored students and those that pay fees themselves? (day and evening class distinction)
 - 6.1 Probe: what do you think those differences are? (work harder; take studying more seriously; more demanding of staff time and university resources; less involved in campus politics etc)
7. Do you think the quality of students and their work has improved, stayed the same, dropped over the last five years?
 - 7.1 why do you say that?
 - 7.2 what would you regard as the as the major challenge for TEACHING in the faculty to be in the near future - say over the next five years? why?
8. Do you think that the volume and quality of RESEARCH work in the faculty has improved, stayed the same, or dropped over the last five years?
 - 8.1 why do you say that?
 - 8.2 what would you regard as the as the major challenge for RESEARCH in the faculty to be in the near future - say over the next five years? why?
9. Any additional comments you wish to make - especially about anything important that you think I might have missed?

10. Lastly, I would like your assistance in identifying a key department in your Faculty which I might work with to get a better understanding of the way in which student finance has changed and what impact this has had. What I hope to be able to distribute this student questionnaire to a 2nd year class in the department and to interview a wide selection of the academic staff in that department.

10.1 Which department do you think I could work with?

10.2 How should I go about getting permission to do this?

Thank you very much for your time: I very much appreciate it.

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