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EAST AFRICAN STUDIES

17

AN AFRICAN ELITE

Makerere College Students 1922—1960

J. E. Goldthorpe

Makerere Institute of Social Research



EAST AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL RESEARCH
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS

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Makerere College Students 1922—1960

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Foreword

'Being honoured by one's former college is most exciting. While therefore I know that this honour has more to do with what my country has done and less to do with what I have done, I receive it with particular pleasure and gratitude having been a former student of this college.

'The problems that beset our countries are many. But I want to mention one which is peculiar to our East African countries and which, I hope, will not sound irrelevant to this occasion. One of the legacies of all bad systems, social and political, is the stratification of society into "the haves" and "have nots". Whenever these divisions between "the haves" and "have nots" of society are wide, reform becomes imperative; and when this reform is resisted, or is not rapid enough, an explosion can be expected.

'The struggle against colonialism is one of the "have nots" against "the haves". In our own peculiar circumstances of Eastern Africa this stratification of society into "the haves" and "the have nots" is also identical with racial divisions. This makes it very difficult to fight privilege without also appearing to fight against race. But it is not the appearance which really matters, but the real danger of drifting into racialism and thus creating a completely new set of problems. The fight against privilege is nothing if it is not justifiable moral indignation against oppression. Its foundation, its very justification is the belief in the dignity of man. It should be obvious, therefore, that if it were allowed to drift into racialism it would lose its very foundation, its very justification. The immediate consequence of this should be equally obvious. It would cease to be a fight against privilege as such and become a scramble to replace the privileged of one colour with those of another colour. It is this result which we must guard against. As nationalism becomes successful the chances of the Europeans and the Asians maintaining a permanently privileged position in our countries will tend to diminish. But the chances of the educated Africans to become the new privileged class will multiply. Yet this will not be so obvious while the European and Asian are so obviously wealthier than the African. The would-be African exploiter can masquerade as a great social reformer by concentrating the attack on European and Asian privilege. Before we know where we are, what is now an essentially dying out privileged class

will have been replaced by a permanently privileged class of educated Africans. That is why I feel that we need our heads much more than our hearts in attacking present privilege . . .

'Some of you are potential members and beneficiaries of the Africanization movement. But again we must distinguish between those who clamour for Africanization because they want *that job, that pay and that house*, and those who want it from a desire to see that we make the maximum use of our own people before we go out to get expensive people from overseas. The attitude with which we approach our problems is fundamental. In determining the attitude which shall prevail, every citizen has a responsibility, but it is the educated few who carry most of that responsibility. They are the ones who have had the opportunity to see the implications of our present actions. They are the ones who will really decide whether we take the easy way out or really try to build a society which is compatible with the best principles of our nationalist struggle.

'Yet it is they, the educated few, that is you and I, who could use their opportunities to entrench themselves as the new privileged class; exploiters of the masses of their own people. For this reason your attitude and mine is of supreme importance to the future of our countries.'

The Hon. Julius Nyerere.

*From an address to Makerere College
on Graduation Day, 9 April 1962.*

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Acknowledgements

This book is based on a thesis which was approved by the University of London in 1961 for the award of the Ph.D. degree, under the title 'Makerere Students: studies in the social origins and formation of an educated African élite'. It represents an attempt to draw together the various studies which the writer carried out, while on the staff of Makerere College from 1951 to 1962, of former students and students then at the College. Reports on those studies appeared in the form of articles in journals and papers contributed to conferences and seminars, and my first acknowledgement must be to my academic supervisors, Professor D. V. Glass and Professor A. W. Southall, for urging me to draw together this material in the form of a single work, and their advice in planning and writing it.

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Leeds and Levensham
July, 1963.

J. E. Goldthorpe

Postscript

The late Dr. D. J. Stenning, as Chairman of EAISR, was responsible for editing this study and making preliminary arrangements for its publication, before his untimely death in March, 1964.

While it was in the press, a number of African nations and some other institutions changed their names; for example, Tanganyika and Zanzibar became Tanzania, Nyasaland became Malawi, Northern Rhodesia became Zambia, and the Royal College, Nairobi, became University College, Nairobi.

As with all other new information published since the date-line of July, 1963, it has not been possible to take account of these changes in the text of this book.

Leeds,
April, 1965.

J. E. G.

I

Educated Africans and African Education

African elites

African élites have come into dramatic prominence in recent years as the rapid onset of political independence has thrust African leaders into the spotlight of world publicity. Studies of the social origins of these élites, and the way that they have come into being, are obviously of the greatest topical relevance.

Widespread interest on the part of social scientists in African élites was aroused in the mid-'fifties. Before then, though some social anthropologists had noted the rise of educated élites among the peoples upon whom their attention was focused, and though educators and administrators had become aware of some of the problems that were being created by the rise of an educated African class, there had been little systematic attention to these élites as a subject worthy of study in themselves and for their implications for the building of new African states. In 1955 a session of the International Institute of Differing Civilizations (INCIDI) was devoted to the development of a middle class in tropical and sub-tropical countries¹. In 1956 an issue of the International Social Science Bulletin was devoted to African élites², and the third World Congress of Sociology, in Amsterdam, devoted attention to education and social mobility in economically under-developed countries³. These symposia stimulated social scientists to contribute impressions of educated African élites, to assess the (then) state of systematic knowledge about them, and to shape ideas and approaches for a fresh advance⁴. At that time, though many could contribute impressions of considerable interest, almost the only systematic survey of an African élite was that by Jahoda⁵ of students at the (then)-University College of the Gold Coast. Limited as it was to a student population, that survey could not include data on the subsequent careers and adjustment of educated men and women in contemporary African society. More recently, a survey by the Smythes⁶ of the new Nigerian élite has afforded systematic knowledge of the roles and characteristics finally acquired by educated Africans in another West African country.

This study is an attempt to cover both fields with another educated élite in view, that of the three East African countries of Uganda, Kenya, and

Tanganyika. The focus is on a single institution, the one which has played the leading part in higher education in East Africa, and which most of the educated elite have attended. I have tried to trace the origins from which its students have come to that 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 their 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.

This study was carried out in stages over a period of about ten years during the 'fifties and early 'sixties. A follow-up survey was done during 1952–4 of old students who had left Makerere College during the 'thirties, and who when they were interviewed were in mid-career. Information about all the students who had entered the College from 1922 to 1953 inclusive was available from the Makerere College Register published in 1955, while further information was gained from surveys of students currently attending the College in 1954, 1958, and 1959. Full details are given in Appendix II on Sources and Methods (p. 90); it remains to emphasize that all the information was collected during what might be called the late colonial period while all three of the East African countries were still under British rule.

But before describing the élite, we must consider the institutions that have created it. In the pages that follow, there is first a sketch of the development of systems of schooling for Africans in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika from the early 1900s to late 1950s. A short account is then given of the history of Makerere College itself. Other sorts of higher education—theological and technical—locally available to Africans are next considered, together with opportunities for study abroad. Finally, avenues to high status—business and politics—for Africans not necessarily of the educated élite are taken into account, so that Makerere College can in the end be seen in the perspective of other means to African advancement in the period before independence.

African Education in East Africa—a sketch of its development¹

The earliest development of schools in East Africa was in Buganda, where, following the literacy work of the Christian missions from the late 'seventies onwards, schools were started by the (Anglican) Church Missionary Society in 1895; by 1903 it was reported that 22,000 children were attending C.M.S. schools in Buganda. Mengo High School 'for the sons of chiefs' was opened in 1904; King's College, Budo (initially for boys, later co-educational) and Gayaza High School (for girls) in 1905. Roman Catholic schools date from about the same period in Buganda, following the appointment of an educational specialist to the Catholic missions in 1901. Namilyango, founded by Mill Hill fathers in 1902, is the oldest of the schools now offering a full secondary education for boys, though as Budo from the start offered a post-primary course it too claims to be the oldest secondary school in Uganda. The large and important Kisubi group of schools

started in 1905. Elsewhere in Uganda, a C.M.S. boys' school started at Kamuli in Busoga in 1911 and later moved to become Busoga College, Mwiri; another C.M.S. school started at Nabumali near Mbale in 1913⁸.

In Kenya, following the much later advent of the missions, African education hardly started before 1914, and at first was characterized by an industrial emphasis; Government grants took the form of so much for each 'indentured apprentice'. In Tanganyika, a number of schools were started by missions before 1914, while the German administration also took a hand, especially in the north, in the training of artisans and clerks. Though a gallant effort was made by the African staff to keep some of these schools going during and after the East Africa campaign, by 1918 education had come virtually to a halt and Tanganyika, like Kenya, started virtually from scratch in the 1920s; though the tradition of German and early mission schooling in Tanganyika has meant a longer continuity of education in a small minority of elite families, as will appear below.

In the early 1920s, then, when African education in the other two territories was making a fresh start, Uganda already had a number of secondary schools. In 1922 under Government auspices a 'higher college' at Makerere was begun, and Uganda retained its lead throughout the 1920s and '30s. Two more secondary schools were founded near Fort Portal—Nyakasura, started by a retired naval officer under C.M.S. auspices in 1926, which became a Government secondary school in 1948; and a Roman Catholic school, St. Leo's. Africans first attempted the Cambridge School Certificate examination in Uganda at Makerere, which had a school Certificate class from 1933 to 1939, and at Kisubi in 1938. In 1938, Budo had a full six post-primary classes, while senior secondary work was being developed at Namityango, Nyakasura, and Mwiri.

Meanwhile, secondary schools had started in Kenya and Tanganyika. Attempts at secondary education on a small scale by the missions in Kenya early in the 1920s led to the foundation in 1926 of the Alliance High School (the 'alliance' being one of Protestant missions) a few miles from Nairobi and of a Roman Catholic secondary school at Mangu. The Alliance High School occupied for many years, and to some extent still occupies, a unique position in the African educational system of Kenya; the headmaster stated in 1959 that:

'Old boys . . . include half the elected Africans in Leg. Co. (Legislative Council, *Ed*) 3 of the 4 African District Officers, all the Africans in the Council of State . . . In September (1958), 10 out of 11 African Education Officers were from here; 33 out of 45 Assistant Education Officers; 13 out of 17 M.O.s and Assistant M.O.s (Medical Officers and Assistant Medical Officers, *Ed*). Yesterday I received notice of a meeting of the Advisory Council on African Education. Ten of its 13 African members were here . . . Both the Protestant Bishops were at A.H.S.'⁹

The next African secondary school to be founded in Kenya was the C.M.S. school at Maseno near Kisumu, but secondary teaching did not start there till 1938.

In Tanganyika, the circumstances of war and the clean sheet on which

the British administration could start led to a tradition, which still persists, of greater Government initiative in African education, and a smaller dependence on missionary effort. In the early 'twenties there was a strong anti-academic bias; the aim was to establish a network of village schools, with one central school in each province affording some post-primary education, and the annual report for 1929 states:

'From the first a definite attempt has been made to link elementary education with the normal activities of the people, and to establish a rural education with a definitely agricultural tendency, while the evolution of the central school, the source of inspiration to the whole system, was inspired by a determination to find a means to present industry in its right relation to literary instruction and to correct the inherent propensity of the African to seek respectability in the venter of European clothes at the expense of skilled manual labour.' (p. 3)

In the 'thirties, however, there seems to have been some doubt whether the dispersal of effort among provincial secondary schools (as they later became) was wise, though it had been imposed at first by the vastness of the territory and the rudimentary communications. By 1940 secondary schooling was being concentrated at Tabora, near the middle of the country. There was a large government school and a Roman Catholic missionary school there—St. Mary's. The Anglican secondary school had originally been founded in Zanzibar and later moved to become St. Andrew's Minaki. These three schools began to take Cambridge School Certificate in 1947–48.

By 1940, then, schools in Uganda and Kenya had just reached the stage of attempting Cambridge School Certificate¹⁰, following the initiative of Makerere College a few years earlier; while at three schools in Tanganyika too a comparable level had been reached, though the examination itself was not taken until a few years later. A small number of boys—round about half a dozen to a dozen in each territory—were reaching this level each year. Shortly before the outbreak of the 1939 war, it had been decided to drop School Certificate classes at Makerere, whose entry requirement was to become either the School Certificate or the College's own entrance examination of a comparable standard. In view of war-time circumstances, this policy was not adhered to rigidly in Uganda or Tanganyika; in Kenya it was, however, so that possession of a School Certificate became the requirement for a Government bursary, and the Kenya Education Department frankly expected this to imply a decrease in the number of Kenya students at Makerere¹¹. No Kenya students, in fact, were admitted in 1940, and some teachers in training were even withdrawn. The main effect of the policy, however, was to spur Alliance and Mangu in their School Certificate work; and when the first examination was taken in 1940 the results created something of a furore among settler opinion, for they were decisively better than those at the Prince of Wales School, then the leading European boys' school in Kenya.

The education of girls lagged behind that of boys, however. The first African girls to attempt the Cambridge School Certificate appear to have been three from the Roman Catholic school of Nkokonjeru in Uganda in

1941; two passed; but no more tried till 1946. With possibly rare exceptions, African girls did not enter regularly for the Certificate until the late 'forties, while the first Tanganyika girl to pass the examination did so in 1951 at Budo in Uganda.

After the second world war, and especially after 1950, there was rapid expansion at all levels in the African educational system; and though it is possible that the expansion in the secondary schools did not take place rapidly enough to keep pace either with the spread of primary schools or the development of opportunities for higher education, its successes are shown in the growing numbers of African boys and girls who took the Cambridge School Certificate examination. In Uganda, existing schools were enlarged, and new ones founded with the aim of siting at least one senior secondary school in each administrative district; by 1960 that goal had been almost achieved, several of the new schools being government rather than missionary foundations. From a handful of boys taking School Certificate each year in the early 'forties, the figures grew to 84 passes, including one girl, in 1948. In 1954, 245 African boys and 25 girls entered; 206 boys and 21 girls passed. In 1957, 615 boys and 50 girls entered; 456 boys and 35 girls passed.

In Kenya, both in the 'thirties and after 1945, impatience on the part of African opinion at what seemed a slow rate of development in African education found expression in a movement to establish independent African schools, linked with the nationalist movement and with the independent African churches¹². In the early days of Mau Mau, most of the independent schools came under official suspicion of subversive activities and were closed under Emergency regulations, though some later re-opened under the auspices of District Education Boards. Moreover, after 1950 the Kenya Government's own plans for a very great expansion of African education took effect, and the need for independent self-help in education was largely removed by the implementation of the Beecher report, that of an official committee headed by the then Archdeacon Beecher. It envisaged that within ten years there should be 16 schools for boys and two for girls taking the School Certificate, and that where in 1949, 56 boys took the examination the target for the late 'fifties should be 480. Meanwhile the number of primary schools should be doubled and the number of children in the first four classes rise from about 260,000 to 420,000. Though the report did not please African opinion—largely because it envisaged too many children having to stop short at primary schooling for lack of secondary places—in fact a very great expansion did take place, and the target figures had already been exceeded in 1958. Indeed, it seems clear that the proportion of children who go to school is much higher than in Uganda or Tanganyika, and that this advantage is maintained up to the eighth class (see Tables 1 and 2, pp. 6 and 7). Bearing in mind the late start of education in Kenya, the development of a modern educational system has, it would appear, been most sudden there. When a country goes from nothing to a situation not far short of universal primary schooling in 40 years, as Kenya has done, then it is unlikely that the educated young men and women of today will

Table 1
Enrolments in African Schools, 1958

Uganda				Kenya			Tanganyika				
<i>Class</i>		<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>	<i>Class</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>		
Primary	1	48,196	28,244	Basic Primary	1	113,380	55,760	Primary	1	67,903	39,358
	2	43,522	21,192		2	93,004	44,380		2	62,864	33,786
	3	40,595	16,462		3	79,629	33,368		3	59,443	26,862
	4	36,704	12,562		4	82,431	25,754		4	55,066	21,408
	5	30,049	8,623	Senior	5	20,527	5,473	Middle	5	9,798	2,084
	6	25,823	5,907		6	15,337	4,494		6	8,690	1,790
Junior	JS1	5,620	1,310	Primary	7	11,988	2,984		7	6,413	1,382
Secondary	JS2	4,053	861		8	10,585	2,316		8	5,409	1,045
Senior Secondary	JS3/SS1	2,898	514	Secondary	1	1,121	170	Secondary	9	1,450	169
	SS2	800	89		2	984	149		10	1,276	102
	SS3	617	70		3	788	54		11	304	24
	SS4	581	41		4	614	42		12	163	11

Source: Annual Reports of the Education Departments for 1958.

Table 2

School Enrolments as Percentages of children in any one year of school age, estimated, 1958

	Uganda		Kenya		Tanganyika	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1st class	57	33	113	56	57	33
4th class	43	15	82	26	46	18
8th class	4.8	1.0	10.6	2.3	4.5	0.9
12th class	0.68	0.05	0.61	0.04	0.14	0.01

Source: As Table 1, related to population estimates.

have educated parents, and virtually impossible for them to have educated grandparents, as will be seen in a later chapter.

In Tanganyika, as has been seen, the three secondary schools concentrated their efforts on the Makerere entrance examination until 1947. In 1948 there were 28 African candidates for the Cambridge School Certificate, of whom 15 passed, and 25 for the Makerere entrance examination, of whom 12 passed. In 1954 the number of African candidates for the School Certificate was 105, of whom 98 passed, and in 1957, 150, all but one of whom passed. But as recently as 1957 there were still only five girls in the School Certificate class at Tabora. By this time, Tanganyika policy had moved far from its former anti-academic bias, and the 1946 report of the education department complained of a scramble among other government departments for the limited number of senior secondary boys, who were being tempted away from teaching and higher education by the pay and allowances offered during in-service training; it added that:

'The dearth of suitable candidates for Makerere is holding up the development of the country.' (p. 15)

To sum up, it is clear that the development of Western education, and especially of secondary schooling, is a very recent one in the East African territories. Schools started in Uganda around 1900 and rather later in Kenya, while in Tanganyika the early efforts were erased by the war and a fresh start was made in the early 1920s. Secondary schooling had not got very far anywhere before the first world war, while the secondary education of girls was on a very small scale indeed.

The Structure of African Education in the late 'Fifties

Tables 1 and 2 show in statistical form the structure of the African educational systems of the three territories in 1958. Table 1 is taken from the annual reports of the education departments for that year, while table 2 is an attempt, using the writer's own estimates of the size of the age-groups concerned, to show the proportion of each age-group of boys and girls who entered school and who reached the 4th, 8th, and 12th classes respectively.

It will be seen that apparently more boys were enrolled in class 1 in Kenya schools in that year than there were boys in a single age-group of primary age; the explanation can only be guessed at, but possibly a 'back-log' of late entries of boys who missed school during the Emergency may have had something to do with it.

Table 1 shows, first, the way in which schools were organized. In all three territories, schools at first followed the English pattern of six years' primary schooling and six secondary years, which were divided into three junior secondary and three senior secondary. After a series of government commissions, the view became established that the first objective should be that of making four years' schooling—the minimum regarded as necessary to establish literacy—available to all African children. During the early 'fifties, accordingly, schools in Tanganyika were reorganized into primary, middle, and secondary, with four classes in each. Kenya adopted a similar pattern in the middle and late 'fifties. In Uganda the old system was followed till the late 'fifties, though not all primary schools were 'full primary' with all six classes. The proposal then adopted was to work towards eight years' primary schooling for all as the main objective, followed by four years' secondary (that is, to School Certificate standard; six if the extra two years for Higher School Certificate are added). In preparation for this scheme, the first senior secondary year was equated with the third junior secondary year—JS3=SS1. Thus after two years in a junior secondary school, some pupils were selected for senior secondary and went on to 'SS1'; while most stayed for a final year called 'JS3'. Though they might seem to be of only technical interest, these details are in fact of real significance; for at the end of each stage of schooling, many fewer places are provided for leavers at that stage to go on to the next. Thus, as table 1 shows, we go (in round figures) from 82,000 boys in class 4 in Kenya down to 20,000 in class 5, since class 4 is the end of primary and class 5 the beginning of the middle school. Similarly, we drop from 10,000 at the end of middle school to 1,100 at the beginning of secondary school. Much the same is true of Tanganyika. In Uganda, however, the main break is at the end of six years, with another sharp drop between JS3/SS1 and SS2. What has been called 'wastage' is serious enough—that is, the tendency for pupils to fail to complete the course in the school in which they are enrolled; table 1 makes it clear, however, that wastage is far outweighed by the drop in numbers at each stage. Current educational opinion now seems agreed that the urgent need is to expand secondary schools, if necessary at the cost of slowing up the approach towards universal primary education. For the purpose of this study, the important point to stress is that the African educational pyramid as it existed in the 1950s, when the university students of the late 'fifties passed through it, was a very broad, flat one. At the end of each of the three stages, places were available for only about one in four or one in five of those who completed the stage before, so that competition was intense, and potential university students were rare birds indeed. Moreover, the pyramid was a lopsided one; the girls' side was much smaller than the boys'. Nearly two boys enrolled in

class 1 for every girl who did so; and the wastage of girls was so much greater than that of boys that in the school certificate classes boys outnumbered girls by more than ten to one.

Finally, it should be pointed out that education in East Africa is not free, any more than it is compulsory or universal. Fees are payable at each stage, while parents may also have to pay for school meals and school uniform, as well as losing their children's help on the land or in household tasks.

In Uganda, for example, primary day fees in the late 'fifties ranged from eight or ten shillings a term up to about 30, as the pupil progressed; so that the total cost, in fees alone, of putting a boy through a six-years' primary course was anything between 140 and 250 shillings depending on locality. Girls' fees were generally lower, totalling 84 to 180 shillings for a six-years' course. School meals, where provided, cost about ten shillings a term; and most primary schools prescribed a simple uniform costing perhaps 10 to 20 shillings. Though low by western standards, such fees made a heavy claim on the cash income of a peasant with a family of four to six children, or more if he were polygamous. Aided junior secondary schools charged day pupils 100 to 200 shillings a term for tuition only, boarders 300 to 400 shillings for tuition and board; private, non-aided schools (of which there were many, mostly inferior, filling the gap between the demand and supply of secondary places) charged much more. All senior secondary schools but one were boarding schools with fees ranging from 400 to 600 shillings a term, and 1,000 shillings a term for the newly-instituted 'Sixth Forms' preparing pupils for the Higher School Certificate¹³.

A Brief History of Makerere College (see also Appendix I)

Makerere College began in 1923, when the scope of a Uganda Government technical school, opened the previous year on Makerere Hill near Kampala, was widened to include vocational and professional training. Though the courses then offered included carpentry and telegraphy, and a clerks' course, they also included medicine, and from the first there was an idea that the College should eventually become a University. The first report of the Uganda Education Department (1925) stated:

'This year has been devoted principally to organisation: the only Government educational institution has been the College at Makerere, which is destined to become the University College for the Protectorate.' (p. 5)

For its first fifteen years or so, however, the College could more accurately be described as a technical high school with attached professional courses. The general organization at Makerere itself, where the more elementary instruction was done, resembled that of an English boarding school, with dormitories or 'houses', a school cap, prefects, occasional corporal punishment, and compulsory games and physical training. The more advanced courses were carried on in other places, at Government stations such as Mulago Hospital on the near-by hill, and the veterinary station at Entebbe, some twenty miles away.

The purely technical courses were withdrawn in 1929 to a separate Kampala

Technical School; survey training ceased in 1931; and the short-lived expedient of junior secondary work had also come to an end by 1930, when the College may be thought of as entering the second phase of its growth. During the 1930s, the main effort was to build up the professional courses—medicine, engineering, agriculture, veterinary science, and the schoolmasters' course; successful candidates in them became junior secondary teachers, or entered the service of the Uganda Government as Assistant Medical Officers, Assistant Agricultural Officers, Engineering Assistants, etc.

Medicine was from the first the most advanced training available; following on earlier experience of the training of native dressers, both at the mission hospital at Mengo and for the African Native Medical Corps in the 1914–18 war, the first four medical students were enrolled in 1923. Their training was not very advanced; Williams writes, for instance, that:

'Groves and Brickdale's textbook for nurses filled the role of textbook in medicine and surgery, amplified by notes on physical signs, pathology and treatment. Neither public health nor midwifery were taught, the latter being introduced for the first time in 1929.'

Three of the four qualified in 1927 and entered the Government service as 'Senior Native Medical Assistants' at a salary of 130 shillings a month. The training quickly became more advanced; in 1931, the Makerere-trained Senior African Medical Assistants could be licensed to practise in Uganda under a local ordinance, and in 1936 a Joint East African Examining Board was set up, granting a qualification thereafter known as the Diploma in Medicine (East Africa) and replacing the former Makerere College Certificate in Medicine¹⁴. Various changes in title took place till Assistant Medical Officer was settled on. As an indication of the official view of the status of such men, during the 1939–45 war those who joined the Army were commissioned as second lieutenants where an English-trained doctor entered as a full lieutenant; they were, however, admitted to the officers' mess.

During the 1920s and '30s, then, Makerere's main function was that of training African assistant officers for the Uganda Government's technical services; those who qualified entered at this level, while employment was often found also, for those who failed, as dispensers, police sub-inspectors, clerks, and so forth. When in 1933, therefore, the College introduced courses leading to the Cambridge School Certificate, this was regarded as a bold step forward, for not only was it the first time such a qualification had been available to Africans in East Africa but it represented the first purely academic course at the College. Progress was sufficiently rapid, however, for entry to the College to be at the School Certificate level from 1940 onwards, although in 1939 the School Certificate still exempted a student taking teacher training from one year of his course; and with the dropping of School Certificate courses at the College after 1939 the three East African territories in different ways incorporated them into their secondary school curriculum, Makerere continued to hold its own entrance examination alongside the Cambridge School Certificate until the late 'forties. At that time, it was abandoned for two main reasons; most of

the schools found it difficult to prepare their senior forms for two major examinations concurrently; and the School Certificate better fulfilled the requirements of the University of London, with whom the College had now entered into a Special Relation.

From 1922 to 1938, the administration of the College was under the Uganda Government, and its students were mainly Uganda Africans. During the 1930s, some students from other territories were admitted, as is seen in chapter II, table 1; the first from outside Uganda were a Kikuyu from Kenya in 1928, and a Zanzibar Arab, who was also the first non-African, in 1929. Tanganyika also sent a few students, beginning in 1934; but apart from the few Arabs from Zanzibar and the Kenya coast, the student body remained wholly African until after 1940.

In 1937 a Commission on higher education, headed by Earl De La Warr, visited the territories and recommended the development of university studies. The majority of the commissioners thought that, as they put it, 'Makerere College should continue as a secondary school' while the existing post-secondary courses should be grouped together in a new Higher College on a fresh site near Mulago. However, a minority recommendation by Dr. John Murray was in the event adopted that 'the functional continuity of Makerere College should be preserved during the transition stage', and Makerere itself became known as the Higher College for East Africa¹⁵. In pursuance of the Commission's recommendation, a number of changes were made. The control of the College was transferred from the Uganda Education Department to a Council and Assembly including members nominated by the governments of Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar under a constitution resembling that of an English provincial university; land was acquired for expansion and work started on a central building. The Principal, Mr. D. G. Tomblings, whose task it had been to raise the College's standards to one of considerable competence in the professional schools, left in 1938 to start a similar college in Fiji, and was succeeded by Mr. G. C. Turner, an English public school headmaster, who should have guided the transition to University conditions. Such institutions as the school cap were gradually dropped, and the daily life of the College became less like that of a boarding school; but no real development was possible because of the outbreak of war in 1939. The College remained open, and the central building, begun in 1938, was completed in 1940, work being continued upon it, despite the war, at the personal insistence of the Governor of Uganda, Sir Philip Mitchell. All that could be done, however, was to maintain most of the existing courses and carry out some reorganization without extra staff and despite the inevitable interruptions in the supply of material such as books and scientific apparatus. Engineering courses were dropped, never to be resumed. The teaching of science and arts shortly to be carried out in the respective Faculties, was reorganized, with the introduction of Higher Studies Certificates. The number of students fell. Counting those at Entebbe, Mulago, etc., it was well over 200 in 1939; in 1940 it was down to 183, and it reached its lowest point in 1943 when there were only 141 students. In part this drop was unrelated to war,

and occurred as a result of the Kenya policies already described. The Uganda entry also fell, however, apparently because secondary leavers went straight into the army; and larger numbers from Tanganyika and Zanzibar to some extent offset the smaller from Uganda and Kenya.

During the war, a British Government commission on higher education in the colonies—known as the Asquith Commission—recommended that the advance to University status at Makerere, along with several other colleges in the then colonial empire, should be in a scheme of Special Relation with the University of London, in order to ensure that the degrees available there should bear the stamp and standing of that University. In the event, the scheme proved admirably suited to the colleges' needs, guaranteeing London standards while permitting much local initiative in the adoption of local subject-matter in the teaching and examining. There were misgivings about it at the time, however, and Vowles writes of the academic staff of the time that:

'It seemed that some of the promising experiments they had launched would inevitably have to be abandoned. For example it proved impossible to include art as a subject in the intermediate or final examination. This might mean the end of the teaching of art at the College. There were grave doubts whether enough students would be forthcoming of a quality capable of attaining the standard of the London degree. There were difficulties about the entrance qualification. These doubts, and it is fair to add the lack of understanding of the special relationship system among the academic body, were naturally reflected and magnified in the lay membership of the Council.'¹⁶

Dr. W. D. Lamont, who succeeded Mr. Turner as Principal in 1946, experienced difficulty in implementing the Special Relation scheme and, therefore, resigned in 1949 to be succeeded by Mr. B. (now Sir Bernard) de Bunsen. The late 'forties, in fact, represented a time of intense reorganization, with further constitutional changes concentrating authority in a small College Council, and a virtually complete turnover of staff between 1945 and 1950.

The number of students recovered from its war-time 'low', rising to over 200 in 1948, and rising again more rapidly after the opening of a second hall of residence in 1952. More halls of residence were added during the 'fifties, and a period of rapid expansion took place, as will be seen from table B in Appendix I (p. 89). A most important development during the 'forties was the admittance of women students, the first of whom entered in 1946. In terms of its racial composition, however, the student body remained wholly African except for a few Arabs.

University College status was granted in 1949, and the College's name changed to the lengthy one of 'Makerere College, the University College of East Africa'. Teaching began in 1950 for the intermediate examinations of the University of London, and in 1952 for the B.A. and B.Sc.; the first degree examinations were held in December, 1953¹⁷. Concurrently with the growth of degree work in arts and science, progress was also made in the professional schools. The Diploma in Medicine (East Africa) was

replaced in the early 'fifties by the qualification of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (East Africa), which was later—and retrospectively—recognized by the General Medical Council of Great Britain. Agriculture went through a period of staffing difficulty in the early 'fifties, but developed vigorously later and was able in 1958 to institute courses leading to a degree. In Education, the entry of graduates from 1954 onwards led to a gradual transfer of the main effort from a two-years' course beginning at Intermediate level to a one-year graduate diploma course, equivalent to the graduate diploma of an English university. Veterinary Science, however, encountered greater difficulty and throughout the 'fifties was able to award only an East African diploma which was not recognized as the equivalent of a British degree. All this could be summed up by saying that comparability was the aim. The policy was that the qualifications available at Makerere should be in no way inferior to the best obtainable abroad; and this was very largely achieved through the Special Relation with London University, and G.M.C. recognition of the medical award.

Along with the rise in standards went a great expansion in numbers, to 449 in 1954 and 881 in 1959–60, and a striking change in the racial composition of the student body. It had long been recommended that the College should take in others besides Africans and a few coast Arabs; the De La Warr Commission urged in 1937 that it should be open to all, and the Asquith Commission endorsed the recommendation in 1945; but there seem to have been fears that Africans might be swamped if Indians were admitted. In fact one Indian from Zanzibar was admitted in 1941; but it was not until 1951 that the College was formally declared to be open to all without distinction of race, following which there was a further entry of Indians in 1952. Those pioneers encountered some difficulties over food, and some racial and religious prejudice from the African students, but the entry of Indians and Goans continued till in 1959–60 there were 69 of them in residence, a substantial and recognized minority among the student body. Europeans were much slower to come, and only five had entered as undergraduates before 1960, only one of whom had been locally-born and -educated. There were in addition a few post-graduate British and American students in residence in the Halls; but the overwhelmingly non-white character of the student body was not finally changed until the early 'sixties. A number of schemes then contributed to bring British and American students into the College, the most numerous being American graduates attending the Institute of Education under the Teachers for East Africa scheme. These developments, though they fall outside the period of the present study, need mentioning here, along with some other changes in the 'sixties. The entry level was raised from School Certificate to Higher School Certificate (corresponding to A-level); the first two years' courses at the College were dropped, therefore, and numbers fell a little accordingly. Other centres of higher education grew up in East Africa—the Royal College, Nairobi, and the University College of Dar es Salaam—and these developments, together with the approaching end of the Special Relation with London, led to plans for a University of East Africa, as a constituent College of which

the College's name was again changed to Makerere University College. The University was inaugurated in July, 1963.

Makerere's development during its first four decades was as follows. The beginnings were made in the 'twenties with professional courses along with technical and clerical instruction and secondary courses. The professional courses were developed to a good standard in the 'thirties, and the rest dropped. During the 'forties, despite war-time and post-war difficulty, the College became inter-territorial, academic courses and qualifications were introduced as well as professional ones, and a start was made on the higher education of women; while the 'fifties were marked by a rise in academic standards to full University level, a dramatic growth of numbers, and the entry of substantial numbers of non-Africans.

Other Opportunities for Higher Education in East Africa

Apart from Makerere College, other local opportunities open to Africans beyond school levels of education were mainly in the technical and theological fields. In addition, the alternative of study abroad has always been open, in the sense that no institutional barriers prevented it, ever since these territories came into contact with the outer world. But until recent years, the number of Africans who in fact went abroad was very small—in contrast to West Africa—though after 1950 the situation changed rapidly and the trickle suddenly became a flood.

When engineering training at Makerere was not resumed after the war, the Public Works Department in Uganda established its own Engineering School near Kampala to train engineering assistants. Though a Uganda Government institution this School, like Makerere before 1938, took in pupils also from Kenya and Tanganyika. In 1954, for example, there were 20 from Tanganyika. The training, which included periods of supervised practical experience, was related to the needs of the government department rather than to externally recognized qualifications, and controversy later arose over this, and over the merger of the School with the Kampala Technical Institute.

Higher technological education for East Africa was effectively begun in the Royal Technical College at Nairobi along with commercial and domestic science courses, and this College later became the Royal College and a part of the University of East Africa. It was from the first open to all races; in the event, the biggest number of students were Indians, with Africans and Europeans making up substantial minorities. Moreover, since it opened in 1956, this College had not, by the time of this study, yet played an appreciable part in the formation of an educated African élite.

Theological education has probably made a more important contribution, partly because of the early start that was made in the training of African clergy both by the Roman Catholic and the major Protestant missions, and partly because of the high social prestige which African clergy used to enjoy. This development has been summarized by Oliver:

'Roman Catholic missions, stiffened by injunctions from the Propaganda, aspired from the first to nothing less than a celibate African clergy,

versed in Latin, and armed with a theological learning comparable to that which was imparted in the seminaries of Europe. Such requirements could only be fulfilled by the total adoption and prolonged education of young boys. Bishop Hirth opened a junior seminary in the North Nyanza vicariate in 1893; but it was not until 1914 that two out of more than 400 aspirants were raised to the priesthood. Protestant policy, by contrast, was to ordain only married men of mature age, who had proved themselves by long service as catechists and lay-readers . . . In 1893 (Bishop Tucker of Uganda) chose seven such men and ordained them deacons after five months of preparation; and in 1896 three of them were promoted to be priests. But even by the less exacting standards of Protestantism the growth of an ordained clergy was slow. By 1914 the Uganda diocese, with more than 100,000 church members, had only 33 native priests. The Universities Mission [to Central Africa; an Anglican mission working in Southern Tanganyika, *Ed.*], which had ordained Africans to the diaconate in 1879 and to the priesthood in 1890, had by 1914 less than 20 African clergy . . . The Church of Scotland Mission in British East Africa had ordained no Africans by 1914.'

Later progress was more rapid, however:

'In all six of the Anglican dioceses African clergy by 1938 outnumbered the ordained European missionaries; by 1950 they were about four to one. In the Lutheran churches ordained Africans were drawing level with the Europeans in 1938; in 1949 they outnumbered them by three to one. In 1947 there were 11 African Presbyterian ministers in Kenya as against three Europeans. African priests in Roman Catholic orders, who were required to undergo about 18 years of education and to take the usual vows of celibacy, were even at the end of the period in a minority of one to five to the ordained European missionaries. Nevertheless their numbers grew from two in 1914 to 80 in 1939 and to 208 in 1946, when there were also 385 aspirants in the last stage of their training . . . In 1939 the southern portion of Uganda was divided off as the Apostolic Vicariate of Masaka and entrusted to the care of an African Bishop and 56 African secular priests.'¹⁸

In November, 1960, there were eight Africans among the Roman Catholic bishops in East Africa, one of whom, Bishop Rugambwa of Rutabo in Tanganyika, was created a Cardinal in April 1960. African Anglican bishops also numbered eight, including one in retirement. Seminaries and theological colleges afforded, in effect, an educational and social ladder which, though narrower, ran parallel to that of secondary school and Makerere College, and had moreover been there longer; so that not many former Makerere students have ever been ordained. However, the first of these, Erika Sabiti, was consecrated in April 1960.

It seems clear that at first African clergy enjoyed very high social status. To a large extent the Roman Catholic clergy still do, partly because of their high educational standard—it takes about 18 years in school and seminary to become a priest, the failure rate at the earlier stages is high, and failed seminarians contribute a not unimportant quota to the educated élite generally

—and partly as the indirect result of celibacy. The world notes the married parson's wife's dresses and whether his children have shoes, but celibate priests in clergy-houses for the most part escape such direct estimates of their socio-economic status. The social standing of Protestant clergy and ministers seems to have declined over the years, however; with the widening of educational opportunities for Africans and the increase in the numbers and wealth of other professional men, they have been left behind. Many are in fact not only poor, by modern standards, but also relatively uneducated, and able therefore to command little respect among the younger educated generation¹⁹. African bishops, however, remain men of great consequence.

Study Abroad

It is not easy to assess the effect of study abroad on the formation of the educated African elite in East Africa. The statistics are fragmentary and incomplete; and even if they were complete, they would be unavoidably complex, for people have gone outside East Africa for a wide range of different studies to a number of different countries, so that the number of possible categories is large. Thus we have to consider those attending universities abroad, and thereby gaining an education comparable to that at Makerere since 1950, if possible separately from those pursuing other courses—nursing training, technical and trade courses, study tours such as those arranged by the British Council on English local government—and even wives accompanying scholars. Generally speaking, figures are not hard to get on sponsored scholars—that is, those paid for out of public funds, together with those who, though privately financed, made their arrangements through official bodies; a penumbra of doubt exists about the numbers of unsponsored private students. Finally, since the subject of this study is the educated *African* elite, it is important to have statistics on the racial status of people studying abroad, and—for the most praiseworthy of reasons—this is not always available, especially from British official statistics.

For present purposes we need to ask—how important has study abroad been as an *alternative* to Makerere? and how far as a *supplement* to Makerere? In attempting to answer this double question, the statistics available are sufficient only to illustrate general trends, and are not comprehensive.

All the evidence suggests that very few Africans studied abroad before the late 'forties. Thus the figures quoted by Carey²⁰ show only 23 students from East and Central Africa together as attending British universities in 1939; and most of these were undoubtedly non-Africans, since it was the practice of the governments of Tanganyika and Kenya at that time to send Indian and European scholars abroad while their African counterparts went to Makerere. However, those few Africans who did nevertheless go abroad at that time with private support included several who have since become extremely prominent public figures, including Jomo Kenyatta and Joseph Lule; and their prominence may have had something to do with study abroad becoming associated in the public mind with success and status.

The numbers seem to have increased slightly during the 'forties, when some students from Uganda went to South Africa and a few to West Africa; but as late as 1948, the return of three men from Government scholarships in the United Kingdom was an event thought worthy of note in the annual report of the education department, together with the departure of the first three women—one for University studies and two to train as sister tutors—and ten more men. In Kenya, financial provision was first made for overseas bursaries for Africans in 1945, and the first three Africans to go with Government support went in 1946 to the United Kingdom. Throughout the late 'forties and early 'fifties, about a dozen African students at a time were supported in this way. In addition there were some Africans among the 25 Kenya students of all races who in 1952 held scholarships under the Colonial Development and Welfare scheme—though as these are British statistics we do not know how many there were of each race; and in 1952 also there were five Africans holding local government bursaries abroad. Information is lacking about Tanganyika at this period but there is reason to believe that the number of students overseas was very small indeed.

By the middle of the 'fifties, the numbers had grown. Figures are available for Uganda for 1954:

'About 60 African students held scholarships in the United Kingdom in 1954, but the total number from the Protectorate including Asian and European bursary holders and students supported privately exceeded 300. In addition there were about 30 scholars or private students in India and six in the United States.'²¹

If we take 100 as a round figure for Uganda Africans studying abroad at that time—not all of them in Universities—it seems from the writer's own researches that about half of these had been at Makerere first. We may say, therefore, that in 1954, in addition to the 148 Uganda students attending Makerere College, there were about 50 for whom study abroad was an alternative and another 50 for whom it was a supplement to the local College.

Broadly comparable figures for Kenya are available for 1955, when there were 997 Kenya students of all races studying abroad, 110 of them being Africans. According to my estimate, about 40 to 50 of these had been at Makerere first, so that the position in Kenya at the time was quite similar to that in Uganda; in addition to the 203 Kenya students attending Makerere College, there were some 60 to 70 for whom study abroad was an alternative and some 40 to 50 for whom it was a supplement. Again, it is not known how many were attending universities as distinct from other institutions but the broad distribution between countries is given as 45 in the United Kingdom, 48 in India and Pakistan, 1 in South Africa, and 16 elsewhere.

The numbers going abroad from Tanganyika remained small enough in 1953-54 for particulars amounting to brief biographies to be given of each student. It was stated that two African holders of Colonial Development and Welfare scholarships had taken degrees in the United Kingdom and returned; one was at the Slade School of Art; one at the Brighton Technical College; and one had failed his intermediate examination and returned.

One government bursar had failed but did not return, and one Trust Territories scholar was at the University of Chicago. Two had completed co-operative courses at Loughborough and returned and two had gone to the U.S.A. besides two more sent to Loughborough, while there were in India six cultural scholars and five technical scholars²². It is not altogether easy to deduce from these statements the number of people studying abroad at the time, but clearly it was small. In 1954 there were 113 Tanganyika students at Makerere. Of those studying abroad, a good many were former Makerere students, of whom there seem to have been about half a dozen in the U.K. at the time, two in the U.S.A. and one in India. We may conclude, then, that at this date very few Tanganyika students went abroad as an alternative to coming to Makerere College.

By the end of the 'fifties, very much larger numbers were studying abroad. In 1957 the number from Uganda had mounted to about 800, 'of whom about 661 were in the U.K. and Eire and the remainder elsewhere, mainly in India and the U.S.A.' Of those, 480 were Africans including an estimated 150 thought to be privately supported. Besides non-university students—undergoing, for example, nursing, technical, or commercial training—those figures included 25 wives accompanying scholars. With that reservation, we may relate these figures to the Makerere statistics. In 1957–58 there were 240 Uganda students at Makerere College; about 60 to 70 former students were abroad, supplementing the College's education with study abroad; and possibly another 300 to 400 were studying abroad as an alternative.

Table 3
Number of African Students

		at Makerere College	in U.S.A.	attending U.K. universities as under- graduates
Uganda	1958–59	259	29	
	1959–60	285		80–90
Kenya	1958–59	285	73 +7 in Canada	
	1959–60	355		40
Tanganyika	1958–59	209	22	
	1959–60	183		26

Source: The Registrar, Makerere College, in paper EC/11/1 dated 27th July, 1960; Makerere College Annual Reports.

Table 3 sets out the position at the end of the 'fifties in all three territories. It was clear that from then on study abroad would constitute a major alternative to local higher education; allowing for further increase in numbers

it was estimated at that time that study abroad would add about another 50 per cent. to the output of Makerere College.

Since 1960, the continued increase in the numbers seeking higher education abroad, the development of two new centres of university education in East Africa, and the lack of a comparable expansion in the secondary schools, have combined to produce a situation in which the three East African university colleges compete with overseas opportunities for the limited number of school leavers of university entrance standard—indeed, the local colleges have sometimes been in the unhappy position of seeing their best potential students go abroad while they have empty halls of residence and half-empty classrooms. This, however, is essentially a new situation. At the time when the present study was being carried on, it was still true to say that, though Makerere College's domination of the educational scene in East Africa clearly would not last for ever, its past domination implied that the greater part of the East African educated élite consisted of former students of Makerere. In particular, the numbers who had studied abroad and returned was then small compared with former Makerere students—and a substantial proportion even of them had been at Makerere first.

Why did some East Africans study abroad, and why did the numbers doing so increase so dramatically after their local college had already reached full university standard? To some extent the motive was rational—to seek qualifications not locally available. The range of subjects at Makerere has always been a wide one in relation to the number of students and the resources available; as Vowles²³ wrote:

'In 1949 the new University College had faculties of Arts and Science, professional schools of Medicine, Agriculture, Veterinary Science and Education, and a School of Art. This would be a respectable range for a University of say 1,500 students. Makerere had 220.'

But inevitably there were gaps. The lack of a Law School was, in African eyes, possibly the most important, and it was not to be filled locally until the University College of Dar es Salaam opened its doors in 1961. As has been noted, too, the extent of technical and technological education available was limited until the Royal College, Nairobi, was established in the late 'fifties. Some professional qualifications such as dentistry and chartered accountancy could be obtained only in Britain, or (with some awkwardness about the registrability of American qualifications in a British territory) in the United States. Moreover, it was not until the late 'fifties that 'honours' (i.e. one-subject) degrees, as distinct from 'general' three-subject degrees, were available at Makerere in the faculty of arts; fully-registrable qualification in medicine, or degrees as distinct from diplomas in agriculture. In education, there has not hitherto been a degree as distinct from a teachers' diploma—indeed, it has been questioned whether a degree in education would be a useful or necessary qualification in East Africa. At this point, rational motives begin to shade over into non-rational. An African wanting to be a dentist must, in the absence of a dental school in East Africa, go to Britain or the U.S.A. to acquire a registrable qualification which enables

him to practise. But does an African who wants to be a headmaster, or an inspector of schools, need an M.Ed. in quite the same way? Or is it more a matter of prestige? In some cases, such as agriculture and veterinary science, what might be called semi-rational factors played a part; in the public service under colonial rule, Africans with local diplomas found themselves from time to time at a disadvantage in gaining promotion to higher ranks compared with Europeans with degrees; and again sometimes they really were, sometimes they believed themselves to be. To this extent, then, study abroad to improve their qualifications may be seen as a reasonable expression of Africans' desires for parity with Europeans under the old colonial régime. To this must be added an almost wholly non-rational factor in the high general prestige of men and women who had studied abroad. Busia wrote in 1956 that in Ghana:

'a popular song already refers to 'been-tos, car-ful, frig-ful', those who have been educated overseas and own cars and refrigerators, as being the most desirable husbands.'²⁴

Though the term 'been-to' did not catch on in East as much as in West Africa, there is some similarity in popular sentiment. As has been hinted above, some men who studied abroad before 1940, when very few did so, have since become conspicuous figures, and this fact may have helped to set a pattern. There was perhaps the sense that those who had lived and studied in the Europeans' own homeland may have been able to fathom for themselves the source of the Europeans' power. It may also have been the case that Europeans too treated on terms more approaching equality, and reposed more confidence in, the man who had been to England, who spoke more fluent English as a result, and who was, often correctly, believed to understand Western ways better and more truly appreciate the problems of the modern world.

Thus study abroad, rather like the Grand Tour of renaissance Europe, came to be regarded as an indispensable part of the education of a fully-educated man. Scholarships abroad tended to become part of the stock-in-trade of African political patronage, and cases were not unknown of men and women being sent abroad to train for careers which they had no intention of pursuing, or for courses equally available locally, apparently in recognition of political or other services rendered to a chief or other persons of importance. Study abroad has a glamour which the development of primary or secondary schooling at home, or even the local university colleges, cannot rival; and African politicians, knowing this, have not failed to turn it to political advantage in organizing 'airlifts' to overseas universities.

Other Avenues to High Status

In most countries, business and politics are avenues to high status alternative to professional and intellectual occupations—the civil service, medicine, etc.; we must therefore ask how far Africans in East Africa could get without having been to Makerere, attended a theological college, or studied abroad.

All observers agree that an African business class hardly exists in these

territories. For one thing, the number of wealthy Africans is very limited; for another, we may echo Balandier's²⁵ statement about Brazzaville that economic advantage is not recognized unless it is allied to a social status otherwise high.

The most important form of business enterprise among Africans hitherto has been farming, implying cultivation on a larger scale than subsistence. The area where this has most notably occurred is Buganda, where Wrigley cites a number of unusual factors—official encouragement in the past to grow cash crops, plenty of fertile land, a large cheap labour force of immigrants from other districts, the land settlement of 1900 that introduced virtually freehold tenure, and the Ganda value-system, 'free from the rabid egalitarianism that characterises many East African societies; economic and other forms of ambition have been considered natural and normal.²⁶ Especially in the rich coffee-growing area around Masaka, Africans with four-figure incomes (£1,000 a year or more) may be reckoned in scores if not hundreds. Yet the social status of a wealthy farmer is hardly higher than that of a more modest cultivator, unless he has some other claim to status like education, a salaried government post, or political office.' Elsewhere, continues Wrigley, the substantial farmer is rarer, though he notes the prosperity of coffee-growers in Bukoba and Moshi in Tanganyika; Kikuyu farmers growing fruit, vegetables, and dairy products for Nairobi; and large-scale maize and cotton growing in Nyanza province in Kenya. One may comment that though a successful farmer may not gain much status for himself, he may be able to help his sons, educated at Makerere or abroad, to get to the top. This may happen individually, or it may be done collectively—as for example when young Chagga men study abroad, financed by the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union.

Apart from farming, 'African achievements in commerce are generally agreed to have been somewhat disappointing so far' goes on Wrigley. There may have been difficulties over credit, licensing and price-control regulations, and 'the closely knit and strongly entrenched Asian commercial community'; but 'the main reason for the poor success of African enterprise appears to be a general absence of the basic commercial attributes—integrity, assiduity, acumen, and thrift', together with a lack of 'both capital and an elementary knowledge of accounting—and often of arithmetic'. Similarly Hoyt wrote of 'the East African's lack of economic sense²⁷.' There are exceptions to this general statement; thus Elkan²⁸ found the sale of woodcarvings to be a big business, with a substantial export trade especially to the United States, and sales possibly between £150,000 and £250,000 a year. Here again, however, wealth alone does not seem to confer status; Elkan describes the Kamba location which is the centre of the manufacture of woodcarvings:

'Wamunyu does not give the casual onlooker an impression of great prosperity; the people dress simply and their houses are mostly built in traditional style; few have corrugated iron roofs. But their simple way of living can be misleading, for it reflects not their incomes but their savings. These savings take two forms; first, in common with

most other people in East Africa the Kamba put their savings into cattle; secondly, it must be remembered that men who carry stocks worth £500 have not acquired them by spending their income up to the hilt.'

Turning to politics, we may broadly distinguish between African local government on the one hand, with a more or less traditional flavour; and on the other modern political activity expressed through parties, central legislatures, and the Press. In both it seems that though opportunities exist for Africans without higher education to achieve high status, hitherto educated Africans have been at an advantage.

It may seem odd to say that most traditional chiefs are educated men, or that educated men have a better chance of becoming traditional chiefs; yet that is what emerges clearly from the figures collected by Dr. Richards and her fellow-workers during the 1950s. Naturally, there were wide differences between different areas; but rather consistently the higher chiefs included more educated men than the lower. There seem to have been three main reasons for this. First, to some extent future chiefs may have been deliberately selected for schooling. Some schools, as has already been noted, were set up 'for the sons of chiefs'; and Richards wrote:

'It is likely that in those areas where hereditary chieftainship is a traditional institution, special efforts were made by the Government in the early days to give education to those who were in direct line of descent²⁹.'

Thus, for example, the Kabaka of Buganda went to King's College, Budo; Makerere College; and Trinity College, Cambridge. Secondly, there was a tendency for British administrators in the colonial period to prefer educated men and try to get them appointed as chiefs. It is obvious why this should have been so—a chief who could read and write, and even more one who had a modern understanding of measures for agricultural and sanitary improvement and the like, was preferable to an illiterate, traditionally-minded person, however dignified³⁰. Thirdly, since chiefs were wealthier they were more able to send their children to school; and moreover, as agents of progress, they were urged to do so alike by Government officers and missionaries. Even where there was no hereditary tradition, these sons were in turn favoured candidates for chiefly office; or, if not so appointed, they went into Government technical services, the professions, or the Church; and their sisters married other men in a similar position. In this way several writers report the emergence of a ruling class; in Buganda, for example, Richards says the secondary-educated sons of chiefs tended to marry the sisters and daughters of men educated in the same way, and when appointed as chiefs secured posts for their sisters' husbands. 'Nepotism is too simple a word to describe a situation such as this', she says; one might say it is also a matter of 'old school tie'.

In central politics it was much the same. Those Africans who reached the highest political positions under British rule were almost all highly educated men, while the members of legislative councils were mainly at least secondary-educated and in many cases Makerere men and women. The reasons seem almost as obvious as they were in the case of chiefs. Throughout the period under review, the language in which parliamentary

business was conducted was English; and a command of English sufficient to ask a nimble supplementary question or seize on ambiguities in the words of a Government speaker is possessed by few but the secondary-educated. (In Uganda in 1961, indeed, candidates for election to the national assembly had either to possess a School Certificate or pass a special test in English.) Although a change to Swahili as the parliamentary language in Tanganyika and Kenya might alter the situation—it is less likely to be adopted in Uganda—there seems up till recently to have been little change in the tendency for educated men to predominate among those elected to the parliaments of the three countries.

Conclusion

It is now possible to see Makerere College in its relation to the general opportunities for African advancement during the period 1920 to 1960. In the first place, we have seen that though those opportunities have never been rigidly confined to the educated African élite, in practice they have been more open to educated men than to others. One important reason for this was the absence of an African business class. In other countries, lack of formal education is less of a handicap in business than it is in the professions, the civil service, etc., so that men with relatively little schooling can rise high in the social scale; the lack of this ladder of advancement in East African countries further added to the advantages of the educated. Moreover, the need to be proficient in a foreign language handicapped those without education in the race for high posts in the politics of central government, and confined their political ambitions to local and tribal politics. In short, the odds were heavily on the educated élite.

If it helped so greatly to be highly educated, where could an African gain higher education? There were three main ways. The churches, through theological colleges and seminaries, had long afforded a ladder; but it was a narrow one, and those who climbed it were men with a special vocation. Study abroad is important now, but it has only very recently become so; the numbers going abroad were small until the middle 'fifties, the numbers returning from abroad correspondingly small until an even later date. In our search for the educated élite, 1922–60, we are left with the products of Makerere College.

At the present time, Makerere is no longer the only university college in East Africa; opportunities for Africans are opening in many other directions, and the situation is changing rapidly. But until recently, Makerere held a key position for African aspirations. It embodied African hopes for the future in a manner which has endowed it with a unique prestige; and while it would be too much to suggest that former students of the College made up the whole of the African élite, they constituted so substantial a part of it that a study of their social background, careers, and adjustment is of some importance in understanding the general processes of social change in the three East African countries.

II

The Social Origins of Makerere Students

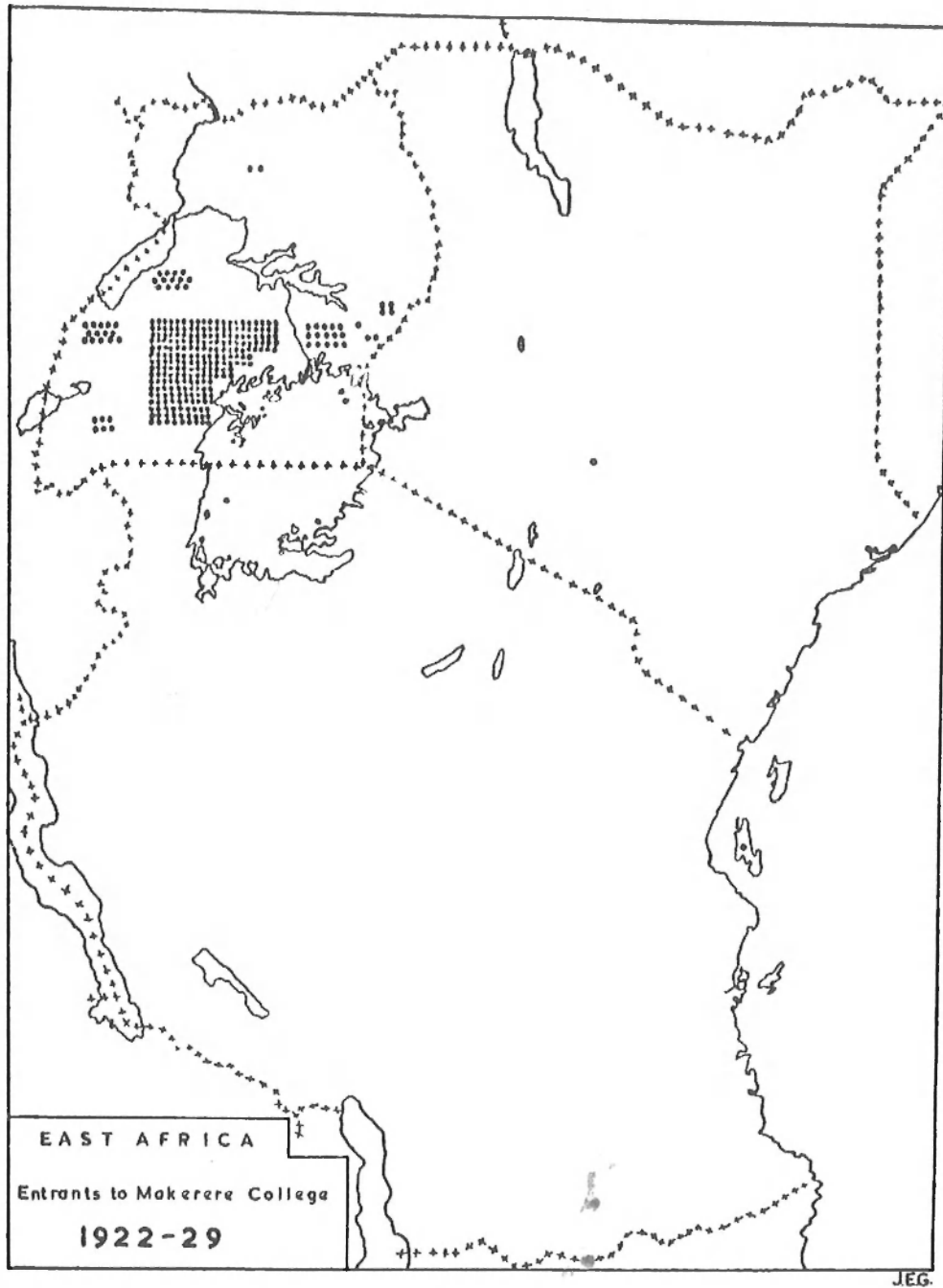
Tribal Origins

The first 14 students admitted to Makerere College in 1922 were all of the Ganda tribe. As has been seen, African education began most vigorously in Buganda, where the College is situated, and it was not unnatural that the local tribe should at first dominate the student body; over three-quarters of the students admitted during the 1920s were Ganda.

Maps 1 to 4 (p. 25–31) and tables 1 and 2 (p. 26–28), show how entries to the College spread first to the neighbouring Bantu tribes of Uganda—Nyoro, Toro, Soga, Nyankole; then to the rest of Uganda, to Kenya, and to Tanganyika. By the early 'fifties, the entry of Ganda students had fallen to 15½ per cent. of the total entry, about half of the Uganda entry. At the same time the biggest tribal representation at the College had become that of the Kikuyu, and Kenya the territory with the largest number of students.

Nevertheless, because of their early lead the Ganda dominated the College Register, with 671 out of the 1,698 persons listed in it as having entered the College in or before 1953. No comparable body of educated Africans exists anywhere else in East Africa. The rapid recent educational progress of other tribes will no doubt eventually even things up; meanwhile, however, the élites of other tribes are not only fewer in numbers but also less mature and experienced. This unique cluster of educated men of maturity and experience is one of the more striking features of Buganda today, and not without its political and general significance. It also follows that young educated Ganda enter an educated African milieu to a greater extent than those of other tribes, who tend to be more sharply distinct from their fellow-tribesmen and more apt to be thrust into positions of greater responsibility early in their careers.

The pattern of a spread outwards from a limited number of centres seems to have been repeated on a smaller scale in Kenya and Tanganyika. For example, 10 of the first 33 Tanganyika students were Bondei, where much the same seems to have happened as among the Ganda, early mission contacts and educational forwardness being followed by a relative eclipse. In Kenya there were two main centres associated with mission activities



Map 1

Table 2*A. Entries of Ganda, by Decade*

	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Uganda entries</i>	<i>% of all entries</i>
1922-29	225	78.7	78.5
1930-39	259	66.6	51.1
1940-49	129	53.3	24.8
1950-53	60	50.4	15.5

B. Entries of Kikuyu, by Decade

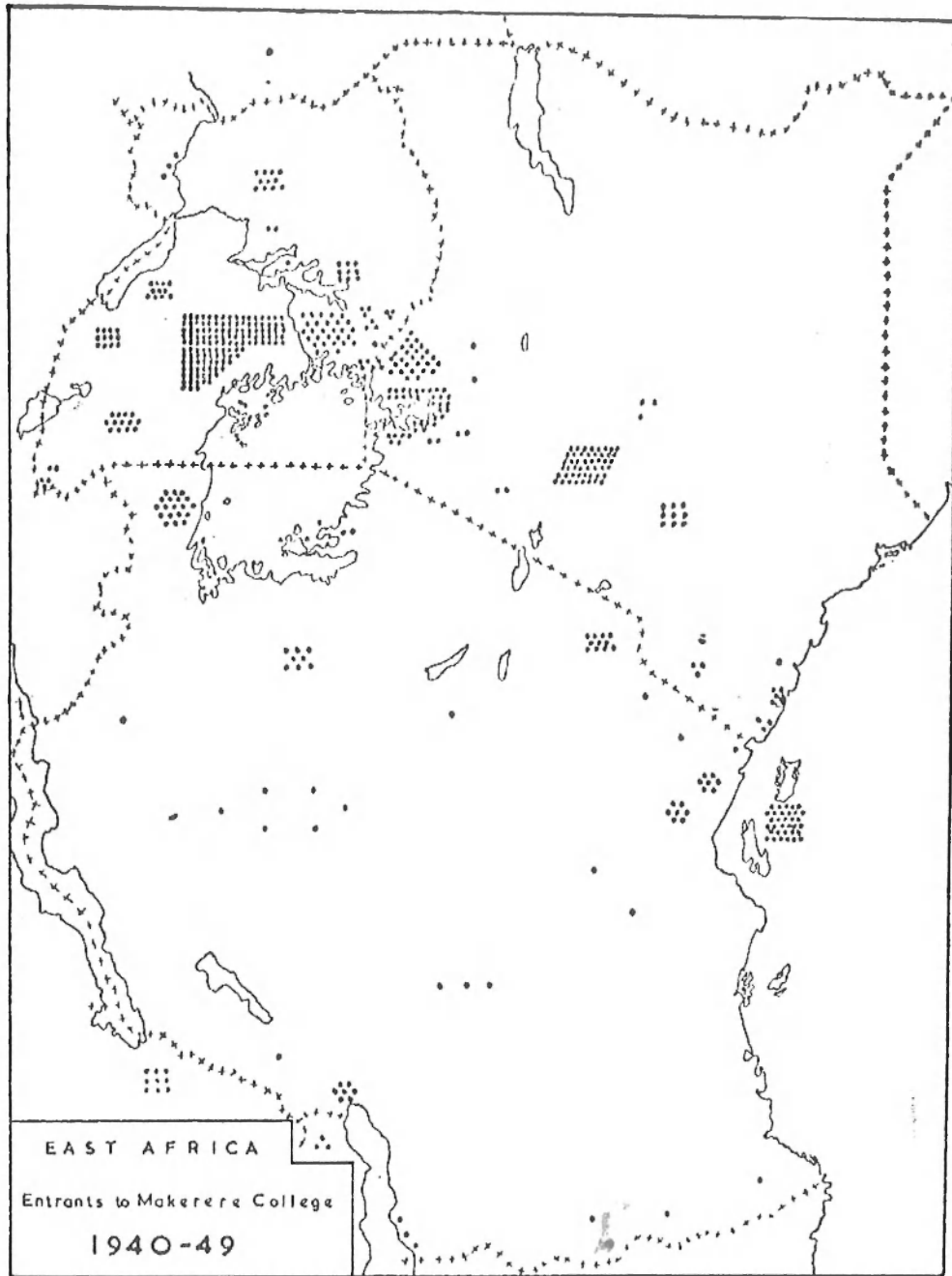
	<i>Number</i>	<i>% of Kenya entries</i>	<i>% of all entries</i>
1922-29	1	—	—
1930-39	26	32.5	5.1
1940-49	48	32.7	9.2
1950-53	69	44.5	17.9

concentrating upon the Kikuyu and upon the Luo and Luyia tribes; Alliance High School and Holy Ghost College, Mangu, are in Kikuyu country, and Maseno and St. Mary's Yala are in Nyanza.

That the tribes of East Africa have not in the past sent their sons and daughters to Makerere in numbers anything like proportional to their populations is obvious. If we allow for differences in the sizes of the tribes by considering the number of Register names per 100,000 population, the tribe with the highest rate is still the Ganda with 80 per 100,000. Next come the Bondei, who though a very small tribe of only 28,000, had 20 Register entries, a rate of 71 per 100,000. Zanzibar Arabs came third with 65 per 100,000.

Wide differences between the tribes of the three countries could, of course, be expected; Makerere grew up as a Uganda college and one would expect Uganda tribes therefore to show higher rates of entry than those of Kenya or Tanganyika. The rate for Uganda as a whole is 21 per 100,000. The Ganda (80), Samia (62), Toro (35) and Nyoro (28) have rates above the average, the Soga (17) not far below it, and all the rest are well below—Acholi (12), Teso (5), Madi (5), Lango (4), Padhola (8). The Lugbara, a tribe with a population of 183,000 in 1948, are unrepresented in the Register, although some students of that tribe have come to the College since 1953.

In Kenya, the Kikuyu (14), Luo (12), Samia (14), Luyia (9), and Taita (9), show rates above the territorial average of 7.1. The Embu and Meru are below it, though some may have been counted as Kikuyu;



Map 3

the Kamba, Gusii, Nandi and Kipsigis also have rates well below the territorial average. Four students are listed in the Register as Masai, giving a rate not far below the territorial average. It will be noted that the Samia, some of whom live in Uganda and some in Kenya, show a high rate of entry on both sides of the border, and the rate for the tribe as a whole, 25, is moderately high even by Uganda standards. On the other hand, some tribes are unrepresented; thus no Kuria from either Kenya or Tanganyika appears in the Register.

In Tanganyika, the territorial average of 2.8 is much lower than in Uganda or Kenya. As already noted, the Bondei head the list; a long way behind, but above the territorial average, are the Haya (13), Chagga (12), Zigua (12), Nyakyusa (9), and Pare (6). Rates around the average are shown by the Nyamwezi, Jita, Hehe, and Sambia; all other tribes are well below it, including the largest single tribe, the Sukuma, with a rate of 1.5.

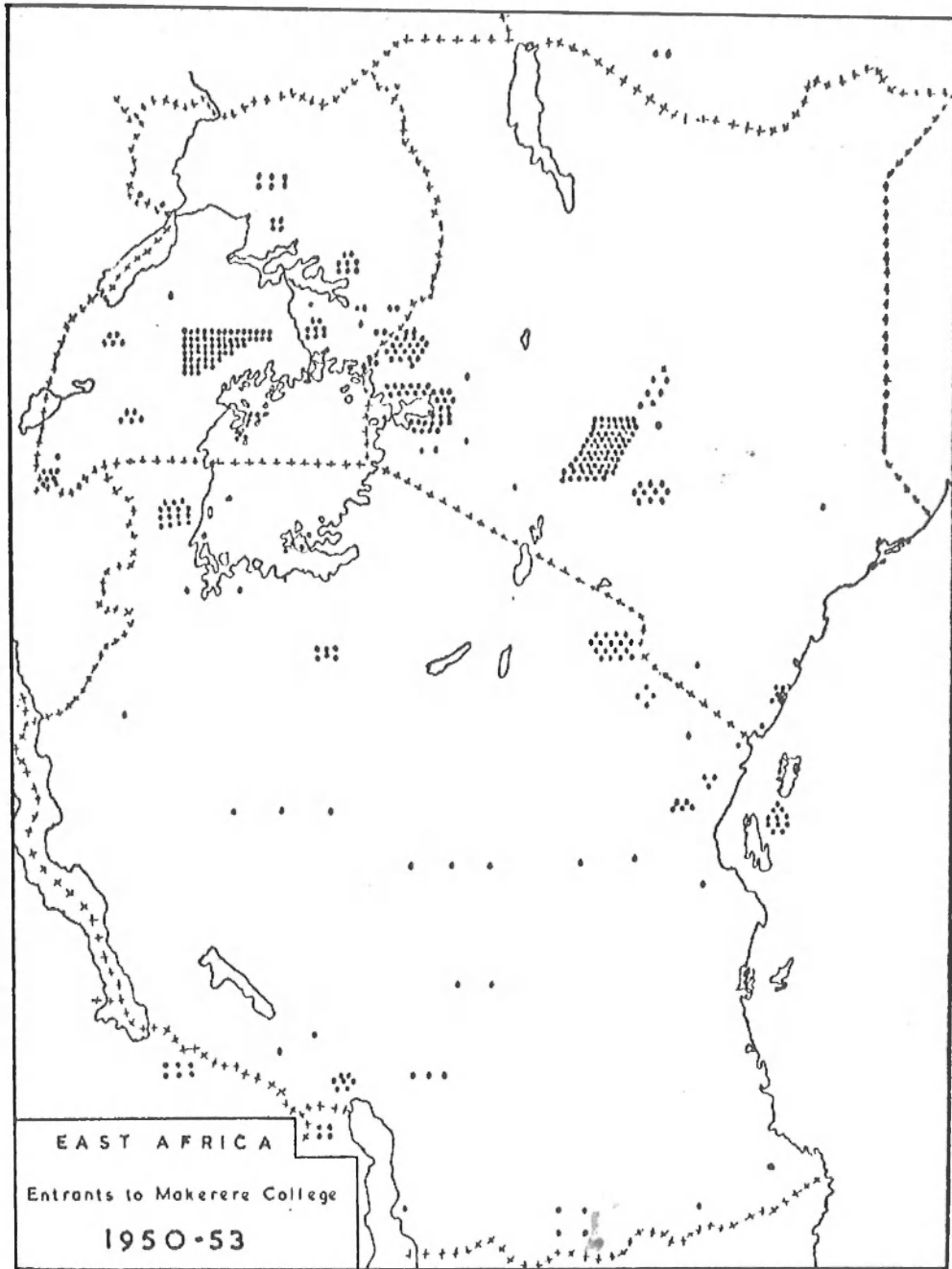
At this level a lot seems to be due to pure chance; for example, how significant is it that one Iraqw attended Makerere College before 1953, but no Mwera or Irangi?

In Kenya and Uganda, tribes that dominate the country through sheer numbers—the Ganda, Kikuyu, and Luo—have also a high proportion of highly-educated men, so that their élites dominate the national élite, as it were, twice over. In Tanganyika it is the other way round. Tribes with a high proportion of educated men are small, while some big tribes have few élite members; and this may be partly why tribal rivalries play a less important part in Tanganyika politics.

It would be fascinating to study in detail the factors that have affected the different educational development of different tribes, holding some back so that they now have small or non-existent educated élites, pushing others forward. Where missions were founded clearly has much to do with it; where there were missions there were schools, languages were written down, the Bible and the liturgies were read. Families developed a tradition of literacy and a positive attitude towards schooling, as will be seen later in this chapter. They aspired to get their sons into the priesthood, and into the expanding range of posts for educated Africans which became available. Yet missions were not founded at points chosen at random on the map; nor was missionary work always accompanied by conspicuous success on the side of education. What made some tribes more promising fields than others? While geographical and historical factors undoubtedly played their part, the indigenous social structures and value-systems too must have had a great deal to do with it. To borrow an analogy from surgery, why should the transplanted tissue of western education 'take' so effectively in Buganda, be so plainly rejected by its host among the Lugbara or Kuria?

Inequalities of Opportunity

Another way of looking at it is to say that, during the period under review, a person's chance of getting to Makerere depended very much on what



Map 4

tribe he happened to be born into. Were there inequalities of opportunity within tribes also? The evidence very strongly suggests that this was the case. We have already seen how very much smaller the chance of getting to Makerere was for girls than for boys; fewer girls went to school, and those who did tended to leave sooner. The rest of this chapter is concerned with the difference which family background made—in particular, the occupations and educational achievements of a person's parents and other near kin. The evidence strongly suggests that Makerere students included a larger proportion of people with literate kinsfolk, and with kinsfolk whose occupations carried high social prestige, than the East African population as a whole.

Parents' Literacy

One simple way of collecting information on this question was to ask students about their parents' literacy. This was done three times; as one among many questions in a survey of former students who left the College during the 1930s; as a self-contained survey of students who entered the College in 1954; and again in 1958-59 in the course of more comprehensive studies of students at that time.

Fifty-two men were questioned in the old students' survey, and 49 of them gave information about their parents' literacy. Of these, 22 said that both parents were literate, 18 that their fathers were literate but their mothers not, and nine that both parents were illiterate. About 80 per cent., that is, had literate fathers; rather less than half had literate mothers.

Among students who entered the College in 1954, the rates were strikingly similar. One hundred and twenty-five African students fully completed the questionnaire on the subject. Of these, the fathers of 16 per cent. were illiterate, while of their mothers 49 per cent. were illiterate, 38 per cent. fully literate, and 13 per cent. able to read but not write. As to the fathers' literacy in the vernacular there was virtually no difference between the three countries; the rates were all just above 80 per cent. Uganda students, however, included slightly higher proportions whose mothers were literate, and whose fathers were literate in English.

Among 160 students from whom information was obtained in 1958 and 1959, the proportion of literate fathers, 82 per cent., was again in close agreement with the previous surveys. The literacy rate among mothers appeared to be rising slightly; it was 58 per cent. in 1958-59 compared with 51 per cent. (including those who could read, not write) in 1954, and 43 per cent. among the mothers of the men of the 1930s. This time, however, there were greater differences between the three countries. The most educated parents were those of Tanganyika students, close on 90 per cent. of whose fathers and over 70 per cent. of whose mothers were literate. Among Uganda students the rates were 86 per cent. of fathers and 60 per cent. of mothers. But if Uganda women students are taken separately their rates are the highest of all; among 18 Uganda women none reported an illiterate father and only two, illiterate mothers. Among Kenya students the rates were lower; 75 per cent. of fathers and 49 per cent. of mothers.

We do not know, unfortunately, what the general literacy rates are in the East African countries, so no direct comparisons are possible. However, the 1959 census of Uganda gave some figures about school attendance; it showed that in the country as a whole, 42.7 per cent. of the men aged 16–45 had been to school, and 16.5 per cent. of the women. (The rates differed in the different provinces, Buganda being of course highest with 53.2 per cent. of the men and 36.3 per cent. of the women².) To have been at school is not the same thing as to be literate; some who went to school only for a short time might have forgotten, while others who did not go to school might have learned to read and write as adults. Another reservation is that men and women aged 16–45 would include young people just left school or still there, while among the potential parents of Makerere students, the older people, the literacy rates would possibly be lower. We may be fairly sure, then, that the literacy rates among middle-aged Uganda people were not more than 40 per cent. of the men and 15 per cent. of the women in 1959. Comparing these figures with the 86 per cent. of Uganda students' fathers and 60 per cent. of their mothers who were literate at that time, we can see very clearly that Makerere students from Uganda were not a representative sample of the young people of that country, but were drawn more than proportionately from the educated sector of the population. There are no comparable figures for Kenya or Tanganyika, but we may be sure that things were not very different there; general literacy rates would, indeed, probably be lower than in Uganda and the contrast be greater.

Kinsmen's Education

The follow-up of former students, and the 1954 parents' literacy inquiry, pointed to a need for more detailed study. Literacy or illiteracy clearly was not enough, and we needed to know in more detail the educational level attained. Also, the writer had an idea that parents' literacy by itself was not the whole story; that the educational level of other relatives too might be of significance. Accordingly, a bigger survey was planned and carried out in 1958 and 1959, in which 160 students gave full information about the education, and also the occupations, of their near kin. Of these 160, there were two pairs of siblings³, so they had between them 158 pairs of parents; and there was a pair of first cousins (to use the English kinship term) so they had between them 315 pairs of grandparents. They also gave information about 1,252 relatives in the parental generation besides their parents—parents' siblings (in English, uncles and aunts), and fathers' other wives—and about 762 of their own brothers and sisters, and 243 half-siblings. For the purpose of this survey, they were classified as follows:—

- O — no education; illiterate.
- L — no schooling but literate, for example as a result of baptismal teaching or mass literacy campaigns.
(One student said 'I taught my mother to read'.)
- P — some primary education, i.e. under the old system from one to six years' schooling.

S — some secondary education, i.e. more than six years' schooling. Relevant post-primary professional training such as that of nurses or primary teachers was included.

H — some higher education, i.e. beyond school certificate level.

As will be seen, these categories cut across the modern way of organizing schools. They were chosen partly to fit the old divisions of primary and secondary that used to prevail when most of the people in question, parents and older relatives of Makerere students, were at school; and partly so that we could compare results with those of Jahoda⁴ in a survey of Ghana students in 1953. Jahoda had used four categories: 'No Education: Elementary School: Secondary School: University'. He states that 'the standard of literacy was purposely kept very low, so that anybody who had attended school at all, for however short a period, was reckoned literate'; but he appears to have overlooked that some people learn to read and write as adults.

Table 3
Grandparents' Education

		<i>Grandfathers:</i>					
		O	L	P	S	H	
<i>Grandmothers:</i>	O	263	10	7	1	—	281
	L	4	19	3	1	—	27
	P	—	2	3	1	—	6
	S	1	—	—	—	—	1
	H	—	—	—	—	—	—
		268	31	13	3	—	315

The proportion of literate grandfathers proved to be lower than that in Ghana, 15 per cent. compared with 30 per cent.; the proportion of literate grandmothers was the same, 11 per cent. There were differences between the East African countries themselves, however; 25 per cent. of the Uganda students' grandfathers were literate, the proportion among Uganda women students' grandfathers being 33 per cent., while in Tanganyika it was 17 per cent. and in Kenya only 5 per cent. These figures reflect the earlier start of education in Uganda, compared with the lack of schools in Kenya before the first world war, as narrated in chapter I. The position in Tanganyika was between the two; though education did not become widespread till later, a few families had a tradition of education going back to German times.

The literacy rate among students' parents seemed to be higher at Makerere than in Ghana; only 16 per cent. of this sample had both parents illiterate, compared with 25 per cent. in Ghana. It is possible, however, that the 'literate, no schooling' category introduced here may partly account for this difference.

Table 4
Parents' Education

		<i>Fathers:</i>					
		O	L	P	S	H	
<i>Mothers:</i>	O	26	16	21	3	—	66
	L	1	6	15	5	—	27
	P	2	7	25	22	1	57
	S	—	—	—	6	2	8
	H	—	—	—	—	—	—
		29	29	61	36	3	158

Table 5
Various Measures of Literacy

A. Score out of six possible literate ancestors.
(2 parents and 4 grandparents)

Score	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	Total
<i>Makerere</i>								
Number	26	37	58	16	10	4	7	158
Per cent.	16.5	23.4	36.7	10.1	6.3	2.5	4.4	
<i>Ghana</i>								
Number	59	61	43	29	23	10	13	238
Per cent.	24.8	25.6	18.1	12.2	9.7	4.2	5.4	

B. Changes in Literacy Rate and Sex Ratio.

	<i>Makerere</i>		<i>Ghana</i>	
	Grandparents	Parents	Grandparents	Parents
Men	14.9%	81.6%	30.5%	73.9%
Women	10.8%	58.2%	10.9%	34.0%
Men: Women	1.38:1	1.40:1	2.79:1	2.17:1

C. Relative levels of education of marriage partners. Men's educational level in relation to that of their wives:

	<i>Makerere</i>			<i>Ghana</i>		
	Lower	Same	Higher	Lower	Same	Higher
Grandfathers	2%	91%	7%	1%	76%	23%
Fathers	6%	40%	54%	3%	40%	57%

In contrast to Ghana, those few of the students' grandfathers who were literate mostly seem to have been able to find literate wives, while more of the literate fathers too found literate wives. With that difference, a rather similar process seems to have been gone through in the two areas. Two generations ago there were very few educated people at all, so that although those few were disproportionately represented among the grandparents of present-day Makerere students, among most of the students' grandparents there was what Jahoda calls 'illiterate equality'. In the next generation, the education of boys went ahead much faster than that of girls, so that the gap in education between the students' fathers and their mothers widened. In the present generation, however, as girls' education catches up the educational gap between husbands and wives may well narrow again; the 1958-59 survey, indeed, gives reason for thinking so, as will shortly appear.

Table 6
Education attained by younger siblings excluding infants

	<i>Younger Brothers</i>		<i>Younger Sisters</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
O	14	5.6	20	8.4
L	—	—	3	1.3
P	135	54.2	150	63.3
S	98	39.4	63	26.6
H	2	0.8	1	0.4
Total	249		237	

Turning now to the brothers and sisters of students; table 6 can roughly be compared with Jahoda's table XV and shows no very obvious difference between the education of the siblings of Makerere and Ghana students.

The contrast with the East African population at large, however, is dramatic. Ninety per cent. of the younger sisters of that sample of Makerere students went to school!—in the population at large no more than a third (Uganda, Tanganyika) or a half (Kenya) did so. More than a quarter of them had already gone beyond six years of primary schooling!—as was seen in chapter I (tables 1 and 2), only about 2 per cent. of all African girls went as far as secondary school. Nearly 40 per cent. of their brothers had already gone beyond six years at school, compared with no more than 10 per cent. of all boys. And the parents of Makerere students evidently gave their daughters almost as much education as their sons, which was emphatically not the practice of most Africans. These are, evidently, the ‘education-minded families’ we spoke of earlier.

Having compared the results of the 1958–59 Makerere survey with those of Jahoda, we may go on to give the figures for the wider range of kin.

Table 7

Education attained by parents, and by other relatives in the parental generation

	<i>Parents</i>		<i>Other Relatives</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
O	95	30.1	591	47.2
L	56	17.7	164	13.1
P	118	37.3	373	29.8
S	44	13.9	118	9.4
H	3	0.9	6	0.5
Total	316		1,252	

Note: The standard error of the difference between the two illiteracy rates is 3 per cent. The observed difference of 17.1 per cent. is accordingly statistically significant.

It will be seen from table 7 that the parents of the sample tended to be the more educated members of their generation, while the students’ uncles, aunts, and step-mothers too, seemed to be rather more educated than the population generally.

Thirty-three per cent. of the sample stated that their fathers had more than one living wife. Too great reliance should not be put on this figure; there may have been some reticence about fathers’ polygamy, and the true proportion may be even higher—though the fact that as many as a third had no reluctance in saying so does show that the reticence was neither

Table 8*Education attained by siblings and half-siblings excluding infants*

	<i>Full Siblings</i>		<i>Half Siblings</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
O	66	8.7	51	21.0	117	11.6
L	14	1.8	12	4.9	26	2.6
P	380	49.9	131	53.9	511	50.8
S	281	36.9	44	18.1	325	32.3
H	21	2.8	5	2.1	26	2.6
Total	762		243		1,005	

strong nor universal. In addition, there were naturally students whose fathers had had more than one wife in succession, and who accordingly also had half-brothers and half-sisters. Table 8 shows that the students' half-siblings fare appreciably worse than their full siblings for education, though still considerably better than the population as a whole. It may be that the children of one wife are favoured, or, especially in a polygamous household, that one wife is more education-minded than the others, or that her relatives are.

Table 9

	<i>Per cent</i>				
	O	L	P	S	H
Grandparents (630)	87.1	9.2	3.0	0.6	—
Parents (316)	30.1	17.7	37.3	13.9	0.9
Other relatives in the parental generation (1,252)	47.2	13.1	29.8	9.4	0.5
Students' generation (1,165)	10.0	2.2	43.9	27.9	16.0

We may now look at the figures in another way, in table 9 which shows the educational development of three generations—the students' grandparents; their parents; other relatives in the parental generation; and the students' own generation. (Since the students are all undergoing higher education, of course, they all come into category H.) This and the other tables together

seem to show two things. One obviously is educational progress, from the 87 per cent. of illiterate grandparents to the students' own generation with only 10 per cent. illiterate and 16 per cent. undergoing higher education. Secondly, we seem to see 'education-mindedness' (as we have termed it) spreading outwards from the student and his own nuclear family. His parents and full siblings tend to be very much more educated than the general population; his uncles, aunts, and stepmothers, and his half-siblings, tend to be rather more so.

Table 10

Distribution of students by educational range of relatives in first parental generation

		<i>Most educated relative:</i>					
		O	L	P	S	H	
Least educated relative:	O	9	13	59	49	4	134
	L		—	3	10	—	13
	P			2	9	2	13
	S				—	—	—
	H					—	—
		9	13	64	68	6	160

Finally, a different analysis of the information brings out the wide range of education that exists among the near kin of this sample of students. Table 10 shows how almost all of them had at least one near relative who was illiterate or barely literate, while just over half have no near relative with more than primary education. On the other hand, however, nearly half the sample did have at least one secondary-educated relative. As was seen above, about one in four of the sample had a secondary-educated father; it follows, therefore, that if a student has a secondary-educated relative at all it was almost as likely to be some other relative as the father. The importance of such relatives in encouraging students and furthering their education is seen in the next chapter.

Kinsmen's Occupations

The old students' follow-up seemed to show that Makerere was in the past filled from a relatively narrow privileged class of chiefs and other wealthy and educated people. Twenty of the 44 men about whom reasonably full information was obtained were descended from chiefs, 12 from the new African middle class (if we may call it that) of teachers, clergymen, etc., while only 2 were the sons of wage-earners and 10 of peasants.

Table 11
Fathers' occupations

	<i>Makerere</i>		<i>Ghana</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
I. Farmers and Fishermen	74	46.8	66	27.2
II. Artisans and other Manual	18	11.4	21	8.6
III. Clerical and Allied	5	3.2	30	12.3
IV. Higher Commercial	—	—	12	4.9
V. Lower Commercial	12	7.6	34	14.0
VI. Higher Professional	17	10.8	23	9.5
VII. Lower Professional	28	17.7	34	14.0
VIII. Miscellaneous and un- classifiable	4	2.5	23	9.5
	158	100.0	243	100.0

Table 11 shows the occupations of the 158 fathers of the sample of 160 students in 1958–59, arranged so as to be compared with Jahoda's figures for the fathers of Ghana students. Two main contrasts appear with Ghana—a larger proportion of farmers and fishermen, and a smaller proportion of commercial occupations. None of the Makerere students' fathers, indeed, measured up to Jahoda's 'Higher Commercial' (owners or managers of substantial businesses), though one or two of their uncles came into that category. This is what we might expect, for as we have seen the East African countries lack a substantial African business class.

A different classification, however, was thought necessary, arranging occupations in some sort of a status scale, however rough it might be; and one was drawn up as follows:

- A. Subsistence peasant cultivators, fishermen and cattlekeepers with little or no cash income from the land. Unskilled manual workers. Domestic servants.
- B. Peasant farmers selling a substantial amount of produce as well as subsistence, possibly employing labour as well as family help. Skilled and semi-skilled manual workers including self-employed artisans and craftsmen. Petty traders, small shopkeepers. Clerical workers with little or no responsibility or authority. Police constables and N.C.O.s., prison warders. Lower chiefs (part-time).
- C. Large farmers with a substantial acreage devoted mainly to cash crops and worked mainly by paid labourers, earning a substantial cash income (say £500 a year or more). Lower professional; teachers below secondary headmaster, Government officials such as health assistants,

jailers, police officers. Owners or managers of substantial businesses. Full-time salaried chiefs in the middle ranks such as sub-county, sub-location.

D. Higher professional and administrative; doctors, ordained clergy, secondary headmasters, officers of the Government service, management of the largest businesses (such as the great oil companies). Chiefs of the highest ranks, e.g. county, location, ministers, regents.

The main difficulty was that of classifying relatives put down as 'farmer', 'peasant' or 'cultivator'. By checking back on students' answers, this was cleared up in the case of most of their fathers, but a little doubt remains about some other relatives.

Table 12

Fathers' occupational status

	No.	%
A	42	26.6
B	61	38.6
C	37	23.4
D	15	9.5
Unclassified	3	1.9

As in Ghana, it would seem that the proportion of students with fathers of high status—33 per cent. in categories C and D—was far higher among this sample than in the African population generally. As before, Uganda women scored highest; otherwise there was no great difference between students from the different countries.

In marked contrast with Ghana, only a minority of the Makerere students' mothers had independent occupations apart from the traditional tasks—cooking and digging—of married women. Of the 30 out of 158 who had, 17 were teachers before their marriage, though few had continued to teach after it; three were nurses, midwives, or health visitors, two were traders, one an industrial worker, four were farmers (three of these, however, were widows keeping the family land in cultivation), two were herbalists and one combined beer-selling with magic.

Information was given about the occupations of 582 parents' brothers, and of 363 parents' sisters' husbands. This is summarized in table 13. Just as it appeared that the parents of the sample were the more highly educated of their generation, so it seems that the students' uncles are engaged in occupations ranking lower than their fathers in the scale of occupational status. The distribution among parents' sisters' husbands, indeed, may not be so very different from that in the African population as a whole.

Teaching again predominated among the few parents' sisters who were reported as having, or having had, an independent occupation apart from traditional women's tasks. Forty-two were so reported; 17 teachers,

Table 13
Occupational status of relatives in the parental generation

	<i>Parents' Brothers</i>		<i>Parents' Sisters' Husbands</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%
A	253	43.5	218	60.1
B	241	41.4	99	27.3
C	74	12.7	32	8.8
D	8	1.4	4	1.1
Farmers not otherwise stated	6	1.0	10	2.8
	582		363	

five traders and two shop assistants, five farmers (including one independent lady with forty-three acres of her own), two social workers, two nuns, two nurses, a cook and an industrial worker, two potters and a 'native drug-gist', one who 'worked in a dispensary', and one former prostitute.

Turning to the students' own generation, it should be remembered that comparatively few of the students' brothers had left school and started work, so there is not much information. Moreover, the figures related more to those who left school early and accordingly started in work of lower status. Those who were still at school and staying at school longer would get better jobs in the end, but were not included in the figures; so that table 14 tends to give a slightly false impression of the average social status of students' brothers, putting it lower than it probably would be eventually.

Table 14 seems to show a tendency for the students' brothers to do better than their half-brothers—that is, to enter occupations carrying higher social status; and for their sisters to marry better than their half-sisters. Great reliance should not be placed on these conclusions, though they agree with the information about education which has already been given. What is more important, and also beyond doubt, is that a substantial number of the brothers as well as the half-brothers and brothers-in-law of the students in the sample are engaged in the humblest occupations.

Thirty-seven of the students' own sisters were reported to be teachers, 19 nurses, midwives, or health visitors, and 8 in other occupations—2 tailors and a dressmaker, 2 clerks, a saleswoman, a mat-maker and a nun. Among their half-sisters were 11 teachers, a nurse, a social worker and a nun. Bearing in mind the large number of sisters and half-sisters still at school, it seems likely that a larger proportion of the women of this

Table 14

Occupational status of relatives in the sibling generation

	<i>Brothers</i>		<i>Sisters' husbands</i>		<i>Half-Brothers</i>		<i>Half-sisters' husbands</i>	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
A	24	14.0	29	32.2	25	47.2	14	42.4
B	83	48.5	35	38.9	19	35.8	13	39.4
C	55	32.2	19	21.1	7	13.2	6	18.2
D	8	4.7	4	4.4	2	3.8	—	—
Farmers	1	0.6	3	3.3	—	—	—	—
n.o.s.								
Total	171		90		53		33	

generation may have an independent career, mostly in teaching; 64 of the students' sisters had already entered an occupation where only 30 of their mothers did so, and the proportion of their aunts in independent occupations was much smaller.

Students' Kinship

One of the observations made about the sample of 55 old students who had left the College together one year in the 1930s was that two of them were brothers and that four more had brothers who went to Makerere in other years. Clearly, if large numbers of students are related to one another, this will strengthen the impression that students are drawn from a limited number of families, however that term may be defined.

For the benefit of readers unfamiliar with Africa, it should be remarked that when Makerere students are related to one another, even as siblings, this fact may not be as obvious as it would be in an English or American university, because most East Africans do not have surnames. Generally speaking—though there are exceptions—modern young men and women are known by an African personal name preceded by one or more Christian names; and the personal name is not inherited from the father, but is personally given or acquired either at birth or at some later stage in life such as initiation. Traditionally, in fact, among most tribes one could be sure that if two men had the same name they were *not* closely related, and that a man would certainly have a different personal name from his father and his brothers. In modern times, one cannot be sure even of that, however, because some élite families have begun to use the father's name as a kind of surname, and women of these families especially, bear their father's name despite tradition. Thus, to take an actual family: Ignatius Manyolo,

who attended the College from 1925 to 1927, had four children who went there, named Charles Sekintu, John Kisaka, Peter Sebuwufu, and Betty Manyolo. Moreover, Makerere students very frequently change their names. The practice, indeed, at one time became so common as to be seriously confusing to the College authorities, who now insist on the legal formality of deed poll if a student wishes to be known by a name different from that entered upon his Cambridge School Certificate. Sometimes these changes were made according to custom, as when a Ganda man takes the name Ssalongo on becoming the father of twins; more often they seemed to be a matter of pure whim.

As has been mentioned, the sample of 160 students contained within itself two pairs of siblings and one pair of first cousins, while members of the sample also had relatives at the College at the time who were not included in the sample. Altogether, just one-third—54—of them stated that they had relatives who were or had been at Makerere. (Students interpreted the word 'relative' variously in answering that question; a few named distant clan relatives, but not many went beyond the degree of second cousin, i.e. a person with a common great-grandparent.) There was not much difference in this respect between Kenya and Tanganyika students and Uganda men, but nearly all the Uganda women had some relatives at the College, and most had several. The phrase 'the well-connected young ladies of Mary Stuart' (the women's hall of residence) is not a merely jocular one.

Makerere Students and their Family Backgrounds

What, then, can we say in general about the family and kinship backgrounds of Makerere students? Clearly there is no such person as a 'typical' student in this respect or any other; the students in the sample were drawn from a wide range of social origins, from the very humble to the sophisticated.

At one extreme, a small number—nine out of the 160—had no literate older relatives at all. Their parents were subsistence peasants or unskilled manual workers—one, for example, was the son of a gardener—and so were all their uncles and aunts. Just one out of the 160 had not even any literate brothers or sisters, though all the rest had at least some siblings at school. For such a person, the contrast between home and college will, needless to say, be extreme. From a life of study and intellectual stimulus in the English language and in material conditions which bear comparison with those of students anywhere, he goes home to a world of simple huts where few people are fully clothed or shod, material standards and hygiene are low, books non-existent.

Next come a larger group whose family background might be called 'low mixed'. A student in this group would have at least one or two uncles who were literate, even if his father was not, and most of his brothers and sisters would be going to school. Perhaps his father or some other relatives work at a skilled trade like carpentry, or they may be growing a cash crop such as coffee which brings in money to pay for school fees and buy things

like a corrugated metal roof, a bicycle, paraffin, tea, bread. Thus the father of M, a fairly typical student in this group, had worked on Europeans' farms in Kenya, learned to read and write as an adult, and was a church elder. M's father had one literate brother, a former headman's clerk, now a tax collector, and two other brothers both illiterate peasants. M's mother was literate. Her sister and one brother had no schooling, but another brother went to secondary school and training college and became headmaster of an intermediate school. M's elder brother had primary schooling and was a carpenter; his younger brothers and sisters were all at school.

Thirdly come a group who may be called 'high mixed' in which several of the student's relatives may be highly educated professional people, along with humbler and less literate men and women. To take a reasonably typical example; K's father had been a teacher, retired, was farming and evangelizing. Of K's six paternal uncles, three had primary and three secondary education; one had taught for a time before becoming a magistrate in an African Court, another was still teaching, a third was a journalist; the others were a carpenter, a mason, and a farmer. K's father had two sisters, one of whom was the mother of L, who was a student at Makerere with K. K's mother had died; his maternal uncles and aunts had all been to school and were farming or engaged in skilled manual occupations.

Finally, a few students, especially of the Ganda tribe, came from families most of whom had been to school and few of whom were subsistence peasant cultivators or unskilled manual workers. Even with pseudonyms, it would be difficult to give details of such families without betraying confidences, and we must be content with some general remarks about this small but interesting group. Though a tendency for some Makerere students to be clustered together in a few 'notable families' is apparent, yet they remain somewhat mixed—in terms, that is, of education and occupation—in a way which is very different from Western countries, where close relatives usually have much the same social class status. Thus the brother of a leading professional man may be a comparatively lowly-paid clerk. The high-status occupations are to a large extent those concerned with education itself—there are a large number of school teachers, educational administrators, and university teachers. A second important avenue for African advance in these families comprises the technical and scientific professions in government service—agricultural and veterinary officers, medical men, and scientists in government research laboratories. Thirdly, the strong link between education and Christian missionary activity is shown here in strong connections between all these 'notable families' and the church; many of them are in fact descended from clergymen, like the three distinguished Omari brothers, while the daughters of these families marry clergymen, the teachers teach in mission schools, the nurses train in mission hospitals; the older members are active in evangelism, serve on church councils, and so forth.

At one extreme, then, we have a fairly small number of students whose relatives are all illiterate peasants or unskilled manual workers; while

at the other, there was just one of the 160 all of whose brothers and sisters were either still at school or had already gone into professional or managerial posts, or nursing. The two extremes are rather rare, however, and in between we have the groups we have called 'low mixed' and 'high mixed' accounting for the majority of Makerere students, at any rate in the sample about whom information was obtained.

Some Comparisons and Conclusions

In describing the social origins of this particular African élite, we have been stressing two points which may at first sight seem contradictory. On the one hand we have emphasized that Makerere students are not a representative body of young East African men and women, but are drawn more than proportionately from the more highly educated minority of the population, and include among their relatives many people whose occupations carry social prestige. On the other, however, we have stressed how closely linked they are by kinship to the world of illiterate peasants and unskilled manual workers, and how virtually all of them have at least some relatives who can neither read nor write.

But the contradiction is more apparent than real. In the first place, the standards which we are applying in making the two comparisons are different. In the first case we are comparing Makerere students and their kinsfolk with the East African population—that is, with the people of a developing area, until recently poor and educationally backward. But when we speak of the humble origins of these students we have in mind their fellow-students in western countries with a longer history of educational and economic development. Thus a single fact, or set of facts, may be seen in two lights. If we find that over 80 per cent. of Makerere students' fathers and over 50 per cent. of their mothers can read and write, this has to be compared on the one hand with the proportions among East African adults who can do so, which we thought might be about 40 per cent. and 15 per cent. in Uganda, even less in Kenya and Tanganyika. But on the other hand, if more than 10 per cent. of their fathers and more than 40 per cent. of their mothers are illiterate, this makes a very sharp contrast with (say) British or American university students.

In a widely ranging international survey of students' social origins, Anderson⁵ distinguished between the 'actual social profile' of a given student body—for example, 10 per cent. are the children of farmers, 20 per cent. of town business men, etc.—and the 'selectivity' which would be shown if, for example, professional families made up 5 per cent. of a certain population but furnished 20 per cent. of the students. He gives figures for over 20 countries; with the solitary exception of American Negroes, 'in all countries the majority of students come from non-manual (non-farm, non-labor) families, who of course are a distinct minority of the population'. In all countries, the children of professional men are the most heavily over-represented group, but most of all so in those countries where few of each age group go through college.

Comparisons with British university students may be made from a study

by Glass and Kelsall⁶ of applicants for admission to United Kingdom universities in October, 1955; here too 'selectivity' was marked. Though about three-quarters of the men in Britain are manual workers, the proportion of students whose fathers were in that category varied from 40 per cent. at the University of Wales down to 9 per cent. at Cambridge, and only 5 per cent. among Cambridge women. At the other end of the scale, 62.8 per cent. of the men admitted had fathers in the top two social classes of the Registrar-General's classification, who make up only 18.4 per cent. of the adult male population. Selectivity was even more marked among women than men; 19 per cent. of the women students compared with 27 per cent. of the men were the children of manual workers.

A limitation of many such studies is that the father's occupation is usually taken as the single index of a student's social origins. Sometimes this is unavoidable, especially when a university's own records are being analysed; universities usually record each student's father's occupation but naturally enough do not conduct a comprehensive inquiry into his kinship relations. And in western countries it may not be very serious, because, as we have mentioned, the social class status of near relatives is not usually very different, though the value of looking at the wider kinship relations, especially in a developing country, will perhaps have become apparent here. A study by West⁷ of American college graduates in 1947 included information about their mothers as well as their fathers, and is of some interest therefore from this point of view. West states:

'Although college graduates accounted for only about five per cent. of the total adult population even at the time of this study, over a third of the graduates in the present sample have at least one parent who attended college.

	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Total</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Both parents went to college	11	16	13
Father did, mother not	15	18	16
Mother did, father not	6	10	8
Neither parent went to college	68	56	63
Total	5,222	3,748	8,970

'It is significant that this proportion is larger among the women graduates—44 per cent., to 32 per cent. for the men. Apparently the economic criteria which select the young people who will be educated are more effective for women; and the educational disadvantage of a poor family is even greater for them.'

She adds as further evidence for this suggestion that '83 per cent. of the men and 55 per cent. of the women had some sort of a job during their college careers', indicating again that more of the women came from economically privileged families and did not have to 'work their way through college'. Here again we have similarities with East Africa in the disproportionate selection of university students with the more educated parents, and especially

so in the case of women students. Here again, too, there is the contrast which appears from a direct comparison. Over one-third of American graduates had at least one parent who had been to college; and the fathers of 29 per cent. had been to college, compared with 2 per cent. of East African students with a higher-educated father. None of the Makerere students sampled had a higher-educated mother, where 21 per cent. of the American graduates' mothers had been to college.

But one important final point remains to be made about the apparent paradox, that Makerere students' social origins are sophisticated compared with those of East Africa generally, yet humble compared with students elsewhere. We have seen what large families they belong to, and how mixed those families mostly are—mixed, that is, in the sense of including people of a wide range of educational attainment and occupational status. So it is not really a contradiction at all, but a simple statement of fact, to say that their near kin include *both* many unschooled peasants *and* more than their share of educated people of high social status. This is a simple enough conclusion, yet one of great importance in pointing up the contrast between the social class system of western countries and the position of the élite in African societies. As we have seen, the fathers of our sample of Makerere students commonly had two wives and more than a dozen children, and there can be few African fathers who could afford to put so many children through secondary school and launch them all into high-status careers; the wonder, indeed, is that they do so much for so many, leaving only 10 per cent. of their children illiterate and putting a substantial proportion of their girls as well as their boys through secondary school. And if this is true of the students of the late 'fifties, how much more true must it have been of the previous generation! We therefore find the widest possible diversity among the uncles of those students, some having been favoured with much schooling and gone far ahead of their brothers and sisters.

It may be that eventually a social class system will grow up in African countries like that in the west, with small families sharing a similar educational experience and entering occupations of similar status, movement up or down from one's parents' class (inter-generational mobility) being comparatively limited. It has not happened yet, and meanwhile we should beware of using words like 'class' and 'family' indiscriminately in African societies as though they had the same meaning there as in America or Britain. However one defines the term, African families are certainly not small, and the family is not the unit of social class in the same way as it is in the West, so that it is sometimes better to speak of an élite (of individuals) rather than a class (of families)⁸. It may be that what we have termed 'notable families'—kinship groups with a considerable cluster of highly-educated men and women—give an indication of the way in which an educated class is tending to separate itself out. Meanwhile, however, despite 'selectivity', the level of literacy and of familiarity with a culture other than tribal in the family backgrounds of the great majority of Makerere African students is so low as to pose major problems of adjustment for them. This is the theme of the next chapter.

III

Educational Experience and some Problems of Adjustment

Becoming an educated African obviously involves undergoing an educational process in school and college. Having examined some aspects of the tribal and family origins of Makerere students, the next question to be considered is their experience of being educated, and the motivations which carry them through that process. The evidence on which this chapter is based is mainly that of the 1958 student survey, when responses were received from 115 African and 17 non-African students. On this occasion the non-African data has been retained in the analysis, for it affords interesting comparisons with that received from the Africans. Without going into great detail, it may be briefly stated that most of the non-Africans in the sample were Indians and Goans with an urban middle-class family background.

Schooling

As might be expected from the educational systems described in chapter I, the commonest experience among the African members of the sample was to go to three schools before Makerere; a primary, a secondary, and one in between—junior secondary, intermediate, etc. A number of Uganda women went to only one school such as Gayaza or Nabumali, where a boarding primary and full secondary school are found on the same site, while an appreciable number of men, especially in Tanganyika, went to four or more schools. The non-Africans by contrast had fewer changes of school; five went to one and seven to two out of the 17 in the sample.

A question was asked about the daily walking distance between school and home, and the replies are analysed in table 1. It was not the universal experience to have to walk long distances to school, but a substantial number of African students—43 out of 115—began as small children by walking two miles or more to primary school and two miles back in the evening; while the majority, 66 out of 115, had to walk two or more miles daily there and back at some time during their early school life to primary or intermediate (or equivalent) school, and a substantial number had even longer daily walks to school—26 four miles or more, and 15 five or more, implying a daily distance walked of at least ten miles.

Table 1*Distance of daily journey between school and home***A. First primary school attended*

	Nil (Boarding, educated at home)	Less than one	Miles			
			1-	2-	3-	
Africans:						
Uganda women	10	11	1	1	1	
Uganda men	4	10	3	5	6	
Kenya	—	8	8	6	6	
Tanganyika	1	10	6	11	7	
Total Africans	15	39	18	23	20	
Non-Africans	1	10	3	2	—	(1 not stated)

B. Greatest distance of daily journey from any school attended

	Nil (Boarding, educated at home)	Less than one	Miles					
			1-	2-	3-	4-	5-	
Africans:								
Uganda women	10	8	2	3	1	—	—	
Uganda men	—	5	1	6	5	4	7	
Kenya	—	5	7	4	3	3	6	
Tanganyika	—	7	4	14	4	4	2	
Total Africans	10	25	14	27	13	11	15	
Non-Africans	1	6	4	3	1	—	(1)	(1 not stated)

*Note: Home implies place of residence while attending school. Distance is that from home to school; daily walk was twice as long.

Thus in terms of the sheer physical effort of getting to school, becoming educated is liable to be an arduous process for an African, involving long walks by bush paths in the African heat, often with little or no breakfast and usually with no midday meal. By contrast, only one of the non-Africans had to walk more than three miles each way at any stage in his schooling—the one who had a longer journey (table 1B) did it by public transport. The experience of the Uganda women students was more

fortunate than that of other Africans; 10 out of 24 were either educated throughout at boarding schools, or in one case went on to a boarding school after primary education by a family governess at home. Only one had as much as three miles to walk each way to primary school, and none had the really long walks to undertake at any stage.

The later stages of African education are almost without exception conducted in boarding schools, and all the African students in the sample came to Makerere from a boarding school, where only two non-Africans did so. Remembering from chapter I the close relation between mission activity and educational development, and the missionary nature of most African secondary schools, it was not surprising to find a close relation between professed religion and secondary school attended, as is seen in table 2.

Table 2

Students by religion professed	Affiliation of secondary school attended:		
	Roman Catholic mission	Protestant mission	Government
Roman Catholics	31	—	2
Protestants	1	52	26
Muslim	—	—	1
Undecided	—	1	1

Problems of Adjustment at School and College

Questions were asked about any difficulties that the students remembered experiencing in settling down at primary school, post-primary school, and college.

Many African primary schools are poor, both materially and otherwise. The teachers are often ill-trained, their professional standards are often low, and their prominence in local affairs makes for competing demands on their energies, so that for all these reasons the teaching in primary schools is often, to put it mildly, perfunctory. However, the very poverty of these schools, together with the use of the vernacular as the medium of instruction (or Swahili in Tanganyika), the fact that virtually all primary teachers are Africans, and the participation by many of these teachers in local affairs, combine to make the primary school in modern East Africa as it were a quasi-indigenous institution. (To give an entirely typical instance; one primary school was closed for a week in term time while teachers and children alike participated in an important tribal dance¹.)

In contrast, experience at the secondary school tends to be that of an actively anti-tribal environment, especially that of senior secondary schools; junior secondary or intermediate schools may be intermediate in this respect. The medium of instruction is supposed to be English (though in the lower classes African teachers in fact often lapse into the vernacular), and there

may be some Europeans on the staff; material standards are generally higher, and therefore less traditionally African, and there is a transition from the mud and wattle of the typical primary school to the brick and concrete of the secondary. Moreover, as has been seen, almost all senior secondary schools are boarding schools, and many of the boys and girls attending them are hundreds of miles away from their tribal areas and the traditional influence of their kinsfolk and age-mates. In most of these schools, too, under missionary guidance the educational process tends to be intensely directed, not only to learning school subjects, but towards the active development of a Christian character and the internalization of Christian values. There is usually a very full time-table, with careful supervision of leisure-time activities; and school staffs often come to know their pupils very well.

After such intense experience of education in adolescence at boarding secondary schools, experience in early adulthood at Makerere tends to afford a further sharp contrast. Material standards are even higher, and especially in recent years even the diet has been adapted to meet the needs also of a substantial number of non-African students. Most of the staff are Europeans, and at the time of the survey classes were very large, though they have since become smaller again with the dropping of the two preliminary years and the direct entry into degree work. More fundamentally, as Stanley² has pointed out, although traditional tribal education and mission schooling were most unlike in content, they shared the common aim of moulding a whole personality into the shape required by particular roles in a social system. At the university, a student passes from the world of the ready-made answer to an anti-dogmatic one in which supreme value is put on free inquiry and the development of the individual personality, especially on the intellectual side, and a student is expected to think for himself.

For all these reasons, then, it may be suggested that going to primary school may make a less severe break with the tribal environment than going to secondary school, while going on to Makerere may be an experience even more 'foreign', certainly more bewildering and liable to cause problems of adjustment.

The answers to the survey questions on adjustment, as seen in table 3, seem to bear this out. At the one extreme, out of the 114 African students who answered these questions, 19 experienced no difficulty at any stage; at the other, 31 experienced difficulty at all three stages. In between, however, there was a marked tendency for the difficulties to be progressive. Thus among those who experienced difficulty at only one of the three stages, 2 did so at primary school, 6 at secondary school, and 19 at Makerere. Among those who experienced difficulty at two stages, a majority experienced it at secondary school and college. Too much reliance, perhaps, should not be put on these results, for it may be that the difficulties of settling down at secondary school and still more at Makerere were fresher in the memories of the students who responded to the inquiry, and the analysis is presented as suggestive rather than conclusive.

Table 3
Adjustment at three stages—Primary, Post-Primary, and College

	Uganda women	Uganda men	Kenya	Tanga- nyika	Total Africans	Non- Africans
No difficulty at any stage	9	3	3	4	19	9
Difficulty at						
Primary only	—	1	1	—	2	—
Secondary only	—	1	3	2	6	—
College only	6	7	1	5	19	4
Difficulty at						
Pri. and Sec.	2	1	1	1	5	—
Sec. and Coll.	1	7	6	8	22	1
Pri. and Coll.	2	2	2	4	10	1
Difficulty at all three stages	4	6	11	10	31	1
Total:	24	28	28	34	114	16
plus not stated					(1 not stated)	(1 not stated)

The contrast between the African and non-African groups, however, seems clear; only 3 out of 16 non-Africans reported any difficulty at school, and the 7 who experienced adjustment problems at Makerere did so, as will appear, mainly for reasons peculiar to a non-African minority in a predominantly African college. Uganda women reported less, and Kenya students more, than average difficulty, especially at the secondary level; at the primary level, however, there was not much difference.

The nature of the difficulties reported at school was sometimes revealing. At primary schools, the most frequently mentioned troubles were relations with other children, especially bullying (by 15); general strangeness and home sickness (12); and harshness and lack of sympathy by teachers (10) especially corporal punishment (9). At post-primary schools, however, there were hardly any complaints about the teaching, but many about boarding conditions. Some of these, as is usual in such cases, were focused on the food, but many were about general strangeness and home-sickness and another large category came under the general head of discipline, while bullying again headed the list. Language was explicitly mentioned by 14 of the sample, some of whom frankly stated that their English was not up to its use as a medium of instruction—especially if the instructors were native English-speakers! A few typical statements may be quoted:

At primary school:

1. New surroundings—away from home and playmates.
2. Harsh teachers—corporal punishment.

3. Being bullied by older boys.
4. Learning how to read and write.'

At secondary school:

'When I first went to boarding school my difficulty was chiefly homesickness during the first term. I had never before been so far from parents and for so long a time.'

'Inability to speak English which was compulsory. Being bullied by older boys. Poor food. Strict discipline. Occasionally difficulties with studies.'

Coming to Makerere

Asked 'who helped you most to come to Makerere'?, 55 of the Africans mentioned relatives; and the nature of the help received was in almost all cases money and encouragement, in that order. Thirty-four acknowledged the help of teachers; 14 of other persons—missionaries, individual government officers, African notables, and friends already at the College; 26 acknowledged the help of impersonal bodies such as central and local governments, 'the Kenya taxpayer', and so forth; and 15 replied 'Nobody', or did not answer the question. (Some mentioned more than one source of help, so the figures total more than 115.) The substantial number mentioning relatives' help with money and encouragement affords an interesting sidelight on the facts mentioned in the previous chapter; clearly relatives themselves educated might be expected to offer encouragement, while those in higher occupational categories would be better able to provide money.

A general question was asked about motive in entering Makerere rather than the other opportunities open to a School Certificate holder. The replies were in many cases vague and gave an impression that the question was unreal—of course a person who got the chance of higher education would take it.

Some students saw Makerere as the way to material and social rewards—'I wanted to increase my knowledge and so get a better paid job'; while the answers to another question on choice of faculty or course on entry to the College afforded more evidence of this attitude. Science students especially showed a nice balance between academic interest and career possibilities, especially that of entering the most lucrative and highly-esteemed profession of all, medicine. Among arts students, some mentioned teaching as a career prospect influencing choice of faculty—'these (subjects) were the ones I intended to teach'; yet purely academic grounds for choice were not entirely absent, as with one man who had resisted family pressure to become a doctor, and entered the faculty of arts.

Settling Down at Makerere: 'Men of Two Worlds'

The survey included a number of questions about problems of settling down at Makerere; about how students felt on returning home during the vacations; and whether they felt they were losing touch with relatives and friends because their ideas were becoming different. These questions were modelled closely on those of Jahoda's survey in Ghana.

Among the Africans in the sample, 32 reported no difficulty in settling down at the College, 71 some difficulty, and 11 very great difficulty; one did not respond. The non-Africans' responses indicated less difficulty; only 11 out of 16 reported some difficulty, and none had very much. As usual, too, the response of the Uganda women was intermediate between that of non-Africans and of the other Africans; 11 had no difficulty, 11 some, and 2 very much.

By far the most frequently mentioned difficulty was the lecture system, and it seems clear that the need to concentrate for 50 minutes on spoken English while simultaneously making and writing down a précis of what is being said imposes a severe strain on students whose English is, at this stage, often far from fluent. No less than 43 of the sample mentioned this as a difficulty. Other aspects of College life which were mentioned were studying alone, with less guidance than at school (15), and the wider problem of freedom with responsibility for one's actions (9); the apparent indifference and unfriendliness of other students (14), and to a lesser extent of the academic staff (6); and ill-defined feelings of general strangeness (15).

Twenty-two of the sample mentioned personal and family problems, very nearly all being money worries; and these were by far the most frequently mentioned as persisting difficulties after the initial problems of settling down at the College had been overcome. The bursaries which most students received from their African District Councils (or the equivalents) were commonly a source of difficulty through delays in payments and assessment problems. In addition, many students were already in the position of having relatives dependent on them. A few were married, while many more were responsible for other relatives such as widowed mothers or younger sisters.

By contrast with the African majority, the adjustment problems of non-African students were, in a sense, peculiar to them, and were concerned mostly with food and 'getting on with Africans'. None mentioned any difficulty with lectures. African women had as much difficulty with lectures as men, but they reported no personal or financial worries; and they were certainly not neglected by other students!—on the contrary, they were in such great demand, in relation to their small numbers, for activities such as singing, drama, and dancing as to create something of a problem.

Students' experiences on going home in the vacations followed a somewhat similar pattern. No non-African reported any feeling of strangeness, while proportionately fewer Uganda women reported strong or persistent feelings of strangeness than other Africans. Among the 115 Africans in the sample, 65 reported some such feelings, 39 of them saying in effect 'I feel a little strange at first but soon get used to it' while 26 had more serious or persistent feelings of being out of place; 41 said they felt quite at home immediately. Among students who had no difficulty were some whose homes were Westernized and materially well-endowed:

'As my home is in Kampala, and both my father and mother and family are rather educated, I do not find any difficulty at home. I find that life at home is even more interesting than at the College.'

There were also those whose roots were still at home:

'All at home are very happy to see me back. I feel at home among them. Much is the information we exchange. Normally especially at night I am invited to friends and drinking and chatting parties, which I enjoy very much.'

And there were students who assumed a position of leadership—or had it thrust upon them:

'All people welcome me warmly and they treat me with respect. They all expect me to tell something new and give them hope of a better day.'

'People tend to respect me more than necessary. They take me to be rather too high for their society, and often I find myself either keeping quiet or listened to.'

Among the majority who experienced some problems of adjustment at home, the most frequently mentioned difficulty was that of being accepted; 'some people think we (educated people) are too high for them', was a typical remark. What Jahoda calls 'non-specific lack of ease' was mentioned mostly by those whose feeling of strangeness at home was slight or transitory, and those whose sense of strain was stronger were usually able to be specific about it. Feeling different or out of touch, lonely or isolated, together with material differences, accounted for most of the problems of the remainder. Some representative quotations follow:

'Houses look small and untidy and people at home don't speak to me much unless I persuade them to do so.'

'I find difficulty to speak fluently because at College when I speak my language I always push in English words and expressions. I miss electric light.'

'Life seems dull on arrival . . . Everyone that shakes hands with me remarks on my coldness and light skin. After a day or two, I am my usual self (*Ed.*) in their sight—talking almost non-stop and I am comfortable in my mother's hands. Anyway the strangeness is there but recessive.'

'Among members of my family I am very happy and at home . . . BUT amongst the other people I find it difficult to fit in. They are always looking for faults. If I miss a Sunday service once they have great news for a week. If I join them (especially my age-group) and participate in all things, they turn round and blame me for being so "Uneducated"!'

Most of the sample reported difficulty in carrying on their academic work at home during the vacation, though once more women and non-Africans experienced less difficulty than African men. Lack of books and other facilities, lack of privacy or seclusion from the noise and interruptions of the household and children, and social claims—visitors, visiting, work on the land or, especially for women, household chores—account for their problems.

What exactly do we mean by adjustment in this context? Jahoda broadly distinguished those who experienced problems of adjustment from those who did not; perhaps we could improve on this a little by suggesting that there may be four categories:

— those who experience no difficulty either at home or College;

- those who are only really happy at home, and rather ill-at-ease at College, though sticking it for the sake of the material and other rewards of higher education;
- those who are well-adjusted at College but ill-at-ease at home;
- those who experience difficulty both at home and College.

It was possible to put most of the sample into one or other of those four categories, as follows:

Table 4

Adjustment at home:	Adjustment at College:	
	No difficulty	Some difficulty
No difficulty	20	27
Some difficulty	10	51

It might be expected that the first category, those with no difficulty at either end, would include those students whose home environment was least unlike that of the College. A careful comparison of the social background of the students in each of the four categories seemed to show that this was so to a very limited extent, and the differences between the four groups were not statistically significant. Students with secondary- and higher-educated fathers in the top occupational group appeared in all four of the categories in table 4, and it seems that adjustment cannot be simply accounted for in terms of social background. The paragons, indeed, were some men and women of humble origins who seemed to have been able to bring their two worlds into some kind of relation in their own minds, and to respond positively to both. But the biggest number was really at home in neither.

Aspirations

After leaving Makerere, the great majority of the sample hoped to go abroad for further study; of the 115 Africans, 12 did not answer this question, and only 14 disclaimed any hope of going abroad, while 89 hoped to go either immediately on leaving the College or at some later date. (The word 'hope' was used in the question, rather than a more definite expression like 'plan' or 'expect', in order to ascertain a state of mind rather than a condition of the pocket, or the actual grant of a bursary.) Most hoped to go to the United Kingdom, though the United States was also a fairly popular choice; no one mentioned India as a possibility. Most had definite ideas about the course of study which they wanted to follow abroad, and the continuation of studies already begun at Makerere—a degree in education, post-graduate diplomas in medicine, etc.—preponderated over new courses such as law and social administration not available at the College. Fourteen just hoped to go abroad, with no definite idea of what they wanted to study; eight of these were Uganda women.

The last two questions concerned students' occupational aims, and asked, respectively, 'Immediately on leaving Makerere, or on completing

your courses elsewhere, what sort of a job do you hope to get?' and 'What do you aim to be in later life, say 20 years from now'? The wording was as close as possible to that in the Ghana survey, so that the results should be comparable.

Among the African students, 24 did not know, or did not state, what their immediate aims were, and 32 were uncertain about the more distant future. The commonest immediate choice was teaching; 44 expected to teach at first, and to be still teaching, or in educational administration, 20 years hence. Eighteen hoped to become doctors—this implies an obligation to serve in the government medical departments at first; all but one expected to be still practising medicine 20 years hence, six of them in private practice, the rest did not specify. Nine hoped to enter government scientific services like agriculture or the High Commission research organizations. Fourteen chose government services—the administration itself, or departments such as community development. Three wanted to go straight into law, after further training immediately on leaving Makerere; with few exceptions, this exhausts the list. Among the ultimate aims, farming (8), politics (7), law (6) and business (5) figure more prominently than they do among immediate expectations; 7 women hoped to be married, and therefore housewives and mothers, by that time, one of them declaring her aim with some idealism as 'A very good, up-to-date housewife and mother'.

Some of the responses indicated rather modest aims such as that of the man who wrote 'I have no further ambition once I have the teaching profession'; others, like the following, showed a real idealism:

'A writer of text books especially to help the people of Uganda, mainly African businessmen—and mathematics books for school children especially girls (whose ability and interest in maths is poor at present in Uganda).'

Among the majority, however, personal ambition was strongly marked, and there was a tendency to envisage the future in terms of important, well-paid work at or near the top of the chosen profession; in this respect the sample appears closely to resemble the Ghana students quoted by Jahoda. The following typical replies are chosen almost at random:

'(Immediately): Teaching. (Later): An important personage in the Education Department.'

'(Immediately): Government, Public Administration. (Later): Senior Civil Servant.'

'(Immediately): Medical Officer. (Later): I aim to be a middle aged man with a good wife and children, with my own surgery somewhere at home. I also aim to being a Councillor either in Town Council or Native Council or Legislative Council. NOT A POLITICIAN.'

'(Immediately): Teaching. (Later): A proprietor of a commercial college.'

'Teaching (sic.): after Makerere. I am not sure of what achievements I might get in the future. (Later): I am aiming to be an important officer in Tanganyika after it has achieved its independence. If I become



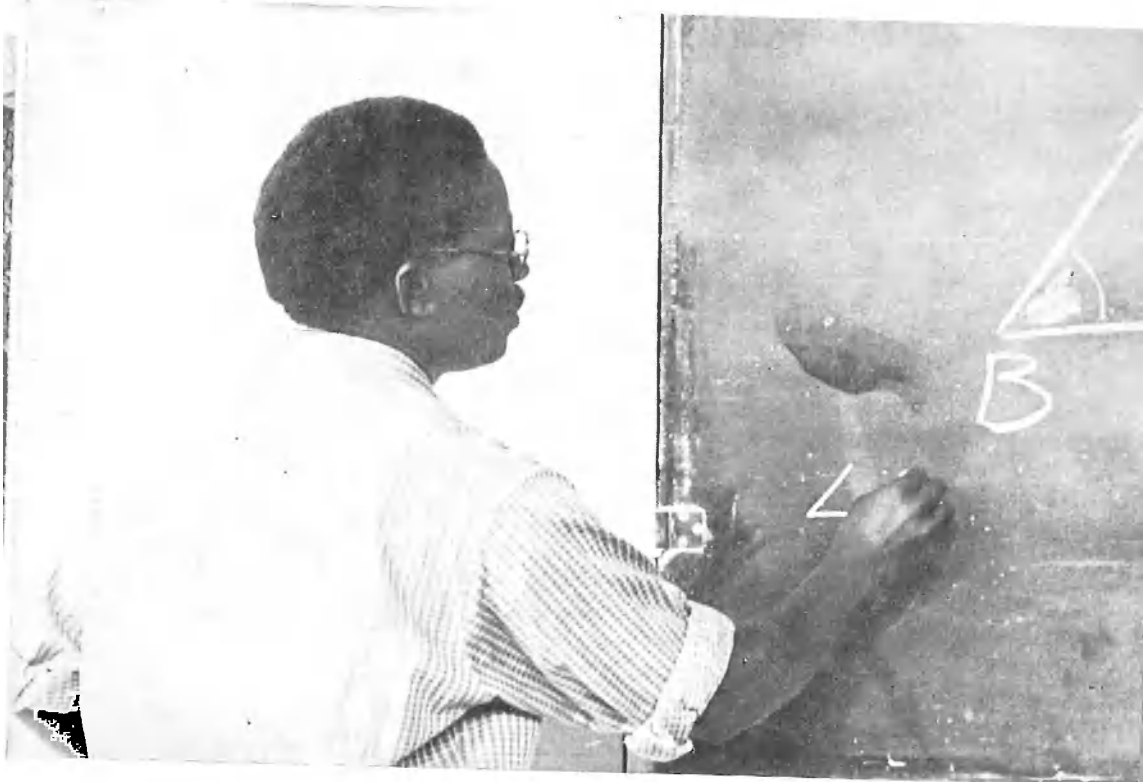
A Primary School





A Secondary School





A teacher; and (below) his house





A medical practitioner examines a patient.

Below: his Nursing Home and 'brass plate'



a lawyer or a judge it will make a good position for me.'

The purely mercenary motive which appears in some replies is far from universal; what seems to predominate over material gain is an ambition to be an 'important personage'—an ambition which, in the present circumstances of the three territories, is obviously not an unreasonable or ill-founded one. Few students, in fact, had much doubt that they would achieve their ambitions; asked to assess their chances of achieving their aims on a four-point scale, 14 put them as very good and 57 as fairly good, 9 as rather poor and 2 as very poor; 33 did not reply. It seems not unreasonable to suggest that we have here the main motivating force which carries Makerere African students through the arduous experiences of the educational process and the difficulties of adjustment which they encounter especially in its later stages.

IV

After College

This chapter attempts to answer the questions—what became of former students of Makerere after leaving the College? Into what careers did they go, and with what material and social rewards? How did they get on in their careers, and what kind of relations did they experience with people of different sorts? In short, what sort of people were they and what kind of lives did they lead?

Those questions have been put in the past tense, because the information which is given here is almost entirely about the late colonial period before ‘the year of Africa’, 1960. To some extent it is past history, yet it is recent enough history to have some relevance to present-day attitudes and situations.

Occupations

The Makerere College Register lists the 1,698 men and women who entered the College up to and including 1953. At the end of 1959, 16 of them were still there, and a further 22 were still studying elsewhere. Thirteen had died at the College, and the occupations of 166 were unknown; most of those—114—had entered the College before 1940, and had to be regarded as ‘lost’; it was believed that many were dead. Of the remaining 1,481 there was at least some information about their subsequent careers; revised as far as possible to the end of 1959, it is given in table 1. There were inevitably borderline cases and anomalies; for example, a lecturer in anatomy at Makerere College itself was counted as a medical practitioner, on the ground that his medical qualifications were indispensable for the appointment; a lecturer in geography, however, was counted as a teacher. The five clergymen shown were parish clergy; two other ordained men who were in full-time salaried employment as teachers were counted in that category. One or two prominent men might almost equally well have been classified in any of several categories, as chiefs, administrators, business men, or farmers. These ambiguities, together with the vagueness of some of the information, mean that the table cannot be relied upon to the last unit. It does, however, give the broad picture.

Table 1
Last Reported Occupation of Former Makerere Students

	Total	Last reported employer:						Un- known
		Government Central	Local	Private	Self	Mission	Other	
Medical practitioners	136	102	7	1	21	1	2	2
Other medical (nursing, dentistry, etc.)	13	10	-	1	1	-	-	1
Agriculture ...	136	107	1	-	28	-	-	-
Veterinary ...	52	49	-	-	-	-	3	-
Engineering, building, surveying...	72	55	6	4	6	-	-	1
Clerical ...	75	49	13	9	-	-	1	3
Administrative ...	89	38	42	-	-	3	5	1
Business management	74	-	-	34	37	-	3	-
Police ...	16	16	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs ...	62	-	62	-	-	-	-	-
Judges ...	9	-	9	-	-	-	-	-
Court clerks, etc. ...	9	1	8	-	-	-	-	-
Lawyers ...	10	2	1	1	5	-	-	1
Social Welfare ...	63	58	1	1	-	-	3	-
Teachers ...	564	217	26	32	6	260	20	3
Postal workers ...	8	8	-	-	-	-	-	-
Skilled manual ...	19	9	2	3	1	-	2	2
Scientific workers ...	30	23	-	2	-	-	5	-
Journalists, etc. ...	19	12	-	3	3	1	-	-
Librarians ...	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	-
Architecture ...	3	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
Priests, clergymen, ministers ...	5	-	-	-	-	5	-	-
Other occupations	14	1	2	6	-	2	3	-
TOTAL ...	1,481	757	180	100	108	272	50	14

Sources: Makerere College Register, revised to the end of 1959 from College Newsletters and other information.

Notes: 'Last reported occupation' means occupation at end of 1959; at death or retirement; on going abroad for further study; given up in favour of that of a married woman.

'Mission' includes all ecclesiastical organizations such as African churches as well as missions in the strict sense.

'Other' employers notably include Makerere University College and its Demonstration School; also the Royal College, Nairobi; co-operative organizations; and others.

Only 43 women are listed in the Register. These represent, of course, only the precursors of the larger numbers who entered the College after 1953; thus in 1959-60 alone there were 68 women students in residence. Twenty-two of the 43 women listed in the Register took the old General course, while a further 11 went into Education. Three took degrees, two at Makerere and one at Oxford, and one became East Africa's first African woman doctor. Twenty-six went into teaching, a higher proportion than among men. The marriages of 23 had been reported at the end of 1959, mostly to former men students of Makerere College; all but 3 were still working.

With the exception of that small, if important, minority, then, the Register consists mainly of men.

By far the biggest occupational group were the 564 teachers, 38 per cent. of those former students whose occupations were known. A few educational administrators were included, but most were classroom workers. The Register lists 627 students whose course at the College had included education or teacher training; 485 of them were last reported as teaching. The occupations of 16 were not known, 1 had died at the College, and 4 were still studying abroad at the end of 1959; the remaining 121 had moved into other occupations, and these ex-teachers included some of the most distinguished men and women listed in the Register, Julius Nyerere being one. Fifty of them had gone into government or administration, or had become chiefs, while others had become farmers, lawyers, clerks, business men, and various other occupations. Not all of those who became teachers had taken education courses at Makerere; some had already qualified at teacher training colleges before entering the College, usually as mature students, to improve their qualifications; some did their teacher training abroad; a few were unqualified teachers. In the teaching field, the great majority were employed by either governments or missions. A few were teaching in private schools, which grew up in East Africa in response to the shortage of secondary places in the government and mission system. Although a few of these schools represented noteworthy enterprise, and even idealism, on the part of their founders, most had the reputation of profit-making businesses, providing inferior schooling at higher fees. The six teachers classified as self-employed were the headmaster-proprietors of such schools.

All but two of the 136 medical practitioners qualified at Makerere; the two exceptions discontinued other courses there and went respectively to India and Britain to qualify. Ten of the Register who qualified in medicine were last reported in other occupations, including one who went blind and became a physiotherapist and another who became secretary to the Mukama of Bunyoro. As might be expected, the 32 former medical students who failed or discontinued their courses spread out into a wide variety of occupations, some in the medical field as medical assistants, etc., others as business men, journalists, and many others.

The 136 men whose occupation was given as Agriculture comprised two main groups. One hundred and eight were professional men working in the government service, almost all in the rank of assistant agricultural officer; 28, who described themselves as 'farmers', were evidently in a different category, though 6 of them had studied agriculture at the College. One hundred and fifty-seven men were listed in the Register as having taken the agriculture courses at the College. Besides the government agriculture service, other occupations into which they had gone notably included that of chief, and several of these had become very prominent.

A group of occupations may be broadly considered together under the general term of local government—chiefs, and other prominent local officials variously termed secretaries-general, paramount chiefs, ministers (that is of African kingdoms such as Buganda and Bunyoro—not ministers in the central governments of Tanganyika, Uganda, or Kenya), and judges admi-

nistering African customary law in the service of African local governments. Altogether 109 of the Register population were classed under this general heading at the end of 1959. A distinguishing feature of this type of career was that unlike teaching or medical practice none of the courses at the College could be regarded as a direct vocational preparation for it. Hardly any of these men, therefore, had gone straight from Makerere into their present positions; most had been trained as teachers (37), or taken the old clerical or technical courses available at the College in the 1920s (33), or taken the agriculture course (14), and spent some time in employment accordingly before entering local government administration or chiefly positions.

But to return to the general picture. Overwhelmingly, it is clear, this was a white-collar élite, composed predominantly of teachers; of professional men in government service, including most of the medical men; and of men in the increasingly bureaucratic service of African local governments. Even among the few business men, just about half were managers in the bureaucratic hierarchy of large firms like the oil companies, and the other half, the self-employed, who might be regarded as genuine entrepreneurs, were mostly in a small way of business. Among private enterprises conducted by members of the élite, indeed, private medical practice ranked high, while educational business in the form of small private schools also found a place, relating, that is, even private business enterprise among the élite quite largely to their professional outlook and qualifications

This broad pattern did not arise by accident; it is to be seen as the result of decisions, made over the years, about the nature and content of higher education in East Africa, which has to be related to the structure of the demand for the services of highly-educated Africans. To put it as simply as possible—perhaps over-crudely—educated Africans were wanted, under British rule, first and foremost as teachers; next as medical men, and to staff the agricultural and veterinary extension services; and, perhaps concurrently, they were wanted to raise the standard of administrative competence (by western standards) of African local government. Before the 'fifties, they were not wanted in the central government administrations of the three East African territories, which were regarded as a British affair. The effort was to build up tribal and district institutions, which were supposed to absorb the energies of the emerging African élite¹. During the 'fifties, however, that policy was drastically reversed, and the drive was towards the Africanization of all the institutions of central government; this, however, did not affect the substantial numbers of older men who had already settled down into local government. At the same time, Africanization became the aim also of the great industrial and commercial concerns, so that in recent years the government's public service commissions, desperately anxious to implement the new policy, have found themselves in keen competition with the private sector for the services of Makerere graduates.

It was in these circumstances that a predominantly white-collar élite was formed, and it is not surprising if we find white-collar attitudes and aspirations among its members. In Ghana, where things were not so very

different on the eve of independence, Jahoda² suggested that 'it seems doubtful whether the pattern of aspirations (i.e. of Ghana students) is the most appropriate for a country like the Gold Coast'. In the occupations of Makerere's former students, we found certain gaps, of which the most striking perhaps was business; and the lack of what she called 'economic sense' was a remark made by Hoyt³ in her observations of the Makerere students she taught. Another was the small number of ordained clergy and ministers—partly because of the separate existence of seminaries and theological colleges, as noted in chapter I, but also a cause of concern to ecclesiastical authorities, who would like to see more highly-educated men among the clergy. Another was the relatively small number of social welfare workers, despite the desperate needs of the communities. Yet when all is said and done, a state of affairs in which most of the educated élite were seen to be engaged in teaching, medical practice, the agricultural and veterinary extension services, and African local government does not seem to be altogether unrelated to the most urgent social needs of countries like these.

Stability in Employment

An attempt was made to assess the stability in employment of the Register men and women by counting the number of different occupations in which each had engaged since leaving the College, and the results are shown in table 2.

Table 2
Number of occupations since leaving College

Decade of entry	0*	1	2	3	4	5+	Not known	Total
1922-29	2	119	57	18	7	2	83	288
1930-39	6	306	99	36	1	3	56	507
1940-49	4	394	71	13	3	1	32	518
1950-53	39	280	25	1	—	—	40	385
Total	51	1,099	252	68	11	6	211	1,698

*Includes died at College, still studying, etc.

Changes of employer were not counted; thus a doctor leaving Government service for private practice, or an engineer resigning from the Public Works Department to set up in business as a builder and contractor, were not regarded as having changed their occupation. Service in the armed forces in the wars of 1914-18 and 1939-45 was also ignored for this analysis. The information may well be incomplete, and the tendency will be to underestimate the number of changes.

Even so, the impression is clearly that former Makerere students tended to stay in one job, normally that related to their education at the College.

A further analysis relating job changes to occupation showed that the biggest occupational groups—medical, agricultural and veterinary practitioners, and above all teachers—were ‘once-for-all’ occupations, while most of the changes of occupation were in to local government, administration and business management.

Further Study Abroad

We dealt in chapter I with the question of the degree to which study abroad as an alternative to Makerere made an independent addition to the size of the educated élite; and how far, on the contrary, it affected people who had already been through the local College. We need now to consider it again, asking how common an experience it was for former Makerere students to go abroad. The statistics relate once more to the period ending in 1959.

It was not possible to find out exactly how many of the Register men and women had been abroad at that date, but it was certainly more than 500. Not all of those who went abroad did so for further study. A small number were at school abroad before entering Makerere. Military service took a few out of East Africa, though its impact on the educated élite as a whole was very small; altogether, 60 of the men listed in the Register served in the armed forces in one or other of the two world wars, and 15 of them went abroad. One veteran went with the African Native Medical Corps in 1914–18 through Tanganyika and on into Portuguese East Africa, while 14 went during 1939–45 to Ethiopia, Egypt, Madagascar, Burma, etc. Political delegations, conferences, and the like have taken some abroad, and there are even a small number who have found employment, permanent or temporary, outside the three East African countries. By far the greater number who have been abroad, however, have done so for the purpose of further study.

According to the information available at the end of 1959, 486 of the men and women listed in the Register, or 28.6 per cent., had studied abroad. Sixty-one had been on short courses or study tours of a few months or even weeks duration, and information is lacking about 8, but the great majority, 417, had been abroad for an academic year or more taking a regular course, in most cases leading to a qualification. Where they went to is shown in table 3, in which the figures add up to more than 417 because some people went to more than one place. Unlike colonial students generally, over half of whom were shown in Carey’s study to be in London, former Makerere students in Britain seemed to spread out more widely into Scotland and Wales and the English provincial universities, especially Bristol and Exeter.

28.6 per cent. is an overall average concealing wide differences. The proportion among those who were at the College in its early days was much lower, being only 8 per cent. among those who entered in the ’twenties. It was highest among those who had entered Makerere in the ’forties; 49 per cent. of the Uganda students of that period, and 43 per cent. of those from Kenya, had since gone abroad. It was not quite so high among

the most recent students, but that was undoubtedly because many of them who would eventually go abroad had not yet done so. Most likely more than 50 per cent. will go eventually.

Table 3
Study Abroad

United Kingdom: (a) Universities							
London	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
Cambridge	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Oxford	..	..	..	..	..	..	22
Bristol	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
Exeter	..	..	..	..	..	..	25
Other English provincial universities (Durham 11, Hull 9, Liverpool 7, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
Scottish Universities	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
University of Wales	..	..	..	..	..	..	28
Queen's University, Belfast	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
(b) Other							
Legal (Inns of Court, etc.)	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
School of Oriental and African Studies	..	..	..	..	..	..	8
Houghall (agriculture)	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
Loughborough (engineering and co-operation)	..	..	..	..	..	..	9
Teacher training colleges	..	..	..	..	..	..	12
London Polytechnics	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Hendon Police College	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
Ordination at Canterbury	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
All others	..	..	..	..	..	..	45
All who have at some time studied in U.K.	..	..	..	..	..	..	341
United States of America							
..	..	..	..	..	..	..	48
India and Pakistan	..	..	..	..	..	..	23
West Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	4
South Africa	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Eire	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
Trinidad (Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture)	..	..	..	..	..	..	6
Canada	..	..	..	..	..	..	2
All other countries	..	..	..	..	..	..	5
(Holland, Belgium, Ethiopia, and the American Universities at Beirut and Cairo, one each.)							

Sources: Makerere College Register, revised to the end of 1959 from College Newsletters and other sources. Study abroad in this table implies attendance at a recognized place of higher education for a course of study extending over one academic year or more.

Thus most of the students who were at Makerere in the late 'fifties could reasonably hope to go abroad later for further study, and there was nothing unreasonable about the way in which, as we saw in chapter III, they looked forward to it.

Incomes

The money incomes of former Makerere students show wide differences. At one extreme are a few prominent men—a small handful—with five-figure incomes measured in pounds a year; at the other, poorly paid clerks and other 'black-coated' workers, and peasant cultivators, with cash incomes of no more than £100 to £200 a year. These are mostly men who failed to qualify at the College and who have for one reason or another given up the struggle. But the great majority, in the early 'sixties, were probably receiving incomes of around £700 to £1,000 a year if they were young and had recently qualified, between £1,000 and £2,000 if they were older.

The cash incomes of the educated élite, and the material standards that went with them, increased rapidly during the 'fifties for a number of reasons. Like professional men and government servants the world over, their salaries were increased from time to time as a result of the awards of salary commissions, following the general inflation of the period. Secondly, the College's progress, and the higher qualifications that became attainable there, meant that the graduates⁴ of the late 'fifties were placed in more highly-paid grades in government service than their non-graduate predecessors had been before Makerere became a University College; and other employers, if they were to attract African graduates, naturally had to keep in line. Thus, according to the salary scales in force in the early 'sixties, most graduates started at about £600 or £700 a year on scales leading up to about £1,500 or slightly more after 20 to 25 years' service. (Medical licentiates, as usual, got more—after two years' internship at £471–492, they started at £1,023 and rose to £1,770.) By contrast, the holder of an old-style East African diploma in agriculture, for example, would be graded as an assistant agricultural officer (unless he had been specially promoted), and be on a scale from £624 to £1,068. Thus the younger men were overtaking the holders of 'old-style' qualifications, in a way which was causing some bitterness, especially in the teaching profession.

Thirdly, during the 'fifties the salaries and (as will appear) the housing conditions of qualified African staff were raised to a closer approximation to those of expatriates. During the earlier colonial period, something of a problem was created when non-Europeans became qualified for appointment to posts which had previously been manned by Europeans, and for which the salaries and conditions of service were accordingly framed with expatriates in mind. A simple rule was then adopted of paying Asians four-fifths and Africans three-fifths of the 'European' salary. In the writer's own observations of the early 'fifties, this rule caused great bitterness, with its symbolic implication that Africans were not even second-rate but third-rate citizens; and the 1954 salaries commission, which recommended the abolition of the rule, was regarded as a landmark of African advance.

But, though the gap was narrowed, most Africans still did not then get as much as most Europeans in the same grades, because of the principle that was then introduced of the inducement element. It was now argued, in effect, that anyone should be paid the rate for the job, irrespective of race. However, while highly-qualified local men were few persons would have to be recruited from abroad; and to induce them to come to places like East Africa they would have to be paid more than locally-recruited candidates, in the same way as, for instance, people in temporary posts with the various international organizations. That this was not a race distinction, at any rate not ostensibly so, was rightly regarded as a great advance; yet in practice, as has been said, it led to most Europeans still being paid more than most Africans for the same job; and it also led to some anomalies between Africans. For example, an African studying abroad might apply for a post in his own country and, having been recruited 'from abroad', get the inducement element added to his salary, while the holder of a perfectly good London degree gained through the Special Relation with Makerere College would be paid the lower rate as a local candidate—a situation which, among other things, tended to undermine the whole purpose of the College's Special Relation with London, which was precisely to ensure the fullest recognition of its graduates' degrees. Thus the 1961 salaries commission was led to recommend that 'the indigenous African will clearly be a local candidate, irrespective of his qualifications and his place of education', however much that might seem like a step back towards a race distinction; the application of its recommendations, however, has been swept away by the bigger issues arising from political independence, rapid Africanization of the civil services, and the compensation of expatriates whose posts have been 'Africanized'.

The preceding remarks have dealt in the main with government service and teaching, the two types of occupation which, as has been seen, between them account for most of the educated élite. Former Makerere students who have gone into the managements of big businesses have, on the whole, earned more, and they have had opportunities for more rapid promotion, though without the same steady security of government service, for business firms have had less hesitation in discharging men who were making little contribution to their success.

The effect of the changes of the last 10 or 15 years, then, has been to bring the African élite more nearly into line with European expatriates; and, correspondingly, to widen the gap between educated men and women and their less educated fellow-Africans. Thus where a professional man in a western country may perhaps receive, after tax, an income some three or four times that of an unskilled labourer, in East Africa the factor is more like 20 to 30. It remains to be seen how long such extreme inequalities will be tolerated in future—especially, as we have seen, since they are not even inequalities between different family groups separated on a social class basis as in the West, but between near kin. A Makerere man earning £1,000 a year or more may well have a brother earning £60, and is virtually certain to have uncles living at a bare subsistence level as peasant cultivators.

Material Conditions

The style of life that an educated African can enjoy with his income differs very much with his other circumstances. At one extreme, a man who works in his own tribal area, and is not liable to posting elsewhere, and has sufficient land, may be able to keep himself and his family in food, and have all his money income for other things—house, car, clothes, and children's schooling being usually the biggest items. At the other, a man posted to different places from time to time, outside his own tribal area, may not only have to buy food but also incur the cost of running two homes. This will especially be the case if he has children of primary school age who are being educated, as most African children are, in the vernacular at that stage.

Thus an educated African's aim, in most cases, is to acquire some land, if he has not already got some, and to build a house on it. Among the older men whom the writer followed up during the mid-'fifties, the first was not usually much of a problem. As has been noted, most of them—33 of the sample of 55—were Ganda and most of those had inherited land under the well-known *mailo* or native freehold system of Buganda. Educated men of other Uganda tribes, too, were buying *mailo* land in Buganda. As we have seen, education has latterly become less of the tribal and class privilege of Ganda of chiefly ancestry, whose forebears came into the spoils of the 1900 Agreement; and among the younger generation, especially the Kikuyu, it cannot so readily be assumed that they will have substantial rights to land. This has made a scheme like the Dagoretti improvement area of particular importance—here an African local government has made land available for middle-class housing development of a type common in western countries, but most unusual, so far as Africans are concerned, in Africa.

When I began to visit former Makerere students in the early 'fifties, I described their housing conditions generally as 'comparable rather with that of the labouring poor in the nineteenth than professional men in the twentieth century'. Those who, when I visited them, were in Government African quarters in the district centres were mostly living in houses which, though they were solidly built and well roofed, had only two, three or four small rooms, usually with no ceilings so that light and sound carried from the living room into the bedroom. There was usually a little outhouse with a cooking-place—a hearth where cooking pots could be balanced over a wood fire—and an earth latrine. Water was typically got from a stand-pipe serving a dozen or so houses, and there was no internal plumbing—no sink, no draining board, no washbasin, no bath. At that time, only one of the sample of 55 men whom I followed up was found in a house with piped water, W.C., and electricity—and that was through the accident of his occupying quarters designed for Asians.' Those whom I found in their own houses were scarcely better off, for though they had gone in for bigger houses with more privacy, they had had to economize their limited resources accordingly on materials. More than half of these men's own houses which I then saw were of mud and wattle, with roofs of thatch, cor-

rugated metal, or flattened paraffin tins. In their own houses, too, water supply was usually even more primitive than in quarters; water was commonly drawn in four-gallon paraffin tins from spring, stream, or swamp at distances of, in some cases, over a mile. Earth floors were not uncommon and sanitation was primitive. A few detailed descriptions of visits to former students may illustrate the general conditions of the time.

January 1952: A visit to A, a dispenser, formerly failed medical student. I cycled out with him to his house about five miles from Kampala. A square house of mud and wattle, roofed with paraffin tins hammered flat. Doors and window frames of wood, solid and heavy; windows unglazed but with thick shutters, heavily bolted against thieves. We sat on the two wooden arm chairs. The floor was of brick tiles with rush mats. Mrs. A came in to greet us, kneeling to her husband and me, and sent in four plump children to do the same, while she went to bring water from the thatched mud-and-wattle kitchen some yards behind the house. She brought me warm, cloudy-grey water in a glass; I drank it with misgivings. Then tea, African style—half milk, heavily sweetened, and flavoured with ginger, and stale thick slices of bread and butter—brought by a nephew aged 12 who does domestic chores for A in return for school fees and board.

After tea we walked round A's land. Two or three thatched mud huts occupied by kinsmen and their children. A's father's grave a few yards off behind the house, a pile of quartz stones. A keeps himself in bananas and grows cotton and coffee for cash, while Mrs. A has her own garden on which she grows cotton for herself also. Latrine a shallow pit, only 2-3 feet deep, with a grass shelter. A showed me the house by lamplight. Four rooms; sitting room, A's bedroom with a rough wooden bed and old, patched blankets; a second bedroom; and a store, crammed with corrugated iron which A is keeping safe from thieves for a kinsman who intends building soon.

Supper of curried meat, potatoes, beans and bread with more tea. A a superb mimic—caricatured the gruff tones of the European officer and the nagging whine of an Indian official. After supper the gramophone was brought out and we had Bing Crosby *et al.* A insisted on accompanying me to the main road for fear of robbers.

February 1952: B, a secondary teacher at a Tanganyika school; had taught Swahili for three years at School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Living in African staff quarters provided by the school; dissatisfied with it. Three rooms plus separate kitchen, cement plastered brick, corrugated iron roof, cement floors. Water drawn from school building 50 yards away; a grievance that European staff houses have piped water, African not. Earth pit sanitation in cement privy as house, clean and not displeasing.

B has not much furniture but what he has is good. About 60 to 80 books. Mrs. B primary-educated but no English. I asked what language they use; B said 'Kibondei', but B's two little sons (7 and 4) were playing outside and talking Swahili. B says with few Bondei children here they

mostly use Swahili but he hopes they will pick up Bondei later on. He was eating European-style tea with a boiled egg when I arrived.

February 1952: C, secondary teacher in Mombasa, living in Government African staff estate. This estate gave a pleasing effect to the European eye—houses attractively grouped with trees etc.—but C loud in complaint. His house has two rooms, a small sitting room where we talked, and a bedroom of equal size for him and Mrs. C. The children have to sleep on the narrow enclosed back verandah one end of which is the smoky kitchen with wood fire. Communal lavatories, everybody's business to keep clean and therefore nobody's, quite disgusting.

June 1952: D, an assistant veterinary officer, visited in Government African quarters at Mbarara. Three-roomed house, solidly built of brick, but dreary. No ceilings, bare white-washed walls, concrete floors. Kitchen and latrine (deep pit) in small outhouse. Water; one standpipe among 20 or more houses, always a long queue of wives, relatives, or children with four-gallon paraffin cans. No proper gardens, no hedges, no privacy; hens, dogs, other people's children roam everywhere. Doubtless the inhabitants could do more, but liability to transfer a disincentive.

October 1953: E, an engineering assistant, living in his own new house near Kampala, replacing tin-tiled mud and wattle nearby. Concrete laterite blocks made on site; brick tiled roof; eleven rooms; cement floors; steel framed windows. Rather sparsely furnished as yet but good carpet in sitting room, three-piece suite, best beds of *mvule* (a fine local hardwood), good cots for children. No garage as yet for the Hillman saloon. Water—large rain tanks main supply, supplemented by river water a quarter of a mile away in dry season. Good privy with deep pit.

Mrs. E was a nurse. Latest of five children lying in battered old pram with clean sheet and nappy. All children looked well, lively but well behaved.

E told me he has spent everything he has on this house; 'the curtains will have to wait'.

On a later visit, April, 1954, he begged me not to come again; tension during the Kabaka's exile was at its height and he feared the consequences of being friendly with Europeans.

Discontent with the quarters which governments and schools provided for their African staff mounted during the 'fifties. The contrast between the housing provided for expatriates and that for African staff, who might well be working alongside one another on terms of equality, was indeed a sharp one; and the endless complaints that former Makerere students made to their employers about housing did much to create in the employers' minds a picture of a Makerere man as a source of endless trouble and complaint, a person 'with a chip on his shoulder'. But it should not be thought that the discrimination between Europeans and Africans resulted only or even mainly, from prejudice on the part of Europeans in executive positions. Indeed, governments were not slow to acknowledge the principle that there ought to be no difference in treatment, and that 'suitable accommodation' for an officer referred to standards of housing thought suitable

for expatriate officers. The financial implications, however, were serious. Most civil services, after all, do not quarter their officers, who are in most countries responsible for finding their own accommodation at their own expense. While it might be necessary to offer expatriate officers the amenities of large houses and ample gardens, with plumbing to western standards, to get them to come to countries where their services were badly needed, this could not be made the general policy for local staff without saddling the territories in the long term with an inordinately expensive and privileged bureaucracy. In other words, housing standards provided another instance of the dilemma which we encountered over salaries, and from which there seems to be no escape in developing countries which depend largely on expatriate help. Either local social and economic inequality is enhanced, or a colour bar (or some equally objectionable distinction between expatriates and locals) is resorted to.

In practice, the former alternative was chosen, and many educated Africans came, during the later 'fifties, to be housed to expatriate standards. The policy encountered difficulties; large private firms, for example, which tried to rent or buy houses for Makerere men near those of their European colleagues found it very difficult to do so. In government service, the principle became established that though senior African officers were not, as expatriates were, *entitled* to expatriate-type houses they were *eligible* for them if they were available; and in practice some did get them. With their bigger salaries, too, they were able to afford to build better houses of their own, and over the years I saw mud walls replaced by brick with steel-framed windows, and concrete floors and tiled roofs appear. Kitchens remained something of a compromise. Not all educated Africans married wives who were very educated or westernized in the practices of cooking and housekeeping, and diets remained, by preference, semi-traditional, so that electric cookers and similar fittings were not always appropriate. Moreover, those wives who were educated very often took paid work, and like their European counterparts employed house servants to do the cooking and household chores. Also, there were almost always a number of poor relations around, giving a hand, so that the more traditional African ways of cooking and housework tended to be followed, and expensive gadgets were both unnecessary and in danger of being wrecked by unskilled handling. In the living-rooms, however, carpets appeared, modern upholstered furniture took over from the standardized wooden chairs—copied from early Europeans' camp equipment—of an earlier period, and pianos and radiograms also began to make their appearance. In the 'sixties I was often entertained to meals by former Makerere students in conditions indistinguishable from my own home.

By 1960, then, the housing situation had been transformed, and with it employers' expectations of the style of life their senior African staff should lead. Commercial firms now expected their young managers to live in a way which would make them 'worthy representatives of the firm'. Governments expected their African officers to entertain, and be entertained by, their expatriate colleagues, on terms of social equality. It was not always

easy to do this in a house that might be swarming with poor relations arrived unexpectedly from the country, or with a wife inexperienced as yet in the niceties of middle-class European cooking and small-talk. In the same way, European government officers sometimes expressed disappointment that their new African colleagues did not always join fully in 'the life of the station' from golf to amateur dramatics. One effect of this situation was to place a heavy additional responsibility upon University teachers at Makerere, in their role as tutors, for we clearly had a duty to prepare our students for that sort of thing. By 1960, with independence impending, the assumptions underlying those expectations were beginning to be questioned, and a Government spokesman from Tanganyika was able to write:

'There is perhaps now a slightly anachronistic assumption . . . that in order to be considered a completely successful Civil Servant (of a 'Colonial' Government), an ex-Makerere student should adjust his way of life to conform as closely as possible to the social patterns and customs of the ruling power. At this stage of Tanganyika's political and constitutional development the whole complexion of the question inevitably changes somewhat⁵.'

The style of life of the African élite, then, depended obviously in the first place upon their means. It depended secondly upon their own tastes and preferences, influenced as those were by their upbringing in two worlds—an early experience of more or less traditional African life, and a later experience of western education in boarding schools and at college. But it was also strongly shaped by the various social pressures exerted upon them—their employers' expectations, their wives' educational attainments, the claims of family and kinsfolk. Inevitably, between these often conflicting influences, compromises had to be struck.

Marriage

As we have seen, fewer girls than boys go to school in East Africa, and those that do go tend to leave sooner. The proportion of girls gets smaller the higher one goes up the educational pyramid, so that in 1958–59, when the student surveys were done, African men students at Makerere outnumbered African women students by more than 16 to one. It was all too clear that there were just not enough educated African women to go round.

Some educated African men, it is true, married non-Africans. Especially in Uganda, there were no legal restrictions on marriage between Africans and Europeans, and no social difficulties of any consequence. Indeed, the atmosphere for such couples was remarkably easy and permissive, more so perhaps than in most places anywhere in the world. Some men did return from study in Britain or the United States with white wives; but they were comparatively rare. Marriages to Asian women were practically unknown, and the difficulties there would certainly have been very much greater. The great majority of educated African men, then, married African women, and came up against the shortage of educated African women.

Thus among the wives of the sample of men who left Makerere in the 1930s, more than half had only primary schooling, and rather fewer than

half had any form of post-primary training whether as nurses or teachers or in domestic science, etc. Although all of them had been to primary school and should therefore have been literate, I doubt if in fact they all were. Several of them who had had some secondary schooling had forgotten all their English. No doubt most of them were competent enough at the traditional tasks of an African married woman, cooking and looking after a garden—in most cases presumably with paid help; but few had much sophistication of a western sort. Most seemed content to wear the neo-traditional women's dress of Buganda, the *busuti* and *bodingi* (it will be remembered that most of that sample were Ganda, who then predominated at Makerere College); to sit on the floor, humbly greet their husband's visitor in the vernacular, and retire to a thatched outhouse to squat on an earth floor over a smoky fire and cook a dish of the traditional steamed banana.

Some of the older men were disposed to make a virtue of necessity about this, and to argue that it was actually better to marry an uneducated wife. One man said 'It was a definite policy of us Makerere men to take uneducated wives; it was our choice. People have been able to see that my wife was just like other women, and they would say "He is not so different from us"'. During the 1949 disturbances in Buganda, when chiefs and wealthy, educated Africans went in fear of their lives, he did not have his house burned over his head as many of his class-mates did, and he thought it was because he had maintained the common touch in his marriage, and consequently in his style of life. But others of his generation took the opposite view, and wanted wives with whom they could discuss things with some degree of understanding. One of his class-mates said 'Every educated man in Uganda faces that problem. They cannot find educated girls. It is bad because there is no common mind in the home; husband and wife should be equal in counsels. I think every Makerere man should have a Makerere wife. The education of women is even more important than that of men'. 'I wanted to marry an educated girl', said another, 'but my father insisted I should marry someone who could live in a village and dig the banana garden.'

Although I have no definite information on the subject, my impression during the later 'fifties was that more of the younger generation of educated men were finding educated wives. Certainly the wives of some of the younger men I visited were models of western sophistication and would have been able to hold their own in any company. I think, too, that most of the younger generation took it for granted that it was better to find an educated wife. As we have seen, almost all the former women students of Makerere married Makerere men if they married at all. Of course there were not nearly enough of them to go round, but there were more, and better-educated, nurses and women teachers than there had been in the 'thirties and 'forties. Students still at the College in the late 'fifties continued to fear marriage, under family pressure, to uneducated girls. This fear found expression as a theme in the plays annually performed in the inter-hall English competition; it was clear that they were no longer

disposed to make a virtue out of necessity over this situation, which was seen as a tragedy.

I do not know how many later marry, or enter into unions of other sorts with women other than their first wives, though I think at least a few do so. Among the 55 old students followed up in the 'fifties, one told me that he had two wives. Three others were living with women to whom they were not, as they themselves put it, 'legally married', which in Uganda at least implies married in church. Two of them had married by traditional African formality, while the third had not. As can be imagined, it was not an easy subject to get much information about without seeming to pry, and endangering confidence. There seems no reason to suppose that educated Africans will observe the norms of western monogamy. Many of them are personally unconvinced of the value of those norms, to which there are no strong social pressures upon them to conform.

During the follow-up survey of former students, I was on occasion asked for information about contraceptive methods, usually belatedly by men who already had a large number of children and were worried about how they could afford to clothe them and pay their school fees. Among students who attended the College in the early and middle 'fifties, lectures on population problems, in which family limitation in western European countries was discussed, aroused great interest and mixed feelings. Some students thought it desirable to limit families and check over-rapid population growth, while others rejected the idea with emotions which seemed to include disgust and incredulity. Some even said that family limitation was a very good thing for others but not for Africans. At any rate, there was widespread interest in the idea, although a somewhat more limited acceptance. Combining this response with my field experience among the older élite, I suggested⁶ that the idea had begun to take root among Africans of the highest social class. I later came to think that view was premature. Despite a good deal of talk, the number of educated couples who seriously try to limit their families is very small, and the number who actually succeed in doing so is practically nil.

Kinship Relations

In chapter II we saw what sort of people the educated élite have as kinsfolk, and how they include many comparatively poor and humble men and women. Dealings with these 'poor relations' are a major problem in the lives of educated Africans⁷. Let one quotation from a student's essay stand for much that has been written and spoken on the topic:

'The parent who sacrifices his son's services at home to take him to school is in fact drawing out an insurance policy against poverty and old age . . .

The primary purpose of education has always been, to the uneducated man, a means of accumulating wealth and raising the social and material status of a family.'

The educated man in his first government post

'has money, it is true, but nothing when compared to his expenditures. Long ago he used to roam round his uncles' homes and on occasions . . .

they gave him some shillings for pocket money. Is he, now that he is earning, base-minded enough to forget the past kindness? . . . (The kinship system) designates those persons who of right have to receive monetary assistances from this educated victim.

'One day an uncle will call asking for "cloth" . . . Two days later, seeing his open-heartedness, a cousin will come for a little money—"my child", he will say, "has just been sent out of school on account of fees; lend me some money; I will pay you the moment I sell my cotton". Either the cotton is never sold or the money gets lost on the way; the words "lend" and "give" are synonymous . . .

'When the uncle requires an immediate supply of shillings he inevitably invades this cousin who gets so many a month, and displays these riches by wearing expensive shoes and by riding on a bicycle . . . The poor (educated man) cannot plead poverty. He will be forced to borrow to make ends meet. On occasions he will extort bribes⁸.'

To a limited extent, obligations towards remoter kinsmen may be made formal rather than onerous; thus Stenning⁹ has described how Ankole teachers give a large party two or three years after they pass out from training college, to which they invite their class-mates and also make presents to those of their kinsmen who have helped with fees during their schooling. These presents are sometimes of cash, sometimes in kind—a shirt, a pair of shoes—and they do not necessarily represent a full repayment of the money the old men contributed in the first place; they are, rather, a token that the help has been recognized and remembered.

The men whom I interviewed in the follow-up survey grumbled a great deal about how much they were expected to help relatives, especially by paying school fees for their children. Some did so cheerfully, most acquiesced in what seemed to them to be an unavoidable obligation, a few rebelled and took a self-help line; one teacher told me, for instance, that he always refused to give special tuition, for which he was often asked, to relatives' children. 'People must work, only use kinship obligations if destitute', he said. We may glimpse here the conflicts of role to which members of the élite are liable. Favouring one's nephews was, by traditional standards—at any rate in Buganda—a proper and virtuous thing to do, just as a traditional chief was positively expected to give judgement in his relatives' favour in law cases. By the standards of a modern educational system, however, for a teacher to concentrate on his own relatives would be unfair to other children placed in his care. The conflict that might arise between a man's duty to his kinsfolk and that to his employers is vividly illustrated in the following statement by an assistant agricultural officer:

'If you ask to go to too many funerals they think you are slacking. But if you miss funerals, people say "Let his European friends bury him", and will not help when your turn comes.'

Relations with other Africans

The very fact that they are educated qualifies most educated Africans for positions in which they exert authority over others—as bureaucrats,

they gave him some shillings for pocket money. Is he, now that he is earning, base-minded enough to forget the past kindness? . . . (The kinship system) designates those persons who of right have to receive monetary assistances from this educated victim.

'One day an uncle will call asking for "cloth" . . . Two days later, seeing his open-heartedness, a cousin will come for a little money—"my child", he will say, "has just been sent out of school on account of fees; lend me some money; I will pay you the moment I sell my cotton". Either the cotton is never sold or the money gets lost on the way; the words "lend" and "give" are synonymous . . .

'When the uncle requires an immediate supply of shillings he inevitably invades this cousin who gets so many a month, and displays these riches by wearing expensive shoes and by riding on a bicycle . . . The poor (educated man) cannot plead poverty. He will be forced to borrow to make ends meet. On occasions he will extort bribes.'

To a limited extent, obligations towards remoter kinsmen may be made formal rather than onerous; thus Stenning⁹ has described how Ankole teachers give a large party two or three years after they pass out from training college, to which they invite their class-mates and also make presents to those of their kinsmen who have helped with fees during their schooling. These presents are sometimes of cash, sometimes in kind—a shirt, a pair of shoes—and they do not necessarily represent a full repayment of the money the old men contributed in the first place; they are, rather, a token that the help has been recognized and remembered.

The men whom I interviewed in the follow-up survey grumbled a great deal about how much they were expected to help relatives, especially by paying school fees for their children. Some did so cheerfully, most acquiesced in what seemed to them to be an unavoidable obligation, a few rebelled and took a self-help line; one teacher told me, for instance, that he always refused to give special tuition, for which he was often asked, to relatives' children. 'People must work, only use kinship obligations if destitute', he said. We may glimpse here the conflicts of role to which members of the élite are liable. Favouring one's nephews was, by traditional standards—at any rate in Buganda—a proper and virtuous thing to do, just as a traditional chief was positively expected to give judgement in his relatives' favour in law cases. By the standards of a modern educational system, however, for a teacher to concentrate on his own relatives would be unfair to other children placed in his care. The conflict that might arise between a man's duty to his kinsfolk and that to his employers is vividly illustrated in the following statement by an assistant agricultural officer:

'If you ask to go to too many funerals they think you are slacking. But if you miss funerals, people say "Let his European friends bury him", and will not help when your turn comes.'

Relations with other Africans

The very fact that they are educated qualifies most educated Africans for positions in which they exert authority over others—as bureaucrats,

managers, teachers, medical men, and so on. Habits of authority on their part, however, and acceptance of that authority by other Africans, do not always come very easily. In East Africa before 1960, a white face gave its owner an unquestioned status and authority which the owner of a black face had to get by other means. This goes far to explain, among other things, the neat dress of Makerere students both at the College and after it. Students in most countries, enjoying a last fling before the respectabilities of middle-class life, frequently express their repudiation of middle-class values in flamboyantly eccentric costume, whether wildly colourful or determinedly dirty and down-at-heel. At Makerere it was quite different; students almost to a man wore clean shirts, ties, well-pressed trousers. Some observers put this down to imitation of the dominant group, namely Europeans, and attributed it to what is termed 'reference group behaviour' or 'anticipatory socialization'. But Europeans in fact did not always dress so conventionally; on the contrary, at the College itself the long trousers and ties of the African students contrasted oddly with the shorts and open-necked shirts of some of the European staff, while outside the College European foremen and supervisors were often to be seen stripped to the waist, and the traditional dress of Kenya farmers was shorts, boots, and khaki bush shirt. No, the point is rather different; their mere skin colour was for Europeans in the old East African situation a sufficient badge of their difference from African workers, and their authority over them; an educated African had to symbolize his difference and his authority differently. Dress was the badge of high status; nakedness the sign, not of shame, but of poverty and low status; and so the educated élite covered themselves in clothes to an extent which the climate made quite unnecessary.

At work, educated men found that very often African workers tended to treat them as their representatives or emissaries in their relations with authority, rather than as executives of that authority themselves. Thus railway workers, for example, would come to a young African official and say, in effect, 'What we want you to tell the management is this', and proceed to explain their problem. Tactful men could, of course, turn this to advantage, solving problems by advice and persuasion rather than by order. But the same situation could lead to an educated African's feeling insecure and anxious about his status, and reacting either in weakness or in the excessive imperiousness of the man who is not really sure of himself. It was a common observation, for instance, that educated Africans spoke curtly to shop assistants, in contrast to the politeness of most Europeans. While some Europeans could on occasion be extremely rude, for the most part their superior status was so assured that they could, as it were, afford to be gracious. The educated African had to assert his. Thus the employers of Makerere men would sometimes report in terms such as the following:

'Generally, Makerere graduates are in a position to command the respect of junior staff and often exercise a proper control over them. They are, however, sometimes apt to bring a slightly superior air in their dealings with junior staff and the public, which does not go unnoticed. Some Makerere graduates, who were posted to the field, have been unable

to control the African. They are at times afraid of their subordinate staff and are loath to become unpopular through being strict with them¹⁰.

Outside their own tribal areas, educated Africans could sometimes take over expatriate roles more easily than at home, and this did something to reconcile them to being posted around in the early stages of their careers. Even under colonial rule, Ganda inherited a tradition dating from the early days of British rule when outlying parts of the Uganda Protectorate were administered by Ganda chiefs and agents, so that Ganda officials came to be regarded almost as if they were Europeans. They themselves behaved similarly in some respects, too, founding clubs where they met in leisure hours to eat their traditional foods and converse in their own language. Posted to his native kingdom, one of these men said, 'In Buganda I have to walk more warily; people cannot be compelled so easily, and the Kingdom Government has to be consulted at every turn. I preferred the Lugbara'¹¹. More recently, Rigby¹² has vividly described life on a Tanganyika government station staffed wholly by African officials. None of them being of the local tribe, they could communicate with the local people only in Swahili, just as their European predecessors did, and their general relations with them were very much the same—employing them as house servants, carrying out among them government programmes of health, education, agricultural improvement, and the like, and supervising their work as employees. Their style of life was not dissimilar, and even their pleasures—driving to the nearest small town for the Saturday cinema, for example—were remarkably reminiscent of Europeans'. All in all they could well have been described as 'indigenous expatriates'.

In some ways, then, especially in the first few years of one's career, it did not much matter where one was posted so long as there was congenial company among the other educated African government officials and teachers. We have already mentioned, however, the economic and family reasons which led men to prefer to settle eventually in their own tribal areas. Those who had land, especially Ganda *mailo* owners, found it better to manage it themselves than to leave it to kinsmen—as one man said, 'you can't grow coffee by telegram'. It was necessary to settle the children down in school in the appropriate vernacular without at the same time incurring the expense of keeping two homes going, a point about which some men felt very strongly; one assistant veterinary officer I knew went so far as to resign his government appointment after being posted around at the rate of more than one move a year for some years, and took a job as a clerk in local government at a small fraction of his former salary, simply in order to gain stability for himself and his family. Once settled, too, men could concentrate on building their own houses and work up their estates as a long-term investment against retirement, and also perhaps begin to enjoy a style of life representing a combination of traditional and modern features—the modern house crowded with poor relations and clients rather like the throng of courtiers and clients who surrounded a traditional chief. While the longer-term rewards of staying in a profession, or the service of the central government, were by no means unattractive, they

might be outweighed by the advantages of becoming 'a big fish in a little pond'. We saw in chapter III how the motive to be 'an important personage' played a big part in carrying Makerere students through the arduous process of education; here, then, was one way in which that ambition could be realized.

Such mundane considerations, rather than any mysterious 'tribalism', do much to explain why some educated men preferred to leave central government service and enter that of African local government, or practise their professions in their own tribal area. They are, as we have seen, responsive to the demands of kinship obligations, and it is in terms of these that 'the tribe' is perhaps most strongly perceived. Apart from that, however, there seems to be an awareness of belonging to an educated African class. As already mentioned, there was a certain community sense among the officials and teachers on remote, isolated government stations recalling that of Europeans in similar situations; thus a medical man, recalling his days in government service, said 'I was always happy if there was a school nearby and I could talk to the teachers'. At home, too, members of the elite felt that they were in some ways marked off from the majority of people:

'There is a difference between the educated classes and the uneducated.

It is partly because we will not observe all the old customs which they still observe. If I become father of twins I would do nothing special.

We do not observe all these customs; we drop the bad ones. The uneducated classes are very conservative.'

While I was visiting one of the older men, he invited his father's brothers to see me, and entertained them in the back room, not the front sitting room with its carpet and three-piece suite; afterwards he said 'They are quite prosperous for people of that class'.

One thing which heightened this sense of belonging to an educated class was the predominant part played by the one College in educating the élite in East Africa. One might almost suggest that, because there was only the one college, to be a Makerere man in East Africa means even more than being (say) a Balliol man does in England. Many of the key figures in modern East Africa knew one another at Makerere, especially perhaps during the 1940s when the College was still small, yet when many leading personalities were there¹³. Perhaps even more important, any former student of the College can remember prominent men as his class-mates, and gains, perhaps, a little reflected glory.

Employers' Experience

Relations between former Makerere students and their employers, in the situation in East Africa during the late colonial period of the 1950s, were not always very happy. Although they were almost always said to be fully competent—in the sense that they would be relied on to have the professional knowledge and skills that they were supposed to have—they were said to have other failings. Lapses in professional ethics, which occurred from time to time, gave rise to much adverse comment, and even though it was admitted that they concerned a minority it was held that

the minority was far too large. A more general failing in former Makerere students was said to be that they resented supervision and settled down badly to routine, especially if, as for instance in teaching or the veterinary profession, dull and distasteful tasks had to be performed. Thus I knew of cases when a new European headmistress, coming to a badly-neglected school, found her African teachers unwilling to help with an urgently necessary task at which the menial staff had proved to be incompetent, and ended up cleaning out the lavatories herself. Although to relate a silly attitude to social factors does not make it any less silly, we may regard this, perhaps, as an instance of the insecurity of status which we mentioned earlier. People only recently emancipated from the drudgery and squalor of traditional African life will, perhaps, be more unwilling to dirty their hands occasionally than a person whose status, and western middle-class living standard, is unassailable. (It is fair to add that the younger generation seem altogether wiser than their predecessors in this regard, and 'muck in' willingly when the occasion demands.) Former students were found by their employers to assume that having achieved their paper qualification they knew all the answers, and to undervalue others' longer experience. They especially resented having to work under superiors less qualified—in the formal, paper sense—or less educated than themselves. This may, of course, be related to the race situation in East Africa of that period, but it should also be seen in relation to the rapidity with which educated Africans' horizons were expanding in the 'fifties. Though doubtless an irritating attitude, it can be understood how they might chafe against anything that seemed like an unnecessary delay in their meteoric careers. Some employers, especially perhaps the big oil firms, found that the problem could at least be partly solved when it was possible to map out a programme which could be seen as part of an individual's training and progress in the firm. On those terms they found Makerere men willing enough to put on overalls and, for a short spell, clean out oil tanks in the blazing heat of the Mombasa depots, or serve all comers in a filling station, to gain an insight into the operations of firms in which they might later expect to play an important managerial role.

Educated Africans' problems as supervisors of other Africans have already been noted, and how they were seen by the employers. Employers also noted that, though competent and often conscientious at work, their educated African staff seemed to have few interests outside it, and to be prone, therefore, to dissolute personal habits, and especially drunkenness. Instead of doing something constructive with their leisure, such as sport or amateur dramatics (hence the remarks about 'not joining in the life of the station') they would just sit around and drink. Though this may have been an over-simple analysis, drunkenness was certainly a problem.

Careful, close supervision especially in an officer's early years was found to be an essential ingredient in success, and—as mentioned below—there were cases where individuals came to grief through being thrust too soon, unsupervised, into positions of too great responsibility. Yet there was something of problem here too; close supervision was apt to be resented

by men who were, as has been said, prone to think they already knew all the answers and to undervalue practical on-the-job experience; it might be seen as a device to 'hold Africans back' or 'not let us show our training'. The supervision, then, had to be tactful to a degree making heavy demands on the supervisors, and it was accordingly the policy of some government bodies to relate the number of educated Africans they could absorb to the number of European officers judged suitable to carry out the exacting task of their early supervision.

Race Relations and Race Attitudes

Relations at work, then, both with employers and with other Africans, were profoundly affected by the race relations which prevailed in East African countries before 1960.

The older men who had met Europeans as departmental superiors in the Uganda government service had found them on the whole fair and efficient, and seemed to have enjoyed mainly friendly relations with them at work, though there was a certain reserve towards 'military types' and towards those Europeans who came to Uganda after a spell in Kenya, where, it was believed, they were likely to have absorbed the wrong sort of race attitudes, to have become 'tough and racially-minded' as one man put it. There was general assent to the dictum 'Race relations stop at half past four'; most of them reported no informal social contact with Europeans in the six months preceding the interview, though some had entertained, or been entertained by, either missionaries or professional colleagues. For instance, one very religious-minded man regularly went to the Anglican bishop's house in his neighbourhood for tea and to argue with him on biblical questions; but another summed up the experience of the majority, at that time, when he said, 'We are on good terms in the office, but I have never heard those words "Come to my house for tea".' One factor in this situation was that most educated Africans at that time lived in such poor houses that they felt unable to offer reciprocal hospitality to Europeans.

By the 1950s attitudes and practices of Europeans in this respect were widely different. Some continued to have no informal social relations with Africans, to an extent which political developments and the obvious imminence of independence made quite absurd; others had tried for years to break down that particular barrier. One place where a particularly systematic attempt to break it down was made was Makerere College itself. Now that members of the British royal family have danced with African political leaders at independence balls, it seems strange to recall, for example, the murmurings of some government officials when the first interracial dance was held in Makerere College hall. The process was, however, not an entirely smooth one, and irritation could be caused by the rather prevalent habit among educated Africans of accepting invitations to meals which they did not turn up to eat, and being often generally slapdash about times, places, and arrangements¹⁴. During the later 'fifties, the desegregation of many places of public entertainment made a good deal of difference. By 1960, few of the big hotels and restaurants in the big towns still applied

a colour bar, which had disappeared completely on the railways and in public services generally, though some smaller hotels particularly in up-country places remained rigidly segregated. Thus an educated African's experience might be bewilderingly diverse. One had to know which was which—the completely open places, the places with perhaps a notice stating that 'the management reserves the right of admission', the places where, as one man said, one met with 'a certain amount of atmosphere'.

One brief history will illustrate this diversity of experience in Kenya in the late 'fifties. H took his B.A. at Makerere and joined one of the big oil companies. At first he lived in a Y.M.C.A. hostel, where he and some other African graduates were mildly persecuted by European youths. After the culminating incident, when they slashed the seats of a new car belonging to H's colleague, H left the hostel for a rented house—a large, comfortable place in a big garden though not in a 'good' residential area but one with a reputation for prostitution and street brawls. He shared this house with two or three other young business bachelors, including both Europeans and Africans, for a while, and left it after a few months when he married an African nurse. Shortly after that he was posted to another, smaller, town, where Mrs. H was later elected president of the mainly European women's institute.

Relations with Europeans, then, though still very mixed, had undergone profound changes during the 1950s. With Asians things appeared to change less. The older men had met them either as immediate superiors in government service, or in their traditional role as traders. In government service, relations had been uniformly bad. 'Always quarrels, rows, bad reports going in', said one man. 'They try to keep us down, and do not want us to know what they know', said another. This is a very prevalent and persistent attitude; Asians in many contexts are accused of withholding knowledge and skills which might facilitate the rise of Africans, whom they see as rivals for the middle-range jobs of clerks, skilled workers, etc. A third man found them sarcastic and nagging, while a fourth told me 'Ours is a model department; we have no Indians'.

A commonly-held view of Europeans generally, on the part of the older men, was to acknowledge that while some came to Africa for what they could get out of it as settlers or business men, there were others—missionaries, teachers, and some government officials—who came 'to help the African'. By contrast, all Asians were held to be 'commercially minded'. In America this would be a term of praise, in Britain perhaps a straight description, but as used by Africans in this context it was intended to imply absolute condemnation. Among the older men at any rate, there was an inability to grasp the point that—as economists have been saying since Adam Smith¹⁵—motive can be irrelevant, and people whose aim is to make profits can nevertheless usefully meet the needs of their fellow-men. Motive, on the contrary, was all; the Asians came to get, not to give, so their presence was unwelcome. Like Jews in Europe, Asians were seen as grasping traders, unfairly gifted in commercial talents, cheating and exploiting, using their kinship links and religious solidarity to gain advantages in trade

and finance, draining money out of the country and sending it to India, and remaining separate and aloof from the rest of the population.

Changes in recent years may have altered these attitudes to some extent. At least those students who have studied economics can no longer share the naivety of the older men about the profit motive. The desegregation of the College since 1951 meant that all students who have more recently attended the College have had Asians as fellow-students, even though they may not have been very friendly with them—and indeed the first Indians to enter the College had to run a gauntlet of verbal hostility. The teaching of some subjects, such as sociology and economics, involved a critical examination of anti-Asian prejudice, which may have affected some students' attitudes, but it seemed that uncritical prejudice continued to colour the view of others.

'Success' and 'Failure'

It is not easy to evaluate 'success' or 'failure' among an educated African élite; it depends on the point of view, and moreover the circumstances both of an individual and of East African society as a whole may change so dramatically. Thus—to take as an example a man who, strictly speaking, falls outside the scope of the present study—if we had said in 1957 that the career of Jomo Kenyatta had ended in failure it would have been a pardonable error. Yet it seems necessary to make the attempt to draw attention to certain kinds of career patterns that suggest themselves from the evidence.

We suggested above that this élite could be described as a white-collar élite; and we saw that the majority of former students of Makerere College had had only one occupation since leaving the College, in nearly every case, of course, the one for which they were trained. These may perhaps be thought of as the steady career men, who stayed in their chosen professions displaying reasonable competence and achieving normal advancement. Outside their professional life they married and brought up large families—as well as accepting responsibility for other relatives' children; and like middle-class career men the world over they were preoccupied with their houses and their children's schooling.

Around that central theme of the steady career, variations might be woven, the most obvious being politics. The world knows of the spectacular successes of African political leaders, who are drawn from the educated élite—who *must* be drawn from the educated élite, for the reasons we suggested in chapter I—and it is precisely because they are now so well known that it must be particularly emphasized that they make up only a small and specialized minority of the élite.

A political career in the late colonial period meant, broadly, one of two things. It was possible during the late 'fifties to reach positions of high status and influence within the framework of British colonial rule, for example as a minister in one of the central governments during that transitional stage when ministerial and parliamentary institutions were being developed in preparation for the later stages of internal self-government and, eventually, independence. Those men and women who reached high office at that

stage were almost all of the highest ability and integrity, thoroughly committed in their personal outlook to western values, often somewhat conservative in their general views, and acceptable personally and politically to senior British officials. Presumably they came in at that stage with their eyes open to the fact that they were expendable; that they were likely to be compromised by the very fact that they had accepted office in a colonial administration. Although none of them seems to have been harried or persecuted since independence in the way their counterparts have been in some other African countries, they have had their day and been quietly put on the shelf as chairmen of statutory boards or commissions or else dropped out of politics altogether, sometimes into business. The other type of political career, broadly speaking, was that of the militant African nationalist politician, and of them there were under British rule two main types—those whose activities remained acceptable enough, within the framework of law and order and constitutional rule, for them to be opposition leaders in the legislatures; and those who were implicated in the organization of violence, who ended up in jail.

Thus in the late colonial period to embark on a political career involved big risks. To be sure, there were big rewards; but if you were too western in outlook you courted unpopularity and political extinction after independence, while if you were too militant you might well spend a long time meanwhile in the unpleasant conditions of a prison or detention camp. And one thing was certain, namely that your professional career would be adversely affected, for the employers of educated Africans invariably disliked their becoming involved in politics. For that reason, during the early 'fifties students at Makerere College hesitated even to form those political associations among themselves which are a feature of student life in most free countries, saying explicitly that they feared to become known as 'politically minded'. Such inhibitions, it is true, disappeared during the late 'fifties, when students responded to the great hopeful surge of African nationalism which, with independence imminent, could be thought of as safe and respectable enough. But it remains to be seen what the risks of a political career will be in independence, and the experience of other African countries has not been encouraging in this regard.

In view of the extreme risks of politics, then, only a small number of exceptional men chose it rather than steady careers as professional men. In the process, some rose, or 'succeeded', others 'failed', and not a few did both by turns.

A second variation we have already mentioned—the change in mid-career to local government, a chieftainship, or at least to the practice of one's profession at home.

The third is that of failure, in the more ordinary sense of the word. Some men proved to be incompetent at their professions, though these were few. Rather more failed through difficulty in personal relations with their superiors, especially when these were coloured by race relations and race attitudes. Some men did experience harshly prejudiced treatment from European superiors; some managed to handle it, others did not and became

bitter and apathetic. Some men were guilty of failings on the side of professional ethics, for which they were dismissed or downgraded; thus medical and veterinary men might become involved in rackets over drugs, or teachers be dismissed for making girl pupils pregnant. Such men usually ended up doing lower-grade jobs—a former medical practitioner might become a medical assistant, or a teacher dismissed from a government or mission school find a post in a private or local government school.

A common feature in many cases of failure, and indeed a major problem among the educated élite generally, was drunkenness. Dismissal for 'moral lapses', embittered relations with superiors, boredom and loneliness, could all to some extent be relieved by drinking, and factors such as those may have played a part in the formation of a habit of alcoholic addiction among the older men. The same thing also worked the other way round; the personal deterioration and unreliability which followed drunken habits may have been a factor in loss of competence at work, and hence in strained relations with superiors. Drunkenness was associated with financial problems. The drink itself had to be paid for, and at the same time men tended to lose their grip—in many cases never very secure—over their efforts to balance income and expenditure. Not only their own money became involved, but loans from friends and colleagues, bribes, and sometimes embezzled official or company's funds were drawn in. A young civil servant or business manager needs a car, and governments and firms generally have loan schemes for their officers; reckless driving when drunk, and the misuse of the firm's car for wild parties, could lead to damage and expensive repairs; money had somehow to be raised for these; there might be magistrate's court appearances and fines. Thus among a few of the younger men the sequence of drink, car smashes, embezzlement, led to serious cases of drunken delinquent breakdown, aggravated in one or two instances by aggressive behaviour towards the police when fighting drunk, or the destruction of property. Although such cases were rare, they received much publicity, which contributed to the rather low opinion which employers sometimes held of Makerere men.

Conclusion

In the preceding pages, an attempt has been made to describe the positions that educated Africans occupied in the societies of the three East African countries just before independence, the family and social backgrounds from which they came, how they got there, and the sort of personal qualities which they brought to their tasks.

Inevitably a study of this sort leaves gaps. We do not know enough about how the rest of the community views educated Africans. Although we have an idea of how educated men regard their kinsfolk, we do not know what their kinsfolk think of them; nor do we know enough about how other sections of the community view them. Secondly, as was clear from an earlier section of this chapter, more work needs to be done on marriage and family life among the élite. Omari's¹⁶ study in West Africa of the changing attitudes of students towards marriage and family relations is

valuable; but we need to investigate, as well as their attitudes, what they actually do when it comes to marriages and other sorts of sex relations. Many studies have now been done of the confusion, especially in African towns, that arises in people's sex relations between traditional values and practices, Christian attitudes conveyed through the churches and missionary bodies, and systems of law based on European models introduced by colonial administrations¹⁷. What is lacking is a study of how the educated élite stand in this confusion, and it is a study that can perhaps best be done by one of themselves.

Thirdly, the present study does no more than touch upon the psychological aspects of adjustment. How do educated Africans think of the world and their place in it? What are their ultimate valuations? In so far as the traditional African world of their kinsmen and fellow tribesmen is found to be in conflict with the ever more insistently intrusive western world, how are the conflicts of value resolved? What in this sense are the major educational influences at work on African school children and students in adolescence? Traditional African values; Christian beliefs and practices; modern western cultural influences; and the scientific and rational outlook of modern thought, make up a medley of cultural influences upon young Africans in schools and colleges. What are the characteristic reactions of different personality types to these contradictory influences, and to the structural strains involved in life in present-day Africa?

The world of educated Africans spans huge contrasts—from areas of life in which people dress in skins, live in grass huts, and fight with spears over cattle, through the milieu of the mission station and the tin-roofed trading settlement, to another area of life in which people fly to New York to attend meetings of the General Assembly and negotiate dollar loans. A notable film, *Men of Two Worlds*, once conveyed—perhaps in over-dramatic terms, as is the way of films, but with much basic truth—some of the dilemmas of one of this crucially important group, and coined a phrase which in some ways is a good one to describe them. Yet the world is one. The dollar loans have a bearing upon the cattle-raids. If we think of two worlds, or two social systems, now impinging upon one another—and whatever words we use in this kind of context must be metaphors, no more—then educated Africans are at the points of impact. An understanding of their position, their social background, and their characteristics is clearly of the utmost importance for a wider understanding of social change in modern Africa. It will clearly be of great significance in appreciating the decisions which some of them will now be making, with momentous consequences for the world as a whole. As well as being of absorbing interest in social science, the study of African élites is vital to an understanding of one important sector of world affairs.

Appendix I—Makerere College Statistics (1922-60)

The full figures showing the development of Makerere College from 1922 to 1959-60 being too cumbersome to embody in the text of chapter I are reproduced here as Tables A and B.

Table A is reproduced, with minor changes of caption and in the notes, from the Uganda Education Department Annual Report for 1939. It differs in respect of some earlier years from the corresponding table in earlier Annual Reports; for example, in the 1938 report the number of agriculture students in 1938 is given as 28; in the 1939 report the same figure appears as 31. More seriously, though this is not stated in the source, the table appears to include only those students who were actually resident on Makerere Hill; students who were resident elsewhere—medical students in their third, fourth, and fifth years who lived at Mulago, veterinary students in their third, fourth and fifth years at Entebbe, and agriculture students in their fourth and fifth years at Bukalasa—appear to have been excluded.

Thus the De La Warr Commission state (p. 35) that in 1937, 'at the time of our visit there were 210 students at Makerere and its associated schools', distributed as follows:

	5th year	4th year	3rd year	2nd year	1st year
Agriculture	9	10	9	7	15
Schoolmasters	—	—	12	14	17
Medical	6	4	6	9	11
Engineering	—	—	16	18	11
Veterinary	4	7	4	5	3
Police	—	—	—	—	3
Cambridge certificate ..	—	—	—	—	10

If we omit the 50 'non-resident students', the total —160—agrees with the Education Department's figure, but the distribution between courses is different:

	Med	Agr	Vet	Eng	Schm	CSC	Police	Total
De La Warr ..	20	31	8	45	43	10	3	160
Educ. Dept. ..	25	31	10	37	46	11	—	160

Somewhat similar doubts are cast on the reliability of the official statistics by another comparison. The Asquith Commission (p. 9) state that 'in 1943 there were 114 students resident at the College and 24 in the associated departmental schools', or 138 altogether; presumably this figure was supplied to the Commission by the College authorities or the Uganda Education Department. The College's printed roll of students for 1943, however, lists 141 names.

Table A
ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS IN RESIDENCE AT MAKERERE COLLEGE
1923-39

Year	Medical	Agriculture	Veterinary	Engineering	Surveying	School Masters	Cambridge School Certificate	Clerks	General Vocational Course	Junior Secondary Course	Technical Courses	TOTAL
1923	10	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	31	45
1924	4	1	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	45	54
1925	9	1	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	66	83
1926	7	1	—	—	2	4	—	—	—	25	59	98
1927	4	—	—	—	2	3	—	—	29	21	49	108
1928	5	7	—	12	6	16	—	—	27	—	19	92
1929	8	6	5	9	5	30	—	33	31	—	—	127
1930	9	6	6	7	7	30	—	44	33	—	—	142
1931	13	8	2	—	3	29	—	25	27	—	—	107
1932	15	10	4	—	—	22	—	29	27	—	—	107
1933	14	15	5	—	—	13	14	27	29	—	—	117
1934	11	21	5	—	—	17	16	31	41	—	—	142
1935	12	29	4	13	—	23	15	21	32	—	—	150
1936	20	41	8	41	—	37	6	—	—	—	—	153
1937	25	31	10	37	—	46	11	—	—	—	—	160
1938	36	31	4	28	—	59	10	—	—	—	—	168
1939	53	30	9	13	—	36	48	—	—	—	—	189

Notes: 'In residence at Makerere College' implies on Makerere hill itself, and students resident elsewhere—medical students at Mulago, agriculture students at Bukalasa, and veterinary students at Entebbe—were excluded.
The General Vocational course was given in the student's first year preparatory to selection for one of the professional courses.
Technical courses included mechanics, carpentry, and telegraphy; they were transferred to the Kampala Technical School from 1929.
The Cambridge School Certificate course ceased at the end of 1939.

Source: Uganda Education Department, Annual Report for 1939, p. 24.

Table B
ANALYSIS OF STUDENTS ATTENDING MAKERERE COLLEGE,
1940 to 1959-60

Year	Medical	Agricultural	Veterinary	Engineering	T.T.	M.A.V.					Other courses	TOTAL	
							Education	Higher Science	Higher Arts	Preliminary Year			
1940	53	33	17	14	64	—				2	183		
1941	31	21	6	6	59	34				1	158		
1942	24	19	6	5	60	39				1	154		
1943	25	13	9	—	60	33				1	141		
1944	29	14	10		38	35	26	5		1	158		
1945	32	10	9		18	43	38	17		5	172		
1946	35	6	8		20	39	44	16		8	176		
1947	34	11	3		13	33	55	34		14	197		
1948	31	12	5		25	54	72	—		19	216*		
					Science:			Arts:					
				Education	Makerere Science	London Prelim.	B.Sc.	Makerere Arts	London Prelim.	B.A.	School of Art		
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	19	49	—	10	60	—	12	5	244
1952	30	5	12	32	7	73	6	—	74	14	11	9	273
1953	30	9	15	42	32	77	11	8	97	30	8	8	367
1954	36	17	12	31	57	88	17	19	103	46	17	6	449
1955	51	27	20	65	41	126	19	14	111	61	18	6	559
1956-7†	62	34	27	79	17	150	25	5	138	60	19	9	625
1957-8	89	38	34	72	1	178	31	—	154	75	18	6	696
1958-9	101	50	37	78	—	209	35	—	178	110	22	3	823
1959-60	121	49	32	66	—	212	51	—	164	153	28	5	881

Notes: Preliminary Year: a course for students who fell short of the College's entrance examination standard but for whom vacancies existed.
T.T.: Teacher Training.
M.A.V.: a two-years' course in science introductory to the Medical, Agriculture, and Veterinary courses. This was the precursor of the Higher Science course and later that for London Preliminary Science.
Other courses include a special course for women students; an adult course; a course for a General Certificate (Special Entry); and, in recent years, post-graduate research in Arts and Science.
B.A. includes B.Sc. (Econ.).
*So given in source: individual items total 218.
†The academic year changed in 1956: see note 17 to chapter I, p 100.

Source: Rolls of Students, 1940-1943.
Figures for 1944 reconstructed from the Register and other sources and liable to error.
Uganda Education Department Annual Reports, 1945-1948.
Makerere College Annual Reports, 1949 to 1959-60.

In the absence of other records, however, it has not been possible to correct the official statistics, and table A, as has been stated, is therefore quoted as it stands from the official source. Table B is computed on a different basis. Official statistics are not available for the years 1940 to 1944 inclusive; however, for all but the last of those years the College's Roll of Students is still extant, and the figures in table B for those years have been computed from the Rolls. For 1944 it was necessary to reconstruct a Roll of Students, using the Register and other sources. For 1945 to 1948 inclusive there are again figures in the Uganda Education Department's Annual Reports, though these contain at least one error in arithmetic, as is noted in table B. From 1949 to 1953 inclusive the College issued its own annual reports in mimeographed form, and from 1954 onwards in printed form. Table B therefore, unlike table A, includes all students who were attending courses of the College, wherever they were resident.

The change in the basis of the statistics between the two tables is of particular importance in assessing the drop in numbers at the beginning of the war. Including 'non-resident students', the number attending the College in 1939 cannot have been far short of 250; the drop to 183 in 1940 was, therefore, much sharper than would appear from a direct comparison of the two tables.

Appendix II—Sources and Methods

*The Makerere College Register*¹

The records of students who attended Makerere College during the first 20 years of its existence were unfortunately lost when a night-watchman employed by the College stole most of the files and sold them for the paper during the war-time shortage of that commodity, so that in 1945 the College knew officially of the whereabouts of about 90 of its thousand or so old students. The task of reconstructing the Register of the College accordingly fell to the then Dean, Mr. A. G. Macpherson, and was completed after he left the service of the College by Mrs. Macpherson. Apart from the few files still extant, the main starting point was a personal list which Mr. Tomblings had kept of the names and a few other details of the students who attended the College during his principalship. Some printed records also existed, including the Rolls of Students for 1940 to 1943 inclusive, and lists in the annual reports of the College, which were published as part of the annual reports of the Uganda Education Department; for the most part, however, these mentioned only those students who passed examinations or were awarded their final qualifications, or who distinguished themselves in other ways, and were not a complete record. Another source was the College magazine; *The Makerere College Magazine*, published from July 1936 to December 1941, and *Makerere*, its successor, from November 1946 to March 1953. Especially in the former, lists were occasionally published of new students, of students who had 'left the College' (though

this often meant gone to Mulago for medical training, Entebbe for the veterinary course, etc.), or who had 'left the College altogether'.

By far the greater part of the reconstruction was made through personal inquiries, however. As a result of the Macphersons' eight years' research, the College was able in 1955 to publish the Register of students who had entered from 1922 to 1953 inclusive. In most cases, it proved possible to record the name, tribe, dates of entry to and departure from the College, course of study and other details like prizes awarded, sporting distinctions, etc., and at least some indication of the subsequent career; some entries are fuller; some are a bare record of name and dates. A typical entry runs:

Lutalo, Y.K.: 36-42; Bam.; U.; Muganda; King's College, Budo; b.1917; Medicine; Prefect, Mulago, 41; Pharmacology Prize, 39; A.M.O., Mbale, 43-49; Res. House Physician, Mulago 49; m. 45. 1 s., 2 d.; address: Mulago Hospital, P.O. Box 351, Kampala.

(Expanding the shorthand: 1936-42, Bamugye's House, a Uganda man, of the Ganda tribe, entered from King's College, Budo, born 1917, studied medicine at the College, was prefect of the medical students' hostel in 1941, won the pharmacology prize in 1939; appointed Assistant Medical Officer and posted to Mbale where he was from 1943 to 1949—the rest is self-evident.)

The Register as originally published contained 1,694 names. Five men who are not listed in it have since been discovered to have attended the College during the years in question, while one man turned out to have been listed twice under different names, so that the amended Register population consists of 1,698 men and women. Three of these persons had two separate periods of study at the College (as distinct, that is, from resumption after interruptions), and information is accordingly available about 1,701 entries to the College. Little information beyond name and date exists about roughly 200 of the men and women listed and there may possibly be gaps still, though the small number of amendments which have become necessary in five years is a tribute to the authors' thoroughness. Occasionally there are minor inaccuracies about dates; for example, a man who originally entered in 1940, missed 1941, and resumed his studies in 1942 was counted at the time, and subsequently, as if his date of entry had been 1941. Moreover, though the main reliance was on printed sources, in a few cases it was necessary to rely on the statement of the man concerned, and when this had to be done a common mistake was for a student who left (say) at the end of 1933 to say he did so in 1934, as it was in the latter year that he started in employment. Information on whether a man passed or failed, however, was taken always from official sources, unless it could clearly be deduced from the man's career—for example, employment as an assistant medical officer amounts to proof that a medical student passed his final examination.

The Register, then, constitutes a list of unique value. For the purposes of the present study it provided the basis for some of the generalizations about former students' careers which are set out in chapter IV. In a wider

perspective, it was until very recently the nearest thing we had to an East African Who's Who, a compilation of unique value of information about the greater part of the East African elite.

The College Newsletter

The changing nature of the College, and in particular the fact that hardly a single member of the College staff who was there before 1945 was still there in 1950, created a more continuing problem of maintaining touch with the old students of the College generally and with the Makerere College Union Society, the old students' association. The responsibility for keeping in touch has for many years now been that of Mrs. Macpherson, and since 1946 she has sent out twice a year at the College's expense a newsletter containing news of developments at the College and a great deal of information about the doings of former students. The newsletters issued since the publication of the Register made it possible to bring up to date the facts about the careers of men and women listed in it, together with such details as study abroad.

A Follow-up Survey of Former Students

When I joined the staff of the College in 1951, the compilation of the Register was still in progress, and it seemed that a useful way of supplementing that work would be to do a rather more intensive survey of a small number of old students. None of the lists then available seemed satisfactory as a sampling frame, and instead it was decided to take one of the lists published in *The Makerere College Magazine* of students who had left the College together one year in the 'thirties. The chosen list consisted of 55 names, a convenient number for one investigator to interview personally; and it included presumably men of all the types of training then available, and—most important—every degree of success or failure, however those words may be interpreted. There was a danger that other lists, such as those of the Union Society, would tend to include more prominent and successful men and fewer who had lapsed into obscurity.

When the Register was completed, it turned out that the magazine list was wrong. Two of the men listed had in fact left the following year, while the Register includes twelve more who left in the year in question. But though the magazine list was incomplete, there seems no reason to suppose that it was unrepresentative of the students who attended the College at that period.

An interview schedule was drawn up, and two trial interviews conducted during 1951 with men who left Makerere about the same period but not in the sample year. The original intention was to interview all the surviving members of the list of 55 in their own houses, a project involving a not unwelcome necessity to travel widely throughout Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika, staying whenever possible as the guest of former Makerere students. It proved a major undertaking to trace the then whereabouts of every man on the list, involving much informal inquiry and lengthy correspondence. The interviewing field-work was begun in January 1952

and completed in April 1954. In the event contact was established with all 52 surviving members of the sample, and some details were also obtained about the three who had died. The writer personally interviewed 47, while two interviews were kindly done by colleagues and the remaining three men all responded to postal questionnaires. Only one man was unco-operative to the point of refusing to be interviewed; the great majority were completely co-operative and indeed welcomed the survey, and several were most helpful in hospitality and other ways.

The interviews mostly took the form of two or three conversations, of two or more hours each. Though no secret was made of the purpose of the survey, it was thought best not to bring the survey schedule to the interviews; I carried the questions in my head, worked them into a general conversation, and wrote up the schedule as soon as possible afterwards.

A Statistical Analysis of the Register and Newsletter Information

The completion and publication of the Register made possible an analysis for a larger population than that of the follow-up survey of certain points that had arisen in that survey, such as the career histories of former students and the changing tribal composition of the College. The Register data were accordingly coded on to Cope-Chat cards during 1956-57, and the cards have since been revised from time to time to incorporate information from the Newsletters and from other sources—personal contacts, newspaper reports, the records of the Appointments Board of the College, and so on. It would have been possible to add, from the College's official records, information about students who entered after 1953 and are not therefore included in the Register; but this was decided against. Even at the end of 1959, two students who entered in 1952 were still in residence, and fourteen of those who entered in 1953; to include later years, therefore, would have made an analysis of students' careers after leaving the College more inconclusive. Moreover, the rapidly increasing entry of non-Africans—welcome though that is on general grounds—would somewhat complicate the analysis for the present limited purpose of a study of the educated African élite. The number of non-Africans who entered before 1954 and are included in the published Register, however, is small—two Indians from Uganda, one Indian and twelve Arabs, Baluchis, etc., from Kenya, and 29 Arabs, 10 Comorians and one Indian from Zanzibar. (Nine men who are listed as Euraficans and one Indo-African should also be mentioned, but they tend to throw in their lot with, and to be accepted by, the African élite, and do not really constitute an exception).

An analysis of the known information up to the end of 1957 was made early in 1958 and embodied, with a general summary of the College's history and its relation with its former students, in an article published jointly by Mrs. Macpherson and the present writer². The results of another analysis are given in the present work, taking into account the amendments to the Register already noted, some corrections—such as the discovery that some men had been attributed to the wrong tribe or given the wrong dates—and all the information about careers which was available up to the end of 1959.

Survey of Undergraduates in Residence at the College

The writer conducted a survey of the literacy of the parents of undergraduates who entered the College in 1954; apart from yielding information on the point in question, this small survey afforded valuable experience for planning subsequent larger inquiries. The inquiry was conducted as part of the formalities of registration at the College, and a high rate of response was secured, forms being returned by 138 out of 154 freshmen admitted that year. Of these, eight were returned anonymously, the students' territories not being stated, while five were returned by non-Africans. For present purposes, therefore, an analysis of 125 of these forms is relevant; of these, 45 were returned by students from Kenya, 41 from Uganda, 36 from Tanganyika, and three from Northern Rhodesia, all Africans. The results are mentioned in chapter II.

A full-scale students' survey, modelled in the main on Jahoda's Ghana survey, was conducted in the latter part of 1958. The questionnaire employed was a voluminous one of thirteen foolscap pages, and was divided into two parts. The second part followed fairly closely that of Jahoda (who was kind enough to send me a copy of his schedule), and included questions on the student's experience of adjustment at school and College and on the relation between his life there and at home with his parents, his aspirations and expectations; while the first part called, in much greater detail than did Jahoda, for facts about the education and occupation of a defined range of kindred—grandparents, parents, parents' siblings, father's wives other than the subject's own mother, siblings and half-siblings. After some preliminary explanation and appeals, these questionnaires were sent through the College mail to students in two of the College's halls of residence—Mitchell Hall, one of the (then) four men's halls, where the writer was at the time a resident tutor, and Mary Stuart Hall housing all the College's women students. Observing that the form took at least an hour to fill in, the response was not entirely disappointing, and about the same as that in Jahoda's survey; 92 out of 182 men and 38 out of 58 women in the two halls sent in completed forms, giving a response rate of 54 per cent. as compared with 56.5 per cent. in Ghana. In addition, two men of other halls (sociology students) volunteered to fill in forms, giving a total for this survey of 132. 115 of these were Africans. The information on kinship and social origins of the 17 non-Africans, while of some interest in itself, was not immediately relevant to the purpose of the present study; the data on their adjustment and attitudes, however, proved of value for comparison with the Africans', and has been analysed in chapter III.

The resulting sample, therefore, was not exactly representative of the undergraduate body as a whole; in particular, it was a two-thirds sample of the women students and a one-eighth sample of the men, such a disproportion having indeed been intended in order to ensure enough women students to make comparisons possible. Tanganyika students, both men and women, responded at above the average rate—70 per cent.—while Kenya men and women showed a below average response—44 and 45

per cent. respectively—and Uganda men also responded poorly. The response rate was low among senior students, especially those in their post-graduate education year, and correspondingly higher among students in their first two years at the College. It is to be expected that students who responded to a tutor's request for co-operation in a voluntary survey of this sort would be more generally compliant and co-operative with College authority than those who did not, and this must affect the interpretation of their replies to questions on their attitudes and adjustment (chapter III.) It seems unlikely, however, that the sample was unrepresentative of the social and educational background of students at the College generally; it proved, in fact, to include students whose family backgrounds exhibited a full range from complete illiteracy to relative sophistication, as appears in chapter II.

In order to gain more data on social and educational backgrounds, a shortened form, including only the sections on relatives' education and occupations, was sent by the Registrar's department of the College with other necessary papers to each person offered a place at the College in July 1959. About 230 offers of places were sent out, 196 of those offered places entered the College, and 100 completed forms were returned, 84 of them by Africans. Of these, 41 were from Kenya, 35 from Uganda, and 8 from Tanganyika (the entry from that Territory being abnormally small in 1959 as Higher School Certificate courses were started there in that year and most of the successful School Certificate candidates who in previous years would have come to Makerere stayed at school). If the sample is regarded as one of 1959 freshmen—for no form was in fact received from any person who did not take up his offer of a place at the College—then the response rate, 51 per cent., is similar to that in the previous survey and in the Ghana survey.

Sample one, therefore, that of the 1958 Mitchell and Mary Stuart Halls survey, is the only source of data on the questions about adjustment, attitudes and aspirations, and affords the basis for chapter III of the present study. Both samples afford data on the educational attainments and occupational status of students' near kin, and some information on this topic is obtainable therefore from a total of 199 African students—115 in sample one and 84 in sample two, that of 1959 freshmen. After eliminating some forms which for various reasons had been incompletely filled in, a final sample was left of the forms of 160 African students giving complete information about their social origins. This is referred to as the 'sample of 160', and upon the analysis of the forms completed by these students the conclusions in chapter II are for the most part based. It so happens—more by chance than by intention—that the three mainland territories are represented in this sample in proportions closely similar to those of the whole College in 1958-59; no African student from Zanzibar, however, responded to the survey.

Conclusion

To sum up: a rather limited amount of information is obtainable from the Makerere College Register and other published, or semi-published,

sources about a large population of educated Africans, nearly 1,700 in number, who make up the greater part of the educated African élite of East Africa. This has been supplemented by two more intensive sample studies—a follow-up of 55 men who left the College during the 1930s, and a survey carried out in two stages in 1958 of students in residence at Makerere.

Other Sources

In addition to the systematic collection of statistical and survey data, the writer has of course drawn upon his general acquaintance and familiarity with educated Africans, both those whom he met as students at Makerere College and those whom he visited in different parts of East Africa. Participation in two conferences, held at Makerere College in 1956 and 1960, between the employers of Makerere men and their teachers afforded valuable insights. Finally, the collection of genealogical information about 'notable families'—groups of kin among whom a number of near relatives have been at Makerere—proved valuable. For reasons of confidence, it has not been possible to quote that material directly, but it has been drawn upon in a general way especially in chapter II.

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Notes

Chapter I

1. INCIDI: record of the XXIXth session. Brussels, 1956.
2. *International Social Science Bulletin*, viii, 3, 1956.
3. Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology, Amsterdam, v, 1956.
4. The literature is more fully reviewed in the writer's contribution to Southall, A. W. (ed.), *Social Change in Modern Africa*. Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London, 1961, pp. 145-58.
5. Jahoda, G., 'The Social Background of a West African student population', *Brit. J. Sociology*, v, 1954, pp. 355-65, and vi, 1955, pp. 71-9.
6. Smythe, H. H. and Mabel M., *The New Nigerian Elite*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1960.
7. The information in this section is mainly derived from the Annual Reports of the three Government education departments.
8. Uganda Education Department, Annual Report for 1957. Historical Review on pp. 1-3.
9. Alliance High School, Kikuyu. Speech Day, 17th October 1959; The Headmaster's Report.
10. The Cambridge School Certificate roughly corresponds to O-level in modern British terms, or somewhat below high school graduation in American.
11. Kenya Colony and Protectorate: Annual Report of the Education Department for 1938, pp. 72-3.
12. See Welbourn, F. B., *East African Rebels*, S.C.M. Press, London, 1961, pp. 141-61.
13. Information collected and kindly made available by Mr. Stephen Hoyle.
14. Williams, A. W., 'The History of Mulago Hospital and the Makerere College Medical School', *E. Afr. Med. J.*, 29, 1952, pp. 253-63.
15. Higher Education in East Africa, Colonial no. 142, H.M.S.O., London, 1937. See also summary of main recommendations in Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Education Department for 1937, pp. 24-5.
16. Vowles, P. F., 'Makerere College in Transformation', *Makerere Journal*, 3, 1959, p. 2.
17. From the College's foundation till 1955, the academic year coincided with the calendar year; the first term started in March, and final examinations were taken in December. 1952 and 1953, therefore, were two separate academic years. Beginning in 1956 the academic year changed; term started in July and the examination season was March-April. Thus an academic year has to be hyphenated, e.g. 1957-58 (July 1957-April 1958).
18. Oliver, R., *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*, Longmans Green, London, 1952, pp. 216-7 and 238-40.
19. See Taylor, J. V., *The Growth of the Church in Buganda*, S.C.M. Press, London, 1958, pp. 133-4.

Chapter III

1. I am indebted to Mr. A. J. Maleche for this information.
2. Stanley, M., *Staff-Student Relations at Makerere College*, paper read at East African Institute of Social Research conference, December 1960.

Chapter IV

1. See Pratt's account in Low, D. A., and Pratt, R. C., *Buganda and British Overrule, 1900-1955: two studies*, Oxford University Press for East African Institute of Social Research, London, 1960, pp. 258-62.
2. Jahoda, G., 'The Social Background of a West African student population', *Brit. J. Sociology*, vi, 1955, p. 74.
3. Hoyt, Elisabeth, 'Economic Sense and the East African: impressions of a visiting American economist', *Africa*, xxii, 1952, p. 166.
4. The word 'graduate' is used here, and throughout, in the English sense to mean a person with a bachelor's or higher degree; not in the American sense of any person who passes a leaving examination, for instance from high school.
5. Quoted by permission from a paper presented to a conference of employers of Makerere men, held at the College in August-September 1960.
6. Goldthorpe, J. E., 'Population Trends and Family Size in Uganda', paper presented to World Population Conference, Rome, 1954.
7. The same problem in a West African setting is particularly well handled by Achebe, C., *No Longer At Ease*, Heinemann, London, 1960.
8. Onyango, B. M., in an essay submitted for the Uganda Bookshop Essay Prize, 1953.
9. Personal communication.
10. Quoted by permission from a paper presented to a conference of employers of Makerere men, held at the College in August-September 1960.
11. A Sudanic tribe of the outlying West Nile district of Uganda, with a reputation for educational and general backwardness.
12. Rigby, P. J. A., personal communication.
13. To take a particularly striking example, the roll for 1943, when the College was at its war-time minimum of 141 students, included Julius Nyerere and the Kabaka of Buganda (attending as a day student) along with H. W. Muloki, S. N. Eliufoo, H. K. Makwaia, M. M. Mwenesi, D. J. K. Nabeta, Dunstan Omari, and others now of hardly less prominence.
14. See Jabavu, Noni, *Drawn in Colour*, John Murray, London, 1960, chapter 14.
15. 'But man has almost constant occasion for the help of his brethren and it is in vain for him to expect it from their benevolence only . . .

20. Carey, A. T., *Colonial Students*, Secker and Warburg, London, 1956, pp. 28–9.
21. Uganda Protectorate: Annual Report of the Education Department for 1954, p. 46.
22. Tanganyika Territory: Annual Report of the Education Department for 1954, p. 30.
23. Vowles, P. F., 'Makerere College in Transformation', *Makerere Journal*, 3, 1959, p. 3.
24. Busia, K. A., 'The Present Situation and Aspirations of Elites in the Gold Coast', *Int. Soc. Sci. Bull.*, viii, 1956, pp. 424–31.
25. Balandier, G., *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires*, Armand Colin, Paris, 1955, p. 161.
26. Wrigley, C. C., 'The Development of a Middle Class in British East Africa', in INCIDI, record of the XXIXth session, INCIDI, Brussels, 1956, pp. 216–8.
27. Hoyt, Elisabeth, 'Economic Sense and the East African: impressions of a visiting American economist', *Africa*, xxii, 1952, pp. 165–9.
28. Elkan, W., 'The East African Trade in Woodcarvings', *Africa*, xxviii, 1958, pp. 322.
29. Richards, A. I. (ed.), *East African Chiefs*, Faber & Faber, for E.A.I.S.R., London, 1960. Quotations below are from pp. 369 and 67.
30. The peasants often thought otherwise, however. See J. G. Liebenow's account in Richards, A.I. (ed.), *East African Chiefs*, pp. 245–9; also Fallers, L.A., *Bantu Bureaucracy*, pp. 189–96.

Chapter II

1. In order to represent the period under discussion, 1948 population census figures were used for this analysis.
2. Uganda Census, 1959: African Population, table IV.28.
3. A sibling is a brother or sister.
4. Jahoda, G., 'The Social Background of a West African student population', *Brit. J. Sociology*, v, 1954, pp. 355–65, and vi, 1955, pp. 71–9.
5. Anderson, C. Arnold, 'The Social Status of University Students in relation to Type of Economy: and international comparison', *Transactions of the Third World Congress of Sociology*, v, 1956, pp. 51–63.
6. Kelsall, R. K., *Report on an inquiry into applications for admission to Universities*, The Association of Universities of the British Commonwealth, London, 1957, pp. 9–10.
7. West, Patricia Salter, 'The College Graduate in American Society', Ph.D. thesis, unpublished, Columbia University, 1951.
See a summary of her results in Bendix, R., and Lipset, S. M., (eds.), *Class Status and Power*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1954, pp. 465–80, and especially note 7 on p. 699.
8. See the writer's contribution in Southall, A. W. (ed.), *Social Change in Modern Africa*, Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London, 1961, pp. 145–58.

It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest . . . Nobody but a beggar chuses to depend chiefly upon the benevolence of his fellow-citizens . . .'

'By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it.'

—Smith, Adam, *The Wealth of Nations*, ed. Cannan, Edwin, with an introduction by Lerner, Max, Random House, New York, 1937, pp. 14 and 423.

16. Omari, T. P., 'Changing Attitudes of Students in West African Society toward Marriage and Family Relationships', *Brit. J. Sociology*, xi, 1960, pp. 197–210.
17. For a general account see Phillips, A. (ed.), *Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, Oxford University Press for International African Institute, London, 1953.
Among urban surveys, see particularly Southall, A. W., and Gutkind, P. C. W., *Townsmen in the Making*, (East African Studies no. 9), East African Institute of Social Research, Kampala, 1956, chapters V and IX.

Appendix on Sources and Methods

1. Makerere College Register 1922–53. Makerere College, the University College of East Africa, 1955.
2. Goldthorpe, J. E., and Macpherson, Margaret, 'Makerere College and its Old Students', *ZAIRE*, xii, 1958, pp. 349–63.

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(Note: in accordance with scientific usage, tribal names have been indexed without prefixes, e.g. Ganda, Kamba, Nyakyusa.)

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The Hon. Julius Nyerere in addressing Makerere College students on Graduation Day, 9 April, 1962, concluded his speech with

. . . 'Yet it is they, the educated few, that is you and I, who could use their opportunities to entrench themselves as the new privileged class; exploiters of the masses of their own people. For this reason your attitude and mine is of supreme importance to the future of our countries.'

This book is an attempt to describe 'the educated few'—an African elite—their education, their social origins, their adjustments during and after education.

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