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A Case Study of Makerere University in Uganda through the Lens of U.S. Land-Grant Higher Education

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A CASE STUDY OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY IN UGANDA THROUGH THE LENS OF
U.S. LAND-GRANT HIGHER EDUCATION

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A dissertation submitted to the College of Applied Human Sciences at West Virginia University

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Ph.D. in Higher Education

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Keywords: Makerere University, land-grant higher education, international higher education,
Uganda, sub-Saharan Africa, case study

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ABSTRACT

A Case Study of Makerere University through the Lens of U.S. Land-Grant Higher Education

Christina Hand, M.A.

This case study examines Makerere University through the lens of U.S. land-grant ideal and normative domains in order to provide a deeper understanding of global higher education. A case study uses multiple types of data to create a holistic perspective. As well as interviewing Makerere stakeholders representing diverse sectors, numerous documents and different types of media were analyzed enabling a triangulation of data. Six major themes emerged focusing on Makerere's aspiration to be a research-led institution, the impact of neoliberalism, challenges in undergraduate education, the importance of reputation and saga, the ever-present role of the Ugandan government, and the continuing effects of colonialism. These findings are discussed in relationship to the land-grant domains, in particular the tensions and contradictions which can result in university instability.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE – INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY	1
Problem Statement	3
Purpose Statement	4
Research Questions	6
Conceptual Framework	6
Significance	10
Limitations and Delimitations	12
Definition of Terms	13
CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW	17
Introduction	17
Land-Grant Framework	19
Sub-Saharan Africa	35
African Higher Education	38
Makerere University	42
Informing Theories	50
Conclusion	54
CHAPTER THREE – METHODOLOGY	57
Introduction	57
Case Study Methodology	57
Data Analysis	66
Validity and Reliability	70

Ethical Considerations	71
Positionality	72
CHAPTER FOUR – FINDINGS	75
Finding 1 – Research-Led Institution	75
Finding 2 – Neoliberalism and Market Influences	94
Finding 3 – Undergraduate Education	107
Finding 4 – Reputation and Saga	121
Finding 5 – Ugandan Government	133
Finding 6 - Colonialism	146
CHAPTER FIVE – SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION	154
Research Questions and Conceptual Framework	154
Summary of Findings.....	156
Research Question 1: How Mission, Structures, and Activities Align and Diverge across Land-Grant Domains	157
Research Question 2: Facilitators, Barriers, and Tensions across Land-Grant Domains	174
Conclusion	184
Practical Recommendations.....	188
Future Research	189
REFERENCES	190
APPENDICES	207
APPENDIX A – Land-Grant Universities – 1862, 1890, 1994	207
APPENDIX B – Africa Map and Satellite Image	210

APPENDIX C – Africa under Colonial Rule	211
APPENDIX D – Political Map of Uganda	212
APPENDIX E – Universities in Uganda	213
APPENDIX F – Case Study Interview Questions	214
APPENDIX G – Consent Form	218
APPENDIX H – Data Analysis Example	220
APPENDIX I – Makerere University Undergraduate Programs by College.....	221

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1	Conceptual Framework	7
Figure 2.1	Economic Development Framework	22
Figure 5.1	U.S. Land-Grant Conceptual Framework	167
Figure 5.2	Research Productivity	186

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1	Types of Evidence in Makerere University Case Study	61
Table 3.2	Potential Interview Participants	64
Table 4.1	Makerere Partnerships in Vice-Chancellor Twitter Feed	77
Table 4.2	Projects Funded by Research and Innovations Fund	86
Table 4.3	Research and Innovations Supported by Resilient Africa Network	87
Table 4.4	Undergraduate and Graduate Admissions	102
Table 4.5	Critical Thinking: College of Education and External Studies	109
Table 4.6	Critical Thinking: College of Humanities and Social Science	110
Table 4.7	Comparison of U.S. and Ugandan Education	112
Table 4.8	Graduation Statistics - May 2023	118
Table 4.9	Makerere@100 Events	126
Table 4.10	Key Performance Indicators - Innovations at Makerere Committee	136
Table 4.11	Makerere University Chancellors	138
Table 5.1	Research Productivity	167
Table 5.2	Facilitators and Barriers across Conceptual Framework Domains	182

Chapter 1: Introduction

This study was conducted during a period of time when democracy was challenged both in the United States and in Uganda and a global pandemic continued. On January 6, 2021, insurrectionists assaulted the United States Capitol in an effort to overturn the election of Joe Biden, and on January 13, President Trump was impeached for his role in inciting the insurrection. On January 14, 2021, Ugandans went to the polls after a campaign season marred by violence targeting Bobi Wine, the outspoken opponent of President Museveni, who was, as expected, elected for a 6th term. The consequences of these threats to democracy continue to reverberate in both countries. Patricia McGuire (2021) challenges higher education leaders to play a greater role in fighting for truth in the midst of events which would undermine democracy. She asks, “How did so many of our graduates go wrong?” (para. 2). Throughout these democratic upheavals, the coronavirus pandemic continued to escalate, threatening both public health and economic stability. Threats to democracy, a global pandemic, and economic crises: these are “wicked” problems with which our public universities must engage (Gee, 2012, p. 57). Mertens (2015) describes wicked problems as “those that involve multiple interacting systems, are replete with social and institutional uncertainties, and for which only imperfect knowledge about their nature and solutions exists” (p. 3). New approaches are needed to address these complex, seemingly unsolvable problems; universities must take up the challenge.

This research focuses on Makerere University, the flagship university of Uganda, an institution which survived British colonialism, the Idi Amin dictatorship, desperate economic crises, and severe government cutbacks, yet has become one of the leading universities of Africa, often referred to as the “Oxford of Africa.” In order to understand Makerere and its place in sub-Saharan Africa, the framework of the United States land-grant idea is employed. There are a

few reasons for this approach, and embedded into each of these is the importance of solving societal problems – wicked problems: 1) The land-grant idea, with its official inception in 1862, has evolved through the Civil War, political upheaval, and social class and economic disruption, in ways that are relevant to higher education in sub-Saharan Africa; 2) Higher education institutions in both contexts are caught between competing missions: addressing local problems and competing globally; 3) U.S. land-grant and sub-Saharan African higher education are both coming to terms with a colonial past – in the U.S. as colonizer and in Africa as colonized – and are moving toward a future of neoliberalism and privatization.

Although this study focuses on Makerere University and U.S. land-grant higher education in the contemporary sense, the impact of history is always close at hand. In both cases, this is a history which involves colonialism, war, and social upheaval. Makerere University was a product of the British, founded under British colonialism and still influenced by their systems. Since Ugandan independence in 1962, Makerere has been striving to understand what it means to be an African institution, even while surviving two brutal dictatorships and a ravaged economy. U.S. land-grant institutions are just now reckoning with their past as benefiting from settler colonialism, the forceful removal of Native Americans from their land. The land sold by the Federal government for the creation of land-grant institutions was dispossessed land; without this, the Morrill Act of 1862 would not have been possible (Nash, 2019). Land-grant institutions have evolved and thrived through wars and economic crises since their beginnings, but they are searching for clarity of mission. Even as both Makerere University and land-grant universities struggle through crises of identity, striving to be relevant locally and globally, they are being driven by funding insecurities, causing them to move steadily toward a model of neoliberalism and privatization.

The case study methodology was employed in order to conduct an in-depth examination of Makerere University with the hope that insights and lessons learned will extend to other institutions in sub-Saharan Africa which face similar challenges and have endured an equally tumultuous past. Likewise, by using the land-grant framework, this study may also afford insights on U.S. land-grant institutions, recognizing that learning must flow both ways. Robert Yin (2018), one of the foremost scholars on the case study methodology, says, “Case studies allow you to focus in-depth on a “case” and to retain a holistic and real-world perspective” (p. 5). The collection of multiple sources of data, including archival evidence, documents, and comprehensive interviews presents a current view of Makerere University as framed by the U.S. land-grant ideal and normative model.

Problem statement

Public higher education institutions across the world have been struggling to remain viable in the midst of ever-dwindling state resources, pressures to open access, to prepare students for careers, and at same time to be more competitive in research output and in world ratings. Sub-Saharan African institutions feel the pressure as they seek to increase supply to meet demand without compromising quality and academic rigor; currently only 5-6% of secondary school graduates in sub-Saharan Africa continue on to tertiary education (Majgaard & Mingat, 2012, p. 22; Internet Society, 2017, p. 6). U.S. land-grant universities also face pressures to “weld the opposite views” of open access and world-class research (Sorber & Geiger, 2014). Although sub-Saharan African universities and U.S. land-grant institutions exist in different social, economic, and political contexts, they are navigating similar tensions over policies and practices in pursuing their missions.

As the “Oxford of Africa,” Makerere has been lauded for its innovative solutions and neo-liberal reform, addressing challenges facing African universities. A 1999 World Bank report entitled “Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere, the Quiet Revolution” praised Makerere as a model for higher education transformation which should be replicated elsewhere on the continent (Court, 1999). Mamdani (2007), however, in his extensive research on Makerere University explicates the dangers of these market-based reforms of vocationalization, privatization, and commercialization. Kasozi (2019) agrees, warning that these reforms have undermined emphasis on research and doctoral degree production at Makerere University.

Similar tensions are observable in the land-grant university model in the United States. Should scarce resources go toward raising global relevance in research or toward raising local relevance through increased access and more vocational programs? How can a public university fulfill its obligation to the people and remain financially viable? While there is significant research which separately addresses the internal challenges facing land-grant institutions and sub-Saharan African institutions, there is little scholarship that seeks comparative insights into how universities navigate similar mission tensions in different contexts. Thus, this case study, focusing on the current realities and historical context of Makerere University, using the U.S. land-grant framework, will hopefully bring to light important themes which will benefit higher education on both continents.

Purpose statement

The purpose of this study is to discover ways in which Makerere University conforms to and differs from U.S. land-grant higher education, and through the analysis, to better understand both Makerere and land-grant universities. This study will take an in-depth look at Makerere University - including the mission, structures, policies, activities, barriers and facilitators - using

the land-grant ideal and the land-grant model as an organizational and analytical framework. The values under-girding land-grant education (the creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge; democracy and access; and economic advancement) and the structural model which has evolved (decentralization, partnerships, high level research, increased privatization, and commitment to community engagement and teaching) provide a means of studying Makerere University which will give insight beyond a mere institutional description. Hudzik and Simon (2012) discuss the importance of extending the values of the Morrill Act beyond borders, recognizing our commitment to a global society. The results of this global comparison will contribute to scholarship in the United States and in sub-Saharan Africa.

Peters (2013) reminds us that the often-idealized narrative of the Morrill Act and the resulting land-grant universities in reality became a “tragic counter narrative” with competing priorities and unfulfilled promises. In the 160 years since the Morrill Act passed, the land-grant mission has necessarily evolved in response to the conflicting perspectives of national development vs. local development priorities, research vs. vocational priorities, public good vs. private good, and public vs. private funding (Gavarri & Gee, 2018). Higher education in sub-Saharan Africa also faces the same shifts in narrative, balancing what is ideal with the reality, seeking to address the needs of the underserved local population and simultaneously promote economic advancement, all with ever-reducing funding sources.

The case study methodology focusing on Makerere University using the land-grant framework will allow the researcher to gain a deeper understanding of these tensions and challenges, recognizing historical, socio-economic, and cultural contexts on both continents. The case study methodology allows for the gathering and analysis of different types of evidence

including documents, archives, observations, and interviews. The robust compilation of data will provide the evidence required to respond in full to the research questions.

Research questions

1. How do the mission, structures, and activities at Makerere University align or diverge across different domains of the land-grant framework?
2. What are the facilitators, barriers, and tensions that affect Makerere University engagement across different domains of the land-grant framework?

Conceptual framework

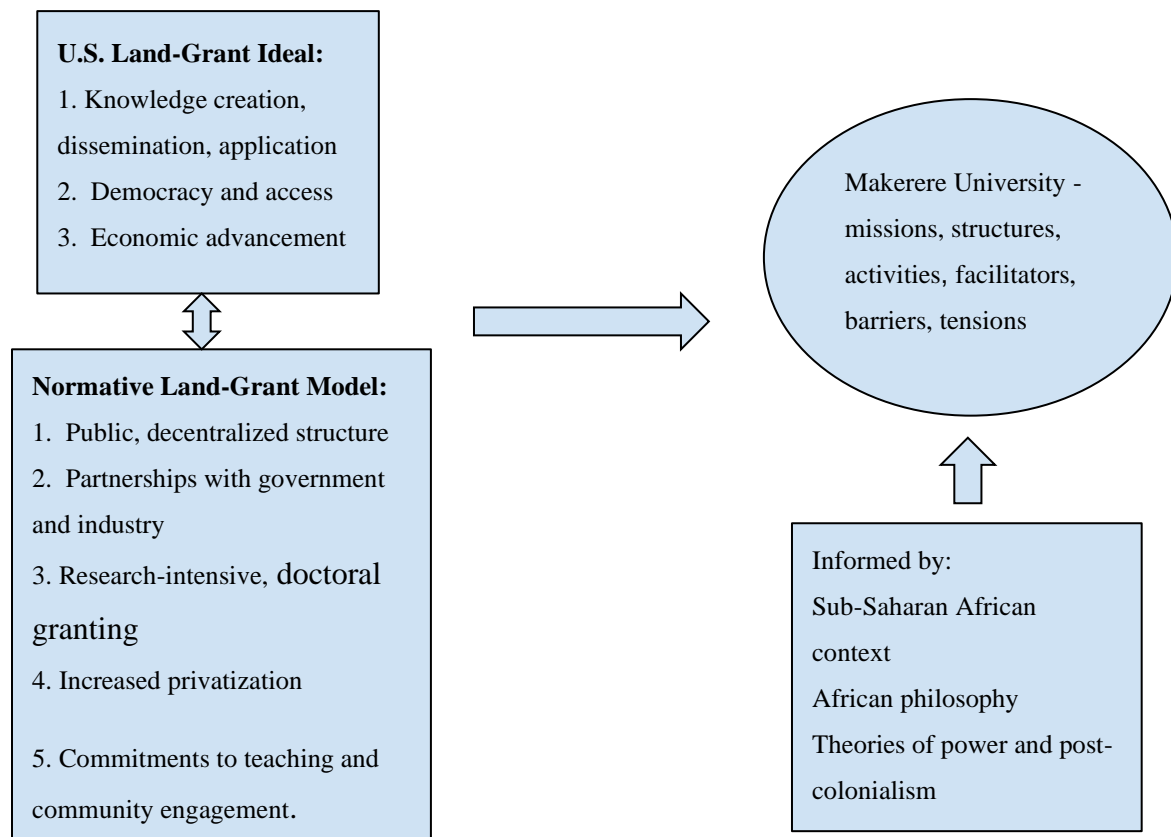
The conceptual framework for the study will be the U.S. land-grant idea, incorporating political, socio-economic, and structural phenomena which are just as relevant in sub-Saharan Africa as in U.S. higher education. The land-grant idea and its evolution offer insights into ways in which the systems align and diverge, providing conclusions which will benefit land-grant and sub-Saharan African institutions. As this is a case study of Makerere University, the land-grant idea will most importantly provide a guiding framework for exploring the significant dynamics at this one institution with the expectation that emerging themes will also be relevant to other higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa. Scholarly thinking on postcolonialism, power and knowledge, democracy and neoliberalism, and African philosophy will also inform the case study, providing depth to the design and analysis of the study. Neither land-grant nor sub-Saharan African high education can be separated from these philosophical, socio-economic, and cultural discussions.

As is evident in *Figure 1.1* below, the U.S. land-grant framework is divided into the land-grant ideal and the land-grant model. This distinction is important as the values originally present in the Morrill Act of 1862 continue to be relevant throughout the evolution of land-grant

institutions, aligning with and sometimes diverging from a normative model which has developed. Both are important to the analysis. The U.S. land-grant ideal is composed of 1) creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge; 2) democracy and access; and 3) economic advancement. The normative model of land-grant institutions consists of 1) a public, decentralized structure; 2) partnerships with government and industry; 3) research-intensive, doctoral-granting education; 4) increased privatization; and 5) commitments to community engagement and teaching. *Figure 1.1* is a visual representation of the conceptual framework, depicting the land-grant interaction with Makerere University as well as other informing influences of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, including African philosophy, and theories of post-colonialism, power, and neoliberalism

Figure 1.1

U.S. Land-Grant Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework will be reflected in the choice of research participants, the interview questions, choices of relevant documents, and in the analysis of data. Tables 3.1 and 3.2 identify data sources and Appendix F provides a list of interview questions.

Land-Grant Ideal and Normative Model

The Morrill Act of 1862 has remained relevant throughout the past 160 years because it has a mission that continues to resonate with contemporary higher education. The requirements of the Morrill Act were concrete enough to be immediately implementable (each state would receive 30 acres of federal land, or the equivalent land script, per Congressional representative) but vague enough to allow states, both then and now, to interpret it in ways most appropriate to their context. It is legislation that has been extolled for its significance in democratizing higher education through increased access to rural populations and through expanding the curriculum to include the “practical arts” of agriculture and mechanics (Cross, 2012; Gee, 2012; Sorber, 2018). Yet, it is also legislation which was designed to advance the national economic agenda, ensuring that the United States was more competitive on a global scale (Crow & Debars, 2012; Sorber & Geiger, 2014; Sorber, 2020). The Act, through its provisions encompassing rigorous science, liberal arts, the industrial classes, and practical application, reinforces the importance of all three pillars of higher education: research (knowledge creation), teaching (knowledge dissemination), and service (knowledge application).

The ideals of land-grant education have led to a normative land-grant model which has evolved over the past 160 years since the original Morrill Act. The original land-grant universities developed into large research institutions, often the flagship university of each state. These took on a decentralized structure, adding colleges and departments, to accommodate the multiplicity of new disciplines and content areas. Public higher education has been shaped

through government legislation (such as Morrill Act of 1862, Hatch Act of 1887, Morrill Act of 1890, Smith-Lever Act of 1914, Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980), and through partnership with industry, particularly when government funding decreased. As land-grant universities grew into "multiversities" (Marginson, 2016) and as they were allowed to patent federally funded research, graduate and research programs became prominent in the normative model. The decrease in government funding also led to the privatization of public higher education, seeking funding through research grants, higher tuition payments, and business contracts. And finally, even in the midst of growth and research, land-grant university leaders strive to stay true to the mission of teaching excellence and service through community engagement (Gavazzi & Gee, 2018).

Context of Makerere University

Even as the lens of the U.S. land-grant ideal and model are used in examining Uganda's Makerere University, the broader context must be considered. The first is the context of sub-Saharan Africa with its complex historical, economic, and political realities. Africa is an expansive continent consisting of 54 countries, of which 46 (or 48 depending on the source) are considered part of sub-Saharan Africa (United Nations Development Bank, 2020). Almost all of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa were colonized by European countries, most gaining independence in the 1960s. The legacy of colonialism permeates all aspects of society and its institutions, including government, civil society, religion, and higher education. Uganda in particular has had much to overcome, as the country gained independence in 1962 and was then ravaged by the successive dictatorships of Idi Amin and Milton Obote's second rule between 1971 and 1985 (Sicherman, 2005).

Equally important in understanding the context of Makerere University are theories particular to the African worldview, to post-colonialism, and to power. Colonial rule was superimposed onto a rich tapestry of traditional values and institutions, undermining what was uniquely African with a Western ideology. This ideology then became the foundation of modern institutions, including higher education. Values, such as communalism and *ubuntu* (African ethic of humanism) were replaced by the Western values of individualism and expediency (Higgs, 2012). Even as Africa has entered into the postcolonial period with the independence of all of its countries, the legacy of colonialism lives on in the institutions. In fact, Gayatri Spivak, a scholar of postcolonialism, asserts that to claim postcolonialism assumes that colonialism no longer exists, a statement that can be disproven by modern examples of colonial oppression (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). Spivak was influenced by the work of French philosopher, Michel Foucault, who focused on the dyad of power and knowledge, of particular importance in the study of higher education. Both reinforce each other, making it more difficult to deny the impact of colonialism in present-day sub-Saharan African higher education.

Significance

Although there is significant research on the land grant ideal and on higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, there is very little on how these models inform each other. In a response to Mamdani (2018), Leys states, “And as for the larger story of the evolution of African universities, a great deal seems to be missing – from the influence of different school systems and different external models (e.g., the U.S. land grant college, the French polytechnic) and sources of external funding, to the widely differing impacts of globalization on national fortunes” (Letters section, para. 25). According to Leys, the land-grant idea is indeed relevant to higher education in sub-Saharan Africa and is worth further investigation. Particularly Makerere

University, the flagship of Uganda and among the most highly rated in Africa, will benefit from a study which seeks insight from an international rather than local perspective.

Hudzik and Simon (2012) discuss a “world-grant” ideal to complement the land-grant ideal. The challenges which we face can no longer be contained to a local or even national scale but must reflect the global reality. Indeed, the coronavirus pandemic, food security, climate change, political instability, and economic crises all have global consequences. As Hudzik and Simon state, “Nothing occurs in a vacuum, and as global forces daily impact the local, so does the local shape the global” (p. 161). Recognizing our global interdependence, a study integrating higher education in sub-Saharan Africa with U.S. land grant education becomes more relevant, strengthening the argument for global engagement.

Also significant is the contribution toward the global conversation around colonialism and equity. Black Lives Matter protests have re-ignited issues of power and marginalization. U.S. universities are recognizing their part in colonialism as they have benefited by the forceful removal of Native Americans. Makerere University, along with other sub-Saharan African universities, still struggles with the legacy of the colonial past. Higher education must leave the ivory tower, cross into the communities and be part of the solution. Gavarri and Gee (2018) describe the Morrill Act and the subsequent Hatch Act and Smith-Lever Act as being “designed to meet the needs of community stakeholders and American society at large” (p. 41). Likewise, Higgs (2012) discusses the importance of communalism in African education, stating that “the individual’s life and fulfillment is only to be found in community with others” (p. 43). Power and knowledge must be used in service to community and not the perpetuation of colonialism and inequality.

While higher education in the U.S. and in Africa is at opposite extremes in terms of participation rates and research production, both systems struggle to provide equal access to the marginalized, to innovate in ways that don't undercut the mission, and have a global influence through research. In particular, both U.S. land-grant institutions and public universities in sub-Saharan Africa feel a deep responsibility to the local population, to help solve the pressing problems – the wicked problems – which surround them. We have a lot to learn from each other as will hopefully become apparent through this study.

Limitations and Delimitations

1. Using U.S. land-grant higher education as the conceptual framework narrows (delimits) the scope of the study by identifying the most relevant domains to focus on. As a large, public, research-focused institution, Makerere shares a similar identity with land-grant universities, lending legitimacy to this choice of a conceptual framework. However, there is also a limiting aspect to this choice as there is a risk of perpetuating colonialism, which is one of the themes emerging from the data. Thus, great care needs to be taken in assumptions made based on the conceptual framework.
2. Similarly, as an American undertaking research in an African country, there is a risk of the continuance of colonialism. Carol Sicherman (2008) raised the same issue regarding her comprehensive work on Makerere University. She, in fact, initially began the project with a Ugandan co-author, but he later had to withdraw. He encouraged her to continue, however, and both acknowledged the advantage of an “outsider’s view” (p. 12). I will have this outsider’s perspective and will seek every opportunity to gain the perspective of insiders.

3. The case study methodology is different from other approaches in that it does not normally involve random sampling. I chose representatives of varied stakeholder populations at Makerere University - faculty, administration, students, and alumni – using convenience and snowballing techniques. This type of sampling guarantees that all relevant aspects of the case are covered. Triangulation through the gathering of diverse types of data – interviews, official documentation, and media - will help to ensure the validity of the study.
4. Generalizability is limited in that this is a case study, an in-depth examination, of just one institution. However, the domains of the conceptual framework more easily enable generalization to similar institutions. For example, other universities in sub-Saharan Africa face similar challenges as do large, public universities worldwide.
5. Finally, I recognize that no study can be constructed without bias. As Koro-Ljungberg (2008) says, “any knowing subjects, including the interviewer, cannot act as neutral and external spectators in knowledge construction, and knowing subjects cannot claim privilege of knowledge or interpretation” (p. 433). The co-construction of knowledge, recognizing the expertise of both researcher and participant, has been critical in both the process and product of the research.

Definition of Terms

1. Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities (APLU) – Founded as the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations in 1887. It went through a series of name changes and mergers until it adopted its present name in 2009 (APLU, 2020).

2. Bayh Dole Act – Legislation passed in 1980 enabling universities to patent inventions which were funded by government research (Berman, 2012).
3. Case study research – A primarily qualitative methodology of research which enables an in-depth, holistic study of a particular “case” through the gathering of multiple sources of evidence such as original documentation, archival records, interviews, observation, and artifacts (Yin, 2018).
4. Colonialism – In this study, it refers to the period of history in which African countries were under the control of European powers. In the case of Uganda, Britain was the colonizing power.
5. Commercialization – The phenomenon in higher education of conducting operations for the primary purpose of financial gain as opposed to the public creation and sharing of knowledge.
6. Hatch Act of 1887 – Legislation which “appropriated federal funds for the development of agricultural experiment stations that were connected to each land-grant institution” (Gavazzi & Gee, 2018, p. 40).
7. Indigenous knowledge – Knowledge which emphasizes local cultural traditions, problem-solving, and ways of doing things, normally in contrast to the Western worldview.
8. Innovation – Refers to a “a new ‘combination’ of existing sources of knowledge, capabilities, and resources” which may not all be present in one place (Fagerber, 2016, p. 4). “Innovation” is distinct from “invention” in that it refers to an improvement and not a new creation.

9. Innovation and Economic Prosperity (IEP) framework – The framework developed by APLU which combines talent (teaching), innovation (research), and stewardship of place (service) for the purposes of economic development (APLU, 2020).
10. Land-Grant Act of 1994 – Legislation enabling Native American tribal colleges to have land-grant status. Currently there are 36 tribal colleges (Halvorson, 2016).
11. Makerere University – Flagship university of Uganda which was founded in 1922 as a technical school under the British. Makerere has a student body of about 38,000 and comprises ten colleges (Times Higher Education, 2019).
12. Morrill Act of 1862 – Legislation signed on October 2, 1862, by President Lincoln giving 30,000 acres of federal land (or land scrip) per congressional representative to each U.S. state for the establishment of a college that would teach the “agricultural and mechanical arts” to the “industrial classes” in order to increase U.S. productivity (Sorber, 2018)
13. Morrill Act of 1890 – The second Morrill Act which authorized further funding (\$15,000 in 1890 and \$1,000 per year reaching a total of \$25,000) for states which established a college for African Americans or designated an existing college for that purpose. These became known as historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) (Mahoney, 2012).
14. Neoliberalism – Refers to practice and policies which emphasize free market capitalism. Associated with privatization and commercialization.
15. Postcolonialism – The study of the societal, economic, and political impact of European colonialism on those nations which were colonized. Philosophically, it assumes that “decolonization” has occurred which is “doubtful” (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012).

16. Privatization – Refers to the practices in higher education of compensating for declining government funding by looking for resources in the private sector such as increases in tuition or industry partnerships.
17. Smith-Lever Act – Legislation passed in 1914 which “created or expanded cooperative extension divisions at all regional land-grant colleges” (Sorber, 2018).
18. Structural Adjustment Programs – Loans provided by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund to assist developing countries with economic crises. These loans came with conditions, however, which limited the way in which a country could spend the money.
19. Sub-Saharan Africa – The bulk of the African continent (48 of 54 countries) excluding the northern countries Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Somalia, Sudan, and Tunisia (United Nations, 2020).
20. Vocationalization – The trend in higher education of emphasizing practical, skills-based courses which lead directly to a job or profession.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

Introduction

An examination of Makerere University through the lens of both the U.S. land-grant ideal and normative model encompasses several domains of scholarship each of which is critical to establishing a solid foundation for the study. These domains include a historical, political, economic, and cultural approach to higher education in the United States and in sub-Saharan Africa. Hudzik and Simon (2012) refer to a “worldwide backyard,” in their discussion of advancing from land-grant to a world-grant ideal (p. 161). They stress that the challenges that we face, such as world food supplies, environmental sustainability, energy consumption, and disease, are global; they have no national boundaries. Therefore, it is necessary to have an international reach in the study of higher education. Gordon Gee, president of West Virginia University and formerly president of Ohio State University, both U.S. land-grant universities, discusses the importance of the land-grant mission in solving “wicked” problems, solutions which “however uncertain, unpredictable, and partial, do not always lie within the tidy boundaries of traditional scholarly disciplines” (Gee, 2012, p. 57). The solutions to these problems cannot be found in “silos” but in a willingness to transverse both disciplinary and geographic boundaries.

Existing scholarship will first be examined in the U.S. land-grant domain, beginning with a historical foundation, and then focusing on both the ideal (values) and the typical model which has evolved over the last 160 years of land-grant education. Throughout this discussion, it will become clear there is no “land-grant rulebook” which can be superimposed on any one university or system of universities. Sorber and Geiger (2014) made this clear in their article entitled “The

Welding of Opposite Views,” bringing to light the contradictions in the land-grant ideal. They state that:

The Morrill Act was both broad and paradoxical. It seemed to propose narrow curricula with its focus on the applied studies of agriculture and the mechanical arts but, at the same time, required breadth, in that the “classical and scientific subjects” not be excluded (p. 385).

Additionally, Gavazzi and Gee (2018) in their interviews with 27 public and land-grant university presidents emphasize how reality often gets in the way of achieving the ideal. One president said, “It’s kind of ridiculous that one of the greatest contributions that the United States has made to the world is its land-grant universities, and we can’t find the funding necessary to sustain these institutions?” (p. 61).

Following a discussion of U.S. land-grant education, attention will turn to higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, giving a critical context for a more specific examination of Makerere University in Uganda. Just as with the land-grant discussion, an investigation of historical, economic, political, and cultural aspects in sub-Saharan African higher education will help to ensure a comprehensive perspective for the study. The European colonization and subsequent independence of African countries has left a complicated legacy which has greatly affected higher education. Indeed, Sicherman (2005) begins her extensive book about Makerere University with an exploration on what it even means to be an “African university.” She asks whether “an ‘African university’ is a ‘university *in* Africa’ or ‘a university *of* Africa” (p. 1). Those who accept the “in Africa” definition would more readily accept the colonial legacy, while those who strive for “of Africa” call for the integration of African studies, African languages, and African knowledge in the curriculum.

As noted earlier, there is very little literature which combines both of these domains: the U.S. land-grant and sub-Saharan African higher education. Cloete and Maassen (2015), however, in their edited volume on knowledge production in African higher education refer to the U.S. system as combining “the classic German research university model with the so-called ‘Land-Grant’ university model, which had a specific focus on *science with application into society*” (p. 4). They discuss the specific roles of land-grant universities and the often “contradictory functions” of universities (p. 5), similar to the thesis of Sorber and Geiger (2014) in “The Welding of Opposite Views.”

Land-Grant framework

Historical Context of Morrill Act

The signing of the Morrill Act in 1862 was not an isolated event which resulted in the sudden appearance of land grant institutions. Sorber (2018) reminds us that it was part of a complex political, sociological, and economic drama playing out at a critical time in the history of the United States.

Higher education in the first half of the 19th century was characterized by the elite colleges of the East Coast which were intent on perpetuating a classical, “gentlemen’s” education (such as Yale, Harvard, Dartmouth and Princeton), and denominational colleges, particularly Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregationalist. Some women’s colleges were established, such as Mount Holyoke, and Oberlin was the first to become co-educational (Geiger, 2015). Lacking at all of these institutions was an emphasis on science and research. Anyone wanting to pursue mathematics, biology, chemistry, physics, and engineering needed to study in Europe, especially Germany. Indeed, because of their scientific advances, Europe had a distinct advantage over the United States in the development of capitalism and an industrial economy.

It was into this environment that Justin Morrill appeared. He was a businessman, and after becoming wealthy through his company Morrill, Young, & Company, decided to run for the U.S. House of Representatives as a Whig. Through his travels and associations, he saw that Europe was more progressive through the application of scientific methods to farming. He first tried to introduce a land-grant bill in 1857, where it passed in the House, passed in the Senate despite opposition, but was vetoed by President Buchanan. President Lincoln, however, who had just taken office in March 1861, was much more sympathetic to the cause and signed the bill on July 2, 1862. Republicans (Lincoln's party) favored initiatives which would benefit the North economically by integrating the Western frontier. In addition, the southern states had by then seceded from the Union so posed no threat to the bill (Sorber, 2018).

Sorber (2020) traces the evolution of the land-grant idea through the following four paradigms: 1) national development; 2) local development; 3) human capital and knowledge advancement; and 4) privatization and commercialization. National development was the context into which the Morrill Act was signed and was Morrill's ultimate objective. Local development refers to the populist perspective of the farmers and grange associations, which saw the land-grant purpose through a vocational lens, to prepare students to be good farmers. The Hatch Act and Smith-Lever Act were initiatives within this local development paradigm. Between the two world wars, however, it became apparent that education and training needed to reach a higher percentage of the population. Sorber's (2020) third paradigm, human capital and knowledge advancement, refers to the period described by Martin Trow as "massification." The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1945 (GI Bill), passed after World War II, became the largest single catalyst for massification, authorizing federal funding for returning war veterans. The land grant universities were well-positioned to admit the influx of new students. Clark Kerr's

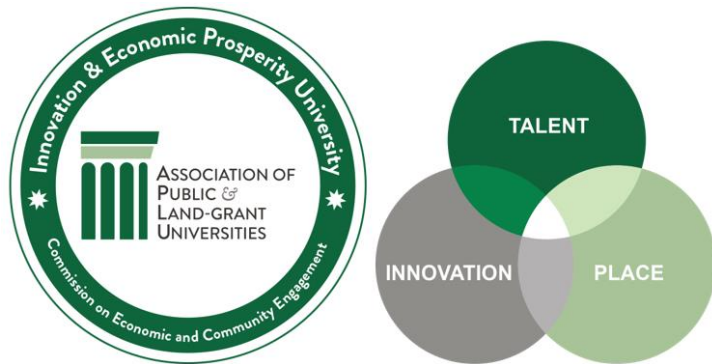
1960 California Master Plan which laid out a three-tiered system for higher education, became a global model designed to achieve excellence in research while pursuing a mission of open access and education for the common good (Marginson, 2016).

The fourth paradigm of the land-grant evolution, privatization and commercialization, arose as a result of the recession and economic stagnation of the 1970s and the federal government's inability to continue its generous support of higher education. In the 1990s and following, state governments began reducing their appropriations to public institutions. Sorber (2020) says that "at the 53 flagship land-grant colleges and universities state budget cuts led to 25 percent increases in in-state tuition (\$2,400/student) and a 19 percent increase in out-of-state tuition (\$6,000/student) between 2009 and 2014" (p. 22). Thus, the only recourse for institutions has been to turn to other sources of funding and innovative solutions. In her book, *Creating the Market University*, Elizabeth Popp Berman (2012), discusses the implications of lower government investment and the role that the market has played in filling in the gaps. Of particular importance were the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 allowing universities to patent government-funded inventions and the creation of university-industry research centers.

In 1887, the Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations was founded, later becoming the Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities (APLU, 2020). The APLU promotes dialogue and scholarship on critical issues and strives to support the land-grant mandate through initiatives integrating community and economic engagement. These efforts led to the creation of the Economic Development Framework which focuses on the areas of talent (development of human capital), innovation (research and entrepreneurship), and place (relevance and service to community). See Figure 2.1 below.

Figure 2.1

Economic Development Framework



Source: <https://www.aplu.org>

The APLU gives an Innovation and Economic Prosperity University designation for institutions which promote excellence in the three areas of talent, innovation, and place. To earn this designation, institutions participate in a self-study process indicating commitment and growth in the areas of economic and community engagement. Awards are given to institutions which have implemented particularly notable initiatives in each of the three areas. The “Economic Engagement Connections” award is for institutions that develop initiatives encompassing all three areas. For example, in 2019, North Carolina State University won the connections award for its Entrepreneurship Clinic, a cross-disciplinary initiative which has resulted in numerous student start-up businesses. Montana State University won the 2018 connections award for creating the Fort Peck Nursing Project, providing health care to Native Americans on the Fort Peck Reservation (APLU, 2020).

U.S. Land-Grant Ideal

Creation, Dissemination, and Application of Knowledge. What we do with knowledge is at the core of higher education. The Morrill Act advanced this understanding by pushing higher education beyond the sphere of elite education for gentlemen to a domain

accessible to all people. Land-grant thought promoted research as the application of science to industry, encouraged the creation of knowledge through research stations, and furthered the dissemination of knowledge through extension programs. The three pillars of higher education – teaching, research, and service – were advanced through land-grant deliberations and implementation.

As land-grant institutions have grown and become major research institutions, the equal distribution and prioritization of teaching, research, and service are continually debated. The Morrill Act was explicit about the importance of teaching and application:

...to *teach* such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal *and practical education* of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life (italics mine) (Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute, 2020).

In the immediate aftermath of the passage of the Morrill Act, farmers and the grange, associations which represented the farmers, interpreted this as a vocational education, teaching farming skills to sons of farmers, and revolted when colleges included the sciences and the liberal arts (Sorber, 2018). This focus on vocational education and on educating the industrial classes continues to be associated with the value of service and community engagement in land-grant education. Gavazzi and Gee (2018) discuss the concept of the servant university as being “entrusted with authority over public resources” and “committed to building community” (p. 32). In this way, institutions strive to be distinctive, responding to local needs, rather than isomorphic, in which all institutions drift toward the same mission and goals.

Despite the initial land-grant emphasis on teaching and service, land-grant institutions eventually came to understand Morrill's broader intent of incorporating science and research, inspired by European universities, in order to be economically competitive. Geiger (1986) traces the evolution of research universities, noting that it took time for state universities particularly in the Midwest and West to move through the populist era to research status. He says, "It would take the remainder of the [19th] century for the brand of higher education championed by the Morrill Act to develop fully in state universities" (p. 6). In contemporary land-grant universities, the research mandate has taken on a critical significance as a majority (forty-two out of the seventy-six land-grant institutions listed by the APLU) have become major research universities (Crow and Debars, 2012, p. 123). As Duderstadt (2012) emphasizes, today's public research universities are responsible for "enabling America to compete in an emerging global economy in which educated citizens, new knowledge, and innovation are key" (p. 222).

Democracy and Access. The Morrill Act of 1862 opened the door for rural students who would not consider applying for one of the contemporary elite colleges focusing on a classical liberal arts curriculum. Farmers and the grange associations, which gave voice to the farmers, saw the Morrill Act as an opportunity for the "sons of soil" to get a practical, skills-based education in order to improve farming practices. While Morrill's original intent was economic, the class struggles during the years following the Morrill Act led to the democratization of higher education through increased access and calls for equity and equality. The Hatch Act of 1887 and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 were particularly instrumental in ensuring that opportunities for applied research remained and the voices of farmers were heard, even as a rigorous science curriculum prevailed in land-grant colleges.

Cross (2012) puts the land-grant act into the historical context of democratic legislation which includes the Homestead Act and the Transcontinental Railroad Act, both signed by Abraham Lincoln in 1862, the same year as the Morrill Act. He says that “Americans accepted the connection between western settlement and democracy” (p. 2). In the decades preceding the Morrill Act, Horace Greeley recognized the importance of education for farmers in order to stay on their farms. Greeley read the existing literature and bought a seventy-five-acre farm in Chappaqua, New York, in 1853, in order to experiment with his ideas and share with farmers, laying the foundation for the Morrill Act and increasing access to education (p. 6).

Even as the Morrill Act has been celebrated as a great leap forward in the democratization of higher education, Nash (2019) and Stein (2020) present a revisionist look at the history of land-grant universities with their research on settler colonialism. The land, or land script, which the Morrill Act provided to states for institutions of higher education was in fact land which had been forcefully removed from Native Americans. Rather than benign support of higher education, they view the Morrill Act (and the Homestead and Railroad Acts) as intentional efforts to settle the West, dispossessing Native American land. Nash traces land sales which enabled the founding of modern land-grant universities to specific tribes who originally occupied the land.

A recognition of racial inequity in land-grant legislation led to the passage of the Morrill Act of 1890, requiring that each state provide higher education for black students in order to get additional federal funding, extending the land-grant priority of access and democracy. The resulting historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) created new opportunities for African American students, but, unfortunately, were also a catalyst for the doctrine of “separate but equal” (Mahoney, 2012, p. 18). These institutions struggled to attain the same quality of the

original land-grant institutions since admitted students did not have the same academic background and needed a more basic education. In 1994, tribal colleges were granted land-grant status, in an effort to further democratize higher education for Native Americans.

Largely as a result of land-grant legislation, U.S. higher education has passed through Martin Trow's stages of elite (under 15%), mass (15-50%) to universal (over 50%) more quickly than other countries (Trow, 2007). The steady increase in participation has been accompanied by a call for equity and increased community engagement among land-grant institutions. Gavazzi and Gee (2018) refer to the importance of the "town-gown" relationship and use a marital metaphor to illustrate the partnership between the community and the land-grant university. Through their research with public university presidents, however, they acknowledge the many competing forces which impede the realization of this ideal. For example, declining state funding drives the need for more private funds including raises in tuition which makes higher education less accessible to students. Likewise, the pressure of global rankings diverts the university's attention away from the local context to a national and even international context. Applied research, which is more immediately relevant to the regional context, conflicts with basic research that is driven by pure intellectual curiosity and the hallmark of research universities.

Economic Advancement. Sorber (2018) acknowledges the democracy-focused perspective of the Morrill Act but seeks to impart a more nuanced, revisionist version of land-grant history. He contends that Justin Morrill "showed little interest in expanding political participation to women, promoting the welfare of laborers, or increasing the political power of common people or emancipated slaves" (p. 49). He was a businessman, and his first concern was the promotion of capitalism and industry. In the mid-19th century, when Morrill drafted and

promoted the Land-Grant College Act, Europe led in economic development and anyone wanting a scholarly, scientific education sought a European graduate degree. Morrill saw that the best way to make the United States more competitive economically was to advance scientific knowledge and research, producing graduates who would become industry leaders. The scientific subjects, which at that time were the recognized domain of European universities, were needed to give a more research-oriented foundation to agriculture and the “mechanical arts;” this would in turn lead to increased economic productivity.

Crow and Debars (2012) trace the impact of land-grant universities on economic development, asserting that “advances in knowledge fundamentally enabled by university science have increasingly driven the economy, leading to the development of entire new industries and the growth of national prosperity” (p. 121). They emphasize the evolution of the original land-grant institutions to major research universities which in turn form partnerships with business, industry, and government. The creation of human capital and the combination of basic and applied research have led to innovations bringing about the agricultural, industrial, and now the information revolution. Likewise, Duderstadt (2012) views the “steady stream of well-educated people, scientific knowledge, and technological innovations” as the product of public research universities and the legacy of the land-grant initiative (p. 221).

Clark Kerr in the California Master Plan also envisioned the land-grant university as an engine for economic development by designating a specific theme relevant to each University of California campus. UC Davis and Riverside would be committed to agriculture, helping California farmers and growers. UC Irvine, a more urban campus, would be committed to social science, policy research, and urban planning. Kerr, in fact, proposed in a 1967 speech that urban-grant universities, placed in large U.S. cities, be developed to stand alongside land-grant

universities (Schrum, 2013, p. 328). Kerr's efforts with UC Irvine and the urban-grant university didn't materialize in the way he imagined, but his vision of the potential economic impact of the land-grant movement reinforced that of Justin Morrill.

Beginning in the 1980s, public research universities entered into a new phase of economic advancement as they partnered with industry in technology-based economic development (Geiger, 2004; Geiger & Sa, 2008; Weisbrod, Ballou, & Asch, 2008; Berman, 2012). The Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 was particularly significant in this evolution as it allowed universities to patent inventions funded by federal money. Research universities now contribute to technological and scientific innovation through intellectual property agreements, business and research collaborations, and the creation and dissemination of knowledge. Transfer technology offices in universities handle patenting, licensing, and intellectual property, providing a critical link to collaboration with industry. Thus, land-grant universities continue to follow Morrill's lead by engaging in both basic and applied research which is economically relevant to contemporary society.

Normative U.S. Land-Grant Model

Public, Decentralized Structure. The Morrill Act upheld the public values of education, as the federal government gave land, or land script, to the states for the establishment of a university that would serve the people. In an era dominated by private, elite universities, these institutions would be for the common good. The land-grant institutions in most states would eventually become large, public "multiversities," as Clark Kerr referred to them (Marginson, 2016). In the list of land-grant institutions maintained by the United States Department of Agriculture, the vast majority of the original 1862 institutions are major research institutions with numerous departments, research programs, and degrees (National Institute of

Food and Agriculture, 2020). As major research universities, often the flagship of the state, these are traditionally governed by giving a certain amount of autonomy to the school and departments within the university. Courses and degree programs are organized into departments based on knowledge domains; the departments in turn are organized into schools and then colleges according to larger domains of knowledge. In knowledge-centered organizations, decentralization gives more discretion to professional employees (faculty), enabling them to draw more fully on their expertise (Geiger, 2004).

The decentralized structure of higher education is consistent with the approach chosen in the formative years of the nation when, in 1787, the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia rejected James Madison's proposal for a national university. This decentralized structure would "fortuitously unleash competition between institutions and contribute to this defining attribute of American higher education" (Crow and Debars, 2012, p. 125). Although land-grant colleges were supported by federal dollars through the Morrill Act of 1862, they were given the latitude to take on the character of the state in which they were located rather than restricted to a common identity. Indeed, the Morrill Act itself encouraged schools to identify with the local environment rather than adhere only to national priorities. In this sense, Morrill and President Lincoln had the foresight that higher education rooted in the local and regional context would in the end result in increased national productivity.

Partnerships with Government and Industry. The land-grant idea would not have been possible without government partnership in the form of several key pieces of legislation. The most important legislation was the Morrill Act, passed by the U.S. legislature, and on July 2, 1862, signed by President Lincoln, which led to the establishment of land-grant institutions through the sale of public lands. Justin Morrill's initial intent in proposing the legislation was to

increase national productivity through a more scientific approach to agriculture and mechanics. Other key pieces of legislation during this time included the Hatch Act of 1887, establishing experimental research stations in all states, the Smith-Lever Act in 1914, providing federal money for agricultural extension, and the Morrill Act of 1890 requiring that, in order to get federal funds, states establish a land-grant college for African Americans.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, which helped the United States get out of the Great Depression, relied on land-grant colleges and their county extension agents to implement the government's programs and services to rural communities and farmers. The land-grant colleges became an important intermediary "bridging the divide between higher education and the state, and between the state and its rural citizens" (Loss, 2013, p. 303). This partnership between the federal government and land-grant institutions was made possible by the preceding Hatch Act and Smith-Lever Act.

In the 20th century, two additional pieces of legislation, although not specific to land-grant institutions, had a great impact on their evolution. The Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, also known as the GI Bill, provided college tuition for returning World War II veterans. The land-grant universities were well-established and ready to receive this influx of new students, paving the way for the "massification" of higher education (Marginson, 2016). The Bayh-Dole Act of 1980, allowing universities to patent government-funded inventions, led to the commercialization of research and influenced how higher education is funded (Bermann, 2011).

This final piece of legislation opened the door to greater partnership with industry, drawing universities into the academic marketplace where they could receive economic benefit for innovations and inventions undertaken by faculty and students. This led to what economist Henry Etzkowitz called the "Triple Helix" of university-industry-government collaboration

(Crow and Debars, 2012, p. 135). Each actor in the Triple Helix contributes its unique assets to further economic growth and innovation; in higher education, the result is the creation of the market university and academic capitalism (Bermann, 2011; Slaughter & Rhoades, 2009).

Research-Intensive, Doctoral-Granting. As indicated above, anyone in the mid-19th century wanting to pursue basic, scientific research went to a European university, typically in Germany. Justin Morrill saw that economic productivity was inextricably linked to scientific research, leading him to persevere in the writing, promotion, and defense of the Land-Grant Act through the decades of the 1850s to 1890s. When the Morrill Act of 1862 was interpreted by farmers through a skills-based, vocational lens, legislation to make their sons better farmers, Morrill persisted in clarifying his intent of upholding scientific and research methodologies. Eventually, this became the norm of land-grant education, particularly with the passing of the Hatch Act and the Smith-Lever Act, both of which attenuated the concerns of farmers.

The original land-grant institutions have become the foundation of our contemporary large public research universities. Duderstadt (2012) states that 62 percent of U.S. academic research and 70 percent of the nation's professionals, such as doctors, engineers, scientists, and teachers are a product of these universities (p. 221). He goes on to reflect that just as the original land-grant act focused on developing the natural resources of that time, so the progeny of the Morrill Act, modern research institutions, focus on developing the contemporary resources of the knowledge economy. This is accomplished through degrees and research programs which strive to create the knowledge that is then disseminated and applied.

Increased Privatization. Higher education is not immune to the economic and political forces swirling around it. As the decrease of federal and state funding became particularly acute in the 1970s and 1980s, financing higher education became of utmost concern for leaders of

land-grant institutions. Weisbrod, Ballou, and Ashe (2008) indicate that between 1986 and 2006, state and local appropriations for public, four-year colleges and universities decreased from 44.2% to 26.8% (pp. 298-299). Therefore, even as land-grant universities maintain their commitment to the public good, they have increasingly turned to the private sector for more funding whether through increases in tuition, private donors and contracts, or through industry partnerships. The result has been an increasing commercialization of higher education. Indeed, the final paradigm of Sorber's (2020) history of American land-grant universities is privatization and commercialization, recognizing the present reality of public higher education.

Slaughter and Rhoades (2009) describe this new reality as academic capitalism, where there is a blurring of boundaries between knowledge for the public good and knowledge for private profit. In this "new economy," knowledge has become a raw material which can be owned and made into products (p. 15). This is made possible particularly through the patenting of discoveries made through university research and partnerships with corporations. Students are consumers in academic capitalism, the targets of marketing and advertising in order to attract their business.

Berman (2012) expounds on the great achievements made by the market university, particularly through applied scientific research, but she also recognizes that this may come at a cost if we see higher education only in economic, neoliberal terms. Fogel (2012) reminds us that Justin Morrill in the Land-Grant Act stipulated that it was not to exclude "other scientific and classical studies" and that both "liberal and practical education" were to be promoted (p. 243). Although Morrill sought to specifically enhance the application of science, he still believed in the value of a liberal education. It is thus in the spirit of the Morrill Act to approach the evolution to privatization cautiously, recognizing the non-economic value of higher education.

Commitment to Teaching and Community Engagement. Just as research and graduate programs strive to create knowledge, community engagement and teaching are the other two “legs of the stool” which enable the dissemination and application of the knowledge. These are emphasized in the Morrill Act through its provisions for access and equity. One of the most commonly quoted clauses of the 1862 Morrill Act is that the institutions must “teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life” (Cornell Law School Legal Information Institute, 2020). The notions of a practical education for the industrial classes were particularly salient in developing the land-grant mission, opening higher education in terms of both access and curriculum.

Land-grant institutions, even as they have taken on rigorous research agendas, continue to recognize the importance of excellence in teaching and engagement. In 1905, Andrew Carnegie created the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, which continues to be relevant today. The Carnegie Foundation also created the Classification for Community Engagement, emphasizing the responsibility that public universities have to their local region. Likewise, the Kellogg Commission on the Future of State and Land-Grant Universities called for increased community engagement, determining that the term “engagement” was more appropriate than “service.” The commission defined a university’s community engagement using the following seven characteristics: “1) responsiveness, 2) respect for partners, 3) academic neutrality; 4) accessibility; 5) integration; 6) coordination; and 7) resource partnerships” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 12; Gavazzi & Gee, 2018, p. 50). While higher education is often viewed as being out of touch with the rest of society, the land-grant movement recognized

that “public higher education needed to attend to the problems of the community supporting it, and direct its teaching, research and service toward the issues of the day” (Kellogg Commission, 1999, p. 27).

One of the primary ways in which land-grant institutions engage the community is through cooperative extension services, originally established by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914. McDowell (2003) indicates how federal, state, and county partnerships enable this type of cooperation, which initially benefited agricultural production. Whereas higher education is often seen as detached from “real life,” McDowell describes extension services as “finding solutions to practical problems” (2003, p. 40). He draws the contrast between former Harvard president, Derek Bok, who cautioned against being “distracted” by the world, and land-grant universities which are “in peril” if they are not relevant to society (p. 32). Gavazzi and Gee (2018) address contemporary importance of Cooperative Extension Services, noting the impact of 4-H programs especially in rural areas. Their research with university presidents, however, reveal that extension services have not done as well in urban contexts.

Collins (2015) conducted a case study at the University of Hawai’i at Mānoa (UHM), a land-grant university committed to serving the native Hawaiian population. In particular, he looked at the role of agricultural extension at the university, examining the relationship between university extension services and local farmers as well as the relationship between Western academic science and Indigenous science (Collins, 2015; Collins & Mueller, 2016). According to Collins (2015), “the core of extension is related to the diffusion of knowledge for public good” (p. 60) which he illustrates through the very real threat of food crisis in Hawai’i as 90% of food is imported. The role of extension should be to bridge the gap between the university and the community, “a unique space that connects academic knowledge with practical purposes”

(Collins, 2015, p. 48). As demonstrated by Collins, in the case of UHC, there were successful examples, but there were also barriers which prevented the effective functioning of extension services. For example, distrust might result between farmers and university scientists over intentions to patent or over a lack of recognition of the cultural, Indigenous perceptions and practices. Additionally, it is difficult to truly assess the impact of training and knowledge sharing.

Sub-Saharan Africa

Definition of sub-Saharan Africa.

Sub-Saharan Africa is considered the area south of the Sahara Desert on the continent of Africa. According to the United Nations (2020), there are 54 countries in Africa; the number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa, however, varies from 46 according to the United Nations Development Bank (2020) to 48 according to the World Bank (2020). The countries in question are Sudan and Somalia, both found in the Horn of Africa and members of the Arab League along with northern African countries. The northern African countries not included in sub-Saharan Africa are Algeria, Djibouti, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, and Tunisia (see map of Africa in Appendix B).

Sub-Saharan Africa is a vast region made up of a tremendous diversity of languages, ethnic groups, cultural practices, and traditions. Ouane and Glanz (2010) state that the number of languages spoken in Africa varies between 1000 and 2500 depending on the definitions and estimates used. Some countries, such as Burundi and Rwanda, are more homogenous, speaking just a few languages, while there are more than 400 languages in Nigeria. Yet in his comprehensive volume on Africa, Meredith (2011) makes this observation: “Although Africa is a continent of great diversity, African states have much in common, not only their origins as

colonial territories, but the similar hazards and difficulties they have faced” (p. 14). Thus, any study involving Africa must strike a delicate balance, acknowledging the depth and diversity and avoiding overgeneralization, and yet engaging the commonalities to help in reaching conclusions.

Colonialism

European colonialism is one of the experiences that almost all sub-Saharan countries have in common. The “scramble for Africa” began in the latter half of the 19th century as European explorers reached the African shores and eventually traveled inland in search of riches such as diamonds, gold, ivory, emeralds, and copper. In 1884, thirteen European powers as well as the United States met in Berlin to divide up Africa. The result was a map which disregarded natural divisions of language, ethnicity, and even geography. By 1914, all of Africa, except Ethiopia and Liberia, was under the colonial rule of the British, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Belgians, Germans, and Italians. Ethiopia (known then as Abyssinia) fought off Italian occupation but was later occupied by Italy from 1936 to 1941. Liberia was founded by the United States as a slave colony and gained full independence in 1847 (“The scramble for Africa,” 1999; Boddy-Evans, 2019). See Appendix C for a map of Africa under colonial control.

The European colonizers brought with them their language, their religion, their system of government, their education model, their judicial system, and their customs. In short, the colonizers recreated all of their institutions on African soil. Higgs (2012) asserts that “colonialism in Africa provided the framework for the organized subjugation of the cultural, scientific and economic life of many on the African continent” (p. 1). Indeed, higher education during the colonial era was for the purpose of educating Africans to be better civil servants in the colonial government and not to encourage African independent thinking.

After World War I, there was a shuffling of territories among the European powers. For example, Togoland and Cameroon were divided between France and Britain, and the territories of Rwanda and Burundi were given to Belgium (Meredith, 2011). The greatest change, however, occurred during World War II with the building of infrastructure, such as airports and roads, and the enlistment of African troops to fight in the war. After the war, the balance of power shifted from Europe to the new superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union. The Atlantic Charter of 1941, written by British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and U.S. President Roosevelt, supported self-determination for all people. While Churchill didn't see this as applying to British territories, Roosevelt did. On his way to a conference in Casablanca in 1943, he stopped in Gambia and described it as a "hell-hole" to Churchill after seeing the poverty first-hand (p. 9). Thus, the Atlantic Charter and the tensions of the war fed the flames for independence.

In 1945, at the end of the war, four African countries were independent: Egypt, Ethiopia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa. At this time, Britain had fourteen African colonies, and while full autonomy was not considered, each of the colonies had its own governor (often with African senior advisors), laws, and services. The British initiated development programs in agriculture, education, health, and transportation and opened universities in the Gold Coast (what is now Ghana), Nigeria, Uganda, and Sudan. Nigeria and the Gold Coast also drew up new constitutions. Likewise, after the war, the French gave more representation to their colonies (which they called *la plus grande France*). Belgium and Portugal, however, had a tight grip on their colonies and didn't allow political representation.

Apart from the original four, the first country to finally gain independence was Ghana, on March 6, 1957, largely thanks to the charisma and ambition of Kwame Nkrumah, a self-

described Marxist Socialist. Ghana's independence set off a world-wide sense of euphoria prompting visits from foreign dignitaries including then U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon. In 1958, Nkrumah convened an All-African People's Conference which included 300 African representatives, many of whom would later rise to leadership in their own countries. The final speaker of the conference, Tom Mboya, a young Kenyan trade unionist, concluded with these words for the colonizers, "Your time is past. Africa must be free. Scram from Africa." (Meredith, 2011, p. 29).

Ghana lit the fire of independence across Africa. Guinea followed in 1958, and seventeen countries followed in 1960, earning the distinction as the "Year of Africa" (Chiwanza, 2017). The rest of Africa followed throughout the 1960s and 1970s, including Uganda which gained independence in 1962. Namibia gained independence from South Africa in 1990 (Meredith, 2011).

African Higher Education

During the colonial era, universities in sub-Saharan Africa served to train students to be effective civil servants in the colonial bureaucracy. They taught the curriculum of the colonizing country (particularly Britain or France) and did little to incorporate indigenous knowledge or to increase access. During this time, higher education was only for the elite. In the late 1950s and early 1960s, after independence, universities were faced with the need to change, to make higher education relevant to the country's needs and the local people. Higher education at this time was considered to be the pathway to progress in African countries. Higher education institutions were to provide the human capital for the many development needs facing the countries. However, as asserted by Cloete and Maassen (2015), the primary purpose of universities transitioned from recruiting the social elites for the colonial governments to recruiting elites for

the newly independent governments. A common misconception is that African higher education has “massified without resources.” Cloete and Maassen say that “In reality, nowhere on the continent is there a differentiated and massified system; there are only overcrowded elite systems” (p. 6).

African Higher Education and Development

The idea of the African development university took hold as the 1960s became known as the “development decade.” UNESCO hosted a conference called the “Development of Higher Education in Africa” in September 1962, and the Association of African Universities hosted a workshop in Accra, Ghana in July 1972, both highlighting the importance of the university in development (Cloette & Massen, 2015, p. 7). This enthusiasm did not last long, however, as national politics and World Bank policies impeded the advance of higher education in the 1980s.

The Structural Adjustment Policies (SAPs) of the World Bank were particularly disastrous for higher education as they focused on the rate-of-return on investment for loans. In these analyses, particularly based on a report by World Bank economist George Psacharopoulos, it was determined that primary education offered a higher return on investment than higher education. Higher education was viewed as a luxury, incurring higher expenses, and resulting in only individual benefits, while primary education cost less and had more widespread benefits. This thinking resulted in drastic reductions in spending for higher education in the 1980s (Darvas, Gao, Shen, and Bawayny, 2017; Cloete & Maassen, 2015; and Collins, 2011). Collins conducted research at higher education institutions in Uganda and stated, “Logic seems to indicate that Uganda must have been in a state of desperation in order to accept loan conditions that could be interpreted as an extension of colonial domination” (p. 132).

In the mid-1990s, however, policymakers and World Bank economists began to see the flaws in the rate-of-return analyses, concluding that the benefits of higher education were much more nuanced and complex than a simple economic formula. In 2000, the World Bank published *Higher Education in Developing Countries: Peril and Promise* (Task Force on Higher Education and Society), and in 2002 published *Constructing Knowledge Societies: New Challenges for Tertiary Education* (Collins, 2011). These publications served to revise the World Bank's position, recognizing that the benefits of higher education include more than the eventual earnings of graduates, but that the more intangible benefits to society must also be considered. The 2000 document states,

The Task Force fully supports the continuation of large investments in primary and secondary education but believes that traditional economic arguments are based on a limited understanding of what higher education institutions contribute. Rate-of-return studies treat educated people as valuable only through their higher earnings and the greater tax revenues extracted by society. But educated people clearly have many other effects on society. Educated people are well-positioned to be economic and social entrepreneurs, having a far-reaching impact on the economic and social well-being of their communities (p. 39).

Even with the shift in World Bank thinking regarding higher education and the subsequent increased funding, Collins (2011) questions the continued reliance of developing countries on foreign aid as risking a new form of colonialism. His research in Uganda revealed conflicting attitudes regarding World Bank involvement in higher education. Some scholars acknowledged the positive impact of new initiatives such as the Millennium Science Initiative and others criticized the ongoing negative impact of structural adjustment policies, even though

they had ended. Those who continued to be critical of the World Bank spoke of perpetuating colonialism.

MDGs and SDGs

In an Association of Commonwealth Universities held in Cape Town in April 2010, a call was made for universities to be “citadels not silos,” to be outward-looking in the development of communities (MacGregor and Makoni, 2010). Universities were asked to promote the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) through teaching, research, and outreach. The goals, however, overlooked higher education, only emphasizing growth in primary education. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) took over in 2015, building on where the MDGs left off, with 17 goals to reach by 2030. The SDGs did slightly better with Goal 4: “Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all” (United Nations, n.d., Sustainable Development Goals). However, the SDGs still fall short of acknowledging higher education’s “rightful role” in reducing poverty through “social, economic, and technological advancement” (Teferra, 2020, p. 1).

Despite the shortcomings, Teferra (2020) is encouraged that both international and African higher education associations are committed to linking higher education to the SDGs. For example, both the Association of African Universities and the International Network for Higher Education in Africa included deliberations on higher education and the SDGs in their respective 2019 conferences. Likewise, the Africa Union in its Agenda 2063 is committed to the realization of the SDGs and acknowledges the importance of science, technology, and innovation in these efforts. Critical to this is the financial investment of African governments. Indeed, Africa 2063 Goal #20 states “Africa takes full responsibility for financing her development goals” (Africa Union, n.d., Agenda 2063). Toward this end, African governments are being

called to “raise their research investment to 1%” (Teferra, 2020, p. 3). Yakubu (2017) also stresses the importance of conducting research to promote science, technology, and innovation, and that African universities need to produce knowledge in these fields and not just consume it.

Makerere University

History

Ugandan higher education can be divided into three periods: the colonial phase (1922-1961), the national phase (1962-1992), and the neoliberal phase (1993-present) (Mamdani, 2008; Bisaso, 2017). Each of these is elaborated below particularly in relation to Makerere University.

Colonial Phase (1922-1961). Makerere University started as a vocational school in 1922 focusing on medical, veterinary, engineering, agricultural, and teacher training for the British East African colonies of Kenya, Tanganyika (now Tanzania), and Uganda. It was considered an elite education as students received full scholarships and few were admitted. Sicherman (2005) says that by 1935 there were only 400 graduates and that “nearly all entered the civil service as clerks or medical assistants or became teachers in missionary schools” (p. 11). The British were reluctant to elevate Makerere to full, independent university status because they were afraid it would produce “fully educated African students making political speeches” and that African students “lacked the moral resilience” to participate in an autonomous university (p. 11). There was also substantial pressure to promote Christianity at the expense of tribal religions.

Asquith Colleges. In 1943, the Secretary of State for the Colonies appointed Sir Cyril Asquith to chair a commission responsible for recommendations regarding higher education in the colonies after World War II. The commission sought ways to continue the colonial influence in the colleges while granting “full university status” (Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies, 1945). The “Asquith colleges,” as they became known, benefitted from the affiliation

with the University of London, which ensured the privileged elite status for Makerere graduates. The commission's report indicates that in 1943, there were 138 total students at Makerere College primarily from Uganda, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, with a few from Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Sudan (Commission, 1945, p. 9). Sicherman (2005) notes that West Africa at the time was emphasizing the practical application of science, technology, agriculture, and engineering while East African higher education continued to favor the liberal arts.

The Glory Years. The Glory Years of Makerere University were considered to be the 1950s and 1960s as new infrastructure was built and “students were free to cultivate the life of the mind” (Sicherman, 2005, p. 40). There was a sense of community even as the Africans tried to fit into the European mold. While one person noted that “potential dividers as ethnicity, race, religion, age and gender were insignificant” in this intellectual environment, organizations based on ethnicity continued to form through these years and there were some political demonstrations (p. 44). Students during these years were able to find jobs both during vacation and after graduation. Sicherman quoted one Ugandan as saying “jobs looked for them” rather than Makerere graduates having to search for jobs (p. 49).

National Phase (1962-1992). In 1963, Makerere College, the Royal Technical College in Nairobi, and the University College of Dar es Salaam merged to become the University of East Africa (Jacob, Nsubuga & Mugimu, 2009). In 1964-65, Makerere undergraduate enrollment was 1,331 and increased to 1,805 in 1967-68. By 1970-71, there were 2,638 Ugandan students at Makerere (p. 336). Enrollment at the campuses in Kenya and Tanzania also grew substantially. The University of East Africa lasted only until 1970 when it was divided into the independent universities of Makerere, Nairobi, and Dar es Salaam. Sicherman (2005)

states that “the UAE was doomed by its foreign origins” (p. 72). The United States in particular supported the UAE and threatened to withdraw the money if the university didn’t comply with American standards.

Milton Obote and Idi Amin. The coup and subsequent dictatorship of Idi Amin in January 1971 had dire effects on Uganda and the stability of Makerere University. When Uganda gained its independence from Britain on October 9, 1962, Amin had just been commissioned as an officer in the Ugandan military. He was practically illiterate, a heavyweight boxing champion, and prone to violence. Nevertheless, he quickly gained the trust of Uganda’s new prime minister, Milton Obote, and was invited into his inner circle. However, when Obote increasingly relied on the military to maintain his hold on the country, he and Amin clashed, and Amin took advantage of Obote’s departure for a conference to stage the coup. At first, Amin was quite conciliatory, appointing a cabinet of highly qualified civilians, many from Makerere University. This deteriorated, though, into paranoia and the mass killing of Obote supporters. Amin’s brutality continued until 1979 when he was defeated by the Tanzanian army. Meredith (2011) states that “Amin’s rule had left Uganda ravaged, lawless, and bankrupt with a death toll put at 250,000 people” (p. 238). Obote regained power in 1980 and ruled with equal brutality until 1985 when he was overthrown. By then, Uganda was one of the poorest countries in the world, and Makerere University had lost most of its intellectual talent and donor support and was functioning at a fraction of what it had been (Sicherman, 2005).

Recovery. Yoweri Museveni became president in 1986, a position that he still holds today. Kyangulanyi described the era of 1986 to 1992 as one of “hardship and hope” (as quoted in Sicherman, 2005, p. 127). Not only did Uganda and Makerere University need to recover from the devastation of the dictators, but they also faced the World Bank’s Structural Adjustment

Policies of the 1980s which reduced government support of higher education. This brought on the need for cost-sharing, privatization, and entrepreneurship.

Neoliberal Phase (1993-present). Court (1999) in the World Bank publication *Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere, the Quiet Revolution*, describes how “in the past seven years Makerere had moved from the brink of collapse to the point where it can become one of the preeminent intellectual and capacity building resources in Uganda and the wider region” (p. i). He documents the innovative ways in which Makerere was able to compensate for lack of government support, including the admission of privately-funded students, commercializing university service units, adding demand-driven degrees such as nursing and tourism, and decentralizing management. All of these together represented a dramatic shift to neoliberalism and privatization. While Court describes this shift in glowing terms using the metaphor of “moving the cathedral,” (p. 17), Mamdani (2007) issues a grave warning against a wholesale move to neoliberalism.

In his book *Scholars in the Marketplace*, Mamdani (2007) carefully documents the effects of the neoliberal reforms, showing that such a shift changes the purpose of the university from one of public good to that of private good. He links privatization to three distinct causes: 1) significantly reduced government funding; 2) focus on primary education rather than higher education; and 3) strikes against cost-sharing proposals (p. 6). He claims that the reforms of privatization (more fee-paying students), commercialization (financial and administrative decentralization), and vocationalisation (demand-driven courses added to the curriculum) have resulted in diminished quality, lack of consistency across the university, and a market rather than academic focus.

Not all Ugandan scholars agree with Mamdani, however, such as Professor William Senteza-Kajubi, who supported privatization and widening access to higher education. Dr. Senteza-Kajubi was Vice Chancellor of Makerere University (1977-1979 and 1990-1993), professor of Higher Education at Makerere, and Vice Chancellor of Nkumba University (1995-2008), a private university which he grew to maturity. He supported the development of private universities as a means of relieving pressure from Makerere University, supporting differentiated education, and opening access (Bakkabulindi, 2017). Senteza-Kajubi also called for increased access in Ugandan public universities, comparing them to the United States, where “there is enough room for Harvard and Howard” (p. 50).

Makerere University Today

Governance and structure. Makerere University is the flagship university of Uganda, one of 36 universities, 10 of which are public and 26 private; this number, however, is frequently changing as more universities are added and some change control. (See Appendix E for a current list of Ugandan universities.) As mentioned earlier, Makerere was founded in 1922; in stark contrast, each of the other universities was founded after 1987, with the exception of the public Uganda Management Institute, which was founded in 1969 (Bisaso, 2017). Makerere, like the other public institutions, is supervised by the Department of Higher Education in the Ministry of Education and Sports (MoES). Until 2000, the national government strictly controlled all of the university’s activities. However, with the passing of the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA) in 2001, universities were given more autonomy. The National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) was created under this act as the regulatory body for both private and public institutions.

The chancellor of the university, appointed by the Ugandan president as recommended by the University Council, is the titular head with no executive power. The current chancellor is Professor Ezra Suruma, a U.S.-educated expert in economics. Until 2002, the Ugandan president was always the university chancellor (Makerere University, n.d. "The Chancellor"). The vice-chancellor (currently Professor Barnabas Nawangwe) is the executive head of the university and is assisted by one deputy over academic affairs and another over finance and administration. Continuing in the hierarchy are the principals of the colleges and School of Law, deans of the schools, and chairs of departments. The University Council is the chief decision-making body, and the University Senate (led by the vice-chancellor) is the primary academic body.

In 2011, Makerere was restructured into a collegiate university with the following nine colleges and one school: "College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology; College of Health Sciences; College of Business and Management Sciences; College of Education and External Studies; College of Natural Sciences; College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences; College of Veterinary Medicine, Animal Resources and Bio-Security; College of Humanities and Social Sciences; College of Computing and Information Sciences; and the School of Law" (Bisaso, 2017, p. 434). Each of these is led by a principal.

Enrollment. In 2015, Makerere University had an enrollment of 35,995 undergraduates, 1,994 master's students, and 680 doctoral students. This represented an increase since 2009 of 1.9%, 4.7%, and 8.4% respectively (Cloette & Bunting, 2018, p. 239). Thus, graduate enrollment has grown at a faster rate than undergraduate enrollment, but it is still not at a level appropriate for a major research institution. According to Cloette and Bunting (2018), an appropriate enrollment target would be undergraduate enrollment at 75% of the total, master's enrollment at 15%, doctoral enrollment at 5%, and 5% at post-graduate under master's level (p.

246). Bisaso (2017) reports that enrollment in the humanities is significantly higher than in science and technology, a difference of 74% and 26% in 2010-11, according to National Council for Higher Education data (p. 429).

Although undergraduate enrollment seems to have slowed after 2009, growth was considerable from the mid-1990s to early 2000s largely because of the enrollment of private (fee-paying) students. Court (1999) documents a total enrollment of 6,996 in 1992/93, of which 6,538 were government-sponsored and 456 private. In 1998/99, the total enrollment was 18,446, of which 8,252 were government-sponsored and 10,194 were private (p. 5).

Mission and Vision. The vision statement of Makerere is “To be the leading institution for academic excellence and innovations in Africa,” and the mission statement is “To provide innovative teaching, learning, research and services responsive to National and Global needs” (Makerere University, n.d., “Vision and Mission; Bisaso, 2017, p. 435; Cloette & Bunting, 2018, p. 240). These were revised in the formulation of the 2008-2018 strategic plan. Also present in this strategic plan are the following three pillars: 1) Being a learner-centered university; 2) Being a research-driven university; and 3) Replacing outreach with a focus on knowledge transfer, networking, and partnerships (Bisaso; Cloette & Bunting).

Research. Of considerable concern is the failure of Makerere to meet post-graduate enrollment, post-graduate completion, and research publication targets. Each of these address Makerere’s standing and reputation as a globally recognized research-intensive institution and is linked to a lack of qualified faculty to teach and mentor graduate students. Bisaso (2017) reports that currently in Uganda there are an estimated 1,000 PhD holders, of which 60% work at Makerere University (p. 431). Musiige and Massen (2015) report that as of 2011, 43% of faculty at Makerere held a PhD, creating a significant gap in potential research production. Low salaries

and benefits cause many PhD holders to accept more lucrative offers at other institutions, both within Uganda and abroad, or in the private sector (Bisaso, 2017; Ssesanga, 2017).

In their study investigating incentives for research at Makerere University, Musiige and Massen (2015) found that research funding had the largest impact on faculty research. With 80% of research income coming from donor agencies (2013 data), there is little opportunity to establish a cohesive research agenda (p. 124). Indeed, Mamdani (2017) blames the lack of rigorous research on a “consultancy culture” (or “NGO-isation” of the university) in which researchers are compelled to find solutions for the entity underwriting the research (such as WHO or the Gates Foundation) rather than engage in basic research for the purpose of knowledge creation (p. 88).

The Higher Education Research and Advocacy Network in Africa (HERANA) project set out to determine the connection between higher education and development in eight flagship universities in sub-Saharan Africa: Makerere University, University of Botswana, University of Capetown (South Africa), University of Dar es Salaam (Tanzania), Eduardo Mondlane University (Mozambique), University of Ghana, University of Mauritius, and University of Nairobi (Kenya). Within this project, Bunting, Cloete, Wah, and Nakayiwa-Mayega (2015) assessed knowledge production performance, including Science, Engineering, and Technology (SET) enrollment; faculty credentials; masters and doctoral graduate output; and research publications, using targets which South African universities are expected to achieve. Of the 13 targets, Makerere met four (throughput of SET graduates, master’s graduates, total graduates and SET program student-to-academic staff FTE). All other targets fall short, though, particularly those including doctoral student enrollment and graduation, faculty with doctoral degrees, and

faculty research production. The other universities, except for Cape Town, are also quite low in these areas.

Informing Theories

Postcolonialism, Power and Knowledge

The concepts of postcolonialism, power and knowledge will be an important touchstone throughout the study, helping to understand the issues underlying the decisions, innovations, and consequences present in both the U.S. land-grant idea and in sub-Saharan African higher education. In this context, it is important to recognize the work of Gayatri Spivak, an Indian literary scholar who critiques marginality and postcolonialism. She raises the important point that the concept “postcolonialism” implies that colonialism no longer exists. As Jackson and Maszzej (2012) explain, “She [Spivak] is “suspicious” of the term ‘postcolonialism because she is doubtful that decolonization... has happened in all places and for all time” (p. 38). Indeed, the vestiges of colonialism are still very apparent in African society, and the United States is still struggling to come to terms with the tragic past of slavery and U.S. imperialism.

Spivak was influenced by the work of Michel Foucault, a French philosopher, who focused on the relationship between power and knowledge (*puissance / connaissance*). Foucault sees power and knowledge as dynamic, not static, and continually evolving and reinforcing each other (Jackson & Mazzei, 2012). This relationship characterizes both higher education in sub-Saharan Africa and the land-grant context. Sub-Saharan African countries continue to have an evolving power dynamic with their colonizing countries. They are independent but still bear the signs of their colonial history: the official language, education, religion, and political structures all reflect those of the colonizing country. Because these institutions reflect that of the colonizers, the knowledge accumulated and valued also reflects that of the colonizer. This is a

particularly critical realization in higher education where knowledge is the commodity that is bought, sold, and discovered.

The land-grant ideal is also informed by Foucault's dualism of power and knowledge. President Lincoln signed the Morrill Act in 1862, during the American Civil War, when the northern and southern states were fighting over states' rights, primarily the right to own slaves. The Morrill Act gave federal land to each state in the Union (southern secessionist states were granted land after the war) for the purpose of establishing colleges focused on agriculture and the mechanical arts. This land gave power to the states to establish their own institutions which would create and disseminate knowledge to rural populations, those previously marginalized from higher education. As was Justin Morrill's original intent, the Morrill Act also set the foundation for economic development through research, increasing global competitiveness (Sorber, 2018).

Democracy and Neoliberalism

As public higher education across the world grapples with increasingly restricted funding from federal and regional governments, institutions have been forced to look elsewhere for financial resources. This has led to the privatization and commercialization of higher education, in which a reliance on private sources, corporate partnerships, outsourcing services, and other innovations fills the resource gap. The result is a neoliberal approach to higher education, one in which academics is largely addressed through an economic lens. Henry Giroux, a leading American and Canadian scholar on critical pedagogy and cultural studies, sees neoliberalism as the antithesis of democracy. While democracy strives for equality and views knowledge as a public good, neoliberalism creates inequities through the commodification of knowledge, making it available to those who can pay for it.

Many of Giroux' thoughts are relevant to both the land-grant idea and to sub-Saharan African education. In his writings, he discusses reproduction theory, specifically describing the "economic reproductive model, the cultural reproductive model, and the hegemonic state reproductive model" (Giroux & Giroux, 2018, p. 21). Each of these models emphasizes the power of education to reproduce the dominant social class. This was exactly the purpose of higher education in 1862 when the Morrill Act was signed; in general, a classical education was only available for upper class men to ensure positions of influence and leadership in society. Likewise, higher education in sub-Saharan Africa at the time most countries gained independence (around the 1960s) was to ensure that the civil servants of the colonial government were properly trained. In both contexts, higher education served to reproduce the priorities of those in power, whether it be the city elite or the colonizers.

Giroux and Giroux (2018), however, claim that the reproduction theory does not go far enough in proposing ways to counteract education's social reproduction. He proposes adding to reproduction theory the notions of human agency and resistance, which he labels as resistance theory. In this model, Giroux says that "schools are not solely determined by the logic of the workplace of the dominant society; they are not merely economic institutions but are also political, cultural, and ideological sites that exist somewhat independently of the capitalistic market economy" (p. 19). Whereas neoliberalism reproduces the dominant culture, democracy restores human agency to the marginalized groups, giving them a voice and opportunities for resistance. In the early years of land-grant institutions, the grange (Patrons of Husbandry) represented the farmers in the revolt against the dominant culture, profoundly influencing the evolution of the land-grant idea (Sorber, 2018). Current land-grant institutions, however, still struggle with equal representation of all social classes. In sub-Saharan Africa, the gaining of

independence itself restored some agency to the local people; higher education, however, has yet to even reach Martin Trow's threshold of mass education, 15% of the relevant age group, remaining in the elite stage and leaving behind most the population (Trow, 2007).

African Philosophy

Colonialism led to the questioning of what represents African thinking and what it means to be African, resulting in the development of African philosophy and an emphasis on the decolonization of education in Africa. Because Africa was colonized by Western powers, a Western-style theory and practice of education emerged, including the use of the colonial languages. Higgs (2012) states that "colonialism in Africa provided the framework for the organized subjugation of the cultural, scientific and economic life of many on the Africa continent" (p. 38). Such subjugation has had a profound impact on the African worldview and persists to this day, even 60 years since independence. There has, however, been a call for an African Renaissance in which an African value system and African indigenous knowledge join, or even replace, Western values and knowledge. This forms the foundation of African philosophy.

The purpose of African philosophy, according to Higgs, is pragmatic, to address specific social issues and to contribute to the betterment of African society. Two common themes of African philosophy are *communalism*, emphasizing the importance of community, and *ubuntu*, an African ethic which means humanness (2012, p. 46). Communalism places the community above the individual, a value which comes into direct opposition to the individualism so dominant in Western education. Higgs describes the *Gemeinschaft* (community) / *Gesellschaft* (society) distinction made by German sociologist Tönnies. *Gemeinschaft* reflects the African approach "characterized by emotionally deep relationships, dominated by moral obligation,

social cohesion and continuity,” while *Gesellschaft* is characterized by Western relationships which “are dominated by exchanges based on individual self-interests” (p. 44).

In *ubuntu*, which Higgs refers to as “the root of African philosophy,” both interdependence and humanness are fundamental (2012, p. 47). Higher education built on *ubuntu* would place moral virtues, such as kindness, fairness, and respect, at the center of the pursuit of knowledge. Ramose (2010) equates the concept of *ubuntu* with that of community in African philosophy. He cites Zairean priest Benezet Bujo, on his expansion of the Cartesian cogito “*cogito ergo sum*” (I think, therefore, I am” to “*cognatus sum, ergo sumus*” (I am related; therefore we are) as a more accurate reflection of the African worldview (p. 300). Being human is determined by one’s relationship to others. Higgs says, “...indigenous African knowledge systems have as their objective the goal of recovering the humanistic and ethical principles embedded in African worldviews, and more particularly in the concepts of *communality* and *ubuntu*” (p. 49.) Pursuing indigenous forms of knowledge is one way for Africans to regain an identity which was stolen by colonialism.

African philosophy, as a community-centered, humane, response to the legacy of Western colonialism, can also inspire land-grant institutions to better fulfill the mission of community outreach and equality. Western institutions can benefit from African values of communalism and *ubuntu* in the quest to balance democracy and neoliberalism and in better understanding the interdependence of knowledge and power.

Conclusion

Through this broad review of literature, a foundation has been laid for the case study of Makerere University through the lens of the U.S. land-grant university ideal and model. First, a brief history of the land-grant movement is given followed by an exploration of the domains

which best exemplify the significance of land-grant universities. The land-grant ideal is divided into the domains of the creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge; democracy and access; and economic advancement. While the ideal represents the values of the land-grant mission, the reality is often different. Thus, the domains of the normative model of land-grant institutions are equally important, including the public, decentralized structure; partnerships with government and industry; research-intensive, doctoral-granting; increased privatization; and commitments to teaching and community engagement. The model indicates ways in which universities attempt to achieve the ideals, recognizing that the reality of running a large university is complex, often straying from the mission.

Following the review of land-grant literature is a comprehensive look at literature encompassing sub-Saharan African higher education and specifically Makerere University. It would be impossible to understand Makerere without the broader context of sub-Saharan Africa and in particular the impact of colonialism. Colonialism has defined all aspects of African society, higher education notwithstanding, and continues to be relevant as most sub-Saharan African countries became independent only in the 1960s. To put it into perspective, as Clark Kerr was developing his California Master Plan, Uganda was gaining independence from Great Britain. Uganda's challenges were only then beginning as the dictatorships of Idi Amin and Milton Obote all but decimated the country, including Makerere University. Recovery began in 1986, and in the past 35 years, Makerere University has developed into one of the most prestigious research universities in Africa. The literature review traces this development and reveals the challenges in becoming a major research institution and still addressing local and regional issues, of which there are many.

Finally, the literature review would not be complete without an exploration of specific theories informing both sub-Saharan African and the land-grant higher education. These are postcolonialism, power and knowledge, neoliberalism, and African philosophy. As described, colonialism is particularly salient in sub-Saharan Africa as its effects are immediately visible; however, U.S. land-grant education is becoming increasingly aware of its part in U.S. colonialism through the removal of Native Americans from their indigenous land. The dualism of power and knowledge is continually at play through political and societal influences. Neoliberalism, a relatively recent force largely due to decreased government funding, is viewed as a potential threat to the democratization of higher education. African philosophy acknowledges the critical role that culture plays in higher education and is relevant to Sicherman's question if Makerere is a university *in* Africa or *of* Africa.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of the study is to conduct an in-depth analysis of Makerere University through the lens of U.S. land-grant higher education, incorporating both the ideals and the normative model. Such an analysis enables the researcher to find areas of divergence and alignment, resulting in insights which will hopefully be beneficial to U.S. land-grant institutions, Makerere University, and higher education in sub-Saharan Africa. The values under-girding land-grant education (the creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge; democracy and access; and economic advancement) and the structural model which has evolved (decentralization, partnerships, high level research, increased privatization, and commitment to community engagement and teaching) provide a means of studying Makerere University which will give insight beyond a mere institutional description.

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. How do the mission, structures, and activities at Makerere University align or diverge across different domains of the land-grant framework?
2. What are the facilitators, barriers, and tensions that affect Makerere University engagement across different domains of the land-grant framework?

Case Study Methodology

The research was conducted using the case study methodology, primarily following the design outlined by Yin (2018). As Yin describes, case studies enable the researcher to conduct an in-depth analysis of a specific case while maintaining a “holistic and real-world perspective” (p. 5). Flyvbjerg (2011) describes the difference between context-*independent* knowledge, which is rule-based and typical of traditional scientific research, and context-*dependent*

knowledge, which is based on “real-life situations and its multiple wealth of details” (p. 392). It is this context-dependent knowledge which is so valuable in the case-study methodology; the in-depth study allows the researcher to become a true expert, diving beneath the surface of the generalities offered by other types of research. Stake (1995) views the case study as a work of art, as an opportunity to “see what others have not yet seen” (p. 136). For Stake, one of the strengths of the case study is that the researcher is an interpreter, constructing knowledge that is gathered. Gerring (2004) describes the case study as an “in-depth study of a single unit (a relatively bounded phenomenon) where the scholar’s aim is to elucidate features of a larger class of similar phenomena” (p. 341).

Each of these definitions and perspectives is relevant to the use of the case study methodology with Makerere University. Makerere University is a “single unit” which is part of a larger phenomenon of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa, or higher education in general. A context-dependent approach has enabled me, the researcher, to understand Makerere University in “real life” through the examination of many varied types of evidence. According to Yin (2018), the case study incorporates data from interviews, focus groups, documents, archival records, physical artifacts, and observation, giving a breadth and depth that is not present with other methods. For example, a phenomenological study would rely on direct interaction with stakeholders through interviews and focus groups but would not delve into other types of evidence. Finally, the flexibility of the case study approach has enabled the creativity that Stake (1995) emphasizes. Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2014) describe Stake’s interpretation as a refreshing perspective compared to Yin’s more scientific approach to case study research.

According to Yin (2018) case studies are used for three purposes - exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory – as determined by the research questions. An explanatory study would most likely seek to answer the “how” and “why” questions, while an exploratory or descriptive study would seek to address “what” questions. Descriptive studies would be more likely to use a theoretical framework than would an exploratory study. The study on Makerere University most relevantly fits the descriptive designation as it was guided by the conceptual framework of the U.S. land-grant ideals and model and sought to address “how” and “what” questions more than “why” questions. However, these designations can be somewhat arbitrary, and during the course of the study, both exploratory and explanatory purposes have been integrated.

Hamilton and Corbett-Whittier (2014), based on Stake (1995), also describe the intrinsic and instrumental values of case studies. In an intrinsic study, research is focused solely on the person, organization, or entity that makes up the study. An instrumental study, however, focuses on an “aspect, concern or issues of the case” (p. 9). While the present study focuses specifically on Makerere University, it was analyzed through the lens of the U.S. land-grant ideals and model. There is thus an “instrumentality” to the study as specific aspects of Makerere University were examined, namely those which align with the land-grant framework. This instrumentality was expressed through the research questions, in the interview questions, and in the types of evidence which were examined.

The case study methodology was also appropriate for this study because it employs purposeful sampling techniques. In the case of Makerere University, interview participants were chosen purposefully according to their position in the university and their ability to address specific questions. A wide range of stakeholders needed to be selected in order to ensure all

functions of the university were covered. Because the research questions sought to understand the “mission, structures, and activities” at Makerere as well as “facilitators, barriers, and tensions,” a methodology was needed which gave the researcher control over data sources. The case study methodology allowed for this.

This does not mean, however, that the researcher controls the conclusions derived from the research. In the same way as other types of qualitative research, such as phenomenology, grounded theory, or ethnography, data were coded, and themes were allowed to emerge. Case study research does not negate the possibility of generalizing findings. Yin (2018) says that “case studies, like experiments, are generalizable to theoretical propositions and not to populations or universes” (p. 20). He distinguishes between “analytic” and “statistical” generalizations, noting that a case should not be viewed as a sample which can be analyzed for statistical probability. Flyvbjerg (2011) discusses the generalizability of the findings of case studies, emphasizing the importance of the intense, real-life observation of a phenomenon in the falsification of a theory (p. 394). He states, “More simple forms of understanding must yield to more complex ones as one moves from beginner to expert” (p. 399). While sweeping generalizations to all universities cannot be made based only on a case study of Makerere University, the depth of the study provides insights which are relevant to sub-Saharan higher education and to U.S. public and land-grant institutions. The findings may also be used in the falsification role, calling into question present theories and generalizations.

Data Collection

Yin (2018) identifies the following types of evidence in the case study methodology: 1) Documentation, such as e-mails, meeting minutes, news articles, proposals, and reports; 2) Archival records, such as government statistical data and records, survey data, and budget and

personnel records; 3) Interviews with key informants and stakeholders; 4) Direct observations of meetings, classrooms, or the workplace; 5) Participant observation in which the researcher has a role within case being observed; and 6) Physical artifacts such as tools or works of art (pp. 113-125). Table 3.1 below indicates the types of evidence in each category that I collected in the case study of Makerere University.

Table 3.1

Documentation and Evidence

Document Type	Evidence
Reports and Legislation	<p>Makerere University Strategic Plan 2020-2030</p> <p>National Council for Higher Education and the Growth of the University Sub-Sector in Uganda, 2002-2012</p> <p>“Bringing the Future to the Present” The Report of the Visitation Committee on Makerere University, 2016</p> <p>Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act, 2001</p> <p>University-led Innovation in Uganda: Resilient Africa Network, September 2020 USAID Report</p> <p>Makerere University College of Health Sciences, School of Public Health Annual Report</p>
Policies	<p>Makerere University Patent and Utility Models – Directorate of Research and Graduate Training</p> <p>Makerere University Intellectual Property and Technology Transfer – Directorate of Research and Graduate Training</p> <p>Makerere University - Policy on Appointment and Promotion of Academic Staff as Reviewed and Approved by the University Council</p>
Syllabi	<p>Introduction to Research syllabus</p>

ICT for Adult and Community Education syllabus

Intro to Guidance and Counseling of Adult Learners syllabus

Human Resource Development and Management syllabus

Gender and the Social Sector syllabus

Approaches to Gender and Development Practice syllabus

Media

Twitter feed – Vice Chancellor Barnabas Nawangwe

CHUSS presents the highest number of PhDs during the Mak 72nd graduation – CHUSS News (Makerere website)

100th Anniversary Celebrations – Special lectures, Grand Finale, and Alumni Dinner. YouTube recordings and Makerere website articles.

State of the Nation Address (June 7, 2022) – President Museveni. YouTube recording.

Youth Perspective on State of Nation Address (June 8, 2022) – Civic Space TV recording.

Women's Perspective on State of Nation Address (June 2022) – Civic Space TV recording

Parish Development Model (April 13, 2022) – Behind the Headlines Broadcast recording

Makerere University College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHUSS) Magazine

Makerere University Vice-Chancellor 2021 Graduation Address – Barnabas Nawangwe

Makerere University Research, Innovations Showcase and Launch of Mak@100 – Bulletin highlighting research and innovations

Numerous news articles from periodicals such as The Monitor, Uganda Edition; The Independent; Daily Monitor. Each article is individually cited under References.

Virginia Tech College of Agriculture and Life Sciences (CALS)
Global – Virginia Cooperative Extension Symposium (October 6,
2022) recording

University records

Makerere University Graduate List 2020-2021

Makerere University Private Sponsorship Admissions 2022-2023

Makerere University Government Sponsorship Admissions 2022-2023

Makerere University Council Select Committee on Students' Guild
Operations – Internal Bulletin

Interviews

See Table 3.2 for all stakeholder interviews

Direct Observation

Attended Tumusiime Mutebile Annual Public Lecture (part of
Mak@100 Public Lecture Series) – April 28, 2022

Attended event sponsored by Makerere University's Rotary Peace
Center – April 26, 2022

Attended church service at St. Francis Chapel (Anglican Church) on
Makerere University campus – April 24, 2022

Sample

I used snowball sampling to make contacts among students, alumni, faculty, administrators, government, and the community. I began with a few connections I already had at Makerere University and relied on them to refer me to their connections. Although I was able to make a few contacts before traveling to Uganda, most of the contacts and scheduling of interviews happened during the two weeks that I was in the country, staying at the university. Table 3.2 lists Makerere stakeholders which I interviewed. In the informed consent, I assured confidentiality of names but noted that divulging roles or titles would be important for the study.

In some cases, I use names when the data is obtained from media or sources other than direct interviews.

Table 3.2

Stakeholder Interviews

Role	Title / Discipline / Organization
Students	
Female student	BA in Adult and Community Education, majoring in Guidance and Counseling
Female student	BS in Social Science
Male student	BS in Social Sciences, majoring in Gender and minoring in Social Administration.
Female student	BS in Social Science, majoring in Gender Studies and minoring in Anthropological Studies
Female student	BS in Social Sciences, majoring in Gender and minoring in Sociology.
Female student	BS in Social Sciences, majoring in Gender and minoring in Sociology.
Male student	BS in Social Sciences, majoring in Gender and minor in Psychology
Alumni / Grad students	
Male alumnus	BA in Adult and Community Education at Makerere. Working on PhD at College of Social Sciences, University of Glasgow
Female alumna	BA in Adult Education and Community Development. (Before this earned Diplomas in Nursing and Public Health)
Male alumnus	College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, School of Forestry, Tourism and Hospitality degree
Male graduate student	PhD in Computer Science
Faculty	

Senior lecturer (male)	College of Education and External Studies. Teaches in Dept of Adult and Community Education.
Contracted lecturer (male American)	College of Humanities and Social Sciences; Dept of History, Archaeology, and Heritage Studies.
Lecturer and administrator (female)	Research Coordinator and Academic Field Coordinator; Lecturer in College of Health Sciences; School of Public Health; Dept of Epidemiology and Biostatistics. Working on a PhD.
Administrators	
Administrator and Associate Professor (male)	Associate Professor of Higher Education in College of Education and External Studies (EASHESD); Acting Principal / Deputy Principal of College of Education and External Studies; Dean of East African Studies of Higher Education Studies and Development
Senior administrator and professor (male)	Vice Chancellor of Makerere University
Former administrator and professor (female)	Former Director of Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR). Former Executive Secretary for Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak).
Former administrator (female)	Former Director of Planning at Makerere. Member of the Innovation at Makerere Committee.
Government	
Government administrator (male)	Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training at the Ministry of Education and Sports
Community	
NGO leadership (female)	Deputy Executive Secretary of RUFORUM
NGO leadership (female)	Executive Director for the Centre for Constitutional Governance
NGO staff (male and female)	Uganda National Association of Community and Occupational Health

Because this is a case study with purposeful sampling, interview questions varied according to the role of the person being interviewed and built upon the responses of the interviewee rather than adhering to a rigid script of questioning. I designed interview questions which aligned with the research questions and the domains in the conceptual framework of the U.S. land-grant ideals and model. Please see Appendix F for a list of sample questions. These questions served as a guide to ensure that all relevant topics are covered. Yin (2018) says that case study interviews “resemble guided conversations rather than structured queries,” that the flow of questions is “fluid rather than rigid” (p. 118). This became my experience, as, eventually, I rarely looked at my questions in order to maintain eye contact with my interviewee and maintain the thread of the conversation. Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) discuss the researcher as being the main research instrument, stating that the “craftsmanship – skills, sensitivity, and knowledge – of the researcher become essential for the quality of the knowledge produced” (p. 73). I also felt this in my interviewing, building on my experience in relationship-building through conversation.

Data Analysis

Software

Because of the large amounts of data, I initially thought that I would rely on computer-assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) for organizing and analyzing the data and finding relevant patterns. I started with the software NVivo as it provides a systematic approach to exploring underlying themes and phenomena in the data. NVivo enables connections between categories and sub-categories, linking of relationships, and the visualization of data through mind maps, diagrams, and models (Niedbalski and Slezak, 2017). As I became more familiar with the

software, however, I found that the most helpful feature of NVivo was NCapture, enabling me to easily collect and analyze Twitter data. Makerere University, especially the Vice-Chancellor, uses Twitter extensively, and so it is a good means to quickly understand the priorities of the university. Apart from the use of NCapture, I found that NVivo was not as helpful as I had hoped in analyzing my data as I was spending too much time figuring out the software. Saldaña (2021) advises starting with manual coding on hard copy instead of using CAQDAS programs as “your mental energies may be more focused on the software than the data” (p. 45). This was my experience.

Data Analysis Process

In addition to changing from CAQDAS to manual coding as Saldaña suggested, I also found his specific coding methods helpful. He proposes 30 first-cycle coding methods, of which I found the following to be most appropriate:

- 1) In -Vivo Coding – uses words and phrases from the participant’s own language, putting them in quotation marks (i.e., “there is no change”)
- 2) Process Coding – uses the gerund (-ing) form of verbs to indicate action (i.e., teaching)
- 3) Versus Coding – uses the dichotomous or binary terms to describe relationships, phenomena, and concepts (i.e., private vs. public students).
- 4) Concept Coding – uses ideas rather than observable behavior or objectives (i.e., neoliberalism)
- 5) Provisional Coding- uses a predefined list of codes, such as from a study’s conceptual framework, and modifies as analysis proceeds (i.e., neoliberalism, colonialism, or democracy from this study’s conceptual framework).

With these suggestions, I finally found that I was able to make progress in analyzing the data. Below is a summary of the steps which evolved:

- 1) I printed out all the interview transcripts and wrote codes in pencil in the left margin.

While I used the five different coding methods listed above, I found that the In-Vivo coding was most appropriate for this data and was the most dynamic in capturing the voices of the participants.

- 2) I created an Excel spreadsheet with a tab for each interviewee. I listed all the codes in the first column, and then, as recommended by Saldaña, sorted them in alphabetical order to have an initial organization and begin to see patterns. The number of codes per participant varied between 24 and 114.

- 3) I then used the next spreadsheet columns to organize the codes into meaningful categories. In many cases, I used domains from the conceptual framework as category headings (such as Access, Neoliberalism, Colonialism, Research), but I also created categories specific to similar code groupings. This was an iterative process in which I moved codes and categories to best capture patterns. The number of categories per participant varied between four and ten, and I tried to keep the number of codes per category under 20. (See Appendix H for an example of the coding spreadsheet).

- 4) After coding and developing categories for each participant, I created a tab in the spreadsheet for the categories, listing all the categories which had been created. There were 85. I then alphabetized these and grouped them into “mega” categories or “categories of categories.”

- 5) Following are my mega categories which served as a true foundation for constructing my findings: good reputation of Makerere; challenges of funding and infrastructure; undergraduate student realities; impacts of poor job market; research; partnership and collaboration; practical application and relevance; neoliberalism and colonialism; perceptions of government; past, present, and future impacts; and personal motivation and drive.
- 6) Because I felt the Versus Coding illustrates so well the tensions inherent at Makerere, I created another tab in the spreadsheet specific for the Versus codes.

It was only after going through this whole process that I felt I knew my data well enough to see relevant patterns and relationships. I had made several “passes” at my data, giving me the opportunity each time to process differently. I heard the data during the interview, I wrote the data during transcription, I sought to understand the data in creating codes, and I looked for deeper connections in organizing into categories. Saldaña (2021) suggested physically manipulating the data by cutting out codes, putting them on a table or the floor and moving them into categories. I found that manipulating the codes on the spreadsheet was more effective for me.

The conceptual framework of U.S. land-grant higher education provided me with a set of a priori codes which could be used in deductive coding. Saldaña (2021) calls this a “provisional start list.” The alternative is inductive coding, a “learn as you go” approach which “spontaneously creates original codes the first time data are reviewed” (pp. 40-41). I felt that I employed both. I had the domains of the conceptual framework in mind as I was coding and, in some cases, used them as codes or categories, but I also allowed original codes to evolve from the data in an inductive manner. As Yin (2018) discusses, I found patterns through the coding

process which led to a statement of my findings. This, however, has been an iterative process as it has been necessary to refine some of my initial findings as I have continued the coding.

Validity and Reliability

As outlined above, case study research enables the collection of multiple types of evidence. In the case study of Makerere University, I focused especially on the gathering of data through relevant documentation, archival records, interviews, and observation. Gathering diverse types of data is a strength of case study research as it enables the triangulation of data. Yin (2018) calls this *converging lines of inquiry*, as diverse types of evidence converge to inform the findings (p. 129). Triangulation of data sources is one of the ways that Creswell (2018) recommends for validity checking in qualitative research. I have been able to triangulate my data especially through diverse stakeholder interviews, reading official documentation, and searching relevant media, such as news articles, Twitter feeds, and YouTube videos of events. This triangulation has helped to confirm my themes and findings.

Other recommended strategies for ensuring validity are member checking, using “rich, thick description,” clarifying bias through researcher self-reflection, looking for contradictory evidence, spending increased time in the field, peer debriefing, and external auditors (Creswell, 2018, pp. 200-201). I employed member checking by asking a couple of my participants for follow-up Zoom interviews. I had encountered questions in my analysis and wanted to clarify my understanding. Rich, thick description has been possible through in-depth interviews of diverse stakeholders and by the scaffolding of my understanding through the interviews and other data. To facilitate self-reflection, I have included a statement of my positionality and have taken time to reflect throughout the study. Rather than ignoring contradictory evidence, I have used it to better understand the case and to examine rival explanations. A university is a complex

institution where data may be contradictory and causes and consequences unclear. I have sought to “unpack” some of this in the discussion section. To incorporate peer debriefing, in November 2022, I gave a short presentation of my study in a virtual roundtable at the Association of the Study of Higher Education Annual Conference. Feedback from the reviewers of the presentation was very helpful. I also look forward to the feedback of my dissertation committee members. Finally, time and money will not allow increased time in the field or the use of external auditors. I hope, however, to one day return to Makerere University to see how it has continued to evolve.

Reliability means that if the same study were to be conducted by another researcher, the results would be the same. The best way to ensure reliability is to develop a case study protocol and case study database, clearly documenting all that has gone into the development of the case study (Yin, 2018). A case study protocol includes the following sections: Overview, data collection, procedures, protocol questions, and tentative outline for the case study report (p. 95). In the study of Makerere University, the case study protocol has been covered in the completed dissertation report, and, more succinctly in the IRB protocol. Although I didn’t complete my coding in NVivo for a robust electronic database, I have hard copies of transcripts with codes and my analysis in Excel spreadsheets. To ensure reliability, Creswell (2018) also recommends carefully checking transcripts for error, ensuring the consistency of code usage, and checking for intercoder agreement if more than one researcher is coding data. Because of the multiple “passes” I have made over my data and coding, I have been able to ensure accuracy and consistency. Intercoder agreement is not relevant as I am the only researcher in this study.

Ethical Considerations

A case study on Makerere University represents minimal risk to human subjects. Despite the minimal risk, I went through an extensive ethical review process involving West Virginia

University, Makerere University, and the UNCST (Uganda National Council for Science and Technology). This process began in March 2021 with the submission of my proposal to the WVU IRB and was finally completed in December 2021, when my proposal was approved by the UNCST. The process was complicated by COVID as well as needing to interact from a distance with the Makerere School of Social Science Research Ethics Committee (MAKSSREC). The support which I received from the Social Science REC was invaluable, involving multiple e-mail exchanges, a few Whatsapp exchanges, and a few Skype calls.

I obtained written informed consent from each of my interview participants, both in person and via Zoom. The consent form included my contact information, a statement of potential risk and benefit, and permission to withdraw from the study at any time. Risks included divulging potentially provocative or inflammatory statements about the university, and benefits included contributing to overall scholarship of higher education in sub-Saharan Africa and specifically Makerere University. Assuring confidentiality in a case study is more difficult because of purposeful sampling; I assured that I would keep names confidential but may mention titles or positions. Data is stored in my personal computer which is password protected.

Positionality

In my 30s, I lived for several years in Cameroon, West Africa, working with a faith-based organization called Société Internationale de Linguistique which promoted Bible translation and literacy in the local languages. Throughout our (my family's) time there, I sought to understand the culture and build relationships and yet wondered if our presence there was ultimately helpful or harmful. Our second daughter was born in Yaoundé, Cameroon, so this identity will always be part of her, even though she didn't have the opportunity for dual citizenship.

Eight years after our return to the United States, I began working with a master's degree in Applied Community Development at Future Generations Graduate School (now University), based in West Virginia. Most of our students were from developing countries, as we offered a model which didn't require them to relocate and focused on the practical application of knowledge in their communities. It was in this position that I met many students from Uganda, and in particular several alumni of Makerere University. I remember them speaking reverently of this university which had done so much for them. At that time, field residencies abroad were the most significant aspects of our pedagogical model, so I had the opportunity to travel to Kenya and Rwanda, in East Africa. We had planned to go to Uganda but reports of unrest caused us to change locations at the last minute.

Throughout my twelve years at Future Generations, I began to wonder about the relevance of higher education in African countries. If only 5% of the relevant age group participate in higher education, how can it truly address the many development challenges? This question ultimately led to my choice of dissertation topic. Since this decision, however, I have often questioned my own legitimacy in taking on this research. I am a white American, never having stepped foot in Uganda (before my research), let alone on the Makerere campus, proposing to do a case study of the university. What authority do I have to undertake this research?

I hope that this question has kept me humble throughout the process as I have relied on the kindness of my original Ugandan friends, and then their friends. One of my new friends reminded me that I am privileged just because I am white. I told him that I was able to get an interview with the Vice Chancellor of the university, and he said that this could be attributed to my skin color. I appreciate his candidness. There were times, walking down the busy streets of

Kampala, outside of the university campus, that I just wanted to blend in. I know, though, that this would never be possible. My whiteness gives me privilege, and it also causes me to stand out in uncomfortable ways.

Chapter 4: Findings

Makerere University is a complex institution with a 100-year history and deep links to the political, social, and economic sectors in Uganda. In the space of one research project, it is impossible to present an exhaustive analysis of all the factors contributing to the institution that Makerere is today. By using the framework of U.S. land grant higher education, I have been able to focus on aspects most salient to a large public research institution which experiences forces from multiple directions. This chapter presents an analysis of the data gained through interviews, documents, and media specifically regarding Makerere University. It presents six findings on the following major themes: 1) Research-led institution; 2) Neoliberalism and market influences; 3) Undergraduate education; 4) Reputation and saga; 5) Ugandan government; and 6) Colonialism. The following chapter will discuss these findings in light of the research questions and conceptual framework.

Finding 1: Research-Led Institution

Becoming a research-led institution is the overarching priority of the university, fueled by local and global partnerships, and promoted as the means to address development challenges, strengthen the economy, and reduce poverty.

Strategic Plan

In the Makerere University 2020-2030 Strategic Plan, Vice Chancellor Barnabas Nawangwe states, “This Strategic Plan is aimed at transforming the University into a “research-led” institution with a multi-faceted research agenda; enhanced engagement with industry and business sector.” Indeed, the first goal of this new Strategic Plan is to “transform Makerere into a research-led university, responding to national, regional and global development challenges, as well contributing to global knowledge generation” (2020-2030 Strategic Plan). The data reveal,

however, that this is not an ambitious goal achieved in a vacuum on the Kampala campus of Makerere University. Rather, it is only possible through a multitude of partnerships and collaboration with universities and governments abroad, with African universities and organizations, with business and industry, and with the Ugandan government. The Vice Chancellor says, “Modern times demand partnerships because knowledge has become so diverse, and knowledge is developing so fast that it is not really possible for a single university to address all issues that concern the development, or humanity, or culture comprehensively.” It is clear that the research is for the purpose of creating a better society for Ugandans, Africa, and the rest of the world. The knowledge created is meant to be shared and applied to development challenges.

Partnerships and Collaboration

An analysis of the Vice Chancellor’s Twitter feed confirms the importance of research to the institution. A derivative of the word “research” has a higher frequency count than any other word longer than four letters except for “university,” “Makerere,” or “thank you,” appearing in 433 of the 2,678 downloaded tweets. In a further analysis of the tweets concerning research, many announce emerging or continuing partnerships with international universities, Uganda universities, or the private sector, national and global. The following table summarizes recent tweets regarding research partnerships, indicating the national, regional, and global nature of the partnerships. This is not an exhaustive list, but an indication of the diversity of the partnerships. The leadership of Makerere University recognizes that research must be collaborative, maximizing the strengths of each partner.

Table 4.1

Makerere Partnerships Highlighted in Vice-Chancellor Twitter Feed

Substance of partnership	Partner	Date of tweet
MOU for collaboration in training, research, and infrastructure development	Total E & P Uganda	8.16.2022
MOU for collaboration in student training, internships, and research	SINOPEC (China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation)	8.5.2022
Discussions for collaboration in research, student exchange, and joint training	Nelson Mandela University (South Africa)	6.29.2022
MOU for collaboration in internships and research collaboration	CNOOC (China National Offshore Oil Corporation)	6.17.2022
Support of research dissemination conference and research funding in general	SIDA (Swedish government)	5.9.2022
Collaboration in health training and research	Karolinska Institutet (Sweden) and Benadir University (Somalia)	5.5.2022
Support for research in climate change, public health, and food security	Austrian government	1.5.2022
Collaboration with College of Engineering for research in green energy	Strathmore University (Kenya)	12.13.2021
Discussed opportunities for collaboration in research on Mt. Moroto and the Karamoja Region (forestry, GIS, and conservation)	University of Padova (Italy)	11.26.2021
Discussed collaboration in research on environment and sustainable development	Göteborg University (Sweden)	11.23.2021
MOU for collaboration in research and training	Somali National University (Somalia)	11.22.2021
Discussed collaboration in research to fight epidemics in Africa	University of Pretoria (South Africa)	11.17.2021

MOU for collaboration in staff and student exchange and research	Bishop Stuart University (Uganda)	11.9.2021
Discussed collaboration already underway in teacher education research	University of Bergen (Norway)	11.8.2021
MOU for collaboration in staff and student exchange and medical research	Semmelweis University (Hungary)	10.25.2021
Discussed collaboration in research, innovation, and staff and student exchange	Istanbul Technical University (Turkey)	7.9.2021

I interviewed the Vice Chancellor in his office on the 4th floor of the Central Teaching Facility I, relocated from the Main Building (known as the Ivory Tower) after the tragic fire on September 20, 2020. In my interview, I asked him to describe a particularly significant research partnership. He described the partnership with Karolinska Institute, a medical university in Stockholm, with whom Makerere has been collaborating for 30 years. Through the College of Health Sciences, particularly the School of Public Health, Makerere has signed an MOU with Karolinska Institute to establish the Centre for Global Health Research. The issues which this center will address are ones that have global relevance, such as non-communicable diseases. At one time, he noted, non-communicable diseases were thought of as only a problem of the developed world and not relevant to developing countries such as Uganda. It has become clear, though, that Ugandans die of non-communicable diseases as much as communicable diseases. A global research center would look at the various ways that these diseases manifest themselves in different environments such as the Global North and the Global South. The hope is that this type of collaboration will lead to comprehensive solutions.

Some of the most significant partnerships are with the funding partners, particularly large foundations such as Rockefeller Foundation, Carnegie Foundation, USAID, Sida (Swedish

International Development Cooperation Agency), and the Norwegian government. These partnerships are usually entered into with individual researchers and often have strings attached. One former administrator who oversaw university planning stated that “if the university perhaps didn’t have partners and networks, there would be no research to write home about.” She said that up until recently, 100% of the funding came from these partnerships. She also indicated that about 80% of PhD funding comes from these development partners. While these partnerships are critical to the research success of Makerere University, they come with challenges. The same administrator explained that “yes, they [the partners] are good, and they help us, but they also have their own agendas.” The Vice Chancellor noted that “when you’re getting funds from these institutions, every institution puts up an advert, and they have their own conditions for the research.”

Another disadvantage of this type of funding is that the projects are time-bound. The grant ends, and the funding dries up. Often, though, the impact of the project continues even past the termination of the original project. The same administrator who oversaw university planning and another prominent former administrator I talked with were key members of the Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak.com) which produced significant results to address the decentralization needs of the country. This initiative was funded primarily by the Rockefeller Foundation and the World Bank, ending in 2009. Although the official project ended, the results were still evident in opening the university to cross-disciplinary processes and to being “a player in the national space and in the global space.” This committee also helped the university “go in the community.”

One of the most significant research and innovation networks is the Resilient Africa Network (RAN), funded by USAID, with its secretariat at Makerere University, housed in the

School of Public Health. Georgetown University and Stanford University were also partners in the program. Joe Amick, author of the USAID final report, *University-Led Innovation in Uganda: Resilient Africa Network* (2020) described RAN as an “innovation support and incubation program, as well as a research and education initiative.” Beginning in 2012, and officially ending in 2017, the primary motivation of the program was to “bring academics, entrepreneurs, and communities together to address specific development challenges.” RAN engaged 20 universities in 13 African countries, providing student innovators with training and funding to take their innovations from the initial concept stage through to implementation and scaling. Because the secretariat was at Makerere University, much of the university’s expertise and resources were made available, such as the Institutional Review Board, faculty expertise, labs, reputation, and networks.

In total, RAN funded 99 innovations and gave non-financial support to 144 innovators (139 from Uganda). Although the initial \$25 million grant from USAID ended in 2017, other funders such as UN Women, the Canadian International Development Agency, USAID Grand Challenges, USAID/Uganda, Johnson and Johnson, and the Ugandan government have picked up various aspects of the program. The 2017 Visitation Report and the USAID RAN Final Report describe a number of the innovations in detail, eight of which are highlighted in the section “Addressing Real-World Challenges.”

One of my interviewees was the RAN Research Manager, also an administrator and faculty member in the School of Public Health. She drew a distinction between the “two hills” of Makerere, one being “Mulago Hill” where she worked and the site of Mulago National Referral Hospital and the teaching facility for the College of Health Sciences. The other “hill” was the main campus of Makerere and home to the behavioral sciences. She noted that her hill,

the medical and health sciences side, receives many more mega-grants, such as RAN, than does the other hill.

The Regional Universities Forum (RUFORUM) is another network of universities with its secretariat on the Makerere University campus. It was established in 2004 in order to address the capacity building needs in agriculture. Now it encompasses 147 universities in 38 countries across Africa and is cross-disciplinary in its focus. The administrator I spoke with who formerly oversaw planning at Makerere is now the Deputy Executive Secretary of RUFORUM in charge of planning, resource mobilization and management. She talked about different flagships of the network which includes community engagement programs, regional anchor universities as hubs of expertise, and the knowledge hub. By helping to build capacity within the different member universities, the research agenda is strengthened, and development priorities are addressed.

Industry partnerships are also critical to the research endeavors of Makerere University as a whole and to individual researchers. The Strategic Plan calls for increased collaboration with industry, stating:

The education and research agenda will be driven by the potential of the university to harness and defuse emerging technology breakthroughs in fields such as robotics and artificial intelligence, big data, quantum computing, and the Internet of Things, as well as Nano and biotechnology.

A PhD candidate in the Makerere School of Computer Science told me that several of his classmates had received funding from Google, Meta, or Microsoft. His perception is that because these big tech companies don't know the African reality, students benefit from mentorship which the company has to offer, but they are otherwise free to set the objectives to ensure that solutions are relevant to the local context. He also emphasized the importance of innovation hubs as

centers for applied research. He mentioned two hubs in Kampala, Innovation Village and Outbox, as well as an innovation hub on the Makerere campus called Makerere Innovation and Incubation Hub (MIIC). As an undergraduate, he worked at MIIC, but now as a PhD student, he works in a lab focusing on artificial intelligence in the computer science building. Industry partnerships and innovation have been encouraged by the establishment of policies for Intellectual Property and Technology Transfer as well as processes for obtaining patents.

This same PhD student emphasized the importance of collaboration among universities, giving students the opportunity to interact and share ideas. He said, “If our students get to interact, even if it is through Zoom, at their age but different location, you find a lot of ideas are different than when they talk to their neighbor.” He repeatedly talked about the importance of cross-disciplinary collaboration, particularly the role that social scientists play in his own research in artificial intelligence. Social scientists are able to help researchers understand the population being studied, conduct interviews, translate into local dialects, when necessary, lead user education and onboarding of a certain technology, and help overcome user resistance to the adoption of new technology. Most of this collaboration happens within the hubs.

The final, but possibly, most important research partnership is with the Ugandan government. Several interviewees claimed that the government was not doing enough to fund research initiatives until the recent Research and Innovations Fund (RIF) which promised 30 billion Uganda shillings (UGX), the equivalent of \$7,811,055, per year for three years, beginning in 2020. The Vice Chancellor called this a “very big injection of research funding at one go for the first time by the government” and said it has “drastically changed the research environment.” Of particular interest to him is the cross-disciplinary nature of the projects. According to the Vice Chancellor’s address at the 100th Anniversary Alumni Dinner on July 22, 2022, 774 grants

were given out of 1,978 applications (a rate of 39.1%), noting how many viable research projects and innovations had not been funded. He also noted that as of that date (July 22, 2022), 172 of these projects had submitted their closeout reports. Of these, 29% were ending at the start-up level, 62% were ready to transition to scale, and 9% were already undergoing scale.

When Makerere University received the Research and Investment Fund (RIF) money from the government in 2019, a Mak-RIF Grants Management Committee was set up. Before putting out the Call for Proposals, the committee invited stakeholders, the private sector, government agencies, and ministries to brainstorm the most important issues in Uganda's development. The brainstorming resulted in a list of cross-cutting, multi-disciplinary areas such as food security and health. Vice-Chancellor Nawange said in our interview:

Food security is not just about the farmer, it's not just about the agro-industrialist, it is also about lawyers. What are the laws. It's about the social scientists. What is the food that people in the area eat? It is about the business. How is the food transported, where does it go, and how is it stored to have a longer shelf life?

When the Call for Proposals went out, they had specific thematic areas and faculty and students from any college were free to apply. The result was that the colleges which had already done significant research and had increased capacity, submitted more proposals. Thus, the most came from the College of Health Sciences "because they are doing research all the time," and then the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences. Applications, however, came in from every college, and were multi-disciplinary.

The Vice Chancellor is calling on the Ugandan government to make this research a permanent part of the budget given the success of these three years, proving that Makerere can "do research and solve national problems." He continued that "that's the only way we can

sustain because some of the research takes years.” The Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training also discussed the importance of this government infusion into research, noting that Makerere is the only Ugandan university to receive this type of research funding from the government.

It appears that the Vice-Chancellor’s plea has reached the ears of the government as the Makerere website announced Mak-RIF 4 Awards and a call for PhD proposals with a launch on September 29, 2022. This will be the fourth year of the Research and Innovation Fund, funding the year 2022-2023, and it is the first year that PhD proposals will be accepted. On August 3, 2022, a new Mak-RIF Grants Management Committee was inaugurated, laying the foundation for a new year of research and innovation funded by the Uganda government (Adong, 2022).

Addressing Real-World Challenges

The interviewees have made it clear that the purpose of research is to create a better society. In one of his tweets, the Vice Chancellor noted a message he gave at St. Francis Chapel on campus, urging “African intellectuals to reduce over-indulgence in unproductive rhetoric and concentrate on research and innovations that will emancipate our continent from poverty and marginalization.” In my interview with him, I asked what he wanted his legacy to be. He responded:

I want my legacy to be one where I have transformed the university from a predominantly training institution to a predominantly research and innovation institution where the university takes the lead in studying the problems of development, not just of Uganda or the region, but generally issues that affect humanity...

In his mind, the purpose of research is to solve the challenges facing Uganda, Africa, and the world.

Likewise, the Chancellor of Makerere, a position appointed by the President of Uganda and who presides over important events, made a strong statement at the 100th Anniversary Alumni dinner. In an unprepared, heartfelt address, he said, “I thank God that we are 100 years old, and I believe that we have many centuries ahead. But I want to see, and I hope that we have decades of successful innovation, of applied knowledge, and of a country in which every citizen has access to the basic needs of life.” He applauded Makerere’s research efforts to solve Uganda’s problems and challenged students to solve problems in their communities. Likewise, he criticized the notion that the government of Uganda should be scapegoat for all failures, saying “the idea that the government will do everything is highly misplaced.”

The computer science PhD student also emphasized the importance of practical solutions. He said, “One thing I’m so much focused on is to have a practical solution to the problem I’m investigating. In other words, can we have the industry benefit, which means the community would benefit out of all this work I’m doing.” As a PhD student, he knows the importance of “adding knowledge” but is motivated especially by the opportunity to find solutions to challenges facing Uganda and the rest of Africa. He discussed artificial intelligence projects in agriculture (helping farmers properly calibrate the sensors they use on their cows), finance (mobile money technology), and healthcare (measuring the traffic noise and its effect on hospital patients).

All the partnerships mentioned above – university partnerships, Resilient Africa Network, Regional Universities Forum, and the Research and Innovations Fund - focus on real-world problems. A special publication for the Mak@100 celebrations focused on the research and innovations made possible by the Research and Innovations Fund (RIF). Additionally, the Makerere website features Round 1 grantees (Makerere University, 2022) and publications on

specific projects (Makerere University, 2022). Table 4.2 highlights eight projects featured.

Although proposals came from all the colleges, most were from the College of Public Health and from the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences. As mentioned above, however, they were cross-disciplinary, engaging expertise from different colleges.

Table 4.2

Projects Funded by Research and Innovations Fund

Research / Innovation	Relevance	Partners
Improving health communication, dealing with stigma, and coping strategies in the context of COVID-19 in Uganda	COVID-19 pandemic affected all aspects of Ugandan society. What has been learned from the pandemic can have a lasting impact.	College of Health Sciences, School of Public Health; Eastern Africa GEOHealth Hub; Ugandan Government
Upscaling the Usefulness of Ugandan <i>Moringa oleifera</i> and <i>Aloe barbadensis</i> through Formulation and Clinical Development of Novel Cosmetics and Pharmaceutical Products	The <i>Moringa oleifera</i> and <i>Aloe barbadensis</i> are native plants to Uganda with great pharmacological and economic potential.	College of Health Sciences; Ugandan Government.
Advancing Tissue and Organ Biobanking in Uganda (established at Makerere University)	First public human tissue and biobank in Uganda. Will reduce need for overseas treatment.	College of Health Sciences; Ugandan Government
Influences of farming techniques on the livelihood outcomes of Rural Women in Eastern Uganda	Improved livelihood and food security can be achieved through women's use of both modern and traditional farming techniques.	College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences; Uganda Government
Nutrient recovery from pineapple waste through controlled batch and continuous vermicomposting systems	Pineapples can be cultivated throughout the year in Uganda and result in considerable waste. The nutrients in the waste can be retained through	College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, Dept of Agricultural and Biosystems Engineering, Dept of Forestry,

	vermicomposting, to increase solid productivity and agricultural output.	Biodiversity, and Tourism; Ugandan Government.
Capability Enhancement project for Innovative Doctoral Education at Ugandan Universities (CEPIDE)	There is an acute shortage of doctorates/researchers in Uganda, affecting the country's ability to undertake research to meet societal needs.	College of Education and External Studies, Eastern Africa School of Higher Education Studies and Development; Ugandan Government
Design of an Improved Cooking Stove for Clean Energy, Electricity Generation, Food Security and Climate Change Mitigation	Reduces amount of firewood needed, improving environment. Energy solution for refugee camps and other similar regions.	College of Natural Sciences; Ugandan Government
The Informal Sector in Uganda	The informal employment sector in Uganda fills an economic gap left by the formal sector. This study collected extensive data on the informal sector and presents conclusions.	College of Business and Management Sciences, School of Economics, Dept of Economic Theory and Analysis; Kyambogo University (Uganda); Ugandan Government.

Similarly, the research and innovations funded and supported by the Resilient Africa Network (RAN) focused on pressing development issues. As mentioned earlier, RAN funded 99 innovations and gave non-financial support to 144 innovators. Most innovations were in healthcare, followed by agriculture, and then gender-based violence. Some of the notable innovations, including the support received by RAN, are featured in Table 4.3 (Amick, 2020):

Table 4.3

Research and Innovations Supported by Resilient Africa Network

Innovation	Relevance	RAN Support
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Mushroom: Recycling Waste (Agriculture category)	The waste of corn husks in Northern Uganda can be used to create a substrate for cultivating mushrooms.	Funding, training on registering a company, needsfinding ¹ , and connection to farmers
Fortified Porridge (Agriculture category)	Add legume, minerals, and other proteins to porridge eaten by pregnant and lactating mother to increase nutrient intake with hopes to market more widely in Uganda.	Help with needsfinding, connection to mentor in Makerere's Dept of Food Science, and use of the lab to develop and test the product.
Maize Thresher (Agriculture category)	Significantly accelerates the threshing process by winnowing chaff and separating kernels simultaneously. Trying to establish rental business because of high cost of machine.	Funding, introduction to local innovations group consisting of engineers, help from engineering faculty at Makerere, and help on scaling strategy.
Malaria Diagnostic Kit (Healthcare category)	Small diagnostic device, using GPS technology, can be plugged into laptop or phone. Allows faster results (2 rather than 30 minutes) and spatial tracking.	Helped Makerere innovator shift needsfinding from individuals to clinics, helped with testing, and with connection to Ugandan regulators.
Pediatric Nebulizer (Healthcare category)	Improves delivery of aerosol medications to asthmatic pediatric patients. Uses a locally produced pump and doesn't require electricity.	Needsfinding, introduction to Makerere mechanical and electrical engineers, and business development training.
Water Purification (Healthcare category)	Filters in stages, through gravel and sand, then a carbon filter and then solar-powered ultraviolet light, killing microbes. It is portable and runs on solar power.	Needsfinding, networking, mentorship on finance and business development.
Collecting Data using Mobile Platform (Gender-based Violence)	The mobile platform enables real-time, geospatial data and visualization of GBV occurrences in order to assist policy makers and programming.	Needsfinding, informed consent processes, connection to software developer mentors, sustainability

¹ "Needsfinding" is described by Amick (2017, p.9) as a form of ethnography and core to the RAN process, seeking to understand community needs and preferences.

		encouragement.
Bracelet for Emergencies (Gender-based Violence)	Woman can send signal to a specified phone number when at risk of sexual assault, indicating location through Google Maps. Much more efficient than a phone in a crisis.	Needsfinding, connection to potential partners, including large NGOs and a competition in Nairobi, resulting in opportunity to present in U.S.

The Regional Universities Forum (RUFORUM) - the partnership of 147 universities in 38 countries with its secretariat at Makerere University - also supports relevant solutions to development problems. The Deputy Executive Secretary recounted one of RUFORUM's Community Action Research Programs, focusing on the Irish potato value chain in the southwestern region of Uganda. The Principal Investigator of the project was a professor in the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences at Makerere (Department of Agribusiness and Natural Resource Economics, School of Agricultural Sciences) and included business, research institute, and agricultural college partners. With a budget of \$350,000 over a two-year period, the project worked with local farmers, potato growers' associations, processors, instructors, and students to maximize the potato value chain. Objectives included developing and testing community-based systems for production, delivery, marketing, and creating innovative products for commercialization. One result was the development of a potato processing plant to produce potato flour from small potatoes which are usually thrown out. They created a range of products using that flour, including cookies and cakes, also creating employment. The Deputy Executive Secretary said, "So it's an enterprise, a fully-fledged enterprise. The students who were part of this process as it was going, are now fully employed within that enterprise."

Dr. Richard Edema, Professor in the Makerere University College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences and Director of the Makerere Regional Center of Excellence for Crop Improvement (MaRCCI) has partnered on initiatives with RUFORUM as well as many other collaborative research projects. Dr. Edema participated in an October 6, 2022, Symposium sponsored by Virginia Tech's College of Agriculture and Life Sciences and Virginia Cooperative Extension, taking part in a sub-Saharan African panel on community-engaged higher education. An alumnus of both Makerere University and The Ohio State University, he understands the land-grant model and the importance of extension. He said that Makerere approaches extension and community-based outreach in a "piecemeal" fashion with "everybody trying to do everything at every place." He emphasized the need for a coherent policy and strategy in which more extension agents are hired and given specific roles, saying that "the bottom line is that we're not giving the farmers enough knowledge." Centers like his are trying to meet the challenge of building back human capacity, increasing the number of PhD and MS students and connecting with the communities. In 2019, Dr. Edema won the Ohio State University College of Food, Agricultural, and Environmental Sciences International Alumni Award "for his distinguished service to the university and society" (Wamai, 2019).

One of the most effective ways to address real-world challenges is through local partnerships. These types of partnerships do not often receive the press that the Africa-wide and global partnerships receive; their impact, however, can't be underestimated as these are the foundation for internships, attachments, or "practicals" which all students are supposed to do. Not far from the Makerere campus is a YMCA complex which houses an NGO called Uganda National Association of Community and Occupational Health. One of their main activities is to visit extension workers in rural districts of Uganda to teach them how to use pesticides. The

association has entered into MOUs with both the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences and College of Health Sciences at Makerere in order to better serve both farmers and healthcare workers in these districts. They have also organized joint scientific conferences together.

The faculty member of health sciences whom I interviewed reiterated the importance of going into the local community; both faculty and students go to the communities to collect data, implement interventions which are later evaluated, and conduct clinical trials. She mentioned a program that the College of Health Sciences has been involved in called COBES, Community-based Education and Service, which seeks to involve students in specific health curricula in the communities.

Graduate Education

Makerere sees itself as the Ugandan university best positioned to undertake world-class research and to train graduate students to perform this research. As Uganda's oldest university and the producer of faculty members for most of Uganda's 35 other universities, both public and private, Makerere takes this responsibility seriously. In our interview, the Vice Chancellor said, "We also think we need to respond to the general call by everybody that Africa must produce at least 100,000 PhDs in the next ten years... and being one of the few universities in the region that can train at PhD level, it is important that we respond to that." The Makerere Institute of Social Research takes this challenge seriously. Professor Mahmoud Mamdani was the executive director from 2010 until the end of February 2022 and said that his focus was on "creating a generation of researchers – Ugandan and African" (Agaba, 2022). The Institute began a Master of Philosophy (MPhil) program in 2012 and a PhD program in 2015. So far, there have been over 50 masters and 11 PhD graduates. Fifteen doctoral students are doing fieldwork and

working on their dissertations. Mamdani said that the MISR PhD is different from the standard PhD at Makerere in that intensive coursework and comprehensive examinations are required; most other Makerere are based primarily on fieldwork.

Mamdani wants to see Makerere and other African universities as centers for knowledge production, not just knowledge dissemination. One way to accomplish this is to drastically reduce, or even eliminate, the undergraduate presence on campus in favor of graduate education. The Vice Chancellor himself calls for a reduction but not elimination. He said that about five years ago, the total student body numbered slightly over 40,000, and now stands between 32,000 and 33,000. So there has already been a reduction; he would like to see, though, a further reduction to 25,000, of which 10,000 are graduate students. The goal for this reduction is 2030, but he feels that Makerere can achieve it earlier than this. To put this into context, in the academic year 2015/16, there were a total of 39,546 students, of whom 2,599 were graduate students (The Visitation Committee on Makerere University, 2017). This would indicate a demographic change from 6% graduate students to 40% graduate students.

A similar sentiment is shared by the Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training at the Ministry of Education and Sports. In an interview conducted in his office, about one mile from the Makerere campus, he noted that the “last time I checked” graduate students still numbered under 10% of the total student body, but he sees the goal as “50-50.” As one of the administrators who oversees all of higher education in Uganda, he believes that a paradigm shift is needed, and it is Makerere’s responsibility to take up the mantle of graduate education, saying that there are a “myriad of other institutions that can do undergraduate training.”

Likewise, the Dean of East African Studies of Higher Education and Development (also the Deputy Principal of the College of External Studies and Education) addressed the need to

advance graduate studies. He articulately explained the importance of reducing, but not eliminating, the undergraduate population, emphasizing 1) the need to “nurture talent” (because “the quality of those post-graduates coming from other institutions will be low” and they need to start early); 2) the traditional mission of the university is to teach; 3) the “feeling of warmth on campus” which is gained by having undergraduates; and 4) the need to support early career academics (associate lecturers and lecturers) who can teach but still need to be nurtured into researchers. He estimates that 70% of the faculty at Makerere would be classified as early academics, who may not yet have finished their PhD and have not been promoted to senior lecturer, associate professor, or professor. The Dean asserts that Makerere could be a true research university by having a 60% focus on research and 40% focus on teaching.

Additionally, one faculty member in the history department finds the idea of eliminating undergraduate teaching “very problematic.” He said that this had been debated in the newspapers and was promoted in one of the visitation reports. The argument he cites is that the structural adjustment policies of the World Bank forced Makerere to admit “masses” of fee-paying students which “eliminated any possibility of being a research institution.” The 2017 Visitation Report is clear that the focus of Makerere should “shift to graduate training and research” given its position as the “premier university in Uganda and in Africa.” This faculty member is concerned that the mission of a public university be upheld at Makerere, aligning both teaching and research, rather than promoting one at the expense of the other. He finds, for example, that the Makerere Institute of Social Research, albeit a very successful program, is cut off from the rest of the university, with its own calendar and funding and governance models. He finds it unfortunate that paid teaching assistants have been “scrapped” because it would help to

“free up faculty and fund students.” Without undergraduate students, there would be no opportunity for re-establishing a teaching assistant program.

Finding 2: Neoliberalism and Market Influences

Innovation and decentralization helped Makerere recover after the brutal regimes of Amin and Obote II but led to neoliberalism and market influence which continue to affect research, student experience, and faculty experience.

The Quiet Revolution

In 1999, David Court wrote the World Bank and Rockefeller Foundation-funded report *Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere University, the Quiet Revolution*. In the report, Court was effusive about the way in which Makerere “moved from the brink of collapse” after the brutal years of the Idi Amin and Milton Obote dictatorships (1971-1985) to once again being a preeminent university (p. i). Court attributes this dramatic comeback (revolution) to the following three factors:

1) Alternative financing strategies – instead of only admitting government-sponsored students (who paid nothing), privately-sponsored students were admitted. Soon the privately sponsored students outnumbered the government-sponsored students. In 1998/1999, there were 10,194 private students and 8,252 government students (Court, 1999, p. 5). In addition, units such as the guesthouse, the bookshop, the printing shop, and the bakery which were formerly subsidized by the university, were contracted out and privately run. Makerere staff and faculty also benefited from outside consultancies.

2) Demand-driven courses – New degree and diploma courses were offered which corresponded to the demand of potential students. Bachelor’s degrees in subjects like “business administration, nursing, tourism, urban planning, and biomedical laboratory technology” as well

as specializations in “drama, music, and dance” were offered, attracting more students (p. 5).

Many of the new courses were offered in the evenings, increasing use of the facilities, and giving another option for students who couldn’t attend during the day.

3) New management structures – Makerere moved from the typical top-down hierarchical structure to a more participatory management structure. Individual university units were able to make their own decisions regarding courses to offer, use of revenue, and use of space. This move to increased decentralization gave greater autonomy to schools and departments.

Each of these strategies contain within them market-driven, privatization characteristics enabling the university to be less dependent on the Ugandan government, which was at that time unable and unwilling to fully support the university and gave greater autonomy to the individual units of the university. This success also has won Makerere University a place in Burton Clark’s analyses of entrepreneurial universities. Clark (2004) states “The 1970s and 1980s were Uganda’s ‘time of troubles’ – a delicate phrase for horrible coups, atrocities and massacres – a period of brutal tyranny and backwardness under Idi Amin and Milton Obote. The impact on the country’s main center of academic learning was devastating” (p. 99). Clark demonstrates that the life-giving reforms are consistent with pathways typical of entrepreneurial universities: “a strengthened steering core, with its intertwining of managerial and collegial authority; a diversified funding base...; and an expanded periphery, with its instinctive creativity in reaching across traditional university boundaries...” (p. 104). The transformations brought about by the entrepreneurial culture have not, however, been applauded by everyone.

Scholars in the Marketplace

One of the loudest critics is Professor Mahmoud Mamdani, the former director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR) and author of *Scholars in the Marketplace: The*

Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University, 1989-2005. He criticizes the World Bank's interpretation of the reforms which came from a "conviction that higher education is more of a private than a public good" (p. vii). He says, "The Makerere case epitomizes the fate of public universities globally in a market-oriented and capital-friendly era" (p. vii). Throughout the book, Mamdani meticulously documents the ways in which privatization, commercialization, and decentralization took hold of the university, compromising the research agenda and the mission of a public institution. He contrasts between a development-oriented university which prioritizes research and a market-driven university which focuses on demand-driven, vocational programs.

During the years of transformation, Makerere focused on the demand-driven programs, referred to as "professionalization," introducing programs such as Tourism and Environmental Education and Management in the Department of Geography (p. 53). Other programs recommended during this time were Mass Communication, Urban Planning, Social Anthropology, and Secretarial Studies. The Senate meeting notes of May 1997 recorded "a change in the mission of the Faculty of Arts – from the teaching of Humanities to a vocational mission – but without subjecting it to a critical discussion" (p. 63). Decentralization led to "turf wars" in which different departments competed for income-generating programs and fee-paying students. These individual units felt that they should be able to keep their own revenue rather than give some back to the Central Administration.

Professor Musisi, whom I interviewed and who preceded Mamdani as the director of MISR, wrote a small book entitled *Makerere University in Transition 1993-2000*. In the book, she was not as critical of the reforms, acknowledging that this is what got Makerere "back from the brink." She devotes a chapter, however, to "Challenges and Unfinished Business," in which

she enumerates ways in which quality had been compromised, such as insufficient space, introductory classes of up to 800, poor ICT infrastructure, lack of funding for research, and poor student living conditions. Indeed, Professor Musisi acknowledges, “Despite the impressive rejuvenation of Makerere, there is growing concern from a cross-section of the university’s stakeholders – including teaching staff, students, government officials and donor agencies – that increased enrolment may have jeopardized the quality of learning” (2003, p. 43).

The Missing Piece - Regulation

In my interview with the Dean of East African Studies of Higher Education and Development, I asked how he reconciled these very different perspectives, that of David Court of the World Bank and Professor Mamdani of the Makerere Institute of Social Research. The Dean expressed a similar perspective to that of Professor Musisi, recognizing the need for the transformation but acknowledging the challenges that came along with it. He said, “The conditions at that time necessitated Makerere to take the direction of privatization because truth be told, if the institution sat back and said, well, government please give us what we need, and the government was not giving, then Makerere would not be where it is now.” According to him, however, the problem was not the privatization itself, but *unregulated* privatization. He gave an example of a typical administrator meeting at the time: “The Deans would sit together in the committee chaired by the Vice Chancellor and say, ‘Okay, we are coming up with this and this and this. Can we have 300%? People are going to teach extra hours in the night.’ ‘Yes, let’s do it – we will give you the money.’” There was an entrepreneurial spirit but also lack of regulation and oversight.

The Dean spoke of the Education White Paper of 1992, called the Kajubi Report, which called for regulatory laws and for a National Council for Higher Education as a regulatory body

for higher education in Uganda. According to The Independent (2022), a Uganda newspaper, Museveni's new National Resistance Movement government appointed an Education Policy Review Commission in 1987 to review education after the destruction of the two dictatorships. This was led by Professor William Senteza Kajubi, and thus came to be called the Kajubi Commission. The Commission came up with 202 recommendations, informing the 1992 Government White Paper ("Kajubi Report"). The Independent article reports, however, that "the government only implemented about 40 percent of the over 202 recommendations in the white paper." The Assistant Commissioner currently overseeing policy analysis and research at the Ministry of Education and Sports refers to this as "implementation indiscipline" on the part of the education ministry at the time.

The Makerere Dean with whom I spoke indicated that, finally, in 2001, a new law, the Universities and Other Tertiaries Act, was passed, serving the regulatory purposes which should have been put into place after the Kajubi Report. With this, the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) was established, and other major changes were made, such as making the President of Uganda a Visitor, and not the Chancellor of the University. As Visitor, he still has a relationship with Makerere University and appoints the Chancellor (who is the titular head, performs ceremonial roles, and appoints the Vice Chancellor who controls the day-to-day functions), but is further distanced from the university.

The purpose of the National Council for Higher Education was "to establish, manage, supervise and guide institutions of higher learning in the creation and delivery of quality education" (Kasozi, 2016). A.B.K. Kasozi was the Executive Director of the NCHE from its founding in 2002 until 2013 and wrote a book detailing his experiences entitled *The National Council for Higher Education and the Growth of the University Sub-sector in Uganda, 2002-*

2012. In the Foreword, Moses Luutu Golola, at the time Vice Chancellor of Bugema University, wrote that the NCHE was established at “the rise of neoliberal ideas, which were strengthened by the collapse of command economies in the 1990s. These ideas were based on the assumption that the market can replace the state in directing human affairs including the delivery of social services such as higher education” (p. xv). He refers to public universities implementing “neoliberal policies without changing the laws they were previously working under,” similar to putting “new wine in leather wine bottles.” This, he says, was the problem of Makerere University. Throughout the book, Kasozi documents the efforts of the NCHE to regulate all aspects of higher education in Uganda, including Makerere University.

The NCHE, however, is not a perfect regulator. The 2017 Visitation Committee, which was tasked with conducting an analysis of Makerere University and its history of faculty, staff, and student strikes, highlights in its report ways in which the composition of the NCHE hinders impartial and transparent analysis. There is a constituency-based membership of the NCHE in which the membership elects the Chairperson and Vice Chairperson. In addition, the Chairperson and some members of the council come from the same universities they are asked to regulate. Instead, the Visitation Committee recommends that members be appointed by the Ministry and selected based on competences and experience.

Further regulatory mechanisms include policy documents on Patent and Utility Models and on Intellectual Property and Technology Transfer. Both of these documents are available on the Makerere website under the Directorate of Research and Graduate Training. The Patent and Utility Model policy includes information about the types of inventions that can be patented, conditions for obtaining a patent, the rights of a patent owner, the process of seeking patent protection, and the difference between a utility model and patent. The Intellectual Property and

Technology Transfer policy also includes information on patents and inventions, supplemented by explanations of technology transfer, revenue derived from commercialization, and the benefits of university industry collaborations.

Effects of Neoliberalism on Students

With laws and policies in place and the NCHE ensuring the regulatory function, structure and order returned to Makerere. However, my interviews with alumni, students, and faculty reveal that privatization and neoliberalism continue to be very real issues in terms of student and faculty experience and research. One alumnus who is currently working on his PhD in Scotland said, “Education now is ranked as one of the major causes of poverty in the country, which is sad because it shouldn’t be the case. But because it is largely privatized and the same also goes with Makerere because studying on a private sponsorship at Makerere University is a very costly process.” Students are responsible for their own tuition, accommodation, meals, and materials. He emphasized that students must make this investment without the guarantee of a job upon graduation. He himself was a private student during his years at Makerere, admitted as a day student but then switching to a night student when he needed to find a job. Because of these experiences, he sees Makerere as now being a university for the private good and not the public good.

Paying Tuition. Indeed, all of the undergraduate students with whom I spoke are privately sponsored students, and almost all spoke of the pressures of paying tuition. One female student who is studying for a bachelor’s degree in Adult and Community Education and is a “Minister of Discipline” (Resident Assistant) in Mary Stuart Hall, said that “tuition is hard because not everyone is coming from the same background and same life. Some people can afford the tuition in one day, some people take years to afford the same tuition.” She says that

her course is two million Ugandan Shillings (equivalent of about \$570) per semester. The first semester is higher because of the functional fees (which cover library, hospital and other costs), but the second semester, there are no functional fees. Another female student studying for a bachelor's degree in Social Science said that about 70% of students are private and 30% are government-sponsored. A male student in Social Science said that after his mother's death, he and his siblings only had some rental income to live on which wasn't enough to pay tuition for both him and his brother. He said, "So I have to wait for maybe another semester to gather funds for the tuition in that semester."

Tuition is due at the end of the semester at the time of exams which happens to be when I was on the Makerere campus (April/May 2022). There were lines of students outside the "bank" at every college, paying tuition so they could sit for the exams. Many of the students complained that there was no flexibility or support from the university in paying for the tuition. The same Social Science student says that a friend of his has a debt from last semester and that the "university is not helping." Another Social Science student said, "The bad thing about the university is that they are not patient, especially with tuition. They don't want to understand some people's situations." A student may be working on earning money to pay tuition, but the university does not give a grace period for payment. She said, "That is affecting us very badly."

My impression in conversations was that private students far outnumber government-sponsored students. However, in an analysis of publicly available undergraduate admissions for 2022-2023 (listing admitted students by name and program and publishing on the website!), it appears there is not such a large gap (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4

Undergraduate and Graduate Admissions

	Privately sponsored undergraduates 2022-23	Government- sponsored undergraduates 2022-23	Total undergraduate admissions	Graduate admissions 2020-21 ²
Number	1,918	1,457	3,375	2,739
Percentage	57%	43%	100%	

Besides the fact that these records were made publicly available, I was surprised that there are so few privately sponsored students. The number of government-sponsored students aligns with expectation as the Assistant Commissioner of Higher Education and Training indicated that there are a total of 4,000 government scholarships spread across the nine³ public universities with Makerere receiving the most, over 1,000. However, privately sponsored students should number over 6,000. In a follow-up conversation, one of my faculty interviewees indicated that admissions are significantly down this year because of COVID. There was no senior secondary exit examination (Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education) in 2021, so it was anticipated that there would be a vacuum in admissions. To partially fill in the gap, students from the 2018, 2019, and 2020 cohorts were allowed to apply for government sponsorship, lowering the number of privately sponsored students. Some students are, therefore, changing their program to one that is government-sponsored, normally STEM programs. Admissions next

² 2022-2023 graduate admissions data not available

³ This information was based on the interview with the Assistant Commissioner of Higher Education and Training. Another source referred to 11 public universities.

year will, most likely, approach normal again, but there may also be the impact of lowering undergraduate enrollment in favor of graduate enrollment.

Although students must apply for the government scholarship by taking the exam, there is also a sense that government sponsorship is used preferentially. In the Mak@100 Grand Finale celebration on October 6, 2022, the speaker from the Ministry of Education and Sports challenged President Museveni to give scholarships to students from poor districts and not to those who can already afford tuition. He said, “I have over ten children here, why should my child benefit from a scholarship at Makerere?” There appears to be a growing sentiment that these scholarships should be used for those who truly need them. I asked one of the faculty members if her children would be able to get a discount because she works at Makerere. She responded, “Yes, they do give them a discount. Many things have changed of recent, so I’m not sure what it is now. In terms of quality entry requirements, they still have to measure up.”

The government reserves aid particularly for science and technology students. In his speech at the Grand Finale celebration, President Museveni said 70% of the scholarships will go to science. In addition, the government loan scheme which began seven years ago is only available to STEM students and not social science students. The Assistant Commissioner elaborated on the government loan scheme saying, “The kind of money that is available if you open it to everybody, then you might not be able to do much.” The loan is designed to cover tuition throughout the duration of the degree. It has a one-year grace period before repayment needs to begin, and the repayment period is twice the number of years of the program. The Assistant Commissioner added that “we’re still in the very infant stage as compared to you people, so we are yet to appreciate those issues that we hear of spending years on end trying to repay students loans forever.”

Student Unrest. In November 2016, the President of Uganda and “Visitor,” appointed a Visitation Committee to study Makerere University in light of the “endemic strikes,” and to analyze previous reports and the integrity of financial management. This report came out in August 2017 as a comprehensive assessment of the university. Included in it was a list of all the strikes and their triggers. Both student and faculty/strikes could be divided into three types: “welfare-related and remuneration, ideological activism, and survival” (Visitation Committee, 2017, p. 12). In July 2014, students went on strike over a university decision to scrap meals in the residence halls and increase the tuition by 10 percent for new students. In October 2014, students went on strike over an increase in graduation fees. Strikes have continued even after the release of the Visitation Committee findings. In October 2019, the student guild initiated a strike in response to the University Council’s decision to increase tuition fees by 15% for undergraduates beginning the 2018/2019 school year. The Guild President, Julius Kateregga, stated that “right now, over 2000 students have dropped out of the university or failed to do their exams because of the high tuition fees” (Busiweek.com, 2019). The army and military police were on campus to put down the protests, battling the students, until President Museveni told them to withdraw.

Faculty Perspective of Neoliberalism

I asked one faculty member in the history department about how he perceived the threats to freedom of expression in an authoritarian regime (President Museveni has been in power since 1986). Although other scholars see censorship as a critical issue, this faculty member attributes the true threats as being related to funding and neoliberalism. He said, “I generally see that these kinds of issues as not being specific to the current government, but to the way neoliberalism guts public institutions and makes it difficult for there to be a space that scholars can speak without

having to market their research.” Students only see their research as being relevant when they can market it and when there are resulting policy recommendations. This same faculty member also connects the devastating consequences of the 1970 and 80s to the World Bank’s structural adjustment policies and not only to the brutal regimes of Amin and then Obote II (second rule of Obote). During this period “public institutions from archives to universities... were gutted of their funding and were told to raise their own money.” He continued, “They’re supposed to be public institutions, and the role of the government is supposed to fund them.” He urges the university to advocate for more public funding to free up faculty “to not be constantly under economic and metric-driven pressures, so they can do their own research and writing.” The Research and Investment Fund (RIF) provided by the government is to him a positive step.

Another faculty member in the Department of Adult and Community Education said he came to Makerere University in the 1990s when neoliberalism was beginning. He said that the university was funded entirely by the government but “when the neoliberal discussion began, government funding reduced, saying higher education is a private entity, and the universities became broke.” He said that was the point that the university started admitting students on private sponsorship and enrollment began increasing. He said that “individuals started looking for extra work, extra income. We shifted from academic research to consultancy.”

This faculty member felt that Mamdani’s book *Scholars in the Marketplace* was an “eyeopener” for the government and has resulted in more government money for research and higher salaries for faculty. Now a professor earns around \$4,500 per month, a vast improvement over the past when they might have earned only \$500 per month. He did add that these salary increases have been inconsistent, favoring the ranks of professor and associate professor and neglecting the lower ranks. As a senior lecturer (with a PhD), he makes about \$25,000 per year.

Research has also received much more attention in the past few years from the government with the Research and Innovations Fund (RIF) described under the previous finding.

Another faculty member I interviewed who teaches in the School of Public Health was not as critical of Makerere's tuition policies as she said that tuition at Makerere is "the lowest compared to other universities," even for private students. She continued, "Makerere University to me is an institution which is not out to make a profit, not at all." She compared what she pays as a PhD student to the school fees that she has to pay for her children and said that it is not that different, concluding that "that shows me that Makerere is cheap and is more of a public good." She mentioned the strikes and previous discontent among faculty over low pay and said that this has gotten better now with higher faculty salaries. She did, however, discuss the infrastructure challenges saying that "many things are the way they used to be 100 years ago." We were sitting at a table in front of the Makerere University Guest House where I was staying and she said, "A good example is this house; it should not look the way it looks." She said that there is not enough money for programs and activities, especially those that don't generate money. She also asserted that the government is not reliable, that the "money comes in late and is not sufficient."

As mentioned earlier, faculty and staff instigated strikes as well as the students. The report of the Visitation Committee concluded that most of the faculty/staff strikes fell under the category of "welfare." In November 2006, staff went on strike demanding salary increases (which had been promised in April 2004). Lecturers went on strike again for two months in November 2007. In September 2011, faculty went on strike "demanding enhanced pay and clearance of pension arrears." (The Visitation Committee, 2017, p. 13). In 2013, staff went on strike again for salary increases. In August 2016, non-teaching staff went on strike demanding back pay. The government promised to pay by the end of October 2016 but failed to. In spring

2021 lecturers at Makerere and four other public universities went on strike demanding the release of 129.24 billion Ugandan shillings (equivalent to \$33,747,820 U.S.) which, according to presidential directive, was to be implemented in phases five years. Only professors and associate professors received 100% of their salary in 2020/2021. The Makerere protesters were informed that the strike was illegal and were summoned to appear before the appointments board (The Independent, March 2022).

The Visitation report states, “The shift in policy on higher education funding which culminated into liberalization in the sub-sector with a mix of public funding, private sponsorship and support from development partners has not adequately supported the core functions of the higher education delivery systems” (p. xvii). Students and faculty/staff have been the ones to suffer by a lack of funding, which has led to the persistent strikes. Although the government does seem to have been more responsive in the past few years, the response has been unequal and has favored some and not others.

Finding 3: Undergraduate Education

Undergraduate education faces many challenges in terms of increasing access, encouraging critical thinking, improving the student experience, and preparing for jobs.

Throughout the interviews and documentation, it became clear that, although the vast majority of students are undergraduates, Makerere University’s current focus is on graduate education. As demonstrated under the first finding, the Vice Chancellor hopes to reduce the total student body to 25,000, of whom 10,000 will be graduate students. Even the 2016 Visitation Committee which conducted a thorough review of the university included in its recommendations, “Makerere University should leverage her premier position in the higher education ecosystem to focus on graduate training and research so as to provide higher education

human resource for the Nation, as well as improve Uganda's contribution to the research and innovations index, which is currently low (The Visitation Committee, 2017, p. 145). The Visitation Report also indicated that there are over 46 universities in Uganda⁴, implying that undergraduate education can easily be done elsewhere. However, as explained previously, undergraduates are needed to “nurture talent” for graduate students and faculty at Makerere, to ensure the traditional university mission is being met, and to provide “warmth” on campus. Their number may be diminished, but they won't disappear. It is, therefore, important to closely examine the challenges of undergraduate education.

Critical Thinking

The second goal of the 2020-2030 Strategic Plan is entitled “Innovations in Teaching and Learning.” Critical thinking is addressed in the statement that faculty should not just lecture but create learning experiences which “promote the critical intellectual dispositions and build capacity for independent thinking and analysis of uncharted and complex issues.” The history lecturer I interviewed was quite concerned with the lack of critical thinking that he observed in the students. He and his mentor, former Makerere history professor and former director of Makerere Institute of Social Research, co-authored a book on critical thinking which was available to the students. He said, “We have to find creative ways to generate critical thought when students feel overwhelmed and just want the answers for the exam.” He said that some students take as many as ten classes at a time, so they can receive their credential in a timely manner. (Most degrees at the university take three years, with the exception of engineering degrees which take four). Most of the students taking history courses are education students who must also take their full slate of education courses. When students take so many courses, there is

⁴ The number of universities varies according to the source.

little time for thinking critically – they only want to do well on the final exam (which is worth 70% of the grade). The format of the history exam is written, in which students are given three hours to write on four out of eight questions. Students are given two coursework assignments for the remaining 30% of the grade. All assignments and exams are hand-written.

This lecturer said that it is a university requirement that the final exam be worth 70% of the grade, a further indicator of low expectations for critical thinking. According to course syllabi, however, it appears that colleges differ in final exam requirements. The College of Education and External Studies (School of Adult and Community Education) requires an exam worth 70% of the grade and coursework worth 30% of the grade. However, the College of Humanities and Social Sciences (School of Women and Gender Studies) requires a final exam worth 60% of the grade and coursework worth 40%.

Critical thinking is not explicitly discussed as an expectation in the course syllabi; however, the syllabus for Approaches to Gender Development and Practice mentions writing “critical essays” and the goal of Gender and the Social Sector is to “critically examine the symbiotic relationship between gender and the social [sector].” An analysis of the verbs used in Course Objectives / Learning Outcomes in each syllabus sheds further light on expectations for critical thinking, using Bloom’s Taxonomy as a guide. The amount of critical thinking required rises with each level in the taxonomy: Know, Understand, Apply, Analyze, Evaluate, and Create. According to the tables below, three out of the six courses use verbs consistent with the upper three levels of Bloom’s Taxonomy (Analyze, Evaluate, Create). The other three courses remain in the lower levels where critical thinking is less frequently required.

Table 4.5

Critical Thinking: College of Education and External Studies

Course	Verbs in Course Objectives/ Learning Outcomes	Levels of Bloom's Taxonomy
Introduction to Research	Discuss, Conduct, Undertake, Design	Understand, Apply, Create
ICT for Adult and Community Education	Understand, Engage, Show, Demonstrate, Explain, Design	Understand, Apply, Create
Introduction to Guidance and Counseling of Adult Learners	List, Explain, Demonstrate, Use	Know, Understand, Apply

Table 4.6

Critical Thinking: College of Humanities and Social Science

Course	Verbs in Course Objectives / Learning Outcomes	Levels of Bloom Taxonomy
Approaches to Gender and Development Practice	Explain, Apply, Write, Analyze, Advocate	Know, Apply, Evaluate, Create
Human Resource Development and Management	Define, Articulate, Identify, Discuss	Know, Understand
Gender and the Social Sector	Understand, Identify, Analyze, Apply	Know, Understand, Analyze, Apply

Note. <https://miamioh.edu/cte/assessment/writing-student-learning-outcomes/blooms-action-verbs/index.html>

It is also interesting to consider that critical thinking may have been neglected when the curriculum was “professionalized” after the reforms of the 1990s. In discussions over the manuscript of his book *Scholars in the Marketplace*, one participant said, “The issue was what one would do after getting a degree in Geography, History, Languages, Literature, MDD [Music, Dance and Drama], Philosophy, Religious Studies, among other areas of the Arts Faculty” (as cited in Mamdani, 2007, p. 52). Degrees were based only on relevance in the economic sense, neglecting the role of critical thinking and critical analysis.

In a review of the current undergraduate curriculum, it is interesting to note that there are still no degrees in such disciplines as Anthropology, Biology, English (and other languages), Geography, Geology, History, International Studies, Mathematics, Philosophy, Physics, Political Science, Psychology, Sociology, and Religion. Instead, the university focuses on degrees which might more readily lead to employment, such as a BS in Tourism and Hospitality Management, BS in Food Science and Technology, and BS in Water and Irrigation (College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences) or Bachelor of Industrial and Organizational Psychology and Bachelor of Development Studies (College of Humanities and Social Sciences), or Bachelor of Youth in Development Work (College of Education and External Studies). The Makerere University Business School (MUBS) in particular offers a plethora of professional programs including Bachelor of Real Estate Business Management, Bachelor of Leisure and Hospitality Management, Bachelor of Business Statistics, Bachelor of Catering and Hotel Management. Many of these courses are offered in the day, the evening, and in Up-Country campuses (the cities of Arua, Jinja, Mbarara, and Mbale). See Appendix I for the full list of undergraduate offerings by college.

A follow-up conversation with one of my faculty interviewees gave additional insight into the undergraduate curriculum. Ugandan education is modeled after the British system in which students in the higher secondary level take general science and liberal arts courses more aligned with U.S. undergraduate work. Students then begin to specialize at the university level which may account for the more specialized nature of the programs. In the higher secondary, students already begin to focus their studies on their preferred path, deciding if they want to pursue a science, liberal arts, or vocational pathway. Table 4.7 compares the U.S. and Ugandan systems of education. More research would be needed to determine all the forces which have

influenced the Makerere undergraduate curriculum, whether it be British colonialism, neoliberalism, or other factors, and the interplay of critical thinking with these influences.

Table 4.7

Comparison of U.S. and Ugandan Education

Level	Uganda	Ugandan Exams	United States
Primary / elementary school	Primary: 7 years	Primary School Leaving Certificate	Elementary: K – 5 th grades
Secondary	Lower secondary: 4 years	Uganda Certificate of Education	Middle school: 3 years (6 th – 8 th grades)
Secondary	Higher secondary: 2 years	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education	High school: 4 years (9 th – 12 th grades)
Bachelor's degree	Normally 3 years (engineering and law are 4 years, medicine is 5 years)		Normally 4 years
Master's degree	1.5 – 3 years		1 – 3 years
Doctoral degree	3 years		At least 3 years

Access

In my interviews and analysis of documents and social media, there has been little mention of increasing undergraduate access to the university. For example, in the Vice Chancellor's daily tweets, I have not seen any tweet which focuses specifically on increasing access to marginalized populations. On the contrary, as already indicated, the goal of the university leaders is to decrease undergraduate enrollment in order to increase the graduate student population. Makerere University is regarded as the elite university in Uganda with high

admission standards. An alumnus with whom I spoke said, “It’s considered a very big opportunity for a Ugandan student to even appear on the admissions list.” He considered himself lucky. The students I interviewed had more contradictory statements. One woman said, “Makerere accepts” and “doesn’t neglect anyone.” I asked another woman if Makerere does a good job bringing students from both rural and urban areas. She responded, “Yeah, it really does.” I pushed a little harder and asked if someone from a rural area without much money would have the same opportunity to go to school here, and she said, “They really wouldn’t.” Scoring high enough on the entrance exams and tuition fees are two barriers for equitable student access. As the Vice Chancellor indicated, in order to admit fewer undergraduates, the admissions standards would need to be raised even further.

The Assistant Commissioner spoke of access, noting the laws governing education. The Ugandan Constitution of 1995, Article 30 states that all Ugandans have the right to a good education. In addition, Section 28 of the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act of 2001 states that “admission to a Public University shall be open to all qualified citizens of Uganda and without discrimination.” These, however, obviously don’t require Makerere to admit all who apply. The Assistant Commissioner admitted that the preference is for STEM students as the government loan scheme, which has been in existence for seven years, is at this time only available to these students. Non-STEM students need to find private loans if they can’t pay tuition on time. Additionally, the university leaders I spoke with indicated that there are plenty of other institutions in Uganda who can take the undergraduates not admitted to Makerere. There seems to be a “division of labor” in Ugandan higher education. Makerere, as the premier institution, is most suitable to teach graduate education and provide the qualified faculty for the other institutions, while the other institutions should take on the bulk of undergraduates.

While increasing overall undergraduate access to Makerere University is not a priority, gender equality has been improving to the point now that female students represent 51% of the student body. Twenty-five years ago, female students represented only 15% (Nafula, 2022). The third goal of the 2020-2030 Strategic Plan entitled “A professionally-managed, equitable, inclusive, and gender-mainstreamed institution” affirms the priority of giving equal representation to women. The objectives under this goal address equitable gender and minority representation on departmental committees and an “affirming and inclusive” environment for “gender and sexual diversity.”

Improving the student experience

I conducted my interviews in late April and early May 2022 when COVID was still a reality. From the beginning of COVID in March 2020 until January 2022, the campus was closed, and classes were held online. The campus opened in late January 2022 but on a rotating basis: First-year students for a month, second year-students the next month, and then third-year students. When I was at Makerere, it was the first time that all students were back on campus because of final exams. In order to navigate online learning, the university set up a platform called MUELE (Makerere University E-learning Environment) and used Zoom video conferencing. One lecturer said, though, that out of 150 students, maybe only five would attend the Zoom session. A student said, “You’d have classes going on and the network goes off and the lecturer gets off. It wasn’t really nice.” Students would attend the Zoom lectures via smart phone as most don’t have computers or tablets. One student said, though, “Classes weren’t consistent because of the network issue. Getting online is a little hard for some students, so basically it was not really effective.” Lecturers would do their best to get readings and notes to students, but the lack of consistency with classes and limited access to resources and lecturers

resulted in poor coverage of content. Students also complained that "some lecturers are arrogant," "they're rarely at campus; you only get to see them in class," "we don't have office hours," and "they lose our marks." While these issues of discontent were especially exaggerated during COVID, some of the complaints were generally applicable. For example, lecturers "losing marks" seemed to be a pervasive issue and was addressed in the Visitation Report (2017) stating that "examinations and results managements" was one of the triggers for strikes (p. xix).

Apart from challenges resulting from COVID, one of the most challenging issues has been lack of space and infrastructure. The history lecturer I interviewed said it is often difficult to get a suitable venue for classes. He taught one class in a kitchen, "basically an empty room in one of the residences." He was assigned to a large venue with his 40-student class, but sometimes another lecturer would come and try to take it over, kicking his class out. Another lecturer I interviewed also talked about the need to improve facilities, including infrastructure, computers, network, and student housing. One of the conclusions of the Visitation Committee, was that "over the years, maintenance of hardware and acquisition of up-to-date software licenses has been a challenge that has in most instances resulted in ICT systems running into obsolescence. This, in effect, has had a denting impact on the quality of teaching, research, and related administrative processes..." (The Visitation Committee, 2017, p. 283). The computer labs in the main library and the various colleges are not sufficient for all the students. The Strategic Plan addresses ICT in its objective "The University will mainstream Open, Distance and e-Learning (ODEL) to enhance access and address the increasing demand for higher education."

A significant complaint I heard was that women make up 51% of the student body and have only three residence halls while the men comprise 49% of the student body and have six

residence halls. I heard this complaint after one of the Mak@100 lectures, when a female student asked the featured speaker, Permanent Secretary of Finance, Planning and Economic Development, what the university was going to do about the inequity. He deferred to the Vice Chancellor sitting in the audience who responded that the university is working on it. I heard it again in the final comments of a televised student panel giving the youth perspective to the Ugandan president's State of the Nation address. The panel was hosted on the Civic Space TV program launched by the Centre for Constitutional Governance. The lone female student on the panel challenged both the university administration and Ugandan government to consider female students and construct more resident halls.

Only one of the students I talked with lived in an on-campus residence; the rest lived off campus in private hostels. This on-campus student was a "Minister of Discipline" (essentially a Residence Assistant) in Mary Stuart Hall, the largest female residence. In her position, she got a single room in the minister's wing. There are nine floors in the residence, G through P, "but there is no I because you can't say I1 – someone might confuse it for 11 [eleven]." She said that the wi-fi was good but "in strategic places." People in the tower don't have access, but people in the "downer parts" do. She said the elevator broke ("some of our aunties studied there, so it's old"), so people don't like going up to floor P. As a result, they crowd the lower rooms with up to four women per room.

The university administration and the Ugandan government are aware of the many infrastructure challenges and are taking steps to make improvements. In May 2022, Hon. Janet Museveni, the Minister of Education and Sports and Uganda's First Lady, officially opened two new Central Teaching Facilities and the Dental Hospital, as well as laying foundation stones for the reconstruction of the Main Building, which burned in September 2020, and for the School of

Law. The Ugandan government promised 21 billion Ugandan Shillings (\$5,482,827) for the Main Building reconstruction. The teaching facilities house a 1000-seat auditorium, lecture rooms, administrative offices, and boardrooms. The Main Building will house a museum, gallery, Exhibit Preparation room, archives, souvenir shop, and administrative offices. As mentioned earlier, the administration is also aware of the need for more female residence halls.

In addition to infrastructure and ICT challenges, there is a lack of learning resources and student support services. When I went into the main library, on the four floors, I only saw student study areas, computer labs, and no stacks of books except behind a caged-in area on the fourth floor where students request the books they need. For the most part, students rely on copies which lecturers leave at photocopy shops on campus and on documents posted to the online MUELE system. A few of the syllabi I reviewed had links to online resources, but others listed books and articles which needed to be obtained elsewhere. There is no longer a student bookstore on campus; the Fountain Publishers store closed three or four years ago. One lecturer told me that resources like LibGen (Library Genesis) are often the only way students can access certain resources. I made the comment that lecturers needed to be quite creative in ensuring students got the resources they needed. The lecturer replied, “Yes, and also students don’t necessarily have the money. If we required students to buy a lot of books, we would have fewer students because many students are on a very limited budget.”

Support services also seemed to rely on lecturers. The only support service I saw in the main library was a Language Center for students (such as refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo) who need to work on English. Otherwise, there were no tutoring or academic support services. These may be available in various ways in the different colleges, and there is a counseling service available for students. However, the history lecturer I spoke with

said that in general students “rely on each other and on faculty to get through the challenges of navigating the university.”

The most consistent complaint I heard from students was that of tuition and the inflexibility of the university in providing payment plans for tuition. I addressed this under Neoliberalism, but it is important to keep in mind the impact this has on the undergraduate experience, particularly for those in the social sciences who are not eligible for the government loan scheme (which is only for STEM students). If they don’t pay tuition, they can’t sit for the final exams which means they can’t pass their classes. Students do what they can to come up with money including borrowing from family members and coming up with a “side hustle.” Sometimes, though, this isn’t enough and puts tremendous pressure on them.

Preparing for Jobs

In May 2022, Makerere University held its 72nd graduation ceremonies, releasing thousands of students into the marketplace to look for jobs. Table 4.8 summarizes the graduation statistics.

Table 4.8

Graduation Statistics May 2023

	Bachelor’s graduates	Master’s graduates	PhD graduates	Undergraduate and postgraduate diplomas	TOTAL graduates
Female	NA	492 (40%)	40 (40%)	NA	6,486 (52%)
Male	NA	744 (60%)	60 (60%)	NA	5,988 (48%)
TOTAL	10,998	1,236	100	140	12,474

A preoccupation for both students and university faculty and administrators is the poor job market for university graduates. This came up in many of my interviews, in speeches I

heard, and in other contexts. All reiterated the same refrain that there is no guarantee that students will get a job upon graduation, which is particularly difficult given the investment that they and their families must make into their education. One lecturer said that “80% of the Ugandan youth are unemployed”, and the Assistant Commissioner said that there is a youth bulge in the country with 75-80% of the population below the age of 30. Students, therefore, are very realistic about the prospects of getting a job upon graduation and many turn to entrepreneurship. One gender studies student said that he wants to be an activist, that he and a friend aspire to start their own NGO to fight for the rights of women and girls. They haven’t been able to raise money yet but still feel that this is a better option than finding a job in an existing organization. Another gender studies student said, “Jobs are very scarce, so for me, I want to be self-employed. I want to sell clothes, shoes, until I get my own money.” Another student in the same department said, “I have the mindset whereby after campus I won’t be doing the job I want to do. Right now, I have a side hustle. I am a car salesperson.”

The Adult and Community Education student I interviewed is hopeful that she will be retained after her internship. In fact, she said that the university wants to change the required internship to the third year (instead of the second year), so students can stay on after the internship rather than returning to the university. She emphasized the importance of the lecturers giving the “practical bit,” assigning students for fieldwork as part of the class. One field assignment she had was to go to the Kawala Health Centre in Kampala and look into the problem of teenage pregnancies, finding out the causes and looking for solutions. For her this experience was exposing her to “life after campus.” After one of the centennial lectures on campus, a student complained that one of her lecturers did not provide a “practical” as part of the course.

The Vice Chancellor responded that the university encourages practicals and asked the name of her lecturer who was not encouraging it.

The faculty member in health sciences whom I interviewed, also spoke of the relevance of programs to the unemployment problem. She believes that the “approach of training is not appropriate.” She said, “That’s why you find a Bachelor of Agriculture student roaming in Kampala looking for a job. I say go to the communities because that is what you studied. But they don’t want to – they want to be in offices, put on coats.” She feels that too many students start by looking for jobs in Kampala instead of going back to the communities and “getting their hands dirty.” They could “go to a swamp and start a small aqua farm,” but they haven’t been trained to do that. She asks why business administration students don’t return home and “start with your father’s chicken business.”

The student’s discipline makes a difference in the types of jobs available and the likelihood of getting a job. The student getting a PhD in Computer Science did not seem worried about getting a job. He talked about classmates who had internships and then job offers from big tech companies such as Google, Meta, and Microsoft. This was after a graduate degree, though, meaning much more of an investment into the student’s education. He feels that participation in innovation hubs, where there is collaboration among the university, industry, and government, is the key to better access to jobs. He also emphasized the importance of involving social science students in these hubs as they are skilled in areas that technology students are not. He said, “Maybe you need a computer scientist to prototype the idea, but also social scientists are supposed to help you engage the customers, to see the relevance of this solution or validate the prototype.” He feels that these hubs can provide a solution to the unemployment crisis by enabling students in all disciplines to work collaboratively. He wants to “make these young

people think big” and would like to see these collaborations extend beyond campus to other universities in Uganda, Africa, and across the world.

The Assistant Commissioner spoke of the importance of the relevance of a college degree in terms of human resource development. He said, “If you’re going to get out of the university and are unable to find work, hopefully in the line of what you studied, then there are question marks.” He said that Uganda is at “pre-takeoff” and very much wants to get to “takeoff.” His primary concern is skills matching, involving employers in the curriculum development to ensure the university is teaching what the private sector is looking for. One way to ensure relevance is by requiring internships or attachments. His hope is that all students “irrespective of their programs” have the opportunity to be “attached” in their area of study for at least two months. He is also in favor of “tracer studies” in which institutions “trace their products and see how quickly they can be absorbed into the job market.” He would like to see program reviews every five years to see what is happening in the market in relation to academic programs.

Finding 4: Reputation and Saga

The reputation of Makerere and the institutional saga have protected and guided the institution over tumultuous decades and provide a foundation for moving into the future

According to Burton Clark (1972), “An organizational saga is a collective understanding of a unique accomplishment based on historical exploits of a formal organization, offering strong normative bonds within and outside the organization. Believers give loyalty to the organization and take pride and identity from it” (p. 178). The organizational saga of Makerere University is what has given the university strength to persist across the decades, during the reign of terror of brutal dictators, during times of economic collapse, and most recently during the years of COVID-19.

Makerere @ 100

On October 6, 2022, Makerere University gathered high profile dignitaries, including His Excellency Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, in Freedom Square for the grand culmination of the Mak@100 events. A year earlier, on October 9, 2021, he was the Chief Guest at the Makerere University Research, Innovations Showcase and Launch of Mak@100. Makerere University began as a small technical college with 14 students in 1922 and has grown to one of the most reputable institutions in Africa, 23rd in Africa according to U.S. News rankings (2022) and 17th in Africa according to Times Higher Education (2022). The actual ranking, however, appears to matter less than what has been recounted in the numerous Mak@100 events, both on campus and abroad, over the span of a year. At these events, where the history, accomplishments, and aspirations of the university are celebrated, Makerere truly is the Oxford or the Harvard of Africa.

As at other celebratory events, the October 6 celebration began with the Ugandan National Anthem followed by the university choir proudly singing the Makerere University Anthem:

Makerere, Makerere, we build for the future, The Great Makerere

Great, Great and Mighty, The walls around thee

Great, Great and Mighty,

The gates beside thee

From East and West, From North and South

All voices singing, Arise Makerere

Rise up and rise, High up and high

All voices singing

Arise Makerere

Do not forget, Through all the years

Those who have gone through the gates of Makerere

Give them the pride, Give them the joy

Oh! To remember, the gates of Makerere

Those who here be, Seek ye the truth

Build for the future, The great Makerere

Those here have been, those here will be

Build for the future,

The Great Makerere

Following the Makerere Anthem were prayers from the Chaplain of St. Francis Chapel (The Anglican Church on campus) and the university's Imam. Each thanked God for his blessings on the past 100 years and prayed for continued blessings that "the glory of the next 100 years shall be greater than before." The theme of the night was "Leveraging 100 years of excellence in building a transformed society," documenting throughout the three-hour ceremony the impact which Makerere has had on Uganda, the rest of Africa, and the world. The Vice Chancellor gave the opening remarks, claiming that Makerere, "thriving amidst adversity would evolve into one of the leading universities in the world." He noted the atrocious murders which took place during Idi Amin's reign of terror in the 1970s when Makerere lost more than half of the faculty. He praised Ugandan President Museveni's NRM (National Resistance Movement) government which has supported the university, in particular the recent Research and Innovation Fund which has "transformed the country" and is a "change agent to eliminate Africa's marginalization." He gave credit to the more than 400,000 living alumni of Makerere and said,

“If they did it, we can do more... we are no longer an ivory tower, but a university embedded in the community working for and with the people.” Bringing the university to the communities involved visits to the 13 original districts of Uganda during the centenary year.

Following the Vice-Chancellor, Professor George Kagonyera spoke, the second non-Head-of-State Chancellor of Makerere, reiterating that Makerere continues to distinguish itself as one of the best universities in Africa, particularly in the areas of medicine and science and technology. He also congratulated those who remained at Makerere during Amin’s dictatorship, saying, “These are brave men and women who could have gone to any part of the world to get gainful employment but decided to remain at Makerere and keep the fire burning.” As former chancellor, he is credited with bringing the MasterCard program to the university, supporting more than 1000 needy scholars. Many speakers followed, each addressing their comments particularly to the Honorable Guest and Visitor, the President of Uganda. The current chancellor of the university, Professor Ezra Suruma, thanked President Museveni for his commitment to universal primary education and to public higher education. The Minister of Education and Sports and First Lady, the Honorable Janet Museveni, was not able to attend the ceremony, so she had a replacement in the ministry speak. He recounted his days at Makerere when they “studied by rumor,” standing outside classroom windows and relaying information because there was no room inside. He credited the current government for the investment in infrastructure, making studying by rumor a thing of the past. He also challenged alumni to give more to Makerere and the government to make government scholarships available to students from poor districts and not those who can already afford it (like his ten children). Finally, he introduced the guest of honor, President Museveni.

Rather than starting his speech in 1922 with the creation of Makerere University, he began 4 ½ million years earlier when the human race began in Africa and recounted God's original mandate in the book of Genesis to establish dominion over nature. He noted that the Africans kept up with the innovations of fire, of agriculture, of domestication of livestock and crops, but then fell behind when gunpowder was invented in Europe. Africans at this point were still using spears, resulting in defeat by foreigners. He called this the “primer of social change” and used it as the foundation for his plea to continue to develop science and technology. He congratulated the Makerere School of Medicine and challenged it to “establish dominion over Ebola, establish dominion over Corona, establish dominion over all these diseases” and justified giving 70% of the scholarships to science. The president concluded his speech, the Uganda National Anthem and the Makerere Anthem were sung again (in reverse order), official pictures were taken, and the ceremony concluded.

Table 4.9 enumerates the many centenary events which have captured the institutional saga of Makerere University over the past 100 years. The public lecture series honored those who came before, even giving their lives for the university, the international alumni events reminded stakeholders of the great diaspora of the university, the Twitter events gave the opportunity for widespread participation in important issues, and the ceremonies such as the Alumni Homecoming Dinner and this Mak@100 Grand Finale, gave Makerereans a reason to be proud of their institution. I was able to attend in person the public lecture on April 28, 2022, and watched the recordings of the Alumni Homecoming Dinner and the Grand Finale, leaving me with the impression that Makerere University truly does have a proud history which will guide it into the future. Mrs. Lorna Magara, the Chairperson of the University Council, summed it up well in her address at the Homecoming Dinner:

Each one of you left a mark on this university. Your footprint was etched into the halls of residence, lecture theatres, library, chapel, mosque, and many areas we often congregate. If walls and vegetation could speak, countless stories would be told of friendships nurtured, dreams birthed, and destinies set on course. This evening is an evening of celebrating those memories, rekindling friendships, and establishing new networks. Makerere will always be our home, a place of new exciting opportunities and legacy creation.

Table 4.9

Makerere @ 100 Events

Event	Description	Date
Makerere University Research, Innovations Showcase and Launch of Mak@100	Chief Guest His Excellency President Yoweri Museveni. Unveiling of Mak@100 Centenary Logo.	Oct 9, 2021
Makerere At 100, Stakeholder Mobilisation Event	Theme: Leveraging 100 Years of Excellence in Building Transformed Society Speaker: Vice Chancellor Barnabas Nawangwe	Nov 25, 2021
Inaugural Mak@100 Public Lecture	Theme: A legal perspective on the role of Governing Councils in the Management of Higher Education Institutions	Feb 29, 2022
The Tumusiime Mutebile Annual Public Lecture (honoring the late Professor Mutebile, prominent Ugandan economist)	Theme: Economic Recovery and Resilience in a post-Covid-19 world – the role of Higher Education Institutions	April 28, 2022
The Nsibirwa Annual Public Lecture (honoring the late Katikkiro of the Bugandan Kingdom)	Theme: Revisiting the Life of the Late Katikkiro Nsibirwa in the Lenses of Makerere at 100 years: The Contributions of Cultural Institutions in Engendering Public Goods	May 6, 2022

Visit by First Lady and Minister of Education and Sports, Honorable Janet Museveni	Theme: Laying foundation stones for the new construction projects (School of Law and restoration of Main Building) and commissioning of the new Teaching Facilities and School of Dentistry	May 17, 2022
The Inaugural #MakerereAt100 Twitter space	Theme: Reflections on the Past Century and Makerere's Next 100 Years	June 15, 2022
The Inaugural Frank Kalimuzo Memorial Lecture (Makerere's first Vice-Chancellor)	Theme: Remembering Frank Kalimuzo: Lessons for Universities in Cultivating a Culture of Service and Distinguished Leadership	June 23, 2022
Celebrating Wangusa@80	Theme: Celebrating Timothy Wangusa, born in 1942, acclaimed Poet, Novelist and Teacher in Uganda	July 8, 2022
Nairobi Alumni Visit	Theme: Leveraging 100 years of Excellence in Building a Transformed Kenyan Society	July 8, 2022
The Annual Nelson Mandela Public Lecture	Theme: The Legacy of Nelson Mandela & the Role of Higher Education in the African Union Agenda 2063	July 18, 2022
The 2nd Series of the #MakerereAt100 Twitter spaces	Theme: Discussing Makerere University's Contribution in Shaping Uganda's Media Landscape	July 20, 2022
Alumni Homecoming Dinner	Theme: Through these Gates. Hosted students, stakeholders, former student leaders, alumni, top University Management, University community and other guests.	July 22, 2022
Mak @100 Alumni Celebration – Kigali Rwanda	Theme: Higher Education for a Changing World	Aug 19-20, 2022
Public Lecture in Conjunction with Makerere University Business School	Leading Change in Business and Management Education in the Region	Aug 25, 2022

The 3rd Series of the #MakerereAt100 Twitter spaces	Theme: Makerere's Groundbreaking Health Research and How it Can be Leveraged to Improve Public Health.	Aug 30, 2022
The 4th Series of the #MakerereAt100 Twitter spaces	Theme: Beyond the Gates of Makerere: How to Prepare and Grow in the 21 st Century Workplace	Sept 20, 2022
Prof. Senteza Kajubi FulBright Memorial Lecture (former Makerere Vice Chancellor)	Theme: Internationalization of Higher Education in the Next Century. Speaker: Dr. Michael Pippenger (VP and Associate Provost for Internationalization at the University of Notre Dame)	Sept 22, 2022
Alumni Event – University of Dar-es-Salaam	Recognizing partnership with the University of Dar-es-Salaam, particularly when both were part of the University of East Africa.	Sept 27, 2022
A Celebration with the Parliament of Uganda: Special Parliamentary Seating	Raised awareness of Makerere's 100-year history and recognized the Parliament's contribution to Makerere. (Makerere has produced 95% members of Parliament over the years).	Sept 28, 2022
Makerere At 100: Celebrating a Century of Service to Humanity: "Leveraging 100 years of Excellence in Building a Transformed Society"	Grand Finale of the Makerere at 100 Celebrations with prominent guest His Excellency Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni	Oct 6, 2022
The Annual Nyerere Public Lecture	Theme: Revisiting the Legacy and Achievements of Late Julius Nyerere: "Shading a Ray of Light on Julius Nyerere's views on Education Practices that Promote Self-resilience: Lessons and Insights for Repositioning Higher Education Programmes / Courses	Oct 13-14, 2022
Launch of the Makerere Centenary Run	21 km run, partnering with Makerere Endowment Fund, traditionally Mak-Run. Will raise money for residence halls.	Oct 27, 2022
Sara Ntiro Memorial Public Lecture	Sara Ntiro was one of the first six women admitted to Makerere in	Nov 3, 2022

	1945 when the school motto changed from “Let Us Be Men” to “Build for the Future.”	
A Century of Service to Humanity: An Exhibition Showcasing Makerere At 100	Showcase of innovations and inventions over the course of 100 years. Over 1000 exhibitors.	Nov 18-20, 2022
Celebration with the Makerere-Bergen Research School (MBRS)	Continuing partnership with University of Bergen in Norway. 100 PhD students invited to spend 2 weeks with Bergen researchers.	Nov 28 – Dec 9, 2022
Annual Makerere Recognition & Excellence Awards: Recognising & Celebrating Makerere’s Finest	Initiative of Makerere Endowment Fund, recognizing achievements of Makerere alumni, students, faculty, and staff.	Dec 3, 2022
Alumni Event – University of London	Held at University of London, recognizing the contributions of their 100-year partnership.	Dec 2022

Note. Taken from <https://100.mak.ac.ug/>

On April 28, my husband and I had the honor of sitting in the modern auditorium of the Central Teaching Facility II at Makerere, for the Tumusiime Mutebile Annual Public Lecture. The late Professor Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile was Guild President (student body president) during his time at Makerere, then became an economics professor and reforming economist in Uganda. Mr. Ramathan Ggoobi, the Permanent Secretary / Secretary to the Treasury in the Ministry of Finance, Planning, and Economic Development gave the keynote address, focusing on the importance of a free-market economy and resisting price controls during that time of rising commodity prices. Mr. Ggoobi, also a Makerere alumnus, first gave a shout out to his former residence hall, Lumumba Hall, known for its activism, receiving enthusiastic responses from the audience. He then began his address, congratulating Makerere for its 100 years, saying “Makerere is one of the world’s most prestigious universities. Its alumni include world leaders, top notch intellectuals, leading business executives, and many other impactful human beings, both living and dead.” He concluded the address with a challenge to not listen to alarmists but to

support ongoing economic reforms; and “those who here be; seek ye the truth; build for the future; the great Makerere that has molded us all into who we are today.” During each of the speeches of this three-hour event, an artist was standing to the side with his easel, sketching and then painting a portrait of the late Professor Emmanuel Tumusiime Mutebile against the backdrop of Makerere University and the Mak@100 logo. The artist made the finishing touches of red and green in the “100” at the conclusion of the lecture, and it was then presented to the Mutebile’s widow.

A University of Excellence

Makerere’s saga is not only evident in the planned ceremonies and speeches designed to commemorate 100 years of existence. It also was evident in each of the individual conversations I had with alumni, students, faculty, and staff. Although they readily admit the challenges of the university, alumni and students believe that they are part of a world-class institution. One alumnus said he didn’t know the exact mission of the university, but he knew the vision: “To be a leading institution for academic excellence and innovation in Africa.” He also knew the motto, “Build for the Future” and said that “engaging in research and innovation is one of the key ways that they try to be an excellent institution in Africa.” Referring to his own acceptance to Makerere, he said, “It’s considered a very big opportunity for a Ugandan student to even appear on the admission’s list.” He was from a rural area which was considered a particularly great honor.

Other students, particularly from urban areas, were expected to go to Makerere because family members did. I asked one woman, an adult education student, if her parents expected her to go to Makerere. She said, “Yes, they did. I had my aunt who actually referred to me this course. She finished a year back.” She said that Makerere doesn’t neglect any student, “they’re

all here; they're all receiving an education... like some other universities put their conditions, not Makerere. It accepts all." The students are also the best promoters of Makerere in their communities which is one of the reasons even the most remote areas of Uganda know about Makerere. (Another reason being Makerere's community outreach programs). I asked one social science student if people ask about the university when she goes home. She responded:

Yeah, they do because they really want to know what happens, it being the biggest university in Uganda. They want to know how different it is compared to the other institutions, what makes it the best institution. So, I tell them how good it is and how different I really think it is.

I then asked if she's like a super-star when she goes back home, and she responded, "No, I'm just like a normal kid."

At the same time, students do seem to feel that they are somehow set apart at Makerere. In a group discussion with social science students, I asked if a university education is relevant and important to the challenges of Uganda. One of the women responded,

Yes, for example we guys that are here at Makerere University, we are very different from others from other universities. So, when you are coming from Makerere University, there are certain things that are expected of you. And if you do something that hurts, 'You come from the best university, what happened?' So, there is always that expectation.

Although she didn't specifically answer my question about the relevance of a university education, she did make it clear that there are high expectations of Makerere students.

The faculty and administrators also spoke of the reputation of Makerere. The faculty member I interviewed in the School of Public Health referred to Makerere as "an Ivory Tower of

education not only in Uganda but in East Africa and even Africa.” She referred to ratings which placed Makerere “like as 3rd in all of Africa.” Being on Mulago Hill, the medical side of the institution, she spoke particularly highly of the research and innovations in medicine and public health. This, of course, was also confirmed by data from the Research and Innovations Fund and Resilient Africa Network where most of the research and innovations came from the College of Health Sciences. She also spoke to the widespread reputation of Makerere saying:

Even the person who has never gone to school knows about Makerere. Makerere is the university that every parent and student desires to go to. Even me, if I’m recruiting somebody for a job, when I look at the papers, I look if they went to Makerere University and favor them. The quality is different.

The Acting Principal of the College of External Studies and Education (also Associate Professor of Higher Education and Dean of East African Studies of Higher Education Studies and Development) meticulously traced the history of Makerere University for me including insights gained through his study of higher education. When speaking of the period when Makerere was part of the University of East Africa (1963-1970), he compared the foci of the three partnering universities: Makerere University College focused on medicine and education and was “quite elitist and focused on matters of excellence;” Nairobi Royal College (Kenya) focused on agriculture and veterinary medicine; and Dar Es Salaam University College (Tanzania) focused on relevance and “matters of socialism” (influenced by former Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere who was educated at Makerere, later received an honorary doctorate there, and is now honored by the Julius Nyerere Leadership Centre on the Makerere campus). I asked for more elaboration on the statement that Makerere focused on “matters of excellence” and if excellence and relevance were mutually exclusive. He said that the two co-exist and

spoke of Makerere's global competitiveness and that there is "that opportunity to thrive beyond this country. That means there is excellence." He also spoke of the importance of rankings to "help us to move forward." He then returned to the theme of relevance and the importance of responding to the Sustainable Development Goals and national development agendas, saying "So you see a juxtaposition, a fusion, of excellence and relevance moving together."

I received a slightly more nuanced perspective from the history lecturer I interviewed, an American. He acknowledged that Makerere University is still viewed as the most prestigious university in Uganda but said that there are other Ugandan universities such as Kampala International and Uganda Martyrs which are growing in numbers while Makerere has fallen. (Of course, this should also be viewed in the context that Makerere wants to focus on graduate rather than undergraduate education.) He said that "Makerere University is a special case because of its reputation and history. I don't see that to be the issue for many U.S. universities."

Finally, the Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training, although he works with the whole higher education sector in Uganda, readily refers to Makerere as the "premier institution of higher learning in the country." I asked him if Makerere, as the premier institution, expects more or has a sense of entitlement. He responded, "Very true. Not very long ago, we had that same kind of sentiment. Because it's Makerere, they should be getting slightly above the others." He continued that many in government are Makerere alumni, "so it means when they knock on the doors of the various government departments, they have a number of champions there." Of the nine public universities in Uganda, Makerere is the only one with a Research and Innovations Fund.

Finding 5: Ugandan Government

There is a complicated relationship between Makerere University and the Ugandan government, one of dependence and control, yet attempted autonomy.

Makerere University, as a public university, is undeniably dependent on the Ugandan government, particularly for financial support; it is clear that the Ugandan government also depends on Makerere for the human resources and research needed to run a modern nation. Even as they are mutually dependent, Makerere, as an institution of higher education, seeks autonomy from the government in order to ensure freedom of speech and expression. The government, while having undertaken certain measures to ensure Makerere's autonomy, continues to exert the control of an authoritarian regime.

Dictatorship, Democracy, and Decentralization

President Museveni came to power in Uganda in 1986 following the dictatorships first of Idi Amin and then the second regime of Milton Obote. Museveni himself is sometimes referred to as a dictator, as he has now been in power for 36 years, second only to Paul Biya who has been president of Cameroon since 1982. When I asked the Executive Director of the Centre for Constitutional Governance if Uganda is a democratic country, she responded, "In quotes, because democracy has principles. One of the principles is rule of law, protection of human rights, citizens participation, freedom of assembly, association, and expression. Ideally, these are provided for in the constitution, but the practice is different."

Elections are held, and candidates oppose Museveni, but no one comes close to defeating him, and there are reports of violence, including murders and kidnappings, against the opposition. The Centre for Constitutional Governance has been involved with other NGOs as an electoral observer. The Executive Director was cynical, though, of its effectiveness, saying "It

was like a ritual, you observe, note same mistakes, report, so how long are you going to be making similar reports after every election when no action is made?”

I interviewed a former Makerere professor and co-editor of the book *Decentralisation and Transformation of Governance in Uganda*. The book was completed under the Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak.com) initiative which she led, specifically the Capacity Building Programme for Decentralisation. Uganda is known for its policy of decentralization, adopted in 1993 to ensure that governance and decision-making were, as much as possible, in the hands of the local levels. The Local Government Act of 1997 specified the services that would be controlled by the local governments (especially the district level), namely “health, primary education, production, civil works, community services, and extension service” (Katono, 2007, p. 2). The central government would remain in charge of defense and law and order. Abbas Wadaloa, one of the chapter writers, asserts that in fact decentralization was “a policy chosen by the big donors, particularly the United States which wanted a ‘new world order’ after the demise of communism in Eastern Africa” (2007, p. 41). A complicated political environment has resulted in which a multitude of NGOs have been created for capacity-building and empowerment, and local level governance bodies such as District Service Commissions, District Tender Boards, and District Land Commissions, vie for political power with the central government.

Makerere University was called upon to help with the capacity-building efforts of decentralization. Initially, the Committee of 14 (C14) was created which was made up of seven representatives from the government and seven deans and Directors from Makerere. It then transitioned into the Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak.com) in 2004 and continued for ten years with generous funding from the World Bank and the Rockefeller Foundation.

Accomplishments of the committee included assessing human resource capacity for decentralization at the district level; conducting decentralization training with academic staff, undergraduates, and graduates; creating student internships; conducting research; and partnering with other universities. Performance far exceeded original targets as indicated in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10

Key Performance Indicators – Innovations at Makerere Committee

Quantifiable performance indicator	Target	Actual achieved	% of target
New courses relevant to decentralization	9	32	356
Internship program in disciplines	10	25 disciplines in 12 faculties	250
Academic staff trained in decentralization	800	1,266	158
# Students participating in internships	300	8,317	2,772
Local govt staff given undergraduate training	60	113	188
Local govt staff given full-time masters	20	82	410
Decentralization master's student research	15	112	747
Decentralization PhD student sponsored research	10	18	180
Decentralization research by faculty	10 projects	16 published outputs	180
Partnerships with other universities (including private	3	6	200

Note. Data shared with me by the Executive Secretary of Innovations at Makerere Committee.

It was hoped that decentralization could be a tool for poverty eradication by empowering local people to take control of their own development. This hasn't been the case, however, as

Uganda remains a poor country, particularly in the rural areas. One of the greatest challenges is that high levels of illiteracy contribute to a lack of accountability at the grassroots level. In addition, local governments have not been able to attract the trained personnel needed for specific responsibilities (such as revenue collection). Community education (informal, formal and non-formal) is essential for decentralization to work. Extension programs, including efforts through the Makerere University Institute of Adult and Continuing Education, try to partner with local agencies to fill in some of the gaps. Although agricultural extension was introduced in the colonial era, its focus changed under decentralization. The new role is to “facilitate participatory education processes where the extension worker has to look at community members as thinking, creative people with capacity for action, not like the prestigious traditional vessels needing to be filled with knowledge” (Ngabu, 2017, p. 224). In order to accomplish this paradigm shift, extension workers need to have systematic training, including measurable goals, and need to emphasize partnership and teamwork.

The current government’s latest attempt at poverty eradication, the Parish Development Model, is also built on principles of decentralization, giving money to one of the lowest levels of government, the parish. There are 10,694 parishes in Uganda, a country of 45 million people (parishes vary in population from 450 to 30,000 people) (Parish Model, 2022). The Executive Director of the Centre for Constitutional Governance moderated a televised panel discussion on the Parish Development Model, which I listened to. Most of the panel, including a couple Members of Parliament, were in favor of the model, recognizing that it is not a silver bullet (“it’s not perfect, but it can be improved along the way”), but that it at least gets money to the community. One panel member, however, said, “President Museveni is trying, but things are not working out. How does empowering a person translate into economic growth? If you’re poor,

you can't enrich another poor man.” The moderator herself spoke critically of the model, saying that it is the same as other failed poverty eradication schemes, just a different name.

Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act and Makerere University Act

As a public university, Makerere University depends on the Ugandan government for its existence. Makerere was, however, virtually an extension of the government when the president of the country was the chancellor of the university. This changed only after 2001 with the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA). Article 30 of the Act states that 1) the chancellor of each public university shall be appointed by the Ugandan president upon recommendation of the University Council; 2) the chancellor will have a term of four years with the possibility of re-appointment for one more term; 3) the chancellor will be the titular head of the university and preside over all ceremonies, including the conferral of degrees; and 4) the chancellor, as directed by the Visitor (Ugandan president), can call for a visitation at any time.⁵ Before the UOTI Act, the Ugandan president filled each of these roles. The present chancellor, Professor Ezra Suruma, was appointed by President Museveni, as were the two chancellors before Dr. Suruma. Prior to these three chancellors, however, President Museveni and former presidents Idi Amin and Milton Obote held the role. Table 4.11 lists each of the Makerere University chancellors with their years of service and manner of appointment (The Independent, 2019).

Table 4.11

Makerere University Chancellors

Chancellor	Appointment	Years
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https://policies.mak.ac.ug/sites/default/files/policies/001_UNIVERSITIES_%20AND_OTHER_TERTIARY_INSTITUTIONS_ACT.pdf

Apollo Milton Obote	President of Uganda	1970-71; 1981-85
Idi Amin	President of Uganda	1971-79
H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni	President of Uganda	1986-2002
Apolo Robin Nsibambi	Appointed by President of Uganda	2003-2007
Prof. George Mondo Kagonyera	Appointed by President of Uganda	2007-2015
Prof. Ezra Suruma	Appointed by President of Uganda	2015-present

This same Act also established the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) which sought to “streamline the establishment, administration and standards of Universities and other institutions of Higher Education in Uganda” (UOTIA, 2001). A.B.K. Kasozi was the founding Executive Director of the NCHE, leading it for ten years, from 2002-2012, and wrote a thorough accounting of his experiences in the book *The National Council for Higher Education and the Growth of the University Sub-sector in Uganda, 2002-2012* (2016). According to Kasozi, the UOTI Act was a clear improvement over the Makerere University Act of 1970 which had made Makerere “a ‘state institution’ that was administered like any other government department” (p. 102). Passed under Obote’s first rule, Idi Amin later criticized the 1970 Act as making Makerere “an appendage of the government” (as cited in Sicherman, 2005, p. 245).

Kasozi said, however, that the UOTI Act of 2001 did not go far enough in giving Makerere “all the freedom it needs to freely operate” (2016, p. 102). Many parts of the Act he said, “retained the dictatorial spirit of the 1970 Makerere University Act ” such as making the vice-chancellor accountable to the University Council, Parliament, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Finance. Kasozi continued, “He [the vice-chancellor] has many masters to

serve; and they are all difficult masters to please” (p. 91). In addition, Section 62(3) UOTI Act requires public universities to have all expenditures approved by Parliament and get government approval for any tuition and fee increases. Furthermore, Kasozi called into question the 2006 amendment of the UOTI Act which states, the “Minister may issue directives of a policy nature to all institutions of higher education, whether public or private, and the institutions shall give effect to those directives” (2016, p. 92). He related his own experience saying, “In my tenure at NCHE, I saw vice-chancellors being summoned to Parliament to answer petty questions that could have been attended to by junior officials, and of course, their university councils” (p. 92). Kasozi felt that even with the UOTI Act of 2001, the government was still trying to micromanage higher education institutions.

State-control vs. State-supervision

The Visitation Committee report (2017) differentiates between a “State-control” model and “State-supervision model.” “State-control” was typical of the 1970s and 80s when the State in most African countries controlled the universities, helping train nationals in the post-independence era. This was, of course, the era described above when the Ugandan president was the chancellor of public universities and when Makerere University was subject to the Makerere University Act of 1970. “State-supervision,” however, was typical of the 1990s with the “corporatization of universities,” a result of World Bank policies which favored privatization and market-based systems. Specifically in Uganda, the government was no longer in the position to financially support Makerere University (which was the only higher education institution in Uganda when President Museveni took over in 1986) due to World Bank structural adjustment policies and the devastation left by Idi Amin and Milton Obote. Thus, as discussed in a previous section, Makerere’s turn to neoliberalism and privatization in the 1990s brought about the

transformation described by David Court as the “quiet revolution.” Although technically “state-supervision” continues to be the more accurate description of the governance model, there are those who feel that the state still exerts too much control.

I spoke with the Executive Director of the Centre for Constitutional Governance, an NGO based in Ntinda, an upscale neighborhood of Kampala which came to be known as “Ministers’ Village” because so many Uganda Cabinet Ministers had homes there. The Executive Director, also a constitutional lawyer, said that during the first five years of the organization’s existence, they were located on the Makerere campus but “the police presence became unbearable for us. You cannot have free thinkers in a police state.” In my conversation with her, she referred several times to the “police state” and “state capture,” meaning the control that the Ugandan government continues to exercise over the university. She spoke specifically of the university guest house where I was staying, located on the university campus, asking if I saw police inside and outside the guest house, monitoring. Indeed, there was a constant police presence at the guesthouse, but I assumed it was for security. She contended it was for monitoring.

The Executive Director said that Makerere has leadership which “wants to placate and appease the regime, and they end up sacrificing lives and careers of generations of students...” Even the University Council is “regime-dominated, full of cadres and people whose livelihood depends on appeasing the regime.” She said that Makerere used to be “more vibrant in terms of public debates... for nurturing students to express themselves and be outspoken.” She said that she has been a guest at debates at Makerere, some of which were canceled even after her arrival. The latest was a forum to mentor female leaders, but they learned that some of the panelists were quite outspoken, so the event was canceled at the last minute. In order for there to be freedom of

thought and freedom of expression, she says that the police need to leave the university, and in order for this to happen, the leaders need to stop appeasing the government.

The Executive Director is thankful that there is no government provision for funding of non-governmental organizations, so the NGO sector is essentially free of government control. Therefore, although she complains about police control at Makerere University, she is able to speak her mind freely, even on national television. She said that there may be repercussions if businesspeople or government employees criticize the government, but “we act on our own other than compliance or regulation.” She often moderates a UBC (Uganda Broadcasting Corporation) program called Behind the Headlines which focuses on a specific, often controversial, topic each week, including the Parish Development Model, which I described earlier. As mentioned, she did not hesitate to criticize this new government initiative.

The history lecturer I spoke with felt that state control was less of a problem than neoliberalism. He said that a lot of scholars at Makerere write critical things, and they are not subject to censorship. He did add, though, that he is working on an edited volume with a chapter by a political scientist at North Carolina State University who argues that academics at Makerere are not free to be critical of the government, and that there is “complete control.” Another of my interviewees, an alumna of Makerere and former employee at Mulago Hospital, said, “Politics is not a good game. Some have lost lives... They are pawns of the politics.” She complained of a lack of critical thinking and that people “do what they’re told without using their brains.”

One of the undergraduates I spoke with, a student in Adult and Community Education, seemed very politically aware. We were discussing the mindset of students, if they plan to go back to their home area or stay in the city. She segued to the privileged life of government ministers, asking “How are those ministers supposed to solve problems they don’t face? They

don't face the muddy roads, they don't face the bad transport, they don't face traffic... When they get up, the money is there." She said that the government benefits and leaves the people behind. Indeed, one of the big issues when I was in Uganda was outrage over the money which Ministers of Parliament (MPs) received to buy new cars to get to their constituencies. Each of the 529 MPs received 200 million Uganda shillings (\$56,500) totaling approximately \$30 million in a country which still struggles to feed everyone (Outrage, 2021). The student I spoke with continued, "I think at some point, we, the young, don't have a platform to speak our minds." She spoke of supporting candidates from parties other than the president's National Resistance Movement. In particular, she admired Nambassa Shamim, the first female Makerere Guild President who represented the National Unity Platform. I asked if she aspired to be like Nambassa. She responded, "Not aspire to be like her, but the voice she has. I one day want to have that voice when I can talk for people that can't talk. That's what I want."

The Ugandan government is supposed to "supervise" rather than "control" Makerere University. Supervision is accomplished through the quality control of the National Council for Higher Education and the right of the "Visitor" (Ugandan president) to appoint the chancellor and to call for a Visitation when he deems it necessary. However, in the eyes of many, supervision comes very close to control when freedom of expression is limited, when police are present on campus, and when the government exerts financial authority, giving permission for expenditures and only funding programs it deems important.

Government funding

Many of the interviewees saw funding as the biggest issue facing Makerere University, and they inevitably look to the Ugandan government. It was lack of government funding that brought on the necessity for privatization in the 1990s, and funding continues to dominate

discussions whether it be over the need for better infrastructure, higher faculty salaries, more financial support for students, or more funding for research. In each of these areas, Makerere depends on the government's generous support.

When I talked with the former Director of Planning for the university (who is now Deputy Executive Secretary of RUFORUM), she emphasized the importance of coordinating with donors, with the government, and with other stakeholders in determining how to spend the resources. She was particularly proud of the infrastructure improvements during her tenure, saying “When you see all those buildings, I say ‘Oh, this was part of my effort.’ When you see the paved roads, now I say, ‘At least I did something – I made my contribution.’” In speaking of research funding, she was particularly happy that the government was now much more engaged with the recent Research and Innovations Fund (RIF). She said, “We had been singing the same song to the government, ‘You can’t leave the university to the mercy of external partners.’ Yes, they are good and help us, but they also have their own agendas.” With the RIF, Makerere has more freedom to engage in research relevant to Uganda without the stipulations of outside donors.

She also spoke of government-funded and privately sponsored students, saying that the government actually subsidized private students as well. She said, “You have to be an insider to see how it works. So, there was a lot of cross-subsidization because government resources were covering the salaries and part of the electricity and the utilities.” She indicated that things have changed now, that what used to be called internally generated revenue now “goes to the consolidated fund of the government, and therefore, the government has to bring it back.”

The senior lecturer in Adult and Community Education also discussed the role of government funding, noting “when the neoliberalism discussion began, government funding

reduced, saying higher education is a private entity, and the universities became broke.” He gives credit, however, to Professor Mahmood Mamdani’s book *Scholars in the Marketplace* as being an “eye-opener to the government.” He said that is why the government is now funding research and increasing the salaries of faculty at associate professor and professor ranks. He said that currently a professor makes about \$4,500 a month when before they earned only about \$500 a month. Unfortunately, though, there continues to be contention because the lower ranks have not received the same types of increases.

The Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training noted that Makerere receives the greatest share of government-sponsored students among the nine public universities. He said that the total number of government-sponsored students is 4,000. An unofficial count of government students admitted to Makerere in fall 2022 yields 1,457 students. The remaining government sponsorships are shared among the other eight public universities. As noted earlier, the government also supports the loan scheme which loans tuition expenses to STEM students only. There is a one-year grace period, and then there is a repayment period of twice the number of years of the student’s program. President Museveni has made it clear that he prioritizes science and technology as being the most beneficial to the country, so that is what will receive priority in funding. In his speech on October 6, 2022, at the Mak@100 Grand Finale event, he said that science and technology will receive 70% of funding.

Infrastructure has also received recent boosts from the government as noted in previous sections. As part of the centennial celebrations, on May 22, 2022, the First Lady and Minister of Education and Sports, Janet Museveni, visited Makerere to lay foundations stones for new construction projects. The government promises to fund the new School of Law building and the restoration of the Main Building, known as the “Ivory Tower,” which was severely damaged by

a fire on September 20, 2020. Twenty-one billion Ugandan shillings (equivalent of \$5,482,827) has been committed for the rebuilding of the Main Building. She also commissioned the two new Central Teaching Facilities, which were recently completed, and the School of Dentistry.

It is clear that when Makerere University has been receiving so much money from the government and needs to continue to receive this support, university leaders would be reluctant to criticize the government. In fact, at the Mak@100 Grand Finale celebration, where President Museveni was the Visitor and guest of honor, each speaker expressed considerable gratitude to Museveni and his National Resistance Movement government for their generous support of the university. The Dean of East African Studies of Higher Education Studies and Development, summed it up well when I asked him to explain the term “Visitor.” He said:

Because this is a government university, you cannot tell the president, ‘Just let the university be – just send us the money, just let us think the way we want to think and debate.’ So, I think it was a way of ensuring that the presidency and the government remains within the institution.

By making the president a Visitor of Makerere, the university has a direct line to the government to make requests; it also means, though, that the university submits to the control of the president and his government.

Finding 6: Colonialism

Colonialism continues to have an impact on Makerere particularly through the West's control over research funding, priorities, and publications as well as effects of World Bank structural adjustment policies.

In 1894, the British declared Uganda as a Protectorate under British control. Thus began 68 years of colonialism until October 9, 1962, when Uganda announced its independence. Independence, however, did not magically rid Uganda of all colonial influences. Rather, the impact of colonialism continues in most aspects of Ugandan society, including higher education. Makerere University began in 1922 as a colonial technical school, and as it continued to grow into an institution of higher education, it became affiliated with the University of London in 1949, offering much of the same curriculum. Although the University of London is no longer Makerere's "mother" school, the partnership and the influence remain.

A University "in Africa" or "of Africa"

In one of the Mak@100 Memorial Lectures, Professor Joy Kwesiga, current Vice-Chancellor of Kabale University (Uganda), gave the keynote address honoring Dr. Frank Kalimuzo, first Vice-Chancellor of Makerere University, appointed in 1970 by then President Milton Obote. In her lecture, she powerfully recounted the history of Makerere, highlighting the impacts of colonialism. She said that the "major concern about the 'special relationship' with the University of London was that this did not provide the independence required for the growth of an independent African University of the future." Standards and limitations regarding entry, academics, staffing, and infrastructure were imposed in order to maintain the "Gold Standard," that is the European/British standard. Relevance was not a consideration, only that the university lived up to the standards of "Manchester, Exeter, or Hull." Questions about Karl Marx in the Department of Political Science had to be vetted in London, and in English Studies courses, it took protests to include literature other than English Literature.

According to Professor Kwesiga, "Makerere University was cut off from the rest of Uganda." They wore gowns to dinner and said grace in Latin. In the 1950s, Makerere was

accused of producing an elite class of students cut off from the struggles of their communities. In this way, they isolated themselves. She told a story of a medical student posting a signpost on the path leading to his parents' rural homestead which said, "SILENCE: MAKERERE STUDENT STUDYING." In the 1960s, when African countries, including Uganda, gained independence, they tried to create an African identity in the universities. However, when Makerere tried to "Africanize" teaching, staff, or research to be more relevant to Uganda, people were afraid of lowering the standards. She noted that the Visitation Committee of 1970 was set up to examine the question of what a true Uganda university should be; the committee concluded that "Makerere had grown up as a university in Uganda but not necessarily for Uganda." The Makerere Act of 1970 was thus passed; unfortunately, as explained in the preceding section, this Act gave too much control to the government. The Ugandan government essentially replaced the colonial power.

In her comprehensive book, *Becoming an African University: Makerere 1922-2000*, Carol Sicherman tackled the "*in* Africa" or "*of* Africa" question. I felt that this question was worth pursuing in my interviews to better understand the impact of colonialism. One of my interviewees, an alumnus of Makerere who is currently completing his PhD from University of Glasgow said that he would respond from two perspectives. On one hand, he said, "The make-up, design, and curricula still follow the British system, so that doesn't make it an African university. In addition, I think almost 75% of all Makerere University lecturers had had higher education outside of Africa, more so in Europe." He continued that once a person learns in their master's degree or PhD, they tend to reteach, implying that those 75% will likely reflect a Eurocentric perspective in their teaching. On the other hand, he said that Makerere, established in 1922 as one of the very first universities in Africa, continues to be rated highly in Africa, and

“tries to promote an African dream” with an emphasis on academic excellence and innovation which address African problems. He also noted that solutions may be more African-centric if more funding would come from the Ugandan government instead of other countries, repeating the English adage, “He who pays the piper, determines the music or the tone.”

When I posed this same “*in Africa*” or “*of Africa*” question to the history lecturer whom I interviewed, he didn’t feel that it is such a relevant question now as it might have been at independence. Initially, he said that the university was funded as a “tool for colonial control” and then, at independence, everyone was discussing what the role of the university should be post-independence. Now, he feels that the real challenge is neoliberalism and the “gutting of funding.” It became apparent, however, in further interviews that colonialism continues to have a strong impact on the university’s relationship to how knowledge is created, shared, and applied.

Knowledge and Colonialism

Makerere University is involved in all three of these key aspects of knowledge – creation in its research and publishing, dissemination in its teaching, and application in the innovations and solutions designed to respond to the challenges facing Uganda and Africa. Yet, when much of the knowledge comes from books written in the West⁶, the data come from research performed in the West, the funding for research comes from the West, and African institutions must compete with the West, indigenous knowledge has little influence.

Creation of Knowledge. As indicated under the research finding, Makerere has many research partnerships with European universities. While these are beneficial to Makerere, even the Vice-Chancellor acknowledges that they often come with strings attached and their own agenda. A senior lecturer in education whom I interviewed said that “You have to translate your

⁶ The terms West and Global North seemed to be used interchangeably

research from university-based into industry... Our [African] governments don't have these kinds of mass funds to translate research into innovations and industry." For example, if he were to publish with a Finish scholar, the Finish government may take over the innovation from the Ugandan government because in Uganda, there would be no money to fund it. As a faculty member, he needs to do research and publish in order to be promoted. However, he said that in order for the publications to count, they must be in Western journals. Otherwise, they are referred to as "fake publications." He said that there are very few journals in the Global South which would be recognized for promotion. The language of publication is also English, another reminder of colonization.

Dissemination of Knowledge. Teaching is also subject to the impact of colonialism. The senior lecturer I spoke with said that lecturers must ensure that the knowledge imparted to students is relevant both in Uganda and abroad. He said, "We cannot have a Ugandan university that just focuses on Uganda" because then the knowledge would not be relevant to students who wanted to continue their studies in another country. He continued, "That's why it becomes difficult to decolonize our research, to decolonize our teaching. We struggle every day to Africanize our African universities." It is somewhat of a vicious cycle when, as indicated by the alumnus attending University of Glasgow, the majority of faculty members get at least one degree from a foreign university, they tend to teach what they have learned there.

Brain drain is also an issue for faculty members who can find better situations abroad. This is not as prevalent now that the government has raised salaries for professors and associate professors. However, it may continue to be a problem if other faculty ranks don't also receive increased compensation.

Application of Knowledge. The PhD candidate in computer science reinforced the problem of colonialism in the application of research, emphasizing the importance of gathering data to prototype solutions which would be relevant to the local context. He gave the example of building a solution for financial inclusion, saying, “If you rush to get a solution that works for a bank in the U.S., it will not really work with the East African context.” In the same way with agriculture, in order to find a solution to diseases which affect local crops, if you “try to use a technique that works, say in Japan, it normally fails to fit this kind of environment.” He encourages partnering with social scientists, who can go into rural areas and translate into the local languages to get data that is appropriate for the local context.

To further prove his point, the PhD student told the story of a Ugandan farmer who purchased sensors which could be attached to the ears of his cows, so he could use his smart phone to see which cows were sick. He first purchased these sensors from the Chinese company, Huawei, but quickly found out that the data used to calibrate the sensors were using weather conditions of China, so the outcomes were, unfortunately, quite inaccurate. Instead, the Makerere computer scientists recommended purchasing a programmable chip which could be calibrated with local environmental data. They tested this on five cows with “amazing results,” and then were able to “rapidly deploy the sensors.”

Fortunately, with the government-funded Research and Innovations Fund, more money is now available for local research which addresses local solutions. The Vice-Chancellor emphasized the importance of being able to “decide which issues we should study which affect national development.”

Indigenous Knowledge. Makerere acknowledged native institutions in one of the Mak@100 Public Lectures, focusing on the impact of one of the leaders of the Buganda

Kingdom. The late Martin Luther Nsibirwa was the *Katikkoro* (prime minister) of the Buganda Kingdom in central Uganda⁷. In 1945, he convinced the Lukiiko (Parliament of the Kingdom of Buganda) to give more land on Makerere hill, to continue to expand Makerere, which at that time was Makerere College, part of the University of East Africa. He was assassinated on Sept 5, 1945. The current *Katikkoro* of the Kingdom of Buganda, Oken. Charles Peter Mayiga, gave the keynote address, acknowledging the ultimate sacrifice that Nsibirwa made for his service to Uganda (and likely Makerere) and highlighting the importance of indigenous knowledge. He said, “The leaders at that time, including Nsibirwa, used native African knowledge as a compass to navigate the strange and often unsettled waters of this rapidly changing world.” Nsibirwa himself had no formal education but an “immersive and practical” education which convinced him that acquiring more land to expand Makerere College was the right thing to do. The speaker, *Katikkoro* Mayiga, said that Nsibirwa saw the “positive externalities” of education, benefits to a third party who has not actually consumed the good or service. The speaker preferred the expression positive externality rather than public good because a public good assumes that it is freely available to the public, which an education at Makerere is not. He said that leaders of native institutions “understood the value and positive externality of education.”

Structural Adjustment Policies

The creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge in higher education is expensive, and the returns on that investment are not as easily measured as primary and secondary education. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund used this cost-benefit reasoning when they instituted the Structural Adjustment Policies in the 1980s and determined that higher education had a lower rate-of-return than primary education. The Structural

⁷ The Buganda Kingdom was abolished by President Obote in 1966, a few years after independence, but was restored by President Museveni in 1993.

Adjustment Policies were economic reforms which a developing country needed to adopt in order to receive loans. The governments of these countries were, therefore, forced to favor primary education as it was determined to be a public good, and leave higher education, a private good, to find other solutions. The Associate Professor of Higher Education put it this way: “The World Bank was saying that we are shifting focus, we are going for universal primary education, and we are going to give you less, but you have to reform higher education and let people pay.” Thus, the World Bank with its restrictive policies favoring neoliberalism and privatization became just another expression of colonialism. The British government no longer directly controlled the affairs of higher education and Makerere University, but the banks did.

Other faculty members at Makerere held the World Bank’s Structural Adjustment Policies at least partially responsible for the move to privatization. One said, “The World Bank has conditions... one of these conditions is privatization, not only in terms of the economy, but the government off-loading a lot of services that it used to do for the citizens.” Another argued that the worst threat is “public institutions under structural adjustment, just gutting the institution, so the resources aren’t there to do more extensive research.” The original colonizers left Uganda and its higher education sector, which at that time was only Makerere University, vulnerable to the power of the international banks and a new type of colonialism. The World Bank reconsidered its position on higher education in the early 2000s, acknowledging the societal, and not just individual, benefits of higher education. Governments and universities, however, paid a heavy price and are still recovering.

Chapter 5 – Summary and Discussion

This case study has focused on the current realities and historical context of Makerere University using U.S. land-grant higher education as a conceptual framework to help guide the study and give comparative insight. Although Makerere and U.S. land-grant institutions operate on different continents with their own social, political, and economic contexts, they strive to fulfill a similar mission of promoting the public good through research, teaching, and service. With that common foundation comes similar tensions and challenges which have emerged from this study. While this study has focused on only one institution, hopefully, it addresses questions which are relevant for public higher education institutions in sub-Saharan Africa and across the globe.

Research Questions and Conceptual Framework

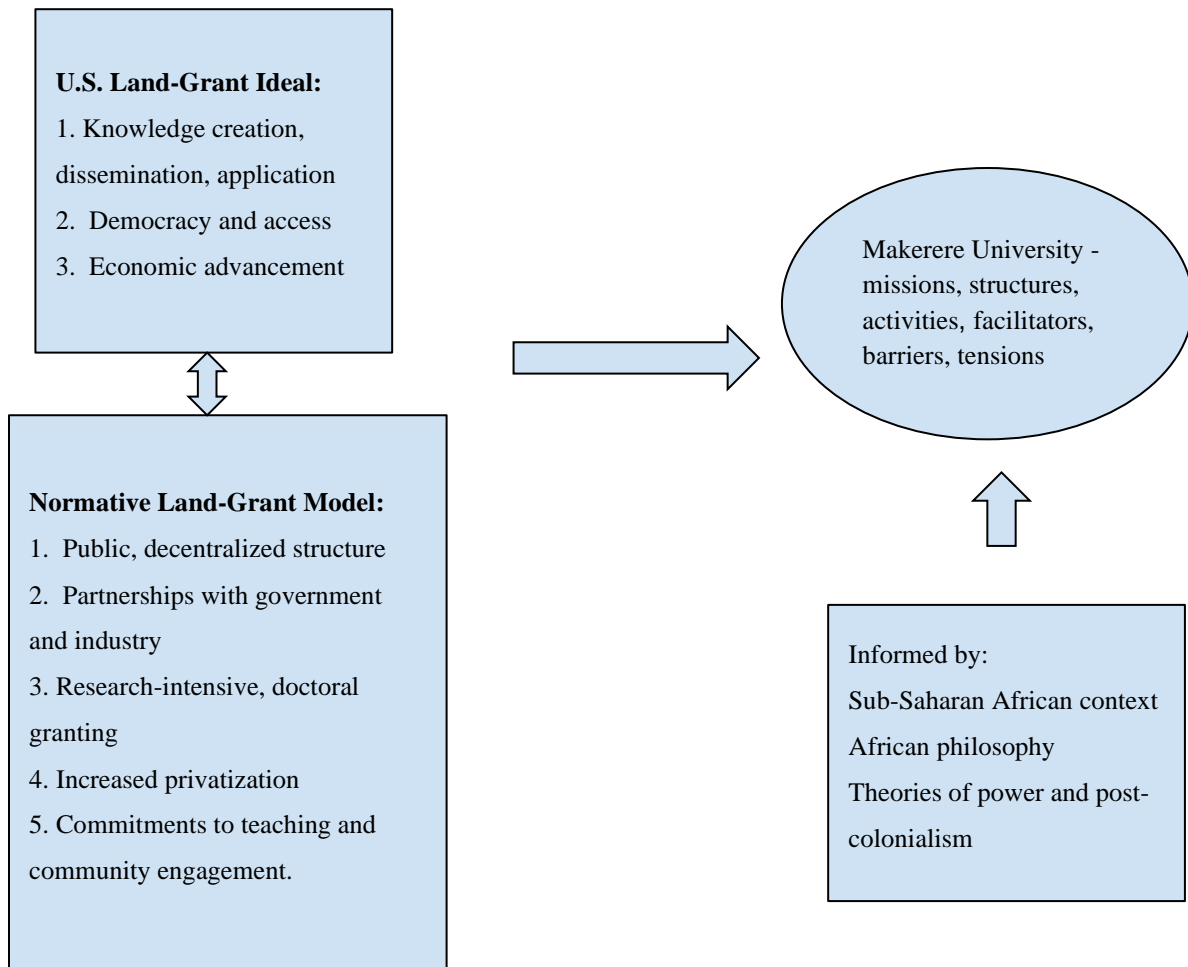
As described above, this case study has used U.S. land-grant higher education as a conceptual framework. As a conceptual framework, the land-grant domains have guided the selection of university stakeholders, the creation of interview questions, and the initial choice of data analysis themes. This, however, is not a comparison of Makerere University and U.S. land-grant universities. Certain comparative insights arise from the analysis, but the focus is on Makerere and how it functions as a public university in Uganda as guided by the domains of the land-grant framework.

Following are the research questions:

1. How do the mission, structures, and activities at Makerere University align or diverge across different domains of the land-grant framework?
2. What are the facilitators, barriers, and tensions that affect Makerere University engagement across different domains of the land-grant framework

Figure 5.1

U.S. Land-Grant Conceptual Framework



As illustrated in Figure 5.1 above, the conceptual framework is divided into 1) the U.S. land-grant ideal, which addresses the underlying mission of land-grant higher education as created by the Morrill Act of 1862; 2) the U.S. land-grant normative model, as it is currently understood and carried out in land-grant universities; and 3) the influence of other contextual factors. All of these domains and factors have informed the implementation of the case study and the responses to the research questions. The discussion which follows will connect the research findings to these questions, presenting an understanding of Makerere University which can hopefully benefit public higher education globally.

Summary of Findings

The case study findings focus on the following six themes:

1. **Research-led institution:** Makerere University is clear that its overarching aim is to be a research-led institution. This is what the Vice Chancellor communicates through speeches, tweets, and interviews; it is stated in the Strategic Plan, incorporated into local and global partnerships, and is supported by the Ugandan government. Research and innovation are also the primary means to addressing real-world challenges and meeting the development needs of the country and Africa.
2. **Neoliberalism and market influences:** Neoliberalism is expressed in the privatization and market-orientation of university functions including curriculum development, student tuition, research, and faculty satisfaction. Although neoliberalism largely rescued Makerere from the brutal consequences of the Amin and Obote dictatorships and has been mitigated by increased regulation, the negative effects are still apparent.
3. **Undergraduate education:** Undergraduate education has suffered due to insufficient infrastructure, resources, and support for students. Additionally, the focus on graduate education threatens to further reduce undergraduate education. Students have little hope of finding employment after graduation.
4. **Reputation and saga:** Makerereans and Ugandans in general speak of the institution as a “University of Excellence.” This reputation has carried the university through decades of turbulence, and as evident in the many 100-year-anniversary (Mak@100) celebrations, will continue to help Makerere “Build for the Future.”
5. **Ugandan government:** The Ugandan government is never far from any activity. Makerere depends on the government for financial survival and legitimacy, and the

government depends on Makerere for capacity development and meeting development challenges. Yet government control is evident and runs counter to the academic mission of freedom of speech and autonomy.

6. Colonialism: Despite Uganda's independence in 1962, colonialism continues to negatively impact university activities particularly through the West's influence on the creation and dissemination of knowledge. Research priorities and publishing are often controlled by Western priorities. Likewise, the World Bank Structural Adjustment Policies have a continued negative effect.

Research Question 1: How Mission, Structures, and Activities Align and Diverge across Land-Grant Domains

U.S. Land-Grant Ideal

Knowledge Creation, Dissemination, and Application. The creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge are core to the land-grant ideal, creating a foundation for the growth and evolution of public higher education since the passage of the Morrill Act in 1862. Research stations created by the Hatch Act of 1887 enabled the application of science to agricultural challenges of the day, and the Smith-Lever Act of 1914 created the Cooperative Extension Service enabling the dissemination of knowledge to farmers through land-grant institutions. Through these institutions, knowledge no longer only belonged to the elite but also to the "masses," to the public. As land-grant universities continued to evolve, most became major research institutions, creating knowledge which is disseminated through teaching and outreach and applied to local needs and problems.

Makerere University began in 1922 as an institution overseen by the British colonial government, committed to educating colonial elites. This sense of elitism was present even in the

1950s when Makerere seemed to isolate itself from the rest of Uganda and the struggles of the communities. At independence, Makerere tried to break from colonialism and create an institution with an African identity. As described in the findings, however, colonialism has continued to affect all aspects of knowledge: creation of research through outside funding of research initiatives and the necessity of publishing in Western journals for faculty promotion, the dissemination of knowledge through foreign-trained faculty and need for global relevance, and the application of knowledge through the use of foreign data in innovations. The pursuit of indigenous knowledge could be considered an alternative to colonial knowledge, a way of making research more relevant in the African context. This was evident in conversations with stakeholders, particularly faculty members and graduate students, in the Mak@100 lecture which promoted native institutions, and in the collaborative work of RUFORUM (Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture).

However, when Makerere's true pursuit is in being a research-led university and in competing globally, indigenous knowledge may be devalued. My interviewers did not characterize indigenous knowledge as inferior, but they recognized the tensions between indigenous and Western knowledge. Because of the global ambition, Makerere continues to risk colonial domination in knowledge creation, dissemination, and application. Even so, Makerere works to ensure that the research and innovations are locally relevant and are being used to solve real-world problems in Uganda and sub-Saharan Africa. Projects made possible through the Ugandan government-funded Research and Innovations Fund and through the USAID-funded Resilient Africa Network are specific to local and regional challenges. The Ugandan government believes that it is supporting the development goals of the country by financing the research agenda of Makerere University. Through industry partnerships, regional collaboration, and

research and innovation hubs, Makerere seeks to apply knowledge to African problems, similar to the land-grant mission. The challenge is to integrate both indigenous and Western knowledge in order to be most relevant to the people.

The dissemination of knowledge at Makerere University appears to be less dominant than the creation and application of knowledge. University leadership plans to reduce undergraduate student numbers in order to increase graduate education. In its current state, undergraduates face many challenges: Difficulties paying tuition, insufficient academic resources and support, and a pedagogical style that doesn't promote critical thinking. Dissemination of knowledge in the sense of outreach and extension is deemed as important but does not have the systemized approach that is part of the land-grant model with its Cooperative Extension Services.

The separate colleges and schools organize their own community engagement and outreach in the form of internships or other initiatives. For example, the College of Health Sciences has the Community-based Education and Service (COBES) which seeks to involve students in specific health curricula in the communities, but I only heard it referenced once. Dr. Richard Edema, professor of agriculture at Makerere University and alumnus of both Makerere and the Ohio State University, said, "We [Makerere] can get a lot from how the land-grant system is working and sort of cut and paste and put it in there, modify and adapt it to our conditions." He acknowledged that Makerere's approach to community engagement was piecemeal and could be better organized.

Democracy and Access. The Morrill Act was instrumental in opening up higher education to rural students, the "sons of soil," who otherwise could not have gone to college. Rather than the classical education which was common in the elite universities of the time, the curriculum was skills-based and relevant to the farmers. This was a first step toward the

democratization of higher education in the U.S. and was a catalyst for the evolution from elite (under 15%) to the mass stage (15-50%) of higher education (Trow, 2007).

Democracy and access did not feature prominently in the case study findings. With only 5-6% of secondary school graduates in sub-Saharan Africa continuing on to tertiary education (Majgaard & Mingat, 2012, p. 22; Internet Society, 2017, p. 6), it would seem that increased access and the democratization of higher education would be a higher priority. According to Trow's stages, Uganda is still well within the elite stage. As the flagship university of Uganda, Makerere University would be expected to lead the way in increased access. What I found, however, is paradoxical. On one hand, Makerere wants to connect with the communities and make its degrees more relevant, distancing itself from the elitism of the colonial era. On the other hand, Makerere is frequently referred to as a "university of excellence" and an Ivory Tower, symbolized by the actual Ivory Tower of the Main Building which burned and is currently being rebuilt. Thus, increasing access and moving out of the elite stage to massification does not seem to be a priority.

I did not see any tweets by the Vice Chancellor encouraging access to more marginalized populations, something that might be expected at a land-grant university. The Strategic Plan discusses increased access for female students, but what I heard in various contexts is that girls make up 51% of the student body and only have three residence halls compared to the six for boys. Rather than discussing increased access for undergraduates in general, university leaders spoke of decreasing the undergraduate student population to be able to accommodate more graduate students. In the past several years, the Ugandan government has significantly increased research spending with the Research and Innovations Fund but is not similarly supporting undergraduate education. The Student Loan Scheme is available to STEM students but not to

social science students because the Ugandan president asserts that STEM is more valuable to the country's economy and development than the social sciences. Students would say that Makerere is open to everyone, but when pressed, would admit that not all could afford university tuition and that neither the Ugandan government nor the university is doing enough to increase access.

It is important to note, however, that this divergence from land-grant ideals regarding access and democracy is not inherently bad; rather it is indicative of the forces at play in the Ugandan context which place a higher priority on other ideals and values. For example, it is clear that research and graduate education are responsibilities of Makerere University because it is the oldest and most well-established university in Uganda with the greatest number of PhDs. There are many other public and private universities in Uganda which can take up the mantle of undergraduate education. In this regard, Ugandan higher education appears to act as a collaborative whole for the good of the country and not as competitive entities. Why shouldn't Makerere reduce its undergraduate population in order to focus on graduate students if undergraduates can easily go elsewhere? Yet, even while university leaders spoke of sending undergraduates elsewhere, they emphasized the importance of nurturing future Makerere graduate students because no other institution can do the job as well.

Economic Advancements. As Sorber (2018) points out, Justin Morrill, the Congressman behind the Morrill Act of 1862, was more motivated by economic advancement than he was by increasing access for the common people. Certainly, increased access was a positive result, but his true ambition was to compete economically with Europe, and the best way to do this was to advance scientific knowledge and research. He felt that providing a research-oriented, scientific foundation to agriculture and the mechanical arts would lead to economic productivity.

Likewise, Ugandan President Museveni sees scientific research and innovation as the best pathway to economic advancement in Uganda. Understandably then, the Ugandan government would focus its financial inputs on research incentives and on STEM fields. Most research projects funded by the government through the Research and Innovations Fund came from the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences and the College of Health Sciences. The agricultural sector employs about 72% of the population and contributes 32% to the GDP (Agriculture Value Addition, n.d.), and the health sector touches even the most remote areas of the country.

In addition to conducting the research which addresses the development needs of the country, the government looks to Makerere for capacity development and training. As noted in the interview with the Ministry of Education and Sports, most of the Ministers of Parliament are Makerere alumni. Likewise, noted leaders of business and industry are Makerere graduates. During the time of the Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak.com) in the early 2000s, Makerere provided training and courses for local leaders, undergraduates, and graduate students to help support the country's decentralization efforts. Unfortunately, however, a common theme throughout the study was the lack of employment for undergraduates. There seems to be a disconnect between a university education and the labor needs of employers. So, in this sense, Makerere is not successful in capacity development, addressing the labor needs of the country. Rather than finding a job in their field after graduating, students anticipate becoming self-employed, taking a "side hustle", or starting their own organization.

U.S. Land-Grant Normative Model

Public, Decentralized Structure. The original land-grant universities have evolved into what Clark Kerr came to describe as large, public "multiversities," many the flagship, research-

led universities of their states (Marginson, 2016). They are divided into schools, colleges, and departments, each level with its own autonomy and decision-making structure, although still accountable to the central head. Because of their land-grant status, the mission of remaining committed to the common good of the local people is often more strongly felt than at other institutions.

Similarly, Makerere University is a large, public, multiversity as described by Clark Kerr. The university consists of nine colleges and the School of Law, each led by a principal. Each of the colleges is made of schools which are led by deans. In turn, the schools consist of departments which are led by professors or associate professors. Each unit has its own authority, but all are accountable to the Vice Chancellor. As described in the preceding section, Makerere University as a whole is committed to the public good of Uganda; however, the way it expresses this mission varies according to the university units. Some colleges, such as the College of Health Sciences and the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, are more successful in fund-raising for research, and in general the STEM units receive preferential treatment through funding and student support.

Mamdani (2007) was particularly critical of decentralization during the years of recovery (1990s) after the brutal regimes of Amin and Obote. He criticized the World Bank's policies for financial and administrative decentralization in university governance which led to the autonomy of individual units in program development and in fund-raising. This then contributed to increased privatization. Mamdani said, "As administrative decentralization followed financial decentralization, Faculties, and not Central Administration, decided on student intake, both government and private-sponsored... The structure was in place for a gradual dismantling of the public university and its step-by-step replacement by a privatized university (2007, p. 35).

According to Mamdani, the different faculties took advantage of their independence and privatization to change their curriculum, introducing a market-orientation to courses which would increase demand.

As described in the findings, finally in 2001, the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA) was passed, and with it, the creation of the National Council for Higher Education (NCHE), bringing regulation and reinstating more central control to Makerere. The Visitation Committee documents the restructuring of Makerere University from a Faculty-Based Model to a Collegiate Model in accordance with the UOTIA 2001 and Strategic Plan of 2008-2018, outlining the advantages of a college formation within a central administration (2016, p. 53). The Visitation Report states:

Colleges should be given the autonomy to manage their affairs with the Centre providing a supervisory and oversight role on crosscutting systems. Makerere University should fully operationalize the College system by devolving to the Colleges more administrative and financial powers, functions and responsibilities (p. 70).

The fact that this came up in the Visitation Report indicates that decentralized vs. centralized governance continues to be a tension at the university.

Partnerships with Government and Industry. The evolution of land-grant universities to their present form following the Morrill Act of 1862 would not have been possible without government and industry partnership. Multiple pieces of legislation including the Hatch Act of 1887, the 2nd Morrill Act of 1890, the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, and the Bayh-Dole Act of 1980 paved the way for experimental research stations, extension services, massification of higher education, and university patenting of government-funded inventions. This university-industry-government collaboration became known as the

“Triple Helix” with each actor in the partnership contributing essential assets to the growth of the university (Crow and Debars, 2012, p. 135).

Makerere University is also dependent on its partnerships with government and industry. As a public university, it owes its existence to the legitimization and the support of the Ugandan government. Legitimization came in the form of government legislation such as the Kampala Act of 1970 which chartered Makerere University, and the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA) of 2001 which gave increased stability and regulation. Government financial support has been inconsistent over Makerere’s history: generous after independence, virtually non-existent during the turbulent decades of the 1970s and 1980s, and critically lacking during 1990s and early 2000s when privatization was introduced. Finally, in the 2000s with the World Bank’s shift in perspective, more money was allotted to higher education, and in the past several years, the government has increased funding in research, professor salaries, and infrastructure, providing an important foundation for the growth of the university. This is a mutually beneficial partnership since the government also depends on Makerere, the flagship university of Uganda, for providing the intellectual leadership and talent needed to grow the economy and guide the country.

As is the case for modern-day land-grant institutions, Makerere hasn’t been able to survive on government support alone. To achieve its global research agenda, the university partners with companies such as the China Petroleum and Chemical Corporation (SINOPEC) and China National Offshore Oil Corporation (CNOOC), as well as forging partnerships with local companies such as Stanbic Bank, Centenary Bank, and Standard Chartered Bank, each of which has helped to finance the Makerere Centenary (Mak@100) celebrations. Additionally, the computer science PhD student I interviewed spoke of the importance of innovation hubs (such as

Innovation Village and Outbox) providing the space for collaboration with industry. In his discipline, partnerships with technology companies such as Google, Meta, and Microsoft are common. These industry partnerships provide internship and employment opportunities, increase research funding, and, in general, expand global relevance. Yet, there is also a cost in terms of local relevance and adherence to the mission of a public university. When a university is beholden to corporate partners, it cannot act in the best interest of the people. Faculty members, in particular, acknowledged this in the context of neoliberalism and its risk to addressing the public good.

Research-intensive, doctoral granting. Justin Morrill was inspired by the European university in his pursuit and defense of the Land-Grant Act, convincing his fellow Congressmen of the importance of scientific research in increasing economic productivity. Farming techniques and production could only improve through a scientific, research-based approach. This was to be the task of the new land-grant universities. These institutions, although starting small, grew to become their states' large, public research-intensive universities, responsible for 62 percent of U.S. academic research and 70% of the nation's professional workforce (Duderstadt, 2012, p. 221).

The findings clearly describe Makerere as an institution intent on transforming itself into globally competitive research-led, doctoral-granting university. This is stated in the first goal of the 2020-2030 Strategic Plan and is reiterated in speeches and interviews by the Vice Chancellor. This is an ambitious goal, especially considering that the graduate student population does not match that of a research-intensive institution and current research productivity is quite low. Table 5.1 compares the appropriate targets, as defined by Cloete and Bunting (2018) with actual Makerere 2015 statistics.

Table 5.1

Research Productivity

	Ideal Target	Makerere in 2015
Total enrollment	38,700	38,700
Enrollment by level		
Undergraduate enrollment	29,025 (75% of 38,700)	35,995 (93% of 38,700)
Postgraduate below master's (diploma)	1,935 (5%)	71 (.18%)
Master's enrollment	5,865 (15%)	1,994 (5%)
Doctoral enrollment	1,935 (5%)	680 (1.7%)
Research publications	1,647	613 (37% of ideal)

Note. From Cloete and Bunting, 2018, p. 239.

The Vice Chancellor would like to see a decrease in total student enrollment to 25,000 of which 10,000 are graduate students. This represents a considerable shift in student body composition (40% graduate student), university culture, and distribution of university resources. In my interview with him, the Vice Chancellor was not clear about how this shift would take place except to increase admission requirements for undergraduate students. With the increase in graduate student population, the hope is that research productivity would also increase significantly.

Just as the early land-grant universities looked to scientific, research-based solutions for local, regional, and national challenges, so does Makerere University. STEM subjects are

prioritized above the social sciences as the path to economic advancement and the Ugandan government is increasing its research support. In addition to government support for its research initiatives, Makerere is looking to partnerships with other African universities and universities abroad. The difference is that projects supported by the Ugandan government help to ensure that the research is relevant to the needs and challenges of Ugandans; however, research supported by universities and governments abroad carry the risk that foreign priorities will dictate the research, reducing the local relevance. This is also true with the research supported by corporate interests. Whatever the means, however, it appears that Makerere is committed to being a research-led university in order to address development challenges and reduce poverty.

Increased Privatization. With the decrease of state appropriations, major public universities have had to turn increasingly to private sources of support whether through increases in tuition, private donors and contracts, or industry partnerships. The result has been an increasing commercialization of higher education, which is the final paradigm of Sorber's history of American land-grant universities (2020). Slaughter and Rhoades (2009) also describe this new reality of academic capitalism in which there is a blurring of boundaries between knowledge for the public good and knowledge for private profit.

As documented by Court (1999), privatization enabled Makerere to avoid complete ruin following the dictatorships of Idi Amin and Milton Obote. Not only did the Ugandan government fail to support Makerere during the decades of the 70s and 80s, but the government undermined the university through the exiles and brutal murders of academics. Court presents privatization as the key to the transformation of Makerere, what he calls the quiet revolution. Mamdani (2012), however, clearly presents the flip side of privatization and commercialization in his book *Scholars in the Marketplace*, outlining the cost of this quiet revolution in terms of public good.

Faculty and administrators I spoke with see both sides: The dramatic transformation would not have been possible without admitting private, fee-paying students and without giving university units the autonomy to adapt their curricula to current demand, and yet privatization without regulation could also be disastrous. The creation of the National Council for Higher Education in Uganda helped to mitigate some of the negative consequences of privatization. In addition, one of the faculty members spoke of Mamdani's book as a warning which has been heeded, resulting in more government support of university functions.

Despite the improvements in government funding and in regulation, academic capitalism, or neoliberalism, is still viewed as a very real threat to the academic integrity of Makerere. One faculty member referred to neoliberalism as a greater risk than colonialism, referring several times to the way neoliberalism "guts" public institutions, forcing scholars to market their research. Another faculty member spoke of a shift from academic research to consultancy. Students have also been affected by neoliberalism through inflexible tuition policies and lack of government support. Both students and faculty have gone on strike to protest what they deem as unfair financial policies. Makerere, therefore, is also evidence of this blurring of boundaries between the knowledge for public good and for private profit as discussed by Slaughter and Rhoades (2009). Fortunately, there are voices of caution which are still heard, drawing the university and Ugandan government to critically consider the consequences of neoliberalism.

Commitments to Teaching and Community Engagement. As large public research institutions, today's land-grant universities are also committed to the other two "legs of the stool" – teaching and service. Through Cooperative Extension Services, created by the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, land-grant universities continue to have an impact on their communities with the goal of "finding solutions to practical problems" (McDowell, 2003, p. 40). The Association

of Public and Land-Grant Universities (APLU), in addition to promoting research and innovation, supports student success and community engagement initiatives (Association of Public and Land-Grant Universities, n.d.). Effective teaching is a critical component of achieving the land-grant mission.

According to my data, Makerere University is also committed to finding solutions to practical problems, indicated by the increased emphasis on research and innovations and support of STEM subjects. The Ugandan government and university administration see these initiatives as the pathway to economic development and reducing poverty. Students spoke of the importance of the “practical bit” in their courses, which was affirmed by the Vice Chancellor, and internships are becoming a required part of the curriculum, supported by local and global partnerships. Different colleges within the university, particularly the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences and the College of Health Sciences, support outreach initiatives into the communities. One example is COBES, the Community-based Education and Service program in the College of Health Sciences.

Despite these initiatives, however, there does not seem to be a university-wide community engagement effort. One faculty member in the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences who supports the land-grant mission of community engagement calls the efforts “piece-meal” and disorganized. Another faculty member commented that community service is not measured in the way that research publications are and so do not contribute toward promotion. In general, faculty are committed to service and to community engagement, but there is not a system of reward, so it is difficult to find the time. The most relevant outreach to community seems to happen within research and innovation partnerships (described in the findings) rather than under a separate category of service or community engagement. Thus,

although it would be important to better systematize community engagement, it is also important to recognize that it is still happening, just under a different guise.

In most of my interactions at Makerere, it felt like teaching was undervalued, particularly undergraduate teaching. The institution aspires to be research-led and graduate-focused, but undergraduates still represent the bulk of the student body. For example, in 2015/2016, 93% of the student body were undergraduates (The Visitation Committee, 2017; Cloete, 2018).

Undergraduate enrollment has decreased the past couple years because of COVID, but it still comprises a majority of the institution. The list of challenges facing undergraduate education is daunting: Lack of tuition support, lack of infrastructure (physical building space), lack of access to materials and internet, lack of support services, and a pedagogy that undervalues critical thinking. All of these together undermine the undergraduate experience. Despite the call to focus on research and graduate education, Makerere cannot afford to neglect the undergraduates. In addition, Makerere cannot neglect the social sciences in favor of only STEM subjects. Other Ugandan universities may be prepared to take on some of the undergraduate population, but as one of the administrators pointed out, Makerere needs to be able to nurture undergraduates into competent graduate students, and undergraduates are needed for the growth of new faculty members.

Other Informing Theories

In addition to the land-grant framework, other theories and scholarship informed my research. These included the work on postcolonialism by Gayatri Spivak, power and knowledge by Michel Foucault, neoliberalism by Henry Giroux, and finally African philosophy by Philip Higgs. Each of these gives an important philosophical perspective to African higher education which could in and of itself be the conceptual framework for a research study.

Higher education practitioners who reviewed a presentation proposal of my study recommended approaching the case study only through the lens of colonialism. Those who attended the presentation also suggested that I might be perpetuating colonialism in using the U.S. land-grant framework and asked if I had received “pushback.” These were important critiques which prompted me to examine colonialism more deeply in my analysis; indeed, the impact of colonialism emerged as one of my six findings, confirming Spivak’s suspicion of the term “postcolonialism” because it infers that decolonization has “happened in all places for all time” (Maszzei, 2012, p. 38). As indicated in the findings, colonialism still impacts Makerere University in many ways: Foreign partnerships, pressures to publish in Western journals, use of English as the academic language, majority of faculty studying overseas, pressures to compete globally, and the lingering effects of World Bank Structural Adjustment Policies.

A natural antidote to colonialism is a focus on African philosophy and indigenous knowledge. In the context of African philosophy, Higgs discusses two common themes: *communalism*, emphasizing the importance of community, and *ubuntu*, an African ethic which means humanness (2012, p. 46). In communalism the value of the community is placed above that of the individual, which aligns with the common good value of a public university but is directly opposed to the Western value of individualism. The same dichotomy can be understood with the German expressions *Gemeinschaft*, referring to community and transformational relationships, and *Gesellschaft*, referring to business and transactional relationships (p. 44). In my data collection, I heard and read very few references to African values or African philosophy. It was implied in discussions regarding Makerere as an institution “*in or of Africa*,” but seemed to be lost in the business of managing a major university with aspirations of competing globally. Likewise, I don’t remember the term *ubuntu* coming up. When there is not enough money to pay

for faculty salaries or to help students with tuition, and when there are no jobs for new graduates, a focus on the virtues of humanness and kindness can easily be neglected.

In my data, certainly the theme of neoliberalism overshadowed that of African values. One of the lecturers I interviewed feels that neoliberalism is a greater threat than colonialism, as faculty are forced to market their research. Indeed, neoliberalism could have also been used as the conceptual framework for the study. Giroux' understanding of neoliberalism as the antithesis of democracy helps to elucidate the challenges facing Makerere University as well as public higher education in general. As neoliberalism reproduces the dominant culture through a focus on the market economy, democracy gives a voice to the marginalized who are oppressed by capitalism. Makerere University has been praised for its entrepreneurial spirit, evident in the "quiet revolution" and the move toward private, fee-paying students, demand-driven courses, and alternative funding streams. Yet the result of the privatization and commercialization is neoliberalism in a country which is not governed by democratic practices. The current president has been in power since 1986 and, as described by the Director of the Centre of Constitutional Governance, elections are marred by violence and corruption. Through Giroux' lens then, neoliberalism in the context of Makerere is an even greater threat because there is not a healthy democracy to act as a restraint.

Finally, Foucault's focus on the dynamic interplay between power and knowledge can be seen in both colonialism and neoliberalism. Makerere is limited by both market influences and by its colonial legacy in the creation, dissemination, and application of knowledge. Both of these forces have destructive power which has been noted in the study findings. What is needed are mitigating influences such as a strong democracy or a repositioning toward the virtues of African

philosophy. Positive power needs to counteract negative power in the university's ambitions of creating, disseminating, and applying knowledge.

Although each of these philosophies could have been used as the conceptual framework, the U.S. land-grant framework, I feel, has provided a more comprehensive approach to a modern university with many of the same tensions and challenges as universities across the globe. The land-grant framework enabled a pragmatic look at issues facing the university without the bias of one particular philosophy. There is a benefit to each philosophical approach, but each also is laden with certain values which could have skewed the results. A careful application of the land-grant framework has facilitated a broad look at all aspects of Makerere University.

Research Question 2: Facilitators, Barriers, and Tensions across Land-Grant Domains

The preceding section addressed the first research question, focusing on the ways in which the mission, structures, and activities of Makerere University aligned and diverged across the land-grant domains. In each domain, I discussed how the case study findings interacted with the land-grant ideal and normative model. Following the discussion of the land-grant domains, I discussed the findings in relation to the other informing theories. In this section, I will address the second research question, focusing on the facilitators, barriers, and tensions across the land-grant domains. This will be a shorter section, building on the previous research question and synthesizing the results.

Tensions

In their book chapter "Welding of Opposite Views: Land-Grant Historiography at 150 Years," Sorber and Geiger (2014) discussed the tensions inherent in the land-grant ideal. While many viewed the Morrill Act through a romantic lens of increased access and democracy, throughout their evolution, land-grant universities have faced a conflicting mandate of adhering

to a practical and vocational mission versus elevating the sciences and liberal arts. Likewise, contradictions and conflicting mandates have consistently emerged from the Makerere University data. The use of versus coding, as described by Saldaña (2021), has been especially illuminating, as contradictions become immediately apparent in the coding process. Following is an examination of the tensions which have emerged from the findings and their interaction with the conceptual framework domains.

Privatization / Neoliberalism vs. University for Public Good

One of the loudest critics of neoliberalism was Professor Mahmood Mamdani, long-time director of the Makerere Institute of Social Research and author of *Scholars in the Marketplace: The Dilemmas of Neo-Liberal Reform at Makerere University, 1980-2005*. He presented a different view than that of David Court, author of the World Bank publication *Financing Higher Education in Africa: Makerere University, the Quiet Revolution*. David Court approached Makerere through a financial lens, one which showed him that after the regimes of Idi and Milton Obote, Makerere University, indeed the country of Uganda, was near collapse. A miraculous intervention was needed; this miracle became the admission of privately sponsored students, demand-driven courses, and a decentralized management structure. Mamdani's lens, however, was that of a scholar who saw privatization, and especially commercialization, as a direct threat to higher education for the public good. He saw privatization as a "soft version" of the relationship between the public and private, where the priorities are still dictated by the public, and commercialization as the "hard version," where the priorities are dictated by the market (2007, p. viii). He saw that, in response to demand, vocational courses were dominating the curriculum, while research was being neglected.

Berman (2012) wrote of the creation of the market university, in which private influences stepped in to fill in the gap left by the government, and Slaughter and Rhoades (2009) discussed academic capitalism in which there is a blurring of boundaries between knowledge for the public good and for private profit. Mamdani saw these influences at work at Makerere and feared that if these neoliberal forces continued unchecked, Makerere would lose its influence as a university for the public good in Uganda and the rest of Africa. As with any tension, there needs to be some mitigating forces. In this case there have been a couple: 1) Increased regulation through the University and Other Tertiary Institution Act of 2001; and 2) Ugandan government's increased investment in Makerere, partially due to Mamdani's warning. While privately sponsored students are at Makerere to stay, and many courses still seem vocational and demand-driven, government support for research and faculty salaries has increased, narrowing the gap which needs to be filled by the private sector.

Research-led vs. Undergraduate. The ambition of university leadership, as expressed in the 2020-2030 Strategic Plan and in the Vice Chancellor's many communications, is for Makerere University to be a research-led institution. The Ugandan government has indicated approval through the generous Research and Innovations Fund, given only to Makerere, and through President Museveni's speeches emphasizing the importance of research for the country's development. In order to accomplish this goal, Makerere University needs to substantially increase its graduate student population. In 2016, graduate students represented only 6% of the student body, and according to the Assistant Commissioner for Higher Education and Training, they are still under 10%. The Vice Chancellor, however, would like to see this increase to 40% by 2030. Cloette and Bunting (2018), however, recommend that graduate enrollment be at 25%

of the total student body - master's enrollment at 15%, doctoral enrollment at 5%, and post-graduate under master's level at 5% (p. 246).

Whether the graduate population reaches 40% or 25% of the total, it doesn't come without a sacrifice, since there are limited resources. According to university leadership, this sacrifice would be the undergraduate population which in 2016 was at about 37,000, is now under 30,000, and by 2030 would be at 15,000 if the aspiration of 10,000 graduate students is met. There are a few who call for a complete elimination of the undergraduate population, saying that other universities in Uganda are well-qualified to pick up all the undergraduates. The Assistant Commissioner, however, speaks as a "voice of reason," enumerating the importance of keeping undergraduates. In addition to the tuition revenue, there is 1) the need to "nurture" talent, preparing future graduate students; 2) the traditional mission of the university to teach; 3) the "warmth" the undergraduates bring to campus; and 4) the growth opportunity for lecturers.

If, indeed, undergraduates are still a priority, there needs to be a greater effort to support them, as undergraduate education currently faces a multitude of problems: 1) Lack of infrastructure, including building space, residence halls, and technology; 2) Lack of books and other resources; 3) Lack of student support services; 4) Lack of tuition support and loan opportunities (especially for social science students); 5) Lack of critical thinking in curriculum; 6) Underpayment of faculty, particularly at lower levels. The university must find a way to both ambitiously support graduate level education but also to maintain a thriving undergraduate population. Makerere cannot maintain its reputation as a "University of Excellence" if its undergraduate population languishes from the pursuit of research. Once again, this is a tension which needs to be mitigated by thoughtful, reasonable leadership.

University in Africa vs. University of Africa. In her book, *Becoming an African University: Makerere 1922-2000*, Carol Sicherman (2005) asked if Makerere University is a university *in* Africa or a university *of* Africa. Is it simply a university which is located in Africa, or is it a “native” institution, belonging to Africa and specifically to Uganda? As with many such dichotomies, the answer could probably be “both” or “it’s not so simple.” Makerere is a product of British colonialism, evident on the surface by the architecture of the buildings, the language of instruction (English), and in the system of education which is still largely British. Below the surface, Makerere also has many foreign, particularly European, influences. Most of the professors have received at least one degree either in Europe or the United States; one of my interviewees reminded me that professors tend to reproduce what they have been taught. Much of the research is funded by European governments (particularly Sweden), and the Vice Chancellor is continually entering into partnerships or signing Memoranda of Understanding with foreign institutions to enhance research cooperation and student / faculty exchange (see Vice Chancellor’s Twitter feed). Makerere University wants to be globally relevant, particularly in research, which makes it difficult to “decolonize” because so many global standards remain colonial, such as publishing in English and in Western journals.

Despite ongoing colonialism, Makerere is also very much a product of Uganda and of Africa. In addition to the many global partnerships entered, the university also engages in partnerships within Africa, such as with RUFORUM (Regional University Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture) and the Resilient Africa Network (albeit funded by USAID but successful in uniting African universities for the purpose of innovation). Another past project, the Innovations at Makerere Committee (I@Mak.com) was instrumental in helping Uganda with capacity building during the government’s move to decentralization. The government also views

Makerere's research and the growth of STEM as essential for the country's development and poverty reduction strategies. Most of the students and faculty at Makerere are from Uganda. Most foreign students are from other African countries, such as Kenya and Tanzania, neighbors to Uganda. I was told, however, that there used to be many more Kenyan students, but it is now more beneficial for them to remain in country.

As the flagship institution of Uganda and an aspiring research-led institution, Makerere is caught between Uganda (Africa) and the rest of the world. While this is a tension, it should not have to be a black and white choice which Makerere makes. Certainly, the university can and should be more intentional about efforts to Africanize the curriculum, incorporate indigenous knowledge, and systemize local outreach (such as an extension program) in order to counteract the effects of colonialism and neoliberalism. With more financial support from the Ugandan government, Makerere will likely have more freedom to adopt Ugandan priorities rather than being controlled by outside interests.

Dependence on Government vs. Academic Autonomy. Makerere University's most important relationship is with the government of Uganda, a relationship which has experienced euphoria following independence, terror during the years of Idi Amin and Milton Obote, and stability during the years of Museveni although with varying degrees of support. Initially, the relationship was governed by the Makerere Act of 1970 in which the president of Uganda was also the chancellor of the Makerere University (and any other public university). In 2001, however, the Universities and Other Tertiary Institutions Act (UOTIA) was passed, giving Makerere more autonomy. The president no longer held the position of chancellor himself but appointed the chancellor and adopted the role of Visitor with authority to call for a visitation at

any time. He has used this authority, calling for a Visitation most recently in 2016 following the many student and faculty strikes.

Makerere University depends on the Ugandan government both for financial support and continued legitimacy. Without the financial support of the government, Makerere would be forced into even heavier reliance on the private sector and on resources outside of Uganda. This private and external support comes with strings attached as described in sections on neoliberalism and colonialism. Currently, with the government-supported Research and Innovations Fund, the university experiences more freedom to initiate research projects relevant to the needs of the country. Likewise, the government has supported senior faculty raises and is funding the construction and restoration of buildings on campus.

It is possible, though, that even this reliance on the Ugandan government comes at a price. The Executive Director of the Centre for Constitutional Governance accuses the current university leadership of wanting to “placate and appease” the current regime. Indeed, during official centenary celebrations, I only heard praise for President Museveni and his NRM (National Resistance Movement) government. As long as the university has full support of the government, it appears that university leadership is reluctant to cause conflict. Originally the Centre for Constitutional Governance was on the Makerere campus, but the organization moved because the police presence became too unbearable; the Executive Director also told of events canceled at the last minute because of controversial themes. Despite these anecdotes, in general students and faculty appear free to express their opinions in the media – both in print and in televised panels.

The Visitation Committee (2017) differentiated between the state-control model, typical of the 1970s and 80s, and the state-supervision model of the 1990s on. While state supervision is

still the more accurate description of the relationship between Makerere and the government, care needs to be taken that it does not evolve into state control. Without academic freedom, Makerere would forfeit one of the defining qualities of public higher education.

Facilitators and Barriers

For the discussion of facilitators and barriers, it made the most sense to choose the domains which are more aspirational than functional. Therefore, I focused on the land-grant ideal domains (rather than the normative model) and included Africanization / African philosophy from the informing theories. Finally, I added overall university health as a summary domain. (See Table 5.2). Through this process, it has become clear that a facilitator in one domain can be a barrier in another domain. For example, external (global) partnerships facilitate research but are a barrier to Africanizing the university. Similarly, entrepreneurialism facilitates economic advancement, but it is a barrier to Africanization when it contributes to privatization and neoliberalism. A focus on graduate enrollment and STEM subjects facilitate research creation but can be barriers to increasing access. Increasing government support helps the university overall but can also become a barrier if it means increased state control by an illiberal democracy.

There are always tradeoffs in the prioritizing of limited resources, even more so in higher education where the benefit of public good is not easily measurable. It is, therefore, critical for university leaders to carefully weigh the impact of decision-making and try to mitigate as much as possible potential negative consequences. The university should build on the successes such as the sense of saga and university reputation which has so been so dramatically displayed during the Mak@100 events and the positive energy which this has kindled with the Ugandan government. The university should also continue to build on the momentum of successes in

research and innovation, local and global partnerships, and the commitment to solve local challenges. At the same time, the university cannot afford to be myopic in its vision. The teaching mission and the undergraduate experience cannot be sacrificed in the pursuit of research excellence. Likewise, university leaders need to engage with the Ugandan government fully aware of long-term impact and be willing to ask difficult questions: What will happen when President Museveni and the NRM are no longer in power? How can academic freedom be preserved within the current regime, and what are the signs of slipping from state supervision to state control? The university should also search for ways to integrate a deeper appreciation for African philosophy and values all the while continuing to build its global presence. Makerere does not need to deny its African heritage in order to maintain the reputation as a University of Excellence.

Table 5.2

Facilitators and Barriers across Conceptual Framework Domains

	Facilitators	Barriers
Research creation	<p>Increased government funding (block grants);</p> <p>Global partnerships;</p> <p>Innovation hubs;</p> <p>Focus on graduate enrollment;</p> <p>Emphasis on STEM subjects</p>	<p>Lack of funding;</p> <p>Activities constrained by donor priorities;</p> <p>Publication in Western journals;</p> <p>Current lack of graduate enrollment.</p>

Research dissemination	<p>Raising faculty salaries;</p> <p>Reputation of Makerere; Government loan scheme;</p> <p>Foreign-trained faculty (global perspective).</p>	<p>Student tuition;</p> <p>Resource limitations;</p> <p>Lack of critical thinking;</p> <p>Low faculty pay (lower ranks);</p> <p>Lack of systemized approach to outreach;</p> <p>Foreign-trained faculty (perpetuates colonialism).</p>
Research application	<p>MOUs with partners;</p> <p>Student internships and attachments;</p> <p>Innovation hubs;</p> <p>"Practical bit" in courses.</p>	<p>Faculty service not measured or counted toward promotion;</p> <p>Need more systemized, university-wide approach to outreach and internal partnerships.</p>
Democracy and access	<p>University reputation.</p>	<p>Remains in "elite" stage of growth; Research focus;</p> <p>University goal of decreasing undergraduate population; Inadequate resources;</p> <p>Focus on STEM at expense of social sciences.</p>

Economic advancement	<p>Industry and university partnerships;</p> <p>Local and regional research initiatives;</p> <p>Capacity development and training; Entrepreneurial spirit.</p>	<p>Lack of employment for graduates; Disconnect between curriculum and employers;</p> <p>Impact of World Bank Structural Adjustment Policies.</p>
Africanization / African philosophy	<p>Local research and outreach initiatives;</p> <p>Local and regional (African) partnerships.</p>	<p>External (foreign) partnerships; Privatization and neoliberalism;</p> <p>Colonialism (i.e., Western domination in research, World Bank impact)</p>
Overall university health	<p>Regulation through University and Other Tertiary Institutions Act and National Council for Higher Education;</p> <p>Institutional saga;</p> <p>Commitment to solving local challenges;</p> <p>Increased government support;</p> <p>Clear focus on research;</p> <p>Entrepreneurialism.</p>	<p>Illiberal democracy – threat of slipping into autocracy;</p> <p>Unchecked neoliberalism and colonialism (antithesis of public good);</p> <p>Negligence of teaching mission and undergraduate students; Unsystematized approach to outreach;</p> <p>Neglect of African philosophy.</p>

Conclusion

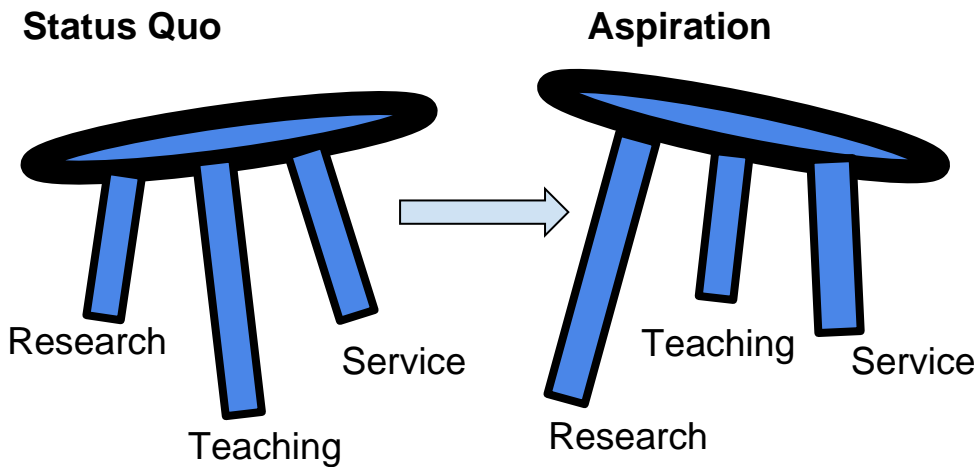
This chapter began with a review of the research questions and conceptual framework and then summarized the findings of Chapter Four. Most of the chapter addressed the two research questions, focusing first on how the mission, structures, and activities interacted with

the individual domains of the conceptual framework, and then on the tensions, facilitators, and barriers across the domains. The discussion of both research questions has helped to better synthesize the forces at work within Makerere University. As with every major university, whether in the U.S., in Africa, or elsewhere, there are tensions, contradictions, and limited resources. Public universities seek to address the “wicked problems” facing their countries, issues such as democracy, poverty, and inequality which have no easy solutions. Makerere University, now 100 years old, began and lived for 40 years under British colonialism, made the transition to independence, including an East African partnership, survived fourteen years of brutal dictatorship, rose from the ruin, and is now a university with proud alumni, aspirations for being research-led, and a determination to build for the future.

Even with these successes, however, Makerere has important decisions to make. Higher education frequently uses the image of the three-legged stool, balancing solidly on the roughly equal legs of research, teaching, and service. As illustrated in Figure 5.2, Makerere is currently trying to balance on one long teaching leg and two much shorter legs of research and service. The university’s aspiration, though, as communicated by institutional leadership and the government, is to significantly grow the research leg, shrink the teaching leg, and keep the service leg about the same. Neither results, however, in a stable stool. Makerere’s challenge is to confront the status quo without overcompensating, which would result in an equally lopsided stool.

Figure 5.2

Makerere's Three-Legged Stool



Additional threats that could undermine foundation of the stool: Neoliberalism, Colonialism, Ugandan government.

To ensure the stool is balanced and stable, Makerere leadership needs to address some important questions: How can Makerere become a research-led institution without losing its undergraduate presence, comprising the teaching mission? What is Makerere's role in creating greater access to higher education in Uganda? What is Makerere's role and responsibility viz-a-viz the Ugandan government, balancing dependence and autonomy? Finally, what specific steps can Makerere take to mitigate threats from colonialism and neoliberalism, which, as indicated in this research, could also undermine the stability of the stool.

This study has been significant not only in more deeply understanding Makerere University but also in better understanding the U.S. land-grant model. The model is effective as a conceptual framework for the study of Makerere, a university located in a vastly different geographical, political, and socio-economic context, because it is flexible. The land-grant ideals represent aspirations and values which have allowed universities to evolve over the past 160

years into the normative model that we find today. Because of this flexibility, it can also be relevant to institutions, like Makerere, which have evolved in significantly different contexts but face similar tensions and are following a similar trajectory toward neoliberal solutions. The study also demonstrates advantages which a systematic approach to higher education offers; while Makerere struggles to be consistent in outreach and engagement, the idea of land-grant extension services could be helpful in implementing a university-wide model. Finally, this study reminds us of the longstanding consequences of colonialism and the responsibility which land-grant institutions bear in the dispossession of Native American land.

Just as the U.S. land-grant model has been instrumental in this study of Makerere University, Makerere can also serve as a source of learning for other Ugandan and foreign institutions. Makerere has overcome formidable obstacles through the strength of its saga, entrepreneurialism, and deep commitment - this can be an inspiration to all universities. Because so many of Makerere's faculty complete degrees abroad, they have a world view unparalleled by many universities. This of course contributes to Makerere's ongoing challenges of colonialism, but it also contributes to global understanding. Finally, Makerere is looking for mutually beneficial partnerships; the College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, in particular, has partnered with land-grant universities, but other disciplines would also benefit.

Sub-Saharan Africa must be included in the global discourse of higher education. As indicated in this study, too often the voices of the West and of capitalism drown out those promoting local solutions and indigenous knowledge. The West does not own knowledge, nor should money control knowledge. I hope that this study has created a greater understanding and appreciation of African higher education and in particular higher education at Makerere University. I also hope that others will build on this scholarship to the point that a global

discourse on higher education will feel incomplete without the African perspective. This is the only way in which higher education can address the “wicked problems” currently facing society.

Practical Recommendations

Often practical recommendations sound simplistic and naïve when considering the complex realities of major institutions such as Makerere. However, I will take the risk in order to ensure that this research has pragmatic as well as theoretical significance. If I had the opportunity to sit with Makerere University leadership (hopefully over some good Ugandan coffee!), here are some of the recommendations that I would give:

- In the quest of becoming a major research institution, don’t sacrifice the undergraduate experience and the teaching mission. Both are critical to the health of the university. Examine the undergraduate curriculum, resources, and policies and how critical thinking could be better promoted.
- Continue to engage in African partnerships and look for ways to promote indigenous research and innovation. Find ways to show that Makerere is not only a university *in* Africa, but also *of* Africa. Recognize faculty publications in African journals as well as Western publications.
- Find ways to systematize community outreach in the different colleges and include community service and university service in the faculty promotion equation.
- Continue to celebrate the accomplishments of the university, even after Mak@100 is over. Build on the reputation and saga of the university.
- Recognize the effects of neoliberalism and the impact that privatization and commercialization have on advancing the public good. Find ways to mitigate these effects through regulation and through increased public support.

- Plan wisely for potential changes in the Ugandan government and the impact this would have on the university. Engage in discussions regarding the balance between government autonomy and government dependence. Also, be aware of the slippery slope between state supervision and state control.

Although these recommendations are specific to Makerere, they are also general enough to apply to institutions in similar contexts whether on the African continent or other parts of the globe.

Much can be learned from the experiences of others.

Future Research

Following are specific ideas for future research which hopefully would result in more practical suggestions and a greater depth of understanding.

- Replicate the case study using the U.S. land-grant framework in another public institution in East Africa to verify or refine the findings.
- Have an “insider” (Ugandan who has connections at Makerere University) rather than “outsider” researcher replicate a case study at Makerere using the U.S. land-grant framework.
- Conduct a case study of Makerere University with a better distribution of interviews in each of the colleges.
- Examine Makerere University through the lens of a different conceptual framework such as post-colonialism.

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Appendix A

Land-Grant Universities – 1862, 1890, 1994

State	1862	1890	1994
Alabama	Auburn University	Alabama A&M Tuskegee University	
Alaska	University of Alaska		Ilisagvik College
American Samoa	American Samoa Community College		
Arizona	University of Arizona		Diné College Tohono O'odham Community College
Arkansas	University of Arkansas	Univ of Arkansas at Pine Bluff	
California	Univ of California system		D-Q University
Colorado	Colorado State Univ		
Connecticut	Univ of Connecticut		
Delaware	University of Delaware	Delaware State University	
District of Columbia	University of the District of Columbia		
Florida	University of Florida	Florida A&M Univ	
Georgia	University of Georgia	Fort Valley State University	
Guam	University of Guam		
Hawaii	University of Hawaii		
Idaho	University of Idaho		
Illinois	University of Illinois		
Indiana	Purdue University		
Iowa	Iowa State University		
Kansas	Kansas State University		Haskell Indian Nations University
Kentucky	Univ of Kentucky	Kentucky State Univ	
Louisiana	Louisiana State University	Southern University and A&M College	
Maine	University of Maine		
Maryland	University of Maryland	Univ of Maryland Eastern Shore	
Massachusetts	Univ of Massachusetts		
Michigan	Michigan State University		Bay Mills Community College Keweenaw Bay Ojibwa Community College

			Saginaw Chippewa Tribal College
Micronesia	College of Micronesia		
Minnesota	University of Minnesota		Fond du Lac Tribal and Community College Leech Lake Tribal College White Earth Tribal and Community College
Mississippi	Mississippi St University	Alcorn State Univ	
Missouri	University of Missouri	Lincoln University	
Montana	Montana State University		Aaniih Nakoda College Blackfeet Community College Chief Dull Knife College Fort Peck Community College Little Big Horn College Salish Kootenai College Stone Child College
Nebraska	University of Nebraska		Little Priest Tribal College Nebraska Indian Community College
Nevada	University of Nevada		
New Hampshire	Univ of New Hampshire		
New Jersey	Rutgers University		
New Mexico	New Mexico State University		Institute of American Indian and Alaskan Native Culture and Arts Development Navajo Technical College Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute
New York	Cornell University		
North Carolina	North Carolina State University	North Carolina A&T State University	
North Dakota	North Dakota State University		Cankdeska Cikana Community College

			For Berthold Community College Sitting Bull College Turtle Mountain Community College United Tribes Technical College
Northern Marianas	Northern Marianas College		
Ohio	Ohio State University	Central State Univ	
Oklahoma	Oklahoma State University	Langston University	College of the Muscogee Nation
Oregon	Oregon State University		
Pennsylvania	Penn State University		
Puerto Rico	University of Puerto Rico		
Rhode Island	Univ of Rhode Island		
South Carolina	Clemson University	South Carolina State University	
South Dakota	South Dakota State University		Oglala Lakota College Si Tanka/Huron UniversitySinte Gleska University Sisseton Wahpeton College
Tennessee	University of Tennessee	Tennessee State Univ	
Texas	Texas A&M University	Prairie View A&M University	
Utah	Utah State University		
Vermont	University of Vermont		
Virgin Islands	University of the Virgin Islands		
Virginia	Virginia Tech	Virginia State Univ	
Washington	Washington State University		Northwest Indian College
West Virginia	West Virginia University	West VA St Univ	
Wisconsin	University of Wisconsin		College of Menominee Nation Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwa Community College
Wyoming	University of Wyoming		

Source: National Institute of Food and Agriculture, 2020

Appendix B

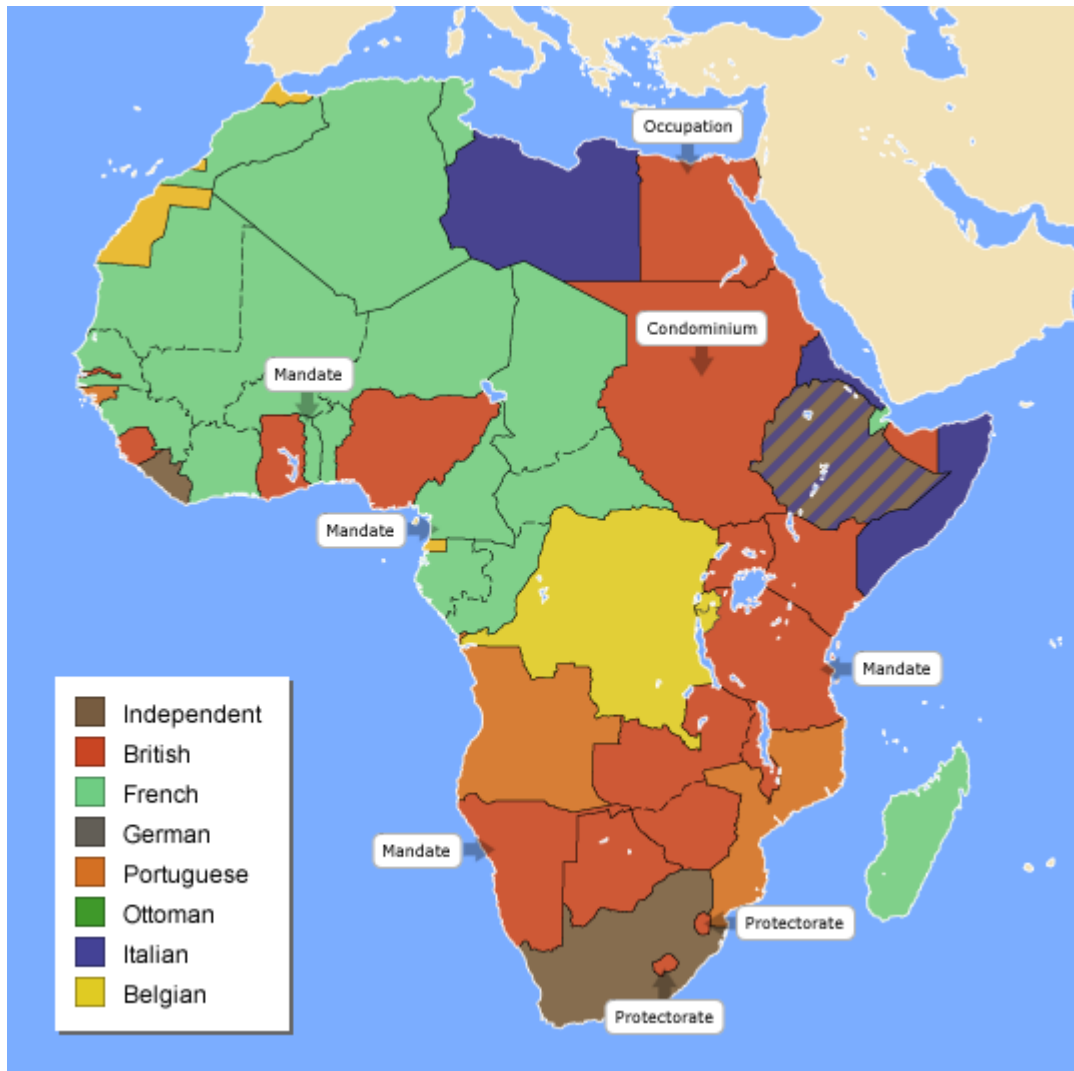
Africa Map and Satellite Image



Source: Geology.com, 2020

Appendix C

Africa under Colonial Rule: From 1924 to the end of WWII



Note: The League of Nations created the “mandate / protectorate” system, referring to a process in which these countries would become independent.

Source: Mappinghistory.uoregon.edu, n.d.

Appendix D

Political Map of Uganda



Source: Nationsonline.org, 2019

Appendix E

Universities in Uganda

University	Control	Location	Established
Makerere University	Public	Kampala	1922
Uganda Management Institute	Public	Kampala	1969
Islamic University in Uganda	Private	Mbale	1988
Mbarara University of Science and Technology	Public	Mbarara	1989
Ndejje University	Private	Kampala	1992
Uganda Martyrs University	Private	Nkozi	1993
Bugema University	Private	Kampala	1994
Uganda Christian University	Private	Mukono	1997
Busoga University	Private	Iganga	1999
Kampala University	Private	Kampala	2000
Kampala International University	Private	Kampala	2001
Aga Khan University	Private	Kampala	2001
Gulu University	Public	Gulu	2002
Kyambogo University	Public	Kampala	2002
Kumi University	Private	Kumi	2004
Kabale University	Public	Kabale	2005
Mountains of the Moon University	Public	Fort Portal	2005
African Bible University	Private	Kampala	2005
Uganda Pentecostal University	Private	Fort Portal	2005
Bishop Stuart University	Private	Mbarara	2006
Busitema University	Public	Tororo	2007
St Lawrence University	Private	Kampala	2007
Muteesa I Royal University	Private	Masaka	2007
All Saints University	Private	Lira	2008
Clark International University	Private	Kampala	2008
Cavendish University	Private	Kampala	2008
International University of East Africa	Private	Kampala	2010
Victoria University	Private	Kampala	2010
African Rural University	Private	Kagadi	2011
Islamic Call University College	Private	Kampala	2011
LivingStone International University	Private	Mbale	2011
St. Augustine International Univ	Private	Kampala	2011
Virtual University of Uganda	Private	Kampala	2011
Uganda Technology and Management University	Private	Kampala	2013
Muni University	Public	Arua	2013
Soroti University	Public	Soroti	2015

Source: Bisaso (2017)

Appendix F

Case Study Interview Questions

General questions (all stakeholders)

1. What is your experience at Makerere University?
2. What is the mission that you feel guides Makerere University? How do the activities of Makerere support this mission?
3. What do you feel are the biggest challenges which Makerere University faces? What are your recommendations for overcoming these challenges?
4. How is Makerere University building for the future? (Reference to the university motto).

Conceptual Framework - Ideals

Knowledge creation, dissemination, application (faculty)

1. How would you describe Makerere's commitment to the tri-partite mission of higher education – teaching, research, and service? Would you suggest modifications?
2. Which does Makerere tend to emphasize more - the creation, the dissemination, or the application of knowledge? Explain.

Democracy and access (admin, faculty, alumni)

1. How does Makerere balance priorities of increased access with that of academic and research excellence?
2. How do you feel Makerere University upholds higher education as a public good?
3. What is Makerere University doing to increase access to rural and lower income students?

Economic advancement (admin, Ministry)

1. Do you feel that Makerere University helps Uganda to be more economically competitive? Why or why not?
2. What is Makerere doing to contribute to Uganda's "bottom line"?
3. Do you feel that Makerere contributes equally to the economic advancement of students and the country? (Does the university have a private or public focus of advancement?)

Conceptual Framework - Model

Public, decentralized structure (admin, faculty, Ministry)

1. Describe the organizational structure of Makerere University. How does this impact the university's ability to achieve its mission?
2. What are Makerere's responsibilities as a public institution (as opposed to the responsibilities of a private institution)?

Partnerships with government and industry (admin, faculty, Ministry)

1. Can you describe Makerere's relationship with the government? In what ways does Makerere partner with the government?
2. Can you describe Makerere's relationship with industry? In what ways does Makerere partner with industry and the private sector?
3. Do you see partnerships with industry and the private sector as beneficial to the university? Why or why not?

Research-intensive, doctoral-granting (admin, faculty, Ministry)

1. Do you see Makerere as globally competitive? Why or why not?
2. What is preventing Makerere from greater productivity in research and graduate degrees?

3. What can Makerere do to be more competitive in research and graduate education?

Increased privatization (admin, faculty, ministry)

1. How does Makerere University compensate for a loss of government funding?
2. What may be lost as a result of this compensation? Are there trade-offs that must be made?
3. Do you see a blurring of the public and private good at Makerere?

Commitments to teaching and community engagement (faculty, community, alumni)

1. In what ways does Makerere University engage the local community? How do you perceive Makerere's "town-gown" relationship?
2. How does Makerere balance responsibility to community with emphasis on global ratings?
3. How does Makerere prioritize teaching? Does Makerere offer incentives for excellence in teaching?

Informing Theories

Sub-Saharan African context (admin, faculty, alumni)

1. How would you describe Makerere's relationship with its colonial past?
2. Do you see Makerere as a university "*in* Africa" or "*of* Africa"? Explain.

African philosophy (faculty, alumni)

1. What differentiates Makerere University from major universities in the West?
2. How can Makerere become a more authentic *African* university?

3. How can the concepts of communalism and *Ubuntu* be incorporated into the Makerere curriculum?

Theories of power/knowledge and post-colonialism (admin, faculty, alumni)

1. Do you feel that Makerere has moved into a post-colonialist period? Why or why not?
2. Where do you perceive Makerere's "power" comes from (i.e. the market, the government, knowledge creation, etc)?

Appendix G

Consent Form

Dear Participant,

This letter is a request for you to take part in a case study of Makerere University through the conceptual lens of U.S. land-grant higher education. You have been selected as a participant because of your involvement at Makerere University as faculty, administrator, student/alumni, or community member. You will be one of about fifteen to be interviewed as part of the case study. This project is being conducted by Christina Hand, M.A., in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction/Literacy/Higher Education at West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV U.S.A. under the supervision of Dr. Nathan Sorber, Chairperson of the same department, to fulfill requirements for a Doctor of Philosophy in Higher Education.

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to take part in an interview via Zoom video-conference (or face-to-face if researcher is permitted to travel) and to be available via e-mail for possible fact-checking. Questions will focus on your role at Makerere University and knowledge of the university. Your participation in this project will take approximately one hour. You must be 18 years of age or older to participate.

The personal benefit to the study will include the opportunity to reflect broadly on the successes and challenges of higher education particularly in the context of Makerere University. The societal benefit includes the public good resulting from a global approach to higher education scholarship. Risks are limited to potential personal discomfort in responding to certain interview questions.

Your involvement in this project will be kept confidential. The finished product of this study will be published as a PhD dissertation. Thus your stories, anecdotes, and direct quotes may appear in print. Before beginning the interview, I will ask permission to record the interview. The recording will be deleted from my computer after three years. Your participation is completely voluntary. You may skip any question that you do not wish to answer and you may discontinue at any time. This project has been acknowledged by the West Virginia University's Institutional Review Board.

I hope that you will participate in this research project, as it could help us better understand higher education through a global comparison involving the United States and Uganda. In appreciation for your participation, I will enter your name into a drawing for a book of your choice which I will mail to you.

If you have any questions about this research project, please feel free to contact me at 001-304-668-0459 or by e-mail at chhand@mix.wvu.edu. If you would like to talk to someone other than the researcher about; (1) concerns regarding this study, (2) research participant rights, (3) research-related injuries, or (4) other human subjects' issues, please contact:

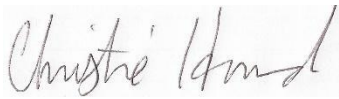
Dr. Stella Neema
The Chair
Makerere School of Social Sciences
Research Ethics Committee
Telephone: +256- 772 457576
E-mail: sheisim@yahoo.com

Or
The Executive Secretary
The Uganda National Council of Science and Technology,
Kimera Road. Ntinda P. O. Box 6884 Kampala, Uganda
Telephone: (256) 414 705500
Fax: +256-414-234579
Email: info@uncst.go.ug

Or
Dr. Nathan Sorber
Department of Curriculum and Instruction/Literacy/Higher Education
West Virginia University, Morgantown, WV U.S.A
Nathan.Sorber@mail.wvu.edu

Or
WVU Office of Human Research Protection
001-304-293-7073
IRB@mail.wvu.edu.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read 'Christie Hand', written in dark ink on a light-colored background.

Christina L. Hand

Appendix H

Data Analysis Example

THE IMPACT OF COLONIALISM						
CODES		GOVERNMENT TAKING RESPONSIBILITY		IMPACT OF NEO-LIBERALISM		PERSONAL SCHOLARSHIP AND REFLECTIONS
1	"adult education good for developing world"	"decolonize research"	"we get lion's share" [gov't money]	"aspects of privatisation and massification"	"lower ranks are agitating" [no salary raises]	"I've been lucky"
2	"aspects of privatisation and massification"	"decolonize teaching"	"government is taking responsibility"	"government funding reduced"	"inconsistent salary raises"	"adult education good for developing world"
3	"community engagement"	"English is language of research"	"now government is funding research"	"have to translate research into industry"	"process is slow"	case study in engaged community development
4	"decolonize research"	"fake publications"	"salaries are better"	"neo-liberal politics"	"challenge of facilities"	ladder of citizenship
5	"decolonize teaching"	"language has power embedded"			"challenge of funding"	participatory methodologies
6	"element of dictatorship"	"must be relevant to Western world"			"everything routed through government"	photo voice
7	"English is language of research"	"must partner with Western world"		"problem with innovations is funding"	"element of dictatorship"	volunteer work in prison
8	"everything routed through government"	"must publish in Western world"				"treat same way" [gov't sponsored and private and publications]

Appendix I

Makerere University Undergraduate Programs by College

Academic Program	Years of Study
College of Health Sciences (CHS)	
Bachelor of Pharmacy	4
Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery	5
Bachelor of Dental Surgery	5
Bachelor of Science in Nursing	4
Bachelor of Environmental Health Science	3
BS in Speech and Language Therapy	3
BS in Biomedical Sciences	3
BS in Biomedical Engineering	4
Bachelor of Cytotechnology	3
Bachelor of Optometry	4
BS in Dental Laboratory Technology	3
College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences (CAES)	
BS in Agriculture	4
BS in Food Science and Technology	4
BS in Agricultural Engineering	4
BS in Agricultural Land Use and Management	3
Bachelor of Agribusiness Management	3
BS in Horticulture	3
Bachelor of Agricultural and Rural Innovation	3
BS in Human Nutrition	3
BS in Forestry	4
Bachelor of Geographical Sciences	3
Bachelor in Environmental Science	3
BS in Tourism and Hospitality Management	3
BS in Meteorology	3
BS in Bioprocessing Engineering	4
BS in Water and Irrigation	4
College of Engineering, Design, Art and Technology (CEDAT)	
BS in Civil Engineering	4
BS in Electrical Engineering	4
BS in Mechanical Engineering	4
BS in Land Surveying and Geomatics	4
Bachelor of Architecture	5
BS in Telecommunication Engineering	4
BS in Quantity Surveying	4
BS in Land Economics	4

BS in Construction Management	3
BS in Computer Engineering	4
Bachelor of Industrial and Fine Arts	3
Bachelor of Urban and Regional Planning	4
College of Business and Management Sciences (COBAMS)	
Bachelor of Statistics	3
BS in Quantitative Economics	3
BS in Populations Studies	3
BS in Actuarial Science	3
BS in Business Statistics	3
BA in Economics	3
BA in Development Economics	3
Bachelor of Commerce	3
Bachelor of Business Administration	3
College of Humanities and Social Sciences (CHUSS)	
Bachelor of Social Work and Social Administration	3
BA in Social Sciences	3
Bachelor of Journalism and Communication	3
BA in Arts	3
Bachelor of Development Studies	3
BA in Music	3
BA in Drama and Film	3
Bachelor of Community Psychology	3
Bachelor of Industrial and Organizational Psychology	3
Diploma in Performing Arts	2
College of Education and External Studies (CEES)	
BA with Education	3
BS with Education (Physical, Biological, or Economics)	3
Bachelor of Adult and Community Education	3
College of Natural Sciences (CONAS)	
BS in Industrial Chemistry	3
BS in Fisheries and Aquaculture	3
Bachelor of Sports Science	3
BS – Biological	3
BS – Physical	3
BS – Economics	3
BS in Petroleum Geoscience and Production	4
BS in Conservation Biology	3
BS in Biotechnology	3
College of Computing and Information Sciences (COSIS)	

BS in Computer Science	3
Bachelor of information Systems and Technology	3
BS in Software Engineering	4
Bachelor of Library and Information Science	3
Bachelor of Records and Archives Management	3
School of Law	
Bachelor of Laws	4
College of Veterinary Medicine, Animal Resources and Biosecurity (COVAB)	
Bachelor of Veterinary Medicine	5
BS in Wildlife Health and Management	3
Bachelor of Biomedical Laboratory Technology	3
Bachelor of Animal Laboratory Production Technology	3
Bachelor of Industrial Livestock and Business	3
Makerere University Business School (MUBS)	
Bachelor of Commerce	3
Bachelor of Business Administration	3
Bachelor of Human Resource Management	3
Bachelor of International Business	3
Bachelor of Leisure and Hospitality Management	3
Bachelor of Business Computing	3
Bachelor of Procurement and Supply Chain Management	3
Bachelor of Real Estate Business Management	3
Bachelor of Leadership and Governance	3
BA in Economics	3
BS in Finance	3
BS in Accounting	3
Bachelor of Travel and Tourism Management	3
Bachelor of Business Statistics	3
Bachelor of Office and Information Management	3
BS in Marketing	3
Bachelor of Catering and Hotel Management	3

Note. Retrieved from <https://www.mak.ac.ug/sites/default/files/downloads/Mak-Undergraduate-Fees-Structure-2020-21-ACADEMIC-YEAR.pdf>