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THE IDEA OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN
EAST AFRICA:
AN ASPECT OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF
HIGHER EDUCATION

By

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THE IDEA OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN EAST AFRICA:
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A B S T R A C T

This paper tries to answer a number of basic questions about social science in East Africa: What are the distinctive characteristics of East African social science? How have these changed over time? How is social science organized and supported? Through what channels does it express itself? Who are its producers and consumers? What have been its achievements and limitations? What factors have been most responsible for conditioning the pattern of its emergence, growth and diffusion?

The paper begins by looking at the history of social science in East Africa. It then summarizes some of the outstanding features of the social science community--its interests, style, organization and quality--and proceeds to a tentative assessment of the general impact of social science. This is followed by an examination of the three relationships which have been especially important in shaping the general pattern of social science activity and in accounting for interesting variations within it--those with government, the university and technical assistance agencies. Finally the analysis is used as the basis for a summary of outstanding issues and a projection of likely future trends. There is an attempt throughout to emphasize the influence of changing concepts of development upon social science activity and to draw instructive comparisons between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. While the paper is descriptive the overall purpose is less that of providing a definitive picture of social science endeavour than of understanding the social context in which it exists and of asking which aspects have had most influence on its development.

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THE IDEA OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN EAST AFRICA:
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SECTION I

1. SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE PROCESS OF TRANSFER

Embedded in the academic inheritance of the University of East Africa was the idea of social science: faith in that distinctive form of intellectual enterprise which aims to advance understanding of social behaviour and institutions through the accumulation of a systematic body of knowledge. The years since the establishment of the University of East Africa in 1963 have seen the growth of social science departments and research units at the successor national universities in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda, which were founded in 1970, and the emergence of a self-conscious community of scholars who are committed to the development and application of knowledge about East African society. This paper aims to describe some of the main characteristics of East African social science and the community producing it and to identify some of the conditions which account for the observed patterns.¹

Two considerations provide the intellectual context and justification for this purpose. In the first place the emergence of social science in East Africa is an aspect of a broad process of institutional transfer whereby forms of intellectual activity have become established in settings which

* This paper has benefitted from the comments of Edward Shils, Joel Barkan and Goran Hyden.

1. Helpful previous work on East African social science includes: Coleman, James S., "Some Thoughts on Applied Social Research and Training in African Universities", The African Review, II, 2 (April 1972), pp 289-307; Mazrui, Ali Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa (London Heinemann 1978); Kabwegyere, Tarsis B., "What kind of Social Science in Africa?", paper presented to the Historical Association of Kenya Annual Conference, December 1970; Killick, Anthony J. The Economies of East Africa: An Annotated Bibliography with an Introductory Survey, (Boston, GK Hall, 1976); Anyang Nyong'o, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in East Africa: An Evaluation Report", (Dakar: Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa, December, 1978); Mujaju, Akiki B., "Political Science and Political Science Research in Africa", The African Review, IV, 3 (July 1974), pp 339-358.

differ markedly from those in which they originated.² Examination of the process of adaption to a new environment can help to reveal some of the inherent qualities of the institution itself and permit generalizations about the conditions necessary for their sustenance. Social science, like natural science before it, historically has developed at a series of different centres where the conditions have been most favourable over a given period of time. Elsewhere its evolution has been inspired by imitation, competition, rejection or adaption.³ Whatever the main source of motivation, the resulting process involves interplay between factors responsible for bringing social science to the new environment and those forces in the home setting which determine the forms in which it is able to take root. The notions of social science available for export are well known. They constitute the accumulated scholarly inheritance of the industrial world. Equally familiar are the vehicles of transmission--the visiting professors, the students returning home from overseas training, Government importation of prestigious models, and the packages proffered by technical assistance agencies. By contrast we have very little systematic information, at least for Africa, about the internal process of response which decides the forms of social science that emerge, evolve and persist, or indeed about the universities which nourish and accommodate them.⁴

2. The conditions in which intellectual life can exist and grow contribute to a central theme in the writings of Edward Shils. For its application to Third World countries see Shils, Edward The Intellectuals and the Powers. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1972) pp 85-94 and 335-401, and "The Implantation of Universities: Reflections on a Theme of Ashby", Universities Quarterly XXII.2 (March 1968) pp 142-166. The outstanding study of this process with respect to universities remains Ashby, Eric, Universities: British, Indian, African: A Study in the Ecology of Higher Education, Cambridge, Harvard University Press 1966). Especially relevant to the transfer of social science and the concerns of this paper is another exercise in the sociology of research: Streeter Paul "Some Problems in the Use and Transfer of an Intellectual Technology" International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Social Sciences and Development, (Washington 1974) and Eisemon Thomas, "Educational Transfer: The Social Ecology of Educational Change", Teachers College Record CXXVIII 3 February 1975) pp 359-369.

3. Ben-David, Joseph, The Scientists Role in Society: A Comparative Review. (Englewood Cliffs New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1971).

4. There are several studies of university students at African universities but few which concentrate on the university institution itself. One which does is Van den Berghe Pierre, L., Power and Privilege at an African University. (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973). Among those works which do analyse the university in East Africa are Court, David "The Experience of Higher Education in East Africa: the University of Dar es Salaam as a New Model", Comparative Education XI, 3 (Oct. 1975) pp 193-218; Rastad, Svein-Eric, "Issues of University Development in East Africa", (M.A. Thesis University of Nairobi, 1972); Southall Roger, Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa. (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1974).

The second and more topical impetus to considering the state of social science in East Africa stems from its relevance to the current worldwide debate about the role of higher education in national development and the place of social science in this. In the past seven years, increasing disquiet has arisen about the performance of higher education in relation to a view of development which emphasizes mass welfare and the redistribution of resources rather than the advancement of specialized technology and undifferentiated economic growth. Recognition of the urgency of meeting such fundamental human needs as food, health, shelter and cultural autonomy have raised questions about the utility and appropriateness of higher education, about the kinds of social science which are being pursued, and about the social responsibilities of social scientists.⁵

In the context of debate about the future of higher education, the social science activities of universities have been subjected to several contrasting viewpoints. In the first place, social science has been seen actually or potentially as a major means of mitigating the divorce from society and developmental irrelevance for which higher education generally has been castigated. This view stresses the extent to which social science is a universal technology which, with local-specific modifications, can contribute to the understanding of the social conditions necessary for increased productivity, improved public welfare and hence the solution of fundamental problems of underdevelopment.⁶ Set against this view is a critique of social science which has always been associated with its evolution but is now being expressed with new intensity and more strident tone. In the past, critical questions had a reformist inspiration and asked about such issues as the legitimacy of its scientific pretensions, the risks of its cultural specificity and unstated assumptions and the utility of its quantitative formulations. Stimulated by the "dependency" approach to the study of underdevelopment, such questions have taken more radical shape in arguing that in most forms social science has become alienated from local economic and social realities and a commodity monopolized by a few and hence, it is argued, little more than a part of an

5. See for example, Leys, Colin, "The Role of the University in an Underdeveloped Country", Journal of Eastern African Research and Development, 1 (December 1971), pp 29-40.

6. A lucid statement of this position is contained in Coleman, J.S. op. cit.

apparatus of cultural dominance and elite entrenchment.⁷

Both the views which have been crudely summarized treat social science as a means to the achievement of relatively immediate improvements in human well-being. Both, in consequence, present social science as an aid to hard-pressed Governments which are seeking all the actual and symbolic assistance they can find to demonstrate their commitment to the task of development. They differ principally in their assessment of whether material improvements are best achieved through a dispersed, widely accessible knowledge and participatory methods for its acquisition, or whether the specialized quality of the knowledge confines it inevitably to a relatively small number of highly trained practitioners. A third approach does not view a day-to-day concern with practical tasks of development as the proper purpose of social science. Rather, social science is part of the classical function of intellectuals--to reflect on and interpret events and to ask the fundamental questions about society and the rules which govern it.

The distinctions which have just been made are gross over simplifications of complex positions but they do suggest a general context from which to consider the role of social science in East Africa. The tension between the practical and the intellectual conceptions has been a consistent thread in the short history of East African social science. The trend throughout most of this period has been the reorientation of social science from a predominantly individual intellectual enterprise to the service of government and increasingly institutional forms, although very recently as will be shown there are signs of the resurgence of individual scholarship. The history of social science in East Africa is the story of the formation of an academic community under conditions in which the centre of gravity has moved from individuals to government.

7. Among trenchant general critiques are Andreski, Stanislaw, Social Sciences as Sorcery, (New York, St Martin's, 1972) and Blackburn Robin (eds), Ideology in Social Science. (New York, Random House 1972). The issue of intellectual dependency is addressed in a chapter entitled "Cultural Liberation and the Culture of the Educated Class" in Muzui Ali A., Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa, (London Heinemann, 1978), pp 368-379. A brief but particularly pointed expression of the issue is contained in Ochiambao Atieno, "Whose Social Scientist are You?; An Initiation into a Problem of Cultural Dependence", Journal of East African Research and Development, VI. 1 (July 1976), pp. 85-88. The analogy with the natural sciences is made in the introduction to Cooper Charles (eds), Science, Technology and Development: The Political Economy of Technical Advance in Underdeveloped Countries, (London, Frank Cass, 1973), pp 1-18.

Within a framework defined by these considerations, this investigation of the emergence of social science starts from two main assumptions about the diffuse phenomenon which is the object of enquiry. In the first place it assumes that, for all its limitations, social science could be a useful aid for understanding the process of development. Its utility lies in its character as a distinctive means of understanding problems, based on systematic observation and analysis and distinguished from other forms of enquiry by its methodology and standards of verification. At the same time, and secondly, the way in which it develops and the kind of contribution which it is able to make depends upon the influence of its surrounding social conditions. Because in East Africa these conditions differ markedly from those in which social science was indigenous, much can be learned from examining how it has been influenced by these conditions. Viewing social science as a body of knowledge which diffused from certain western centres to East African universities focuses attention on the conditions which have determined the forms of its adaption, persistence and impact.

A number of central questions guide the search for these conditions and their effect: What are the distinctive characteristics of East African social science? How have these changed over time? How is social science organized and supported? Through what channels does it express itself? Who are its producers and consumers? What have been its achievements and limitations? What factors have been most responsible for conditioning the pattern of its emergence, growth and diffusion?

In trying to answer these questions, the paper begins by looking at the history of social science in East Africa, as so much of its present character is only understandable by reference to the manner and timing of its introduction. The paper then summarizes some of the outstanding features of the social science community--its interests, style, organization and quality--and proceeds to a tentative assessment of the general impact of social science. This is followed by an examination of the three relationships which have been especially important in shaping the general pattern of social science activity and in accounting for interesting variations within it--those with government, the university and technical assistance agencies. Finally the analysis is used as the basis for a summary of outstanding issues and a projection of likely future trends in the development of social science in East Africa. There is an attempt throughout to emphasize the influence of changing concepts of development upon social science activity and to draw instructive comparisons between

Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.⁸ While the paper is descriptive the overall purpose is less that of providing a definitive picture of social science endeavour than of understanding the social context in which it exists and of asking which aspects have had most influence on its development.

II. THE ORIGINS OF EAST AFRICAN SOCIAL SCIENCE

The present pattern of social science activity is at one level simply a product of the expansion of higher education. More fundamentally, it reflects the interaction between changing intellectual trends and the pressures and priorities of local conditions. Several important trends are discernible in this historical interaction. In the first place, there has been a steady expansion in the volume of social science work and in the number of East Africans doing it. Imported social science had its origins in the Makerere Institute of Social Research which was founded in 1948 and developed a strong tradition of study in social anthropology associated with the work of Dr Audrey Richards, the late Lloyd Fallers and Professor Aidan Southall. In 1958 the permanent staff of the Institute consisted of nine anthropologists, one sociologist and one economist. In the College itself at this time the disciplines of political science, economics and sociology shared a grand total of eight staff members and were little more than courses in the Department of Social Studies which in turn was part of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences. This apportionment of resources compared with the Department of English, Geography, History and Religious Studies, which had twenty-seven staff positions between them. At this time there were two East African staff members of the Faculty of Arts and Sciences.⁹

The emphatic recognition of social science as distinct from the arts and humanities dates from the foundation of the University of East Africa in 1963. At this time a Faculty of Social Sciences was created consisting of

8. Uganda provides an example of an established institution, Makerere, faced with the degeneration of the political and economic order which surrounds it. Although in the long run it may offer important insights into the conditions of institutional survival the extremity of present disorder and the difficulty of getting information on precisely what remains at Makerere prevents meaningful comparison with the sister institutions. Most of our analysis hence concentrates on social science at the universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

9. Makerere University College, Calendar, 1958. Social science throughout this paper refers to those disciplines concerned with the study of social behaviour and institutions. For the East African universities this means principally the activities of scholars in the departments of economics, sociology, political science, history, geography and the social science research institutes.

separate departments of Economics, Sociology and Political Science and Public Administration, with the East African Institute of Social Research also a constituent department of the Faculty. The organization of corresponding departments at Nairobi and Dar es Salaam set the stage for a development which has resulted in the achievement of a full range of social science departments and research institutes at all three universities. The growth of social science departments in East Africa is summarized in Table 1.

Table 1: THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE FACULTIES AT THE UNIVERSITIES OF NAIROBI AND DAR ES SALAAM 1964-1978

	<u>1964</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1976</u>	<u>1978</u>
<u>University of Nairobi</u>				
Undergraduate enrolment	113	848	460	571
Graduate degrees awarded to Kenyans	--	4	17	28
Social Science staff positions	33	46	102	118
Kenyans in social science staff positions	5	21	50	67
Kenyans as % of social science staff	15%	46%	49%	57%
<u>University of Dar es Salaam</u> ¹				
Undergraduate enrolment	90	955 (586) ²	824 (516) ²	995 (686) ²
Graduate degrees awarded to Tanzanians	--	3	52	61
Social science staff positions	16	107	164	194
Tanzanians in social science staff positions	1	64	79	129
Tanzanians as % of social science staff positions	6%	60%	48%	66%

Source: Annual Reports, Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

Notes: 1. The Faculty of Arts and Social Science at Dar es Salaam includes the Departments of Education and Commerce whereas these are separate Faculties at Nairobi.

2. Excludes the Department of Education.

The list of papers presented to the annual East African Social Science Conference over the period 1959 to 1973 provides an historical picture of the expansion of social science research, the composition of its practitioners and the changes in its concerns and emphases.¹⁰ The expansion is immediately apparent from the relative space devoted to the annual entries. In 1950, for example, ten papers were presented and by 1973 the number had increased to 142. The steady increase in the number of East African scholars contributing to this work is equally evident. In 1963, out of the 55 papers which were presented only one was by an East African author whereas by 1969 32 out of 121 were by local authors and by 1973 the number had risen to almost 100 out of 142.

Accompanying the expansion of social science came, secondly, increasing specialization into disciplines and with it changes in the type of problem studied, with a shift away from anthropological investigations of institutions and practices in very small social units towards the study of broader issues of economic and social topicality on a national and regional scale. This shifting emphasis in the subject matter of social science is also evidenced by the papers presented to the Social Science Conference. In 1950 all ten papers which were presented then described micro-anthropological studies of small ethnic communities. By 1963, Conference papers had become divided into disciplinary sections and since then the most significant trends have been the increase in the numbers devoted to recognized practical problems, a similar expansion of those based on survey research methods, and an expansion of the scope of concern from small communities to issues of national, regional and continental interest. The change in the decade after 1958 can be portrayed by juxtaposing the full list of research papers presented to the Social Science Conference in 1958 against a selected sample of similar size from those presented from different disciplines in 1968.¹¹

Along with the changes in disciplinary approach and subject emphases in the 1960s came, thirdly, an important evolution of its perspective and methods. At the time of the foundation of the University of East Africa the dominant strain of social enquiry reflected the British academic tradition on which the University was based on emphasized the study of history, philosophy and anthropology. This tradition was steadily supplemented and to some extent overshadowed by the "new" social science--rooted in the disciplines of economics sociology and political science--which emphasized theory building as the goal, individual behaviour as the unit of analysis

10. Makerere Institute of Social Research, Institute Publications 1950-1970. (Kampala, Makerere University 1972).

11. Ibid. p. 7 and pp. 17-19.

and quantitative measurement as the form of assessment.¹² The growth of this kind of social science was manifested in the titles of the new courses which appeared in university calendars, the new texts on which they were based and the increasing emphasis upon empirical and usually survey research.

In political science, for example, courses in political development and political sociology appeared and such operating concepts as political culture, political socialization and interest articulation bespoke attention to the relationship between the political order and the attitudes and values of the populace which began to impinge upon the earlier preoccupation with institutions and their forms. The reading materials for these courses drew upon the swelling stream of literature on the politics of developing countries that grew out of the intellectual ferment in American political science and in which the work of David Apter, Gabriel Almond and James Coleman was most prominent in relation to African studies.¹³ The interdependence of empirical research and general theory was a motivating premise for a succession of field studies in East Africa which were carried out mainly by American scholars and graduate students and aimed to apply particular theoretical propositions in a cross cultural setting usually through the means of extensive sample surveys. For example, the Education and Citizenship Project which was inaugurated in 1966 from Makerere involved a survey of 13,000 primary and secondary school students in Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania.¹⁴

The reasons for this shift of emphasis in the content of social science are not hard to identify. Most important was the fact that the expansion of the international programs of American universities brought East Africa into contact with the American social science tradition and approach to higher education. At Makerere, for example, the Fulbright programme of support for visiting professors, the institutional link with the University

12. A deft and scholarly analysis of the intellectual mainsprings of this trend, including a comparison of the British and North American social science traditions in relation to the study of development, is contained in Leys Colin (eds) Political and Change in Developing Countries (Cambridge University Press, 1960) pp 1-12.

13. Apter David E., The Politics of Modernization, (Chicago, University Press, 1965), Almond G.A. and Coleman J.S., The Politics of Developing Areas (Princeton, University Press, 1960).

14. This project is described and some results presented in Prewitt Kenneth, Education and Political Values (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1971). Among other studies which have attempted to apply "political development" paradigms to the East African context are Barkan Joel, An African Dilemma: University Students Development and Politics in Ghana Tanzania and Uganda (Nairobi Oxford University Press 1975) and Hyden Goran, Political Development in Rural Tanzania: A West Lake Study (Nairobi, East African Publishing House, 1969).

of Chicago's Department of Political Science and the programmes supported by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations carried a thin but steady stream of American social scientists to Makerere, and later to Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, and a broader flow of East Africans in the opposite direction for the purpose of overseas graduate training. The Rockefeller Foundation was the largest single source of American support for the development of university social science. In the decade 1963-1973, that Foundation contributed \$10,000,000 in grants to social science departments at the three universities and, in addition, provided 85 scholarships for East Africans to pursue Ph.D study in a social science subject overseas and made it possible for the universities to recruit 167 visiting social science professors during this same period.¹⁵ Coterminous with the impact of American social science was the growing influence of empirical approaches at British universities—particularly those founded in the expansion of higher education taking place in the 1960s—which continued to be the largest single source of university teachers in East Africa.

A central fact accounting for the enthusiasm with which the University of East Africa embraced the "new" social science was the belief of both its local and external promoters that it offered the prospect of a body of knowledge which was relevant to understanding the issue of national development with which the newly independent nations were heavily concerned. Thus, a fourth important historical trend in the development of social science has been its justification from the outset in terms of its perceived utility for understanding and solving problems of development. For example, at the Como Conference in 1968 which brought together representatives of the East African governments, the University and donor agencies—and in many ways charted the early course of development for the University—the case for social science was stated in these terms:

All the Colleges regard research in the social science as of special importance, for three main reasons: its value in making available information essential to economic development; its indispensability for "Africanising" the content of undergraduate social science teaching; and its contribution to establishing a strong awareness of the richness of African life and culture.¹⁶

15. Court David, Rockefeller Foundation Assistance to Higher Education in East Africa 1963-1973: An Evaluation (New York, The Rockefeller Foundation 1974)

16. Report of a Conference on the University of East Africa, held at the Villa Serbelloni, Bellagio, Italy, October 21-25, 1963, (Mimeograph, 1963).

Two years later the Makerere Annual Report stated the case even more directly:

Lying somewhere between what has been termed the two cultures, that of the technology of sciences and the arts, is a third culture, the social sciences. Often this is not recognized for what among other things, it is--the instrumental basis of government, administration and development planning.¹⁷

Echoing this emphasis the succinctly stated objective of the Social Science Council of Eastern Africa, which in 1966 took over the annual social science conference, was to "promote the application of the social sciences to concrete problems of the social and economic development of Eastern Africa".¹⁸ Again in 1969 a memorandum urging the importance of continued regional collaboration in the social sciences went out of its way to stress the practical utility of social science by drawing on a lucid and forceful statement of the case for applied research.

The social sciences can thus be seen as an instrument of both knowledge and action, not only for the daily management of society but for the preparation of long-term policies. Oriented to the needs of society and particularly to the demands of decision making bodies, the social sciences provide the information necessary for better understanding of the conditions, implications and objectives of necessary adjustments and interventions-- they furnish, in other words the indispensable elements for more discriminating and coherent courses of collective action.¹⁹

The most direct and substantial outcome of the utilitarian rationale for social science was the establishment of applied social science research centres. The forerunner was the Makerere Institute of Social Research which succeeded the earlier East African Institute of Social Research in 1965. This was followed by the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Nairobi and the Economic Research Bureau in the same year and the Bureau of Resource Assessment and Land Use Planning at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1967. The work and impact of these centres are described later. The expressed need to which these units responded was for organized and policy relevant research on urgent economic and social problems of national development. These objectives were stated thus by the Principal of the University College of Dar es Salaam at the time of the creation of the Economic Research Bureau:

17. Annual Report. Makerere University College, 1965.

18. Draft Constitution of the Social Science Council of East Africa (mimeograph 1969).

19. Draft Memorandum on Continued East Africa Regional Collaboration in Research and Training in the Social Sciences (mimeograph 1969).

To develop research activities in the subject in order to push further the knowledge of general economic questions of developing countries and to link the teaching of economics as closely as possible to East Africa and to assist in the solution of current economic problems of Government and business in Tanzania.²⁰

While the utilitarian view of social science remains paramount, different trends are evident which although not always mutually consistent suggest a new phase. These trends reflect above all else shifts in global thinking about the character of development itself. They have been stimulated by the extent to which failures of the predicted development process in the past twenty years have led some scholars to look beyond the modernization paradigms which have dominated the study of development. The main common feature of the new thinking is an emphasis on the relationship between development problems and characteristics of the national and international social structure.²¹ This has led to concentrated interest in the historical antecedents of present structures and the popularity of political economy and Marxist frameworks of analysis. The writings of Samir Amin have been particularly influential in reflecting and reinforcing this trend and within East Africa the work of Justinian Rweyemamu, Lionel Cliffe, Colin Leys and John Saul has had a complementary impact, while Walter Rodney's book, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa, is probably the single most widely read book in introductory social science courses.²²

III. THE SOCIAL SCIENCE COMMUNITY

Assessment of the quality and achievement of social science in East Africa is a particularly subjective venture. To be complete it requires a detailed content analysis of a wide range of work, a set of defensible assumptions about what the object of social science ought to be, a model of the process whereby knowledge is translated into action and some precise criteria for deciding ways in which applied knowledge has made a difference. Such a task is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is

20. Letter from the Principal of the University College Dar es Salaam 1965.

21. A comprehensive summary of this intellectual movement and its relationship to economic trends is presented in the report of the First Inter-regional Meeting on Development, Research Communication and Education: Organization for Economic Cooperative and Development, The Development of Development Thinking, (Paris, O.E.C.D. 1976) See for example: Amin Samir Accumulation on a World Scale (New York, Monthly Review Press 1973).

22. Rweyemamu, Justinian, Underdevelopment and Industrialization in Tanzania: A Study of Perverse Capitalist Industrial Development (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1973); Cliffe Lionel and Saul John, Socialism in Tanzania (Nairobi East African Publishing House 1972); Leys, Colin, Underdevelopment in Kenya: The Political Economy of Neocolonialism, (London, Heinemann 1975); Rodney Walter, How Europe Underdeveloped Africa (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania Publishing House 1972)

possible to identify some of the most evident characteristics of the social science community and to suggest what have been some of its general achievements and problems.

Structure

East African social scientists can be divided into two main groups: those who hold positions in the social science departments and research institutes of the universities and those in the civil service and private sector who graduated from university social science departments. It is difficult to estimate the precise size of this latter group but an indication can be gained from the figures for those graduating from social science departments. For example, in 1978 one hundred and eighty five students graduated from the University of Nairobi with a social science undergraduate degree and the corresponding figure for the University of Dar es Salaam was 184.²³ In the same year 94 full-time students and 21 part-time students were registered for an MA degree in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Nairobi. 13 percent of those completing an undergraduate social science degree at Nairobi concentrated their study in a single subject for the last two years of the three-year degree (the so-called 3:1:1 degree) and for most this concentration involved a third-year thesis. This is the group who are expected to obtain a high quality degree and provide the pool for postgraduate training and preferential selection into the civil service. The importance of this wider group of social science graduates outside the University is that they constitute the informed public opinion and potentially supportive constituency for social science. Their contribution depends upon the manner in which they support and reflect social science in their work and in the extent to which they draw upon university social science. A latter section identifies some of the channels of communication and interaction between those inside and those outside the university, but the social science community to which we refer here is that which is located in the universities.

The most visible achievement of East African social science has been the expansion and Africanization of social science departments. They have in the space of ten years developed from small expatriate-dominated enclaves into major university departments with a fragmentary expatriate component. The scope and pace of this expansion and changing composition are summarized in Table 1. Despite the impressive expansion one of the most notable

23. Sources: University of Nairobi, "Summary of Undergraduate Student Population", (mimeograph, November 1978) and "Postgraduate Nominal Roll 1978/79 Academic Year", (mimeograph October 1978); University of Dar es Salaam, "Students Nominal Roll" (mimeograph, August 1978).

features of this university social science community is its small size. East African social scientists at the three universities number less than two hundred. Virtually all of this number complete their BA degree within East Africa—and for the established first generation this was Makerere followed by an overseas Ph.D. Of those on the staff of the social science departments at the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1979, approximately 50 percent received their postgraduate training in the United States, 20 percent in Britain, a similar proportion at one of the East African universities and the remainder elsewhere.²⁴

The prime unit of teaching and administration is the discipline-based department which is grouped with others in a Faculty of Arts and Social Science directed by a Dean. The degree structure is specialized. At Nairobi, for example, students study three subjects in the first year and either two or one for the remaining two years. The University of Dar es Salaam has a more complex structure which is organized on the basis of vocational streams and includes a compulsory course throughout the three years in "Development Studies", but this still results in a more specialized programme of study than exists, for example, in most American undergraduate degrees.²⁵ The most important feature of departmental organization is the concentration of administrative authority and responsibility in the person of the Head of Department. With a position of the University Senate, control over research patronage and teaching allocations, and a determining voice in appointments and promotions, the Department Head dispenses valued resources and embodies significant authority. While the style of individual chairmen differs in terms of willingness to delegate responsibility and engage in consultation, the hierarchical structure of the University administration and the prevailing chain of command ethos have tended to reinforce this system of personalized authority. There are few signs of the emergence of the contrasting pattern of departmental organization in which responsibilities including those of departmental leadership are distributed and rotate among a number of members of the Department.²⁶ The University of Dar es Salaam has moved away from the British model of a

24. Source: Calendars for the academic year 1978/79 for the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam.

25. This structure is described in The University of Dar es Salaam Calendar, 1978/79, pp. 96-99.

26. In contrasting a chairman-based form of organization with a departmental type Clerk describes the former as "the most important systematic source of personal authority in systems of higher education", Clark Burton R., "Academic Differentiation in National Systems of Higher Education", Comparative Education Review, XXII 2 (June, 1978), p 245.

single Professor who is automatically Head of the Department and in the past has had departments containing more than one professor. Both the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam have departments where the Head is not a full professor and both have adopted the American practice of associate professorships with several such positions in each department. Nevertheless the picture of staff positions is a relatively hierarchical one. Combining all Departments in the Faculty of Arts and Social Science at the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam we find that in 1979, for example, the academic positions were divided in the following pattern:

	Nairobi	Dar es Salaam
Professors	4	2
Associate Professors	4	6
Senior Lecturers	15	12
Lecturers	32	30
Assistant Lecturers	11	42
Tutorial Fellows	10	15
	<hr/>	<hr/>
TOTAL	76	107

Diversified roles

Social science is probably a less exclusive vocation for most of its East African practitioners than it is say in Europe or America. This is because social scientists are subject to a variety of obligations which are just as demanding as the social science role. Among these demands are the financial responsibilities to family and community which stem from educated status, the obligations of the educated citizen to put his talents at the service of government, and the demands from various non-governmental agencies for consultative services. There are sharp differences between Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in the way in which these obligations apply, but their effect upon social scientists is similar in the two places. They produce a situation where social scientists are simultaneously engaged in a variety of different activities and where few see themselves as necessarily working in university-based social science for life.

A private economic role is prohibited for faculty members at the University of Dar es Salaam and is fairly universal at Nairobi where social scientists are engaged in an exotic range of commercial ventures including the ownership of hotels, bars, abattoirs, ranches and consulting companies! By contrast, direct participation in government planning—beyond that made through teaching and research—is more pronounced at Dar es Salaam than at

Nairobi. But in both places the Heads of social science departments and research institutes were all, with one exception, members of at least two government committees or working groups in 1978. In both countries university staff members have varying degrees of obligation to their wider family and home community which is made more arduous by virtue of their educational status and national prominence. This is probably more intrusive in Kenya than in Tanzania because the individual has relatively greater resources for disposal and because the idea of individual financial contributions to collective self-help is a more prominent feature of the political culture. Thus many faculty members of the University of Nairobi are involved in the management, organization and financing of self-help projects, especially the development of schools, in their home areas.²⁷

In addition to their direct service to government, social scientists are in demand as consultants to projects of various commercial and international agencies. The relatively small pool of social scientists, and the increasing demand from international agencies that projects make use of local as well as imported expertise, means that social scientists tend to be requested to provide advice across a wider functional area than their counterparts elsewhere. The result at the university is a tendency towards the dispersion of interests and attachments. For example, included among the published work of the longest standing member of the Political Science Department at the University of Nairobi are a diversity of topics ranging from the role of women in rural development to technical education, East African literature and political theory, and present work includes a large scale study of arid land agriculture for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

A by-product of the opportunity for diversified experience within the university is a corresponding widening of scope for work outside the university. Movement by social scientists out of the university into other spheres of activity has been a steady trend. For example, of the East African social scientists on the staff of the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam in 1973, 30 percent are now working outside the university.

27. This kind of role is described in Godfrey, E. Martin and Mutiso, Cyrus G., "The Political Economy of Self Help: Kenya's Harambee Institutes of Technology", Court, D. and Ghai, D.P., (eds) Education, Society and Development: New Perspectives from Kenya. (Nairobi, Oxford University Press, 1974), pp. 243-274.

Among different types of social scientist economists have displayed the most rapid turnover and this can be illustrated by looking at what has happened to those who obtained a Ph.D. degree in Economics at an overseas university on a Rockefeller Foundation scholarship in the period 1963-77. This group, numbering 40, contains a high proportion of the most outstanding undergraduate economists of the past 13 years who were selected by the university as prospective members of staff. Of this highly selective group, only eight or 20 percent are still working in a university.²⁸ The explanation lies in the scarcity value of economists although it is interesting that the attrition rate is similar for all three universities despite very different structures of alternative opportunity. The Ugandan academic economists have left their country as well as their university and are mostly to be found in international agencies. In Kenya, their scarcity value in a capitalist economy has enabled economists to seek positions with salaries which the university cannot match, while in Tanzania where salaries are standardized throughout a public sector which includes the university and where few opportunities for private employment exist, university economists tend to have been seconded into Government planning positions.

Regional identity

Despite the well-publicized differences between the three East African countries at the present time, social scientists retain a strong sense of regional identity. It is based on the fact that many staff members of the social science departments share the common background of a first degree at Makerere during the days of the University of East Africa. This sense has been heightened by the diaspora of Ugandan social scientists occasioned by political events in Uganda which has led many to positions in departments at the other two universities. For example, in 1979 at the University of Nairobi four members of the Department of Sociology and five members of the Department of Government were Ugandan "refugees". Others have gone to the Universities of Dar es Salaam, Zambia and several universities in Nigeria.

The Social Science Conference which had been a most effective stimulus and means of regional social science communication succumbed in 1975 as a result of the strains being experienced within the East African Community

28. Court, "Scholarships and University Development: Some East African Issues", Higher Education, VIII 3 (September 1979).

which led to the demise of the Community two years later. The two immediate reasons for the end of the annual conference were the political instability in Uganda including the destruction of Makerere as a serious centre of learning and the increasing divergence in political outlook, and consequent mutual suspicion, which developed between Kenya and Tanzania. The result was a severe curtailment of academic discourse between social scientists of the three countries. There are, however, a number of residual ways in which communication is maintained in particular between Kenya and Tanzania and the wider region of East, Central and Southern Africa. One means has been through the practice of exchanging external examiners for the degree examinations. A second important means has been through a group known as the East African Social Science Consultative Group. This group was formed in 1974 by young social scientists who were aggrieved at the extent to which conference and research opportunities were dominated by the elder statesmen of the profession—the department chairmen—who controlled the executive positions of the then existing East African Social Science Council which organized the annual conferences which have been referred to. Since then, with financial support from the Ford Foundation, a small group of young scholars from the region have met periodically for the purpose of presenting scholarly papers or discussing particular themes. Because of the demise of the earlier Social Science Council and its annual conference, the Consultative Group has paradoxically, in view of its origins, developed into the main established channel of regional social science communication. More recently, a new organization has emerged under the title of the South African Universities Social Science Council which has a wider geographical scope and more exclusive intellectual focus than its predecessor organization. The titles of the two conferences which it has so far planned, "The Politics and Liberation of Southern Africa" and "Imperialism and Class Struggle in Africa", are indicative of the increased importance of political economy as a central concern of East African social scientists.

The vitality of the indigenous social science community and its ability to reproduce itself can be gauged by looking at several factors. Among the most relevant indicators are the volume and quality of research, the innovativeness of teaching, evidence of commitment to graduate education, and the ability of university-based social science to recruit into its midst the most able of its products.

Research

The most visible sign of health within East African social science is the steady increase in research and writing on East Africa and the associated increase in the proportion of this work being done by East African scholars. The beginning of this trend was noted in reference to the papers presented to the East African Universities Social Science Conference. In the past five years it has intensified. Virtually all members of social science departments at the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam report a current involvement in at least one research or writing project and slightly more than half are involved in more than one. This work surfaces in papers for departmental seminars and in locally published books and journals. Killick has calculated that the volume of literature on the East African economies is growing at the rate of 80-100 new publications each year.²⁹ A similar trend for other spheres of intellectual activity seems likely. In 1976, for example, ten books reporting research work carried out by members of the Department of Sociology at the University of Nairobi were published commercially in Nairobi.³⁰

Yet despite the steady increase in East African authorship, it is still the case that non-Africans predominate in the production of research. The balance is more uneven for some topics than others. Killick's bibliography of work on the East African economies, for example, cites 639 authors of whom only 84 or 13 percent are East Africans.³¹ The changing trend is evident in the fact that whereas in 1963 only one of the 50 publications which appeared was by an East African, the ratio had risen to 23 out of 92 for the entries in 1975. Although similarly precise information is not available for other fields it is evident that fields such as sociology and political science have developed to the point where East African authors dominate local work numerically and increasingly rely almost as much on each other in citation as they do on outsiders.

Without the benefit of a systematic bibliography of all social science research done in East Africa it is difficult to make valid generalizations which explain the particular choice of topics as the composition of the research output. Nevertheless, several points can be made with some confidence. It is evident to any observer of social science activity in East Africa that the intellectual concerns of most scholars centre around issues of development. An examination of the tangible output of East

29. Killick, Anthony J. op. cit. p. 2

30. University of Nairobi, Annual Report 1975-76, p. 62.

31. Killick, Anthony J., op.cit., p.4.

African social science—the books, reports, articles and papers produced—reveals very few titles, less than 30 percent, which do not claim to be addressing an issue of topical interest and widely recognized and usually rural relevance.³² In general terms, it is clear that a desire to respond to East African needs with information in problem areas is a principal motivating factor in the choice of research topics. Within this general stimulus several levels of response can be distinguished. Approximately 50 percent of all current social science research and virtually all research in the applied social science institutes—which is not for a degree—aims to provide information and recommendations on a specific topic in response to requests from government and other technical assistance agencies. A second type aims not at making explicit recommendations in response to a contractual demand but rather at delineating the context in which policy has to be implemented and the conditions which it has to take into account. This kind of opportunity, for working in a relatively open-ended manner within a given policy area, is made possible by the interest of technical assistance agencies in supporting research in broadly circumscribed problem areas. Examples here include the joint Ford-Rockefeller Foundations programme for research into the relationship between population and development, the Ford Foundation interest in promoting research on issues relating to roles and opportunities for women, the Rockefeller Foundation's interest in research on educational policy, the Swedish Development Agency's interest in research into "equity", the Danish Development Agency's concern with rural industrialization, and so forth. These types of opportunity permit much more scope than the first for the exercise of academic interest as a motivating factor, but they tend to have the disadvantage of deadlines which constrain the level of analysis which is possible. A third type of research is that which is inspired entirely by individual scholarly interest and a concern for academic respectability. This type is not inevitably inconsistent with socially relevant research, but it can be, and it therefore tends to rely primarily on university sources for its support although the American Foundations have supported some of this kind. In addition to responsiveness to prescribed need, academic respectability and the availability of funds, sheer convenience is an important factor determining the choice of research

32. Sources: Institute for Development Studies, Research and Publications, (University of Nairobi, 1970-1978); Economic Research Bureau, Annual Report, (University of Dar es Salaam, 1970-1978); Makerere Institute of Social Research, Institute Publications, (Makerere University, 1973) and publication lists of Heinemann Oxford University Press, East African Publishing House and East African Literature Bureau.

topic. Researchers inevitably choose topics which are manageable within available time and resources and this has led for example to extensive reliance on questionnaires and surveys as opposed to more intensive approaches using interviews or participant observation. Similarly, Killick cites the bias in fiscal studies towards topics on local government finance as evidence of the same tendency to adopt topics which are manageable but not necessarily significant.³³

Explanations for the expansion of social science research can be found in the extent of demand for it and the corresponding provision of facilities. There are three main sources of demand for social science. In the first place is an increasingly well-established belief among the intelligentsia that social science can convey knowledge and understanding relevant to the task of national development whether the desirable outcome be seen as a problem solving orientation and "modern" dispositions or a Marxist framework of analysis. While it cannot be demonstrated that social science is the best vehicle for conveying either type or, if it does contribute a particular outlook, that this has any practical use it is widely believed that it does provide "relevant training" and is hence an appropriate activity for universities.³⁴

Secondly, as the Governments have become increasingly involved in planning they have needed information about the society being planned. Their desire for information has expressed itself in requests to university research institutes and departments, in the formation of commissions of enquiry and in the expansion and intensified work of official statistical agencies. Several Government reports in recent years have been major undertakings of research and synthesis and have substantially augmented our knowledge of East African society. Notable examples are the Report of the Training Review Committee in Kenya and the Report of the Management Training Study in Tanzania.³⁵ Statistical agencies provide analyses of important

33. Killick, Anthony J., op. cit., p. 5.

34. Warren Illichman makes this general point with reference to universities in South East Asia when he suggests that "... In Southeast Asia and elsewhere, education in the social sciences, especially though not exclusively in economics, is the modern equivalent of what classics and history did for the education of 19th and early 20th century elites and would-be elites in public and organizational affairs", Illichman, Warren, "Social Sciences and the Universities in Southeast Asia", (New York, Ford Foundation, mimeograph, 1978).

35. Republic of Kenya, Report of the Training Review Committee, (The Wamalwa Commission) (Nairobi, Government Printer, 1973); Republic of Tanzania, Report of the Management Training Study. (Dar es Salaam, Ministry of Cooperative, 1975).

issues which complement their regular statistical compilations. A prominent example is the periodical "Social Perspectives" which is published by the Kenyan Central Bureau of Statistics and provides an analytical digest on a succession of topics of social interest, and the Annual Manpower Report to the President of Tanzania is a parallel example. In similar fashion, international agencies constitute a source of demand for research. Anxious that advice and expenditure should be informed and relevant they tend to precede projects with feasibility studies and follow them with evaluations which sometimes involve quite elaborate research exercises. A regular source of this kind of work is the World Bank, and the International Labour Organization's study, Employment, Incomes and Equality in Kenya not only became an important work of synthesis and reference on its own but, because of its interpretive stance, has stimulated much further work by social scientists on the question of informal sector economics and education.³⁶

These demands for research have stimulated the creation of facilities for its provision. The universities have been prominent in encouraging research and in creating, in the applied research institutes already referred to, special institutions specifically to promote social science research. These institutes account for over half the research on economic and social issues on East Africa in the past fifteen years.

At a general level the steady of publications from the research institutes has supplied government and the university with a sizeable volume of material on economic and social problems. More specifically, the research centres have performed a variety of specific research and evaluation tasks at the request of Government and international agencies. For example, the following titles of projects from these carried out by members of the Institute for Development Studies in 1978 provide an indication of the nature and sponsorship of such work:³⁷

"Evaluation of the Foot and Mouth Disease Control Programme in Kajiado and Narok Districts"—the Veterinary Department, Ministry of Agriculture

"The Demand for Energy in the Modern Sector of the Kenyan Economy"—the National Council of Science and Technology

36. International Labour Office, Employment Incomes and Equality: A Strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, (Geneva, International Labour Office, 1972).

37. Institute for Development Studies, "Agenda for Academic Board Meeting, 12", (October 16, 1978).

"Repayment rates for loans for low-cost housing"--Nairobi City Council

"The Efficiency of Maize Marketing with special reference to the monopoly position of the Maize and Produce Board"--Ministry of Agriculture

"Guidelines for Donor Agencies considering support to projects in arid and semi-arid areas of Kenya"--Ministry of Economic Planning.

In addition to carrying out research, social scientists serve on a variety of Government committees. Three members of the Institute for Development Studies for example were consultants to the National Committee on Educational Objectives and Policies which met over an 18-month period before completing in 1976 a report designed to chart the future of Kenyan education during the next ten years.³⁸ Perhaps more important than formal roles for spreading an awareness of social science has been the extensive informal interaction through memoranda, personal communication and joint participation which characterizes the relationship between some social scientists and the staff of Government ministries.

The contribution of the research units to the academic departments has occurred through the courses taught in the departments, other service courses in research methodology and the preparation of teaching materials. Perhaps most important of all have been the development of a research infrastructure of middle level professional skills--research assistants, data processors, research documentalists and a social science library. Incorporating a staff of different backgrounds they have maintained and demonstrated the multi-disciplinary ideal, have managed national, regional and international conferences, and in short have demonstrated intellectual energy.

The universities have developed institutional mechanisms for funding research. At the University of Nairobi, this is centralized through the Deans Committee and at Dar es Salaam it is handled through a committee of the Faculty. Similar trends are evident outside the University. For example, both Kenya and Tanzania now have a National Scientific Research Council,

38. Republic of Kenya, Report of the National Committee on Educational Policies and Objectives. (Nairobi, Government Printer, 1976).

established in 1977 and 1971, to coordinate research and lay down priorities. As the volume of research has expanded, procedures for granting official clearance have been systematized in a Committee of the Office of the President and although delays, especially for foreign researchers, are not uncommon the system is a clear and efficient one and, most notably in Kenya has in the African context been remarkably hospitable to research of all kinds.

Perhaps the most influential stimulus to research has been the relatively extensive opportunities for publication. While the research institutes and several departments have their own series of research papers which appear in mimeographed form the opportunity for more formal publication has been provided by the active role of two locally-based publishing houses and two branches of international publishing firms in publishing social science work. These are Oxford University Press, Heinemann, the East African Literature Bureau and the East African Publishing House. The publication lists of these houses since 1970 reveal a sizeable output of social science work and account for the bulk of published social science writing in East Africa. Equally if not more important has been the expansion of social science journals specializing in the East African region. In 1978, 34 social science journals were published in East Africa.³⁹ In terms of subject matter these journals can be classified as follows:

Type of journal	Number
Archaeology, Culture & History	8
Sociology	5
Economics and Statistics	4
Political Science	4
Public Administration & Management	3
Agriculture & Rural Development	2
Philosophy and Religion	2
Geography	2
Education	2
Linguistics	1
Science and Technology	1
	<hr/> 34

39. This table and several of the facts on publications in this section come from Laquian, Aprodocio and Eleanor, "Social Science Journals in East Africa", (Nairobi, International Development Research Centre, mimeograph, 1978). Permission to cite them is gratefully acknowledged.

A number of these journals are official organs of regional or national social science organizations but they are published through the efforts of university-based social scientists under the responsibility of an editor who in almost all cases is an academician. The expansion of journals is evident in the fact that out of the 34, eight have a history starting before 1965, 11 emerged in the period 1966-1970 and 15 have been created since 1971. These journals have a limited circulation as half of them print less than 1,000 copies an issue and only two print more than 2,000.

The relatively large number of journals in East has been made possible by the dominant contribution of the East African Literature Bureau which was mandated by the former East African Community to publish journals and books on East African topics. Unconstrained by commercial considerations, its great virtue was its ability to publish manuscripts rapidly, although in so doing it sometimes showed limited concern for quality in either selection or editing. It published over half the total number of social science journals and with some individual variation this required an annual subsidy to each journal of approximately \$3,000. Of the other journals four have been assisted by single grants from international agencies—the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization—some receive regular support from their sponsoring association and the remainder have to survive on subscriptions and university subventions.

The abundance of publishing outlets created the happy situation where most significant writing could find a publisher. Although the problem was less that of finding materials than of establishing and maintaining quality, the important effect of this publishing outlet was to rapidly increase the number of East African authored publications and to demonstrate that if the facilities were available scholarship would be forthcoming. Although the demise of the East African Community has jeopardized the future of several journals, the initial stimulus to productivity which it provided has been important and is likely through its successor national institutions to find expression in improved quality.

Teaching and Graduate Study

In addition to research productivity a second measure of the strength of social science is the vitality of its undergraduate and graduate teaching. The belief referred to earlier in social science as an indispensable part of university education has found expression in two different purposes. Some see the principal purpose of social science teaching as that of

familiarizing students with the methods of research production and consumption. Others emphasize the importance of social science as a vehicle for general education and the transmission of certain types of knowledge and a particular way of viewing the world. The methodology courses which are a staple of each social science department clearly aim at the first purpose. Two variations on this familiar approach have been tried in East Africa. The first and most popular has been the so-called "teaching through research programme" which enables selected undergraduates to gain experience of research in a supervised project during the long vacation and is now a common feature of social science teaching at both Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. The provision of opportunity for students to engage in research on their own environment aims to deepen their knowledge of society and its problems and has, through the resulting written reports, substantially enlarged the body of empirical research material available for the use of future undergraduates. The broader importance of this emphasis is that successive generations of students who will not necessarily go on to graduate research or an academic career, but will be involved in planning, will have gained an appreciation of research through experience in how to collect and analyze data, read tables, distinguish valid from invalid assertions and understand the limits as well as the potentialities of various types of research. As future policy makers, they should know what the university is capable of providing and as part of the research literate community they may be able to make intelligent demands for its provision.

A second innovation was the development at the University of Dar es Salaam of a common course in methodology which was taken by all social science students. The aim was to develop an integrated social science methodology which draws on common elements from the main disciplines and was not broken up into a series of disparate approaches. Social science in this course was treated less as a narrow discipline-based technology and more as a way of approaching problems and organizing data. However, despite its apparent logic, the course never succeeded in elevating itself above the independent desire of separate departments to control their own methodology courses and they have now reasserted control over this activity.

In Kenya, a functional and research-oriented treatment of social science has predominated in teaching. While it is also strong in Dar es Salaam, it has been supplemented there by an attempt to use it for a more general educational purpose and for developing and diffusing a stance towards society. This is evident in the common framework of first-year geography, history, sociology and economics and was most notable in the "East African Societies and Environment" course which until recently was

taken by all social science students throughout the period of their stay at the University. This course, and its successor "Development Studies" course, aim to stimulate understanding of the nature of underdevelopment in Tanzania, of the potential role of science and technology and to consider socialist strategies for surmounting underdevelopment. More generally, it has attempted to encourage non-discipline-based modes of analysis of the problems which made up the content of the course. It has been described as 'one of the very few instances of successful (or relatively successful) experiments in African universities to create areas of knowledge and methods of acquiring knowledge that are both indigenously relevant and interdisciplinary'.⁴⁰

At both Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, social science has made a significant contribution to the stock of teaching materials on local conditions and issues. A comparison of the reading lists for any social science course five years ago and today reveals the magnitude of this change. Five years ago East African authors were few and far between on these lists whereas today for many course they form the majority of prescribed texts.

Graduate education

The development of graduate education is a further important feature of the growth of social science training and this growth is summarized in Table 1. From their inception, social science departments have offered MA and Ph.D. degrees but these degrees were based exclusively on a thesis and tended to be taken largely by non-Africans. The important change was the emergence of MA degrees based on coursework. At the University of Nairobi, for example, the first two-year course work-based degrees were created in Economics and Sociology in 1973 and at Dar es Salaam similar degrees emerged at about the same time in Political Science, Economics and Education. No Department yet has a course-based Ph.D. programme but most now have several East Africans each year doing a dissertation-based degree at this level.

Several sources of demand have accounted for the growth of graduate education. The most influential has been the demand from Government ministries for training programmes which are more advanced than those

40. Tandon, Yashpal, "Status Report on the Third Year Faculty Course: East African Societies and Environment", (University of Dar es Salaam, Faculty of Arts and Social Science, mimeograph, 1974), p. 2.

provided at the undergraduate level and can provide courses of an applied and professionally specific quality. Demand of this type has been notable in the establishment and maintenance of the MA programmes in Economic at Nairobi and Education at Dar es Salaam and in the emphasis on social work in the graduate offerings of sociology and on management and administration in political science. In these cases, Government representatives participated in the formation of the programmes, and the relevant Ministries send students to the courses, provide Fellowships to make this possible and provide an incentive by way of salary increment for successful attainment of the degree offered.

A second source of demand has come from staff development programmes of the university itself where the aim has been for MA training for prospective members of the academic staff which will serve to root their interest in local issues and at the same time upgrade their academic skill in preparation for Ph.D work overseas and serve as a screening device for the University. In general, because of the desirability of overseas training, the universities have been able each year to recruit their most able graduates into their own staff development training programmes.

A third impetus to the development of graduate education has been the desire of university departments and technical assistance agencies to create programmes which could attract a regional clientele. The experience of such attempts has been mixed. The earliest and most ephemeral attempt was the MA programme in African Studies at Makerere which aimed to provide a cross-disciplinary course-based programme in which students took Africa-related courses in several departments simultaneously. Its most conspicuous international quality was provided by the cosmopolitan origins of the wives of the visiting professors who formed its student core. It foundered on its self-evidently alien inspiration, its consequent failure to attract East African students and the desire of departments to teach single subject degrees, and was abolished three years after its inception. Part of the conception of the MA programme in Economics at Nairobi was the idea of a regional centre of excellence, but the programme has not been able to attract students from the wider region. This is mainly because neighbouring Governments want a national rather than a regional framework for the teaching of applied economics at the MA level and are particularly suspicious of the Kenyan brand. However, one regional programme which has been successful in attracting a continent-wide group of students has been the one-year Diplomat Training Programme at the University of Nairobi, and the critical feature accounting for this would seem to be the particular comparative advantage which Nairobi offers for the training of diplomats because of its international character and the large number of agencies and embassies which are represented in the city. The MA in Political Science at Dar es Salaam was similarly successful in the scope of its recruiting

and the important elements accounting for this were the emphasis on development administration coupled with the widespread interest engendered by Tanzania's style of development and the presence of several outstanding professors in the department.

A further more general type of demand for graduate education is not tied to any of the vocational purposes just mentioned and sees graduate teaching as the essential function of a mature university and as a means to the creation of a literate social science community.

These different purposes do not apply equally strongly to all social science departments and within a given graduate programme have not always coexisted in equal proportions. The relatively greater strength of the Government demand is evident in the fact that the strongest graduate programmes are those which amount to service courses--e.g., in Economics and Education--for which the majority of students are civil servants seconded to the course and paid for by Government.

Graduate programmes require a minimum size and flexibility in course offerings if they are to achieve several of the identified purposes at the same time. In this connection, Economics at Nairobi and Political Science at Dar es Salaam had been relatively more successful than other disciplines in providing a sufficient range of courses to meet the applied needs of those seconded from Government as well as the more academic needs of those who plan to proceed to PhD work. Because of the difficulties which other departments face in mounting individual graduate programmes in order to accommodate the different purposes described demand has arisen from young social scientists at the University of Nairobi for coordinated graduate teaching on a Faculty basis. It remains to be seen how far this will get in practice but it seems likely to suffer a similar fate to the MA in African Studies at Makerere and to be resisted by individual department heads concerned to maintain their own disciplinary emphasis.

IV ISSUES AND CLEAVAGES WITHIN THE SOCIAL SCIENCE COMMUNITY

The foregoing application of conventional indices of scholarly commitment--publications, conference participation, involvement in the development of graduate programmes--suggests an impressive volume of social science activity. At the same time, important issues face the social science community and provide an indication of the way social science is likely to evolve.

Research versus Teaching

A recurrent theme at each university has been the tension between the social science research institute and the teaching departments. The relative freedom and access to funds of those in research institutes and their relatively light teaching obligations have aroused the envy of more heavily burdened colleagues in teaching departments. The desire for ever greater degrees of financial and academic autonomy by the research institutes has run up against the preference of the university administration for centralized control and uniform procedures. Discipline-based departments are part of the familiar inherited pattern; multi-disciplinary research centres are not. The debate over whether social science research should be based in an academic discipline, and therefore be located in a teaching department, or should be concentrated in a multi-disciplinary research institute has been a perennial one at all three universities. It was the failure to find a satisfactory formula for reconciling the different interests of research and teaching staff which was primarily responsible for the demise of the Makerere Institute for Social Research. At the same time, the views of some academics that much of the work done by the research institutes has no legitimate place within a serious university contrast with the view of some Government officials that the same work is excessively academic in conception and form. Such divergent views leave the research institutes with a narrow path to follow in trying to satisfy the two constituencies to which they relate.

The increasing influence of government upon social science work has raised the issue of the dual constituency in slightly different form insofar as it concerns the appropriate institutional model for the organization of research. The model in the early years of social science research was one of assembling a collection of able scholars and permitting their interests and assessments to define the research programme. As East African leadership emerged and the universities and governments began to specify their research needs and priorities with greater clarity a different and opposite model began to emerge in which the centrally prescribed research programme was used to define who was recruited rather than vice versa. A problem created by this change of emphasis was that most scholars were ill-equipped by virtue of their academic training to meet this kind of demand. The intellectual concerns and normative principles provided by academic training in major universities in the United States and Europe did not always fit the scholar, whether foreign or East African, for responding easily to the demand for policy-oriented research within a defined programme. Most such training had as its

objective to foster understanding of the scientific basis of a defined discipline and of research which advanced knowledge within it. At the same time, it encouraged a belief in academic autonomy which made the scholar uncomfortable with demands for results in a specified time period, particularly if those demands emanated from government.

The Generation Gap

Another interesting source of cleavage within the social science community is the generational gap between younger and older scholars, one aspect of which relates to the source of training and the time of entry to the university. The first generation of East African social scientists tended to receive their graduate training in Britain, to reflect the historical-philosophical tradition of enquiry which prevailed then—and to be drafted very quickly into administrative positions as part of the drive for East Africanization. The general consequence of this was to diminish their research productivity and in some cases to end it completely. Some managed to retain a research career, but as managers and organizers rather than always as direct and principal investigators. The younger band of social scientists who are now making their mark on the university tend to have received their training at American universities during the period when the political economy and Marxist approaches were gaining ground. This difference in the type and often the location of training has inevitably created some tensions between the scholarly generations. It is reinforced by the tendency of the older generation to dominate research patronage and opportunities for conference participation. However, this rigidity should not be exaggerated. Among the first generation of Heads of social science departments only one has remained in position for over five years and the rest have moved either outside the university or into administrative positions. At the same time, the research institutes have provided a safety valve for frustrated ambition by offering high status positions to those whose promotion to professorial rank seemed blocked by a relatively young incumbent in the academic departments.

More important than rigidity at the top has been the issue of quality in the middle. The rapid pace of Africanization in the mid-1960s established in tenured positions some individuals who were less able than successor waves of scholars who were the product of more rigorous selection and comprehensive training. A member of this latter group has described the resulting danger to academic quality:

Rapidly promoted (due to Africanization policies) up the ladder of seeming academic achievement in their various disciplines, they attain titles whose academic demands neither their own intellectual formation nor their academic productivity can measure up to. The result is insecurity, a strong attachment to gerentocracy, and an unwillingness to confront other epistemologies in their own intellectual formation. Academic mediocrity is then reflected in the constant urge to fight ideological battles (natives versus expatriates, socialists versus nationalists) and not theoretical battles.⁴¹

In the context of a single national university the absence of alternative opportunities can lead among the intellectually insecure to an obsession with preserving one's position rather than with issues of relatively greater intellectual substance.

However, behind the superficial issue of status maintenance is a more fundamental debate about the future form, organization and purpose of East African social science. New issues have been brought to the force by a small group of able and energetic social scientists most of whom returned from overseas (usually American) training in the past five years. Animated by a recognition that they are representatives in their own country of a foreign culture they are trying to re-think how they can usefully view themselves and the task of social science in the context of poverty which surrounds them. They are characterized by their preference for non-disciplinary and holistic approaches to intellectual endeavour, by a sensitivity to the Third World as the important unit of analysis, by an espousal of Marxist explanations of underdevelopment and beyond this by a desire to break demeaning bonds of intellectual dependence through a search for independently African forms of scholarship. They are helping to pose more sharply than before the significant issues which will determine the agenda of East African social science in the immediate future.

Intellectual Concentration Versus Practical Involvement.

East African social scientists are inevitably caught up in the fundamental debate facing their universities about the extent to which poor pre-literate societies can afford and justify institutions which concentrate the intelligentsia of the nation for the purpose of providing opportunities for nurturing exceptional intellectual abilities in reflection and thought.

41. Anyang, Nyongo, "The Teaching of the Social Science in East Africa: An Evaluation Report", (Dakar, Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa, December 1978). p. 15.

The debate is one between contrasting academic philosophies which Mazrui has termed those of intellectual concentration and practical involvement:

The philosophy of intellectual concentration is one which believes that the business of a student at a university must be strictly that of a student. He should concentrate his efforts on intellectual pursuits and attempt to make maximum academic use of his limited stay at his institution of higher training. The philosophy of practical involvement however argues from the belief that a student's career is not complete unless he displays a readiness to get involved in some practical affairs of his society. It is not enough that he engages in study and though he must also respond to the needs of the masses around him by a display of practical sympathy, and react against the ills of his community and his world with a moral commitment to reform.⁴²

This debate is an eternal and a universal one but it is intensified in a context of severe economic poverty such as prevails in East Africa. The University of Dar es Salaam has taken several far-reaching measures to develop an ethos of community service and practical involvement among staff and students alike.⁴³ The most important was the change in admission procedures in 1976 which broadened the criteria of eligibility such that admission to the university now requires not only relevant academic qualifications but also several years of work experience and favourable recommendations from a student's employer and the local branch of the political party. Complementing this is the requirement that part of each academic year is spent by students in a period of practical work. The intention of these and other measures aimed at the same end is that the work experience will provide a kind of understanding and maturity which will enable students to make use of university resources in a way which maximises their future contribution to their society. More fundamentally, it is hoped that it will help students acquire a sense of common cause with the mass of the population and reduce the spirit of anti-social elitism which university students have been accused of exemplifying in the past.⁴⁴

42. Mazrui, Ali, Political Values and the Educated Class in Africa (London, Heinemann, 1978), p. 241.

43. Some of these are described in Court, David, "East African Higher Education from the Community Standpoint", Higher Education, VI, 3 (1977), pp. 45-66.

44. An assessment of the early experience of the new admission policy is contained in: Mmari, Geoffrey, R.V., Implementation of the Musoma Resolutions: The University of Dar es Salaam Admissions Experience, Papers in Education, 3. (University of Dar es Salaam, Department of Education, 1976). pp. 15-51.

Scholarly detachment versus practical policy involvement

At the University of Nairobi there have been periodic discussions of national service schemes for students as a way of demonstrating the University's commitment to community service but few practical steps have yet been taken in this direction. The issue for social scientists and the university at large has been less that of working out ways of practical experience than of defining a stance towards the demands of government in a context where the ethos of manpower development and policy-oriented research is strong. The view point of some social scientists at the University of Nairobi represents a departure from the narrow policy-oriented service concept of social science which still dominates. They tend to be contemptuous of their colleagues whose work is defined by Government or consultancy contracts and argue that such colleagues are inevitably caught up in a process of condoning and reproducing a particular political elite.⁴⁵ For them criticism and the posing of fundamental questions, not the servicing of Ministry activities, are the proper purpose of social science. This role is not viewed as an abdication of national responsibility or retreat into ivory tower elitism but as a positive contribution to policy-making:

That academics should have the freedom to analyse and criticize governmental programmes from all kinds of world view is a right that must be enjoyed by academics if policy makers have to confront real alternatives in the decision-making process. For it is only by trying to create a community of "home grown" researchers and scholars capable of initiating, organizing and executing their own research into indigenous socio-economic issues will we also have a local reservoir of social literates from which the state can recruit its planners and the university its researchers and teachers.⁴⁶

Cultural liberation: nationalism versus internationalism.

A further overarching concern of the younger generation of social scientists is the desire to break the perceived Eurocentrism of their academic environment. The ensuing issue centres on the extent to which cultural independence is best pursued within a national or an international conceptual framework. The attitude of social scientists towards the international profession is inevitably ambivalent. On the one hand, virtually all social scientists learned their profession at British or American universities and thereby became part of an international fraternity. On the other hand, a desire to be useful

45. See for example, Kabwegyama, *Irisis D. op.cit* and Anyang Nyongo *op.cit*.

46. Anyang Nyongo, "Academic Freedom and Political Power in Africa", Department of History, Staff Seminar Paper No. 8, (University of Nairobi 1979).

in the home country tends to lead to a rejection on the grounds of inapplicability of many acquired techniques and values. At the same time, the nationalist desire to develop distinctive formulations in face of the perceived dominance of foreign scholarship leads in the same direction. A strong undercurrent in the present thinking of many East African social scientists is the view that the main inherited forms of social science have been part of a process of cultural imperialism. At its weakest, this argument has simply reflected individual unwillingness to master the subject matter or statistical understanding contained in accumulated social science knowledge, or consisted of facile assertions of Marxist forms at least partly because they are a handy means of dissent against the dominant inherited tradition.⁴⁷ As such they result in conglomerations of ignorance and assertion masquerading as cultural nationalism under the title of social science.

At its strongest however the reaction against "bourgeois social science" has served to crystallize the issues in the search for new modes of intellectual enquiry aiming at the production of an East African body of knowledge acquired through methods which maximise the expression of local experience. In this case the starting point has been a critique of the dominant inherited form of western scholarship, and in particular of the fragmentation of disciplines which are seen to be derived from different cultural conditions with limited relevance to Africa, and to have possessed an ideological character to the extent that they have emphasized system maintenance and "modernization". The consequent initial task for East African scholarship is hence to seek an understanding of the way in which these imported frameworks have affected the definition of East African society and to seek ways of viewing social phenomena in the total social context in which they are embedded. In this case it is not simply the anti-establishment quality of Marxist frameworks which account for their popularity, as such frameworks also derive from a European tradition. Rather their appeal lies in their perceived applicability to the explanation of social realities in Africa and especially in their holistic approach which permits a concentration upon problems shared between Third World countries as a consequence of their condition of dependence upon rich industrial nations. These concerns have found some expression in the teaching programmes of East African universities, as texts taking a political economy or underdevelopment approach are widely represented in social science courses at the University of Dar es Salaam and increasingly at Nairobi. The attempts to establish

47. For an extended discussion of this theme and advocacy of the importance of African scholars producing paradigms which transcend all forms of inherited tradition in their "intellectual independence" see Mazrui, Ali, op.cit pp 252-267 and 368-379.

a problem rather than discipline-based social science at Dar es Salaam resulted in a battle within the Faculty of Arts and Social Science which was resolved in a compromise whereby Faculty offerings were presented in terms of problem-based or vocational streams but the discipline based departments remained in existence with a high degree of autonomy.⁴⁸ Attempts to establish undergraduate courses cutting across the disciplines were on the drawing board at Makerere before the University was disrupted by Amin, have had a checkered history at Dar es Salaam but find current expression in the Development Studies course mentioned earlier and are once again being considered at Nairobi.

Associated with the search for a new content to social science is the emphasis on different methods. The critique of social science paradigms is accompanied by a critique of established methodologies on the grounds that they have tended to oversimplify social reality, to alienate respondents, and to provide few links to subsequent action. From this analysis has come an alternative emphasis which stresses the need to seek and define knowledge from the standpoint of those being studied in a process of mutual discovery through 'qualitative' and participatory approaches.⁴⁹ The emphasis on the Third World as an important unit of analysis is reversing a trend towards increasingly nationalistic frames of reference for social science. At the same time interest in new types of research hold out the possibility of new forms of knowledge and new relationships to policy. To the extent that Marxist paradigms prove limited in explaining social realities in Africa, and also come to be perceived as an alien intellectual importation, we can expect to see an acceleration of the search for endogenous forms of knowledge derived from local experience which alone can be the basis for an autonomous self sustaining social science in East Africa.⁵⁰

48. Rweyemamu, Justinian, "Reorganization of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science", Taamuli, II, 1 (December 1971), pp. 36-38.

49. For a succinct summary of this approach see Hall, B.L., "Participatory Research: An Approach for Change", Convergence, VII, 2 (October 1975), pp. 24-32.

50. The limitations of both liberal and Marxist paradigms for understanding the process of development in peasant economies, and the corresponding need for new kinds of conceptualization are discussed with reference to Tanzania in the final chapter of Hyden, Goran, Paving the Way for Ujamaa in Tanzania: the Problems of an Uncaptured Peasantry, (Berkeley University of California Press Forthcoming)

SECTION II

THE ENVIRONMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE.

The previous section identified some of the salient features of the social science community which has emerged in East Africa in the course of the past ten years. Three institutions have had a particular influence on the pattern of development: the university, the government and technical assistance agencies. Their influence has dominated the context in which social science has grown and is likely to continue to have a determining effect on its future evaluation.

The University:

The continued health of social science depends in large measure upon the extent to which the organization and atmosphere of the university provides a supportive professional environment. Historically, as has been shown, the universities have encouraged social science teaching and research because they were seen both as a means of Africanizing the curriculum and demonstrating through research the relevance of the University to its society. A measure of the continuing strength of university support for social science is the proportion of financial resources which it is willing to devote to it. At both Nairobi and Dar es Salaam there has been steady and increasing support for the social science teaching departments and this is illustrated in the increase in established academic positions which was summarized in Table 1. Furthermore both universities have been able to appoint their most able graduate as future members of staff. Each university created special institutions for the promotion of research in social science. Subsequent university support for the research institutes has varied in intensity because in the face of expanding enrollments the priority for university administrators and Department chairman tends to be in favour of teaching rather than research needs.

At the same time both the universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam have decided to emphasise the teaching of science as opposed to social science and the ratio of student enrolment is approximately 2:1 in favour of science students. Nevertheless in the quantitative sense of providing resources and positions university support for social science for the period as a whole has been strong.

Although it is possible to identify exceptions, as a general rule, professional advancement within the universities has been determined by the conventional indicators of academic productivity, such as publication and research activity and teaching contribution. At Dar es Salaam the inter-changeability of

subjectivity when trying to weigh different kinds of practical experience against particular types of academic achievement.

In the early years of the university it was difficult to consider the development of social science apart from the goal of replacing foreigners. The concern for East Africanization tended not only to dominate discussion of recruitment qualifications but also to subordinate the issue of what kind of social science was most relevant, and to make it difficult for anyone who raised the latter question to avoid the charge of using the artificial issue of "standards" as a means of keeping out ethnic undesirables or unnecessarily retaining foreigners. In this period recruitment at any given moment was largely a matter of encouraging designated staff development candidates back into the Department which had sponsored them the moment they completed their overseas degree. Appointments committees existed to formalize the appointment of individuals who is the case of the University of Dar es Salaam had been listed as staff members throughout the period of their training. Now that localization is close to completion, and no longer in itself an issue in social science departments, appointments to available positions may involve a choice between several qualified East African applicants and hence the opportunity and necessity for applying criteria relating to the kinds of emphasis and interests which the Department wishes to represent.

Several features of university organization have contributed to professional discontent. Perhaps the most widely heard and oft-repeated complaint of social scientists relates to the lack of perceptible boundaries defining the limits of academic and administrative authority in the running of the university. Specific complaints centre on the centralized and authoritarian character of decision-making and the frequency with which inherently academic issues are decided by administrative fiat. A case in point was the decision of the University of Nairobi to purchase a new computer system in 1978 without any prior consultation with the academic departments concerning their computing requirements and the kinds of technology which might most effectively and cheaply meet their needs. More irritating because more frequent are situations where individuals in the university administration are able - because of their position in the bureaucracy - to make decisions about expenditures, study leaves, course texts contract issues and so forth which at times impinge upon the autonomy of academic departments. Dissatisfaction on the part of the academic staff at the dominant rather than service role of the university administration has been a constant source of tension in the life the East African universities and particularly at the University of Nairobi. It has surfaced at times of crisis. The year 1976 was such a time for the University of Nairobi as the institution was closed on several occasions following student confrontations with police and political unrest associated with the assassination of a prominent and popular member of the

National Assembly. During the longest period of closure several Faculties chose to use the mechanism of the Faculty Board to express their views. These took on a repetitive tone focussing on the absence of consultation with academic staff and students in matters central to the academic life of the university. For example the Faculty of Arts, which includes the social science departments, drew attention to deficiencies of the present organization and decision-making as evidenced by the political character of the Vice Chancellor's position, the domination of the University Council by non academics and the absence of consultation in the running of the university. The reality was then contrasted with favoured principles of university governance derived from the Act of Parliament establishing the University:

In order for the University to achieve its goals, both the academic staff and students must be in a position to initiate, discuss and decide upon policy and other matters that relate to the academic well being of the University. The administration's duty is to service these functions and, for the University to operate efficiently the administration must be subordinate to the academic side. Only if these fundamental principles are upheld can a University effectively serve its community and the society as a whole.

One reason why these principles are not very evident in practice at the University of Nairobi is because the university tends to reflect the management ethos and structure of political authority which prevails outside it. Prominent characteristics are the vesting of significant authority in an executive head and an associated authority structure in which the operation of personal, political and ethnic considerations can override the apparent authority structure defined by the organization itself.

In Tanzania Government manpower planning has been an important factor influencing the stability and morale of university staff. The Government of Tanzania has viewed transferability of staff between the university and the civil service as a desirable thing. The two - fold rationale here is to keep the university in touch with practical experience and the desire to prevent university appointments becoming a source of social stratification. As a result a sizable number of staff members have been assigned, often at no notice, to direct roles in government and parastatal organizations and the reverse flow has also occurred although a balance there has been a net outflow from university to government. In the East African context the rationale for this kind of exchange has much to

51. Faculty of Arts "Report of the Special Committee of the Board of the Faculty of Arts on the University Crisis, October 1974"; (University of Nairobi October 1974).

commend it as a means of keeping social scientists in touch with the practical realities of development and policy planning. From the university's standpoint however, where carried through in a hasty manner, it has resulted in the periodic disruption of teaching programmes and contributed to a general air of instability. The prospect of imminent transfer outside the university can weaken the sense of permanence and continuity necessary for long term commitments in teaching and research.

Within the framework provided by the University's relationship with Government and its own internal reward structure a further important influence has been that of visiting foreign social scientists. Throughout the seven years existence of the University of East Africa and beyond virtually all the social science departments at each constituent college were led and predominantly staffed by non-East Africans. They were the initial bearers of social science and established precedents and practices of departmental organization and research emphasis many of which are still significant. Previous mention was made of the early group of social anthropologists at Makerere, and one can similarly point to the impact on teaching of other identifiable expatriate groups such as the group of development economists at Makerere who were involved in a four year study of development planning problems of the East African countries in the mid 1960s or the period of John Saul, Lionel Cliffe and Walter Rodney and their immediate colleagues at Dar es Salaam in the early 1970s.⁵² Part of the influence and productivity of these groups stemmed simply from the fact that a particular set of individuals happened to be together in the university at a particular period a time consciousness. This kind of expatriate domination is unlikely to recur. Instead we can expect to see the emergence of home-grown intellectual trends, as a continuing impetus to social science activity is the desire to modify, extend or replace many of the earlier non African interpretations of East Africa society.

A further important university-related factor which has influenced the shape of East African social science has been the state of the technology on which in varying degrees it depends. The issue can be addressed at many levels and here we can only touch upon it. At a basic level almost any kind of social science expresses itself ultimately through the printed word. Although there

52. The Economic Development Research Project involved a full time research group of expatriate and East African Economists who in the period 1963-1967 pursued a set of individual studies organized within a general framework of economic planning.

have been problems experienced at Dar es Salaam in particular with such things acquiring paper and maintaining type writers, and the procurement of teaching materials in present day Uganda is at a virtual standstill, the East African universities have on the whole established relatively effective printing, publishing and library facilities which are an aid to social science productivity. The issue is more directly illustrated by reference to the quantitative wing of social science and its accompanying computer usage. Social science in East Africa relies much less on quantitative methods than it does in Europe or North America. In part this is choice—ie a rejection of those methods on grounds of inapplicability for reasons discussed earlier. In part it is a legacy of deficient mathematics teaching in primary and secondary schools and the tradition of separating students into arts and science streams, which ensured among other things that few prospective social scientists have advanced numeracy. In part also it is a result of the pressures of computer salesmen who have imposed antiquated or irrelevant machinery upon universities. Despite alternative efforts to make computer usage more accessible through the introduction of minicomputers and "software" programmes which require only literacy for their use—such as the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences—the universities have not been able to create among social scientists widespread awareness of the possibilities of computer technology. Whether the reason is choice or circumstance it is a fact that the use of computer facilities as an aid to social science analysis, which is pervasive in North American social science, is still largely absent in the work of East African social scientists, and the result is a gap between forms of knowledge which threatens international communication within the social sciences.

Government

Perhaps the most important changes in the environment of social science in the past fifteen years has been its absorption, along with the universities which incorporate it, into the ambit of government. The growth of governments in size and complexity in this period and their increasing involvement in central planning in all three East African countries created a sizable training and information need which universities were increasingly expected to supply. The importance and spirit of this change is captured in the observation in 1972 of a visiting professor who witnessed it:

Six years ago the university staff (largely expatriate) was trying to attract the attention of the larger society, and especially of course the Government. Such attention as I recall, was given grudgingly. What we were doing did not matter. As a result the university had considerable elbow room. The university

does matter now, and much of that elbow room has been occupied by conditions and presumptions arriving from the outside. For example in the mid sixties it was reasonable to spend our time asking about the role which universities should play in the development of their society. Today that question rings hollow. A more realistic question is how the university can play the role which is increasingly assigned to it.⁵³

The most important point now about the relationship of government to social science is its proximity. The faith of East African governments that a university is an essential element of a modern regime and a necessary means of modernization makes inevitable and necessary a large degree of interdependence. Specific influence upon the development of social science stems from governments contribution as a major source of financial support, from its interest in the training of civil servants and in the acquisition of research information, and from its ultimate determination of the political context in which universities and hence social science flourish or founder. Government expenditure on the national university in 1978 amounted to 10% of the educational budget for Kenya.⁵⁴ This financial investment combined with the fact that the Government employs a large proportion of graduates - in Tanzania virtually all of them - gives government a powerful interest in encouraging the university towards teaching and research which meet its needs. In response to government demand social science departments have striven to provide service courses geared to declared government need. Some examples at the graduate level were cited earlier. One that was not mentioned was the B.Phil programme in Economics which was inaugurated in 1977 in order "to give advanced training in economics to people who are or will be engaged in work as professional economists, particularly in government..."⁵⁵ An interim external evaluation of the B. Phil programme in 1973 summarized the extent of Government cooperation:

The B. Phil programme has proved itself during its years of operation. It has won the approval of Government. The Government has participated actively in the programme, has selected its nominees to the programme with care, and has made discriminating use of its graduates.⁵⁶

53. Prewitt, C. Kenneth, Personal communication, (mimeograph, November 16, 1972).

54. Republic of Kenya, Economic Survey 1978, (Nairobi, Government Printer, June 1978), p. 170. Kenya spends approximately 33% of its total annual budget on education. The actual amount allocated to higher education was approximately nine million Kenyan pounds (£K0.75 = £1 sterling).

55. Department of Economics, (University of Nairobi; mimeograph October 10, 1972).

56. Lewis, B., "Evaluation of the B.Phil Programme", (Ford Foundation, mimeograph, 1972), p. 1.

At the undergraduate level the emphasis on professional training and vocational skills has found most vivid expression in the re-organization of the Faculty of Arts and Social Science at the University of Dar es Salaam in 1971. This replaced the existing discipline-based structure with one in which students' courses were organized not around the discipline but around vocational streams. The rationale for this change emphasized the need for the University to meet national manpower categories.⁵⁷ Yet although the structure has a vocational flavour the courses which make up the social science degree continue to have an academic content reflecting the interests of the profession and the realities of a situation where manpower categories have not, except in the most general ways, been translated into skill requirements which in turn can become the basis for a university degree. Presciently warning against this trend the Dean of Arts and Social Science at the University of Dar es Salaam noted in 1971:

It appears that one principle to be established is that despite the accepted need to train high level manpower, social science university education cannot meaningfully be turned into a career factory. The principal task for the Faculty of Arts and Social Science is to provide its students with a method for asking the right questions and of using the answers coherently. Undue preoccupation with career orientation could well hinder this principal task of social science. Our education must be geared⁵⁸ to furthering knowledge and to training young minds to think.

In partial recognition of this wisdom the governments of Tanzania and Kenya have established a number of tertiary level institutions which do offer courses at different levels and of different duration that are geared explicitly to the goal of professional career training. Their purpose is indicated by the titles of some of these institutions: The Institute of Finance Management, the East African Management Institute, the Kenya Institute of Administration and so forth.

A second main area of government influence is on research and this affects the choice of research topics, the style of research procedures and the form in which findings are presented. In both Kenya and Tanzania the government sometimes published lists of research priorities and a National Council of Science and Technology provides coordination. In practice the areas for concentrated atten-

⁵⁷. The re-organization around six central vocational streams has been subsequently modified by an expansion of options and sub streams to the point where it leaves little of the original intention and demonstrates the resilience of the disciplinary ideal in face of attempted innovation.

⁵⁸. Rweyemamu, Justinian, op.cit. p. 38.

tion are worked out in discussion between university departments and research institutes and planning units of Ministries while the actual project tends to rely in some measure on individual initiative. Ultimate government control is assured by the requirement that projects receive official clearance and increasingly research has to be part of a programme of a university department or research institute.

More important than its influence upon the topics to be studied - which especially in Kenya has been noted for its official latitude - is the fact that Government's own finance and interest tend to be concentrated upon evaluation which increasingly has become the major mode of research. An outstanding example is the way in which the Government's desire for evaluation of its special Rural Development Programme concentrated a range of social science talent on this task, with the long term effect that the originally intended replication of the Programme on a large scale did not occur.⁵⁹ Specific project evaluations are now the staple fare of the research institutes as we have already shown.

The advantage of university based social science to government is that its slight distance from policy making permits a degree of reflection about issues without the distracting pressures of day to day concerns. It seems clear that a productive relationship with government is one of the essential factors for sustaining a vigorous social science community in the future and that the critical determinants of such a relationship are the creation of personal channels of intellectual communication and the ability of social science to educate as well as simply serve the civil service. The presence of Ministry officials on the governing academic boards of the research institutes is one channel through which this education takes place.

Closely associated with the emphasis on evaluation and the development of a research constituency has been recurring preoccupation with dissemination by some social scientists who are anxious to foster close relationships with government and to see their ideas applied. Much thought has been given to finding improved ways of preparing and distributing findings in easily digestible form. The anxiety about the problem of communication between researchers and policy makers stems from the difficulty of demonstrating a casual relationship

⁵⁹. . . Institute for Development Studies, Second Overall Evaluation of the Special Rural Development Programme, (University of Nairobi, 1975).

between a given research finding and a specific policy. However more important for the impact of research than formal channels for presenting findings are the network of informal relationships which relate researchers and policy makers and through which views, findings and a way of thinking about problems can be communicated. In this regard the small scale and centralized character of the political system and the small number of social scientists combine to make possible levels of access to policy makers and a role in decision making which are not shared by their peers in many other parts of the world. The practice of regular transfer between university and civil service staff in Tanzania is the best example of this, but in both countries channels of communication are close.

However this same proximity can be a disadvantage as well as an advantage. Because the East African universities are each single institutions located in the capital city their closeness to the seat of power and the centre of even gives social scientists a political visibility and hence occupational vulnerability which would be less if the universities were located elsewhere or there were several such institutions in the country. In an intimate and centralized political system of which the university is a part the line between advocacy of new ideas and strategies, as part of the responsibility of social science, and criticism perceived as subversion is not always easy to define.⁶⁰ Numerous events at the East African universities have provided vivid reminders of the fragile standing of social science in the political order. Makerere of course offers the most notable example. Few universities anywhere have suffered the level of Government oppression experienced by Makerere in the past five years. In this period one vice chancellor has been murdered and two dismissed; students and staff members have been imprisoned and killed; the campus has been invaded and the student body physically humiliated; and virtually all qualified social scientists on the staff have been driven into exile, leaving the University a shell of its former self staffed by junior Ugandans and expatriates from the Indian sub continent.

Fortunately a much happier situation prevails at the Universities of Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, but even at these institutions in smaller ways govern

60. The idea and practice of academic freedom in African universities receives comprehensive erudite and illuminating attention in Coleman, James S., "Academic Freedom in African Universities" (Unpublished paper) and "The Academic Freedom and Responsibilities of Foreign Scholars in African Universities, Issue, VII, 2 (Spring 1977) pp. 14-32.

ment intervention has on occasions provoked a sense of vulnerability among academic staff. In Nairobi this was aroused for example by the six month closure of the university following a student demonstration in 1976, by the several occasions when riot police seemed to be the first rather than the last recourse of the regime to student demands and by the unexplained detention of the Chairman of the Literature Department, and by the general belief that government informers are present at particular social science courses.

At Dar es Salaam several factors have combined to give government relationships with the university a more benign character than they have at the sister universities. A paramount factor is the intellectual stature of the President of the country who is an active rather than a ceremonial Chancellor of the University and a frequent visitor to the campus. At the same time the dichotomy between town and gown is less marked at Dar es Salaam than most universities. At a practical level it is attenuated by the close involvement of staff members in government committees and the practices of transfers between university and civil service which has been mentioned. At the psychological level distinctions are submerged in the sense of common citizenship which is an important part of the social ethos of the country. However this level of intimacy itself has been a source for negative impact on the members of the academic staff to the extent that the Government has not felt obliged to explain certain decisions affecting the university and social scientists in particular. The transfer of social science and other staff has no occasion been arranged without any prior consultation with the individual affected or the university administration and the enforced retirement in 1977 of some social science members of staff "in the public interest" had an authoritarian quality to it which, whatever the political merits of the action, inevitably aroused some resentment by academic staff for its manner. Yet despite these glaring instances which violate western notions of academic freedom the political relationship between the government and the university in Kenya and Tanzania still permits that tolerance for disagreement or procedural liberalism which Akiki Mujaju assessing the situation from the Uganda experience has suggested is the condition for the survival of intellectual endeavour:

All the humanities and social sciences are likely to be affected unless procedural liberalism is accepted. In fact the entire university is in jeopardy without acceptance of a certain degree of disagreement on which objective analyses can be built⁶¹ irrespective of the value assumptions of a political system.

61. Mujaju, Akiki B., "Political Science and Political Science Research in Africa", The African Review, IV, 3 (September 1974).

At the same time it is not possible to conclude that in their relationship with the social economic and political system the universities have yet managed to achieve that position of "equal among equals" which Shils has suggested is an essential condition if the university and the social science activity it embodies is not to be permanently condemned to the periphery within its own culture.⁶²

Technical Assistance Agencies

The third main influence upon the development of East African social science has been the contribution of the technical assistance agencies. The early impetus to the development of social science was provided by the British Ministry of Overseas Development the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations and the Carnegie Corporation. The rationale for their interest was their acceptance of the importance of understanding the social concomitants to economic development and a belief that social science could contribute to that understanding. In the past five years there has been a massive increase in the funds available for social science research and training and in the number of organizations providing it. The pioneers of the early support have been joined by a veritable horde of international promoters. The list of international organizations currently providing support for social science research at the University of Dar es Salaam includes: The United Nations Scientific and Cultural Organization, the Nuffield Foundation, the Population Council, the development assistance agencies of Sweden, Finland, Norway, Britain and the United States, the Commonwealth Foundation, the Fredrick Elbert Stiftung Foundation and the D.A.A.D. Foundation of Germany, the International Development Research Centre, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations plus several national and regional organizations.⁶³

External support has contributed substantially to the emergence and growth of social science and whatever achievement are related to this. Among the most obvious of such achievements are the vast increase in knowledge about East Africa and the expansion of teaching materials by East African authors. Support for visiting social scientists has enabled local social science to keep in touch with external developments in the various professions and that for social science training has helped to create a social science community.

62. Shils, Edward, "The Academic Profession in India", Minerva, VII, 2 (Spring 1969), p. 364.

63. University of Dar es Salaam, "List of external grants to the University, 1978", (mimeograph, March 1979).

The volume and emphasis of support have also had some debateable effects. Although the external agencies do not operate in concert they tend to adopt a "missing attributes" concept of development which views lack of information as the main bottleneck to development and its provision through a methodical social science as the urgent need.⁶⁴ This philosophical predisposition is reinforced by the practical need of most agencies to be able to claim visible and tangible short term "results". The combined effect is to produce a powerful demand for policy-oriented research. This has been more true for the national technical assistance agencies than for Foundations which have in the past been willing to fund basic training and research and to take a long term perspective, but in the past five years the applied emphasis has become a general tendency with important effects. In the first place because of the need for quickly produced and externally recognizable results the concept of research which most donor agencies bring to bear tends to emphasise types of evaluation which have strong international currency. The Government agencies in particular as a matter of policy now seek out East African social scientists as consultants. This is undoubtedly an improvement on the earlier exclusive reliance on expatriates although it does have the short term effect of intensifying the extent to which social science research consists of consultancies. Furthermore because of the limited number of local scientists and the extent of their competing commitments the effect secondly is that the need of Government Ministries and the international agencies themselves for policy-relevant information quickly exceeds the capacity of local institutions to supply it. The sheer volume of demand has led to a willingness by the Government to support expatriate researchers in the research units of the universities and government as a short term expedient. The situation is a temporary one which will change as the number of local social scientists expands. Increasing numbers will reduce the need for expatriates, diminish the excessive expectations to which any single social scientist is currently subject, permit greater functional specialization and encourage more permanent careers whether in academic or applied work. In the meantime in Kenya a second by-product of the extent of demand for research information has been the emergence of a number of private consulting companies organized almost entirely for the purpose of responding to Government and international agency contracts for applied social science. Four such companies, owned and run by Kenyans, emerged in 1978.

The extent to which social science becomes established and legitimized depends upon its ability to create its own professional reward structure and means of self expression. This in turn depends upon how useful it is seen to be by the user community in supplying policy information and in the broader sense of

64. See Streeten, Paul, op.cit., p. 7.

expressing the major symbolic concerns of the society. Without local recognition, encouragement and means of expression social science would remain an artificial activity heavily dependent upon foreign funds and responsive to concerns emanating outside Africa. The recognition achieved so far by social science has largely been for its potential role in legitimizing policy.

The technical assistencies have tended to reinforce this applied character of social science and contributed an additional problem in that by definition they constituted powerful reward structure which inevitably influences the form and content of research. Because technical assistance agencies have the responsibility for keeping in touch with the dominant concerns of international social science they tend to favour these issues when considering support for social science in developing countries. Examples of such topics in the East African context are womens studies, population, environment issues and unemployment. Making available support for the study of such topics can from one perspective be viewed as a helpful means of concentrating local attention on the critical global issues of our time. From the standpoint of the long term development of regional social science excessive provision, or provision from a particular perspective, can distort the natural evolution of the way in which local realities are translated into research projects. Where a social science community is strong and numerous the concentration of resources on such imported concerns and frameworks does not more than provide useful emphasis within a variegated overall pattern of research, but where as in East Africa, it is fragile and small they can pre-empt the research agenda and preoccupy the research community.

From the assumption that centres of social science strength lie outside East Africa comes the conclusion that local social science can be reinforced by the provision of opportunities for contact with the international community of scholars. Much technical assistance has concentrated on supplying this opportunity. Virtually all university social scientists did their graduate training at an overseas university under some kind of foreign scholarship support. Once they have returned opportunities for the most senior and the most able to travel have been extensive. A survey of the extent to which senior East African university of social scientists travelled outside their country in the year 1978 revealed that those above the level of lecturer averaged five opportunities for travel outside the country with almost half of these being to the United States or Europe. In part the attraction of external visits are economic ones and the straightforward desire to see new places. Primarily however they are for the professional purpose of gaining access to good libraries, computer facilities and the fraternity of foreign scholars. It is likely that the level of travel of social scientists in 1978 on balance had a positive rather than

negative effect on the development of social science as a consequence of the materials, ideas and contacts which were brought back. It is equally clear that for a few individuals conference participation and study tours become an end in themselves. Such cases point to a possible general danger that excessive provision for outside travel can quickly take people beyond the point of intellectual stimulus and simply distract them from their social contribution and stunt the growth of the embryonic local profession. To some extent home institutional responsibilities counterbalance the attraction of these inducements, but there can be little doubt that the problem of too many opportunities for keeping in touch with international social science is the emasculation of the national and regional variety.

A different kind of international impact is produced by opportunities not simply to make foreign visits but to work overseas for extended periods in international agencies or foreign universities. East Africa has not like Nigeria suffered from the emigration of large numbers of its most talented social scientists, but some emigration has occurred. It is instructive to look at the whereabouts and activities of the first indigenous Department Heads for the departments of Economics, Sociologists one remains in charge of his department, a second is Director of the Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa, and the third is a professor at an American University. In political science the first head of the Department at Makerere and Africa's best known intellectual, Professor Ali Mazrui, is now a professor at the University of Michigan and in 1979 was also Chairman of the African Studies Association of the United States, and the deliverer of the famed Reith Lectures of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Both his East African counterparts are heads of international institutions dealing with public management and administration, one at the United Nations Centre for Research on African Development in Casablanca and the other at the East African Management Institute. Of the economists one works for the World Bank in Washington, the other for the United Nations in Nairobi and the third having left the university to become economic advisor to the President of Tanzania is currently on the secretariat of the Brandt Commission in Geneva. In no case can these individuals be said to have moved entirely outside their profession.

It seems likely that this kind of internationalism may assist local social science by giving it a voice in the world community. This can be so only if a strong local social science community already exists and can itself provide the kind of professional satisfaction sought by social scientists and, while drawing on the insights and resources of international social science can retain its re-

sponsiveness to local needs. The challenge to external agencies in the present phase of social science development is to find ways of strengthening the local reward structure which can balance the local inducement of consultancy research or the international inducement with its attendant risk of separation from the local profession. Some possibilities are already evident. Support for local publications, for professional writing and for scholarly as opposed to consulting activity would seem to be among the ways in which external agencies can further contribute to the growth of the local profession without undermining its independence.

CONCLUSION

The effective development of social science depends upon the creation of institutions committed to the production of knowledge, the acquisition of sources of financial support from Government and other patrons, the expansion of public understanding of social science and a measure of consensus about the purposes of social science and the means to their attainment.

In East Africa the idea of social science has in the space of fifteen years taken tangible shape through the foundation of university departments, the emergence of an indigenous community of scholars and the production of an impressive volume of writing on East African society. Some of the preconditions for sustained development already exist while others have yet to be firmly established. The creation of an infrastructure for social science—the development of departments and curricula, journals, graduate programmes, research institutes, relationships with the community—and the demands of teaching have inevitably pre-occupied the first generation of East African scholars sometimes at the expense of sustained research. Institutionalized professional research roles do exist but are fragile and the word research has been applied to a wide range of activities from significant fact finding to quasi-journalistic commentary and unequivocal polemics. The energies and interests of social scientists have been dispersed across a wide range of activities. This has partially been a consequence of the number of available opportunities in relation to trained people, but more important has been a sense of national duty which has led social scientists to take on work which seems to have practical relevance rather than necessarily to concentrate on what they were trained to do.

While social science in East Africa has not suffered from lack of financial resources it has not yet succeeded in the more difficult and more important task of establishing solid public support for it. To the extent that there has been public indifference and antipathy to social science it is partly because the task of creating an infrastructure has not permitted social science to fully address all the problems which its early promoters promised it would tackle. More important, however, in any public disillusionment or misunderstanding is the fact that the original expectations about what social science could do went far beyond what it could realistically achieve. The dominant expectation in East Africa has been that social science could produce policy-relevant information and solve practical problems of development. It is clear with the benefit of hindsight that this emphasis, because exaggerated, has had a limiting effect on the development of social science. Although one important consequence of the policy emphasis on East African social science has been that its subject matter has become rooted in East African problems, it has had other less satisfactory effects. In the first place, the pressure to provide 'answers' and 'recommendations' has led to a concentration upon factors which are subject to manipulation rather than on the more inaccessible institutional processes or more fundamental aspects of the social order, sometimes to the detriment of causal analysis. Secondly, it has provided a standing temptation to generalize beyond the evidence to spurious claims of validity for policy recommendations which also ignore the numerous non-controllable and especially political factors that determine the policy outcomes. It is possible to point to the odd instance where social science research has been the basis for far-reaching policy and this has usually been a situation where the same individual was involved in both the research and its implementation.⁶⁵ It is possible in several more instances to show that particular decisions related to awareness of a research finding. It is however extremely difficult to demonstrate with any plausibility that most of the research done on East Africa has had a significant effect on what has subsequently happened in the policy arena in which the research was conducted. The connections between research and knowledge, knowledge and

65. A good example from Kenya involves work which is described in Somerset, Anthony, "Socio Economic Influences on Primary School Performance: the Possibilities and Limits of Change", paper presented at a Conference on "Social Science Research and Educational Effectiveness", (Bellagio, Italy, July 25-29, 1977) and Makau, B.M. and Somerset, Anthony, "Primary School Leaving Examinations: Basic Intellectual Skills and Equity: Some Evidence from Kenya", (Nairobi, Ministry of Education, mimeograph, 1978.)

policy, and policy and outcome are tenuous in any context, governed as they are by political reality, practical feasibility and human idiosyncrasy.⁶⁶ The vulnerability of social science to justifiable criticism in East Africa has come from its limited ability to measure up to the claims of policy relevance which have repeatedly been made on its behalf. This is not to conclude that social science which is at once broader, more realistic and more demonstrable than that which has prevailed in East Africa. Perhaps as a basis for a re-appraisal of the purposes and prospects of social science we have to ask ourselves again the fundamental question of whether the development of social science is in fact of continued importance and if it is why this might be so. In proceeding to this task it may be useful to keep in mind the answer given by Professor Clifford Geertz to a similar question concerning social science in a different Third World setting:

The customary reply is to say: the country must modernise if it is to prosper; it can only modernise if certain major social problems are solved; those problems can only be solved if certain sorts of knowledge are available; and social science can provide such knowledge. For my own part, I am dubious. As yet no country has modernised whatever that term may mean - on the basis of the social sciences, and, looking around at what knowledge those sciences have so far produced, I do not see a large prospect of any country doing so. Perhaps a finding here and there will help in avoiding avoidable errors; the habit of thinking abstractly and systematically about social affairs is a useful one for any people and dispassion is a trait in short supply in every political system in the world. But practicality, in the narrow sense, rather ends there. The argument for stimulating the social sciences must rest on other grounds than the faith that they will provide ingenious methods for transforming stagnation into movement. It must rest on the far deeper and stronger argument that they are a form of intellectual movement, that they are part of what we mean by modernity.⁶⁷

The dominant expectation that the exclusive purpose of social science should be to furnish answers to problems of central policy is being modified and supplemented in East Africa. The starting point of this process is an understanding of development which stresses the goals of public welfare, collective self-reliance and a decentralized planning process, coupled with a recognition that the service of such goals by social science is constrained among other things by the extent to which national policy is itself committed to their attainment. Two particular

66. Issues concerning the relevance of social science research to public policy in the United States are discussed in Lynn Lurence E. (eds) Knowledge and Policy: The Uncertain Connection. (Washington, National Academy of Sciences, 1978).

67. Geertz, Clifford, "Social Science Policy in a New State: A Programme for the Stimulation of the Social Sciences in Indonesia", Minerva, X.,3 (July 1974) pp. 365-381.

trends which react against the narrow policy emphasis of East African social science have been identified in this paper.

One trend criticizes social science for its university-centredness, its elitism and its part in the justification of centralized planning. The argument is that it cannot serve society simply through its contribution to central planning but must be part of a process of action and collective involvement which makes social science a thing of popular concern and control. As we have seen there have been a number of attempts to broaden the concept and involvement of social science— through such activities as multi-disciplinary research, teaching through research programmes, the insistence on practical work experience as a precondition for university admission at the University of Dar es Salaam, new forms of evaluation such as those associated with the novel teacher training programs for universal primary education in Tanzania and especially through some participatory research projects. However, they have not yet reached the point where social science attracts large numbers who are convinced of its utility and involved in its formulation.

The second trend which is evident sees the main limitation of present-day East African social science less in its technology and university base than in its very preoccupation with policy and practicality. It views the important role of social science not as the pursuit of solutions but the ability to pose fundamental questions about the nature and direction of society. From this standpoint the important issue for East African social science is whether it is asking such questions.

The two approaches have different training implications in that one sees social science as a matter of mass education and the other as the requirement of a small number of highly trained professional researchers. However the two are not mutually exclusive and are in fact being pursued simultaneously in East Africa. It is possible to identify several lines of action which might help to build on both the trends which have been identified as a means of strengthening the idea of social science.

In the first place a major condition for the continued development of the social sciences are measures to strengthen professional research roles and to intensify a sense of social science vocation. Support for scholarly journals, for long term as opposed to contract research projects, for analysis of data as much as their collection and for reflection and ^{thought} through short writing sabbaticals would all seem to be ways of strengthening the scholarly rather than the policy-directed strand of social science endeavour in an environment which is not now very supportive of this emphasis.

Secondly finding ways of strengthening the concept of research itself, and helping to specify the different activities embodied in the term, can make a useful contribution at this stage of the development of social science. In particular as interest expands in participatory research it is important that efforts be made to define where the potential and limitations of this approach lie. At the moment the virtues of participatory research tend to be expressed in negative terms defined by the most evident limitations of survey methods, and before this approach is also debilitated by the exaggerated claims made on its behalf it is important to try and keep track of where it can deepen and where it is more likely to confuse our understanding of social reality.

We have argued that the domination of social science by a rationale stressing its policy relevance has inhibited its development and yet this, like the positive faith in its practical relevance, is an assertion subject to some verification. It would be instructive to treat the relationship between research and policy as an hypothesis and devote some intellectual energy towards an attempt to assess this relationship in the case of some identified research projects or particular policies. It is impossible to be definitive about the connection, but now that there is a sizable body of social science research which has been carried out in the name of policy relevance it would be helpful to have a more exact picture than we do now of the impact, if any, of this work, the ways in which it has received expression, and the conditions which seem to have determined the forms and extent of its utilization. An alternative and perhaps more useful means of examining the connection would be to start with some major policies, or self help projects, and discover whether at all, and if so in what ways, they have drawn upon a relevant body of research knowledge at various points of their formulation and execution.

Fourthly although the subject of computer applications in social science research is one which trends to excite both emotion and ideology it is better that it be addressed by relatively benign social scientists than left in the hands of computer technicians. Workshops and projects which utilize data processing techniques and provide instruction are useful to the extent that they help extend computer literacy and with it more understanding when currently exists of the benefits and limitations of a controversial technology.

Fifthly more systematic consideration of social science training is an urgent necessity. Despite the growth and innovation in graduate education of East African university departments it remains the case that a Ph.D. at an overseas university has the greatest prestige for prospective East African social scientists. The escalating costs of overseas training coupled with the enhanced

ability of local departments to mount graduate programmes make it timely to investigate the range of possible alternatives to four or five year overseas Ph.D courses which may be relatively more effective for the training of future social scientists.⁶⁸ The location of training which involves the acquisition of a universal technology is relatively less important than the case of social science for which the main subject matter is society itself. At this stage in the development of East African social science the society of interest to social scientists has to be their own and to take themselves out of it for four or five years would appear to be a rather dubious contribution to the process of developing skills relevant to the development of local knowledge. Both universities and those who support graduate training have paid lip service to the idea of reducing dependence upon a single form of overseas training, and to such notions as combination degrees which involve shorter and more intensive periods overseas than is currently the case but these ideas have not yet received much practical implementation.

Finally because of the importance of public understanding of social science for support of its development, but the evident fragility of this understanding in East Africa, it is important to pursue ways in which it can be expanded. Among such measures are continued emphasis upon educational programmes and development activities which include research, not simply for those destined for research careers but for all who are involved in the task of development. Included here would be participatory research activities. The need, as Professor Hyden has emphasized, is to develop more useful conceptual skills among the public, not for the purpose of providing practical answers to specific policy problems, but more generally to foster an intellectual environment in which policies can be meaningfully assessed.⁶⁹

Whatever initiatives dominate the next phase of the development of social science in East Africa they will be governed by the political, educational and administrative context in which they are launched. Among the most important contextual factors are the paramountcy of political issues in determining what is possible, the critical influence of the administrative and technical culture on the forms of social science, the commitment of the universities to scholarship, the extent of popular comprehension of and participation in social science activity, and a relationship with government authority which permits active social research without sacrificing what is intellectually valuable. Our review

68. Court, David, "Scholarships and University Development...." op.cit.

69. Hyden, Goran, op.cit.

of the evolution of social science in East Africa has suggested that a further factor contributing to its effective development may be a continuing scholarly pre-occupation with identifying the individual and institutional attributes and social conditions that nourish the kind of social science that is desired.