

The Influence of Higher Education on Decolonization Protests

A survey of Sub-Saharan Africa, 1950-1960



Master Thesis
History: Education and Communication
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01-07-2011
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Chapter 1: Introduction

“During the last half of the 20th century, higher education has become a key institution in societies around the world. Nearly everywhere national systems of higher education have grown tremendously in size and scope in response to increased demand for access and the growing need to train experts for an expanding array of advanced occupations.”

Mngomenzulu – A Political History of Higher Education in East Africa, 1937-1970
(Houston, 2004)

Higher education matters, not just in Europe and other westernized countries in the world, but also in Africa. Higher education helps people to develop themselves, to discover the world around them and to gain important knowledge and skills useful for their future life and jobs. The definition used for education varies per country, but each society takes measures so that all its citizens learn the desirable social behavior, the necessary basic knowledge and skills for use in their daily lives to be productive and useful to themselves and to the society in which they live. Education is the means to achieve this goal. In this thesis I will look at higher education and its influence on people in Africa.

1.1. Historical context

At the beginning of the 20th century the British Empire was by far the largest of the European maritime empires, embracing one quarter of the population of the world. In the 1920s Britain became responsible for the welfare of 450 million people, embracing almost every race and creed and spread across some 14 million square miles of territory. It was the largest empire the world had ever known. The next biggest was the French empire, centered mainly in Africa. At its greatest extent it controlled a third of the African continent. The French empire was focused, perhaps even more than the British was, on civilizing the Africans. This mission had deep roots in French 18th century philosophy: when Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau or, Diderot set out to establish the laws which should govern human society, they believed that they were discovering universal laws, comparable to the laws of physics which governed the whole world of nature, and which would apply to all societies. They did not envisage different

laws for Frenchmen, Germans, Senegalese or Chinese. As a result the French felt fewer inhibitions about changing other people's cultures or administration than did the British.¹ In the late 19th century the European superpowers divided Africa among them during the Scramble for Africa. Almost every piece of African land was given to one of them and new borders were drawn on the map. From this moment on the period of African colonization started which would last for some seventy years in most countries.

At the end of the Second World war things started to change. With the new international situation and the new power relationships on a world level the groundswell of the national movement in Asia and Africa broke. European imperialism started to weaken, and found itself obliged to throw off some ballast. In Sub-Saharan Africa this aided the development of the political struggle and the gradual expansion of its objectives: struggle against racial discrimination, demand for political autonomy, and then of political independence.² This is exactly the period I will focus on in this thesis: roughly the last decade of the colonial area. In this decade most Sub-Saharan African countries, the homogenous group of countries I will take into account, became independent and that fact is relevant for my research.

1.2. Research topic: Education and Protests

In this Master thesis I will try to examine the role between education and possible decolonization protests in Sub-Saharan Africa. In these countries it were the European colonizers who introduced western style reading and writing into societies used to oral communication. This has been important for their development until now, education can be a means for these countries to catch up with the First world.

When the European colonizers arrived in Africa, they paid little attention to pre-existing forms of education. We do know something about these forms of education, thanks to Mounmouni for example who has written in detail about traditional education in Africa. I will discuss this topic more in depth in the chapters concerning my two case study countries. For now it is important to note that there was some sort of education in Africa before the first attempts at European schooling were made. These very first attempts were made by Portuguese missionaries and date back to the middle of the sixteenth century, but little is

¹ Chamberlain, M.E., *Decolonization – The Fall of The European Empires* (Oxford, 1985), 44.

² Mounmouni, A., *Education in Africa* (Washington, 1968), 63.

known about these missions and very little remains from their work.³ The foundations for European education in Africa were laid principally by nineteenth century missionaries from Great Britain, France and later America. These missionaries were often also the first to establish higher education (secondary and tertiary schools) in Africa. Their goal was to civilize and Christianize the African people. From the 1920s missionaries, who took most of the credit for the establishment of schools in sub-Saharan Africa, began to pressure their governments for more support of missionary efforts in education.⁴ The governments of Great Britain and France heard these pleas but more substantial financial support did not begin until after the First World War. Hereafter the importance of higher educated Africans, who could work for the colonial government as clerks, nurses, teachers and employees in commerce, was seen and secondary state schools came into existence more and more.

Higher education in Africa still seems to have remained at a very low level in these years but it did develop. Because few research has been done on the amount of secondary and tertiary education in this region I will look at statistical data and estimate how much education there actually was and in which degree it developed in the examined decade (1950-1960) in these countries.

The amount of education is relevant for the hypothesis of this thesis because from existing literature we can assume a possible correlation between the amount of education and the efficiency and fierceness of protests during the process of becoming independent countries again. My hypothesis is that in countries where a large number of the population was highly educated, in secondary and/ or tertiary education, protests during the process of becoming independent were stronger, better organized and hence, more effective. The idea behind this is that higher educated people are better able to formulate and organize resistance against the oppressor, when there is a need to do this. They know better what is going on in the world, and possess the knowledge and skills to be able to formulate their needs against the possible oppressor. Protest movements were led by people with an education (most of them were educated in their own country but some also went abroad). Examples of them are Africanus Horton (an African Nationalist writer and thinker who studied at Kings College in London and Edinbrough University and lived in Ghana), Félix Houphouët – Boigny (Ivory Coast, played a leading role in the decolonization of Africa, educated in Senegal) and Ghandi (from India, studied at University College London).

³ White, B. W., 'Talk about School: education and the colonial project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', Comparative Education, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1996, pp 9-25, 10.

⁴ White, 'Talk about School', 11.

The question that comes up is if countries with an overall highly educated population experienced stronger, better organized and more effective protests during decolonization. Or was this high education not necessary for fierce protests? In this thesis I will show that this possible relation is not evident in all cases.

Protests on the road to independence can be typified as protests for an own nation: protests that expressed nationalist feelings. The term nationalism is not easily defined, it declares itself more in action and thus becomes more easily recognized than defined. It has elements which are easy to identify such as a common language, a common culture, common descent, common customs and a common territory. Not all these elements are essential for the rise of nationalism. In the colonial context, according to Kiwanuka, the ultimate aim of nationalism is to overthrow alien rule and influence.⁵ In the next chapters the role of nationalism will come forward, and will be a means used by the protest leaders.

1.3. Research Method

I will do primary research at first by using data not further examined or processed by others (UNESCO data – statistical yearbook 1964 and Maddison). A quantitative analysis will help to show which countries had more higher education than others. I have sufficient statistical data and if I look at homogenous numbers (quantitative analysis) I can compare them. These data will be a useful start for what I will examine later in this thesis in a qualitative analysis. In the 4th and 5th chapters I will compare two countries. This comparison will be based on literature because qualitative research gives us a more in depth look on different tendencies in the case study countries.

1.4. Importance of this research

Not much is written about secondary education in Sub-Saharan African in the period 1950-1960, the decade in which many countries in this region became independent or went towards independence. Academics wrote about primary education in this area (Frankema and Watson), and about the general difference in imposed systems of Western Education (White). These authors mention the presence of higher education, but don't really go into it. Furthermore it is important to note here that higher education is a phenomenon that became spread worldwide from the 1940s on. Until the 1930s there were no universities in other parts of the world than

⁵ Kiwanuka M.S.M., 'Nationality and Nationalism in Africa: the Uganda Case', Canadian Journal of African Affairs/ Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines, Vol.4, No. 2, (Spring, 1970), pp 229-247, 229.

the western one.⁶ For that it is not very strange that not much has been written about it, but it is not a reason to maintain this tendency.

Furthermore colonial involvement in the development of education systems in the Third World, still is a matter of heated debate amongst historians, educationists and development economists according to Watson.⁷ The earliest writers on colonial education were often apologists of colonial rule, and therefore their writings are very colored. In the period of transition from colonial dependency to independent nationhood (1960s) academics denounced colonial powers and in the 1970s it became a tendency to attack all forms of colonialism and their impact on educational development.⁸ Besides all these critics there also was a feeling, among the same academics who criticized the colonial impact, that new nations should build further on their systems of colonial education. This debate seems to go on until today.

It remains a fact that the possible correlation between high education and protests in colonial African countries during decolonization is a topic never really examined before. I think it is an interesting topic because today it are the higher educated people in countries who govern, who make policies and who spark protests. I am wondering if these classes of people existed in colonial Africa and if so, if they used their skills to come out of the colonial yoke. In chapter two I will further explain my hypothesis and give more reasons why I think it is a relevant topic in the study field of colonial history and education. At this moment it is not clear if we can speak of a correlation between education and protests during decolonization. In this thesis this is exactly what I will try to find out by explaining my hypothesis in chapter 2, looking at statistical data in chapter 3 and look at two case study countries in chapter 4 and 5. In the last chapter I will answer the question if we can speak of a possible correlation between education and protests in some Sub-Saharan African countries in the period 1950-1960.

⁶ Watson, K., Education in the third World (Canberra, 1982), 29.

⁷ Watson, Education in the third World, 1.

⁸ *Ibidem*, 2.

Chapter 2: Hypothesis – Higher Education and Protests

Over the last decades there has been done quite some research about primary education in Africa in the late 19th and early 20th century. Education in Africa in general has attracted the attention of academics as well, as did the differences in colonial educational systems. What still seems a neglected area in history is higher education at the end of the colonial period. I think this is a necessary period to examine because this was the moment many African countries realized they would not be colonized forever. Soon there would be the moment that they had to start regulate many institutions for themselves. They would soon be able to chose their own policies, types of institutions and people who would govern the country. Education might have helped Sub-Saharan African countries to shake of their colonial yoke and perhaps the problems Africa is facing today can be explained from this period in history. That is not the focus of this thesis, but I am convinced it is worth looking at this period and thereby specifically take into account higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa.

It is fascinating why in some countries independence came with a lot of violence, and in others it did not. I think higher education could have been a factor in the amount of violence against the colonizing power. According to Bloom higher education may have promoted social unrest and political stability.⁹ Higher educated people knew more because of their education, they might have traveled for their education to Europe or other African countries and had seen that some things were different elsewhere during these travels. They might have been more aware of the world around them. And in the end, on the road towards independence in their countries, they might have been the ones who stood up against the Europeans who colonized them for so long. Important to note is that higher educated people do not have a higher preference for violence in general, but they do prefer a tighter organization to reach their goals. They also favor clear strategies for action and the mobilization of people.

Coleman wrote an interesting article in which he states that the nationalist movements in many African countries have been organized and led by intellectuals and the middle-class. According to Coleman this leadership suggests a relationship between nationalism and the

⁹ Bloom, D., 'Higher Education and Economic Development in Africa', World Bank Report (20-09-2005), p 3.

number of Africans with a higher education.¹⁰ He also states that the influence of Western education has been a significant ingredient in the rise of nationalism.¹¹

White also writes about a growing resistance to the European educational system in pre-independent countries.¹² According to White, this system became more and more a symbol of political and cultural domination by Europeans for many Africans. This was the view of Africans who attended some of these schools. In French Sub-Saharan Africa the critique was that the rural education programmes (which focused on agricultural and artisanal training) were an attempt to keep Africans uneducated and powerless. The French probably had imposed these programmes to satisfy the needs of Africans living in rural areas. The French also imposed highly selective French schools, which were seen by these Africans as elitist and insufficient in number.¹³

Three other authors who also see a possible relation between education and protests are Hall, Rodeghier and Useem. They examine under what conditions education increases support for protests, and under what conditions the opposite is the case. In their article they state that education affects attitudes to protests by increasing commitment to civil liberties and by increasing opposition to government repression.¹⁴ They also state that higher education decreases support for the use of violence. This implies that higher educated people less often support the use of violence, but it does not mean that these people are not willing to organize strong and very effective protests. Furthermore they analyze some links between educational attainment and attitudes to protest.¹⁵ Hereby Hall, Rodeghier and Useem state that education increases commitment to civil liberties such as freedom of expression and peaceful assembly. So higher educated people are more likely to commit to these personal needs and it is possible that needs like these were absent or wanted in the region (and during the period of time) I will look at. Furthermore these authors tell us that education makes people more opposed to government repression and to the use of violence by either protesters or authorities.¹⁶ Reading Hall, Rodeghier and Useem it becomes clear that education seems to matter. If we take the literature serious, there should be a correlation between education and protests.

¹⁰ Coleman, J.S., 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June, 1954), pp. 404-426, 415.

¹¹ Coleman, 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', 415.

¹² White, B. W., 'Talk about School: education and the colonial project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', Comparative Education, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1996, pp 9-25, 12.

¹³ White, B. W., 'Talk about School: education and the colonial project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', Comparative Education, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1996, pp 9-25, 12.

¹⁴ Hall, R.L., Rodeghier, M., Useem B., 'Effects of Education on Attitude to Protest', American Sociological Review, Vol. 51, No. 4 (August, 1986), pp. 564-573, 564.

¹⁵ Hall, Rodeghier, Useem, 'Effects of Education on Attitude to Protest', 564.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, 571.

In countries where a large number of the population was highly educated – in secondary and/or tertiary education – protests during the process of becoming independent were stronger, better organized and hence, more effective.

This will be the hypothesis and in this thesis I will explore this. The idea behind this is that the education system and the degree of education determines independence. When there are many highly educated people there will be a lot of protest against the colonizing power. Higher educated people protested more fierce against their colonizers in their strife to become inhabitants of independent countries and higher educated people played a big role in the birth of new African states.

To explore this we need to know first if there was higher education at all in Sub-Saharan Africa. Therefore I will look at primary statistic data from UNESCO and Maddison in chapter 3. In that chapter I will examine the amount of higher education per inhabitant and I will look at enrollment rates. Differences in enrollment rates are important because several scholars stressed the constant developmental effects of colonial educational legacies.¹⁷ They do not show how much time pupils spend in school or how much time schools devote to academic or religious instruction. But they are useful for comparative research because they indicate the exposure of rural masses to new ideas and skills.¹⁸ I will show which countries had more education than others. Hereafter I will pick two case studies and in chapter 4 and 5 I will take a look at the way in which my case study countries became independent. I will look more in depth at their decolonization – the way in which they became independent from the European power who colonized them for many decades. An interesting question hereby is if decolonization was accompanied by many protests for independence in my two cases study countries. And, if there were protests at all, were these protests initiated by higher educated people? Important to note here is that I will not focus on the amount of violence used during possible protests on the road to decolonization, the focus will be the way in which these protests were organized. Only in chapter 4 and 5 I will look at these possible protests and thereby I will try to focus on the possible role of education in that process. I will take into

¹⁷ Frankema, E., ‘Changing Morals, Changing Attitudes: Educational development in the Netherlands Indies and Belgian Congo, ca. 1880-1960’, (December 2010) (Work in progress, Paper written for workshop: Colonial Extraction in the Netherlands Indies and Belgian Congo: Institutions, institutional change and long term consequences) Universiteit Utrecht.

- R. Hall et al., ‘Effects of Education on Attitude to Protest’, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (August 1986) 564-573.

¹⁸ Benevot A., and Riddle P., ‘The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues’, *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 61, No.3 (July 1988) pp 191-210, 193.

account at the amount of education the leaders of the independence movements had. I will also examine if these leaders were able to organize, lead and regulate protest movements and if they were able to get to the masses and start mass protests against the colonizer. Important to note is that there is a possibility that we can identify other factors (than a high amount of education) that led the way to independence. In the end of this thesis I will try to find out if we can speak of a correlation between education and protest for independence during the decolonization of these two colonized Sub-Saharan African countries.

Chapter 3: Data analysis on colonial education in Sub-Saharan Africa

In this chapter I will examine primary statistical data concerning secondary education in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa. The observed data comes from the UNESCO statistical yearbook published in 1964. Important to note is that not all the data I would have liked to examine was available. When there is data missing in one of the graphs or tables below I will indicate this in a note. Most data used here are data from the years: 1950, 1955 and 1960. This is the period in which decolonization took place in most of the relevant countries.

(Decolonization started around 1950 and in 1960 there still were many countries who became independent by then).

Because I want to exclude big geographic differences it is important to have a group of countries as homogenous as possible. Therefore I will exclude in this analysis all the islands (Seychelles, Mauritius and Comoro islands) because those are places where relatively more Europeans lived. I will also exclude South Africa and the North African countries (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Libya). So what remains is Sub-Saharan Africa: Angola, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo (Brazzaville), Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Nigeria, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sudan, Swaziland, Togo, Uganda, United Rep. Tanzania and Zambia.

First I will examine how much secondary and tertiary education there was per examined country by looking at the amount of schools available per inhabitant in the countries I have data for. I will also try to include or exclude the variable of the colonizing power and try to find out if it mattered for the amount of education in a country by who it was colonized. In the end I will examine the amount of inhabitants who were in the age to go to school and thereby look which percentage indeed went to school in the different Sub-Saharan African countries.

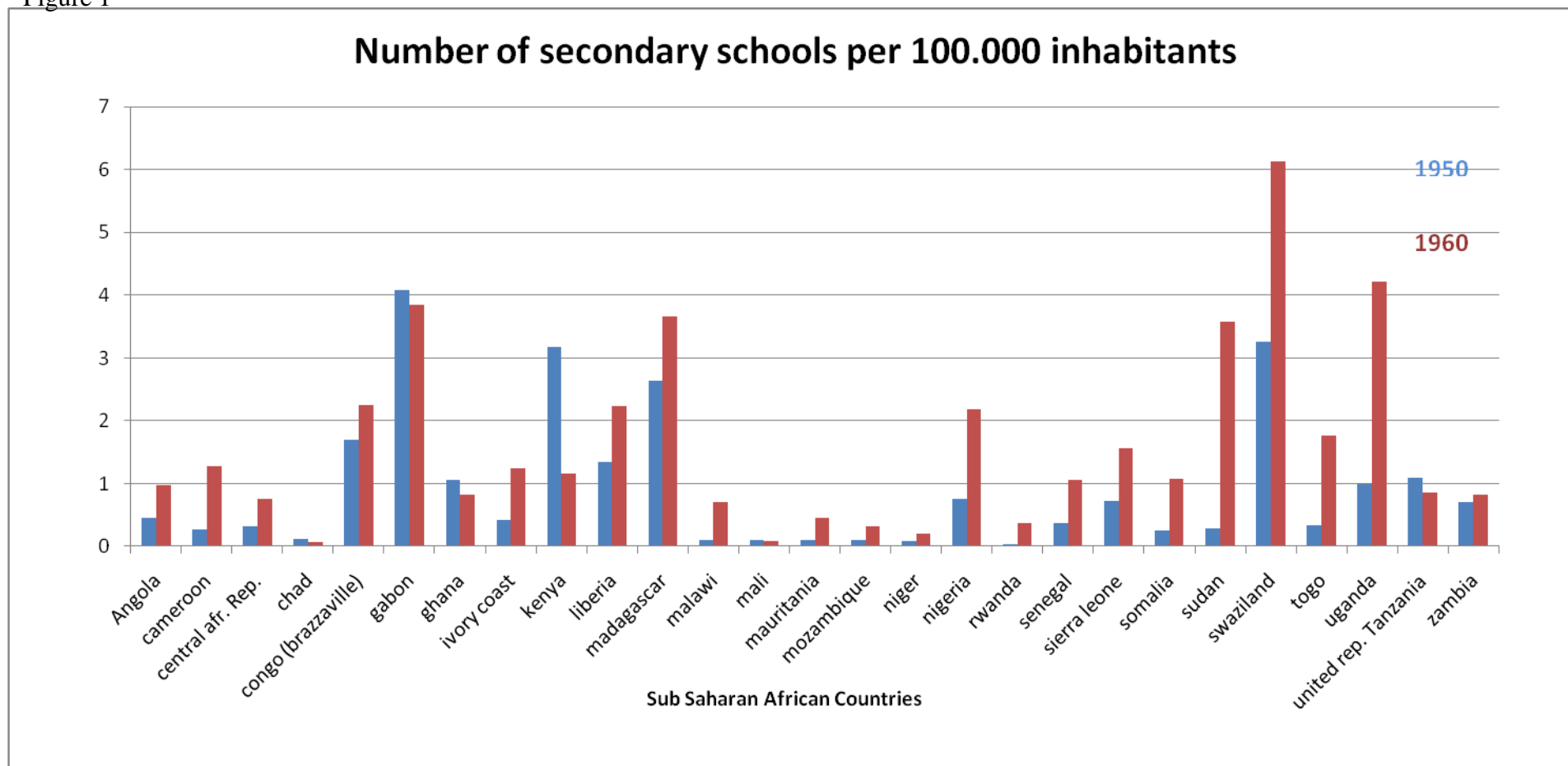
3.1 Education in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa

At the beginning of this research it is interesting to look at the amount of available higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa. The relevant question to examine here is: were there secondary schools at all in the decennium 1950-1960 in Sub Saharan Africa? Figure 1 shows

us the number of schools per 100.000 inhabitants. By looking at the figure some things stand out: in 19 out of 27 countries there was one school or less than one school per 100.000 inhabitants in 1950. This tells us that the overall level of secondary education in Sub-Saharan African was relatively low. A second interesting feature, visible in figure 1, is that the amount of education varied in the examined countries. If we compare Swaziland with Mali for example we can see that Swaziland had at least two more schools per 100.000 inhabitants than Mali did in the same decennium. A third and last interesting feature is that in most countries (except in Chad, Ghana, Kenya, the United Republic of Tanzania and Mali) the number of schools per 100.000 inhabitants increased in ten years.

From figure 1 we can conclude that in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa there were secondary schools, in 1950 in most countries not exceeding one school per 100.000 inhabitants and in 1960 5 countries already had 3 or more schools per 100.000 inhabitants. So from figure 1 we can see that levels of secondary education were low in general, but did improve during the examined century in almost all Sub-Saharan African countries (exceptions here are: Gabon, Ghana, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania). Figure 1 also shows us that there is a considerable variety in levels of education in the examined Sub-Saharan African countries.

Figure 1



Note 1: The data for Mali in 1960 do not correspond with the data for the other countries. Unesco does not give the number of secondary schools for Mali in 1960, therefore I used the same number of schools as the country had in 1950.

Note 2: The data for Ghana in 1960 do not correspond with the data for other countries. Unesco gives for Ghana the number of secondary schools whereby intermediate schools are included as well. (Ghana had 56 secondary schools – intermediate schools not included- in 1950 and 1311 schools – intermediate schools included- in 1960.) These intermediate schools are not included in the data for the other countries.

Now that we have seen the amount of secondary education in the examined countries, it would be interesting to look at the amount of tertiary education as well. It seems hard to find enough data to say something serious about tertiary education in Sub-Saharan Africa in this decade. I did look at data for tertiary education, but I only had data for Ghana, Madagascar, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan and Uganda. Because I think it is necessary to work with more than six countries, I decided to focus on secondary education only from now on. Furthermore it must be noted here that the majority of African universities was created after 1960, when most countries gained independence.¹⁹

Important to note here is that the lack of data usually means that there was no tertiary education at all. The fact that Uganda's data are available and Malawi's are not already is an important difference between the two case study countries in this research.

Now that it is clear that there was a certain amount of secondary education in Sub-Saharan Africa and that this amount varied, it is time to focus on the part of the population who was in the age to go to secondary school. In the next chapter I will examine the percentage of youngsters who indeed went to secondary education. For this I assume, from the literature and data analysis I read, that youngsters between 10 and 19 years went to secondary education. Thereafter I will take into account one last variable: the variable of the European colonizer. I will investigate if there is a possible correlation between the amount of education and the colonizing power: can we see a considerable higher amount of education in Sub-Saharan African countries colonized by the French or by the British?

¹⁹ N'Drit, Assié-Lumumba, Higher Education in Africa – Crises, Reforms and Transformations(Dakar 2006), 31.

3.2 Youngsters in secondary education

In figure 1 we have seen how many secondary schools there were per inhabitant in each Sub-Saharan African country. Interesting to look at as well is the percentage of the total population indeed went to these amount of schools in 1950 and 1960. In table 1 this is shown in percentages as part of the total population.

Table 1 : Total number of inhabitants (in percentages) in a country enrolled in secondary education in 1950 & 1960.

Country	Percentage of total inhabitants enrolled in secondary education in 1950	Percentage of total inhabitants enrolled in secondary education in 1960
Angola	0,90%	3%
Cameroon	0,70%	4%
Central Afr. Rep.	0,80%	3%
Chad	0,10%	0,70%
Congo (brazzaville)	1%	7%
Gabon	1%	6%
Ghana	1%	3%
Ivory Coast	0,70%	4%
Kenya	2%	4%
Liberia	0,70%	2%
Madagascar	3%	5%
Malawi	0,10%	1%
Mali	0,40%	1%
Mauritania	0,30%	0,70%
Mozambique	2%	2%
Niger	0,10%	0,50%
Nigeria	1%	5%
Rwanda	0,40%	1%
Senegal	1%	4%
Sierra Leone	1%	3%
Somalia	0,20%	1%
Sudan	0,50%	6%
Swaziland	2%	6%
Togo	1%	4%
Uganda	2%	6%
united rep. Tanzania	1%	2%
Zambia	0,60%	2%

Source: Unesco statistical Yearbook 1964, p 99-103.

In this table we can see the so called ‘un-adjusted’ ratios. The data do not correspond to the actual duration of schooling. The length of schooling at each level of education and in each type of school varies widely from one country to another. The results are given as percentage shares. (These data are still to be treated as very crude indicators of the situation and development of enrollment of a given country.)

In table 1 we see the percentage of inhabitants – as part of the total amount of inhabitants – that were enrolled in institutions of secondary education in 1950 and 1960. Interesting is the increase in enrolled people in the examined decade. In all examined Sub-Saharan African countries in the period of time of one decade more people went to secondary school. In some countries the increase was relatively small, such as in Chad (from 0,10 % in 1950 to 0,70% in 1960), Niger (from 0,10% in 1950 to 0,50% in 1960) or Mauritania (from 0,30% in 1950 to 0,70% in 1960). In other countries the increase was relatively larger. In Uganda we can see an increase of 4% for example, and in Sudan we see an even bigger increase of inhabitants enrolled in secondary education.

From Benevot and Riddle we can assume that 25% of the total population in these Sub-Saharan African countries was between the age of 10 and 19 in this decade.²⁰ Therefore the numbers in table 1 should be multiplied by four. This age range is interesting because it is the range in which people can attend secondary education in all examined countries. The results of this calculation are presented in table 2.

Table 2: Inhabitants in the age 10-19 (in percentages) enrolled in secondary education in 1950 & 1960.

Country	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1950	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1960
Angola	3,6%	12%
Cameroon	2,8%	16%
Central Afr. Rep.	3,2%	12%
Chad	0,4%	2,4%
Congo (brazzaville)	4%	28%
Gabon	4%	24%
Ghana	4%	12%
Ivory Coast	2,8%	16%
Kenya	8%	16%
Liberia	2,8%	8%
Madagascar	12%	20%

²⁰ Benevot A., and Riddle P., ‘The Expansion of Primary Education, 1870-1940: Trends and Issues’, *Sociology of Education*, Vol. 61, No.3 (July 1988) pp 191-210, 199.

Malawi	0,4%	4%
Mali	1,6%	4%
Mauritania	1,2%	2,4%
Mozambique	8%	8%
Niger	0,4%	2%
Nigeria	4%	20%
Rwanda	1,6%	4%
Senegal	4%	16%
Sierra Leone	4%	12%
Somalia	0,8%	4%
Sudan	2%	24%
swaziland	8%	24%
Togo	4%	16%
Uganda	8%	24%
united rep. Tanzania	4%	8%
Zambia	2,4%	8%

From this table we can conclude that there were many pupils enrolled in secondary education – as part of secondary-school age population.

In 1950 the countries with the highest percentages of enrolled pupils were Madagascar (12 % of the total population was enrolled in secondary education), Uganda, Madagascar, Kenya, Mozambique and Swaziland (who all had 8 % of the total population enrolled in secondary education).

In 1960 these countries did not vary much. Interesting is the increase in percentages of people enrolled in secondary education – as part of the total population, we can see in this decade.

For almost all countries we can speak of an increase of at least 4 %. There are some exceptions and this makes this table interesting. Mozambique for example remains equal, according to the UNESCO data. There are also some countries who do not experience a reasonable growth. These countries are: Chad (from 0,4% to 2,4%), Niger (from 0,4% to 2%), Mauritania (from 1,2 to 2,4), Somalia (from 0,8% to 4%) and Malawi (from 0,4% to 4%).

Countries with the biggest increase in enrolled pupils – as part of the total population are Uganda (from 8% to 24%), Swaziland (from 8% to 24%), Sudan (from 2% to 24%), Nigeria (from 4% to 20%), Gabon (from 4% to 24%) and Congo (Brazzaville) (from 4% to 28%). For the further research in this thesis it is interesting to compare one of these countries with one of the countries with an unreasonable amount of growth.

3.3 Education in colonial British and French Sub-Saharan countries

Before I pick two case studies it is important to include or exclude one important variable: the colonizing country. First I will look if the possible variable of the colonizing country mattered, thereafter I will take a more in depth look at the two countries. Academics wrote about the difference between British and French models of colonial education. One of them is White, who wrote an article wherein he discusses the diversities and parallels between British and French colonial education in Sub-Saharan Africa.

According to White the French did sent missionaries first, but the government soon took over the building of schools and had a very tight grip on the development of the educational systems in its colonies.²¹ The British on the contrary had a long tradition of missionary education, the involvement of the government in formal education in Africa came much later and was less visible than that of the French. The British government had a more laissez-faire attitude towards the missionaries in Africa than the French had. Before British government involvement, the government encouraged missionaries by providing them with grants and by giving them full administrative freedom.²² Another difference between education in French and British African colonies was the view on the role of religion in schools. French schools were humanitarian and idealistic instead of religious: education was entirely secular.²³ A third difference is that the French schools were intended to educate the masses and an intelligent elite who were to become loyal civil servants.²⁴ The British did have the same intention basically, but it was not as clear as it was in French schools. The British were a bit more careful with the implementation of education, whereas the French did want to implement education because they needed educated Africans for their administration for example.

So according to White there were differences, but is this difference also very clear if we look at percentages of inhabitants (in the age 10-19) enrolled in secondary education in 1950 and 1960? By using the data from table 2 I made two groups: one of Sub-Saharan countries colonized by the French, one of Sub-Saharan countries colonized by the British (So I excluded: Angola, Congo (Brazzaville), Liberia and Togo). I only took into account these two European super powers because they had by far the most colonies in the examined region

²¹ White, B. W., 'Talk about School: education and the colonial project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1996, pp 9-25, 11.

²² White, 'Talk about School', 12.

²³ *Ibidem*, 15.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, 12.

in the decade I looked at.

French Group:

Country	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1950	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1960
Cameroon	2,8%	16%
Central African Rep.	3,2%	12%
Gabon	4%	24%
Ivory Coast	2,8%	16%
Mauritania	1,2%	2,4%
Niger	0,4%	2%
Rwanda	1,6%	4%
Senegal	4%	16%
united rep. Tanzania	4%	8%
Zambia	2,4%	8%

In the table above we can see that the average percentage of inhabitants in the age of 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in French Sub Saharan African colonies in 1950 was: 2,6%. In 1960 this was: 10,8 %.

British Group:

Country	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1950	Percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in 1960
Chad	0,4%	2,4%
Ghana	4%	12%
Kenya	8%	16%
Madagascar	12%	20%
Malawi	0,4%	4%
Mali	1,6%	4%
Mozambique	8%	8%
Nigeria	4%	20%
Sierra Leone	4%	12%
Somalia	0,8%	4%
Sudan	2%	24%
Swaziland	8%	24%
Uganda	8%	24%

The average percentage of inhabitants in the age of 10-19 enrolled in secondary education in British Sub Saharan African colonies in 1950 was: 4,7 %. In 1960 this was: 13,4%.

Although the British Colonies were slightly better educated overall, the difference in examined percentages is too small to be a significant variable. The growth ratio is very comparable as well. From these data therefore it can be concluded that for the percentage of inhabitants in the age 10-19 in the decade 1950-1960 it did not matter if a Sub-Saharan country was colonized by the French or the British. But according to the literature what did seem to matter was the difference in policies concerning education, the difference in education systems imposed by the colonizing power and the effects of this on the development of education in the several Sub-Saharan African countries.²⁵ Because I want a comparison as clear as possible, I will exclude this variable and pick two British colonies as case studies to examine my hypothesis further in depth.

3.4 Two countries: similar but different?

To discover if we can speak of a possible correlation between the amount of education and possible protests on the road towards independence I will use two countries: Uganda and Malawi. I chose those two countries because they are both East African countries, both land locked and non coastal countries, both British colonies (or protectorates), both non Islamic and both are export crop countries (Uganda: cotton, Malawi: tobacco). Furthermore these countries attained the attraction of European missionaries very early and in both countries the primary education is relatively well developed.

Very interesting for my research is that Uganda's secondary education seemed to develop in the examined decade (see Table 2: in 1950 8% of inhabitants between 10-19 was enrolled in secondary education, in 1960 this already was 24%), whereas Malawi seems to lag behind. It is interesting to examine this difference more in depth. It is also interesting to look at the reason why and how this secondary education did develop in Uganda. Malawi had a very similar starting position than Uganda in the early 20th century but secondary education did not seem to start off very well. Most interesting is the question if the amount of education has a relation with the process of decolonization.

Uganda and Malawi were both British colonies and according to Coleman Britain was one of the most liberal colonial powers in Africa and he states that it was inevitable that there

²⁵ White, B. W., 'Talk about School: education and the colonial project in French and British Africa (1860-1960)', *Comparative Education*, Vol. 32, No. 1, 1996, pp 9-25,12.

would be strong nationalist reactions in the period towards decolonization.²⁶ He gives some of the principal features of British policy which he sees to have stimulated nationalism:

1. Self-government as the goal of policy - Unlike the French and Portuguese who embraced their African territories as indivisible units of the motherland, or the Belgians who until recently have been disinclined to specify the ultimate goals of policy, the British have remained indiscriminately loyal to the idea of self-government and laissez-faire.²⁷ In West Africa, this has enthroned the African nationalists; in Central and East Africa, the white settlers.

2. Emphasis upon territorial individuality - The British have, more than any other colonial power, provided the institutional and conceptual framework for the emergence of nations. According to Coleman the British imposed decentralization of power, budgetary autonomy, the institution of territorial legislative councils and other "national" symbols which facilitated the conceptualization of a "nation."²⁸

3. Policy on missionaries and education - The comparative freedom granted missionaries and the laissez-faire attitude towards education has distinguished British policy sharply from non-British Africa.

4. Neglect, frustration, and antagonism of the educated elite - Not only have more British Africans been exposed to higher education, but the British government remained relatively indifferent to the claims and aspirations of this class, which forms the core of the nationalist movements in many Sub-Saharan African countries.

5. Freedom of nationalist activity - The comparative freedom of activity - speech, association, press, and travel abroad - which British Africans have enjoyed within clearly defined limits and varying according to the presence of white settlers has been of decisive importance.²⁹

Coleman states that it can be doubted whether militant nationalists as Wallace-Johnson of Sierra Leone, Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah of the Gold Coast, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Dauti Yamba of the Central African Federation, could have found the same continuous freedom of movement and activity in Belgian, Portuguese, and French Africa as has been their lot in British Africa.

²⁶ Coleman, J.S., 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 1954), pp. 404-426, 410.

²⁷ Coleman, 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', 413.

²⁸ Coleman, J.S., 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 1954), pp. 404-426, 413.

²⁹ Coleman, 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', 413.

If we follow Coleman's statements we can say that African nationalism was more than just a simple peasant revolt. In fact nationalism has been sparked and led by the so-called detribalized, Western-educated, middle-class intellectuals and professional Africans. So nationalist movements were led by those who in terms of improved status and material standards of living have benefited most from colonialism - by those who have come closest to the Western World but have been denied entry on full terms of equality.³⁰ Now it is time to look at the two cases to see if the hypothesis fits with the road to decolonization in Uganda and Malawi.

³⁰ Coleman, J.S., 'Nationalism in Tropical Africa', The American Political Science Review, Vol. 48, No. 2 (June 1954), pp. 404-426, 413.

Chapter 4: Uganda – A Case Study

4.1 Introduction

Uganda, also known as ‘the pearl of Africa’, has been a British colony for almost 70 years (1894-1962). It is a landlocked country located along the equator and in the centre of the Great Lakes region. The country is surrounded by three lakes: Lake Edward, Lake Albert and Lake Victoria. Uganda is bordered by Sudan in the north, Kenya in the east, Tanzania and Rwanda in the south and Zaire in the west. The country is largely situated on a plateau which is situated 900 to 1500 meters above sea level. The country is dissected by many rivers, swamps and lakes. This geographical feature and its general fertile soil has made it suitable to agriculture. Because of this fertile soil it often experienced big harvests.³¹ The country possesses a variety of commercially valuable minerals such as copper, tin and gold.³² Colonizers were attracted by these minerals.

Uganda was an isolated country for a long time, but this changed from the moment that Europeans started to search the source of the Nile.³³ In July 1890 East-Africa was divided between the European superpowers of that time. Germany gained Tanganyika and the British gained Zanzibar, Kenya and Uganda. The arrival of European missionaries, explorers, and businessmen in the late 19th century initiated a process that culminated in the 1894 declaration by Great Britain of a protectorate over Buganda, a kingdom whose agents then helped the British subjugate the entire country. The aims and origins of this kingdom will be discussed in the next subchapter.

It can be said that the colonial period, which lasted until 1962, revolutionized Uganda. The British drove the country into the world economy, introduced Western education, medicine, administration, law and government. In this chapter I will look at the development of education in pre-colonial and colonial Uganda. From the case study countries I picked, this country is the higher educated one. So according to my hypothesis the protests during the process of becoming independent should have been stronger, better organized and therefore more effective than in Malawi. The comparison between the two countries will be made in the final chapter, but in this chapter I will examine if there can be seen a possible correlation between education and protests towards decolonization in Uganda?

³¹ Broere, M., *Uganda: mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu* (Amsterdam 2005), 7.

³² Ofcansky, T.P., *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (Oxford 1996), 4.

³³ Ofcansky, *Uganda*, 17.

4.2 A short pre-colonial history of the country and its peoples

Uganda's pre-colonial history has largely been determined by the different kingdoms present in the country. In pre-colonial Uganda there did not exist one unified folk. Between the kingdoms and tribes there were several differences. Linguistically the country is divided between the Nilotic-speaking northerners and the Bantu-speaking southerners. Economically there is a difference between pastoralists (north and west Uganda) and agriculturalists (in the south). Tension and warfare between the ancient Ugandan kingdoms were often caused by political and territorial disagreements. Society furthermore suffered from religious divisions as Islam, Roman Catholicism and Protestantism competing for the loyalties of Ugandans. As we have seen, the country possessed a variety of tribes and kingdoms before it was colonized. It was a hotchpotch of many peoples with their own histories and ambitions.³⁴ Tensions between Uganda and the Kingdom of Buganda (born in the 16th century and one of the most prominent kingdoms), which was included within, had a strong impact on the history of Uganda from the early 19th century on.³⁵

The Kingdom of Buganda had never been conquered by the British. The British arrived in this area when King Muteesa I was subjecting several of his neighbors. Muteesa I, gladly accepted British aid in this enterprise and absorbed about a quarter of Uganda with their help.³⁶ He thought of himself as an ally and not as a subject of the British. The King invited European teachers to Uganda to teach new knowledge and new skills which would help them and himself cope with the new situation. He actually wanted those European teachers to connect him with the governments of Britain and France so that he could defend his country more effectively against foreign invasion and annexation, especially by the Egyptians. The King furthermore wanted to use the new European knowledge to fight more effectively against his neighbors and thereby control them.³⁷ To imply all these wishes, Muteesa I wrote a letter to an English newspaper to invite English teachers to Uganda. This letter appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* in November 1875 and was the start off for the first missionaries to come. Important to note here is that these first missionaries in Uganda did not come but were invited by the Bugandan King.

The first Protestant missionaries came in 1879, as did the first Roman Catholics.³⁸ These two groups of missionaries lived close to the royal palace and therefore they were

³⁴ Broere, M., *Uganda: mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu* (Amsterdam 2005), 7.

³⁵ Rothermund, D., *The Routedge Companion to Decolonization* (London 1996), 161.

³⁶ Rothermund, *The Routedge Companion to Decolonization*, 162.

³⁷ Ofcansky, T.P., *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (Oxford 1996), 25.

³⁸ Ofcansky, *Uganda*, 27.

easily able to go to Muteesa 1 and teach his chiefs and servants. The teaching of the people surrounding King Muteesa 1 can be seen as the first forms of European teaching in Uganda. But the King was not satisfied with the missionary education, he had hoped that the European teachers could request their home governments to assist him to safeguard his kingdom against enemies from Egypt and other enemies which might want to take over his country. When he told the missionaries this, they refused. They told him they were only teachers and they were not connected with their home governments. This answer disappointed Muteesa 1 very much. At the same time Muteesa 1 also began to fear that these Missionaries were likely to make their governments take over the country. He began wishing the departure of these white missionaries from his country, leaving him and his people in peace which they found prevailing in Buganda.³⁹

Muteesa 1 died in 1884 and was succeeded by his son Mwanga. King Mwanga wanted to be friendly to the British and French teachers. But soon he found the teachers troublesome: they did not want to obey some of his orders. A bit later he was driven away from his throne by missionaries, after that Mwanga had martyred some of them.⁴⁰

His brother Kiweewa replaced him but he was soon driven away as well, this time by the Muslims. Kiweena was replaced by his other brother: Kalema. In this period there were a lot of wars concerning religion between Christians and Muslims.⁴¹

In June 1894 Britain officially accepted Uganda as her Protectorate and in August of that year Britain established her administration in Kampala. Britain would not allow Ugandans to fight between each other anymore because of the different religions which they were following and because of the desire to control political power in Buganda. The new colonizing power decided to use the good governing structures of the four big monarchies in South Uganda (Buganda, Ankole, Toro and Bunyoro) and with that they were able to keep the costs of the colonial government low. Uganda became a Protectorate. This meant that the right of the Ugandan chiefs and monarchs was not affected in their right to tax their nationals and that the system of land ownership remained.⁴² This also meant that from now on a part of these incomes gained from tax revenues went to the British. In the parts of Uganda where there were no monarchies the British took over the reign.

When the British made Uganda a protectorate the Bugandan King (Kalema) raised against this, but he was set off the throne and replaced by his one year old son. This son was

³⁹ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 33.

⁴⁰ Ofcansky, Uganda, 34.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, 35.

⁴² Broere, M., Uganda: mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu (Amsterdam 2005), 11.

raised in a protestant environment until he was 18 years old and until then two Protestant and one Roman Catholic regents took the royal decisions.⁴³

From the moment the British took over Western education began to develop in a peaceful atmosphere. The hatred which had been created during the mid 1880s and early 1890s continued to be observed in the way schools were being established and in the way pupils were being taught.⁴⁴ After Uganda became a protectorate African education remained almost entirely in the hands of religious agencies under government directions. Education and health care could develop better in Uganda than elsewhere because, from the moment that the religious wars were over and the King was under colonial control, Uganda became a stable British colony.

4.3 Education in Uganda

In this sub-chapter I will examine what kind of education Uganda knew before its colonial period and how secondary education was established in colonial Uganda. Hereby I will take a look at missionary education and education imposed by the British colonial government. Later on I will also look at the establishment of private schools in the country and its possible effects on the rest of the types of education already established.

4.3.1 Pre-colonial Education in Uganda

Education on the basis of Western lines was introduced in 1877 in Uganda by the first missionaries. Before this each tribe living in the territory that we know as Uganda had an own system of education with aims, organization, content, methods of teaching, teachers and places where that education was imparted.⁴⁵ The purpose of these kinds of systems was to enable each member to be helpful to him or herself, to his family and to the rest of the members of the society. It made sure that every citizen in a tribe was taught the basic knowledge and the basic technical skills. Indigenous education taught everyone their culture, good behavior, ethnics and the language of the society in which they lived. It communicated the skills and knowledge required to live in regions often plagued by disease, warfare, drought and famine.⁴⁶ Education was oral and children were taught how to adapt to their physical

⁴³ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 11.

⁴⁴ Ofcansky, Uganda, 37.

⁴⁵ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 1.

⁴⁶ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 35.

surroundings and how to survive in them. Fire-places can be seen as the classrooms of the pre-colonial period.⁴⁷

4.3.2 The beginning of Western style schooling & Missionary education

When the first missionaries arrived in Uganda there was an absence of schools and classrooms. Reading and writing were unknown skills to most people the missionaries met. Because of the lack of these skills the CMS Missionaries, who came in 1877, and the White Father Missionaries, who came in 1879, thought that Ugandans did not have education.⁴⁸ The early European educators never believed Africans had education systems through which they really educated young people. Africans on their turn reacted to this in two different ways: one group started to follow the European teachers because they thought that Western education could help them to get out of the poverty they were in.⁴⁹ The other group continued to follow African indigenous education because there were just a few western educators.

The missionaries, the Ugandan chiefs and their subjects played a key role in establishing the new kind of Western style schools and in financing them. The colonial government did not involve itself in establishing, financing or administrating schools at this moment in history. From 1898 on proper schools were being established by the missionaries. These schools were built in places where the missionaries lived, and also in places where those missionaries sent some of their Ugandan teachers whom they had produced by 1898.⁵⁰ Most missionary secondary schools were established in Uganda between 1900 and 1912. These schools initially were built for the children of the chiefs and of the most important people in Ugandan society (clan heads and clergyman for example). Their children were seen as the future leaders of Uganda and therefore needed a good education. In the following years children of peasants also enrolled in these schools, because of their intelligence.⁵¹ Interesting is that all these missionary schools were boarding schools. Children who attended these schools often left their elderly homes on an early age and lived in and around the school. Besides following the lessons, these pupils also attended church often, including a full-length Anglican-Church service on Sundays.⁵² This is interesting because for these Africans the impact of Western education and culture could have been very big.

⁴⁷ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 2.

⁴⁸ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 3.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, 21.

⁵⁰ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 39.

⁵¹ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 44.

⁵² Musgrave, F., 'A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change', Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol: 22, No: 5 (July 1952), pp 234-249, 234.

The missionaries started to teach Africans along the lines of the Western style curriculum they were used to. It was teaching how to pass English, Arithmetic, Social studies, Religious knowledge and Sciences.⁵³ Pupils were taught by European and African staff. The curriculum taught in Uganda varied from that of an English grammar school in the bigger amount of emphasis given to the geography of the African continent and to the African developments since European penetration in their history.⁵⁴ An interesting difference with the former indigenous education is that in Western schools they did not produce while they learned, while in indigenous education they did.

Missionaries organized education on their own in Uganda until 1920. Until then the colonial government was busy in establishing its administration and overwhelm opposition to it from various Ugandan rulers. Another factor was that the colonial government did collect enough money from taxes to support the establishment of good Western style secondary education. This started to change in 1917, when a conference was held which created the Advisory Board of Education. The board was created to guide the protectorate in educational matters.⁵⁵ Change was launched by the fact that more and more chiefs were sending their children (mostly sons) abroad after they completed secondary education in Uganda. The British colonial government on their turn feared that on the return of those sons, they would not respect the British officials anymore and they would also start to be opposed to British colonial rule due to the influences picked up abroad.⁵⁶ So the government started to take measures to prevent Ugandans going abroad for higher education. One of these measures for example was the establishment of Makerere College in 1922, which later became Makerere University. Another measure was the establishment of the Department of Education in 1925. By imposing these institutions the British colonial government declared its intention to fully participate in the educational work of the country. Its intention was not to stop the Missionaries. It wanted to conduct the education in the country, it wanted to build and administer schools, it wanted to make sure the Missionary schools followed its advices and it wanted to give the Missionaries the required money to run the schools.⁵⁷ The government also wanted to strengthen education. According to Ssekamwa this was done by imposing common syllabi and examination regulations, the certification of candidates was made equal as well. Secondary education was further strengthened by supervising the whole educational system

⁵³ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 18.

⁵⁴ Musgrave, F., 'A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change', Africa: Journal of the International African Institute, Vol: 22, No: 5 (July 1952), pp 234-249, 234.

⁵⁵ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 48.

⁵⁶ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 52.

⁵⁷ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 52.

and by providing adequate money for education.

In the 1920s and 1930s not as much literary education⁵⁸ was imposed by the colonial government as wanted by the Ugandans. This was done because the British tried to learn from their colonial history in Asia, literary education over there had done a lot to make people politically alert and disgruntled. Literary education was also not imposed so much because of the nature of the economy in Uganda at that moment, it did not show much chances for giving employment to many people so high educated.⁵⁹ The colonial system needed just a few assistants for the British officers to do the menial jobs for them. And if the colonial government in Uganda produced so many of them, they would be a nuisance and they would begin to demand jobs and salaries that were the preserve of the white man.

Besides literary education there were Agricultural and Technical schools. There was a consistent education policy towards them, but this type of education was relegated into second place and the teachers for these kinds of schools were not as properly trained as the teachers for literary education.⁶⁰ This made the courses weak and since the pupils in these courses were considered weak, they faced chagrin from society. Since the pay for technical graduates was relatively lower than that for graduates of literary schools, this led to low status in society of technicians.⁶¹ Consequently technical education attracted less attention in comparison to literary education in Uganda. So it is important to note that these practical kind of secondary schools were present in Uganda, but in this research I will not further look at them and from now on I will focus on the 'normal' secondary schools (the literate schools). In colonial Sub-Saharan Africa, secondary school education was looked at as for giving skills to be used in the white man's employment connected with office work.

Important to note here is that the colonial period changed education in Uganda. From the coming of the first European educators Western style education started to develop and more and more white collar jobs were given to graduates of literary education. A consequence was that society linked this kind of education with high status and success in life. Government intervention seemed to work during the whole colonial period. But different types of schools remained reality in Uganda. Secondary education developed in different types of schools and it is time to take into account other types of schools than just missionary secondary schools. The different types of schools and especially the private schools – which

⁵⁸ Schools intended to give a purely literary course which did not focus on more practical skills (whereby subjects were combined in agriculture, pottery, iron work, brick making, building and typing).

⁵⁹ Ssekamwa, J.C., *History and Development of Education in Uganda* (Kampala 1997), 65.

⁶⁰ Ssekamwa, *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 93.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, 93.

arose in the 1920s – will be taken into account in the next paragraph. The private schools will have a special position in this because these were possible hotbeds for protests in Uganda.

4.3.3 Development in Secondary education – private, state and missionary

In the first half of the 20th century many different schools had developed in Uganda: catechist schools, junior secondary schools, senior secondary schools, schools like Makerere College, Technical Schools and Teacher Training Schools.⁶² Most of these schools were run by the government by the 1920s. Besides this there were missionary schools and these were divided in Roman Catholic and Protestant Missionary schools because these two Christian religions ran their own schools separately.

From 1925 there appeared a new type of school in Uganda, private schools which were not run by Missionaries or the government. These schools did not get assistance from the colonial government in terms of money, professional supervision and advice until 1953. In the first thirty years of their existence they developed under great missionary opposition.⁶³ One of the first secondary private schools in Uganda was Chwa Memorial College, which still is one of the most famous private schools in Uganda. Dr. Ernest Balintuma Kalibbala helped to found it. He studied in the United States, where he attained a B.A. degree.⁶⁴ So he can be seen as a high educated person who decided to use his skills in his home country and set up a new type of school.

There can be found many reasons why Ugandans were the ones who pioneered with the establishment of private schools. Firstly Ugandans had to deal with missionaries who did not give Ugandan teachers a chance to have a say in the direction of the schools. Secondly many Ugandans were dissatisfied with the curriculum which the colonial system was following.⁶⁵ Thirdly Ugandans – and especially the pioneers of the private schools – wanted to provide further educational facilities for the children of Uganda. Fourthly, the pioneers of private schools hated being belittled by the European Missionaries. The missionaries however never accepted that Africans had the ability to start anything and to manage it efficiently.⁶⁶ Fifthly, the strict moral code which the Missionaries applied to both the teachers and the students was another reason why the pioneers started their own schools. The missionaries demanded a strict adherence to the Christian practice and the pioneers did not. Sixthly, the

⁶² Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 54.

⁶³ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 94.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, 95.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, 96.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, 96.

pioneers of private schools did not support confessional education. The pioneers wanted to allow children of different religions to attend the same schools together. This was impossible for the European missionaries who strictly stuck to their own forms of Christianity. Lastly the pioneers realized that it was necessary for the Ugandans who joined the schools to learn English as soon as they joined school. This would help them to understand the white man. Missionary schools did not start immediately with the teaching of the English language because they had experienced that too many pupils were dropping out because of this.⁶⁷ The pioneers accepted this possible factor of drop outs because of the language. So the pioneers wanted to teach practical skills combined with academic knowledge.

The department of education did not have well worked out policy towards the private school movement between 1925 and 1951. They thought the movement would soon die out as running schools was quite difficult and expensive. When they realized private schools would remain they tried somehow to weaken the movement or to drive them completely out of existence. But this did not work out the way the government might have wanted because the movement of private schools got stronger each year. More enterprising people went into school business because more pupils were finding that they could not secure places in mission schools. By 1950 there were many secondary private schools and they were running side by side with schools run by Protestants, Catholics, Muslims and the colonial government.⁶⁸

Interesting about secondary private education is that this independent private school movement got widespread support in Uganda and the rest of East Africa, Malawi, Zambia and Namibia with the secondary schools. In the 1950s secondary education became even more in demand as primary education gradually lost its status as a minimum qualification for employment of for further training for a good paying profession.⁶⁹ In the 1950s, the decennium which is really relevant in my research, government and missionary secondary schools in Uganda did not increase appreciably enough to satisfy this increased demand for secondary education. In Malawi, Kenya, Zambia and Tanzania there were even fewer secondary schools for Africans. While all European and Asian children could get enough places in their secondary schools in Sub-Saharan Africa, Africans had very few of these schools and they were not allowed to study in the schools of the other races even if they had vacant places.⁷⁰ Tanzania and Malawi did not have private schools at all. The result was that many pupils, desirous of getting secondary education but who could not be accommodated in

⁶⁷ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 96.

⁶⁸ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 97.

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, 108.

⁷⁰ During the colonial period races were segregated in education.

the government supported or missionary secondary schools in those countries, came to Uganda to attend private secondary schools. In the period 1950-1965 half of the students in private secondary schools came from other countries than Uganda.⁷¹

As we have seen these private schools did not have the support from the missionaries, because the private schools wanted to change many things imposed by the missionaries. They also did not have the support from the colonial government. Seen this, and seen the high level of education of the pupils attending these schools, these schools could become possible nationalist hot-beds. In the next subchapter I will look at the possible correlation between education and protests in Uganda.

4.4 Education and protests: a correlation?

In this sub chapter I will look at private secondary schools, and thereby examine if these can be seen as hot-beds for nationalistic movements. If this does not seem to be the case I will look if there were any other possible protests on Uganda's road to independence.

4.4.1 Private secondary schools: hot-beds for nationalism?

Since the students in the private secondary schools rejected the well financed mission and government schools, one could feel that such students would have a feeling of resentment and seek a chance to strike a blow at the colonial government. These private schools began as an instrument of opposition to the domination of missionary education, who were at the same time backed by the colonial government and as the missionaries opposed the establishment of these private schools, there were elements in the movement of private schools which could have created a spirit of nationalism to oppose the colonial government.

Many of the people who opened up these private schools and others who taught in them were politically minded as well. Often they also belonged to political movements which began to spring up from the 1940s and played an active part in these political movements.⁷² For example Fr. Spartas of Chwa II Memorial College was one of the leaders of the Bataka Movement which was prominent in the riots of 1949 wherein the colonial administration and the presence of the Asians in the country were opposed. These riots did not have a big impact at all and things got back to normal very soon. Spartas was even rusticated by the colonial government in Karamoja together with a number of other political leaders of the time.⁷³

⁷¹ Ssekamwa, J.C., *History and Development of Education in Uganda* (Kampala 1997), 110.

⁷² Ssekamwa, *History and Development of Education in Uganda* , 110.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, 110.

Another example is that many owners and teachers of the private schools were found in the ranks of two national parties, the DP and UPC, in the late 1950s. In the next chapter I will look at this more in depth, but for now the connection between private school and national party is important to note. In Uganda nothing of this happened, unlike in Kenya where students in private schools played a remarkable role in the Mau Mau Movement which raged from 1951 to 1960).⁷⁴

Very interesting for this research is that these private schools did not develop into political hot-beds which would be ready anytime to play a nationalistic role against the colonial government. In Kenya private secondary schools did play a remarkable role in movements against the colonizing power. It is remarkable why did this not happen in Uganda but there can be found several reasons for it. First of all the managers of the Ugandan private secondary schools were engaged in a struggle, with the colonial government, to establish the legality of their schools. If these managers had gone on to give their pupils the spirit of opposition to the colonial government, their schools would have been easily closed by their opposites.⁷⁵ Secondly it must be noted that from the mid 1950s these schools concentrated on secondary students half of whom were foreign students (coming from Malawi, Zambia and Tanzania for example). These foreign students had come to get education with the goal to return home and get better jobs. So they were not interested in Uganda's nationalistic movement at all. Thirdly, students in these schools were working under an inferiority complex, vis-à-vis those who were in mission and govern schools having been themselves rejected by such schools as failures. The main concern of these students seems to have been to overcome this inferiority complex by showing that they were comparable to the other students. The only way they could show this was by concentrating on studying what the other students were studying and not by engaging in political activities.

In the early 1960s these private schools were running properly and accepted in the education system as another channel through which pupils and students passed to acquire secondary school certificates. Many youngsters from Uganda, Malawi, Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe got these certificates which enabled them to go for further studies abroad.⁷⁶ This sub chapter has shown us that in Uganda private secondary schools, seen as possible nationalistic hot-beds, did not have enough reasons to be some. The question that comes up here is if there were any nationalistic hot-beds at all in the decennium before Uganda gained

⁷⁴ Ssekamwa, J.C., *History and Development of Education in Uganda* (Kampala 1997), 111.

⁷⁵ Ssekamwa, *History and Development of Education in Uganda*, 111.

⁷⁶ *Ibidem*, 115.

its independence.

4.4.2 A role for the colonial government in the Ugandan road towards independence?

Uganda's education infrastructure gradually expanded and by 1951 there were 5500 African students enrolled in secondary schools in the country. There were also a number of schools for Asian and European students. But despite these achievements, many problems plagued the country's education system. There were not enough teachers in schools for primary education, rival missions often duplicated services which inevitably meant that many schools had unoccupied places. Furthermore the educational developments between 1940 and 1952 had not been very great because of the Second World War, in which educational developments were slowed down due to economic difficulties. Furthermore many missionaries left Uganda in that period to join the war in Europe and lastly Uganda's governor after the war (1945-1950) was Sir John Hall, not the person who was very interested in the education of Ugandans.⁷⁷ On a broader level the situation looked brighter however. Most Ugandans believed a western education would enable them to escape from the drudgery of an agricultural existence into white-collar positions.⁷⁸ As a result, there was a prejudice against technical education, which employed nearly 90% of the population.

Another bright factor was Andrew Cohen, the governor who succeeded Hall in 1951. He can be seen as a clear star of the British imperial system during the period of decolonization. Cohen believed in the power of education and felt strongly that once the Ugandans were well educated and in quite large numbers, they would bring about remarkable developments to the country. The new governor was convinced that decolonization had to proceed rapidly and he really relied for the transfer of power on the British-educated classes of Africans. He was averse to ethnic nationalism and wanted to encourage African leaders to convert the heterogeneous peoples in their respective territories into modern nations.⁷⁹

When Cohen was appointed in 1952 the British government felt the need to improve the quality and quantity of education for Africans. From 1940 to the end of the 1950s neither the British government in London and its colonial administrators in Uganda, nor the Ugandan people had the idea that the country would regain her independence in the beginning of the 1960s. But there began to raise feelings concerning Uganda's independence in the foreseeable future. Because of these feelings there was a need to increase the number of educated men and

⁷⁷ Ssekamwa, J.C., *History and Development of Education in Uganda* (Kampala 1997), 147.

⁷⁸ Ofcansky, T.P., *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (Oxford 1996), 79.

⁷⁹ Rothermund, D., *The Routedledge Companion to Decolonization* (London 1996), 163.

women who would take up positions of responsibility when these countries would become independent.⁸⁰

First the government imposed two study groups who examined the situation concerning education in Uganda. These groups did some recommendations and when they left Cohen imposed the Bunsen Education Committee to advise the government over the way the recommendations (the enlargement of schools, more government led schools and the provision of adequate scholastic materials for example) of the two former groups should be implemented. The Bunsen committee did good work because the recommendations indeed improved the quality and quantity of education in Uganda.⁸¹ Until independence these recommendations were still being followed and results were seen.⁸²

More educational arrangements were made in that time. The Thomas Education Committee for example was implemented for example to help with the gaining and training of more primary, secondary, technical and teacher training schools.⁸³ Another example is that there was more focus on mass education of the whole society. Better living for the whole community was promoted through education. These measures were carried out to make the whole country alert to the duties of a possible responsible government ahead. The measures were intended to make Ugandans have a strong economic and social base to be better prepared when responsible government would arrive at an indefinite date ahead.⁸⁴

I think it can be stated that Cohen did very good things for education in Uganda. It also seems he wanted to meet wishes Ugandans had and, on their turn, Ugandans probably appreciated this. Finally there was someone leading the colonial government who really wanted to improve their lives. The possibility of becoming independent might have reached some Ugandans by then already, but there is no literature confirming this. Cohen's policy can be an explanation for Uganda's seemingly 'protest-less' or non- protest-full decolonization.

4.4.3 Towards Independence – no protests at all?

Some nationalist stirrings emerged after the Second World War as evidenced by the formation of several political parties that helped prepare the way for Uganda's independence. Unlike in many of Britians African colonies, mass nationalism never became a significant factor in the

⁸⁰ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 148.

⁸¹ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 149.

⁸² by 1962 the number of schools which had been built, was built and the number of students who had been estimated to occupy these schools were already there and even above the estimated number.

⁸³ Ssekamwa, J.C., History and Development of Education in Uganda (Kampala 1997), 155.

⁸⁴ Ssekamwa, History and Development of Education in Uganda, 159.

struggle for independence in Uganda. Nationalism did not win much terrain largely because of the emergence of Bugandan separatism.⁸⁵ The prospect that the Kingdom of Buganda would not be part of a united and self-governing Uganda alarmed the British and Ugandans alike. Disintegration of Uganda would have far reaching economic consequences because Buganda was the most populous and wealthy province. It also was the commercial and economic center of the Protectorate and Uganda's capital (Kampala) lies in it.⁸⁶ Furthermore, it had many economic advantages over other parts of the country. Buganda for example had better soils and more abundant and reliable rainfall.⁸⁷ These were important factors for an export agriculture economy. An independent Buganda would also encourage separatism among Uganda's other ethnic groups. It was in this uncertain atmosphere that Uganda gradually approached independence.

Discontent in Buganda was visible even before the Second World War ended. There was a growing dissatisfaction with the colonial order. What happened was that a number of young, educated Buganda resented the political and economic advantages enjoyed by the chiefs and they demanded greater democratization of Buganda's institutions.⁸⁸ These youngsters also distrusted the colonial government's marketing and pricing policies, those would be discriminating against the small farmer. To articulate all these grievances even better they established the Bataka Party in 1945 and the Uganda African Farmers' Union (UAFU) in 1947.⁸⁹ With this they quickly attracted widespread village-level support for their hostility towards the British colonial government. After outbreaks of violence in April, May and September 1949, the authorities arrested 1300 people, including the leaders of the Bataka Party and the UAFU, and banned both organizations.⁹⁰ So here we see that there were some protests on the Ugandan road to independence and although this nationalism reflected a high degree of political consciousness among the Buganda, this unrest was local rather than national in orientation.

So there were no big mass protests. Overall Uganda could be seen as a highly educated country in Sub-Saharan Africa. From 1950 on we do see the emergence of new political parties. Many of these parties emerged during the same time as the difficulties with Buganda did. Actually they did little to improve the life of average Ugandans, but they are relevant

⁸⁵ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 34.

⁸⁶ Fallers, L.A., Ideology and Culture in Uganda Nationalism, In: American Anthropologist, New Series, Vol. 63, No. 4 (Aug, 1961), pp 677-686, p 678.

⁸⁷ Kiwanuka M.S.M., 'Nationality and Nationalism in Africa: the Uganda Case', Canadian Journal of African Affairs/ Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines, Vol.4, No. 2, (Spring 1970), pp 229-247, 232.

⁸⁸ Ofcansky, T.P., Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa (Oxford 1996), 34.

⁸⁹ Ofcansky, Uganda, 34.

⁹⁰ Ibidem

because they succeeded in laying the groundwork for Uganda's independence.⁹¹

The first national political party to arise was the Uganda National Congress (UNC), in 1952. It had its roots in farmer organizations, wherein the African elite felt comfortable. The UNC represented the Protestant educated elite from Buganda and other parts of Uganda. The party fought for a federal Uganda, wherein Buganda and other provinces would have a kind of autonomy.⁹² It supported national unity, self government and the Africanization of Uganda's economy. The UNC was formed by Igantius Musazi and Abu Mayanja. Both leaders were highly educated people and this is relevant because apparently they had the need to establish an own national party. The establishment of such a party also implies that they wanted to reach more people than just their surroundings; they wanted to occur in public with their ideas. The weakness of this party was that it lacked a national program and therefore it did not have a lot of influence immediately.

The second political party in Uganda, the Progressive Party (PP) arose three years later. This party enjoyed the greatest support from conservative Baganda intellectuals. This party formulated a national platform but unfortunately lacked leadership and popular support.⁹³ Around the same time two other parties emerged as well. First the Democratic Party (DP) was established by Matayo Mugwanya. This party appealed to Buganda Roman Catholics who opposed the UNC-inspired protestant domination of Uganda. The party supported anticommunism, Africanization of the civil service and a unitary independent Uganda. I think it can be seen as the Roman Catholic counterpart of the UNC. George Magezi and William Nadiope established Uganda People's Union (UPU) around the same time as Mugwanya established his DP. This party was not Buganda based and neither Buganda led. It claimed that it represented Uganda's only genuine nationalist movement. This claim would not stand for a long time because in July 1957 there was a group of intellectuals who opposed UNC leader Musazi and they renounced their UNC membership and established the Uganda's People's Congress (UPC). The UNC merged with it in 1960 and Milton Obote was chosen as the leader.⁹⁴

The growth of these nationally oriented political parties unfortunately revealed many of the weaknesses that would plague post-independence Uganda. The inability of any politician to establish a significant base of support among peoples of different ethnic and religious backgrounds was revealed for example. But all these, overall high educated leaders,

⁹¹ Ofcansky, T.P., *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (Oxford 1996), 35.

⁹² Broere, M., *Uganda: mensen, politiek, economie, cultuur, milieu* (Amsterdam, 2005), p 13.

⁹³ Ofcansky, T.P., *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa* (Oxford 1996), 36.

⁹⁴ Ofcansky, *Uganda – Tarnished Pearl of Africa*, 36.

did not manage to get the masses on the streets. Their political aims were clear, but not extremely harsh. Important seems to be that these highly educated people, also known as the Ugandan elite, did not have many problems with the colonizing power, problems big enough to motivate the rest of the peoples into action.

4.5 Conclusion

It really seems that Uganda's independence came without a big struggle, either by students or by anyone else. There were some protests in Buganda, but these were local and tribal motivated and orientated. Neither the British, nor many Ugandans wanted a disintegrated Uganda. Furthermore it seems that students of secondary and higher education did not have many reasons to demonstrate at all because of Cohen and his colonial policy: a colonial governor who was himself a fervent nationalist and who felt more at home at the University than anywhere else in the country.⁹⁵ In addition, according to Langlands, Uganda has not known a tradition of student protests and of student involvement in politics since the establishment of the first Universities in the country.⁹⁶

In this chapter I looked at the development of secondary education in Uganda from pre-colonial times until the moment that the country regained its independence. We have seen that this country has a long history of education and that it had achieved the best and most advanced education system in its region by the time it regained its independence. We have also seen that independence came very smoothly in Uganda. There were not many fierce protests and there does not seem to be many unsatisfied people. In the 1950s a number of national political parties were established, and its leaders were highly educated, but these parties did not provoke new furiosities against the colonial power. Maybe this smooth road towards independence in Uganda can be assigned at Cohen's efforts in the 1950s. He did a lot to improve Uganda's education system and he listened to the wishes Ugandan people had. When Uganda regained her independence, all the people were alert to the tasks which lay ahead of them and were prepared as never before for those tasks.⁹⁷

A concluding comment here is that for Uganda my hypothesis does not fit. Uganda in the decennium 1950-1960 was a country with high education but there were no effective protests

⁹⁵ Langlands, B., 'Students and Politics in Uganda', *African Affairs*, Vol: 76, No: 302 (January 1977), pp 3-20, 6.

⁹⁶ Langlands, 'Students and Politics in Uganda', 7.

⁹⁷ Ssekamwa, J.C., *History and Development of Education in Uganda* (Kampala 1997), 163.

against the British. In the next chapter I will look at the other case study country, Malawi, and examine if my hypothesis does work for the colonial history of that country.

Chapter 5: Malawi – A Case Study

5.1 Introduction

Malawi, a small state which roughly has the size of Ireland and is situated in Central Africa. The country has been a British colony for over seventy years (1891- 1964). It constitutes a narrow mountainous strip of land of 840 km long and between 80 km and 200 km wide. Lake Malawi forms its main border to the east while the southern end of the country is bounded on all sides by Mozambique. In the northwest lies Zambia and in the north Tanzania.⁹⁸ Malawi is, as is Uganda, a landlocked country and does not have access to the ocean.

It has been an agrarian economy for many years and its main export crops have been tobacco and tea since the early colonial days.⁹⁹ It also has been a poor country for a long time. The country has experienced a slow economic development and was known as the supplier of African labour to the more prosperous territories in central and southern Africa.

Europeans, not only brought the country into existence, but guided its affairs for more than seventy years. They have continued to assist the government and expand their commercial activities since independence until today. Asians, the other big group of non-Africans in the country, were among those who helped to pacify the territory, and have built up large commercial and professional interests in Malawi.¹⁰⁰

To western geographers Malawi's territory was a little known world when they first arrived there in the late 19th century. It was one of the great plains of Africa and it contained vast areas of woodland, bush and forest, great rivers, swamps and clear fresh water lakes. This all was peopled by strange tribes. One of the first Europeans to travel in these regions was the Scottish pioneer, adventurer and medical missionary Dr. David Livingstone. He traveled there in 1858 as British Consul and was the first European to discover Lake Malawi. With that he discovered the region which we know now as Malawi. He found the area in a state of conflict brought about by tribal warfare and the Arab slave trade. It was his view, shared by other philanthropic Victorians, that the evils of the Arab slave trade and its results (the misery and degradation of African peoples) could, and should, be combated by the introduction of 'legitimate commerce' and 'civilizing Christianity'.¹⁰¹ This steady denunciation of the slave trade in this part of Africa caught the imagination of the British people. Religion and

⁹⁸ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 3.

⁹⁹ Morton, *Aid and Dependence*, 5.

¹⁰⁰ Pike, J.G., *Malawi – A Political and Economic History* (London 1968), 26.

¹⁰¹ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 3.

humanitarianism were undergoing a strong revival in Britain. Livingstone organized a meeting at Cambridge University in 1858 about slave trade and he stressed the need for the civilizing influence of Christianity to be introduced in these regions.¹⁰²

What Livingstone and his fellow European explorers did, and what can be seen as a great achievement according to Pike, is that they managed to interpret Africa to Europe and to sweep many misconceptions away. They also brought Africa even more under European attention and as a result of the meeting at Cambridge the first British, Protestant Missionaries went to Malawi.

The arrival of these first missionaries can be seen as the start of later British dominance in Malawi, renamed Nyasaland in the colonial period.

In this chapter I will look at the history and development of education in colonial Malawi. From the case study countries I picked, this country is the lower educated one. So according to my hypothesis the protests during the process of becoming independent should have been less strong and not very efficiently organized and effective. I will look at the amount of secondary education in the country and the way in which education was established. Thereafter I will again examine if there can be seen a possible correlation between education and protests towards decolonization in Malawi.

5.2 A short history of the country and its peoples

Pre-colonial Malawi's identity centered around the Maravi Empire and various tribes, such as the Phiri Clan, the Banda clan, the Yao and the Chewa.¹⁰³ This was a very loosely organized society, covering a large expanse of territory which extended well beyond present-day Malawi. The territory of the Maravi Empire also encompassed the Chewa and the Tumbuka peoples. During the 19th century, the empire suffered multiple successful invasions by the Yao from the north and by the warlike Ngoni from the south. These peoples became heavily involved in commercial slave trading, as agents of the coastal Arabs on the East African seaboard.¹⁰⁴ Although the Chewa, Tumbuka Yao and Ngoni form the basis of Malawi's ethnic groups, the contemporary boundaries of Malawi owe as much to British, and especially Scottish, missionary activity along the Shire River and the shores of Lake Malawi as to the influence of ancient ethnic loyalties.¹⁰⁵ Following Livingstone's arrival in the late 1850s, missionaries were highly active in the second half of the 19th century.

¹⁰² Pike, J.G., *Malawi – A Political and Economic History* (London 1968), 70.

¹⁰³ Linden, I., *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939* (Berkeley 1974), xi.

¹⁰⁴ Wiseman, A., *Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London 1995), 152.

¹⁰⁵ Wiseman, *Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Saharan Africa*, 152.

5.2.1 The arrival of the British

In 1861, under the guidance of Livingstone, the UMCA (Universities' Mission to Central Africa) missionaries established Malawi's first mission. They did this in a country where different tribes coexisted next to each other. This early missionary activity was unsuccessful, and it was not until the 1870s that Christianity gained a foothold in the region. Roman Catholic missions were even later than the Protestant ones. The first Catholic missionaries arrived in Malawi in 1889.¹⁰⁶

Official British interest in the region did not seriously come before the end of the 1880s, when the pressures built up by the 'scramble for Africa' precipitated British action to secure the territory against the claims of other European powers. By 1891, after a series of political and commercial deals, the boundaries of present day Malawi were defined and a British Protectorate over the area declared. By 1904 the country was brought fully under British control and in 1907 it was renamed 'Nyasaland Protectorate'.¹⁰⁷ In this thesis I will use the name Malawi, instead of Nyasaland, for the country because that makes this history more clear.

The new protectorate failed to attract significant numbers of European settlers. Basic reason for this failure was that Malawi was relatively unattractive. By the turn of the century only 314 Europeans were present in the country, most of them were missionaries.¹⁰⁸ The country offered little mineral wealth for exploitation, and although there was scope for cash crop production by settlers, there were constraints in both colonial policy and geography.¹⁰⁹ The early crop failures of coffee, rubber and plantation cotton may have been a disincentive for settlement. As time went by Malawi became even less attractive than other British territories in Central Africa. The larger settler population of the Rhodesias, particularly Southern Rhodesia, offered more economic opportunities to industry and commerce for example. Southern Rhodesia had the political attraction of being more securely a 'white man's country' than Malawi. Malawi soon became more of a periphery territory, a market for goods produced at the centre (Southern Rhodesia) and as a supplier of labour to it. The British government felt that its colonies should be financially self-sufficient. Development in colonies should be undertaken by private enterprise operating with the framework of law and order provided by the colonial government. This was the approach of the new colonizing power before the First World War. After that war the government became more development

¹⁰⁶ Linden, I., *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939* (Berkeley 1974), 2.

¹⁰⁷ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 4.

¹⁰⁸ Linden, I., *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889- 1939* (Berkeley 1974), 5.

¹⁰⁹ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 6.

mind. The 1929 Colonial Development and Welfare Act provided a source of additional finance to the government.¹¹⁰ This assisted the development of African cash crop production. But the scale of this support was small in relation to the needs of the country.

The years of colonial rule in Malawi were characterized by the imposition of a political and social system whereby a superior European authority attempted to exercise its will over a territory already populated by Africans. The British did not take over an already existing pre-colonial system, as they did in Uganda, but imposed their own system on the different tribes living in Malawi. Africans did not possess a lot of religious, linguistic or ethnic unity by then but each tribe had its own systems. The enforced colonial relationship determined the pattern of political change within the Protectorate, so that any variation in the fundamentals of the relationship was bound to have important repercussions on the total colonial situation. From the earliest years of British rule in Malawi, Africans sought to modify or alter the colonial relationship.¹¹¹ It is this sort of African sentiment and activity in reaction to alien control and domination that has come to be regarded as early manifestations of nationalism in colonial Malawi.

5.3 Education in colonial Malawi: Missions and state

In this chapter I will look at the establishment of education by missionaries. I will also examine the role of the colonial government concerning education and I will investigate possible problems with education in Malawi.

5.3.1 The first schools in Malawi

In 1875, when the Livingston mission began work on Lake Nyasa, there was not a single school or church between Assiut or Khartum on the Nile and the country south of the Zambezi. There was no single school either from the west coast to Bagamoyo or Zanzibar on the east.¹¹² A pre-colonial education system did exist and was very similar to the one we saw in Uganda. Needful information was handed over orally and pupils had to learn how to produce goods and stay alive. The focus was on learning manual work or various crafts. As in Uganda, the fire place can be seen as the classroom of those days.

The first missionaries who arrived were Protestants. Later Roman Catholic missions

¹¹⁰ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 7.

¹¹¹ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi.', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 142.

¹¹² Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 350.

came as well and there can be found some differences between those two groups. Firstly the Catholic missionaries practiced a religion of liturgy and not 'from the Book', whereas the study of the Bible was the basis for Protestants.¹¹³ A second difference is that Catholics concentrated on the evangelization of peasants from the beginning. Protestants, on the contrary, were the ones who built secondary schools in Malawi. The Catholics established a widespread network of bush schools where an elementary education was given to as many villagers as possible. For the majority of Africans in Malawi, Catholic education provided just enough learning for mine work or domestic service with Europeans.¹¹⁴

Catholic and Protestant missionary work never overlapped, they had their own defined areas. Friendly and mutual understanding between Protestants and Catholics was a rarity. Because it were mainly Protestant missions who managed to establish secondary education from now on I will use the word missionaries just for the Protestant ones.

When the first missionaries came, their first aim was to Christianize people. The next aim was to help these new Christians and prepare their children to make the most of their lives by the development of their spiritual, moral, mental and physical powers. Hereby an education which had to take into account the desires and needs of these people could help to prepare them to meet the impact of European civilization. It could also help them to overcome the change from autocratic, barbarous rule to civilized law and order. This all came from the missionary idea that it was important to help the Africans to become good citizens with the Christian ideal of serving and helping others.¹¹⁵ The missionaries established schools, hospitals and clinics throughout the country. By providing vocational training for crafts and trade and encouraging cash crop production they sought to encourage African enterprise as well.

The education these missionaries implied was literary education. It started by learning the alphabet and simple mathematics – things that were completely unknown by the people living in Malawi. During the education standards of what pupils needed to know and be able to do were steadily raised and graded for the work to be done.¹¹⁶

Important for village schools under missionary control was that the head teacher had passed the needed examinations at a Teacher Training Institute. Essential to note here is that these Teacher Training Institutes were scarce, they were seen as important to establish by the

¹¹³ Linden, I., *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland 1889-1939* (Berkeley 1974), 87.

¹¹⁴ Linden, *Catholics, Peasants and Chewa Resistance in Nyasaland*, 158.

¹¹⁵ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 350.

¹¹⁶ Laws, 'Native Education in Nyasaland', 351.

missionaries but the establishment of schools had priority. Hence, the number of well trained teachers often was insufficient. As a consequence, the few teachers who had done all the training often were acting as traveling inspectors of schools. These people did not go into a school and see whether the work was done, but they stayed two or three days or a week. In this period they guided teachers how best to organize his or her work and the teaching of the various classes in school. They also helped younger teachers to teach pupils what they needed to know and to not go beyond their lessons.

According to Laws not just literary education had to be taught in the first Western style schools in Malawi, also elementary hygiene has to be taught and practiced. Hereby personal cleanliness, care of the teeth, and the sanitation of the school were seen as important topics.¹¹⁷ Sweeping the school and keeping it and its surroundings clean, and the roads to it, could have farreaching effects in the lives of the pupils.

Education in Malawi started with the establishment of primary schools by missionaries. They managed this establishment very well and by 1930 the amount and quality of primary education was of a decent level. According to Frankema, enrollment rates in primary education were actually higher in Malawi than in Uganda.¹¹⁸ Primary education is not relevant for this research, but it is important to note that apparently the transition from primary to secondary education in Malawi was poor. An explanation for this poor transition can be that there simply was a lack of secondary schools. Another explanation might be the lack of Catholic secondary mission schools, seen that almost only Protestant missions managed to establish secondary education in Malawi. In the following sub-chapters I will examine if this indeed was the case.

About education in colonial Malawi, and especially about secondary education, not much has been written. As we have seen in Chapter 3 there was not a considerable amount of secondary schools in the country in the 1950-1960 decennium. So if there were barely schools, it is indeed hard to write a lot about them. Important for now is that I do have some literature to refer to, but my available sources are not as inexhaustible as the ones I have for Uganda are.

¹¹⁷ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 356.

¹¹⁸ Frankema, E., 'The Origins of Formal Education in sub-Saharan Africa - Was British Rule More Benign?', *Center for Global Economic History - Working Paper Series*, Working Paper No.5, March 2011, Universiteit Utrecht, 22.

5.3.2 Secondary Schools in Colonial Malawi

The first secondary schools in Malawi often were either situated in the same building as the primary schools or were large boarding schools where pupils came to live.¹¹⁹ At these schools pupils were taught in some widely spoken native languages, but this did not seem to work good enough and soon the missionaries switched to English.¹²⁰ Furthermore the people living in Malawi and attending these secondary schools were demanding knowledge of English as they saw that it was economically profitable. The use of English already was so common that in two or at most in three generations nothing but English would be used.¹²¹ Furthermore the missionaries stated that the use of English as the lingua franca would be good for peace, contentment and the prosperity of the country. By implying one general language there would be no more fruitful source of suspicion, misunderstanding and war that sprung from the inability among different peoples to understand each other.

The curriculum for these secondary schools was much the same as elsewhere in Sub-Saharan Africa, as were the used books. One difference was that illustrations in this literature and, especially in arithmetic, examples were taken from the needs of the daily life of the people.¹²² Another difference was the possible attention for the teaching of more practical skills in these schools based on the Western education system. For the manual or technical side of work Africans were doing, extra tools were required such as more advanced instruction in agriculture. When possible also other handicrafts, such as the making of hoe and axe handles, were taught in village schools. The principles of building a house or school in the ordinary wattle and daub, or with brick walls could possibly be taught as well. All this depended from the ability of the teacher, and by his ability to interest the older people of the villages in the improvements he is seeking to introduce. Another practical skill to be possibly taught was the making of roads from village to village. This indirectly helped to expand the accessibility within the country. So besides literate skills, missionaries also taught practical skills in secondary schools in Malawi. This is a difference with most secondary missionary schools in Uganda, where the teaching of grammar, mathematics and literature predominated.

¹¹⁹ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 356.

¹²⁰ The British learned from a German experience here: The Germans imposed Swahili for Tanganyika Territory because they considered it dangerous that the natives should learn German. But the natives in Tanganyika at the north end of Lake Nyasa ask why they should learn a language which is spoken by people living a month's journey from them but not among themselves. Other natives from the west have asked, why, when coming to Nyasaland, they should learn a language they never hear.

¹²¹ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 356.

¹²² Laws, 'Native Education in Nyasaland', 358.

In large districts of Malawi there came into existence a few more advanced secondary schools. These schools were often situated at the European centre of the country and only selected pupils from the other schools were allowed to attend these advanced boarding schools. The best native teachers with several good assistants were to be found there and pupils came in contact with the European, received instruction from him, especially in religious subjects, watched his life and unconsciously imitated his character.¹²³

As we saw in Uganda, until the 1930s education in British Africa was mainly a missionary issue. In Malawi this was the case as well. From the late 1920s and early 1930s the colonial government in Malawi started to accept the responsibility for education and it started to play a more active role in education.¹²⁴ A Department of Education was established, which had to unify and advance the work already being done by the Missions, finance most of the education from now on and implement the colonial policy concerning education in Malawi.¹²⁵ After the appearance of two reports on the state of education in British colonial Africa in 1926, the colonial government in Malawi started to rise its budget on education. In 1938 the budget had grown to £21.500 a year.¹²⁶ This can be seen as a big improvement because in 1913 the British government spent only £1000,- a year on education in Malawi. But the budget of £21.500 was still very low: under two shillings was spent each year per student. If this is compared with for example the Gold Coast, where at least £ 3.99 was spent per student (ca. 40 times as much as in Malawi), Malawi's expenditures on education prove to be very low.¹²⁷ Before this amelioration the British Government did finance some mission schools, but this was not a continuous funding. Most of the money spend on education before the 1930s was financed by the missions themselves.

5.3.3 Problems with Education

There were also problems with education in Malawi. As we have seen there were not enough teachers, especially not in secondary schools. And although the colonial government did gain more interest in the country, missionaries still did most of the teaching work. Because they did not have the manpower to do it all, in some districts education was advertised by a school

¹²³ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 359.

¹²⁴ Morton K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 5.

¹²⁵ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 359.

¹²⁶ Frankema, E., 'The Origins of Formal Education in sub-Saharan Africa - Was British Rule More Benign?', *Center for Global Economic History - Working Paper Series*, Working Paper No.5, March 2011, Universiteit Utrecht, 9.

¹²⁷ Frankema, 'The Origins of Formal Education in sub-Saharan Africa', 9.

being opened for two or three months of the year.¹²⁸ After two or three years, six or eight months of school work could have been reached, and this was often all that the Missions could afford. Most of this teaching was carried on by those classified as village school teachers. According to Laws, it can be readily understood that the results, for the first year or two of such schools, were not very satisfactory. At the same time it must not be forgotten that these schools were often the only civilizing institutions in the district. I think what these schools needed was even more financial help from the Government. Giving grants to schools reaching a certain standard for example could help to raise the standard of teaching and overall education in secondary schools in Malawi. Furthermore more government control could have done much to promote a uniform standard of education. In the years 1940-1960 the situation seems to have improved a little. But Malawi's number of secondary schools and number of pupils attending these schools remained among the very lowest in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa.

Here we can conclude that there are several explanations for the low development of education in Malawi. One of the explanations is that there were not many missionaries in Malawi, and the ones who came had to deal with many different tribes who were unknown to literate systems. These missionaries did impose some secondary schools but soon lacked the needed amount of teachers. They also financed most of these schools themselves and this did not allow them to build schools everywhere. Furthermore the British did not take over an existing system of government in Malawi but imposed their own. This caused resistance from the very beginning and might be another explanation for the reason why not many Africans in Malawi enrolled in western education.

Now it would be interesting to examine if this low amount of education has a correlation with possible resistance against the colonial government on Malawi's road towards independence. In my hypothesis I stated that in countries where a large amount of the population was lower educated protests during the process of becoming independent were less strong and less effective than in higher educated countries. Does this hypothesis fit in Malawi's experiences?

5.4 Education and Protests: a correlation?

Now that we have seen how secondary education was established in colonial Malawi and which problems it met, it is interesting to look at possible nationalist sparks on the road to independence. Hereby I will also take into account the level of education of possible

¹²⁸ Laws, R., 'Native Education in Nyasaland', *Journal of the Royal African Society*, Vol. 28, No. 112 (July 1929), pp 347-367, 359.

nationalist leaders.

5.4.1 African associations – a first spark of nationalism?

In colonial Malawi, secular voluntary associations of Africans arose as early as 1912. Missionary-educated Africans wanted an organization that would adequately express African feelings to District Commissioners. Before there had been annual gatherings of chiefs and headmen but these were regarded as not being representative native public opinion.¹²⁹ The first association that was established was the North Nyasa Native Association in Karonga, and more would soon follow. These associations were non-tribal in purpose and outlook and led by 'new men': primary-school teachers, clerks in government and commercial offices - fairly well educated individuals.¹³⁰ Furthermore they were district in character and successfully transcended the pale of tribal and ethnic loyalties. Initially these organizations were concerned with the improvement of local conditions instead of regional or national issues. They provided convenient platforms for discussing African grievances and for protesting on many subjects. I think these organizations can be seen as the very first steps of possible protest later on the road towards independence for Malawi.

Levi Mumba - an African educated in Missionary schools and the first African teacher in commercial subjects in Malawi - was the moving spirit behind these political groups. He had the hope that these associations would become nationally important. At that moment this might have been a bit of too much wishful thinking, but in 1928 a Representative Committee of Northern Province Native Associations (RCNPNA) was formed in the south of the country. This committee consisted of members of organizations from the north as well. The committee was granted a mandate to act for the other native organizations by presenting the native point to the colonial government.¹³¹ This organization is important because it can be seen as the forerunner of the later nation-wide Nyasaland African Congress (NAC).¹³² Many of the people in these associations were involved in the leadership of the NAC later. Associations can be seen as the training ground for those who assumed the direction of Congress.

All these native associations continuously demanded more and better educational facilities from the start and sought to persuade the colonial government to improve African

¹²⁹ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 149.

¹³⁰ Tangri, 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa', 149.

¹³¹ Ibidem, 150.

¹³² The NAC was formed in 1944 as a convention of a number of African organizations who were concerned about African welfare, education and advancement. The organization was formed by James F. Sangala, who was educated in mission schools and was able to work in the civil service in Malawi.

conditions in numerous ways. This shows that education was indeed a topic for Africans, they asked for it and the one who could provide it (missionaries and the colonial government) did not manage to meet the demand. By the 1930s it had become clear that the colonial policy of undermining the traditional authority of chiefs and headmen and the policy of attempting to implement a form of direct rule had failed.¹³³ At this moment the African associations started a petition for direct representation in important (decision-making) institutions. Furthermore more and more Africans had contact with migrant workers from neighboring countries, who experienced a greater domination by Europeans. This had made Malawians determined not to permit the extension of such-settler oriented situations to their homeland (with their resulting discriminations, insults, and tensions).¹³⁴

Growing radicalization of the masses resulted from the general dissatisfaction with the system described above and from the enforcement of unpopular agricultural measures. After the Second World War, in order to combat increasing soil erosion, the colonial government began imposing a series of Natural Resources Ordinances (which dealt with the usage of land and the conservation of soil).¹³⁵ These ordinances regulated cultivation of land methods and they forced Africans to adapt to some conservation measures. Immediately it was made clear that anyone who would not follow these measures would be fined or imprisoned. These measures were a reason for many peasants to join the nationalist groups. Hereafter the movements of African nationalism and protest in Malawi began to develop in a higher gear.¹³⁶

5.4.2 The Establishment of Federation and its effects on colonial Malawi

Between 1948 and 1953, Europeans in the two Rhodesias and their supporters in Malawi started with great determination the campaign for a Central African Federation. Federation was in theory a key issue in uniting Africans as a whole in Nyasaland and providing the NAC with a significant cause to obtain mass following. On the other hand, the colonial government viewed the establishment of a federation as a great opportunity to build a multi-racial state in Central Africa and believed that it would also promote rapid economic development.¹³⁷ The issue of federation touched one of the most sensitive African fears in Malawi – the fear of losing their land. Educated Africans in Malawi were afraid that their hopes of eventual self-government and gaining control of their affairs would soon vanish. The discontent over the land question

¹³³ Wiseman, A., *Democracy and Political Change in Sub-Saharan Africa* (London 1995), 153.

¹³⁴ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 160.

¹³⁵ Tangri, 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa', 160.

¹³⁶ Pike, J.G., *Malawi – A Political and Economic History* (London 1968), 122.

¹³⁷ Macdonald, R.J., *From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in colonial history*(Nairobi 1975), 263.

was constantly voiced by the NAC from the mid 1940s on.

Interesting is that until now the African nationalist organizations and the NAC had always been prepared to operate within the parameters of the colonial framework. Up to this moment in history these movements had not been very effective in reaching their goals and in motivating the masses. With the imposition of Federation¹³⁸ in 1953 some things started to change. Federation involved a division of functions between the territorial and the federal government. The responsibilities of the federal government entailed defense, inter-territorial roads, regulation of commerce and industry, health and European agriculture. The territorial governments were responsible for most other functions. The three territories from now on shared a common financial system.

According to Pike the imposition of Federation had the intention to establish European oligarchy in the three Sub-Saharan African countries. The establishment of Federation touched a very sensitive fear on the part of many Africans in Malawi: the fear of losing their land.¹³⁹ They feared that it would be taken over by Europeans. They also feared for a white dominance in Malawi as well, seen that in Southern and Northern Rhodesia there lived a considerable higher amount of white people. But the establishment of Federation served paradoxically only to hasten the disintegration of European rule and to create a hot-house in which African nationalist aspirations flourished.¹⁴⁰ Indeed, the imposition of Federation in Nyasaland served as a catalyst for political discontent. From now on the nationalist movement not only questioned the legitimacy of the existing colonial system but also actively challenged it. The goal was to overthrow the status quo, as manifested in the colonial system, and the establishment of a new social and political order.¹⁴¹ A campaign of civil disobedience was launched and strikes, disturbances and violence became everyday events. Leader of this campaign in Malawi was Chief Gomani, but indirectly this campaign was led from the London based Dr Banda.¹⁴² These disturbances were quickly oppressed by the colonial government but certainly did influence the future. Africans had managed to stand up against the colonial government and launch a campaign of civil disobedience against it. Even more fierce riots were on their way.

After the imposition of Federation in 1953 African opposition within Malawi

¹³⁸ The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The formation of the Federation was the result of pressures exerted on the British government over a long period of time by the (white) settler populations of Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

¹³⁹ Macdonald, R.J., From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in Colonial History (Nairobi 1975), 263.

¹⁴⁰ Pike, J.G., Malawi – A Political and Economic History (London 1968), 122.

¹⁴¹ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 153.

¹⁴² Pike, J.G., Malawi – A Political and Economic History (London 1968), 135.

continued, under the leadership of the NAC, which had promoted a campaign of non violent resistance, including boycotts, nonpayment taxed, and strikes.¹⁴³ This campaign ended in 1954 and between then and 1956 the voice of opposition was weak. There however was a strong undercurrent of discontent noticeable in the country.

In March 1956 five Africans were elected in a part of the colonial government – the Legislative Council. This marked a new phase for the NAC. All these five Africans were high educated man who studied at secondary schools and universities, such as Makerere University, outside Malawi. This is a really important giving for this thesis because apparently there were higher educated Africans who played a front role in the movement of changes in Malawi. Very important to note is that none of the leaders here, and others I will discuss later, were so high educated in Malawi itself.

Part of the new phase the NAC entered was Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda's return to Malawi on July 6th 1958. Dr Banda was educated in mission schools but lived outside the country for most of his life. Sponsored by American missionaries he went to study philosophy and medicine in the United States. Thereafter he took a further medical degree in Edinburgh to have the necessary qualifications to practice in Malawi. When he emerged as a significant figure in African politics, as a leading opponent of federation, Dr Banda was practicing in a North-London suburb. When federation was imposed, he moved to Ghana to give federation a chance to come into being. As an African who had made it in a white man's world, Dr Banda had prestige. He declared to be not anti-European, less anti-British and he say that he returned to Malawi to 'bridge the gap of disunity'.¹⁴⁴ When he arrived in Malawi he was elected President-General of the Nyasaland African Congress, and toured the country, whipping up popular support for the abolition of the federation.

When Banda returned to his home country changes in the nationalist movement had been on their way for longer, but his return marked the start of most accounts of serious mass nationalism in Malawi. He became the charismatic leader of the movement and he organized a tightly-knit mass political movement. Banda denounced Federation, he attacked the imposed agricultural laws and fought for a free Malawi.¹⁴⁵

The support from the peasant masses was important here because it gave the nationalist demands more depth, and it enabled the movement to strike with a large support. According to Tangri, the radicalism of the peasants lent credibility to the nationalist

¹⁴³ Morton, K., *Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi* (London 1975), 9.

¹⁴⁴ Pike, J.G., *Malawi – A Political and Economic History* (London 1968), 142.

¹⁴⁵ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 161.

movement in the eyes of the colonial authority.¹⁴⁶ It also gave the nationalist elite the self-confidence and determination to organize effectively and successfully achieve their objectives. An example of the support of these rural masses is the fact that in 1958 and 1959 administration in many areas broke down when villagers violated the rules.¹⁴⁷ Especially in the rural areas the failures of the colonial system were demonstrated dramatically.

Tensions within the country increased and in February 1959 riots broke out whereby a number of Africans were killed. During this period fiery speeches were made by the NAC leaders and the masses were radicalizing. The government feared more violence if the constitutional reforms were not allowed, but the government was unwilling to allow them when they might be construed as concessions to violence. In the process, 51 Africans were killed and the disturbances continued for over a month.¹⁴⁸ In March 1959 the widespread disturbances and demonstrations resulted in the declaration of a state of emergency by the colonial government. By then the NAC was banned and most of its leaders were arrested.

When the NAC experienced his revival under Banda's leadership it became a mass movement. Important to note is that this nationalist movement sought self-government and independent statehood. The movement was led by a westernized elite, conscious of the aspirations of the masses and willing to voice their discontent.

When the NAC was banned in 1959, after the march riots, it was restarted as the MCP (Malawi Congress Party). This restart was possible because the NAC possessed the skill to mobilize the rural African population. In Malawi's struggle for independence the MCP would have a big role.

5.4.3 Towards independence

In 1959 it slowly became clear that the day of British rule would soon be over. The colonial government was faced with the choice of either maintaining control through the continued use of force, abandoning its authority. The latter alternative was chosen. In 1960 a new constitution, which reflected the new imperial policy of co-operation with African nationalists, was imposed. It allowed more Africans to be a member of the Legislative Council and elections were planned. These were held in August 1961.¹⁴⁹ In the mean time Banda was released from prison and had become the leader of the MCP. This party, which in

¹⁴⁶ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 159.

¹⁴⁷ Macdonald, R.J., From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in colonial history (Nairobi 1975), 277.

¹⁴⁸ Morton, K., Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi (London 1975), 10.

¹⁴⁹ Tangri, R.L., 'The Rise of Nationalism in Colonial Africa: The Case of Colonial Malawi', Comparative Studies in Society and History, Vol.10, No.2 (January 1968) pp 142-161, 161.

fact still was the NAC, gained an outstanding victory by the first elections in Malawi. After this there was little possibility that Malawi could remain in the Federation. Malawi was to become an independent African state and it was only a matter of time before the country seceded from the Federation and reached independence. In 1962, a constitutional conference was held in London, and it was agreed that Malawi should become internally self-governing during 1963.¹⁵⁰ On December 31st, 1963 the Federation was formally dissolved and on July 6th, 1964 Malawi was officially independent.

5.5 Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined Malawi and its level of education from the early colonial days until its independence. The country did have a certain level of secondary education, but it was amongst the very lowest in colonial Sub-Saharan Africa. There are several reasons to find for this low amount. Secondary education in Malawi was imposed by Missionaries who followed David Livingstone. Relatively there were not many missionaries who settled in the country and one of the consequences of this was that at a certain moment there were not enough teachers. Furthermore, for a long time the missionaries financed all the education they brought to the country themselves. From the 1930s on the colonial government started to help but the amount of money invested still was very small. Another problem that can be found is that the British colonizers did not take over an existing system of governance in Malawi, but imposed their own over the already existing systems. This led to resistance from the African people from the very beginning. So it can be seen as obvious that less people wanted to attend secondary schools imposed by these western people who tried to dominate them. So the level of education in Malawi was low and according to my hypothesis the amount of protests should be low as well in that case. But, as we have seen in chapter 5.4, for Malawi the opposite seems to be the case.

Malawi was an agrarian society in the colonial period and in that time two important cash crops were developed: cotton and tobacco. African peasants grew one of them but the amount per grower was always very small. Cash cropping did not lead to the development of a wealthy class in Malawi. A petty bourgeoisie however did emerge within the rural society. This group was composed of poorly-paid teachers, clerks in Native Administration, pastors in mission or independent African churches, the more prosperous farmers, traders and some

¹⁵⁰ Morton, K., Aid and Dependence - British Aid to Malawi (London 1975), 11.

contractors.¹⁵¹ It was this group of people that led the frustrated and agitated masses. Little research has been done on this bourgeoisie, but what we do know is that some of them were educated abroad in good schools. Furthermore this group did have some grievance and frustration, they did not have the possibility to express their interests, ideas and initiatives within the colonial government.¹⁵²

From the 1940s on nationalist associations were started exactly by these people. In chapter 5.4 we have seen the development of these associations and to what they led in the end. Important here is to look at the possible correlation between education and protests. We have seen that there have been many fierce protests in Malawi in the decennium 1950-1960. The imposed Federation of Malawi and the Rhodesia's was welcomed with a lot of resistance against it in Malawi. People united themselves by fighting against it. Very important is that these protests were led by highly educated Africans, Dr Banda for example. What matters as well is that they were educated so good outside Malawi: in Uganda, Europe or the United States for example. The knowledge and skills gained elsewhere was used in their home country to lead the nationalist movements in a good way and to bring the masses into action. So in Malawi we see that the biggest part of the population was low educated in the 1950-1960 decennium and that there were fierce protests in the same period. What we also see is that the people who organized and led these protests were very high educated, but mostly outside the country.

The question remains if we can speak of a possible correlation between the amount of education and strong protests in the country. I think there can be seen a possible correlation, if we only look at the people who managed to organize these protests. They were high educated, and although they were not a large group and were not educated in the country itself, they did have the knowledge and skills to motivate the masses in a way that they were able to overthrow the colonial government in 1959 and Federation in 1963. Malawi's independence did not come without a struggle, as was the case in Uganda. People had a reason to demonstrate against the colonial government because they were forced into a Federation with Southern and Northern Rhodesia and because of the imposition of harsh agrarian laws. In Malawi there were Africans who were able to lead these protests in an effective and well organized way.

¹⁵¹ Macdonald, R.J., From Nyasaland to Malawi: Studies in colonial history (Nairobi 1975), 275.

¹⁵² Macdonald, From Nyasaland to Malawi, 275.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this final chapter I will discuss whether if the hypothesis, explained in chapter 2 – *In countries in which a large number of the population was highly educated protests during the process of becoming independent were stronger, better organized and hence, more effective* – applies to Uganda and/or Malawi. So the question that will be answered in this chapter is if we can speak of a possible correlation between higher education and protests in certain Sub-Saharan African countries in the decennium 1950-1960.

In the 4th and 5th chapter of this thesis I examined the development of higher education in colonial Uganda and Malawi. I also looked at protests in these countries and the leaders of these protests. The two case study countries seemed very similar: both landlocked, both export crop countries, both early missionary countries and both non Islamic countries. In chapter 3 we have seen that Uganda had a much higher degree of higher education than Malawi had in the period 1950-1960 and in chapter 4 and 5 I described the establishment of secondary education in each country. It became clear there are several reasons why Uganda had more higher educated people. One of these reasons is that in Uganda the British took over an existing system of governance and thereby experienced less resistance than they did in Malawi where they imposed their own system. Because there was less resistance it seems that Africans in Uganda were more easily willing to be trained as teachers or to attend secondary education at all. A second reason is that for example education, governance and the agricultural system were regulated relatively good for Africans in Uganda and hence there do not seem to have been many reasons for protest. Governor Andrew Cohen played a role herein, it seems that he came to the right place at the right moment. From the moment he was appointed in 1952 many Ugandans had the feeling that somebody from the colonial government was really listening to them. Furthermore he met their demands on many fronts and therefore there were not many reasons for Ugandan people to protest against the British. Cohen can be seen as an important factor to explain the protest-less situation in Uganda in the early 1960s.

The Second World War saw the emergence of the USA and the Soviet Union as the world's two superpowers and the end of an era dominated by European imperialism.¹⁵³ The change in the world order had far-reaching implications for British colonial policy. It became

¹⁵³ Whitehead, C., 'The Histotriography of British Imperial education policy, Part II: Africa and the rest of the colonial empire', *History of Education*, Vol:34, No: 4, (July 2005) pp 441-454, 445.

evident that it was not possible, nor was it in Britain's national interest, to attempt to maintain its empire. After the independence of India the process of decolonization gathered momentum. By the mid 1950s the colonial governments knew that the colonial endgame had begun. In this period, colonial governments on the one hand and African movements and leaders on the other in some countries struggled with and occasionally fought each other. As colonial governments came to realization that hanging on to power would be too painful and costly, they made clear that the responsibility for the consequences of these decolonizations would fall on African shoulders.¹⁵⁴

In Uganda we have seen that this decolonization came without a struggle, but in Malawi, a British colony as well, there were fierce protests in the examined decade. In this country there actually had been some kind of resistance towards the colonizing power from the start of the colonial period on. The problem in the very beginning was that the British did not take over an existing system of governance but imposed their own. A consequence was that less Africans were willing to work together with the British. In 1912 voluntary associations of educated Africans arose who wanted to stand up for their grievances against the colonial government. These organizations evolved into the NAC and after the Second World War the peasant masses started to radicalize because of the imposition of new Agrarian rules by the colonial Government. The establishment of Federation in 1953 seems to have touched one of the most sensitive fears in Malawi: the fear of losing their land to white settlers. In Northern and Southern Rhodesia there was a much larger white settler population and Africans feared these people would also move to Malawi. By the imposition of Federation the period of colonization did not seem to come to an end soon, on the contrary.

The Malawian leader who seriously opposed Federation was Dr Banda. He returned to the country in 1958 and after that protests were fiercer than ever before. So Africans in Malawi did have something to protest for, whereas this lacked in Uganda. Education seems to matter in these protests in Malawi in the way that clearly all Africans who joined the early voluntary organizations or were later leaders in the NAC and MCP did have a high education. But important to note is that the amount and level of secondary education in Malawi itself was not sufficient to educate these people very good. Most of them gained this education outside Malawi, in Uganda for example. So for Malawi my hypothesis partly fits. The leaders of the fierce protests were high educated, but often not inside their own countries. It is true that many highly educated people were able to organize protests for the masses in Malawi and we

¹⁵⁴ Cooper, F., *Africa since 1940 – The Past of the Present* (Cambridge 2002), 66.

have seen that these protests were effective. Therefore I think we can see a possible correlation between education and protests in Malawi.

In the examined period secondary education was still upcoming worldwide. The overall level of higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa can be typified as very low, but we have seen that there was education and that people attended it. It also seemed to give them the skills they could use to revolt against their European oppressors if they wanted to. Interesting is that the road towards independence in Malawi has been fuller of protests, than it had been in Uganda. This is remarkable because overall Ugandan people were the higher educated ones. But the leaders, organizers and instigators of the protests in Malawi did have a high education and were able to organize mass support for their aims.

Because the examined topic in this thesis has not been examined before I find it interesting to make some recommendations for further research. What needs to be found and thereafter examined are data concerning tertiary education. It would be interesting to have data about enrollment rates, number of universities, and the number of youngsters attending these institutions in many African countries. This would make this research more complete because it is these youngsters who really can be typified as high educated. It would be interesting to examine other countries as well and the role these people had in the protests towards decolonization. Thirdly, data for the amount of protests leading to decolonization need to be found (or made). I was unable to find these data and had to rely on the available literature. If these data will be added to the existing data concerning education, the hypothesis of this thesis could become even better measurable. At least I think it could be interesting to look at the continuation of education in Sub-Saharan African countries. With continuation I mean the transition from primary to secondary, and even more important, from secondary to tertiary education. By this it can be made clear how the flow of students was through the different education systems and in that way this can tell us something about the quality and reliability of these systems.

Concluding it can be said that in general we cannot say something, but if we look to these two countries we can. In the case of Malawi, the lower educated country of the examined two, there can be seen a correlation between education and protests. Higher educated people were able to organize the effective protests wanted by the peasant masses. Uganda, by then one of the Sub-Saharan African countries with the most advanced education system, did not experience many protests. Because of a good governor and a colonial history without many troubles there were not many reasons for Ugandans to protests towards a colonizing power who even saw the need to leave. So in Uganda it were not especially higher

educated people who incited possible anti-colonial protests. Here we see that educated elites can achieve the opposite of organized protests: no protests at all. The hypothesis of this thesis apparently does not work for Uganda, and just partly for Malawi. It were higher educated people in Malawi who managed to organize strong and effective protests, but they were not a large group and, even more important, they were mainly educated outside Malawi.

Bloom states that higher education might have promoted social unrest and that especially higher educated peoples were the ones who stood up against the Europeans. Also Coleman believes that in many African countries nationalist movements, and the protests associated with them, have been organized and led by higher educated people. He believes that there is a relation between nationalism and the number of Africans with a higher education. Hall, Rodeghier and Useem wrote about this topic as well and they are the third authors who see a possible correlation between education and protests. The conclusion of this thesis is contrary to what the authors above state. In this thesis I only examined two of the twenty-seven Sub-Saharan African countries and it is possible that the hypothesis of this thesis does fit some other countries perfectly . Therefore for now it can be said that a lot of research still can be done on this topic.

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