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Editorial

Resurgence of Anthropology at African Universities

Over the last two decades, there has been a growing interest in the study of anthropology. More and more departments are being established in African universities. The forced withdrawal of African and Africanist anthropologists from aggressive anthropological research and teaching was reinforced by the nationalist movements of the early independence days of the 1960s, and further enhanced by the intellectual ferment of the 1970s. This certainly slowed down the continuous ethnographic exploration of Africa. The first conference of African scholars and intellectuals, held in Algiers in 1973, called for the banning of anthropological research. According to that meeting, anthropology was a colonial discipline and a smokescreen for neo-colonialism. However, the discipline was revived, as more and more Africans began to show intellectual interest in the nature of African society and culture. By the end of the 1980s, the discipline witnessed a surge in interest.

It is against this background that a group of African anthropologists met recently in Bamenda, Cameroon to assess the situation and look critically at the teaching and practice of the discipline. These scholars who came from all over Africa, where they have witnessed the resurgence of the discipline, attempted to answer the following questions: Is the postmodernist perspective of anthropology offering alternative responses to the quest for sustainable development? Why is the discipline attracting many students today? What are the best ways to give anthropology a new image? How can courses be designed to avoid problems of neo-colonial discourse and practical redundancy often levelled against the discipline in Africa?

In recent years, cultural diversity and/or cultural relativism have been rediscovered, and the signing of the UNESCO convention on cultural diversity gives a sense of purpose to the work of anthropologists whose discipline has always attempted to address this central theme in a more constructive way. The age-old debate of cultural relativism (Malinowski) and absolutism (your way or our way) has been brought back on today's agenda. There is more to culture than just ethnicity. In

fact, we cannot define culture in terms of ethnic boundaries only; there are other parameters too. In this regard, one may speak of corporate culture (rules of engagement – shared values, interaction) and cultures are not contested (it is their custom, we cannot contest it).

One needs to continually undermine the stereotypes which hinder our understanding of various cultural phenomena. There is need for empirical research documenting precisely these internal dynamics. Ethnography, which was once the soul of all anthropological work, seems to have been relegated to the backseat, leaving cursory ethnographic data collection as the norm. It must be emphasized here that a good understanding of cultural diversity lies in the once critical area of ethnography which must become the hallmark of anthropological discourse again. Students of anthropology must be taught to do good ethnography, understanding the different voices in order to rationalise or deconstruct intellectually the messages that such ethnographies carry from past generations.

The Pan African Anthropological Association (PAAA), which publishes this journal in conjunction with CODESRIA, was established in 1989. Its creation was against the backdrop of a virulent discourse on the nature of the discipline in the postcolonial era. In other words, the PAAA and its journal (*The African Anthropologist* – TAA) aim at interrogating the notions and directions of the discipline and at the same time providing avenues for critical interchange and exchange amongst anthropologists and other scholars on the continent and beyond. Without doubt, before this period, most anthropologists had gone "underground" and taken refuge in the departments of sociology. Anthropology was considered figuratively as "dirty" and embedded in neo-colonial discourse. The inaugural PAAA conference which took place in 1989 in Yaoundé, Cameroon, was organised around the theme "The Teaching and Practice of Anthropology". The Bamenda meeting organised by the Pan African Anthropological Association, in collaboration with UNESCO, had as its main objective the identification of the theoretical, epistemological and methodological strengths of the discipline in an effort to ascertain its status in some African universities.

It was clear from the discussions that enhancement of the teaching of cultural anthropology in African universities was required. Recent publications (Nkwi 2006, Ntaranga 2006) show that the discipline is vibrant and very much alive on the continent. The most recent evidence of this can be seen in CODESRIA's reflection on the discipline using the Devisch discourse as a case in point (2008).

Some fundamental issues on the teaching and practice of the discipline have been raised in a recent book *Anthropologies of Africa* (2006) edited by Mwenda Ntaranga. Alongside the need for a continuous stock-taking, the essays published in this volume revisited the very nature of the discipline and the challenges it faces in the 21st century.

In this issue of TAA, six papers attempt to address these issues. These articles demonstrate the determination of African anthropologists to place the discipline in its rightful place among the social sciences in Africa.

We hope that the views which these articles have so convincingly argued will provoke further debate and enrich anthropological conversations in forthcoming issues.

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The Politics of Teaching, Funding and Publication in South African Anthropology: "Our Experiences"

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Abstract

This paper takes a critical look at the politics of teaching, funding and publication that seemingly dominate the academic context of anthropology in South Africa. The views that will be expressed are of an inherently personal nature as they will reflect the experiences that we have had as young academics in our institution and beyond. There are numerous challenges that we have had to face; many of them having to do with the political context of teaching, funding and research/publication. In this paper, we will indicate some of the major challenges that we have had to face, specifically within the context of teaching, funding and research. These three areas are of specific importance to us because, as young researchers/academics, these issues are critical in relation to our institution's criteria for academic staff development. However, despite the importance of these criterion, we will show, based on our own experiences, how institutional politics within the university context as well as the politics associated with publication, have become obstacles preventing us from developing successfully ourselves and making a meaningful contribution to the development of South African anthropology.

Résumé

Cet article jette un regard critique sur les politiques de l'enseignement, de financement et de publication qui dominent le contexte académique de l'Anthropologie en Afrique du Sud. Les points de vues explicités ici sont des expériences personnels que nous avons vécus dans notre

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institution et même au-delà entant que jeune académicien ou universitaire. Il ya plusieurs défis que nous avions eu à faire face, un bon nombre était en relation avec le contexte politique de l'enseignement, de financement, de recherche/publication. Dans cet article, nous allons présenter quels sont ces défis, particulièrement dans le contexte de l'enseignement, du financement et de la recherche. En tant que jeunes chercheurs/académiciens, ces trois domaines sont spécifiquement importants par rapport au critère de sélection qu'utilisent les personnels chargés de développement de notre institution universitaire. Cependant, malgré l'importance de ces critères nous allons montrer à partir de notre expérience personnelle comment les politiques institutionnelles dans le contexte universitaire, aussi bien que les politiques de publication, sont devenues des obstacles qui empêchent notre épanouissement et le développement de l'Anthropologie en Afrique du sud.

Introduction

As young academics, writing a paper of this nature is not entirely without risk. Within the academic arena, attempting to provide a critical look at the political context in which academic activities take place is sure to entail, as one of its consequences, stepping on the toes of established academics. However, despite the perceived risks involved in writing this paper, the authors, as young academics, recognise the need for writing a paper it. Vawda has stated, in the South African context, that '…anthropologists have generally left unquestioned anthropology's institutional existence…' (Vawda, 1998). It is with this view in mind that we recognise the need for writing a paper such as this. We depart from the assumption that there are others perhaps who have made similar observations to those that we will indicate in this paper. Our intention is not to be construed as an attack on our established colleagues, but should rather be viewed as a critical assessment of what we believe the key obstacles are that hinder the development of young academics. We have chosen to look specifically at the academic context of anthropology as we consider ourselves first and foremost as anthropologists, and that each of us is currently pursuing a doctorate in anthropology.

In the South African tertiary education context, widespread changes have occurred in recent years that have directly impacted the three key aspects of academic work, namely teaching, funding and publication. For many universities and technikons, the merging of tertiary institutions has provided the most significant challenges to academia. Due to the pressures exerted on universities by the South African government's Department of Education, many institutions are struggling to cope with the new demands and standards that have been placed on them. For the most part, these changes have been related to a political process, one that

has infiltrated even the key activities of academia, namely teaching, funding and publication.

Over the last two decades if not more, the influence of politics has perhaps been more significant on anthropology in South Africa than on any other social science discipline. This is well illustrated by scholars such as Coertze (1999) and Sharp (2000). The apartheid context in South Africa since the late 1940s had created a polarisation of English and Afrikaans anthropologists. This political division was instrumental in the creation of a division in the discipline itself where a distinction was drawn between the practice of *volkekunde* and social anthropology. The former was criticised by English anthropologists as being used to support apartheid policies and ideology. As Sharp (2000) himself admits, '…it…is true that the two disciplines drifted apart as the system of apartheid became entrenched' (Sharp, 2000). So severe was this political division within South African anthropology that it resulted in the creation of two separate anthropology organisations, namely the Association for Anthropology in South Africa, which represented the English anthropologists, and the South African Society of Cultural Anthropologists, which represented the Afrikaans anthropologists (Sharp, 2000: 30; Bogopa, 2001: 216). It was not until 9 April 2001 that the two associations finally merged into one and became known as Anthropology Southern Africa (Bogopa, 2001). Despite this positive step, however, political differences may well still exist, even in the new association, as will be illustrated in this paper. In the new association, the new political challenge that needs to be overcome is transformation.

Our purpose in this paper is to provide a critical look at how politics has impacted on teaching, funding and publication. In this context, we view politics in the light of the institutional practice of anthropology which Vawda (1998) described as '…a mirror of the structures of power…' (Vawda, 1998: 28). We will specifically look at how politics impacts on the ability of young academics to perform these key tasks effectively enough to facilitate their development. Much of what we will discuss will be based on our personal experiences up to now as young academics. We will refer specifically to critical issues in the politics of teaching, funding and publication as these pertain to the discipline of anthropology.

The Politics of Teaching Anthropology in South Africa

There can be little doubt that in South African universities where anthropology is offered as a teaching subject, there are differences in terms of the contexts in which anthropology is taught. In some universities, such as the University of Cape Town (UCT), anthropology is regarded as

a well established discipline and is taught as a discipline in its own right. In other universities, such as Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) where we are based, anthropology is nothing more than a subject group. This means that students can select certain modules or courses in anthropology and are not obliged to take all anthropology modules if it is not a major subject. Furthermore, at the NMMU, anthropology does not exist as a department on its own, but is based in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which also incorporates the History subject group. An additional factor is that there are only three staff members who teach anthropology at undergraduate and postgraduate level. These three staff members consist of one associate professor and two lecturers, both of whom hold a Masters degree in anthropology.

Since there are discrepancies across different universities in the teaching context of anthropology, there has emerged a sense that certain more established anthropology departments assume an air of superiority over those departments where anthropology is not well established. We have experienced something of this nature firsthand with one of our former anthropology graduate students who left NMMU at the end of his third year to pursue an Honours qualification in anthropology at another institution in South Africa. While studying at this institution, the student found it difficult to make any significant progress. Eventually, the situation became so bad that he decided to return to NMMU to continue his studies. The interesting thing is that while the student was a good performer at NMMU throughout his undergraduate studies, he was regarded as an under-performer at this new institution. As a postgraduate student, this created the impression that the undergraduate training that he had received at NMMU was not regarded as being at an acceptable standard for him to be able to successfully complete his studies at this new institution. The implication is that this student was at a disadvantage because he had received his undergraduate training at NMMU which was regarded as inferior. This experience illustrates that there are certain anthropology departments that maintain an attitude of superiority over others.

At NMMU, a second problem which we have encountered in the teaching of anthropology, a problem that is threatening to worsen in the near future, is the apparent sidelining of anthropology as a discipline of value. The NMMU Department of Sociology and Anthropology is located in the School of Governmental and Social Sciences, which is one of three Schools in the Faculty of Arts. Following the merger process, the university has embarked on a wide scale plan of academic restructuring which has translated into the physical moving of subject groups and departments

to different campuses of the university. From our point of view there is a growing sense that the social science disciplines, including anthropology, that are currently being taught at NMMU, are gradually being sidelined through plans to have these disciplines relocated to one of the peripheral campuses of the institution. A relocation of this nature would have very significant implications for teaching anthropology at the university. It is speculated that there will be a significant decline in numbers of students who would enrol for anthropology courses as they would, for practical and financial reasons, not be willing to travel between campuses. A decrease in student numbers would mean a decrease in FTEs and this would ultimately have a negative impact on the viability of our anthropology modules. Thus, it becomes clear that the future of teaching anthropology at the university is under threat as a direct consequence of relocation.

The decision to relocate certain departments is not made by the university alone but is, to a large extent, a response to external pressure from the South African government. Within the context of the skills crisis in the country, particularly those skills associated with science, business and technology, there has been a drive from governmental level to make these areas focal points at tertiary institutions. This is one reason why at NMMU, there is an impression that the main campuses of the institution will house academic programmes and courses related to science, business and technology while the rest would be relocated to peripheral campuses. This situation shows that the teaching of anthropology is not free of a political context which, as far as we are concerned, will have negative implications on our ability to teach anthropology.

In light of these issues, in order to try to survive, we have attempted to improve our research activities as research outputs are also regarded as criterion for viability. However, being able to produce the much needed research outputs depends on funding. In the following section we will show that access to funding presents its own set of challenges and obstacles which, we believe, are also part of a political context that hampers young academics from developing their research capacity.

The Politics of Funding

There is a famous slogan within the academic circles in South Africa that says *"You either publish or perish"*. Academics in South Africa are being constantly reminded, if not threatened, to publish or perish. An academic is expected to attend at least one local conference and one international conference per year and funding to attend these conferences is

usually on condition that the papers presented at such conferences will, at a later stage, be sent for publication. The whole idea of encouraging academics to write research papers is to create an opportunity for third stream income, largely because the institution will benefit financially if a paper is published in an accredited journal. In South Africa, universities are subsidised by the Department of Education for articles and papers that are published in accredited or subsidised journals. For this reason, academics are encouraged to publish in accredited journals regularly. Although universities receive subsidies for these articles, academic authors receive a portion of the total amount, while the universities receive the major share of the funding.

The strategy of creating a third stream income is a positive initiative in the right direction because it encourages academics, particularly young academics, to become actively involved in writing articles for accredited publication. There are various advantages that this has for young academics, such as creating an opportunity for them to build up a research output record that could open up various opportunities for them to grow and develop. However, some academics, particularly young academics, find themselves frustrated because of a lack of support from the funding committees both within and outside of their institutions. For example, in some cases, young academics have difficulty in accessing funding because, with some funding committees, the criteria used for awarding funding carry conditions, such as that one must have at least published an article before one can be considered for funding. Inexperienced researchers or academics who have the potential to become good researchers get discouraged because, if one has not published yet, the chances are slim that one will be considered for funding.

Further, as academics, we are expected to publish articles in journals, yet the journal policies are not always taken into consideration. For example, some journals, particularly peer reviewed journals, publish only two issues per year and one may have to wait for up to six months to hear the outcome of a paper that one has submitted for review, largely because manuscripts are being sent to reviewers and it takes time to get feedback. Sometimes, journals do not even acknowledge that they have received an article to be considered for publication. We have both sent papers to different journals before and, in several cases, we never received any communication from editors.

According to De Jong (2002: 3) anthropologists in South Africa do not have serious problems in accessing funding. Subsidised funding and access to funding from the universities in South Africa are fairly readily obtained. The majority of anthropologists have previously accessed fund-

ing through institutions such as the National Research Foundation (NRF), the Medical Research Council, Non-Government Organizations and the private sector. Furthermore, there is access to funding from US AID, the World Bank and other international institutions.

In light of the above-mentioned argument that funding is readily obtainable, our previous experience in terms of access to funding is slightly different. Over the past few years that we have been involved in applying for funding to these and other institutions, we have had great difficulty in being successful in our applications. Perhaps the funding institutions are inclined to fund already experienced researchers because, in our experience as young academics, it is difficult to obtain funding. One of us has previously applied twice for funding to the Medical Research Council. The other has applied more than once, unsuccessfully, to the NRF for funding for his doctoral studies. It is our argument that while De Jong (2002) suggests that access to funding is readily available, this access is politically controlled and hampers particularly young academics from obtaining funding. We have found that there have been inconsistencies in the feedback reports that we have received following the outcome of our applications. In some cases, based on the feedback we have received, our applications have been unsuccessful because certain details have been omitted from the application. However, since many of these applications have to be completed electronically, there is an application template that must be used to complete the application. On the template are all the relevant sections that are deemed necessary for the applicant to address. It is not possible to submit an application that does not have all the required sections completed. Thus, once the application is sent successfully to the funding institution it is assumed that all the information has been included. When one receives a feedback stating that not all the details have been included, it does raise certain questions. Often the feedback is also so sketchy that the questions remain unanswered, making it difficult for one to know how to go about reviewing and amending the application.

There is also the possibility that funding applications are rejected because the funders or those responsible for reviewing applications may not regard a particular research topic worthy of being funded. This could be partly explained in view of the issue referred to earlier concerning the national drive towards focusing on scholars of science, business and technology. However, it is also possible that even within the field of social sciences, some academics who serve on funding committees may have a limited view of what topics could potentially be regarded as wor-

thy of funding. There may be an academic bias towards funding certain proposed topics but not others. This implies that regardless of how well one is able to motivate why one has chosen a particular research topic, if the funding committee does not regard that topic as significant enough to fund, the proposal will be rejected.

Furthermore, the problem of funding is not only unique to South African anthropologists, in Kenya, anthropologists have also experienced problems of funding and the teaching of anthropology has been restricted. Research activities involving anthropologists in Kenya has been severely disrupted by autocratic political interventions. There is a tendency to undermine academic research excellence. There is no academic freedom; academics are often labelled as "anti-government", particularly when they are critical with some of the government policies (Kareithi, 1998: 46-47).

Collaborative Research

One way perhaps to combat the above-mentioned obstacle regarding funding is to encourage young anthropologists to become involved in collaborative research. It is very important that anthropology departments work together, particularly on research topics or projects where there is common interest. The whole idea of working together is to share some research experiences and ideas with the view of building research capacity particularly among inexperienced researchers.

There are four anthropology departments in universities in the Eastern Cape province in South Africa, where we are based, yet there is hardly any collaborative research that is being done. These four anthropology departments are geographically situated within each other's reach, but there is no collaborative research work conducted unless it is done by individual academics without the knowledge of their colleagues. There are also no seminars organized so that members and students of these anthropology departments can share ideas.

In some cases, a lack of collaboration may not only be due to a lack of interest between anthropology departments, but it could also be the result of politics and the unequal distribution of resources to facilitate collaboration. An example of this had previously existed in two former Durban based anthropology departments. A research project on informal settlement was started that could have benefited greatly from collaboration between the two departments. However, instead of involving both departments in the project, it was eventually given to the department that was better established in terms of resources. Even though the excluded department had research experience in the field of informal

settlements and had a significant contribution to make to the project, it was given to the anthropology department based at the historically white university which was better equipped (Vawda, 1998: 17). This example shows that politics can hamper collaboration between anthropology departments, especially if these departments are evaluated in terms of being either historically black or white, or as either having or not having the required resources.

However, on a positive note, we have previously worked on a conference paper entitled "Natural and Supernatural: Intersections between the spiritual and natural worlds in African witchcraft and healing: The case of Southern Africa". We presented the paper at an international conference and we later submitted the paper for publication where it was accepted and published in 2007 in the *Indo-Pacific Journal of Phenomenology*. The paper was the first collaborative effort by two colleagues from the same department.

Furthermore, the issue of housing in South Africa presents one of the most significant areas where collaborative research can be encouraged. As housing remains one of the most fundamental problems in South Africa, anthropologists have been involved in conducting collaborative research with a view to unpacking some of the key issues in the housing sector. A collaborative research project involving an anthropologist with two urban academics was conducted in Cape Town with a view to contributing to the local debate on housing policy in South Africa (Spiegel, 55-56).

In line with the spirit of collaborative research, we are both currently involved in a study entitled "Desegregation and racial categorisations: A comparison between France and South Africa". This is a collaborative research project involving colleagues in South Africa and France.

The Politics of Publication

Within the context of South African anthropology and particularly with reference to publication, we have discovered that it is very difficult to publish in *Anthropology Southern Africa*, the anthropology journal formerly known as the *South African Journal of Ethnology*.

A statistical analysis of published articles in the former *South African Journal of Ethnology* from 1992 until 1998 shows that there were barriers unconsciously or consciously created in terms of publication. A total number of 140 articles were published and 86 of these articles were written by anthropologists. The statistical breakdown revealed the following: 61 published articles were written by white Afrikaans-speaking

males, 14 published articles were written by Afrikaans-speaking females, 6 published articles were written by Non-Afrikaans-speaking males, 3 published articles were written by two black males, 1 article by a German speaking female, 1 article by an English speaking female and no articles were published by black females (Jansen Van Rensburg & Van Der Waal, 1999: 49).

The above-mentioned statistical analysis clearly shows that it was difficult to publish in the former *South African Journal of Ethnology*. Despite the change of name, it is still difficult to publish in the current *Anthropology Southern Africa* Journal. Informal discussions with two black female anthropologists based in South Africa provided us with some information that there are people who share the same frustration with us. Both female anthropologists had previously sent their papers to *Anthropology Southern Africa* to be considered for publication, but their papers were rejected.

We have experienced similar frustrations with the journal. We have both previously sent research papers to be considered for publication. The first paper in question was entitled "A Critique of Traditional Courts, Community Courts and Conflict Management". The response from the *Anthropology Southern Africa* journal editor was that the article did not meet the required standards and that the manuscript was not based on credible research other than a measure of participant observation. There were no constructive comments from the reviewers to help improve the above-mentioned paper. The same paper was then later submitted to a journal of criminological studies, known as *Acta Criminologica*, where it was accepted and published without any hassle.

One of us also submitted his own paper in 2004. This paper was entitled "Engaging the Supernatural: Anthropology and the Limitations of Scientific Rationalism". As in the above-mentioned case, the paper was rejected, but without the provision of any helpful comments from the editor and reviewers. Although comments were given, these implied that the central idea of the paper had to be drastically changed, presumably because it did not fit in with the more conventional epistemological views of the reviewers. It appears that a monopoly exists on what constitutes valid ideas that are worth publishing in the journal. Any challenges to the more conventional ideas in the discipline are not favourably received by those who have the power to decide whether a paper is published or not. Preventing the publication of ideas that challenge the conventional is not only harmful to the confidence building of young authors, but is also detrimental to the development of the discipline.

Booyens (2000) has argued that the social sciences, including anthropology, are at a crossroads due to the increasing influence of radical interpretive approaches that challenge conventional thought (Booyens, 2000: 111). It can therefore be argued that senior academics can no longer claim that their perhaps outdated ideas are still the dominant ideas in the discipline. These ideas are being challenged and these challenges have to be acknowledged. The only way this can be done is to allow non-conventional ideas to be published. This is how a discipline develops and grows. If alternative views are prevented from being published there is a risk that South African anthropology will become stagnant and useless.

In 2005, at a meeting of Anthropology Southern Africa, which is the only major anthropology association in South Africa and which is the home of the journal, we raised the question of publications in the journal. Needless to say our criticism was not well received.

Another important issue in publishing in *Anthropology Southern Africa* is the fact that senior anthropologists who serve on editorial and review committees of the journal monopolise the journal for their own publications. There have been numerous issues of the journal where the same authors have published more than one article in the same edition in the same year. When we looked into this matter we found that they were also members of either the editorial board, the board of consulting editors or office bearers and members of the council of the association. In our view this presents an obstacle to young anthropologists who attempt to publish in the journal because they are being prevented by senior, more established authors who control access to publication in the journal.

One of the authors of this paper also wrote a joint paper in 2001 entitled "Challenges facing tertiary institutions in the new millennium: Mono and Multicultural Paradoxes and How to survive them". This paper was submitted to a journal known as the *Perspectives in Education* for publication. It was later rejected with some of the comments from the reviewers stating that there were a lot of sweeping statements in the paper and many sarcastic comments. The same paper was submitted to *Ethnonet-Publication* and it was published electronically in 2004 without problems.

Our anthropology colleagues based at other institutions also had similar experiences. One colleague sent a paper to *Anthropology Southern Africa* in 2004. The title of the paper was "Ghanaian entrepreneurship in South Africa". The paper was rejected and according to the author, the comments were disheartening and demoralising for a young researcher. The

same paper was submitted for publication in New Zealand and it was accepted and published in the *Handbook of Research on Ethnic Minority Entrepreneurship*.

Another anthropology colleague wrote a paper entitled "The Secular basis of Traditional Leadership in KwaZulu-Natal". This paper was sent to *Anthropology Southern Africa* and was rejected. According to the author, the comments from reviewers were not constructive and helpful towards improving the paper. The author decided to send it to another journal and it was published in the *Alternation* journal - Special Edition No.2, 2005.

The above-mentioned examples clearly show how young anthropologists are finding it difficult to publish in a journal belonging to Anthropology. We have already made a decision that we will think twice about sending our work to the *Anthropology Southern Africa* journal largely because our papers are not considered for publication because of an impression that the journal is being reserved for the elite few. The fact that young anthropologists feel that they do not have a home in their own discipline's journal to publish is, in our view, cause for concern as it reflects the politics involved in the process of publication.

Solutions and Recommendations

The issue of transformation within the context of South African Anthropology was raised in 2005 in one of the publications of *The African Anthropologist*. It was stated that the process of transformation is moving very slowly and it needs to be fast-tracked. Black, as well as female anthropologists in South Africa need to be given a chance to serve on the Anthropology Southern Africa association's executive committee, as well as to publish in *Anthropology Southern Africa* so that they can be in a position to raise issues of concern (Bogopa, 2001: 221).

The policy of *Anthropology Southern Africa* needs to be re-visited, particularly with reference to authors who publish two or more papers in one journal issue and also authors who publish in two journal editions in succession. Others, particularly younger authors, must be given a chance to publish as well.

We are not suggesting that the *Anthropology Southern Africa* reviewers and editors should act as mentors to young anthropologists, but we are suggesting that at least constructive comments on submitted papers should be given so that young anthropologists can improve their papers. We firmly believe that there is no "unpublishable" paper. There is always room for one to improve on a paper if one is guided properly.

The issue of "standard" as written in the Anthropology Southern Africa association's proposed constitution for the New Association needs to be clearly defined, largely because it is confusing (Anthropology Southern Africa Proposed Constitution for the New Association, 2001).

Furthermore, we suggest that Anthropology Southern Africa should organize workshops on how to publish in its journal because, as it stands now, most of the young anthropologists have no clue as to how the journal operates in terms of reviewing papers for publication.

With regard to funding, there is a great need for funding organizations such as Medical Research Council, National Research Foundation, Wennergren Foundation and others to review their evaluation procedures. With reference to Wennergren, we suggest that reviewers or the panel should be selected from the individual applicant's country, for example, reviewers from South Africa will be better equipped to evaluate applications from South Africa largely because they are familiar with the current issues and within the context of South Africa.

We acknowledge that these funding organizations are operating on tight budgets, but sometimes application forms with information from the applicant are not sufficient to convince the panel, hence there is a great need that applicants be invited to defend their applications/proposals.

Reflections on Responses to Our Paper from the 2008 Anthropology Southern Africa Conference

A summarised version of this paper was presented at the 2008 Anthropology Southern Africa (ASnA) conference held at the University of the Western Cape in Cape Town, South Africa, in September. We have included a section on the responses of conference delegates to our paper because we believe these responses to be directly relevant to the issues we have raised in the paper. The most significant responses came from senior colleagues and members of the Executive Council of the ASnA. Some of the responses were encouraging, in the sense that they reflected an acknowledgement of the injustices and marginalisation that are currently being committed within the association, and that we, as the young academics who had the courage to expose these issues, should continue to speak out against the lack of transformation in South and southern African anthropologies. Other responses to our paper have led to the need for further engagement and debate on several issues. Given what we consider to be the wide-ranging implications of the issues raised in the debate, we are currently engaged in a debate with senior colleagues

and the international community of anthropologists, specifically those represented on the World Council of Anthropological Associations (WCAA).

There are several issues, as they relate to responses to our paper, that are of concern to us. Firstly, there is a perception that in South and southern Africa, there are superior and inferior anthropologies, which is reflected at both ideological and institutional level. In South Africa, this distinction is ideologically informed apparently as a result of the old division between British Social Anthropology and a form of ethnology called *volkekunde*. The history of this ideological distinction is complex but, as it relates to the issues raised in our paper, it is being used as a justification for the recognition of Social Anthropology as the superior type of anthropology, at the expense of *volkekunde*. The reason for this distinction is that *volkekunde*, in the South African context, was used as a means of supporting apartheid structures and ideologies, for this type of anthropology was associated with Afrikaans tertiary institutions. English universities, on the other hand, as the homes of English Social Anthropology, are viewed as superior because of their critique of Afrikaans universities' support of apartheid. Consequently, historically English universities are seen as being "better" than historically Afrikaans universities. For this reason, there is an institutional discrimination, and anthropology departments are themselves part of this. In the contemporary context, anthropology departments at English institutions appear to want to maintain the status quo as they are benefiting from the situation. This is how they continue to maintain their hegemonic practices within anthropologies of South Africa. This is a situation that cannot be allowed to continue unchallenged. The most obvious reason why this perception should be challenged is that English universities, and, for that matter, English anthropology departments in South Africa, were just as much supporters of apartheid as were the Afrikaans institutions that they so readily criticise. The University of Cape Town (UCT) posted an official apology to the late Prof. Archie Mafeje on the internet for its withdrawal of his appointment as Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at UCT in 1968 (see http://www.uct.ac.za/downloads/uct.ac.za/about/management/vcinstallation/Mafeje_apology.pd). Also, Rhodes University extended a recent apology in an Eastern Cape newspaper for its role in supporting apartheid policies in the past (*Daily Dispatch*, 18 September 2008). Thus, even English universities have apartheid "skeletons in the closet" and have no basis to assume a moral superiority over Afrikaans institutions.

The second issue that came as a response to our paper was the assertion that our papers that were not published in the ASnA journal were rejected because they were not "anthropological". As one senior colleague and Executive Member of ASnA added, he would need to evaluate our papers to determine whether they were anthropological or not. The question that we raise is this: what makes a paper anthropological? A second question that we raise is: how can an individual assume the authority to evaluate the anthropological value of a paper for publication in an anthropology journal? It is perhaps significant that the person who made this comment was an anthropologist from UCT. This seems to suggest once again the point made earlier that some anthropologists from English universities seem to think that they have the authority to make certain claims regarding the discipline as a whole, even to the extent of deciding which papers are eligible for publication in an academic journal and which are not. An analysis of the ASnA journal seems to reflect this very issue because it seems that preference is given to those South African authors who are based at English universities or who subscribe to the Social Anthropology school of thought. Thus, academics from other South African institutions or those who do not subscribe to the dominant school of thought are not favourably considered for publication in the journal. This is also an issue that should be challenged.

Thirdly and finally, the issue of standards was cited as a possible reason why some papers are rejected for publication in the ASnA journal. While we do accept that there must be standards in order to ensure the quality of academic publications, questions should be raised when it appears that the maintenance of standards is being used as an excuse to marginalise young academics from non-English universities or who do not subscribe to the Social Anthropology hegemony. Our experiences have revealed that the rejection of our papers from the ASnA journal had much less to do with maintaining standards but more with the monopoly of the journal for an elite few. Again, we have an obligation to challenge this kind of practice.

Conclusion

As indicated at the beginning of this paper, a fair amount of risk has gone into writing this paper, but at the same time, we do feel that there is a need for young academics in anthropology to express the frustrations and concerns that they feel are hampering them from realising their full potential. We do realise that regardless of what we or anyone else may do, politics is a reality that cannot be escaped. It will always be there. We

are unequivocally reminded of this by the statement that '…anthropology is politics, whether anthropologists like it or not…' (Huizer and Mannheim, 1979: 10 quoted in Jansen van Rensburg, 1998: 55). However, as scholars that have been trained to be critical thinkers and to be the social conscience of our societies, speaking out against perceived injustices, whether academic, institutional or otherwise, is what we must do. We are the future of our discipline and, therefore, we need to do whatever it takes to create a situation that will be conducive to our development as academics. It will not be easy because change itself is not easy. As anthropologists, studying change in societies has always been a feature of our research. However, now we, ourselves, have to be the agents of change in our own institutions and organisations. Anthropologists are not immune to the complexities which change can create because we are, first and foremost, human beings, and as human beings we often find change difficult to accept. But, like politics, change too is something which we cannot escape. Though it may take a long time, we, as young anthropologists supported by some of our established colleagues, should continue to struggle to facilitate positive change in our respective institutions, departments and organisations. The only way to achieve this will be to actively challenge the politics of teaching, funding and publication, and in this way effect the necessary transformation that will take anthropology in South Africa and Africa to new heights.

Finally, as Minaar (2007: ii) indicated, researchers from the different disciplines need to put aside their petty ideological and personal differences, but refocus efforts in prioritizing research by creating collaborative research networks, secure funding and build centres of research excellence.

Notes

1. "In the new association, the new political challenge that needs to be overcome is transformation" (pg 2) – although there is no explanation given there as to what transformation actually means.
2. Anthropology Southern Africa is the name of a journal published by the regional association of the same name: Anthropology Southern Africa (ASnA).
3. Green has taken pains to critique assertions that associate indigenous knowledges with socio-political identity claims.
4. Indeed, one of those was Theodore Petrus (Pauw and Petrus 2003).
5. At its largest, right now and after the present editor extended it to ensure representation from as many South African universities as possible, the editorial board comprises 22 members, not all of whom have published in the journal in the past six years.

6. In the same six-year period, another author has published 3.5 articles, yet another 3.3 articles, and yet another (a guest editor of a special issue) 3 articles (including a special issue introduction). The first of these three authors has also been on the editorial board for some years; the last only recently.
7. I have not here included two instances where a special issue guest editor's introduction and substantive article have both been published in that special issue.
8. The journal now has guidelines for its readers to use when assessing a submitted paper, and a template for commenting. It might be wise to publish those in the journal alongside the guidelines for contributors.
9. Becker (2007: 89) comments on the apparent proclivity in South Africa of some 'budding anthropologists "at home" … to reify essentialist popular views of culture(s) as bounded, timeless entities'. And she refers in that context to what she calls a cynical quip made by a colleague at ASnA's founding meeting in 2001 that we might be seeing in that a revival of '"volkekunde with a dollop of black consciousness"'.
10. The South African Department of Education policy of doling out publication subsidies to institutions which host authors who publish in a list of 'accredited journals', and universities' need to generate income from sources other than student fees and state subsidies for student registrations, is highly contentious. Space precludes a fuller discussion here.
11. At the time of writing these were the only recent issues that were available to me.
12. By black I mean the statutory classification of Indians, Coloureds and African as black.
13. It also raises pertinent issues of the relationship of anthropology to other social sciences and their contribution to knowledge in institutional ways such a journals. Such issues are important, though not directly relevant to my concerns here.

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Teaching and Training in Anthropology in Kenya: The Past, Current Trends and Future Prospects

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Abstract

The discipline of Anthropology in Kenya has a short history with long roots. The first President of the Republic was a trained anthropologist, but Anthropology, as a discipline, gained a foothold only more recently. A review of the development of Anthropology reveals three distinct periods: the pre-independence period, the period 1963 – 1985 and post 1985 period. Beginning the mid-1980s, the first anthropology programme in a Kenya University was started at the University of Nairobi. Gradually, Anthropology was introduced in other Universities. The paper traces and documents the development of and trends in Anthropological teaching and training within the Kenyan context. Factors that influenced differential enrolment in the undergraduate and post graduate programmes are discussed. In conclusion, the utility of the discipline is discussed in the context of the wider social and developmental needs of the country.

Résumé

L'Anthropologie comme discipline au Kenya a une histoire courte avec des origines lointaines. Le premier président de la république a eu une formation d'anthropologue, mais l'anthropologie comme discipline a gagné de terrain très récemment. Une analyse du développement de l'Anthropologie laisse voir trois périodes distinctes : la période pré-indépendante, la période des années 1963 à 1985 et la période après 1985. Au début de la moitié de 1980, le premier programme de l'Anthropologie l'Université du Kenya a été commencé à

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l'Université de Nairobi. Progressivement, l'Anthropologie a été introduite dans d'autres Universités. Cet article trace et documente le développement et les tendances dans l'enseignement et la formation anthropologique dans le contexte Kenyan. Les facteurs qui ont influencés les taux différents de l'inscription au programme inférieur et supérieur y sont discutés. En conclusion, l'utilité de la discipline est discutée dans le contexte social plus large des besoins de développement du pays.

Introduction

The history of anthropology before independence in 1963: During this period, the players were mainly non-Kenyan anthropologists/historians. Missionaries and travelers similarly contributed ethnographies for areas under their see or through which they traveled. Ethnographies by 'natives' were unheard of. In one of the earliest ethnographic accounts written by a Kenyan Anthropologist who, like Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe[1] of Nigeria, would go on to become Kenya's first President, Jomo Kenyatta, wrote about his people, the Agikuyu. In this treatise, *Facing Mount Kenya*, Jomo Kenyatta wrote in defense of his people's cultural practices and used the book as a political tool to protest at the unfair demands that were being put to bear against the Agikuyu (Kenyatta, 1938). At the time, it was difficult for an African to speak in a tone used by Kenyatta ,in his book.

The genesis of the problem hinged on the cultural practice of clitoridectomy among other injustices such as the alienation of large junks of agricultural and pastoral land for exclusive use by the British. In 1929, a ban on female circumcision was imposed, labeling the practice of cliteridectomy as barbaric and unchristian. To enforce the ban, the Scottish Missionaries in Kenya demanded that those who failed to stop the "barbaric" and "unchristian" practice would be denied a chance to educate their children in schools they supported. As a result, many Agikuyu boycotted schools run by the Church of Scotland Missionaries in Kenya. They, instead, started their own independent schools, a teacher training college at Githunguri as well as the African Independent Pentecostal Church. Kenyatta was later to become the Principal of the teacher training college at Githunguri. Other problems raised against the White Settler farmers included forced labour, poll tax and forced resettlement of blacks in crowded dry reserves so as to free up land for use by the settler farmers. Kenyatta took these anthropological issues right to the doorstep of the British people. It was during his sojourn to England that Jomo Kenyatta met and studied under the famed British Anthropologist Bronslaw Malinowski. This interaction led to the publication of "*Facing Mt. Kenya.*"

For many years, the British colonial government had sought and obtained the services of anthropologists. The earliest administrators were given anthropological orientation in England before being sent to the outposts. That Anthropological knowledge of the "natives" (Africans and other non-European groups) had become necessary, almost unavoidable, is evident in the creation of the International African Institute (IAI) between the First and the Second World Wars. There were two specific aims to it. First, it would provide a center whose responsibility was to promote research and dissemination of information and knowledge on African cultures. The second aim was more utilitarian. It was to promote and strengthen links between scientific knowledge gained in the field and the practical activities and needs of the administrators, educators and missionaries (Schapera, 1949). No doubt this information was useful for the Colonial Office in London; it was used to find ways to effectively govern the "native" mind.

In Kenya, ethnographic accounts from Anthropologists, Missionaries (and those leaning towards Anthropology) during the colonial period abound (e.g. Rotledge, 1910; Cagnolo, 1933; Schapera, 1949; Mayer, 1949, 1950). For example, Father C. Cagnolo (1933) produced one of the earliest ethnographies on the Agikuyu. This ethnographic profile was meant to be an introduction to the Agikuyu for the student of ethnology and the colonial administrators. These intentions are aptly captured by the Archibishop of Sardis, A. Hinsley, when he wrote in the introduction, "this book contains information which will be of great interest to students of ethnology and of no little utility to missionaries" (p. vi). In the preface to the book, Father Cagnolo wrote, "we are satisfied if ... we shall have contributed and supplied material to the students of ethnology, anthropology and other social studies" (p. vii). He continued to add that in *The Akikuyu*, they hoped to have "rendered good service to Government Officers and to other Europeans" who have to deal with the Agikuyu tribe.

Father Cagnolo was not alone in this. Philip Mayer was a trained lawyer turned Anthropologist. His journey into Anthropology and Gusii is rather interesting. He obtained a doctorate in Law from the University of Heidelberg in Germany. In 1939, he arrived in England and gravitated towards Oxford University. His initial interest was in the Arab world after an initial stint in Palestine. However, in 1946 Radcliffe-Brown suggested to Mayer to apply for a social science fellowship, which the Colonial Office had just established. After a couple of months working with the Colonial Office in London, he was appointed the Kenya Government

Sociologist. This took him to Gusii, whose people he portrays as "very litigious". Mayer describes his introduction to Africa and anthropology as "an overwhelming experience". This early work of anthropologists/ ethnographers had a profound effect on anthropological training in Kenya after independence.

At independence, there were hardly any trained African Anthropologists in Kenya. Kenyan Anthropologists started coming to the scene in the late 70s and early 80s. The Late Prof. A.B.C. Ocholla-Ayayo obtained his PhD from Upsala, Sweden; the Late Prof. Osaga Odak from Friendship University, Moscow; Prof. Joshua Akong'a and Prof. Enos Njeru (1984) obtained their PhDs in Cultural Anthropology from University of California (San Diego) and University of California (Santa Barbara) respectively; Prof. Joyce Olenja (1985) and Dr. David Nyamwaya (1982) from University of Cambridge; Dr. Mukhisa Kituyi (Social Anthropology) from Norway at the University of Bergen. Coming into the scene in the late 70s and early 80s, these are some of the 'early' post independence Anthropologists.

During this early post-colonial period, many trained Anthropologists in Africa, made the Department of Sociology their first home. Within these Departments ,they remained incognito until the "reawakening". In 1988 at the 12th International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (ICAES) in Zagreb, a group of 14 odd African Anthropologists at the meeting met and laid the seed of what was to become the Pan-African Anthropological Association (PAAA) a year later. The journey back from the periphery into the jet stream had begun. Funding for the first meeting at which the PAAA was founded aptly came from the Wenner Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. In 1989, the Wenner Gren Foundation President Sydel Silverman attended the inaugural meeting in Yaounde, Cameroon. The Foundation was to play a crucial role over the next couple of years during the formative period of the PAAA. This included the funding of many regional meetings as well as workshops, particularly for young upcoming Anthropologists.

In 1990, during the 2nd PAAA conference in Nairobi, many of the budding Anthropologists took part. It was a meeting well-timed, coming soon after the first crop of Anthropologists had graduated from the University of Nairobi. For Kenya, one of the outcomes of the Nairobi meeting was the creation of the Kenyan Chapter of the PAAA. The University of Nairobi took the lead in organizing this meeting under the direction of the late Prof. A. B. C. Ocholla-Ayayo, one of the founding members of the

PAAA. As expected Prof. Ocholla-Ayayo became its first Chairman. The Kenya Chapter has since hosted a second PAAA meeting in 2002 in Nairobi.

In this paper, I focus on the development of Anthropology as a teaching subject in Kenyan Universities. I discuss in general terms the teaching and training of Anthropology in the Kenyan Universities, but then reserve most of my focus on the growth of Anthropology at the University of Nairobi. The University of Nairobi Anthropology is the oldest in the country. With close to 1440 students obtaining a first degree in Anthropology, a further 89 obtaining a Masters' degree in Anthropology and six with a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Anthropology the University of Nairobi has played a leading role in training graduates in Anthropology. No other University in Kenya can boast this record.

The Period Between 1963 and 1985

It is quite clear that the period between 1963 and 1985 is one of relative absence of Kenyan anthropologists from the public light. Probably this has to do more with Kenyatta than any other person. Kenyatta viewed Anthropology as a tool of the oppressors and one that had no room in independent Kenya. In his writings he makes clear his distaste of Anthropology, viewing it as a tool for governing the "native" mind (see Kenyatta 1938). With this already stated it was quite easy to predict which direction anthropology would take on gaining political independence. Consequently, anthropology as a discipline and anthropologists as a people did not have a definite place in the first government of independent Kenya.

The closest Kenya got into anthropology was in the establishment of the Institute of African Studies[2] at the University of Nairobi. The Institute was established as a cultural division of the Institute for Development Studies in 1967 under the directorship of the history Professor Bethuel Ogot. It became a full-fledged Institute in its own right in 1970 the then University College, Nairobi[3] gained full status to become the University of Nairobi, with its own Charter. The Institute was then moved to where it "belonged" at the National Museums of Kenya to help in the study of Kenyan cultures. The new location would allow it to forge closer ties with the National Museums of Kenya. Apart from accessing curatorial services from specialists at the National Musuems of Kenya, on its part the Institute gave National Museums of Kenya a dash of academic flavor. The primary emphasis for the Institute was on areas that had been neglected during the Colonial period; on things African. Its mandate was spelt out as "promoting and conducting original research in

the fields of African prehistory and history; ethnography and social anthropology; musicology and dance; traditional and modern arts and crafts; religion and other belief systems" (Institute of African Studies Handbook 1986/87, p. 6; University of Nairobi Calendar 2001-2003, p. 393). Its mandate included one component of the four fields in Anthropology, namely, social anthropology. Archeology was already rooted within the Department of History at the University of Nairobi or in the Archeology Division in the National Museums of Kenya.

This is the environment in which anthropology was practised in Kenya prior to 1985. Except for foreign anthropologists conducting research in Kenya, there is little else that was happening by local Anthropologists and often it was linked to Masters and Doctoral research. In the University of Nairobi, archeology, one of the four branches of Anthropology, found a home within the Department of History.

The Anthropology Environment in Kenya

Anthropology at the University of Nairobi: In 1985 Kenya's second President, Daniel T. Arap Moi, observed that Anthropology should be taught at the University of Nairobi. Following these observations, preparations were initiated for the first intake of students. However, it was Prof. A. B. C. Ocholla-Ayayo who first mooted the idea of having a Center for Cultural Studies at University of Nairobi. Anthropologists, then at the University, mainly in the Department of Sociology, formed a committee that worked on the first syllabus and regulations. Profs. Ocholla-Ayayo, Joshua Akong'a, Enos Njeru and Osaga Odak were members of this committee. The first group of students was admitted into the Institute of African Studies, University of Nairobi in September of 1986 to follow a three-year program leading to a Bachelor of Arts in Anthropology. The first locally trained anthropologists joined the job market in 1990 upon successful completion of their anthropology training.

Alongside the formulation of an undergraduate degree program in Anthropology, the Institute also developed two other programs: the Postgraduate Diploma in Cultural Studies and the Certificate in Cultural Studies. These two programs, together with the Undergraduate degree program, were launched in Se,ptember 1986. With these three programs underway, the Institute embarked on developing a Master of Arts program in Anthropology (Institute of African Studies Handbook, 1986/87, pp. 7). It is the first Postgraduate Diploma in Cultural Studies class that, in fact, joined the first Master of Arts (Anthropology) program. Thus, the academic programs gradually expanded into Masters and PhD programs.

The first batch of graduate students was released in 1992 while the first PhD was conferred in 1995.

The curriculum in anthropology has undergone qualitative and structural changes since inception. When the program was first offered, students were required to take only two compulsory course units in the first year – Introduction to Anthropology and Ethnology of African Societies. During the second year, the range of course units available for the students to choose from was expanded to seven (two of which were compulsory). The seven course units were: Anthropological Theory, Field Methods in Anthropology, Linguistic Anthropology, Theory and Practice in Archeology, Family and Kinship, Belief Systems and Economic Anthropology. During the third year, the courses were expanded to a total of thirteen, with Leadership and Ethics and The Dissertation being offered as compulsory courses for those majoring in Anthropology.

In 1992 the program underwent its first review. There are two main reasons leading to this review. First, it came at a time when university education in Kenya was undergoing structural changes. Earlier, the government had adopted a new educational system (following recommendations of the McKay Report of 1981) in which students spent eight year in primary, four years in secondary and a further at least four years at university depending on the program being pursued. Following the McKay recommendations, students were required to spend an extra one year in the university. Thus, with the introduction of a new education system, the program at university was changed from a three-year to a four-year curricula.

Second, by the time of the first review, the Institute had taken on board more anthropologists. With this expanded faculty, it was now possible to mount a wider range of anthropology courses. The aim was to make Anthropology a truly four field discipline following the classical tradition of Physical (Biological) Anthropology, Social (Cultural) Anthropology, Linguistic Anthropology and Archeology.

With this revision, the total number of courses was expanded from 23 to 49 plus three common undergraduate courses. The program's third review in 2002 increased the total number of units to 61. With these changes, students are currently offered a wide range of courses. These changes reflect the current market demands. The preamble to the current syllabus notes the increasing recognition in developmental circles that anthropology is a crucial subject in the development of any nation. Thus, the course is designed to prepare the student to face current and future challenges of development in Kenya following anthropology's holistic approach to issues.

The program retains its four-field character of anthropology with introductory courses in Physical (or Biological) Anthropology, Social (or Cultural) Anthropology, Linguistic Anthropology and Archeology. These courses serve to provide a broad base within which anthropology is taught.

Anthropology at Moi University: At Moi University, Anthropology is taught within the School of Arts and Social Sciences. The focus here is mainly cultural anthropology. At the undergraduate level, students are allowed to take courses from other disciplines, but those majoring in Anthropology must take a majority of courses from Anthropology. One major difference between the program at Moi with that at Nairobi is that the Nairobi students are admitted into the Anthropology program. As a result, they have a limited choice of courses outside the Institute. On the other hand, at Moi University, initially, students were admitted for a degree program in cultural studies. The cultural studies program incorporated Anthropology, History and Religion. Following reorganization into discipline-based departments, Anthropology and Ecology joined to form a department.

Those who return for graduate studies are admitted into the Master of Philosophy program. The aim of the Master of Philosophy in Anthropology is to train high level manpower – academics, policy-makers, planners and managers – to acquire skills to participate conscientiously in development activities and contexts; skills to enable them understand the workings of society and methodological perspectives for conducting research and seeking their application in a variety of contexts. This reflects the primary focus of Anthropology as a largely applied discipline.

The Master of Philosophy program has identified four basic objectives, namely:

1. To equip persons with competence to participate in teaching anthropology/ cultural studies ;
2. To train students in research and analytical skills ;
3. To produce high-level manpower for the civil and private sectors of the economy capable of participating in policy formulation, and planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development projects and extension work ;
4. To prepare students for further studies.

   (Source: http://www.mu.ac.ke/academic/ schools/sass/ mphilanthropology.html, accessed 10th July, 2007).

Like Nairobi University, Moi University offers a PhD program in Anthropology. Unlike the University of Nairobi where the PhD is by Thesis alone, at Moi University, the PhD consists of coursework, examination

and thesis. The coursework is done during the first year of study. In this respect, the PhD program at Moi University is a variant of the American PhD program. The PhD program aims to develop and consolidate "the highest level of scholarship, creative thinking and writing, research capability and leadership" in respective areas of specialization. The objectives of the program are:

1. To equip students with the highest levels of knowledge, skills and personality to teach anthropology.
2. To train students to acquire analytical skills to carry out scientific research and consultancy.
3. To produce high level manpower for institutional management and leadership.
4. To assist students to acquire the highest levels of expertise in their area of specialization within the discipline.

   (Source: http://www.mu.ac.ke/academic/ schools/sass/ dphilanthropology.html, accessed on 10th July, 2007).

Anthropology at Maseno University: In Maseno University the anthropology and sociology programs are combined to create the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. Students thus take units from anthropology as well as from Sociology. The summary of courses taught in the department is given in Table 1 below. Clearly there is a balance in the distribution of courses within the years as well as in the total number of courses offered to students. The 'other courses' in this case refer to courses, mainly from computer science. Maseno University offers most of its courses in combination with IT. This twist is in itself important as it recognizes the crucial role IT now plays in development. No other anthropology program in Kenya offers IT as part of the training. The Institute offers only one unit to first year students.

Table 1: Number of Anthropology/Sociology units taught in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology

Year	Anthropology	Sociology	Anthropology/ Sociology	Other Courses
1	5	5	1	6
2	6	7	1	4
3	7	4	4	2
4	6	9	0	3
Total	**24**	**25**	**6**	**15**

Following the British tradition in Kenyan Universities, archeology at Maseno University is offered within the History department.

***Anthropology at Egerton University*:** At Egerton University anthropology is offered within the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASS). FASS is an integrated whole of several Departments, namely Sociology, Anthropology and Economics; Literature, Languages and Linguistics; History, Philosophy and Religious Studies. It is not clear whether students at the end of their program obtain a Bachelor's degree in Anthropology. According to information available, FASS currently offers the following degree programs: Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Arts (History), Bachelor of Arts (Communications and Media), Bachelor of Arts (Economics and History), Bachelor of Arts (Economics and Sociology), Bachelor of Arts (Sociology and Religion), Bachelor of Business and Management, Bachelor of Science (Economics and Statistics), and Bachelor of Science (Library and Information Sciences) (source: http://www.egerton.ac.ke/ academics/fass/the_dean.php#vision, accessed 9 July, 2007). In fact, in the careers section, there is no mention of what students with anthropology are likely to become. Information for other departments is, however, provided.

The Bachelor of Economics and Sociology and Bachelor of Arts with Sociology offers only one unit in Anthropology – Introduction to Anthropology. On the other hand, the Bachelor of Sociology and Religion degree offers two Anthropology course units – Introduction to Anthropology and Religion, Culture and Communication. Clearly, the discipline of Anthropology is underrepresented at Egerton University.

Anthropology at Kenyatta University: There is no anthropology program at Kenyatta University. Apart from Archeology which is offered as a specialized area within History no other units provide training for a qualification in Anthropology. Individual departments, however, do teach units to service special areas. For example Medical Anthropology is taught to students studying for a Bachelor in Environmental Studies while Biological Anthropology is taught to students studying for the BA Archeology option.

***Anthropology at Catholic University of Eastern Africa*:** The Catholic University of Eastern Africa is perhaps the only private university in Kenya to provide training leading to a degree in Anthropology. The Anthropology courses at Catholic University are offered as part of the courses taught within the Department of Social Sciences. Specialization is offered in Economics, Anthropology, Social Work and Political Science. The core courses in Anthropology lead one to a Bachelor of Social Sciences in Anthropology.

The stated objective of the program is to provide "the necessary knowledge for personnel training in cross-cultural studies" (The Catholic University of Eastern Africa, Programme of Studies 2001-2004, p. 230–239). The program is divided into two parts. There are those who enroll for a four-year degree program who, in total, have 39 units from which to select. On the other hand, there are those who take a three-year course with a total of 24 units from which to choose units. The Anthropology program is currently serviced mostly by graduates of Anthropology from the University of Nairobi. Initially faculty at IAS had a crucial input in the curriculum.

The Institute of African Studies and Anthropology in Kenya

Training manpower for Kenya: In many respects, Anthropology as a discipline in Kenya has been influenced by Nairobi University. At Moi, the program was started by the same professor who was part of the team that was instrumental in setting up the program at Nairobi, University. Together with his formers students at Nairobi, a core team was established. Initial support was provided by some members of faculty at Nairobi. Overtime, the Moi University program has trained its own faculty to PhD level.

The same case applies to Maseno University, where the only faculty member with a PhD in Anthropology is a graduate of Nairobi University. After completing his undergraduate and postgraduate training from the Institute of African Studies, he went on to obtain a PhD in Denmark. The same case applies to the Catholic University in Eastern Africa, where a number of Anthropology lecturers are graduates of the Institute.

The District Socio-Cultural Profiles Project: One of the most widely recognized contributions of the Institute of African Studies is the production of the district socio-cultural profiles. The program to produce profiles, which ran between 1985 and 1989, was funded mainly by (or development partners through) the Ministry of Planning and National Development with the aim of providing readily available reference information for government administrators. By the time the program stopped, most of the ethnic communities in Kenya had been covered.

The information found in each monograph covered topics in the following areas: archeology and history; religion; land tenure and property ownership systems; livestock production; shelter and material culture; medicine and health; education and training; demographic profile; social strata and categories; political system; traditional legal system; language; literature; music and dance; and recreation. Data for the monographs

was collected from the ethnic groups resident in the district. A group of experienced researchers spent usually a month in each district to collect data. In addition to this information, various material culture items were collected for preservation at the Institute of African Studies, Grogan Building, Chiromo Campus. These material collections are used for educational purposes with students coming from Moi University and as far as Japan.

The design of the monographs was quite simple and it followed most ethnographic profiles. The monographs provided reference material for students of ethnography, missionaries, researchers and government officers. The idea of the monographs was conceived at a seminar on oral traditions organized by the Institute in Kisumu. Participants at the meeting noted the dearth of information on various Kenyan communities. It was noted that development projects were influenced by a people's culture and that without those information it was problematic designing development programs. This challenge came at an opportune time when the government was shifting its rural development planning to the district – The District Focus Strategy for Rural Development. In response, the Ministry of Economic Planning and Development started allocating funds in its budget for the District Socio-cultural Profile (Institute of African Studies Handbook, 1986/87, p. 53).

The Institute's Affiliates: The Institute offers affiliation to many anthropologists and students of African Studies who come into the country to conduct anthropological research. Students come into the Institute from North America, Europe and Asia, mostly Japan. In the recent past, the Institute has received inquiries from USA, Canada, Britain, Germany, Italy, Denmark, The Netherlands, Norway, Australia and Japan. The Institute has long and active collaboration with researchers from Japan and Denmark. In Japan, the Institute currently works closely with Kyoto University while in Denmark Danish Bilharziasis Laboratories (DBL[4]) remains the most active partner. The Institute functions as a clearinghouse for anthropological research for the Kenya Government. Regularly the government sends proposals submitted by researchers for review and advice before the necessary research permits are granted.

Training of foreign students: In collaboration with a group of Colleges in the US (Bryn Mawr College, Haverford College, Swarthmore College and The University of Pennsylvania), the Institute provides training facilities for American students who would like to spend a semester abroad. The unique thing about this program is that in-coming students take their classes with Kenyan students. This provides them with an oppor-

tunity to experience the Kenyan university classroom environment. Similarly, Kenyan students have an opportunity to visit the US for a Semester to take classes with American students in the American University setting. The program also offers opportunities for faculty exchanges.

Trends in Anthropology Training at Nairobi University

(i) Undergraduate Level

The first lot of students admitted during the 1986 university admissions graduated in 1989. In the first ever intake of Anthropology students 44 (32 male, 12 female) graduated with a BA in Anthropology. The number of students enrolling in Anthropology (measured on the basis of those graduating) gradually increased up to the mid-1990s before the numbers started to fall (Figure 1). Between 1986 and 1996 the program witnessed a gradual rise in student enrolments, the rise was much higher among male than among female students. By 1996, male students outnumbered the female students by a factor of 2.5.

The years of increase in student enrolment witnessed a crash between 1998 and 1997 graduating class, a trend which continued over the next five years. Obviously, the turning point must have been in 1994/1995 academic year when the 1998 graduating group was admitted into University. Gradually the number of students graduating is on the rise again.

Figure 1: Student Graduation with BA Anthropology (raw figures)

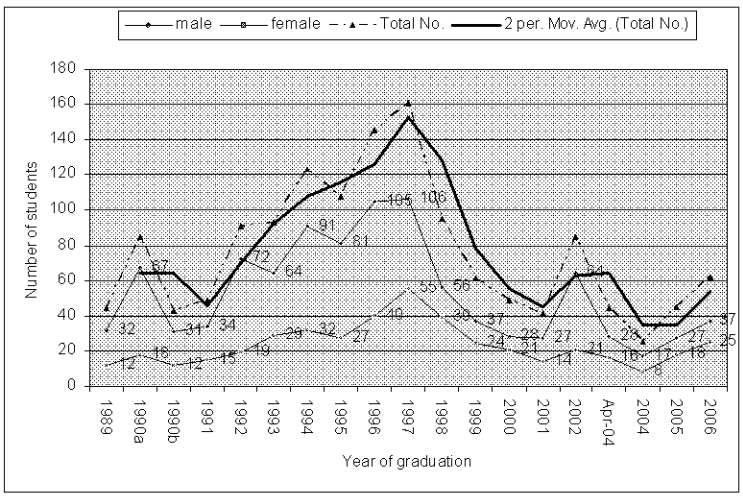
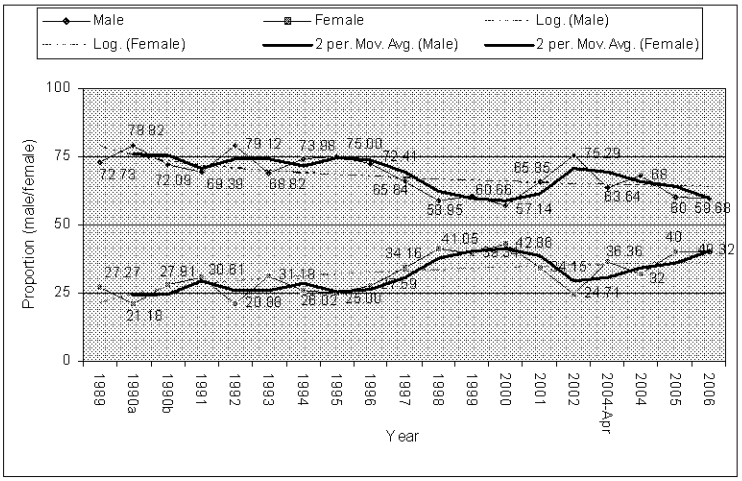


Figure 2: BA Anthropology Student Graduation (male: female ratio)



Despite the fact that more male than female students are enrolled, and this is a trend in all Kenyan Universities and for a majority of programs, there has been a gradual move towards the center. Over the years the gap between male and female students, particularly in the case of Anthropology, has narrowed. The number of students graduating with a degree in Anthropology is tending towards a 50/50 share, an indication of tendency towards equity in admission into the program. These trends are captured in Figure 2. The number of male students graduating expressed as a proportion of the total number of students is slowly but steadily decreasing while the number of female students is showing a concomitant rise. It started with male students outnumbering female students almost 3 to 1 in the 1989 graduating class, currently this stands at about 60/40 male to female students. If one were to keep the male student population constant, this represents an almost 100 per cent increase in the female student population. Clearly, the gap between the number of male and female graduating students narrows after 1997 (Figure 1) except for 2002.

(ii) Graduate Level

Unlike the undergraduate student enrolment, enrolment at the graduate level is more eclectic, with wide variations between the different years (Figure 3). Over the years, the total number of students graduating with an MA in Anthropology (Figure 4) has remained relatively steady.

In the earlier years of the Anthropology graduate program, there were more male than female students enrolling in the program. The widest gap in student enrollment was in 1992/93 academic year (Figure 3). Nevertheless, the male-female gap in enrollment has continued to narrow, despite the smaller classes now being recorded.

The fall in student registration is most probably a reflection of the falling number of scholarships available to the University of Nairobi in general coupled with the rising cost of University education. The students who register for their graduate program privately are required to pay tuition and other attendant expenses from their own private sources. This requirement in the face of reduced funding for graduate education shuts out many otherwise qualified students. The situation became worse in the late 1990s and later when Kenya's economy dipped.

Figure 3: MA Anthropology Student Enrolment

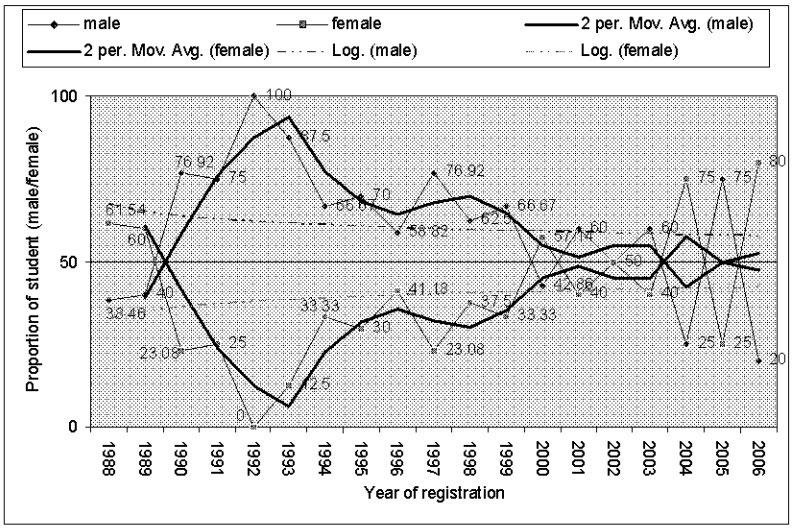
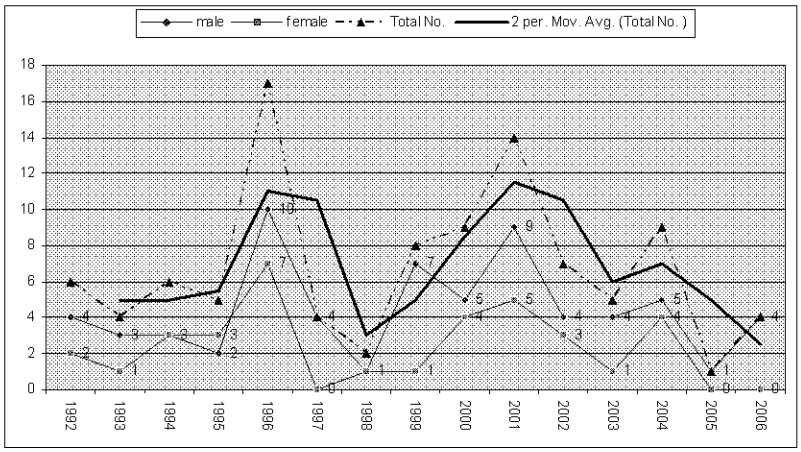


Figure 4: MA Anthropology Student Graduatiion (raw figures)



Though, like the undergraduate program, the number of students enrolling for the MA program is tending towards a 50/50 share (Figure 3), there is greater variation when figures for those graduating are compared (Figure 5). The general trend is that more male than female students are graduating with an MA degree in Anthropology (Figure 6). The threshold was attained somewhere during 1995 and 1996 when the number of students enrolling equaled the number of students graduating.

Figure 5: MA Anthropology Student Graduation

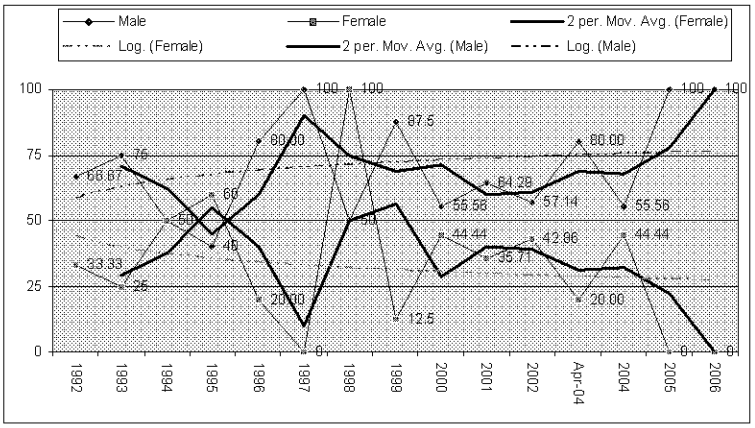
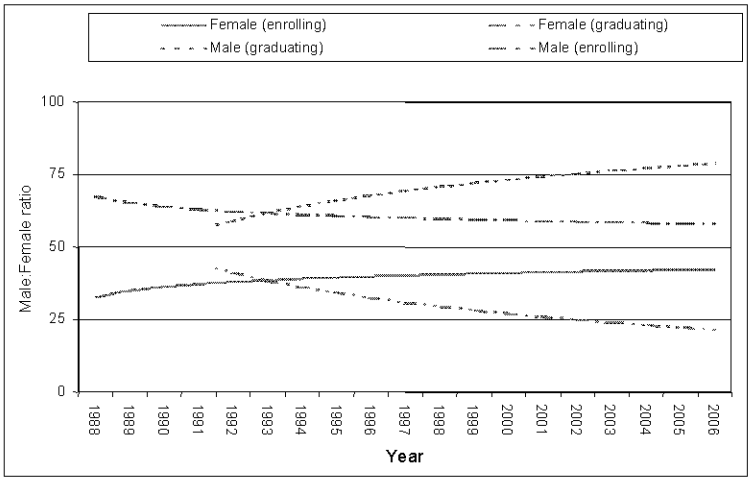


Figure 6: Comparison of MA Anthropology Enrolment and Graduation Trends



The available statistics indicate a dropout rate of about 37.32%. Since the program started, a total of 142 students have successfully completed their first year of study. However, of these only 89 have gone ahead to complete their theses and graduated. The reason as to why this scenario exists is a matter of conjecture. Clearly, this area needs to be investigated further.

What accounts for these differences in enrolment rates? What accounts for the differences in the graduation rates? There are a number of reasons that might be advanced, but two stand out. First, it is quite possible that resources allocated for supporting female students at the family level get diverted to other activities. This diversion of resources removes the available support structures. With no other support, the female students are forced to drop out of graduate school.

The second reason is perhaps related to family pressures. As female students graduate with undergraduate qualification, many find spouses during the intervening period before they enroll for a Masters degree or soon after enrolling. Suddenly, the female student finds herself under pressure to pay greater attention to family. In a mostly patriarchal set-up, there are no incentives for the female to proceed to complete a Master's degree. With a family to take care of, many sacrifice their academic careers in favor of providing the family with a base.

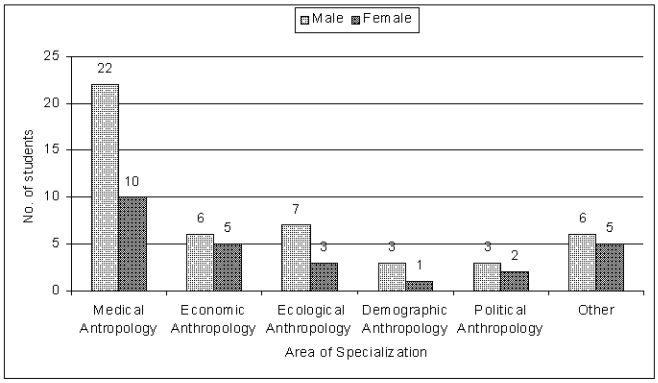
Areas of Focus for Graduate Anthropology Students

An analysis of MA Anthropology theses is quite revealing. Over the years, the students moved academic-based theses into writing problem-oriented theses. The greatest shift in the last decade is into medical anthropology. This shift is not accidental. In 1994, the Institute of African Studies in collaboration with the then Danish Bilharziasis Laboratories started a decade long health research project in Bondo, western Kenya. The Kenyan and Danish Health Research (KEDAHR) Project was funded by Danida. A key component of the project was capacity enhancement. As a result of this focus, a large number of students were funded to conduct research within the project size.

By 2004 when the project was concluded, several Masters degree students and a couple of PhD students had gone through the KEDAHR project. At the last count in 2006, there were 27 completed Masters and four PhD[5] degrees with most of the degrees being in Anthropology (Nyamongo and Aagaard-Hansen, 2006). In addition there were several associated projects that further helped to train students. Many more have continued to do research in Nyang'oma under associated projects. Support for this training has continued to come from DBL. The main focus for most of the students who went through the program was in Medical Anthropology. A detailed discussion of this project can be found elsewhere (see Suda and Aagaard-Hansen, 2003 and Nyamongo and Aagaard-Hansen, 2006).

By 2006, the Institute of African Studies has produced 89 Masters. The students have focused on a wide range of areas from medical anthropology, demographic anthropology, economic anthropology, political anthropology and veterinary anthropology among other areas of interest. The areas covered by students in their theses are presented in Figure 7.

Figure 7: Areas covered by Anthropology Graduate Student theses



Nyang'oma Research Training Site (NRTS): The research training site is most closely associate with the KEDAHR project. After the closure of the health research project the Institute of African Studies with DBL felt that the long association with Nyang'oma and the infrastructure already in place could find other use instead of closing down the facility. The Nyang'oma site had over the years developed good rapport with the local population and the catholic mission in Nyang'oma. The infrastructure was already established including a library, basic computer facilities and bicycles for fieldwork. In order to continue providing services to students who needed ready access to a field site for training purposes, the base was converted into a Research Training Site to continue providing this service. Most recently the Institute has used NRTS to give first year MA students practical field training.

The problem of researching among one's own people is an ever-present one for graduate students in Kenya. One of the compelling reasons why this situation prevails is the paucity of research funds. Due to limited funding for research, the majority of the students end up conducting research among their own people where they can cut on time and costs for doing fieldwork. The problems associated with conducting ethnographic studies among your own people are of course well documented (see for example Sörbö 1982 and Nyamongo 1998, pp. 159), not least among them the issue of objectivity. For a detailed discussion in the Kenyan context see Onyango-Ouma (2005).

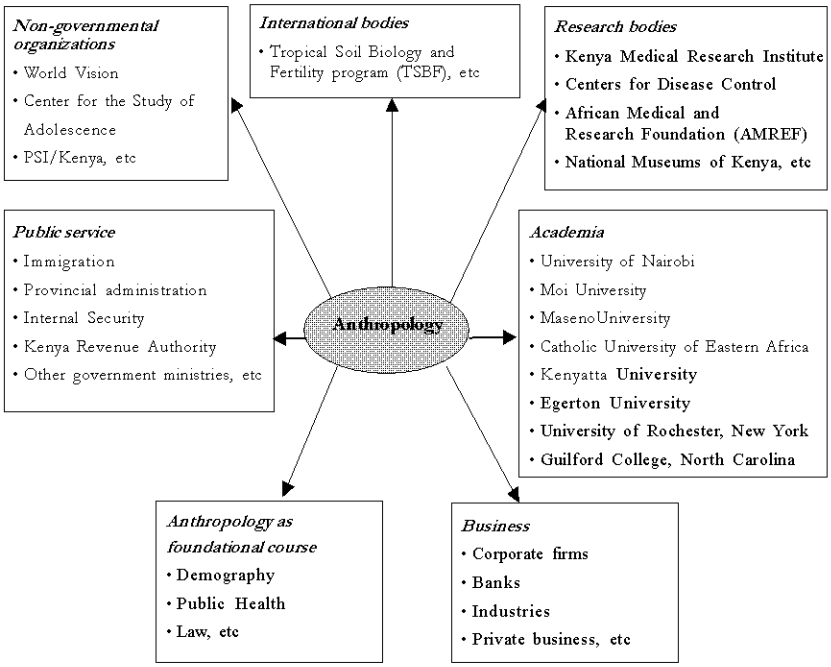
The Job Market for Anthropology Students

Anthropology is still a little known discipline in the Kenya, even with a high profile anthropologist like Jomo Kenyatta. Unfortunately by the time the students join University to start their University education, they have heard little or nothing about Anthropology[6]. Indeed most get to hear of Anthropology when they receive letters of admission to university. In an environment of misinformation and perception that anthropology studies past cultures, many students end up transferring to other courses within the same university or they may seek inter-university transfers (Onyango-Ouma 2006).

First year students always ask during orientation week, "What are the prospects of getting a job after completing four years of studying anthropology at the University of Nairobi?" This, of course, is a question whose answer one cannot determine upfront. Furthermore, it is a question coming four years before its time; it requires one to take the present and extrapolate into the future. So we must start by asking what are the Kenyan graduates of anthropology currently engaged in?

The 21st Century economy is fast becoming a global economy, the workforce and markets are increasingly diverse, and the demand for communication skills in a multi-cultural context is on the increase as a result. Anthropology provides the student with multiple skills grounded on historical, contemporary, biological and cultural perspectives. The intellectual base built by anthropology assures that students are well-grounded to tackle diverse contemporary issues. It's flexibility as a tool for dealing with human problems ensure its relevance through the generations.

Figure 6: Where to find Anthropology Graduates



A quick survey will find anthropology students in the following though not exhaustive areas: provincial administration, government ministries, non-governmental organizations, research bodies, international bodies, academia and in business. Figure 6 presents some of the areas where Anthropology graduates can be found at present. By far, the majority of the anthropology students continue to be absorbed by the public sector in government ministries and parastatals. Many Anthropology graduates have made their way into provincial administration mostly as dis-

trict officers and gradually making their way up in the administrative hierarchy. Also Anthropologists can now be found working for the Department of Immigration and Internal Security. Even sectors such as KRA, which would ordinarily attract economists and students of Business Studies, now employ Anthropology graduates.

The academia as continued to attract Anthropology MA graduates to serve as Lecturers. From here, they go on to obtain their doctorates in Anthropology. Currently these graduates are employed by Nairobi University, Moi University, Maseno University, Kenyatta University, Egerton University and Catholic University in Eastern Africa. In the diaspora, Nairobi University graduates are engaged as faculty in American Universities e.g. University of Rochester, New York and Guilford College, North Carolina. While most PhDs in Kenya have taken up jobs in academia, the situation in other places is different. For example, in the US, since 1985 over half of all new PhDs in Anthropology have taken non-academic positions in research bodies, not-for-profit associations, government agencies, international organizations among others. As more Kenyan PhDs in Anthropology come into the market, we should expect to see the trend witnessed in the US closer home. This growing demand for Anthropologists in other areas is stimulated by the need for analysts and researchers with critical skills who can manage, evaluate and interpret data on human behavior.

Other bodies that have absorbed Anthropology graduates include research organizations such as the Centers for Disease Control (CDC), the Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI), African Medical and Research Foundation (AMREF), National Museums of Kenya as well international bodies like the Tropical Soil Biology and Fertility (TSBF) which is part of the international consortium CIAT. Here, the anthropologists apply their diverse knowledge of human behavior and skills to plan, research and manage programs and the human resource.

Anthropology is often used as a foundation course by students who would want a broad base before later proceeding into other disciplines. The anthropology program at the University of Nairobi has continued to provide this service. For example, in Kenya anthropology graduate students have found their way into programs like law, development studies and population studies.[7]

Going back to the question, "what after getting a degree in Anthropology?" Clearly, the present environment is not unfavorable to anthropologists. The market for trained anthropologists is versatile, from the banking sector to legal, academic, public service, research and health

Anthropologists can be found working as professionals. One of the contributing factors to this wide array of opportunities is the anthropological holistic approach. The anthropologist's research and analytical skills lead to a wide range of career paths. With training in anthropology one has greater leeway to determine what they become.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have given an account of the state of Anthropological teaching and training in Kenya in general and at the Institute of African Studies in particular. There is no doubt the Institute continues to play a leading role in this endeavor. A critical review of student enrolments at the undergraduate and graduate levels is revealing. The picture that emerges is that of a discipline that desires nurturing to ensure greater student enrolment.

The problem of low enrolment, particularly at the first point of entry, is more of a problem whose location is upstream. By the time students join university, only a small proportion has heard of a subject known as anthropology. This may be said of Sociology, but anthropologists are more of a behind the scenes people. There is well documented misconception that anthropology's main focus is on 'unearthing bones', hence regarded as a discipline dealing with things gone by and which we would rather forget (see Onyango-Ouma, 2006) or that it is the study of "arthropods" (see Amuyunzu-Nyamongo, 2006), which sounds similar to the prefix "*Anthropos*." In other words, Anthropology deals with things past, which have no relevance to contemporary Kenyan problems. These misconceptions need debunking.

In the preceding section on the job market, I have tried to show that the calling for Anthropologists goes beyond this narrow conception of anthropology as a discipline. I have endeavored to demonstrate that Anthropology graduates are as competitive as any other and, in fact, are more adaptable owing to the holistic approach in anthropological training. While I do not claim this to be an exhaustive handling of the debate, it should contribute to the growing need to document the contribution of anthropologists to Kenya's cultural, social, and political economic development. Exactly, how many anthropologists are enough, I leave it to the relevant experts. In my view, we should match the number of students with the job market so that it is not flooded or undersupplied.

Notes

1. Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe studied for a Masters in Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, USA. In 1960, he became the first African Governor-General of independent Nigeria and went on to become its first ceremonial President three years later in 1963. In 1960, when the University of Nigeria, Nsukka was started, Anthropology was included in the curriculum as one of the subjects.
2. The Institute of African Studies has since been renamed The Institute of Anthropology, Gender and African Studies. This name reflects its new and expanded academic programs. However, throughout this paper, I retain the original name of Institute of African Studies.
3. The University College, Nairobi was a constituent College of The University of East Africa. Dar es Salaam and Makere were the other two colleges that made up The University of East Africa.
4. DBL is now renamed the Danish Bilharziasis Laboratories – Institute for Health Research and Development.
5. Since then three more Kenya PhDs associated with KEDAHR have been awarded.
6. This may be said of Sociology as well. Like Anthropology, Sociology is not taught anywhere at lower levels. In other countries, notably in the US, anthropology is introduced much earlier before students join university.
7. Within the urban studies field, Anthropology is poised to take a greater role in documenting issues in urban settlements. The urban environment in many developing countries consists of settlements often extended into the peri-urban areas.

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Behind the Clouds: Teaching and Researching Anthropology in Tertiary Institutions in Nigeria

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Abstract

The paper focuses on teaching and researching of anthropology as a culture centred discipline in Nigeria. It notes that in spite of decades of emergence as a university discipline, anthropology has not been able to break through the negative clouds of colonialism and subjugation to its twin discipline, sociology. Factors responsible for the poor state of teaching and research in anthropology in Nigeria include institutional and structural incapacities and limitations, a curriculum that fails to address both the aspirations of the students and the role of the discipline in national development as well as the inability of the anthropologists themselves to rise up to the dynamic challenges of contemporary Nigerian society. In view of the foregoing, there is need for a serious rethinking and fundamental restructuring of the discipline focusing essentially on the curriculum, professionalism and development values of the discipline. It is only through the above that teaching and researching in anthropology would be more fruitful to both theoretical and practical concerns as an authentic narrative and imagery of African cultural realities.

Résumé

Cette communication est focalisée sur l'enseignement et la recherche de l'Anthropologie comme une discipline centrée sur la culture au Nigéria. Bien qu'on note son émergence depuis des décénnies comme une discipline universitaire, l'Anthropologie, avec sa sœur jumelle qu'est la sociologie, n'a pas pu percer la vision négative du colonialisme et de la conquête. Les facteurs à la base du mauvais état de l'enseignement et de la recherche en Anthropologie au Nigéria, ont trait à une incapacité institutionnelle et structurelle, des limites et

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un curriculum qui ne parviennent pas à promouvoir les aspirations ou les attentes des étudiants et le rôle de la discipline dans le développement national aussi, et l'incapacité des anthropologues eux-mêmes à faire face aux défis dynamiques de la société contemporaine au Nigéria. Dans le processus évolutif, il ya un besoin sérieux de repenser et de restructurer fondamentalement la discipline tout en se focalisant essentiellement sur le programme d'étude, le professionnalisme et le développement de valeur de la discipline. Ainsi, l'enseignement et la recherche en Anthropologie pourraient être plus fructueux à la fois sur le plan théorique et pratique tout en étant une narrative authentique qui reflète la réalité culturelle africaine.

Introduction

The teaching and researching of anthropology,[1] as a social science discipline in Nigeria has been affected both by the increasing rot in the public university system, especially in the last two decades and the development constraints which have imposed economic relevance on courses taught in Nigerian universities. The first problem is general to education in Nigeria's public universities which have grossly declined as a result of neglect and a wrong footed privatisation of tertiary education in Nigeria, which is part of the liberalisation efforts of the government in the last two decades. The second problem, arising from an underdeveloped economy, which equates the relevance of any discipline to its market value or ability to generate jobs for those who studied the discipline, has had a negative impact on the growth of anthropology as a discipline. In this case, the average university student in Nigeria cannot easily relate anthropology to the overarching need for employment on graduation. Thus, anthropology is often characterised as a discipline without employment or job prospects in the Nigerian economy. This dire picture has not been improved or helped by a stagnant curriculum and teaching approaches that are inured to both the dynamism of knowledge and society. While institutional and economic constraints have undermined research and curriculum development in anthropology, anthropologists in Nigeria, with a few notable exceptions, have failed to live up to the challenges of modern scholarship. These factors may have influenced the standing of anthropology in today's Nigeria.

But equally bestriding the above issues is the well known old dilemma of anthropology as a colonial discipline. In this case, the emergence and prominence of anthropology has been linked strongly to the exigencies of the colonial enterprise. Precisely, anthropology emerged clearly in the colonial contact period as an intellectual exercise to legitimise and/or justify colonialism. It is in this light that anthropology has

been perceived as an effort to endorse the subsumed superiority of the colonisers in Africa. Therefore, while anthropology is without doubt beyond this parochial stamp, it was all the same utilised in furthering the imperial aims of the colonial powers. Hence, given the general abuse and misuse of anthropology by colonialism, there can be no argument about the need for a constant re-interrogation of the discipline. The obvious hijack and misuse of the discipline by the colonial enterprise in Africa (see, Prah, 1992; Diop, 1992; Akiwowo, 1976 etc) makes such re-examination of the history, content and relevance of social anthropology worthwhile.

Therefore, the importance of an examination of teaching and research in anthropology cannot be over-emphasised at this point in the development of the discipline in Nigeria. As has been argued, this is invaluable in order to raise the status of the discipline (Jegede, 2000). Hence, the paper attempts equally to highlight the various factors impacting on the growth, acceptance and relevance of the discipline in Nigeria as well as identifying constraints to the teaching and researching of anthropology as a university discipline in order to arrive at ways of moving the study of anthropology forward in Nigeria.

From Origin to Perception: The Roots of Anthropology and the African View

One of the greatest pioneers of social anthropology was Lewis H. Morgan (1818 – 1881) who studied the indigenous people of *Ho-de-no-sau-nee* or the Iroquois in his home state of New York, USA. Morgan was a lawyer who became fascinated with the ways of life of the indigenous Iroquois. But the influence of Morgan and other non-professional anthropologists like him in the ascendancy of the discipline can be seen equally as part of the cause of the cynicism enveloping the discipline in developing societies of the world. The involvement of non-professionals in the development of the discipline has ultimately mired the scientific claim and professionalism of anthropology in some controversy. In the views of Goldthorpe (1985:30), "most of the early observations in social anthropology were indeed the work of people like Morgan who were not trained full-time scientists". These early anthropologists included early voyagers, itinerant merchants, missionaries, seamen, colonial administrators and others of their ilk who were courageous enough to exploit other lands or expand the frontiers of human interaction. In the case of Africa, anthropology came in the guise of the colonial enterprise.

As a matter of fact, the first generation of anthropologists in Africa were either colonial officers or those strongly linked to the colonising

powers. This fact gave anthropology the unenviable toga of a quasi scientific narration aimed at legitimising the colonial enterprise. Without doubt, the initial anthropology of Africa was stimulated equally by curiosity and the need to understand the way of life of the indigenous Africans in order to facilitate the colonial project (see, Anugwom, 1999). Little wonder, some of these early anthropological forays were funded either by the colonial overlords or missionary and business interests from Europe. Therefore, in Nigeria, as is the case in some other parts of Africa, anthropology represented the white man's efforts to understand "strange" culture and social practices of Africans who were then labelled either primitive or barbaric.

Therefore, anthropology, during the colonial period through independence, did remain as a "gateway" by which African cultures were understudied and replaced by Western ones. It was mostly serving colonial empire-builders" (Jegede, 2000:11). However, there is need to make a distinction between the real early anthropologists in Africa who were men of science who pioneered the use of the qualitative approach and the early non-professional or government anthropologists who were not driven by the methodological or scientific rigours of the discipline. But even within the ranks of the pioneering anthropologists, interest was often spurred by the esoteric and uniqueness of strange and distant peoples. As a result, "anthropologists are generally envisioned as travelling to little known corners of the world to study exotic people or as digging deep into the earth to uncover the fossil remains or tools and pots of people who lived long ago" (Ember and Ember, 1977:4). It was this scenario that fostered the Eurocentric conceptualisation of anthropology as the study or concern with primitive people and societies. A view that is nowadays debunked as pejorative and limited.

In spite of the above facts, there were some scientific anthropologists who came after the first journeymen anthropologists and carried out insightful and classical studies of African societies. Among these early but "second generation anthropologists", not necessarily fettered by colonialism who worked in Africa were I. Schepera, Evans Pritchard, Meyer Fortes, Lucy Mair, J. J. Maquet, L.A Fallers, and of course Radcliffe-Brown (who did a very insightful work on African systems of kinship and marriage) among others. Pioneering pre-colonial scientific anthropologists in Nigeria include people like Simon Ottenberg, C. K. Meek, M. M. Green, G. T. Basden, G. I. Jones etc who studied the Igbo of South-eastern Nigeria; D. Forde, M. G. Smith, S, Nadel who studied the Zazzau and Nupe of Northern Nigeria; P. J. Bohannan who studied the Tiv of the Middle belt

Nigeria; P. Morton-Williams who studied the Yoruba of South-western Nigeria. The above list is without doubt not exhaustive but shows quite a good number of the pioneering anthropologists in Nigeria. Without prejudice to the works of the above scholars, the colonial administration's interest in anthropology in Nigeria and elsewhere in Africa, coupled with emergence of some ad-hoc or emergency anthropologists at the behest of the colonial enterprise as the first on the stage, did a lot of damage to the credentials of the discipline a science.

According to Mafeje (1996), the first generation of British anthropologists in Africa, by virtue of their background, enjoyed as much power as the colonial administrators who were their collaborators in developing what was labelled applied anthropology. At the centre of the colonial brand of anthropology was an adoption of a British model which gauged other cultures in relation to that of Britain. In this sense, the British cultural pattern, representing modernity and therefore modernization, was basically conforming to British or Western culture. Hence, colonised people, whose cultures were drastically different from that of the British, were often seen as backward and primitive people who ought to be grateful to the liberating influence of colonial rule. This pejorative approach was by no means limited to anthropology, since it reared its head even in the discipline of political science and equally in such an advanced discipline like economics where the backward sloping curve of labour supply was seen as representing the African labour force attitude to increasing wages.

Be that as it may, the above origin of anthropology (unlike other disciplines like political science and economics that quickly shed the ugly toga of colonialism), which affected its legitimacy and professional claim in Nigeria, did not just end in the domain of popular imagery, but spread to academic circles where anthropology came to be seen by African scholars as an attempt to largely mirror the advent of a worldwide recognition of the perceived backward peoples of the world. This viewpoint bred a certain suspicion of the real motives of anthropology as a discipline, a suspicion not helped by the fact that most of the early anthropologists were white fellows. This discomfort of scholars of Africa with anthropology was not equally ameliorated by the claim of the discipline to focus on the physical, socio-cultural and linguistic aspects of human society. Such a curious mix and match was perceived by scholars from Africa as underlining or emanating from the conceptualization of African societies as simple societies at a rudimentary level of development and with no significant social complexity. This picture of Africa logically ran antithetical to the liberalising efforts from the clutches of colonialism

and ironically supported the 'civilising mission' claim of the colonial enterprise. Therefore, anthropology, at the early stage, often elicited resistance rather than embrace from indigenous scholars.

Interestingly, the decline of anthropology started with the dismantling of colonial rule. In the face of independence, anthropology which had provided justification for colonialism or what Levi-Strauss (1966 in Jegede, 2000) termed participation in the appalling process of domination upon which colonialism was established, sought to make a volteface particularly as it became the subject of hostility and disdain from Africans. However in the bid to do this, anthropologists went into overdrive and in the views of Mafeje (1996) responded to the new situation by becoming anti-colonial, denounced structural functionalism and avoided the previous fascination with tribal studies and focused on thematic concerns. Even though, as Otite (1997) rightly argues anthropology historically predated colonialism, such historical chronology does not sufficiently debunk the prominence of the discipline during colonialism and its misuse and abuse in that period. Actually it is still arguable that anthropology, much like christianity, may have been part of efforts to set the stage for eventual colonialism in Africa. Hence, anthropology in addition to being used by the ad-hoc anthropologists of the colonial era to denigrate the African peoples and cultures then, was equally the source of the 'scientific' justification of the role of the colonial overlords in the continent.

Anthropology, whether now conceived as reflecting a purely sociocultural concern (the overwhelming model in Nigerian tertiary institutions) or as still a holistic focus on the human society, has gone beyond these original crises of legitimacy even though these issues still dog both the development and acceptance of the discipline in Nigeria. Basically the inability of a lot of people, including policy makers and academic administrators, to relate to the needs and values of the discipline in modern Nigeria derives largely from the above. In summary, "anthropology had an origin in the activities of missionaries, travellers and colonial administrators geared Western ends and perpetuating domination. This created a sort of predatory alliance between colonialism and anthropology, since they both arrived with more or less the same motive of exploitation and the imposition of alien cultures on the peoples of Africa" (Anugwom, 2000:40). Given this scenario, anthropology became a counter-narrative especially for the first generation of African scholars who were in Diaspora and saw the need for a deconstruction of the interest sponsored anthropology of Africa created by Westerners. The forays of

these Africans in Diaspora into presenting what may pass as authentic representation of the African lifestyle and worldview was the genesis of the African anthropology.

The Journey through Time

The first attempt at studying (teaching) anthropology as a social science and culture related discipline in Nigeria occurred with the establishment of the University of Nigeria Nsukka in 1960. The department of Sociology/Anthropology was one of the first departments established in the university and also took off in 1960. This is in spite of the fact that the University College Ibadan (now University of Ibadan) established in 1948 offers a course in anthropology, but rather as a science discipline with emphasis on physical anthropology and later introduced cultural anthropology as a course under the Faculty of Arts and Humanities.

In spite of the above, formal anthropology in Nigeria, just like the case in most of Africa, is devoid of what may be termed an enviable history. This has to do with its entry on the heels of the colonial project. Actually, this single fact partly explains why African anthropology had a long history of obscurity, since it was seen mainly as playing an ancillary role in the colonial era and identifiable with colonialism (see, CODESRIA Bulletin, 1992). However, in the case of Nigeria, anthropology is yet to emerge from the clouds of origin and, more often than not, play an ancillary role to sociology in most tertiary institutions in the country where both are situated in the same academic department.[2]

The plight of anthropology in this regard has not been helped by the glaring inability of Nigerian anthropologists to adequately fill the void left by the departure of the first generation of Western anthropologists. It is a fact that half of what still passes for quality anthropological work in Nigeria even till date is mainly carried out by non-Nigerians. Thus, while these foreign anthropologists or Africanists keep up a stream of anthropological literature in both journals and books, such knowledge production hardly affects the teaching of the discipline in Nigeria's tertiary institutions. Against the above, the teaching and researching of anthropology in Nigeria's tertiary institutions have moved on at a slow pace[3] despite the increase in the number of universities over the years. Such increase in number of universities offering the course has not liberated it from the shadows of sociology as it still comes a poor second as the table below shows:

Table 1: Universities Offering BSc Programmes in Anthropology in Nigeria

University	Academic Department
University of Nigeria, Nsukka	Sociology/Anthropology
University of Benin	Sociology/Anthropology
Obafemi Awolowo University	Sociology/Anthropology
University of Maiduguri	Sociology/Anthropology
Nnamdi Azikiwe University	Sociology/Anthropology
Benue State University	Sociology/Anthropology
Ebonyi State University	Sociology/Anthropology
University of Ibadan*	Cultural Anthropology
Benson Idahosa University	Sociology/Anthropology
Igbinedion University	Sociology/Anthropology

Source: Joint Admission and Matriculation Board (JAMB) UME/DE Brochure, 2007/2008 Academic Session.

* Ibadan's cultural anthropology is relatively new and is under the faculty of Arts. The university has a more established biological (physical) anthropology discipline under its biological science programme.

The above table portrays one strong structural constraint which has defined and structured the growth of the discipline of anthropology over the years in Nigeria. This scenario more or less subjects anthropology to a second fiddle role play in relation to sociology. Thus, at the undergraduate level Nigeria produces students who have what may be called combined degrees in both sociology and anthropology, but who are more inclined towards sociology than anthropology since over eighty percent of the courses and academic staff in such combined departments belong to sociology.[4]

Responding to Needs: Curriculum Development and Teaching

One of the strongest factors hindering the growth of the discipline of anthropology in Nigeria, and by implication in most of the continent, is the over-reliance of the discipline still on methodologies, curricula and research orientations which were developed by Western scholars and are more critically dominated by Western models, ideals and imageries. While this weakness is by no means peculiar to anthropology (but may rather apply to social sciences as a whole), it has produced a scenario

where the study of African societies by Africans have given rise to outcomes that are neither rooted in nor structured by the African reality. In other words, while we have generated data or information about African societies, our paradigms of explanation, meanings and interpretations have been overtly influenced by Western ideals and perspectives.

The above may be partly a product of the fact that there is overwhelming reliance on Western produced literature and the massive influence of the first generation of anthropologists in African social sciences who were largely Westerners. Be that as it may, the ability to shake off the above Western shroud on the discipline in Africa cannot be overemphasised particularly in view of the fact that this has limited the perceived relevance of the discipline to authentic African problems. The title of courses offered in the discipline are perhaps a good illustration of the fact that anthropology offered in most of African tertiary institutions has little connection to the African reality and contemporary problems that can be meaningfully mediated by a culture based discipline.

Table 2: Anthropology Courses Offered at the BSc Degree Level at the University of Nigeria Nsukka*

S/N	Course Code	Course Title
1.	Anth. 102	Introduction to Anthropology
2.	Anth. 121	Language in Society and Culture
3.	Anth. 201	History of Anthropological Thought
4.	Anth. 212	African Social Institutions
5.	Anth. 213	Economic Anthropology
6.	Anth. 214	Symbolic Anthropology
7.	Anth. 303	Nigerian Peoples and Culture
8.	Anth. 313	Anthropology of Present Society
9.	Anth. 321	African Religious System
10.	Anth. 327	Traditional Legal Systems
11.	Anth. 421	Race and Ethnic Relations
12.	Anth. 423	Urban Sociology and Anthropology
13.	Anth. 412	Culture and Communication
14.	Anth. 411	Comparative African Social Institutions

Source: Undergraduate Hand Book, Department of Sociology/ Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka.

* Even though this was taken from the University of Nigeria, we see it as typical and representative of what exists in the other universities offering anthropology in conjunction with sociology at the undergraduate level.

Incidentally, the above table contains the extent of anthropology the student is exposed to in a four year degree programme. But more insightful here is that about half of the above courses come under electives in which case students are free to choose them or opt for some other electives within the faculty. Moreover, those designated as electives like economic anthropology, African religious systems are those with significant bearing on today's contemporary realities. Equally interesting is that these courses show the considerable confusion and prevarication which dog the teaching and researching anthropology. For instance, why would one have urban sociology and anthropology rather than urban anthropology as a course? Also what is the description of the course on Anthropology of present society? Granted there may be something like this, can it be justifiably captured in a one semester two unit course, and is that not like a self indictment that all other courses focus on anthropology of the past society? Be that as it may, only God knows what it is, but it seems like a belated and un-thoughtful attempt to take anthropology beyond the nether years where the curriculum has placed it. The summary here is that these courses are neither adequate nor representative of what anthropology should be today. This may be a source of the inability of a lot of Nigerian students to perceive the relevance of the discipline to their personal and group aspirations as Africans.

Hence, anthropology teaching and research in Nigeria must go beyond a mere rehash of classical literature and viewpoints and a stubborn insistence on the value of knowledge for knowledge sake. It should aspire towards catching-up with both the development needs of the country and the aspirations of its students and teachers in a dynamic and challenging world. Therefore, one aligns with the sentiments of one of the foremost modern Anthropologists in Nigeria, Onigu Otite that, "I suggest a change, something more fundamental and total than mere revisionist anthropology, on the basis of which African Anthropology of African societies may be attempted. This Anthropology must have a sound theoretical base for a utilitarian role in solving practical and ideological problems of Africa" (Otite, 1997:4).

Therefore, in the drawing up of a curriculum for anthropology in Nigeria, the overriding emphasis on the classical issues or themes in

anthropology should be reduced in order to create room for the introduction and integration of new concerns growing out of the demands of today's society and the need to make anthropology relevant to contemporary problems and situations. Perhaps a way of doing the above has been succinctly captured by Jegede (2000:14):

> Although these classical areas shall continue to be taught, there is need to include new areas in order to meet the challenges of the modern world and technology. It is important to make anthropological training computer-based so that it can meet new challenges. Also training in vocational practice and transferable skills should be offered in order to make the discipline available to many at all levels.

Attitudes of Students to the Study of Anthropology

Anthropology, like most other social science disciplines in Nigeria, has been impacted negatively by the structural problems of the Nigerian state. Prominent among these problems is the massive increase in graduate unemployment since the mid 1980s which has led the government to openly canvass for and initiate programmes in favour of the so-called professional courses in the universities. The sponsoring of a mindset by government that the only way to beat the unemployment trap is to choose science or professional courses in the university have undermined the growth of other disciplines and in the case of anthropology led to a serious decline in student enrolment. Reinforcing this has been the advent of economic adjustments and reforms starting from the 1986 adoption of the SAP in Nigeria which severely limited the financing of public universities.

The outcome of these factors has been the gross decline of productive scholarship, decaying infrastructure and the unpopularity of anthropology and other social sciences/humanities disciplines seen as now tangential to the economic survival of the average Nigerian student. The view of students in this case is consistent with that fact that anthropology has refused to shed its extreme-datedness. In the opinion of Jegede (2000), anthropology is sometimes considered an archaic discipline with no place in the current dispensation because it studies small scale or primitive societies as British Anthropologists are wont to refer to it. But more crucially, the neglect involved in the above structural issues has had far reaching consequences for both anthropology and social sciences as a whole. Particularly, "social science scholars face deplorable socio-economic conditions both on personal and institutional levels. Academic staffs are grossly underpaid while tertiary institutions suffer a dearth of physical capital urgently needed for maintenance and service provision" (Anugwom, 2004:409). This situation is still largely the same today and

the scramble among the political leaders to establish private universities has not helped the plight of the public universities in this regard.

The ultimate outcome of a government policy on discrediting the relevance of the social sciences[5] as it were has had very adverse affect on the preference of students for anthropology at the tertiary level. This much was revealed by our study of students' course preferences in tertiary institutions in Nigeria. The study took a sample of 200 students in their penultimate and final years in four universities offering the BSc sociology/anthropology degree[6] and sought to discover their preferences, views and attitudes to anthropology as a discipline. Surprisingly, only 12 of the students or 6% of the entire sample chose anthropology as their preference over sociology. This is really a very abysmal proportion and hence we decided to find out from both sets of students why their preferences. Their typical responses are summarised in the table below:

Table 3: Reasons for Studying and Not Studying Anthropology

Students who prefer Anthropology	Students who would not prefer Anthropology study
1. Anthropology studies the human culture, belief systems and norms in the society;	1. Anthropology is a primitive and abstract discipline;
2. I am curious to know more about the lives of the people in the rural areas and their cultural artefacts;	2. Anthropology is so abstract and makes us believe things we cannot see;
3. It is in line with my vision to promote youth rights and empowerment from the background of their cultural heritage;	3. Anthropology deals with the past which makes it uninteresting;
4. I believe that culture is important to development.	4. Anthropology talks about ancient things one cannot imagine or configure correctly;
	5. I would not like to be idle and unemployed after graduation.

The point from the above table is that after so many years anthropology is still largely a misunderstood discipline even amongst students who ought to know better given that they are in sociology/anthropology departments. Equally interesting is that the fear of unemployment is a major

concern for students in deciding preferences, anthropology is seen by the students as largely irrelevant to their aspirations towards gainful employment after graduation.

The obvious apathy of students towards the discipline is quite understandable in view of the employment and career driven nature of today's tertiary education, especially in a developing nation like Nigeria. Perhaps anthropology, just like a good number of other social sciences disciplines in order to capture the interests of a good number of students needs serious and dynamic retooling and refocusing. In this regard, one agrees with the submission that there is need for, "a continental network of anthropologists concerned with the development of new methods of teaching and learning which are working to equip students with the disciplinary and transferable skills – analytical, organizational and practical – needed for employment outside academics" (Jegede, 2000:10).

Anthropology and Social Development in Nigeria

Anthropology is a form of knowledge pursuit that is imperatively linked to both the survival and development of the society since it focuses on human beings, their societies and the mechanisms or strategies evolved by humans in order to adapt to the multiple challenges of their environment (see Anugwom, 2004). In this sense, anthropology as a discipline have both theoretical and practical contents that ultimately affect development. Perhaps nowhere is this more apparent than in today's society in which the need to adapt development programmes and goals to the needs and aspirations of the people has become overwhelming.

One shortfall of anthropology in Nigeria, which has been made sharper by the development crisis facing the country, is the ambiguous connection between the discipline or its outcomes and the development needs of the country. In this sense, anthropology as presently studied in Nigeria approximates knowledge for knowledge sake than a process that can generate development options. However, the emergence of anthropology as a knowledge base for development intervention by development agencies implies that this shortcoming is a product of both the visionary impediments of these policy makers and the handicaps of the scholars of anthropology in Nigeria.

Anthropology is concerned with the diverse socio-cultural heritages and practices that have served as the basis of people's existence on earth (see Anugwom, 2000). This places anthropology at a critical position in social development since it provides what may be considered holistic and encompassing knowledge about man and his society. But as a disci-

pline, especially in a developing society like Nigeria, the lofty and ambitious aim of anthropology to provide explanations for all facets of life has generated epistemological problems in the discipline. Part of this problem has been the dilemma of distinguishing anthropology and its methodologies from those of other related disciplines, especially if anthropology is genuinely cast as a concern with both developing and developed societies of the world (a view that appeals to African scholarship). But even more critical is the issue of opposing or competing approaches and orientations among anthropologists themselves. For instance, while most British Anthropologists and by implication Nigerian anthropologists would see themselves as doing social or cultural anthropology and invariably defining it as the relevant domain of modern anthropology, others would either see themselves as total anthropologists or not belabour the distinction between the physical and social. This problem is a significant one in Nigeria's tertiary institutions where the anthropology offered by first generation universities differs from one institution to another in some respects.

While the British legacy of anthropology, especially in terms of nomenclature and its domain as a social science discipline subsists, a classical British approach to the study of the discipline which usually emphasises social discontinuities or the differentiating of each social group from another would be counter-productive in Nigeria's quest for development. Therefore, instead of studying societies in Nigeria as isolated groups or emphasising distinctive features in these societies and using them to mark differences or uniqueness,[7] there is need for a more integrative approach which while identifying differences emphasises uniformities and commonness.

But beyond a mere focus on the practical utility of anthropology, its existence as the core of the social science knowledge in Africa and elsewhere has implications for development. The impact of the above statement can be appreciated against the contention of the World Bank (1999:25) that "successful development entails more than investing in physical capital or closing the gap in capital. It also entails acquiring and using knowledge – closing the gaps in knowledge". Actually if anthropology has more obvious relevance in developing societies as the classical literature suggests, then the need for anthropological knowledge in Africa cannot be over-emphasised. Perhaps the development doldrums in which Nigeria finds itself despite massive human, material and mineral resources may be linked to the underdevelopment of anthropology in the country.

Constraints and Challenges

The 'bad' name, which still shadows anthropology today, derives from its usage in the colonial enterprise. Such utterances (in reference to anthropology) like 'the hand maiden of colonial governments' or 'child of imperialism' (see, Gough, 1966; Hooker, 1963 in Otite, 1997) and even the more provocative dubbing of anthropology "that bastard and illegitimate union of the academic profession and the colonial administration" (Ladimeji, 1972:16) amply underline the negative impact of the colonial role of anthropology on the perception of the discipline especially by Africans.

In spite of this, one critical factor that has militated against the growth of African anthropology has been the lack of courage of African anthropologists, unlike their European and American counterparts, to understand the study of societies entirely different and not in any way contiguous to their own. While this fact can be partially blamed on structural problems with roots in the African university system, anthropologists have equally opted to study societies that are in reality their own pseudo-societies or societies contiguous to their societies.

This lack of courage to face the unknown or confront the unpredictable has meant ultimately a stifling of the space for knowledge growth. Some anthropologists in Nigeria have often studied societies that are theirs or less than thirty kilometres from theirs and which, by implication, share so many cultural practices or commonalities with their own societies. The fact of cultural uniformity and geographical contiguity invariably limits the scope for the emergence of the new and lead to the production of knowledge which, in its bare, is a smart rehash of what is familiar or an elaborate over-estimation and narration of minor differences (differences in degree than substance). Such tendency to settle for the familiar or to stick as close to home as possible has often warranted criticisms of African anthropology even from the so-called uninitiated or more crucially has confined African anthropology to the passenger seat in the world vehicle of anthropology. A particular indication of this fact is that a good number of African anthropologists are dialect speakers or specialists rather than proficiency in a foreign or different language which classically defines anthropological research.

A very important tool in the development of teaching and research in any discipline is the existence of reliable and peer reviewed journals for the dissemination of research results and forum for exchange and interchange of ideas. Incidentally, in spite of the number of tertiary institutions offering anthropology in Nigeria, there does not exist even one good

journal of anthropology in the mode of the American "Current Anthropology", "American Anthropologist", the British "Man", "Anthropology Today"or even closer to home the good number of related journals in South Africa.[8] Even the attempt through the years to have a journal of Sociology and Anthropology has been epileptic and un-sustained. This major lapse has limited the ability of Nigerian anthropologists to avail themselves of the opportunity of a unique professional journal for dissemination of research outcomes. While this issue may not be directly related to the prevailing research, lethargy in the profession in the country, it is a fact that the existence of easily accessible outlets for research output encourages research since the major aim of research is publication.[9] In other words, this has meant the inability of Nigerian anthropologists to produce ethnographies and articles that would define, sharpen and structure the discipline, thereby making Nigerian anthropology simply a matter of following the course charted by the early Western scholars.

Obviously, the dearth of research opportunities and a self-inflicted academic timidity has created a scenario whereby African anthropologists now attempt merely to play catch-up. In other words, Africans have even conceded the lead role in the study of anthropology of Africa to Euro-American scholars whose control of the more influential academic knowledge dissemination channels have had a field day narrating the stories of Africa and Africans even in the present context of a highly developed knowledge environment in the continent. It is, of course, not prophetic to state that this academic dominance has created an 'other' perspective to anthropological narratives that often do not represent or capture entirely the reality. This form of narration may not be the norm, as it were or produced always by deliberate slanting or economy with the truth, but rather typifies the fact that no one tells the story better than those involved.

There is also the problem of the lack of a databank on professional anthropologists in Nigeria and this has negatively impacted on the collegiate atmosphere of exchange and discourse necessary for professional growth and affected the public awareness of the contributions of the profession to national development efforts. More telling, however, is the inability of Nigerian Anthropologists to develop a distinct character, a problem that is actually general in the social sciences. In fact, the overt domination of the social sciences by Western ideals, values and ethics have not helped the affinity of such disciplines to development in the African context (Anugwom, 2004). This is nowhere more typical than in Nigeria.

Interestingly, some Nigerian scholars have seen the problem of anthropology as emanating from its association with sociology in the academic circles in the country. For instance, Ogundipe (1992) locates the bane of anthropological studies as lying in its playing subservient and obscure roles vis-à-vis sociology. The fact is that in many Nigerian tertiary institutions, as our table has already shown anthropology is conceived as addendum of sociology. In fact, the label 'Department of Sociology and Anthropology' or even 'Sociology/Social Anthropology' underlines this practice which has relegated anthropology to the background in terms of resource allocation and even attraction to students. While this practice may be seen as really not very harmful at the undergraduate level, its impact is well felt at the post-graduate level where sociology thoroughly dominates. For instance, the post-graduate enrolment in Anthropology in one of these universities presents the picture clearly:

Table 4: Average Figure of Post-Graduate Enrolment in Anthropology in University of Nigeria, Nsukka (1998 – 2006)*

Period	No. of Students
1998 – 2003	1
2003 – 2004	2
2004 – 2006	5

Source: Estimated from Post Graduate Records (1998 – 2007), Department of Sociology/Anthropology, University of Nigeria, Nsukka

* Though the data relates to Nsukka alone, the chance of a radical positive difference in other institutions is slim.

Charting a Way Forward

Basically the problems bedevilling both the teaching and researching of anthropology in Nigerian tertiary institutions can be seen as resulting mainly from the colonial identity of the discipline and the structural underdevelopment of the Nigerian educational system cum the entire socio-economic structure as well as the incapacity of Nigerian Anthropologists. As a result, Nigerian anthropology has faced a perpetual problem of credibility since its aiding of colonialism has implanted an imagery of an intellectual bid to denigrate indigenous cultures and peoples in the minds of people of the country. Perhaps the inability of the emer-

gent Nigerian anthropologists to shed the discipline of this toga and make it emerge from behind the clouds created a scenario whereby these anthropologists hid in ivory towers and ministered anthropology to a select few. Incidentally, this bred an unfortunate tendency to see anthropology as an esoteric undertaking with limited bearing on development needs of the people. Without doubt, in the last two decades there has been significant attempts by a few Nigerian anthropologists to properly define and redefine the Nigerian vis-à-vis other peoples and cultures of the world.

However, such attempts have appeared too far in-between and too little. Moreover, such attempts have been undermined by the inability of the Nigerian anthropologists to offer an authentic and different discourse. We have remained content with a submission to the disciplinary borders drawn by Euro-American scholars. This in the views of Prah (1992) creates a situation where the intellectuals of anthropology in Africa have established no tradition worth the name but are content to operate as simply 'local correspondents' for Western intellectuals. Probably, this is in spite of the thinking in some quarters that some theories in the discipline serve to justify and rationalise the exploitation and domination of the developing nations.

Therefore, the challenge before the Nigerian Anthropologist is much the same challenge facing African Anthropologists in general. However, the start point of facing this challenge is to interrogate the imageries of Africa created by the 'other'. Undoubtedly, Anthropologists have played a huge role in the definition of what is African or 'Africanness' today. This is a crucial challenge which African Anthropologists should tackle with candour in order to ensure that such imageries of Africa represent the authentic African reality. A challenge made incontrovertible by a realization that much of what is African today is so un-African (see, Otite, 1997) and calls for a continuous effort on remaking such imageries of Africa purveyed by Western Anthropology. This means equally giving anthropology education authentic African social and cultural roots, as one sure way of tackling the alienating influence often associated with Western education which is a major departure from the socio-cultural context of pre-colonial education.

According to Anugwom (2004:406), "education in the context of the pre-colonial African society was structured by and made relevant to the socio-cultural realities of the societies concerned". This was hardly the case of anthropology since it first assumed the toga of a legitimising narrative by colonial missionaries, bureaucrats and journeymen who

sought to validate the absurd claim of colonialism as a civilising mission. Unfortunately, these journeymen took the stage before the pioneer pre-colonial western anthropologists who studied Africa genuinely. Probably, the origin of anthropology within the context of the conniving repertories of the journeymen from Europe had far reaching implications for the acceptance and growth of the discipline in Nigeria. In other words, anthropology began as imagery of the colonial overlords and in all essence a largely counter-narrative of the indigenes of the country. Hence the challenge of anthropology after colonialism has been to reverse the above notion. Perhaps, the inability of anthropology to still command a large following especially among students may be related to the original impact of the colonial encounter. Indeed anthropology, as other social sciences, came to Nigeria during the colonial era and in the garb of colonialism (see, Lerche, 1981). But the crucial difference between anthropology and the other social sciences in terms of the colonial contact is that anthropology was initially used for the exclusionary depiction of Nigerian peoples as backward upon which the enterprise of colonialism was justified.

Definitely, anthropology in Nigeria has borrowed quite a lot from the British tradition, though the existence of other influences and approaches cannot be denied. In view of this, there is need for the development of authentic Nigerian anthropology which would do away with the study of Nigerian peoples and societies as 'distanced others'. In other words, a more insider and integrative approach is needed.

Conclusion

In consonance with the foregoing, the bid to give anthropology a fitting status in both academic and development discourse in Nigeria calls for some systematic advocacy. There is, thus, need for advocacy by anthropologists as a way of raising the popularity of the discipline and the establishment of a strategic plan which focuses on institutional strengthening of universities to teach anthropology, dynamic cultural curriculum, research and dissemination channels, and professional values and bonding.

While the above gives us the general picture, there are still a few Nigerian anthropologists who are into research concerns that are indeed in tune with contemporary needs of society while still remaining undoubtedly anthropological in orientation and methodology. In this sense, these scholars are in two main categories: those who while conscious of classic anthropological methods, adapt these to the realities of

contemporary plural society by seeing culture as mediating man's lived experience in today's world; and those who focus on narrow ethnographic concerns or what one such anthropologist labelled a holistic study of groups with no extant ethnographies.[10] Despite the above, these approaches are yet to significantly affect the teaching of anthropology or the curriculum especially at the undergraduate level.

In spite of all deficiencies pointed out, anthropology is without doubt relevant within the context of Nigeria's development. The utility of the discipline's quest to offer a proper understanding and projection of the Nigerian reality cannot be over-emphasised in the country's march to development. Fortunately enough, Otite (1997) argues that African anthropology and Anthropologists can acquire worthwhile relevance by unravelling the African society, its structure and functions, the relationship between its units and the place of the supernatural element in the human development cycle. The above clearly illuminates one path of relevance that may be towed by Nigerian Anthropologists. Despite its undoubted value, Nigerian anthropology faces the critical challenge of carving out a resilient socio-cultural imagery of Nigeria with definite theoretical and practical dimensions. This is only possible through a robust research in the discipline and a teaching curriculum which while pandering to theoretical and methodological rigours, take on board the dynamics of present day Nigerian society. This would perhaps make the teaching of the discipline interesting and do away with the allegations of being abstract which students level against the discipline.

It has been suggested that, "in order to enhance teaching skills, there is need for national discipline – specific training programmes which would equip teachers with expertise specifically in the teaching of anthropology. Anthropology teachers should be reflective practitioners who should regard their experiments in teaching as action research" (Jegede, 2000:14). This approach, apart from giving anthropology a much needed professional touch, would ensure an education rooted in the development needs of the receivers of such education. Therefore, it is only through a focus defined by the above needs that Nigerian anthropology can offer valuable perspectives on the unending crisis of development in the country and in the process enable a culture mediated understanding and resolution of Nigeria's developmental problems.

Notes

1. Anthropology as used in this discussion refers to cultural or social anthropology as distinct from physical or biological anthropology
2. The situation in almost all Nigerian universities.
3. As Jegede (2000) infers, the growth of anthropology has remained very slow in Africa, compared with other social science disciplines.
4. For instance, in the University of Nigeria, Nsukka for over twenty years now only three heads of department have been anthropologists and currently of about seventeen lecturers in the department only four are anthropologists.
5. Actually Nigeria's former President Olusegun Obasanjo (1999 – 2007) was once reported as telling newsmen during his tenure that those who studied mass communication, sociology, anthropology and other related courses deserve no employment in Nigeria, since such courses are not relevant.
6. The universities are University of Nigeria, Nsukka; Nnamdi Azikiwe University, Awka; Ebonyi State University, Abakaliki; Benue State University, Makurdi. The interviews took place between July 3 and 24, 2007.
7. One needs to think about the ethnographies of such icons of the British approach like Malinouski and Evans-Pritchard who viewed society as existing in equilibrium.
8. For instance, Social Dynamics; Journal of Southern African Studies; Bantu Studies (now African Studies).
9. A problem made worse by the still debatable existence of gatekeepers and gatekeeping mentality which severely limits the access of African scholars to Western journals even in anthropology where quite a good number of the focus of anthropology research worldwide has been in the African continent
10. Personal Interview, 26-07-2007.

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Anthropology at the University of Yaounde I: A Historical Overview, 1962-2008

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Abstract

The teaching of anthropology at the University of Yaoundé I dates back to the very birth of the university, even though, the word anthropology was not used explicitly. The rapid growth of the discipline was enhanced by the 1993/94 university reforms which offered a window of opportunity to the discipline to redefine itself and rehabilitate its image after decades of battering. From a few students in the 1980s, the discipline enrolls over a hundred students every year at Yaoundé. The increased numbers and importance of the discipline led to the creation of separate department of anthropology with a strong faculty capable of teaching and awarding degrees at all levels.

Résumé

L'enseignement de l'Anthropologie à l'Université de Yaoundé I prend naissance à partir de la date de création de l'Université, bien que le mot Anthropologie ne fut pas explicitement utilisé. La croissance ou le développement rapide de la discipline est mise en valeur à partir de la réforme universitaire de 1993/1994 qui a ouvert la fenêtre des opportunités à cette discipline afin de se redéfinir elle-même et réhabiliter son image après des décennies de mauvais traitement. Avec peu d'étudiants vers les années 1980, la discipline inscrit des milliers d'étudiants à l'Université de Yaoundé. Le nombre croissant des étudiants et l'importance de la discipline a pour conséquence, la

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création d'un département séparé de l'anthropologie avec une grande faculté capable d'enseigner et de délivrer les diplômes à tous les niveaux.

Introduction

The teaching of anthropology at the University of Yaoundé dates back to the creation of this institution. Its status and existence today as an autonomous discipline within the Cameroon university system is the result of a long struggle. It is therefore, important to discuss the history, in order to grasp the motives and the context that favoured the reforms and changes, and which, subsequently, affected the teaching of anthropology at this university. The University has undergone a number of reforms since its creation in 1962, but the most significant changes are those of January 1993 which provide a niche for anthropology as a strategic discipline within the university system.

Anthropology began timidly at the University of Yaoundé through the teaching of basic courses on the Family, Marriage, Kinship and other related topics between 1962 to 1980s. It gained greater importance in the 1990s as more and more teachers and students were recruited. This paper looks at the events that have shaped anthropology in this context, and the impact of recent reforms on other emerging universities in the country

Anthropology as the study of humankind, is defined and taught in a variety of ways. On continental Europe, anthropology referred more to the study of the genetically inherited characteristics of humankind while ethnology as the study of contemporary cultures was given more prominence. In the Americas, anthropology includes physical and cultural anthropology. While physical anthropology focuses on the genetically inherited characteristics of man (palaeontology, comparative human biology, comparative primatology, etc), cultural anthropology looks at the socially learned behaviour of humankind (ethnology, archeology, linguistics).

What is taught at the University of Yaoundé I is cultural anthropology which tend to follow the American traditions of the four fields. This trend dates back to late 1970s when Paul Nchoji Nkwi was recruited as an assistant professor. Before then, ethnology was being taught given that the founding fathers of Cameroon anthropology were trained in France. The fundamental change in the late 1970s was largely determined by the huge amount of literature coming out of the American tradition. For the past two decades, culture as a fundamental concept has been at the basis of anthropology. Even though some early anthropologists looked at culture as a sum total of ideas and behaviour shared

by a group, Durkheim and Goodenough (1970) approach culture from a cognitive perspective and defines it as a sum total of representations, ideas and symbols shared by members of a society. The word anthropology, used in this paper, refers to cultural anthropology.

The Establishment and Growth of the University of Yaoundé

By a presidential decree 9 of July 1962 (no. 62-DF-28), the Federal University of Cameroon was created which will later become the University of Yaoundé in 1972 and the University of Yaoundé I in 1993. The creation brought to an end a long and fierce debate on the necessity of such an institution. In the 1950s, the Trusteeship Council of United Nations had proposed the creation of an institution of higher learning in Cameroon. When the recommendation was submitted to the conference of Directors of Education in Black Africa, they rejected the idea as "utopic". The institution was established to meet the standards and quality of European universities.

The conference instead proposed a University college to train African middle-level manpower without "metropolitan grades" **(**Marchand, 1962). France, the administrator of one section of the Trusteeship territory of Cameroon, was by that fact required to submit every year a report on the social, economic and political situation in the trusteeship territory. Even though the League of Nations was pushing for a university, France considered the number of candidates for Bachelor Degree holders insufficient to justify the creation of such an institution. Instead, France promised to increase the number of higher education scholarships for studies abroad (cf. Bulletin de L'Inspection Générale de l'Enseignement et de la Jeunesse, Ministère de la France d'outre-mer, Juillet 1950, p.15). France also believed that the crucial problem was the training of local administrative officers. Officers trained in foreign universities in Europe were not at all adapted to the needs, if not, to the specific realities of the colony.

Furthermore, most Cameroonians trained abroad did not return. In addition, the number of officers required, was far higher than those being produced in foreign institutions. They could not satisfy the long term needs, given the limited scholarships and the up-keep of students constituted a heavy financial burden on both bilateral and international assistance. The necessity to train more local senior officers adapted to the needs of the country, and to slow down brain drain, necessitated the creation of a number of institutions of higher learning in the colonies. For Cameroon, the attempt to develop such institutions led finally to the

creation of The National Institute for University Studies in Cameroon (decree DC/61-55 of April 25 1961). The Institute funded mostly by France provided two years of university studies in Law ("capacité") to holders of at least the General Certificate of Education, controlled by the University of Toulouse. With the assistance of France steps were taken to provide the teaching staff and the necessary funds for the creation and management of the University.

For the Federal University of Cameroon to become functional, the French Foundation for Higher Education was established to run the various institutions. In 1962, the new university comprised of the following institutions: the Higher Teachers' Training School (ENS) sponsored by UNESCO, The Faculty of Law and Economic Sciences, The Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences and the Federal School of Agriculture supported by FAO. The Faculty of Sciences was established a year later in 1963. Six years later, two other institutions were created, namely, the Centre for the Management of Enterprise and the University Centre for Health Sciences (CUSS).

Created as a National Institute for University Studies in 1962, the Federal University which later on became the University of Yaoundé (1970-1971) has witnessed a remarkable demographic and infrastructural development. The different University institutions operated in different parts of the city of Yaoundé. By the beginning of the academic year 1967/68, all the faculties moved into their own campuses constructed in Ngoa-Ekelle. France's financial and material support was critical for the development of the University, thanks to a special agreement between Cameroon and France, giving France complete control of higher education for a period of 10 years. The teaching staff was recruited under this special agreement and most of the staff were French nationals or Cameroonians paid by the French. In 1972 a presidential decree nationalised the university and France was forced to withdraw its hold on the system. Some Cameroonian staff, previously paid by France refused to accept local salaries and went on strike. When a new decree signed in October 1976 increased substantially the salaries of teachers, slowed down brain drain and enhanced the teaching profession.

With the growing numbers of students, problems of infrastructure, professionalisation, and in keeping with the policy of regional balance decree no. 77/108 of April 28 1977 raised the existing university institutions into four new university centers, namely :

- Douala, the University Centre for Sciences and Business.
- Buea, University Centre for Languages and Letters.

- Dschang, University Centre for Agronomic Sciences.
- Ngaoundere, University Centre for Science and Technology.

However, the creation of these Centres was designed to slow down the exponential growth of the student population at the University of Yaoundé because the centres limited the numbers of students admitted to each centre.

It must be noted that the Federal University had a student population of 3334 in 1972 when Cameroon took it over from the French. The numbers continued to grow without the expansion of infrastructure (see Table1).

Table 1: Admission from 1962-1992 at the University of Yaounde

Year	No. of students	Percentage growth
1961/1962	213	
1971/1972	3334	29%
1981/1982	15800	8%
1991/1992	51000	12%

Despite the creation of professional university centres, the number of students at the campus of the University of Yaoundé continued to swell while these universities institutions remained empty. The state was obliged to create six universities by decree no. 93/026 of January 19, 1993. We will come back to these reforms later on, for these had a great impact on the emerging importance of anthropology in these new universities.[1]

It is must be stated clearly that the state was reluctant to giving full expression to Anglo-Saxon culture. Although English and French were the official languages of the University, very few French-speaking teachers bother to master the English language. The converse was not true with English speaking staff. English speaking students found it difficult to express themselves in French or French constituted an additional burden on them. When they went to the street to demand an Anglo-Saxon University, it was readily given when the Prime Minister went on Radio and Television, and told the students that such a university would be created. It is against this background that the University of Yaoundé split up into Yaoundé I and Yaoundé II and three other Universities were created in Dschang, Ngaoundere, Buea, and Douala.

The Status of Anthropology before the 1993 Reform

Right from the creation of the University some anthropology courses were taught in the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences. The decree creating the Federal University in 1962 stipulates in article 11 that the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences would award Bachelor Degrees in Letters to students who had successfully passed the examinations leading to the award of – five certificates of higher Education – that made up the Bachelor's degree. The following degrees were to be awarded:

1- Classical Letters,

2- Modern Letters,

3- History and Geography,

4- Human Sciences (Philosophy),

5- Human Sciences (Sociology),

6- Human Sciences (Psychology).

In order to be awarded a degree in Sociology, the student was required to have obtained the **Certificate of Ethnology**. The degree in Human Sciences (Sociology) was composed of the following certificates:

1- Certificate of History of Civilisations,

2- Certificate in general Sociology,

3- Certificate in general Psychology,

4- Certificate in Ethnology,

5- Certificate in Political and Social Economy.

Designed along the French University system, Ethnology was taught as sub-discipline of social sciences. All students taking sociology were required to take courses in ethnology. Although a separate department in anthropology did not exist, studying ethnology was a vital component of the degree in Human Sciences (Sociology). From the beginning there were conscious efforts to bring anthropology on board right in the early years of the Federal University of Cameroon. The following course were taught:

History and Methodology

- The major theories in sociology (ethnology),
- Definition of Sociology and Social Sciences,
- Sociology and Psychoanalysis,
- Sociological Research, methods & techniques of research on the field,
- Ethnology and Sociology, signification of archaism.

Sociological Problems

- The levels of interpretation of social phenomena;
- Typology of groups; social morphology;
- Sociology of language;
- The types of family organisations;
- Social control and political sociology.

Electives

- Economic Sociology and Sociology of work,
- African Ethnology.

The reforms of 1980s merged the three degrees in human sciences into a **degree in Philosophy**. The reforms proposed the removal of sociology and anthropology entirely from the teaching programme, a move that met stiff resistance from both sociologists and anthropologists whose action led to the creation of a full department of Sociology within which the two disciplines were taught. Indeed, these reforms permitted students to take common courses in both philosophy and sociology during the first two years. It was in the third year that they specialised in sociology, but graduating with a combined degree in philosophy/sociology. The courses offered in ethnology were reduced considerably to a single course entitled the **Sociology of Traditional Africa**. Students interested in anthropology could only take courses in the third year with the possibility of studying anthropology at the graduate level -(fourth-fifth years).

Here is a sample of the common courses in philosophy-sociology:

First Year

- Social Science History,
- Methods of research in social sciences,
- Initiation into anthropology,
- Introduction to statistics.

Second Year

- Social Sciences History,
- Methods of research in social sciences,
- Social psychology,
- Statistics,
- Anthropology of the family,
- Sociology of development.

Third Year

Common Courses:

- Sociology of the deviance,
- Sociology of work,
- Demography,
- Methods of research in social sciences,
- People and cultures of Cameroon,
- People and cultures of the world,
- Methods of analysis and interpretation of sociological texts,
- General Anthropology.

Social Structures

- Women and Development,
- Urban Anthropology,
- Applied Anthropology,
- Anthropology of development,
- Religious anthropology.

Sociology: Electives

- Sociology of Development,
- Urban Sociology,
- Political Sociology,
- Sociology of education,
- Sociology of population.

Although students graduating with degrees in Philosophy-Sociology had basic notions in anthropology, it is interesting to note that the staff was predominantly anthropologists.

Profile of Staff of the Department of Sociology

Although anthropology was not taught in all its various forms and given the prominence it deserved, the presence of the discipline was visible in the people who taught and administered the department of sociology. When the department was established in the 1960s, it was a French anthropologist who was chair and for the next 12 years, the department would remain in the hands of anthropologist. By 1986, there were 12 members of staff in the department of Sociology of which 7 were anthropologists. By 1993 when the discipline was given a full autonomous status (granting degrees: B.Sc, Master, Ph.D), there were 12 anthropologists on the teaching staff.

At no time were there more sociologists than anthropologists in the department. Throughout the 1980s, there were 12 members of staff, 7(52%) were anthropologists while 5(48%) were sociologists. Furthermore, some anthropologists prefer to be labelled as sociologists.

Historically, anthropology in France and the rest of Europe meant physical anthropology while social and cultural anthropology was seen as part of sociology or ethnology. The role played by anthropology during the colonial period created a difficult climate for the discipline. Having served as a handmaiden of colonialism, anthropology was seen and described by African intellectuals, academics and nationalists as a colonial discipline that had nothing to do with the new emerging and modernising process of Africa. Even though great names like Busia and Kenyatta became political leaders in their respective countries, that fact did not enhance the discipline as a strategic subject for Africa's development. Consequently, many Africans who studied anthropology or ethnology in North American and European Universities returned to a University system that was hostile to the discipline. Carrying the label sociologist was more acceptable and marketable than the label anthropologist. Many who studied anthropology did so within the context of cultural renaissance, carving a niche for Africa within world history. The struggles of Cheik Anta Diop and other African scholars to restore the dignity of African cultures became a great inspiration to those who went on to study anthropology despite the hostility.

In 1986 virtually, all staff members were trained abroad. Only two had been entirely trained in Cameroon. The rest were trained in the USA, France, Switzerland, Germany and Belgium and came from a variety of professional backgrounds and experiences. This was a great asset to the department. Again, they came back to a university system with little incentives for research and teaching. The lack of resources further exasperated the situation and played negatively on their careers. Their professional careers seemed to stagnate once they became senior lecturers. For the entire history of the department, no sociologist has ever risen to the rank of full professor. The promotion system which requires quality publications and professional performance made it impossible for most teachers to move to higher ranks. This made it very difficult the training of students at the graduate level. Indeed, moving to higher grades, required the completion of academic training with a PhD or Doctorat d'État. Teachers with Doctorat 3^{e} cycle were required to obtain the Doctorat d'État before they could seek promotion to the rank of associate professor. Teachers who studied in the German system were also required to

obtain Habilitation before applying for promotion while those with Ph.Ds from the USA and Great Britain could evolved professionally without further restrictions provided they fulfilled the requirements of publications.

Although, the teachers of anthropology came from a variety of University backgrounds, yet the teaching of the discipline at the University of Yaoundé was strongly based on the American anthropology tradition. However, archaeology and linguistics are taught in separate departments. What came to be know as anthropology at the University of Yaoundé I was basically cultural anthropology with a strong focus on the applied dimensions which emerged as part of the new reforms of 1993.

The 1993 University Reform

The 1993 reforms were preceded by a debate in the Ministry of Higher Education about the employability potentials of the entire teaching programme at the lone University of Yaoundé. The need to provide students with skills and experience would provide solutions to the unemployment crisis. Each discipline was required to brainstorm on the possibility of reforming the University system with emphasis on capacity building and skills acquisitions.

The growing number of students was posing a serious infrastructural problem. Built in the late 1960s to accommodate 10,000 students, the same infrastructure was handling over 50,000 students by 1991/92 academic year. In order to deal with these numbers, five new Universities were created out of the University of Yaoundé: Yaoundé II (Soa), Douala, Dschang, Ngaoundere and Buea. The old University of Yaoundé became University of Yaoundé I.

In the old University system, admissions were limited to students 25 years of age. But with the reform, all qualified Cameroonians wishing to pursue University education could register in these institutions as stipulated by article 2 of decree no. 93/027 of January 1993. These guidelines offered a unique occasion for anthropology to redefine its vision and mission within the new university reforms.

Although some courses in anthropology were taught in the department of sociology, the department was not known as the department of sociology and anthropology. With the reforms, a department of sociology and anthropology was established raising anthropology to the status of a first degree awarding discipline. Before the reforms, students could only obtain masters and doctorate degrees in anthropology but not first degrees. The 1993 reforms introduced a first degree (B.A) programme and made admissions into the master degree fairly flexible and liberal. All students with first degree were allowed to enrol directly into

a master degree programme. This measure was designed to hold back the students for another year. It was only the PhD programme that imposed a rigorous selection process.

Inspired by government's desire to professionalise the disciplines, the new courses in anthropology were redesigned to permit students to acquire basic notions of applicability and practice. Table 2 shows the different courses, designed, debated by teachers of anthropology and approved by the university senate and council.

Table 2: Courses in Anthropology after the Reforms of 1993

Code Level	**Course Title**
UV 111	Introduction to General Anthropology
UV 112	History of Anthropology
UV 113	Social Structure and Organisation
UV 114	Material Culture: Technology,.
UV 115	Introduction to Ethnographic Research:
UV 116	Introduction to Ethnolinguistics
UV 117	Concept of Culture And Civilisation
UV 118	Introduction to Systems of Belief
UV 119	Bilingual Training
UV 120	Introduction to Cultural Anthropology
UV 121	The Anthropology of African Family
UV 122	The Anthropology of the Supernatural
Code Level	**Course Title**
UV 211	Current Theories In Anthropology
UV 212	Introduction to Physical Anthropology
UV 213	Culture and Personnality
UV 214	Cultural Dynamics
UV 215	Peoples and Cultures of Cameroon
UV 216	Political and Legal Anthropology
UV 217	Bilingual Training
UV 221	Systemic Analysis (Marriage And Family)
UV 222	Medical and Nutritional Anthropology
UV 223	Urban Anthropology
UV 224	Anthropology of Development
Code Level	**Course Title**
UV 311	Fieldwork Techniques And Methods (Quantitative And Qualitative)
UV 312	Material Culture (Economic)

UV 313	Peoples And Cultures of Africa
UV 314	Peoples And Cultures of The World
UV 315	Linguistic Anthropology
UV 316	Anthropology of Religion
UV 317	Bilingual Training
UV 321	Systemic Analysis
UV 322	Medical Anthropology
UV 323	Anthropology of Development
UV 324	Urban Anthropology
Code Level	**Course Title**
UV 4111	Advanced Training In Research Methods
UV 4112	Fieldwork and Computer Applications
UV 4113	Seminar
UV 4211	P olitical and Legal Anthropology
UV 4212	Family and Kinship Systems
UV 4213	Social Organisationn and Social Inequalities
UV 4214	Anthropology of Religion
UV 4311	Population Issues and Reproductive Health
UV 4312	International Health and Anthropology
UV 4313	Cultural Perceptions of Illness and Disease
UV 4314	Social Science and Health
UV 4411	Urban Anthropology : Theory and Praxis
UV 4412	Community Development and Sustainability
UV 4413	Environmental Anthropology : Social Impact Assessment
UV 4414	Taxonomies & Systems of Semantic Relationships
Code Level	**Course Title**
UV 5111	Advanced Training In Research Methods
UV 5112	Fieldwork and Computer Applications
UV 5113	Seminar
UV 5211	Social Organisation and Differenciation
UV 5212	The African Family in Transition
UV 5213	Social Transformation of Kinship Structure
UV 5214	Traditional Authority in Transitions
UV 5311	Primary Health Dialectics : Programmes and Evaluation
UV 5312	Reproductive Health & New Approaches to Population Issues
UV 5313	Public Health Policies and Praxis
UV 5314	Alternative Medicine: Traditional Healing Practices

The Profiles of Students

The enrolment of students was timid during the first years of the reform but gathered momentum at all level in the years following. The reforms had given an additional impetus. During the 1993/94 academic year only 10 students enrolled in anthropology. In 1994/95, the number rose to 18 and by 1995/96, there were 23 students. Table 3 shows the number of students from the 1993 reforms to 2008. The significant increase comes in 1996/97 academic year when the numbers rose to 32 and in 1997/98 there were 121 students studying anthropology at all levels (first degree, masters and PhD). By 1998/99 academic year, the total number had risen to 182.

Between 1993/94 and 1997/98, a total of 204 students studied at the level of first degree, masters and PhD and 90 (44%) of the 204 were women while 114(56%) were men. When one takes a look at the enrolment between 1996/97 and 2006/2007, the increased enrolment of young women is significant, and most of them come from diverse professional backgrounds including nursing, education, environment, journalism and other civil profession.

Table 3: Progressive Admissions of Students 1996-2008

Year	Total	Girls	Boys
1996/97	32	11	20
1997/98	121	75	46
1998/99	182	101	81
1999/2000	465	190	275
2000/2001	554	229	325
2001/2002	320	140	180
2002/2003	582	259	323
2003/2004	411	203	208
2004/2005	393	222	171
2005/2006	474	254	220
2006/2007	533	273	260
2007/2008	340	173	167

In the late 1970s and 1980s, government imposed an age limit to admissions by making anyone above the age of 25 illegible. This measure was directed against civil servants who pursued degree courses while working. With the economic crisis looming and unemployment rising, the 1993 university reforms opened the doors of the university to all qualified irrespective of age. A new category of students[2] *student-workers* emerged and progressively increased. Statistics obtained from the admission of-

fice show that between 1993/94 and 1998/99 a total of 386 students enrolled in anthropology and 150 (39%) of them are workers.

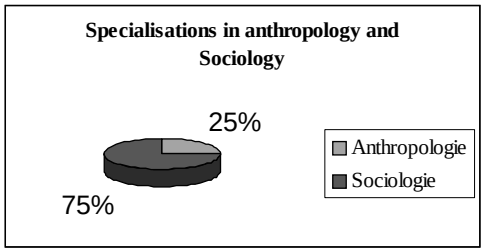
Graduates in Anthropology and the University of Yaoundé I

Before the university reforms, specialisation in anthropology was limited to Masters and PhD degree programmes. On the whole after the Masters degree, many students went abroad to continue their studies. Few students pursue PhD degrees at Yaoundé. The staff actively encouraged student to seek higher degrees abroad where conditions for research were conducive and better. Library resources and research opportunities hardly existed at Yaoundé. Encouraging students to study aboard was designed to create greater exposure and prepare them for a more active professional life. As a consequence, none completed their PhD at Yaoundé. Several bachelor and masters degrees in anthropology were awarded to over 52 students between 1993 and 1999. Table 4 is a synthesis of areas of specialisation in anthropology and sociology.

Table 4: Number of Students in the Different Specialisation between 1993-1999

Specialisation	Number by specialisation	Percentage (%)
Anthropology	52	25
Sociology	159	75
Total	**211**	**100**

Graph 1: Ratio of specialisations in anthropology and Sociology



The Graphic theses and dissertations covered a wide range of themes and specialisation, but the emerging trend was the focus applied areas. This was largely due to the nature of the teaching programme which emphasised the acquisition of skills and practical experience.

However, cultural and social Anthropology constituted privileged domains of research. Out of 52 anthropological dissertations presented at the university of Yaoundé 1 over the last 25 years, 14 (28%) handled issues in cultural anthropology whereas 10 (20%) dealt with issues in social anthropology. 10 of the 52 dissertations were in medical anthropology, 6 in ethnolinguistics, 4 in political anthropology and religion and the rest in archaeology, anthropology of development, environmental anthropology and economic anthropology.

The university reforms led to the creation of the department of sociology and anthropology. From 1993-94 to 2008, the department awarded degrees in anthropology and sociology and the two disciplines functioned as one administratively, but each awarded BA, Masters and PhD separately. In 2008, the ministry of Higher education, based on the demographics (over 650 students) and a qualified teaching staff of almost 10 (two professors, 6 senior lecturers, 3 assistant lecturers), created a separate department of anthropology. The new department has challenges of a different nature and its determination to meet these challenges shows up in the efforts to recruit more and more qualified staff and engaged in more research.

Future Perspectives

The establishment of the first African universities was designed to provide qualified manpower for the newly independent nation-states. For example, a country in Central Africa had only sixteen university graduates at the time of independence and twelve of these were priests. Between 1960 and 1970, university graduates found easily employment in the civil service. Even those who obtained degrees in anthropology were easily employed in the various ministries. Unemployment of was not a problem, given that professional schools such the National School of Public Administration (ENAM) recruited its students largely from secondary schools with GCE O & A levels rather from the university system. Only the school of Magistracy recruited students with law degree.

By the end of 1970s and beginning of the 1980s, the civil service was saturated with a critical mass of university graduates and it began to absorb graduates selectively through a competitive process. Those who could not make it floated in the labour markets. By 1986, the employability of university graduates significantly diminished. When President Biya signed a decree authorising the Public service to recruit 1500 university graduates, many found employment in the public service with little or no substantive work load. With the structural adjustment pro-

gramme of the 1980s placing several restrictions on recruitments, the state was forced to scale down on further recruitments.

The university reforms of the early 1990s were aimed at producing graduates with practical skills that would generate self-employment. The reforms regrouped sister-disciplines with the aim of providing broad base education in order to enhance their performance as teachers. Major combined degrees such as History-Geography and Philosophy-Sociology were designed to produce teachers for the secondary schools. A few courses in anthropology were taught in the new combined degree of Philosophy-Sociology. Philosophy was being a teaching subject in secondary schools, not anthropology or sociology. Anthropologist with a combined degree could teach basic courses in philosophy. Indeed, students who graduated with a combined degree in philosophy-sociology went on to pursue higher studies in anthropology, but ended up as secondary school teachers.

The reforms only provided ephemeral solution to a growing problem of unemployment. By the end of the 1980s, the teaching field was saturated to such an extent that the state called on universities to design the teaching programmes to produce graduates with self-employment skills. Efforts at professionalisation sought to provide vital practical skills to provide self-employment.

For anthropology, the question was "how could anthropology offer vital and critical survival skills to students. Already, the collapse of the modernisation theory in 1960s had generated a whole new debate about alternative answers to development questions. This debate opened a new window of opportunity to anthropology. The anthropological insights and its micro-analytic perspective were being explored as alternative routes to the development. Would anthropology offer the answers? How could anthropology respond to the increased demands of development agencies?

In response to these questions, the design of anthropology programmes at the University of Yaoundé tried to address these concerns. The classical training in anthropology was overhauled in the light of new demands, that is, training students with vital survival skills. The university, a world of ideas and idealism or a market place of ideas, was open to the demands of the world of actions, policy and practices (Nkwi, 2006). While our colleagues in North America and Europe were asserting that applied anthropology was not anthropology, those of us who taught and reacted with the world of action believed that anthropology can only be meaningful and useful if it listens to the daily voices of developers bringing

induced change to communities. Academic anthropology was indeed inextricably linked to development anthropology. Furthermore, for anthropology to rehabilitate the colonial image in Africa, it had to use its insights to address myriads of problems facing the social transformation of the continent.

Experience has shown that more and more anthropologists are being called upon by international Organisations and NGOs to assist them bring induced change to many rural communities. In Cameroon alone, government, intergovernmental agencies, international NGOs, such as GTZ, DED, IUCN, SNV, AFVP, APFT, CARE, UNESCO, UNICEF, and many others use the services and expertise of anthropologists. The challenge to those training students of culture was to prepare them for a world that is seeking alternatives to sustainable development practice. Could anthropology offer some alternatives? The new teaching programmes responded to this concern.

Consequently, the anthropology programme at the University of Yaoundé focused on applied issues right from the first year after the reforms. While theoretical training was essential and considered important, the practical training aimed at providing professional skills that would transform students into culture-brokers for development and consultants for organisations that sought their expertise. The training was tailored to the demands of the end-users: government, national and international organisations. The applied areas include medical and health issues, development issues, systemic analysis, urban development and problems related environment.

Which Way Forward?

The future of anthropology in the decades ahead will depend on how anthropology addresses the challenges of the 21st century. One of the major challenges is meeting the needs and demands of a fast changing world. The rehabilitation of its image is well on the way to full recovery but the integration of anthropological insights into the development process of African nations must become a permanent and not just an ephemeral feature. The 1990s opened a window of opportunity and only quality research and training will maintain the stakes open. While action-research is critically important for policy-makers, the work of applied anthropologists must feed into the teaching programmes within the academy.

If anthropology in Yaoundé has witnessed a significant increase in students, this has been largely due to the dream that anthropology as an applied discipline can offer employment in the private and public sec-

tors that are increasingly looking to anthropologists for answers. To do this, teaching programmes must address theoretical, conceptual as well as practical need that meet the employability.

Indeed, anthropology can only gain respectability among the social sciences if its performance as an applied discipline meets the standards. Such an achievement will depend on a commitment to solid training in theory and practice. The survival of anthropology will also depend on its capacity to transcend micro-analytic approach to a more interdisciplinary and transdisciplinary comprehension and adaptation. The more students are trained in comparative multi-disciplinary methodology, the more will they be armed to work with others whose knowledge and comprehension of anthropological insights is either limited or prejudiced. Anthropologists must learn to work in multi-disciplinary teams for today and tomorrow's development problems are no more an affair of one discipline, but the concern of all. It is only in doing so can the discipline assert its position as a strategic discipline within the development equation.

The case of anthropology at the University of Yaoundé I, serves as a model for many of our sister universities in Africa. There is increasing number of people from other disciplines taking anthropology as a degree subject. Over the last five years, the university has admitted matured students (teachers, journalists, nurses, and civil administrators). The training of this new crop of students will certainly develop a new advocacy and marketing of the discipline beyond its frontiers. As our students are getting into some liberal professions such as army, police, private entrepreneurship, there is hope that this will create a niche for the discipline in the future.

The employment of our students by Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) to perform a variety of duties opens another window of opportunity for the discipline. As NGOs are increasingly involved in grassroots development activities, the more they will continue to need anthropological insights. If the training is adapted to the applied needs of development organisations, the more will the academy enhance its role and place within the development equation. It has been said that the lost decades of Africa's development has been due to the neglect of the micro-analytic approach, it is our hope that anthropology will provide the much needed insights that will make a difference

In the age of globalisation, Africa is faced with the dilemma of handling cultural invasion and the revival of African cultural values. Many nation-states will have to deal ultimately with the difficulties of strad-

dling between the African and foreign cultures, borrowing what is essential and retaining what is beneficial. Africa's renaissance will depend on Africa's capacity to deal with the invading cultures whose technological advantage will minimise Africa's values and norms. If African nations are to preserve cultural values and norms now and in the future, they must invest in strengthening and in the employability of anthropology students. The recent reforms in Cameroon which have permitted anthropology to develop into a full fledged discipline are commendable.

Notes

1. Statistic for Table 1 from 1993 academic year to 2008 could not be found due to the absence of reliable and credible data from the registration office of the University.
2. On Table 3 the figure for 2000/2001 is arrived at without student enrolled in level 4 and 5 and the figure for 2001/2002 have only enrollment figures for level 3 and 4 only.

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2. Decrees

Decree no. 67/df/566 of 28/12/67 *putting an end to the transitional period of the Federal University of Cameroon and modifying decree no. 62/df/ of 26 July, p. 38-58.*
Decree no. 69/df/504 of 21/11/69 *modifying decree no. 67/df/566 of 28/12/67 putting an end to the transitional period of the creating of the Federal University of Cameroon.*
Decree no. 69/df/380 of 17/09/69 *organising the second cycle of the Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the Federal University of Cameroon.*
Decree no. 71/284 of 15/6/71 *creating the Africanist Research Centre(CRA) within the Federal University.*
Decree no. 79/186 of 17/5/79 fixing the amount and means of payment of University fees.
Decree no. 82/83 of 19/2/82 fixing the roles of organisation, the functioning and the control of students associations in the Faculty of big schools.

Annexes

A. Listing of work done on Anthropology

1. Cultural Anthropology*: 14 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Essono Aloo, E., 1975, *Une Institution socioculturelle chez les Ntumu l'Aba*, BU, Mémoire de DES, U.Y.
(ii) Negha, J., 1976, *L'ascencion dans la société traditionnelle : Etude de la chefferie de Bansoa en pays Bamileke (Ouest-Cameroun)*, B.U., Mémoire de DES, UY
(iii) Miaffo, D., 1977, *Rôle social de l'autopsie publique traditionnelle*, Mémoire de DES, UY
(iv) Nzikam Djomo, E., 1977, *Les rites relatifs à la naissance chez les Fe'e de Babouantou (pu antu),* mémoire de DES, UY.
(v) Sihaka C., 1978, *La mort Bamileke : Essai sur l'enterrement chez les Bayangam,* mémoire de DES, UY.
(vi) Ayuk, B.P.,1979, *Banyang Socio-Cosmological Beliefs and Institutions in the process of change,* mémoire de DES, UY.
(vii) Kegne Jean, 1978, *Contribution à l'étude du fondement du dynamisme Bamileke (étude anthropologique)*, mémoire de DES, UY.
(viii) Onana Badiang, 1979, *Les jumeaux chez les Yambassa. Rites et croyances relatifs au phénomène gémellaire chez les Bugunu*, mémoire de DES, UY.
(ix) Nshom Sama, C., 1981, *Contribution of anthropology to development. A case study of the Bamendjin Clan and its Socio-cultural Impact on Bambalang*, mémoire de maîtrise, U.Y
(x) Mbonji, 1983, *Les jeux et leurs fonctions sociales en Afrique Noire. L'exemple des jeux Douala*, thèse de doctorat 3e cycle, UY
(xi) Nouck, Bassomb, 1984, *Le mythe de la restauration chez les Bassa du Sud-Cameroun*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY
(xii) Abega, S.C.,1984, *L'Esana des Beti du Sud-Cameroun*, thèse de doctorat 3e cycle, UY
(xiii) Tchouyou, P., 1986, *Les fondements socio-culturels des associations d'étudiants originaires d'une même région au Cameroun*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY

2. Medical Anthropology*: 9 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Mbock II Y., 1978, *Procréation et médecine en Afrique Noire : Essai sur la thérapeutique traditionnelle de la stérilité et de l'accouchement chez les Bassa du Sud Cameroun*, mémoire de DES, UY.
(ii) Tiokou Ndonko, F., 1987, *Représentations culturelles de l'épilepsie chez les Bamileke : le cas de Maham,* mémoire de maîtrise, UY.
(iii) Socpa, A., 1995, *Les pharmacies de rue dans l'espace médical urbain au Cameroun. Emergence et déterminants des stratégies informelles d'accès au médicaments a Douala*, thèse de 3e cycle, UY1.
(iv) Messina, C.B., 1999, *Représentations socio-culturelles du goitre chez les Maka : le cas de Bend*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.
(v) Ngambouck, V., 1999, *The Growth of urban traditional medicine : A case study of street pharmacy vendors in Yaounde*, mémoire de maîtrise , UY.

(vi) Tatah, P., 1997, *The future of medicinal plants* , mémoire de maîtrise UY1.
(vii) Angu, K., 1997, *The consumption of palm oil and vitamin A deciency disorders among the Mokunda people, South-West province of Cameroon*, Mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.
(viii) Ndzana, B., 1999, *Le rôle du coq et de la poule dans les rites thérapeutiques traditionnels chez les Manguissa*, mémoire de maîtrise
(ix) Tantchou, J., 1999, *Prise en charge des enfants prématurés en milieu non hospitalier : le cas des Bamileke*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY 1

3. Social Anthropology: *10 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Onambele, Marie-José, 1978, *La structure clanique des Ewondo*, mémoire de DES, UY
(ii) Amougou, B., 1979, *La parenté chez les Fong face à la civilisation moderne*, mémoire de DES, UY.
(iii) Ntsama C., 1979, *Le veuvage de la femme dans la tradition Bamileke : Essai sur les rites de viduité chez les Bafou*, mémoire de DES, UY
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(v) Ngima Mawoung, G., 1981, *L'intégration des pygmées dans la société camerounaise. Le cas du secteur Bipindi dans le département de l'Océan*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY.
(vi) Nshom Sama, C., 1981, *Contribution of anthropology to development. A case study of the Bamendjin clan and its socio-cultural impact on Bambalang*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY
(vii) Onguene Mgba, P., 1981, *Anthropologie sociale et développement rural au Cameroun,* mémoire de maîtrise, UY
(viii) Miaffo, D., 1984, *Mutation du travail et ses représentations chez les Bulu du Sud-Cameroun,* Thèse de 3^{e} cycle UY
(ix) Mebenga Tamba, L.,1990, *Les funérailles chez les Ewondo*, Thèse de 3^{e} cycle, UY1
(x) Neh Scholastica, 1990, *Polygyny in an urban context. The case of Bamenda urban area (North-West Province),* mémoire de maîtrise, UY
(xi) Socpa, A., 1990, *Les camps de regroupement dans la chefferie de Babadjou (Ouest-Cameroun) 1960-1976,* mémoire de maîtrise UY.

4. Archeology: *1 Thesis*

(i) Mebenga Tamba, L., 1981, *Qui habitait les terrasses de la plaine du Ndop ? Etude archéologique des sites en terrasses*, mémoire se maîtrise

5. Ethnolinguistics: *6 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Tchoupa, P., 1975, *Education traditionnelle chez les Bamileke à partir de quelques contes*, mémoire de DES.

(ii) Tchuade A., 1986, *Anthroponymie et organisation sociale chez les Nkwe'nzhi (Ouest-Cameroun), approche ethnolinguistique*, mémoire de maîtrise
(iii) Chili Abdou, 1987, *La notion du temps chez les Bamoun*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY.
(iv) Njoya Oumarou, 1988, *Théorie bamun de la parole (Ouest-Cameroun)*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY
(v) Ndongo, L. A., 1991, *Dénomination et symbole des couleurs chez les Beti (Cameroun Central)*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.
(vi) Balla, C., 1991, *Parole et pouvoir chez les Beti (Cameroun Central)*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.

6. Anthropology of religion: *2 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Fontem Shu, J., 1975, *Religious conflict in Bafu*t, mémoire de DES, UY
(ii) Soh Bejeng P., 1975, *A study of Lela, a Bali-Tchamba state cult of the North-West Graasfields of Cameroon*, B.U, mémoire de DES, UY

7. Political Anthropology: *4 thesis and dissertations*

(i) Che Fombong, W., 1977, *The council of notables and the French colonial Administration in Cameroon. An-evaluative study*, mémoire de DES, UY
(ii) Ebassola Ada, 1979, *Organisation politique traditionnelle des Boulou*, B.U, Mémoire de DES, UY
(iii) Ngwayi Sonde A., Kwame, 1987, *The Wimbum elite and the Nfuh traditional institution*, mémoire de maîtrise, UY

8. Anthropology of development : *2 Thesis*

(i) Kiawi, E., 1990, *Development Associations and socio-economic Development. The case of Kom*. Mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.
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(i) Judy Lyengu Luma, 1990, A *socio-cultural Analysis of the Informal food service sector. An urban anthropological case study of road side food stands and chicken parlours in Yaounde*, mémoire, UY1.
(ii) Ngo Likeng, J., 1999, *L'ethnologie d'une activité féminine de développement : la pêche aux crevettes dans la région de Lobe-Kribi*, Mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.

10. Environmental Anthropology: *1 thesis*

(i) Akwa, Neba, G., 1999, *Gestion traditionnelle de la forêt chez les Baka, Bagando*. Mémoire de maîtrise, UY1.

B. Table of Specialisations in Anthropology

Specialisation	Number by specialisation Percentage (%)		Total Number
Cultural Anthropology	14	52	27
Political Anthropology	4	52	8
Anthropology of religion	2	52	4
Ethnolinguistics	6	52	12
Archeology	1	52	2
Social Anthropology	11	52	21
Anthropology of development	2	52	4
Environmental Anthropology	1	52	2
Economical Anthropology	2	52	4
Medical Anthropology	10	52	19


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The Substance of Identity: Territoriality, Culture, Roots and the Politics of Belonging

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Abstract

Post-apartheid South Africa is at the interface of defining its social fibre, but at the same time, it is faced with the challenge of dealing with historical mishaps such as acute socio-economic inequality, and all forms of social engineering of notions of identity. This has led thinkers and researchers to probe into what it means to be a South African. In a recent book titled 'Do South Africans Exist", Chipkin (2007: 178) introduced a discourse, questioning the notion of South "Africaness" based on territory and geography. Other recent writings on race and identity continue to question the wisdom of framing identities in terms of culture and other primordial substances. Such substances have brought about a notion of identity that has led to human catastrophes framed in terms of ethnic identities and racial differences. While this paper capitalizes on such criticism, it interrogates academic discourse for not 'coming out' with durable explanations of what identities are about and especially what constitutes them. This paper proposes a conceptual analysis and framing of the substance of identities that balances emic and etic explanations. In this formulation an exploration of a range of elements affecting conceptualization of identities is done, including notions of territoriality culture and roots.

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Résumé

Après l'apartheid, l'Afrique du Sud est dans une interface à définir son caractère social, et en même temps fait face à un défi, celui de l'inégalité socio-économique et toutes les formes de créations sociales des notions d'identités. Cela a poussé les chercheurs et les penseurs à revoir ce qu'être sud Africain veut dire. Dans un livre récent intitulé « Existe-t-il des Sud Africains ? », Chipkin (2007: 178) a introduit une discussion en questionnant la notion de l'« Africanité du Sud » basée sur la territorialité et la géographie. D'autres écrits récents sur les questions de race et de l'identité continuent à questionner l'identité véritable en termes de culture et d'autres aspects primordiaux. Ceci fait naître une notion de l'identité qui a conduit aux catastrophes humains tels que les questions de l'identité ethnique et la différences raciales. Même si cette communication se focalise sur ces critiques, elle s'interroge aussi sur les discours académiques qui n'ont pas pu produire une explication durable sur ce qu'est l'identité et ces différentes composantes.

Cet article propose une analyse conceptuelle et des explications de la question de l'identité qui confrontent emic et etic. Dans cette formulation, il sera aussi question d'explorer certains éléments qui affectent la conceptualisation de l'identité, la notion de territorialité, culture et les origines.

Introduction

After the fall of apartheid, migration to South Africa has been on the increase and there is no natural conclusion in sight, conclusion being argued as undesirable in most quarters. This increase is continuous, since South Africa is perceived as rich compared to the rest of Africa and also is perceived as relatively safe since the fall of apartheid. Therefore, all categories of immigration have increased, including work permits, students who settle permanently, asylum seekers and undocumented migrants. Some of these immigrants do not wish to go back to their countries of origin (Ojong, 2005). At the same time, amongst those who have always lived in this border, South Africanness is not easy to define. Self-ascription with South Africanness is often rudimentary, depending on context and advantage. This paper, therefore, examines South Africanness in the context of no rigid authenticity of this identity. The key questions are: what are the implications of increased and sometimes permanent migration for South African identity? Is the South African identity in the making or are there different 'shades' of South Africanness? While the point of focus here is South Africa, what we examine here is a phenomenon that has bearing on other countries as well.

South Africa is a country laden with negotiation and renegotiation of its demography. A country in the process of re-drawing its social map with all aspects of its social fibre placed on the drawing board. Fifteen years after the first democratic elections, the social contours which constitute the beautiful 'rainbow' nation are difficult to define. Considering some of the debates as well as government supported programmes such as the African renaissance programme, it appears as though some inhabitants believe that they are more South African than others. The debates have been both academic and popular. On the one hand, there are those who cannot separate spatialisation and socialization as a basis for identity. For them, citizenship and nationality converge into an identity premised on territoriality. In this school of thought, spatialisation and socialization are believed to be tied together (Massey, 1994). The two are tied together, by an 'invisible umbilical cord'. Malkki (2002) calls this boundedness 'metaphysics of sedentarism', which she believes, territorialises our identities whether cultural or national.

The opportunity to look at identity from a stance of migration and relocation provides space to reflect on why citizens 'grade' themselves according to their history and ancestral roots. In South Africa, there is cry for belonging from members of historical settler groups, a discontent with not being regarded as fully African. At the same time, it is not uncommon for such citizens to embark on long trips to Europe or Asia tracing their 'roots' to Scotland or India. On the other hand 'indigenous culture' is often verbalized as something that has been permanently African as opposed to 'imported'; hence those who associate themselves with it are seen as 'more local' than others. This does not happen only when the subject of identity is directly invoked; it is also affirmed in the association of scientific heritage with 'the West' and association of extra-objective (cosmological) interaction, especially in healing, with Africa. The various diasporic 'brotherhoods' within the continent also affirm groups within space. The whole notion of diaspora presents tangible ambivalence to the notion of elastic identities.

Chipkin (2007) examines in detail what should constitute a national identity. He examines the politics of nationalism from the 'politics-of-belonging' point of view. However, in the process, he reifies nationalism, subduing and trivializing all other forms of identity. Given the long standing lamentation against smaller identities as being the basis for negative competition and detrimental fissions, it is no surprise that Chipkin does not waste his time pondering on these identities. Unfortunately, this shuns not just these forms of identities but an opportunity to examine

how the human species categorizes identity, what motivates it to crystallize identities temporarily or permanently. In Chipkin's analysis, we see the analyst starting from a 'political' commitment to one form of identity rather than being at liberty to follow through what informs human tendencies to consolidate an identity, how and when.

Our point of departure is the realization that identity for the migrants or the relocated cannot be solely constructed in bounded places and located in it but should embrace elastic connotations and interpretations. Space has always been of keen interest to Anthropologists because their population of study has historically been located in fixed places (Lefebvre, 1991; Moore, 1986), and this has been the basis for assuming some essentialist characteristics. Dougan (2004:33) has argued that essentialist conceptualizations serve the key function of providing permanent, clear and thick boundaries. In a sense, it is not clear what comes first – essentialism or territory. It is the tendency to essentialise, which we argue, is at the crossroads of the emic and the etic conceptions of identity. Identities, therefore, become fundamentally instrumentalist, but retain an emic justification of being authentic through being associated with essentialising symbols that are cultural, territorial or embedded in the notion of roots.

All human beings have an embodiment of norms and values which they carry along when they move to other places; be it translocally or transnationally. Owing to the influence of globalisation, these embodiments are easily shared by all who occupy a geographic space. Gupta and Ferguson (2001) have argued that these embodiments are lived in spaces which have been culturised. South Africa in the past one hundred and fifty years has experienced significant immigration from the rest of the world which has shaped and continues to shape its national identity. It is perhaps for this reason that to some inhabitants who form the demography of the country, place cannot be a clear support of their identity. Yet for others, even those who have migrated internally (i.e. within South Africa), the notion of 'roots' makes what they regard as a true home. From an observer point of view it is clear that through interacting and living with people from different origins, new identities are created, socialization process is renegotiated and meanings that people attach to places are re-visited.

Theoretical Confusion on the Notion of Identity: South Africa as a Site

Controversy rests on the question of whether common place descriptors as a basis for definitions of identity are suitable for a proper understanding of identity in a transnational and migratory context. In the context of multiple cultural encounters, is it justified to assume a clear social and physical reality as a base for identity? Malkki (2001:56) writes that "people are often thought of, and think of themselves, as being rooted in a place and as deriving their identity from that rootedness. According to Gellner (1981:4) this has to do with the manner in which researchers have often conceptualized the spatial arrangements of peoples.

Before Africa's encounter with colonialism, composition of societies was fluid in nature and membership was not fixed but was readily permeable by non-members. People could move from one geographic location to another and join other groups and easily acquired the identity of that location. However, contemporary notions of group identity in Africa have created *thick* boundaries with alienating properties and when a group is not considered as having those properties, they are labelled *outsiders*. Appiah (1992:175) notes that group identity seems to work only, or at least, to work best when it is seen by its members as natural, as *real*. Writing about group identity, Boonzaier and Sharp (1989:2) agree that "one cannot assume that any representation of the society is a straight forward description of its real nature, because each representation is a political statement which includes assumptions and intentions of the people who make it". However, since the 1980s many South African academics have tended to see identities mainly in instrumentalist terms where people use identity as a means to materialist ends. Rogers and Cooper (2000) have made a distinction between self-identification and the identification and categorisation of oneself by others. According to these authors, it is dialectic interplay with a point of convergence. They, however, highlighted a 'third force' of identification, which is an authoritative voice usually orchestrated by the state to categorise people. Such is demonstrated through the use of passports, but the authors question the oversight exercised with the use of such mode of identification. What Rogers and Coopers overlooked is the fact that every mode of expression is a statement (whether through a photograph or a passport), a declaration of who we are.

It is important to realise the fact that individuals' construction of identity takes place alongside others' labeling, political processes and ideology. This creates a sense of 'us and them' which creates the politics

of belonging and not belonging to which certain thinkers (e.g. Chipkin, 2007 discussed above) focus all their attention. This is obviously a sensitive matter, since it is not fair to exclude people from the South African identity while they strongly believe that they belong. However, what are the parameters of belonging or at least criteria to join. Is legitimate joining (presumably compliant with some criteria) enough as a statement of 'authentic South African identity'. Once demarcated boundaries are created, which converts insiders into outsiders, it leads to deconstruction upon deconstruction of identities. Instead of having identities being transformed and reproduced as Hall (1996) has stated earlier, deconstruction sets the pace for identification. It is not being suggested here that an open 'melting pot' be created whereby all the different 'cultures'/identities that find themselves in the geographic space called South Africa should simply belong. That would mean abolishing boundaries without giving the rationale or conceptually conceding to territoriality of identities without solving the problem of temporality (of migration – whether short or permanent) and the relevance of sociality or socialization. However, the problem of what constitutes identities has not been solved by academic discourse. In South Africa, it is particularly difficult to arrive at neutral critical discourse on identities because of the past which makes academics champion some form of identity before scrutinizing human tendencies in self-categorization.

A legacy which the apartheid government has left behind which continues to haunt South Africans consciously or unconsciously, is ethnic consciousness. The apartheid government called social groups 'ethnos', which were assumed to be closed systems into which individuals were born and only death could separate them from their 'ethnos'. Although the ideology at the time was for political gain, it has created a strong sense of ethnic identity, which when placed on a scale, supersedes the South African identity. The different diasporic groups which form part of the South African identity today, the 'more indigenous' groups, as well as emergent ones from the rest of the African continent, all retain a potential to essentialise their history of origin (origin being relative to current status and its issues).

Since identification often to a great extent determines who accesses resources and who does not, ethnic identity is being elevated above the national identity. People are quick to assert that they are: Zulu, Sotho, Xhoza, etc. Others are comfortable being called White, while others are called Indians. The other emergent groups from the rest of Africa who by choice have naturalised as South Africans do not belong. They are called

'*amakwere-kwere*'.[2] This pattern of identification enshrines demarcated boundaries and is fraught with discrimination, probably indicating current trends in material competition. By identifying firstly through ones' ethnic lineage, some people are seen as more South African than others. Consciously or unconsciously, such boundaries play a pivotal role in accessing resources. Some of these groups are seen as 'natural' (Appiah, 1991), while others are seen as 'transplanted' (Mudimbe-Boyi, 2002; Malkki, 2002). Some are 'diasporic' (Hall, 1996), while others are 'indigenous' (Sylvain, 2002). Some are labelled 'transnationals' while the rest are either 'immigrants' or 'migrants'.

South African Identity as Description and Labelling

> 'We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they, are not made….self knowledge is always a construction, no matter how much, it feels like a discovery, is never altogether separable from claims to be known in specific ways by others' (Calhoun, 1994:10).

In order to understand how people in South Africa identify themselves and how they are perceived by others, we did a small exercise with Anthropology first year (new students) and honours students (mature students) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal among whom were; 'whites' 'blacks' and 'Indians'. A double question was posed to them: Who is a South African and who is African? It emerged that the different racial groups used different grounds for identification. The Black students where confident that they were South Africans because of their skin colour and their language (according to this group, Africa naturally belongs to Black people). The White students had a loose construction of identity (not using territory) by saying that anyone could be a South African, but were confident they were South Africans. The Black students did not, however, consider the whites to be African because they did not belong to the Black culture and did not speak their language and had a kind of culture which was not of South Africa. Their belief was that the Whites are poised to be South Africans by historical circumstances. Some were quite blatant with arguments of opportunistic materialism suggesting that white South Africanness is predicated on a desire to have access to resources and benefit from the political positioning of South Africa vis-à-vis the world and the rest of the African continent. The Indians, on the other hand, had a different construction of identity. Their identity was constructed in terms of India as their 'motherland'. They all easily identified themselves as Indians. One may ponder as to

why they thought of territorial land in the construction of their identity. The reason may rest in the fact that they had always been marginal in White dominated South Africa and were marginal during the Black dominated era and were, therefore, keeping their connections.

This highlights the fact that there are different levels of identification; self perception, external attribution, which are all multiple, fluid, shifting and situational. Our self-perception of where we belong in society does not necessarily coincide with how others identify or classify us. It would seem from the above that there is an urgency for a strong sense of nationhood to be created in South Africa the substance which Chipkin (2007), taking from others, discusses as 'fraternity'. Without a strong sense of South African national identity, we are poised to encounter generations upon generations of people being labeled foreigners.

Since identity is a freely chosen game as Doughlas (1992) has argued, perhaps individuals should be given the opportunity both theoretically and operationally to decide where to belong, by moving away from classical interpretations. To some extent individuals are already doing this, since sometimes they speak of formal or official identities on the one hand, and informal and real identities on the other hand. Some have lived in certain territories for a major part of their lives, but regard other places as the basis for their identities. Others care less about 'original places' and have carved identities from their current circumstances. The assumption that identities have a static territorial dimension misrepresents and misinterprets the South African identity. Classical theories of identity do not sufficiently grasp people's identity in a country with a high immigration like South Africa. According to Appadurai (1991:191), increased mobility has led to dispersed identities which are being reproduced. As migrants change geographical places, they enter distinct social spaces in which group memberships are renegotiated, so are the meaning of places as well as interpersonal ties. Hall (1996) theorizing the transformation of the notion of identity in relation to migration, considers it as a process of perpetual change.

Hall (1998:222) does not regard identity as an accomplished fact but as a production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside representation. Such identities are constantly producing and reproducing themselves anew, through transformation and difference. This would, however, suggest that identities are not static or predefined, but infinitely malleable (Woodward, 1997:313).

Conclusion

This paper has pondered upon the meaning of identities from multiple angles which are of necessity a nuanced framework for defining identities. It is argued in this paper that in a final analysis, identities must not be approached from pre-conceived choices about which identities are better, even though such a 'political' standpoint might be the ultimate interventionist aim. Analysis of identities must be localized (i.e. they must relate to subjectivities and/or polities), taking into account the historical dimensions applicable to those involved. It should also be mindful of self-ascriptions of identity and labeling between people. Identities are therefore a matter of both the emic and the etic; they are influenced by a balance between self-assessment of identity markers as well as objective factors of social relations giving rise to renegotiation. Identities are therefore a process of 'essentialising-on-the-go' – objectively they are not permanent and rigid, but subjectively they are constituted by definite markers and existential substance, albeit experiential. Thus, we argue for space for both self-identification and explicit criteria for identity in officialdom – the latter being space for continued renegotiation.

Notes

1. A derogatory term used in identifying black foreigners in South Africa

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Reflections on the Challenges of Anthropology


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Reflections on the Challenges of Anthropology in Contemporary Times and Future Prospects: The Douala Experience*

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Anthropology as an academic discipline was introduced in 1993 in the Faculty of Letters and Social Science under the Department of Sociology. It was immediately recognised as a salient component of academic training for students of other departments. The range of Departments that sought anthropology as a core course for its students included Departments of Philosophy-Psychology, Communication and African Studies. This department changed its name to Sociology and Communication until 2005 when it metamorphosed into the Department of Sociology and Anthropology. For the first time anthropology comprised 30 per cent of the academic programme in first and second year where it was offered within a combined context with courses in sociology. Students were offered the choice of specialising either in anthropology or sociology from the third year. In December 2007, a department of Anthropology was created. However, it was not until 2008/2009 academic year that anthropology courses dominated the academic programmes representing 60 per cent of courses. Presently, the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes offer two specialisations: medical anthropology and political anthropology. The history of Anthropology as a discipline in the University of Douala, was also fraught with challenges mostly within its resident or host department. It was within this context that the teaching of anthropology took off in Douala as a more visible subject matter.

* Department of Anthropology is new at University of Douala having been established in 2008.

Nonetheless, anthropology remains perceived as important notably in ethnographic research and qualitative methods. Collaborations are still sought by other departments as well as national and international organisations especially within the context of operational health research. Contemporary trend indicates that the way forward for anthropology lies in its professionalisation and application in a practical manner in a real world and its collaboration with other disciplines.

Introduction of Anthropology as a Course

The history of anthropology in the University of Douala is intrinsically related to that of the decentralisation of the university system in Cameroon. Anthropology as an academic course was introduced in 1993 in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Letters and Social Science. Its pathway in the faculty was shaped by several factors, including personal ambitious, administrative, infrastructural and budgetary concerns. This was reflected in the frequent changes in the names of the main department within which it operated. At its onset it was called Section Sociology, which then changed to the Department of Philosophy-Psychology-Sociology. This all englobing department was primarily designed with financial considerations in mind. At this point there was about 4 full time staff. Students were to have several common courses at the level of first year. This structure was in line with that of University of Yaounde which for over three decades was the only university in Cameroon although there were specialised campuses in the other provinces. For example, the Advanced Institute of Language and Translation was located in University Centre, Buea while Douala had Advanced School of Economics and Business. With the decentralisation of the Universities in Cameroon in 1992, these university centres were raised to the status of Universities. Thus, four new universities were created in Douala in the economic capital, Buea in the South West Province, Dschang in the West and Ngaoundere in the North Province. Efforts at creating some sort of regional balance was apparent in their locations. Nonetheless, University of Yaounde for a long while continued to provide the blue print for new universities like the University of Douala. In addition, several of its lecturers sought to be transferred to some of the new universities. So there were massive movements of staff over to the new universities as well new recruitment opportunities. Over time, efforts were made to create specialisations on the basis of their locations and their socio-cultural and economic environments.

From the Department of Philosophy-Psychology-Sociology two distinct departments were carved: Philosophy-Psychology (Ph-Ps) and Department of Sociology (SOCI). From the onset, anthropology was immediately recognised as a salient component of academic training for students of other departments. The range of Departments that sought anthropology as a core course for its students then included Departments of Philosophy-Psychology, African languages and linguistics and Section Communication. As the Faculty grew, pressures emerged to introduce communication as a course. Neither the staff strength nor student population could justify the creation of a Communication Section or Department. Efforts to merge Communication with Philosophy-Psychology were unsuccessful. This department of Sociology had a very short life span. Shortly, communication became grafted on to the Department of Sociology and subsequently its name changed to the Department of Sociology and Communication (SOCO). By then, the teaching staff had increased to 6. Thus, three diverse disciplines, anthropology, sociology and communication competed for visibility in the teaching programme. Up to this time Anthropology functioned as a token subject rather than as a discipline. A sporadic response was to make Communication an autonomous section within the Department. This operated for about two years after which the system of common courses took over because of poor staff and programme over reach. The rationale of courses in the first cycle that is bachelor or undergraduate programme was for students to receive a broad base of courses from first to second year with specialisation in the third year.

The visibility of anthropology was limited to one course in the first year entitled, 'Introduction to Anthropology' which was subsequently changed to 'introduction to general anthropology'. As this was the sole course for all of first year it was invariably very crammed. The contents comprised the history of anthropology, elements of kinship and marriage, anthropological methods as well as applied anthropology. The rest of first year courses consisted mostly of introductory courses to sociology, psychology, communication (2), urban sociology, sociology of religion, research methods and statistics. The first year introductory course on general anthropology was widely sought by three other departments: Philosophy-Psychology, Communication and African Studies. Student registration for this course has ranged from one hundred, to nearly nine hundred in the past year.

Courses in anthropology continued to be conspicuously absent in the second year except within some of the contents of two courses: introduction to gender studies and social structure and stratification. The rest of the courses were also unequally divided between sociology and communication with the latter being the worse for this curious mix. The third year being one of specialisation reflected three diverse trends in each domain of specialisation: anthropology, communication and sociology. But then, these only featured in the second semester as the first semester still continued in the spirit of common courses. Each of the three sections (anthropology, sociology and communication) tried as much as possible to make up for the inadequacies in the number of available courses in the two preceding years prior to specialisation. Thus, elements of anthropology re-emerged within the specialisation of socio-anthropology of health. This specialisation consisted of three courses: theoretical and social context of health, gender and reproductive health and ethno medicine and modern therapies. As could be imagined, this last year in the undergraduate programme could hardly be expected to make up for the inherent shortcomings. It was, however, frequently argued that whatever shortcomings there were could easily be made up for in the postgraduate programme. Notwithstanding, the Department of Sociology and Communication was the first in the Faculty of Letters and Social Sciences to have maitrise students publicly defend their dissertation in 2001, two in socio-anthropology of health and one in communication.

Despite the poor visibility of anthropology, the Department was still solicitated to make anthropological inputs in research design both at Faculty and at Central University level. This included the harmonisation of National University programmes in 2001 with the intention of facilitating transfer between Universities. National and International conferences were co- sponsored and organised within large inputs from anthropology section.

Visibility of Anthropology: Emergence of the Department of Sociology-Anthropology, 2005-2007

In 2005, as a result of a ministerial decision, the Department of Sociology-Communication underwent changes. Out of it emerged the Department of Sociology and Anthropology and a separate Department of Communication. Although this new department opened up the possibility for a more visible anthropology, it was also fraught with unforeseen challenges. In as much as its creation was welcomed, it created its own issues. Firstly, was the resistance of having combined courses in both

anthropology and sociology which some lecturers and eventually students perceived not only as being unnecessary, but also as redundant and encumbering. Several pedagogic and administrative issues were raised. Even as one department, should both sections be made autonomous right from the beginning, that is, from the first year? The argument for this was so as to produce properly formed students rather than a hybrid of socio-anthropology students who were neither ground in one or the other. Administratively, such a neat split had budgetary and infrastructural implications. Also, with combined staff strength of 8 with diverse qualifications and experience: three doctorates and three with the equivalent of M. Phil and two with master's degrees. After much wrangling and some turbulence, prolonged meetings and deliberations at Departmental, Faculty and extra-Faculty level, a compromise in administrative decision was reached. The new Department of Sociology-Anthropology (SOAN) would follow a combined teaching programme at first and second level. From the third year two distinct sections: anthropology and sociology would be given full visibility and autonomy. It was within this context that the teaching of anthropology took off in Douala as a more visible subject matter and discipline. Curiously, this in some ways represented a return to the very pseudonym by which the Department had been known in the late 1990s. With this was a change in the presentation of courses and for the first time anthropology comprised 30 per cent of the academic programme in first and second year where it was offered within a combined context with courses in sociology and a few complimentary courses from other disciplines. Students were offered the choice of specialising either in anthropology or sociology from the third year. The undergraduate programmes in anthropology offered two specialisations: medical anthropology and political anthropology, and these extend right up to the master and doctorate levels. First year courses included history anthropology, kinship and marriage. Cultural and African Anthropology, history and current anthropology were included in the second year.

Department of Anthropology, 2007

The end of 2007 heralded yet another turn in the pathway of anthropology. An autonomous department was created by another ministerial decree with 5 full time, and 4 part time staff, 2 of the latter are from the University of Yaounde I and the rest are professionals in their diverse areas of competence. However, since this move came during the 2006/2007 academic year separation of the two disciplines did not occur immediately. An administrative note demanded that the previous system

of combined courses continue until the end of the academic year for levels one and two. So these two levels were still SOAN. Level three and the post graduate programmes were already autonomous and therefore functioned as before.

Thus, the Department of Anthropology will in actual fact become fully functional, that is from level one from the 2008/2009 academic year. Out of 10 courses in level 1, anthropology comprised 55 per cent, 60 per cent in the second year and 75 per cent in the third year. The rest of the courses are made up of bilingual training and an optional course taken from other departments. The master programmes continue to function and the Ph.D. programme began last academic year.

The Master 1 programme comprises 5 courses in all: 2 compulsory courses in research ethics and methodology, 2 courses per specialisation and a seminar topic The 2nd year is reduced to 2 courses: a compulsory one and the other optional according to ones specialisation and lastly seminar. The seminars are generally broad topics which permit the intervention of several speakers and as such give students a richness of backgrounds and approaches.

The doctorate programme involves two years of course work and the last year is meant to be consecrated to fieldwork and writing up.

Nonetheless, the insufficiency in the programmes of previous years translates to a deficiency of anthropological studies especially in the absence of a well furnished library. To this end, private collections and free publications mostly from international organisations, have been most helpful in efforts to keep students abreast with current trends. This year therefore, is the beginning of the training of full anthropology students. Third year students are compelled to begin field work with an exposure to ethnographic research.

Contemporary Anthropology and its Legacy

Even in contemporary times, anthropology is still very much perceived within the image of its use and abuse of the pre-colonial and colonial era and its initial focus as the study of 'primitive societies or cultures' and thus not having a place in 'modern, urbanising and developing society'. For example the specialisation in medical anthropology was entitled, 'Sociologie-Anthropologie de la sante'. This was because the anthropology component was deemed related to traditional medicine which the sociology with its focus on modern health therapies would help to create a balance between the old and the new. There is a constant debate and battle against this out dated notion of anthropology. Nonetheless an-

thropological methods were perceived as important notably, ethnographic research and focus group discussions. Collaborations were sought by the Departments of Geography and (Philosophy) – Psychology.

Anthropology and Research: National and International

Increasingly, the Department is being sought as an important arm of research by both national and international organisations especially within the context of cultural studies as well as operational research in the domain of health and gender.

It serves as a base for resources especially in the domain of systemic studies, ageing, gender based violence and more recently environmental and political issues.

Currently, the health research programme of the University of Douala is pivoted by the Department.

The Way Forward

Contemporary trend in the University of Douala indicates that the way forward for anthropology lies in its professionalisation and application in a practical manner addressing contemporary issues in a real world. There is much pressure towards providing support to diverse areas of interest with the hope of making anthropology more visible and also marketable thereby generating funds towards acquiring some degree of self sufficiency. Increasingly, there is much demand for short- term training programmes by a variety of people including those without the prerequisite or experience for academic training. These include professionals working on health related issues and see additional training in anthropology as providing them with qualitative research skills. Another category comprises those of questionable qualifications who perceive training in medical anthropology as legitimising their practice. The current focus on multi-disciplinary research especially as regards qualitative research methods and ethnographic field work in the domain of health, rural and urban studies as well as in production and editing of ethnographic films is increasing.