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AN AFRICAN SCHOOL:

A SOCIOLOGICAL CASE STUDY OF A DAY SECONDARY

SCHOOL IN UGANDA

·Sheldon G. Weeks

A Thesis presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Education of Harvard University in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Education.

1968

PREFACE

Most research projects that I am familiar with seem to be shaped par-

tially by chance factors. This study is no exception. My original

interest in Africa dates from grades seven and eight when an exception-

al civics teacher, Mrs. Edna Conrad, introduced me to the continent.

A personal involvement and commitment to Africa was not to begin until

college years when a number of close friendships were established with

a few African students.

When in 1960 I entered Harvard University, Graduate School of Educa-

tion, in Sociology of Education, I intended to prepare myself for

educational research in Kenya, East Africa. In May 1961 I was awarded a

Foreign Area Training Fellowship from the Ford Foundation for six months

of African studies at Harvard and Boston University, and one year of re-

search on an educational problem in Kenya (later extended 6 months).

On May first 1962 I arrived in Kampala, Uganda, and established resi-

dence at the East African Institute of Social Research. I had spent

part of April driving from Mombasa to Kampala, and with the assistance

of Mariga Wang'ombe had received a stimulating introduction to Kenya.

I had also been able to visit the school in Nyanza, Kenya, which I had

hoped to study.

Before arriving in East Africa I had applied and been accepted as a

Research Associate at the East African Institute of Social Research

(now the Makerere Institute of Social Research). The Director, the

late Derrick Stenning, had suggested that I consider working in Uganda instead of Kenya. The EAISR had an Education Research Project he had hoped I would join. He believed that the social and political situation in Uganda was more conducive to research; EAISR staff had recently had problems with colonial administrators and missionaries in dependent Kenya. It was for this reason that I searched for, and eventually found, in Uganda a school that met the requirements I had specified for my case study. I am indebted to Albert Maleche for his aid in this connection.

The research for the case study took place over eighteen months, between June 1962 and December 1963. I returned to Uganda in March and April 1965 to do some follow up research on the school. Though some references are made to this latter material the body of the thesis is limited to the case study of 1962-1963.

Between July and December 1963 I was also involved in a social survey of ten other day senior secondary schools in Greater Kampala (five private, and five grant-aided). I was assisted in this project by Karin Rudebeck and Henry S. Kimbugwe who also helped in the case study. Henry S. Kimbugwe was my research assistant from August 1962 to December 1963 and again during the summer of 1964 at Harvard where he helped in the analysis of questionnaires. Henry became my tutor in Luganda and Kiganda culture and traditions. Until September 1963, Henry worked only part-time for me and full-time as the clerk at the Mutesa School. Henry became an excellent research worker and was in a unique position to contribute to the total research project.

Many other people have given assistance to this case study in a variety of ways. I am grateful to Albert Maleche who introduced me to educational research in Uganda, and to Mr. and Mrs. C.M.S. Kisosonkole and Joseph Mubiru who helped introduce me to Buganda. A number of people have helped in the discussion of my work and have shown particular interest in it, including Senteza Kajubi, Erisa Kironde, E.M.K. Mulira, William Kalema, Rajat Neogy, Professor E.B. Castle, and John Butler whose guidance and encouragement throughout was invaluable. I am grateful for the support of this project I have received from Abu Mayanja, then Minister of Education, and Mr. Senkubugge, Permanent Secretary, Kabaka's Government; and in the Central Government Ministry of Education, from Basil Kiwanuka and Michael Sozi.

At the East African Institute of Social Research I have received encouragement and guidance from the late Derrick Stenning, Director, and assistance from Simon Musoke, Peter Mpinga, and Grace Hunter. Frida Kase and Henry Kimbugwe assisted with some of the interviews. I have also benefited from discussions with my colleagues in the Uganda Education Research Project, Albert Maleche, Brian and Pauline Phipps, Tony Somerset, Jonathon Silvey, Fred Kamoga, and George Mukulu; and from Rashmon Desai and Badr Dahya who were Fellows at the EAISR. I am especially grateful to Jonathon Silvey for his ready ear and sound counsel and for testing the students at the Mutesa School.

I am indebted for intellectual stimulation while at Harvard to Professors Cora DuBois, Robert Dreeben, John and Beatrice Whiting, Adam Curle, John Herzog, and C.E. Beeby; and at Boston University to Professors William O. Brown and Philip Gulliver. A special debt of

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF CHARTS

LIST OF MAPS

ABSTRACT

This is a case study of a day secondary school in Uganda. The study focuses on factors that served to facilitate and block the achievement of the organizational goals of the school.

The purpose of the study was: first, to use sociological concepts and methods to illuminate the functioning of an African school, and how it accomplished or failed to achieve its objectives; second, to assess the consequence of using day secondary schools as an alternative to boarding schools in a developing nation planning the rapid expansion of its second level educational facilities.

The study took place in 1962 and 1963. The case study employed the techniques of observation, participant observation, participation, questionnaires, interviews, documents and group discussions. The advantages and disadvantages, problems and limitations of the case study method are presented in chapter 3.

The background and context of the study are given in chapters 4 and 5. They include information on the development of formal education in Uganda, the history of the school, and the political, social and economic conditions at the time of the study.

In specifying the organizational goals of the school the official objectives of the Buganda and Uganda governments, the Headmaster, teachers, students and parents were taken into consideration. The goals as

viewed by the Headmaster were determined to be the actual ones of the school. The rationale for accepting these goals was that the Headmaster was the chief administrator, the goals he held were the ones that the organization as a collectivity was trying to bring about, and his conceptions of the goals were essentially compatible with those held by others. The goals were to maximize the potential of the pupils and to maximize the resources available to the institution. (Chapter 6)

Having specified the goals of the school, the body of the thesis is then devoted to an analysis of the factors that served to favor or hinder the achievement of organizational goals. This is accomplished through a systematic analysis of the school along a number of organizational dimensions (chapters 7 - 12). This part of the thesis contains a description of the formal and informal organization; the external forces that influenced its operation; the ideology, norms and role structure of the school; the role performance of the Headmaster and the teachers; student characteristics, performance and student culture. The emphasis is on interpreting the ways in which these organizational dimensions were functional, non-functional, or dysfunctional to the attainment of goals.

Chapter 13 is the major interpretative part of the study. Here the threads of the previous six chapters are woven together and re-examined. The analysis now focuses on isolating factors that accounted for a relatively successful effort in organizational change. An assessment is made of the extent to which the school achieved the organizational objectives of the Headmaster; it is concluded that substantial progress was made

toward their accomplishment. The major conclusion of the study is that the leadership performance of the Headmaster constituted the critical factor in the process of organizational change.

In the final chapter (14) the educational policy and social science implications of the study are examined. These include specific implications for the administration of this type of school, for educational innovation and planning, and for the training of educational leadership. Suggestions are made for the improvement of research method and possible further research.

CHAPTER I

THE STUDY IN EDUCATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Background

This is a sociological study of a school attempting to achieve organizational objectives. In Chapter II we will consider in detail the sociological problem to be examined and the possible contribution of the inquiry in social science perspective. In this chapter the relevance of the study to educational issues of concern to African nations will be briefly explored.

In Tropical Africa senior secondary education is the "bottle neck" in the educational pyramid. The need for the expansion of secondary schools remains urgent. In 1962 - 1963 in Uganda it received the highest priority in educational planning. A shortage of secondary school graduates meant that there was an inadequate supply of middle and high-level manpower. Future plans for development required a rapid increase in a few years in the number leaving senior secondary schools.

In Uganda in 1962 the majority of the Government-run or grant-aided senior secondary schools were boarding schools. Such institutions were necessary because of the small number of pupils who were prepared for and could be provided places in a senior secondary school. Boarding school pupils were drawn from a large catchment area and represented

many different ethnic groups. Boarding schools were considered advanta-
geous as standards of student health, diet, dress, recreation, work and
study could be controlled. It was also believed that the boarding school
environment would facilitate the achievement of desired values and atti-
tudes of students and that they could be changed more readily when they
were free from family and tribal controls. The secondary boarding schools
in Uganda were essentially established to educate a few highly selected
Africans who were to become the future educated Westernized elite.

In 1962 the emphasis in Uganda was still on senior secondary boarding
schools. In its five year plan for the economic development of Uganda,
1961/62-1965/66, the World Bank stressed the expansion of existing senior
secondary boarding schools from one to two streams or three streams. Of
£ 2,496 million to be spent on the development of pre-university educa-
tional facilities £ 2,047 million were to be spent on secondary schools
(or 82%).[1] After Independence (October 9, 1962) the government broadly
accepted the recommendations of the World Bank Report. For secondary
education the development plan suggested a capital expenditure of £ 3,317
million (60% of the total to be spent on educational development).[2]

Both plans were in essential agreement that the expansion of secondary
school facilities was to take place mainly through the enlargement of
existing boarding schools and by bringing other boarding institutions
like seminaries and technical schools into the grant-aided system.

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1. The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, The Economic
Development of Uganda (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962), pp. 343-373.

2. Uganda Government, The First Five Year Plan (Entebbe: Government
Printer, 1963).

The Uganda Government's first five year plan even went further and endorsed the construction of a new senior secondary boarding school in Karamoja.

In the light of existing government policy in Uganda in 1962/63 that secondary education be expanded through the development of boarding schools my personal interest in the problems of day senior secondary education was at first considered irrelevant to national goals by my colleagues. They at first claimed that I was embarking on a study that would have little relevance to policy.

I made the following defenses for my research proposal: That though the Uganda Government in 1962/63 planned to increase the number of places in senior secondary schools by expanding boarding schools, there was a financial limit to what could be achieved by this method of expansion. Boarding schools cost considerably more than day schools to both build and run.[3] As the pressure to expand secondary education increases alternative methods of development would have to be considered,

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3. "We found that the overall cost of providing four completed years of education averaged Ł 160 per student-year in boarding schools and Ł 73 per student-year in day schools. Thus four completed years of secondary schooling cost on the average Ł 640 per boarding school student and Ł 292 per day school student. (These calculations take some--though not full-- account of the fact that students who drop out without having completed 4 years add to per capita costs without adding to 'output'.) These figures exaggerate, however, the true difference between boarding and day schools; day students also have to be fed, housed and clothed by someone, even though this does not enter the school accounts." Report of the Working Party, "Ministry of Education - Schools Cost Survey," Uganda, 14th of March, 1964 (Mimeographed), p. 2.

and the day senior secondary school is a logical one. Sufficient expansion of school facilities at the base of the pyramid makes possible further expansion at the next level, while at the same time serving to create demands for this expansion.

The first primary schools were boarding schools. Then the middle or junior secondary schools were boarding schools. Today there are many areas in Uganda, both urban and rural, with a sufficient number of pre-secondary school leavers to support day senior secondary schools. As the number finishing the primary cycle increases and the number of places in senior secondary schools expand it will become possible for a day senior secondary school to have a base in the local population (as in a sense the former "Asian" schools already had). Boarding schools are only necessary when a few students from over a widely dispersed area are prepared to enter the schools at a given level.

Based on the pattern of educational expansion in Ghana, Nigeria and Kenya I predicted that Uganda eventually would develop day senior secondary schools in the same manner. In West Africa and in Kenya day senior secondary schools have been utilized as the means of achieving rapid expansion. The first day senior secondary school in Kenya, a rural one, was started in 1958. In Kenya the 1960-1963 development plan called for the opening of fifteen new day senior secondary schools.[4]

4. Information from Annual Education Reports and Development Plans of the Western Region and Eastern Region of Nigeria, Ghana and Kenya. For some comments on Kenya see: E. Wainwright, "Growth of African Secondary

The Educational Problems:

If a rapid increase in the number of day senior secondary schools did take place, the findings of a case study on one day senior secondary school might suggest possible solutions to the problems created by day senior secondary schools. Events have supported my speculations. During 1963 there occurred a shift in educational planning in Uganda. In order to increase the intake into Form One in 1964 to 4,000 (from 3,000 in 1963) it was decided to place four large urban multiracial day schools in Kampala on double sessions. This meant an addition of approximately 1,000 African day senior secondary school pupils.[5] This has set the pattern for further expansion. In 1965 Uganda planned to open "20 new double stream day secondary schools with 40 classes, so that S.1 intake will provide for a total of 6,000 students."[6]

Day senior secondary schools that exercise formal control over their pupils for only five to eight hours a day are accompanied by a series of problems about which little information exists. What actually does it

Schools," Kenya Educational Journal, Vol. I; No. 9, 1962, pp. 38-39. By 1965 there were over a hundred, all the new "Harambee Schools" being day secondary schools.

5. The change in policy of the Ministry of Education in 1963 assisted the applied research I did while in Uganda and resulted in my serving on a committee of the Ministry of Education. See Appendix A.

6. Hon. Dr. S.J. Luyimbazi-Zaka, M.P., Minister of Education, "1964/65 Estimates, Policy Speech" (mimeographed)(Kampala: Ministry of Education, July, 1964). The actual number of aided secondary schools added to the system was 25 and the total places made available in January 1965 was 6,405. Dr. S.J. Luyimbazi-Zaka "Policy Speech" (mimeographed) (Kampala: Ministry of Education, July, 1965).

mean to be a day student? Where do day students live, what factors influence their health and welfare, how do they spend their time, under what conditions do they study, how does the living situation in the community influence their performance at school, how do they travel between school and lodgings, and how far do they travel, and what is their attitude towards these things? These are only some of the many problems for which the Ministry of Education in Uganda was interested in having answers.

Until that time in the future when a majority of day senior secondary pupils can live comfortably (and are satisfied to do so) at "home" there will exist a continuous demand for the conversion of existing day schools into semi-boarding schools through the construction of hostels. If this takes place it might have been better not to have started day schools as the cost for a pupil in a day school-plus-hostel arrangement appears to be greater than the cost of maintaining a pupil in a boarding school.[7] The problem that the consultant faces then is to suggest viable alternatives that help improve the situation of day senior secondary school pupils without appreciably raising costs.

It is possible that a sociological case study of a day secondary school in a developing nation might have some practical implications for the formulation of educational policy. Besides suggesting possible paths of action that might improve the conditions of day school pupils, such a study might say something about the nature and training of educa-

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7. See Sheldon G. Weeks, "Are Hostels Necessary? A Study of Senior Secondary School Pupils in Greater Kampala," The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 1, No. 1, April, 1967, pp. 357-373.

tional leadership, and the staffing of schools. The research might also suggest ways in which institutional changes in the educational establishment might be effectively implemented. The study might also have wider implications for educational planning. These considerations are an outgrowth of the sociological investigation. They will be left to be reconsidered in XIV. The next chapter describes the main purpose of the study.

CHAPTER II

THE STUDY IN SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction:

The actual case study of the Mutesa School went well beyond the
educational issues raised in Chapter I. The primary goal of the
study was to explore the degree to which sociological concepts and
methods could illuminate the functioning of the school and the ex-
tent to which it accomplished its objectives. As a social scientist
I was interested in assessing both the stated and implicit goals of
the school, to examine the activities that were designed to achieve
these goals, to consider the consequences of planned action, and to
investigate factors that tended to facilitate or block the achieve-
ment of the organizational goals.

The systematic analysis of the school through the application of
a number of sociological concepts that have been found useful on other
investigations of institutions serves to establish a common denominator
on which the comparative analysis of organizations is based. All
institutions have goals (implicit and explicit), a formal organization,
organizational commitments, an authority structure, normative and role
structure. They may be viewed as social systems influenced by an
environment. The occupants of positions in the organization may have
their own subculture, and the organization may be in the process of
change over time.

In utilizing a sociological perspective in the study of a government supported day senior secondary school I hope to shed light on a number of questions:

1. What are the organizational goals of the school?

2. How are the organizational goals perceived by the occupants of positions within and outside the school?

3. Is there consensus between students, staff, Headmaster, parents, and others on the organizational goals of the school?

4. Are the stated goals the ones on which the school is operated?

5 Have organizational goals changed over time?

6. What activities are directed towards the fulfillment of these goals?

7. How does the formal and informal organization of the school relate to the implementation of its goals?

8. What is the authority structure of the school and what effect does it have on the attainment of the organizational goals?

9. What type of ideology develops in the school and is it compatible with or obstructive to the realization of the goals of the school?

10. What influence does the normative and role structure of the school have on the attainment of organizational goals?

11. What impact do student attitudes have on the activities of the school?

12. How do external forces in the environment relate to the achievement of organizational goals?

13. How does the family structure of the student and the socio-economic level of the parents affect the attainment of organizational goals?

14. How is the school viewed on a prestige dimension and does this have any influence on the achievement of organizational goals?

The school will be treated as a functioning educational organization. Through the use of such concepts as organizational goals, formal and informal organization, authority, ideology and role structure, attitudes, external relations with the environment, and others, it is hoped to isolate major forces impeding or facilitating the accomplishment of the organizational goals of the school. This will require us to look at the organization at different points in time in order to examine how problems were coped with in the process of organizational change. Now some of the research issues to be examined will be considered in more detail.

The school as an organization has received little attention from sociologists.[1] More extensive research has been done on other organizations; factories, government bureaus, business, hospitals, and universities. It is not my intention here to summarize the existing literature

1. Bidwell comments "Reviewing the Sociological literature on education from 1945 to 1955, Gross (1956, p. 64) commented that a systematic study of the school as an organization had yet to be made. His comment is still true. Few students of organizations have turned their attention to schools, and few students have been sensitive to their organizational attributes." Charles E. Bidwell, "The School as a Formal Organization" in James G. March, editor, Handbook of Organizations (Chicago: Rand-McNally & Co., 1965), p. 972. Since Waller's classical study in 1932 (Willard Waller, The Sociology of Teaching (New York: John Wiley, 1965) between 1945 and 1961 there were only five main sociological studies of schools: H. Otto Dahlke, Values in Culture and Classroom (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958); A. B. Hollingshead, Elmtown's Youth (New York: John Wiley, 1949); C. Wayne Gordon, The Social System of the High School (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957); Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Parochial School: A Sociological Study (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1958); and James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). Since then three important sociological studies of schools have been published: Edgar Z. Friedenberg, Coming of Age in America, Growth and Acquiescence (New York: Vintage Books, 1967); Arthur L. Stinchcombe, Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964); and David H. Hargreaves, Social Relations in a Secondary School (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967).

on organizational analysis; this has been done adequately elsewhere.[2]
Presently there exists a paucity of studies where the school is viewed
as an organization. What are needed are case studies of schools.
Other studies of schools have focused on particular variables, but
there has been little interest in viewing the institution as a whole.
Studies of Hollingshead, Dahlke, Gordon and Stinchcombe, Friedenberg
and Coleman, were conducted in the United States, and that of Hargreaves
undertaken in the United Kingdom have raised questions about the organi-
zation and goals of the schools; however, they focused on dimensions
such as student culture, the social class background of pupils, and the
social structure among students and faculty.[3]

Research Issues:

Any theory, to be of value, must lend itself to verification through
research; likewise, good research is closely related to the questions
that are raised in theoretical models. But where the models for organi-
zational analysis have been built largely on studying institutions
other than schools, it should not be assumed that they are automatically
applicable to secondary schools. The unique value of a case study is
that it allows one to examine the multiple elements that are operating
in a system at a given time. However, in examining a school or any
organization one must still be selective in his focus. The major focus

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2. For some excellent reviews of the literature on organizational
analysis see: Alvin W. Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in Robert
K. Merton, Leonard Bloom, Leonard S. Cortell, editors, Sociology Today
(New York: Basic Books, 1959); Robert Dreeben, Organization and
Environment, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Harvard University,
1962), pp. 6-28; James G. March, op., cit., and Charles E. Bidwell,
op., cit.

3. See Footnote 1 above for these references.

of this study is the forces that allow a school to be more or less

effective in achieving its organizational goals. In pursuing this

objective I shall examine a number of different elements that might

possibly have a bearing on whether or not the school achieves its

goals. Each of the elements to be examined constitutes an aspect of

the school as a formal organization. This is the conceptual frame-

work of the case study. We will use the perspectives and concepts of

organizational analysis in an effort to shed light on the forces that

facilitated or blocked the achievement of organizational goals. We

will view the school in a unified way as a social system.[4] This

approach assumes that a school, as a social system, besides having "a

primacy of orientation to the attainment of a specific goal"[5] has an

organizational structure; that incumbents of its positions in the formal

heirarchy also participate in non-goal oriented activities; occupants

of other positions in the external environment may affect the attain-

ment of organizational goals. It conceives of a school as a partly

4. Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organization (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 17. See also, Talcott Parsons, "The School Class as a Social System: Some of Its Functions in American Society," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 22, Fall, 1959, pp. 297-318. Etzioni divides organizational analysis into a goal-model and a system-model approach. We consider this an unnecessary division, and by examining the whole organization will avoid the limitations of his approach. For other comments on the school as a social system see: Burton R. Clark, "Sociology of Education" in Robert E. L. Faris, Ed., Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1964), pp. 734-769; and Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten, Society and Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967), Chapter 8, "The School as a Social System," pp. 191-214.

5. Talcott Parsons, "Suggestions for a Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," in Amitai Etzioni, editor, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), p. 33.

self-contained social system with its own organizational structure,
network of role relationships and expectations, patterns of control,
ideology and normative structure, which differentiate it from other
social institutions--even other schools.[6]

The school, viewed as a social system, also has a bureaucratic struc-
ture, patterns of leadership and decision making, and exists in an
environment and utilizes resources. All of these elements and circum-
stances may have a bearing on its success in achieving its goals and
they will be examined in attempting to isolate those factors that served
to block or facilitate the achievement of the organizational goals of
the Mutesa School.

For analytical purposes a structural-functional model will be used in
examining how the organization operated and the forces that tended to
be functional or dysfunctional for goal attainment.[7] The basic concepts
of structural-functional analysis may be summarized as follows: func-
tions are defined as observed consequences of elements in a social sys-
tem and not as the subjective disposition, purposes or motives of per-
sons; manifest functions are intended and recognized; and latent func-
tions are unintended and unrecognized. Elements of the system may have

6. "A raison d'etre of the school as a separate organization is the
removal of children and teachers from their existing social contexts
so that education can proceed in a setting which is relatively autono-
mous in its concentration upon educational functions." Fred E. Katz,
"The School as a Complex Social Organization: A Consideration of
Patterns of Autonomy," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 34, Summer, 1964,
p. 452.

7. See Chapter I in Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Struc-
ture (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), pp. 19-84.

functional, dysfunctional or non-functional consequences for a social

system. In this scheme of analysis change is seen as taking place in

part when observed dysfunctions are dealt with.[8] Structural-functional

analysis has generally been used in the form of a survival model. What

I am doing that is different is that I am not interested in the survival

of the organization but in its effectiveness.

The conceptual tools of role analysis will also be used in this study

to gain information on the role structure of the school and its possible

relationship to the achievement of organizational goals.[9]

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8. "An important contribution of the functional approach is that is
limits analysis to the sociological level of observable, objective con-
sequences of institutional behavior, as specifically excludes a subjec-
tive, psychological level. These objective consequences may be revealed
either as positive functions which make for the adaptation of a given
institution or the adjustment of given individuals, or as dysfunctions,
which lessen such adaptations or adjustment." Ernest A. Smith, American
Youth Culture: Group Life in Teenage Society (New York: The Free Press,
1962), p. 228; for a discussion of functionalism see George Casper Homans,
"Contemporary Theory in Sociology," in Robert E. L. Faris, op. cit.,
pp. 963-967. See also "The Problem of Functionalism", Chapter 3 in
Harold L. Hodgkinson, Education, Interaction, and Social Change (Engle-
wood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1967), pp. 48-79 (especially
the comments on pp. 78 and 79).

9. Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, Alexander W. McEachern, Explorations in
Role Analysis: Studies of the School Superintendency Role (New York:
John Wiley & Sons, 1958), pp. 48-75. In this study role structure has
been considered from this perspective, but because of the limited returns
on the teacher questionnaires, the methodology differs. The analysis
of role structure is not limited to stated expectations. William A.
Rushing in "The Role Concept: Assumptions and Their Methodological
Implications," Sociology and Social Research, Vol. 49, No. 1, October,
1964, p. 53, says: "Substituting the role players' perception of others'
expectations for others' expectations...it is assumed--usually im-
plicitly--that the role player makes accurate perceptions of others'
expectations of him. No attempt is made to make direct observations
of the others' expectations. This approach in consequence leads to the
study of 'role conception', 'perceived role conflict', etc., rather than
the objective study of role as formulated in the role concept."

The concepts used in role analysis here are those developed by Gross, Mason and McEachern where a role is defined as a set of expectations (evaluative standards) applied to the incumbent of a particular position (location of an actor or a class of actors in a social system).[10]

In studying the extent to which an organization achieves its goals, the primary objective of this thesis, I also will be touching on a number of issues of central concern to students of organizational analysis. It is relevant to specify the possible ways this study relates to these issues, problems that involve the concepts of organizational structure, environment, authority, and student culture. These include goals, formal and informal organizational structure, ideology, normative and role structure, role overload, charisma, organizational climate, commitment, autonomy and cooptation.

Organizational Structure:

Etzioni in his comparative analysis of organizations focuses on the dimension of compliance, which is a "central element of organizational structure".[11] Etzioni broadly divides organizations into three major groups on this dimension: coercive organizations (prisons and custodial mental hospitals); utilitarian organizations (blue and white-collar industries); and normative organizations. He defines normative organizations as:

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10. Ibid., p. 67.

11. Amitai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations, (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 3.

organizations in which normative power is the major source
of control over most lower participants, whose orientation
to the organization is characterized by high commitment.
Compliance in normative organizations rests principally on
internalization of directives as legitimate. Leadership,
rituals, manipulation of social and prestige symbols, and
resocialization are among the most important techniques of
control used.[12]

Schools are one of Etzioni's nine normative organizations. But he quali-

fies the inclusion of schools in this category, pointing out that schools,

though they employ normative controls, also use "coercion as a secondary

source of compliance". He gives the following as examples of normative

controls in schools:

> manipulation of prestige symbols, such as honors, grades and
> citations; personal influence of the teacher; 'talks' with
> the principal; scolding and sarcasm, demanding 'apologies',
> and similar means which are based on appeals to the student's
> moral commitments and on the manipulation of the class or
> peer group's climate of opinion. Coercion has declined in
> significance over the last decades for modern education
> de-emphasizes 'discipline' as a goal and stresses the inter-
> nalization of norms.[13]

Coercion as a secondary source of compliance is found not only in

corporal punishment in school but also outside it, through the coercion

of children to attend school and the involvement of parents, truant

officers, social workers, police and others in this activity in Western

societies.[14] These ideas of Etzioni are helpful in that they give some

direction to research, but may they not also be partially culture-bound?

Through the study of a school in another society we may obtain an answer

to this question.

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12. _Ibid._, p. 40.

13. _Ibid._, p. 45.

14. _Ibid._, p. 47.

The Environment and External Forces:

Organizations are not closed systems immune to external conditions. The school is a sub-system of a larger social system, the society. It reacts to and in turn may affect its environment. A school may exist as one unit in a system of schools. It also may have its own formal and informal hierarchy external to the school. Other organizations may influence the school; its goals may be externally defined; it may be subject to externally established rules and regulations; be dependent on others for its sources of revenue; and external forces may control its recruitment of clientele and have effect on the clientele and determine certain characteristics of its staff. In its relations with other organizations the school may bargain for goods and services, co-opt others into leadership positions to protect the institution, or form coalitions with other organizations to facilitate goal attainment. A school is subject to social, political and economic constraints from these forces in the wider society. While schools as institutions have considerable autonomy at certain levels this may be violated if they consistently fail in the achievement of their stated goals.[15]

Authority Structure:

In this thesis I will use the concept of authority in the composite sense

15. This discussion is based on the work of James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment," in Amitai Etzioni, Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader, op. cit., p. 178.

as developed by Terence Hopkins from the ideas of Weber and Barnard.[16]
Authority is the process of social interaction in which a legitimate order
given by a superordinate is complied with by his subordinates.

I will be most concerned with the relationship between authority,
organizational structure, and the achievement of organizational goals. I
assume that an individual in a focal position in an organization can give
it direction. I will attempt to evaluate what ways a leader can innovate,
or utilize the organizational structure over time to move the institution
closer to the achievement of its goals. I also will consider whether or
not he can maximize functional aspects of the organization and cope with
dysfunctional ones. What accounts for the degree to which an individual
in a focal position of authority in an institution can influence its
goal attainment as compared to other factors?

Student Culture:

Within the school occupants of different positions may have their own
subculture. A subculture can be identified through the distinct cluster
of attitudes, values, norms, and expectations held by its members. Stu-
dents are isolated and identified as a group in the social system of a
school and may form one culture or a number of subcultures that vary from
that of the other occupants of positions in the school. A number of
studies in the United States and United Kingdom have found that the

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16. See Terence K. Hopkins, "Bureaucratic Authority: The Convergence
of Weber and Barnard", in Amitai Etzioni, ed., Complex Organizations:
A Sociological Reader, op. cit., pp. 82-98.

conflict between student subcultures and those in superordinate positions in the hierarchy of the school can affect the functioning of the school, the activities directed toward goal achievement, even the goals themselves.[17]

We propose in this study to examine the student culture and to evaluate whether it was functional or dysfunctional to goal attainment.

The eight types of student subcultures found in the literature fall into three groups in their possible relationships to the function of the school and goal attainment. The academic (values closely similar to that of the school socio-cultural system) and vocational subcultures (pupils who are job oriented and relate their education to occupational goals) are generally viewed as functional. The non-conformist (not anti-intellectual but anti-establishment) collegiate (high value on student activities) and athletic (high value on school sports) subcultures can be functional to the educational process, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional depending on the goals and the social context of the school. The other three student subcultures are generally treated as dysfunctional to formal education: apathetic (characterised by non-academic values, withdrawal and avoidance), alienated (anti-academic and anti-establishment) and delinquent (rebelling against schooling, or delinquescent to distinguish from actual delinquency).[18]

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17. See David A. Goslin, The School in Contemporary Society (Chicago: Scott, Forbes & Co., 1965), p. 79.

18. These subcultures derive mainly from the work of Coleman (op. cit.), Hargreaves (op cit.) and Stinchcombe (op. cit.). They also were elaborated on in two studies: Burton R. Clark, Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1962), pp. 203-211 and 245-269; and David Gottlieb and Charles Ramsey, The American Adolescent (Homeward, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1964), see especially p. 191. Hargreaves has coined the term "delinquescent" for pupils who have not been found delinquent but whose values are negatively oriented towards school.

Summary:

This study will be guided by a number of research perspectives. First, we will view the school as a formal organization attempting to achieve goals.

This formal organization has a social structure, exists in an external environment, has an authority, normative and role structure, an ideology and image, and a student culture. Second, we will use structural-functional analysis, and to a lesser extent, role analysis to isolate the forces that block or facilitate the achievement of organizational goals.

Overview of the Chapters:

In Chapter III I present the methods used to gather and view the data and weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the case study method and propose a compromise.

Chapter IV treats some relevant aspects of the history of the development of education in Uganda. Chapter V considers the history of the school, the school strike and changes in the school through 1963. In Chapter VI the different ways the goals of the school are viewed is examined and the organizational goals during the period of research are delimited. Chapter VII is devoted to presenting the formal and informal organization of the school, both internal and external to the school. Chapter VIII examines the external forces in the environment, the influence of other organizations, the image of the school, and the effect of external forces on the pupils. Chapter IX considers the ideology of the school, its normative structure, network of role relationships, expectations, and role overload.

In Chapter X the position of the Headmaster is viewed in terms of the authority structure of the school and the ways he used the formal and informal organizational structure to work toward the attainment of goals. Chapter XI considers two aspects of the teachers and how they relate to goal attainment: their level of commitment and performance.

Chapter XII is concerned with the composition of the student body, their performance, what happens to them when they leave the school, and their culture.

In Chapter XIII I present my interpretation of the factors that facilitated or blocked the achievement of organizational goals.

In Chapter XIV I review some of my findings for their possible implications for educational policy and for the study of schools as social systems functioning over time to achieve specific goals.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction:

In this chapter some of the advantages and disadvantages of the case

study method will be considered. This will be followed by an overview

of the different phases of the study and then a discussion of the actual

research techniques used and the data that was obtained by the different

approaches. The major difficulties and problems encountered during the

study will then be assessed.

The Case Study Method:

    The relative youth of social science and the scarcity of social
    research make it inevitable that much of this research, for a
    time to come, will be of a pioneering character. Few well
    trodden paths exist for the investigator of social relations to
    follow; theory is often either too general or too specific to
    provide clear guidance for empirical research. In these circum-
    stances exploratory research is necessary to obtain the ex-
    perience that will be helpful in formulating relevant hypotheses
    for more definitive investigation.[1]

The general absence of sociological studies that analyze organizational

goals and the factors that favor or hinder the attainment of these goals

plus the absence of school studies in Africa made it necessary that this

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1. Claire Selltiz, et al., Research Methods in Social Relations (New
York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960), pp. 51-52.

investigation take the form of an exploratory case study. It was not possible to formulate in advance any specific hypotheses to be tested. In this type of situation the exploratory case study has certain advantages over "research dictated by a hypothetical-deductive model."[2]

A. Advantages of the Case Study Method:

The case study method has a number of advantages. A case study that continues over an extended time permits the investigator to assume a wholistic approach in his treatment of the organization. His information need not be limited to that obtained by one method, or from a single instrument, and his attention may be devoted to covering a wide range of detail.

A case study continued over a period of time can follow the process of organizational change. It can study the variables that affect this change and the factors that facilitate or block the attainment of organizational goals. The direct observation and assessment of patterns of interaction and social relationships are possible in a case study that extends over a period of time. In a case study "the dynamics of a situation, the process by which a relation comes about, can be considered."[3] It is possible for the observer to:

2. Daniel Katz, "Field Studies," in Leon Festinger and Daniel Katz, Research Methods in the Behavioral Sciences (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953), p. 75.

3. Paul F. Lazarfeld, "Problems in Methodology" in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard Cottrell (eds.), Sociology Today (New York: Basic Books, 1959), p. 73.

grasp the process and patterns of behavior as a whole. He does not try to create them, as an interviewer might have to do, by assembling information and assessing the consequences <u>after</u> they have happened.[4]

Thus, in a case study it is possible to deal with the social system as a functioning whole.

Another advantage is that the researcher can go directly to the people concerned or involved in a situation to obtain information.

> To ask about the determinants of a particular policy, it is more promising to go to the five persons likely to know than to the fifty that do not know. The formal means of gathering information lean heavily on the awareness and level of information of a relatively large number of respondents. At the same time, much about the character of an organization may be little known or only dimly perceived by the typical participant, and the determinants and consequences of character are particularly removed from the view of many. The participant is involved with the specific tasks at hand and is likely to have had little reason to assume the stance of a historian or an analyst. It is also to be assumed at the outset of an institutional study that some of the major internal changes and external adaptations of an organization may be beyond the awareness of all participants, that <u>latent</u> tendencies and functions may be identified by the outsider who comes at the organization with a particular analytical point of view.[5]

Also, the researcher may go back and question people about inconsistencies or to delve deeper into material that is lacking clarity in ways that would be impossible in a more formal study.

The case study method is thus designed:

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4. Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research: I, A Case Approach (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963), p. 70.

5. Burton Clark, The Open Door College (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 181-182.

> To utilize to the full the advantages of seeing the situation as a whole and of attempting to grasp fundamental relationships. From this. . . can come the insights which can furnish the hypotheses for later, more detailed, quantitative study.[6]

B. Disadvantages of the Case Study Method:

The case study method has a number of limitations. When only one institution is studied it is difficult to generalize from the findings. In this instance the case study of one day senior secondary school in no way determines whether other day senior secondary schools are similar or in what ways the single case may be atypical. It should, however, be remembered that:

> The primary research objective of such studies is not to generalize, but to provide fresh insights into the nature of a particular system, to suggest new ideas that might later be subjected to rigorous testing on larger samples of cases.[7]

The case study method is also vulnerable to error introduced by different biases of the researcher. When the researcher utilizes only descriptive procedures his research may suffer from these effects. The biased-viewpoint effect (or involvement effect) occurs when the researcher participates in the organization he is studying:

> The observer, by virtue of the very fact that he plays a role in the group, tends thereby to impose certain restrictions upon his own understanding of the situation. His viewpoint may be biased in various ways. As long as he plays only one role, he perceives

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6. Daniel Katz, "Field Studies," op cit., p. 65.

7. Matilda White Riley, Sociological Research, op. cit., p. 74.

only those aspects of the system apparent from this role.[8]

The other major effect is called the <u>control effect</u> (or interference effect--the sociological counterpart of the Heisenberg effect in physics).

>Control effect is a change in the action the researcher wants to study which, although it is not systematically built into the research design, is brought about by some aspect of the research process itself. This is a potential source of error in partici- pant observation because the addition of a new member--like any change in a system--may affect the entire structure of interde- pendent parts. Especially in small social systems, introducing not only another person but also another role--that of observer-- can affect markedly the relationships among the other members. Thus the researcher, often unintentionally and even unwittingly, controls, or changes to some extent, the action he is observing.[9]

This potential source of error is greatest where the researcher has also a clinical bias (or therapeutic goals).[10] Much applied research can be limited by a clinical bias. The goal of applied research is:

>To collect and use <u>all</u> available data relevant to the object of study or to ways of bringing about changes that will result in better functioning /¯of the organization_7.[11]

The applied researcher must be constantly aware of the possible influence on the organization he is studying that result from his involvement in

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8. Matilda White Riley, <u>Sociological Research</u>, <u>op. cit.</u>, p. 71.

9. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 71.

10. For a discussion of "therapeutic research" see: Cyril Sofer, <u>The Organization from Within</u> (London: Tavistock Publications, 1961).

11. Frank W. Neff, "Survey Research: A Tool for Problem Diagnosis and Improvement in Organizations," in Alvin W. Gouldner and S. M. Miller (eds.) <u>Applied Sociology</u> (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 24.

the organization and the changes that result from his presence.

C. A Compromise: To Supplement Description with More Systematic Procedures:

Some of the limitations of the case study method can be partially over-come. If many cases are examined some of the limitations of the single case study are surmounted. Similarly, some of the drawbacks of examin-ing a single case can be offset if more than one person conducts the research (this may help minimize involvement effect but increases the interference effect). The lone researcher in a single case study can attempt to minimize the involvement effect by identifying himself with more than one position within the organization. Perhaps the best way to control for possible biases in an exploratory study is by supplement-ing descriptive techniques with a variety of more systematic procedures. Where possible observation and participant observation should be aug-mented by scheduled interviews and formal questionnaires.[12]

In this case study the above compromise in methodology was decided upon. What is not known then is how much the study may have lost by not relying solely on descriptive procedures.

The Selection of the School:

At the time I arrived at EAISR both Derrick Stenning and Aiden Southall (Professor of Sociology) were on leave. Albert Maleche, a member of the Education Research Project, had spent the past two years with Fred Kamoga

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12. Samuel A. Stoffer, Social Research to Test Ideas (New York: The Free Press, 1962). See pages 253-260 for an example of the application of formal techniques to a single case.

studying primary school-leavers in Uganda. He was most helpful in making suggestions as to schools to visit and people in education that I should see. On his list was Mr. White, Headmaster of the Mutesa School, then the only all-African grant-aided day senior secondary school in Uganda. In 1962 there were thirty-four other day senior secondary schools that were privately owned and managed; eight of these were multi-racial and grant-aided. About 15% of their pupils were Africans; the majority were Asians. One school at the University College, its demonstration school, had hostels for approximately 45% of its pupils in Forms I to IV. As the Mutesa School had no hostel, was all African, and grant-aided, it fitted the requirements of my case study and was the only school in Uganda which did so at that time.

The rationale behind those requirements is as follows: The private schools are highly autonomous and thus I would be unable to study interaction with a Ministry; nor are the students in private schools selected. If the school had a hostel this would automatically remove students from conditions I wished to study and I believed that hostels represented a development that could not be afforded in the future if there was to be a rapid expansion of day senior secondary schools. I felt that the multi-racial schools with only 15% of the pupils African would be changing considerably in the next few years (in 1965 they shifted to 50% African). One of the multi-racial schools in Kampala had no hostel and a majority of the pupils were African (72% in 1963) but it only had three forms in 1962, and approximately 120 pupils.

My first interview with Mr. White, on May 16, 1962, at his office at the Mutesa School, lasted nearly two hours. He gave me a quick thumbnail sketch of the history of the school and its present educational problems. He explained that soon after he had arrived in Uganda in 1960 he had approached Aiden Southall, then Director of the EAISR, with the proposal that his school be the subject of an extensive applied research study designed to assess the situation of the pupils in the environment. Mr. White was, therefore, eager that my case study should take place at his school and claimed that the staff and students would be willing to participate in the study.

At approximately the same time I heard from the Headmaster of the school in Kenya that it would be extremely difficult to arrange accommodation at or near the school. This school in Kenya was also being studied by the Agency for International Development. I then decided to shift the locale of my study from Kenya to Uganda.

The sociological case study of the Mutesa School in Uganda took place between June 1962 and December 1963. It covered five school terms of approximately fourteen months. Part of three vacations were spent in visiting students in their homes up to 120 miles from Kampala.

The Major Phases of the Study:

The research project can be viewed as having been divided into a sequence of eight stages. The case study developed over eighteen

months and evolved through a number of phases. These phases are not mutually exclusive; some of them overlap.

A. Entry; May-June 1962:

The first step was to meet people in the Central Government and Buganda Government Ministries of Education and obtain support for the research project. Direct entry into the school was facilitated by the Headmaster who wanted his school to be studied. Mr. White believed that a study of his school would help to draw attention to its problems and could facilitate in their solution. Only the Headmaster (and the East African Institute of Social Research) were aware of the actual research design and that applied research was a secondary goal of the research project.

Entry into the school was eased by first joining the staff as a part-time teacher. I was formally introduced to the staff in the staff room by the Headmaster and to the students at a morning assembly. The re-search project was interpreted to the staff and students by both the Headmaster and by me as one that would focus on the problems of a day senior secondary school. The emphasis on the applied and problem solving aspects of the research was kept throughout the eighteen months of the study. This approach to the research was maintained because it tended to ensure a continued interest in the research project on the part of the pupils and staff; a positive orientation which helped to support cooperation from within the school and in the community.[13]

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13. Research in Africa is shifting increasingly to applied research from pure research. Anthropologists now call themselves "rural sociologists"

The schools and students had real problems for which they felt solutions could be found; the hope was that the researcher could be instrumental in helping to introduce changes that would improve the school and their personal situation. At the start these attitudes facilitated my entry into the school.

B. Orientation; June-July, 1962:

As a newcomer to the Mutesa School I learned as quickly as I could the basic information about the school and its environment, national "common knowledge" to most of its members--things like the daily time table; names of people and places; the cost of things in the market and school fees; where and what the Valley Hostel is, who lives there, and how it is run; and much more. Everyone at the school was eager and helpful. During this orientation phase a special effort was made to become familiar with the relevant literature on Uganda (in education, history, economics, political science, and anthropology). I also visited other schools, interviewed teachers, Headmasters and students, made trips outside the urban area, went to parliament, attended political rallies, visited a Saza Chief, became a member of a local committee of a voluntary agency (which gave me an opportunity to meet and work with people representing the different communities in Uganda), and in general tried

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in East Africa and try and relate a part of their research to a practical problem or set of problems for which a Government Ministry or Department is seeking solutions. The result is often a combination of pure and applied research. In this instance it forced me to place my immediate focus on integrating the applied aspects of this study with the more theoretical aspects.

to learn as much as I could about the country as a whole.

C. Developing Instruments and Collecting Data; July 1962 to November 1963:

Over this time eighteen instruments were developed and administered.
They include ten questionnaires for all pupils, three special question-
naires for a selected sample of pupils, two questionnaires for teachers,
one for the Headmaster, one schedule for interviewing parents, and one
for "old students" of the school. I began with a pre-test of the first
questionnaire in July 1962 and gave it to the pupils in August.
Material was also collected over this period by a number of other methods.
Before initiating the study I had decided to utilize a variety of case
study techniques, including straight observation, participant observa-
tion, formal participation in the school system as a teacher, question-
naires to students, teachers, the Headmaster; interviews of occupants of
all positions including people in administrative and supervisory posts
outside the school, and former teachers and Headmasters; and visits to
where students lived and to their homes to interview their guardians or
parents. During the course of the research three other case study tech-
niques were employed: the investigation of documents, group discussions,
and the assigning of written tasks to students.

D. Maintaining Cooperation with the Research:

The interpretation to the school of the research as "problem oriented"
and directed towards possible improvements has a major drawback in that
if no changes are perceived by the subjects a withdrawal of cooperation

is bound to result. I was continually reiterating that this work would result in reports to the Ministries of Education, but that I could make no promises that the reports would be accepted or acted upon, nor should any individual student expect the research to result in any benefits that might accrue now to that student. Cooperation remained high throughout the eighteen months; though it is impossible to know what the reaction would have been to the continued research if it had not produced any practical results. In the final questionnaire (Number Eleven, November 1963) there were 61 positive comments and 15 negative comments on the research project (and 124 neutral or no comment).

A typical positive comment was:

> I personally think that this study is going to be of the greatest help this school has probably ever had in its history. However I have no proper words to express to Mr. Weeks my deep gratitude for his most grate part in this study. I wish him the very best of luck and success in whatever he will be doing in future times.

Some of the positive comments mentioned that the subject had learned from the actual process and content of the questionnaire:

> This study has also helped us to know more and build our minds.

The negative comments were usually short and either complained about the content of the questions--"too personal"--or that it was a waste of time:

> We do not get the result of this questioning. So far, no good has come out of it.

The administration of the questionnaires was arranged to coincide with a free period of a class (for example during the first term, 1963, there were fifteen periods when twenty-five classes had no lessons due to teacher shortage) or timed to take place when a teacher was absent due to illness or pregnancy. This approach served to minimize resistance to the research that might have developed if it had conflicted directly with an anticipated lesson.

Resistance to the research was minimal. No student refused to participate in the sex study. Of the students selected to do the intensive autobiographies, one student declined in advance (claiming that he needed all his time to revise) and another who wrote his autobiography did not give it to me because his parents asked him not to.

More resistance was encountered among the teachers. One teacher was willing to be interviewed, but refused to complete the second teacher's questionnaire. Three other teachers took the second questionnaire but failed to return it. This lack of response where the teacher population was small (not more than fourteen teachers at any given time) would have seriously affected a study that limited itself to questionnaires only, but a research design which employed other techniques (observation, participant observation, discussions, interviews, documents) provided other sources of information on the teachers.

To maintain cooperation I had to educate those involved on the meaning of the applied research and what could reasonably be expected from the

research. This was a continuing process.

E. Training Assistants:

It was necessary to train assistants in interview technique, the tabular analysis of data, coding, punching, verifying, running ICT cards on a sorter-counter to obtain predetermined information, and making tables. Between August 1962 and December 1963 I had three assistants for interviews, four for coding, three for punching and verifying, and two for preliminary data analysis.

F. Preliminary Analysis and Reporting of Data:

The first questionnaire was designed for tabular analysis on large sheets of paper and consisted mainly of short answer, open-ended, and essay questions. Later in 1962 I arranged to use the ICT punch card facilities at the Accounts Office of the Treasury in Kampala. Preliminary assessments of the data collected provided information on the research at that time (results were available by March, 1963). This made possible the discussion and evaluation of the research with my colleagues and with a steering committee at the East African Institute of Social Research.[14] These critical discussions were most helpful in suggesting new approaches to the research. I was also assisted in the

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14. Sheldon G. Weeks, "Initial Report on the Case Study of a Day Secondary School," Report to the Education Research Steering Committee of the East African Institute of Social Research (mimeographed), June 12, 1963.

evaluation of my research while it was in progress by three conference

papers I prepared for the East African Institute of Social Research.[15]

G. The Applied Aspects of the Research:

My applied research activities were at a height during 1963 when I

was considered by many as an "expert" on the problems of day senior

secondary education.

I served as a consultant when I related information on students to

teachers (usually at the request of the teachers and without violating

any confidences) to help teachers to better understand certain facts

about their pupils that affected their behavior as pupils in relation to

that teacher.

I also served as a consultant to the Headmaster in a number of ways.

I introduced the idea of a workcamp to the Headmaster as a means of ob-

taining a new classroom block. I introduced the American Field Service

exchange program to the Headmaster and assisted in the process of having

two Mutesa students go to the United States in August 1963 for one year

(a program that continues). I suggested that the Headmaster utilize the

services of the Institute of Social Research's psychologist in the se-

lection of a second stream for Form II (a class to be selected from

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15. Sheldon G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Report on a Sociological Case Study
of an Urban Day Secondary School," "A Preliminary Examination of the
Role of Minority Students at a Day Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda,"
and "A Look at Selected Student Autobiographies," (Mimeographed) Con-
ference Papers (Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research,
January and June, 1963).

pupils who had been in private schools during Form I). I encouraged
the Headmaster to send a letter to all parents which outlined the impli-
cations of the research findings for parents and made suggestions as to
what parents might do to support their children who were students in the
Mutesa School.

In a further effort to reach parents both Henry Kimbugwe and I re-
ported on the research in Luganda and English over Radio Uganda in the
fall of 1963.

I had many discussions with the Headmaster on facets of the organiza-
tion and administration of the school, and I served as a consultant to
the Headmaster over issues that surrounded the role of staff meetings and
the student council.

In February 1963 I submitted three memorandae on my research (one
together with the Headmaster of the Mutesa School) to the Commission of
Inquiry into Uganda's Educational System. I served on a committee of
the Ministry of Education (Central Government) on the need for hostels
and made a report to this committee on the applied aspects of my re-
search in October, 1963.[16]

16. Sheldon G. Weeks, "A Partial Report on a Social Survey of African
Day Senior Secondary Pupils at Selected Senior Secondary Schools in
Greater Kampala," (Mimeographed) (Kampala: East African Institute of
Social Research, October 12, 1963) (Limited Circulation).

I also carried out at the request of the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education (Central Government) in November, 1963, a study of what subsidized bus transportation for senior secondary day students in the Kampala area might involve (routes, present and estimated usage under different conditions, cost, and implications).[17]

H. Analysis of the Data:

The final phase of the research project prior to writing consisted of the selection and analysis of the material collected. The cards on which notations had been made based on observations and interviews were arranged chronologically and then cross-indexed by activities, names, and dimensions. The more systematic material obtained by questionnaires and scheduled interviews was coded and tabulated. In this study only a small proportion of the actual material collected will be utilized.

Research Techniques Used:

During the course of the case study eight different techniques were used to obtain information on the organizational goals of the school, the activities of the school and the occupants of different positions in the school, the informal and formal organization of the school, the authority, normative and role structure of the school, decision making and communication, the external forces in the environment, and the process of change.

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17. This plan was implemented by the Ministry in 1964.

A. Observation:

Observation within the school and in the environment was a continuous
task. Pen and 4 x 6 cards were always present and pertinent information
and observations were recorded on-the-spot or immediately after observ-
ing students in societies, at play, walking home or to school, in their
lodgings; and the seating pattern of teachers and the informal interaction
that took place in the staff room. Often in the larger community of
Greater Kampala observations were made that related to the school: chance
meetings with teachers or students, in the street, in stores, at the
General Post Office, or in dance halls, restaurants, or at parties.

B. Participant Observation:

Often a period of observation would be transformed into one of partici-
pant-observation where I would become involved either in the activity
(as when during a dancing lesson after school the teachers asked me to
join the lesson) or a discussion (as when I was watching a physical
education class and some students came up and started a conversation,
or during a student council session when the chairman asked me a factual
question--I was the only adult present at these sessions). In the
same manner the transition from observer to participant observer would
take place when I was attending staff meetings.

C. Participation:

More formal participation was achieved through teaching.[18] When the

18. I draw a·distinction here between formal participation and participant

study began in June 1962 there was a shortage of teachers at the school

and a number of periods when the students in certain classes had no

teachers. .I arranged with the Headmaster to teach two hours a week on

the "Economic Development of Uganda" to Senior 3, and 4 hours a week

of "Comparative Religion"; one hour each to Senior Forms 2A, 2B, 3 and

4B. This teaching activity provided me with an opportunity to know the

students and to gain some insights into the position of the teacher in

the Mutesa School. Without the direct experience of teaching I would

not have become directly familiar with the way external problems can in-

terfere with the teaching situation, such as sleepiness. The subjects

I taught were not on the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Syllabus.

I intentionally chose, with the Headmaster's endorsement, to teach ma-

terial that did not relate to the School Certificate because I wanted

to test the common belief that students will not tolerate any deviation

from the syllabus, and I wanted to be free from having to conform to

teaching to a syllabus.[19] The choice of subjects was fortunate, and

helped to establish me in a position of respect with the pupils.

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observation. Schwartz and Schwartz distinguish between passive and ac-
tive participant observation (Morris S. Schwartz and Charlotte Green
Schwartz, "Problems in Participant Observation," American Journal of
Sociology, Vol. 60, No. 4, 1955, pp. 343-354). In formal participation
the researcher attempts to completely perform a role (in this case
teacher) while in active participant observation the emphasis remains
on the research role.

19. None of these students taught were taking the School Certificate in
1962. It is not known how those students in the School Certificate
Class, Form 4A, would have reacted to such lessons. But the receptivity
of the School Certificate classes in 1962 and 1963 to being given
questionnaires remained high throughout. This might indicate that the
teaching of non-syllabus material would have been well received if it
was of great interest and did not take much time each week.

At that time (six months before Independence on October 9, 1962) economics was only being taught at the Higher School Certificate level at a few selected boarding schools.[20] The pupils were eager to learn about their own country and highly pleased that someone had taken enough interest in them to teach some relevant material.

The six hours of teaching per week continued through till November, 1962. In 1963 I only taught three hours a week. I taught two hours to Form 3A on the Economic Development of Uganda, and one hour to a group of approximately half the students in Form 4B (Form 3 in 1962) who came voluntarily from a study hall to continue the work of the previous year and discuss comparisons between Uganda and Ghana.[21] These sessions began in the middle of February and only lasted six weeks. They ended in April when two temporary teachers (students from Makerere University College, who spent their long holiday teaching at the Mutesa School) became available and filled the existing vacancies.

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20. There is a suggestion that one reason the teaching of economics was positively received was because it helped to raise the status of the school in the students' eyes. One student commented that he was glad that economics was now being taught at Mutesa because he knew they taught economics at Kings College, Budo (one of the high status boarding schools).

21. The classes in economics were organized around a small paper back textbook: Walter Elkan, The Economic Development of Uganda (London: 1962).

The discussions on Ghana and the comparisons with Uganda were based on unpublished dittoed studies by Joseph Mubiru. Only twenty copies of the Elkan book were purchased by the Mutesa School (at a time when the budget for books was already overextended and the bill at the book store unpaid) and had to be shared in the class of 35 students.

Questionnaires:

The periods that I had the classes for formal teaching made it possible for me to give the students essays to write that helped educate me about them, their history, attitudes, and aspirations. These essays helped to provide the background for the first questionnaires. In July, 1962, an initial draft of a questionnaire that contained 136 questions was pretested in individual interviews with eight students. The pre-test helped me to learn somewhat the vocabulary range of the pupils, their general knowledge, where the pattern of the vernacular language, Luganda, might cause difficulties (for example not to use a negative question), and to try to avoid confusion where dealing with concepts which were different in Kiganda usage (such as the use of the term brother or sister which traditionally covers cousins too, or that "father" often extends traditionally to include father's brother, or "young father" or can be applied to a non-related guardian). But the pre-test did not eliminate all semantic and vocabulary problems. I tried to administer the questionnaires in a manner that would help to minimize such difficulties.

Most of the questionnaires for students were administered to one Form (of approximately 35 pupils) at a time, and required an average of forty-five minutes to complete, with some students taking up to an hour. I requested the pupils to use me as their "living dictionary", and to call on me if they were in any doubt as to the meaning of a word, question, or how to answer a question. The result during the first

questionnaires was many raised hands and lots of walking. On subsequent questionnaires the students became more sophisticated and the number of questions and time required for completion diminished. These questionnaires were designed to obtain information on the pupils' previous education, personal history, family background, living conditions, activities, attitudes, aspirations, friendship patterns, and expectations.

In order to obtain an index of potential (Intelligence Quotient) all pupils were given the Raven's Progressive Matrices test by the psychologist in the East African Institute of Social Research, Education Research Project, Jonathan Silvey.

A special questionnaire was given to minority (non-Baganda) pupils in the school to obtain information on how they viewed their position. In order to get data on what has happened to students who have left the school a special questionnaire was mailed to approximately 120 "old boys" who had attended the school between 1958 and 1962.

The questionnaires for teachers and the Headmaster were intended to obtain information on their background, experience, activities, attitudes, aspirations, expectations, job satisfaction, and opinions. These questionnaires were derived from those of Dr. Neal Gross, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, National Principalship Study.

E. Interviews

In the Process of investigating the school, interviews were conducted with the Headmaster, teachers, and selected students. A structured

interview-questionnaire was used to investigate the sexual life and knowledge of a small sample of students.

A special structured interview questionnaire for parents was prepared in English, translated into Luganda, and then checked by being translated by a third party back into English. This questionnaire was given to twenty-seven parents or guardians in Luganda in the presence of the researcher by a research assistant, Henry Kimbugwe (in a few instances by Mathias Semitti). These interviews provided a check on what the pupils had said about their families and information on the educational goals of the parents, their attitudes and the aspirations they hold for their children.

Interviews were also held outside the school with former students and teachers of the Mutesa School, members of parliament, education officers, and the Parliamentary Secretaries and Ministers of Education of the Buganda and Central Governments. One chance meeting with the Kabaka (King) of Buganda turned into a two hour interview.

F. Documents:

Documents studied during the research project were helpful, but were not as revealing as documents might be in other stu..ies of.organizations. School documents in the school files provided information on the students (a check for honesty and reliability on such statements as their age, where they lived, who was their guardian, and their academic history), on relations with the Buganda Ministry of Education, on Staff

Meetings (minutes), etc. At the Buganda Ministry of Education files

on the Mutesa School were a source of historical information on the

school. The report on the School Strike in 1958 was reported "lost."

G. Group Discussions:

Group discussions were held at various times which were more formal

than the frequent informal exchanges which I had with students or staff.

Some of the planned discussion (some were tape recorded) took place on

the school lawn, at the Valley Hostel where up to sixteen pupils lived,

when riding in the Land Rover with a group of pupils, at my flat when

pupils came to visit, or with teachers in the staff room when I would

give an informal discussion some direction in order to learn about

events or elicit attitudes.

H. Written Tasks:

Written tasks were given to pupils on a number of occasions. In the

classroom I would assign essays to students to write during the period.

These covered such topics as "My life as a student;" "My Senior Secon-

dary Education has been made difficult by...;" "My Senior Secondary Edu-

cation has been made easy by...;" "My life twenty years in the future."

A thematic analysis of the essays proved most unrewarding, but at the

time they were very helpful in learning about the students, how they

perceived their situation, and what they considered had helped or

hindered them while attaining their education. During the first vacation

in 1963 twenty-two pupils were asked to write a very detailed

autobiography. During the second vacation in 1963 a small group of
students were asked to keep daily diaries. Both groups were given in-
structions on what to write about in the autobiographies and the diaries.
The diversity of material in the autobiographies and diaries demon-
strated the many patterns in the lives of the pupils and the influence
of different backgrounds.

Problems and Limitations:

A. Reliability:

The honesty and reliability of the pupils in reporting facts about
themselves was seriously questioned by the Headmaster and some of the
teachers. They had experienced dishonesty where facts were altered
by pupils with the intent of obtaining certain advantages; older
pupils would say they were younger than they were for the senior
entrance examination. The staff also felt that pupils in their applica-
tions for bursaries tended to be dishonest.

As a result of these enquiries, I intentionally emphasized in both
the written and oral introduction to the questionnaires that dishonesty
would be misleading, and that only the truth would assist the research.
I also told the students that they might be visited where they lived
during the school term and during the vacation, and thus their statements

on the questionnaires would be open to verification.[22] Another means of verifying their statements was to repeat a question, for example, the one about their age, at a different time in a later questionnaire. The results indicated significant consistency, though it might indicate consistent dishonesty.[23]

B. Sources of Possible Error:

Research--whose main interest for the subjects lay in its possible application--into an organization which was in the process of change and where the researcher was perceived by the subjects as an instrument of social change, could not help but be influenced by this perception. Answers to questions could easily be distorted by this bias. The main safeguard here lay in the use of a variety of research techniques.

I also had a position as "researcher" and as such became part of the social system of the school. Mutesa School was the school with a sociologist from the University (Makerere). The organization was changed

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22. On two of the home visits inconsistencies in the reported number of siblings were discovered (resulting from the inclusion of cousins or the omission of half-siblings). On one home visit the occupation and acreage owned of the father was found to have been grossly inflated (from post office clerk to chief and from a few acres to one square mile). When asked about this contradiction the pupil just blushed. An example was made of this though (anonymously) to the other students.

23. Late in 1963 Jonathan Silvey gave achievement tests to approximately One hundred pupils in Form One (three streams). He included a question on the repeating of classes. A comparison of the answers he obtained with those obtained nine months previously by me revealed a number of pupils who mentioned a grade repeated to him and not to me, and vice-versa. It was too late though for me to individually interview the pupils involved concerning this inconsistency.

through my presence and the organization I studied was not the same as the organization before my arrival. I was in 1963 the only occupant of a position in the school with his own private office; even the Headmaster had to share his office with his clerk and the office had low windows and a glass door that made visible the action taking place in the office; the teachers had only one staff room. In recognition of the presence of the researcher at the Mutesa School the students in an art class painted a sign for the door to this office. In order to minimize the distortions that might result from this "biased-viewpoint effect", I intentionally assumed more than one position within the organization. Besides being the "Researcher" I was also a "Teacher," "Social Worker," "Leader of Extra-Curricular Activities," "Librarian."[24] This helped me to perceive the organization from different perspectives and to be perceived in a variety of ways by those in the school.

The presence of a researcher at their school helped to raise the status of the school as perceived by the students. Many students achieved prestige by association with me : riding in my Land Rover, being interviewed by me, having me visit their home, etc. An example of this is seen in a reply to the question asking for the five most important

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24. My activities as a teacher in the school have already been mentioned.

As "Social Worker" I became involved at times in helping students in need of specialized assistance. As Librarian I set up a small lending library of books by African authors (a project that was eagerly received by the students): Peter Abrahams, Jomo Kenyatta, Tom Mboya, Chief Luthuli, Chinua Achebe, Cyprian Ekwensi, Carmara Laye, William Conton and Kenneth Kuanda.

pupils in the school. One student wrote: "M_____ because Mr. Weeks visited his parents."

One of the Headmaster's primary objectives was the creation of a viable organization with faculties, standards and status that would survive his departure. He believed that the process of having his school studied would draw attention to the school and its problems and therefore assist in bringing about the changes he desired.

In this study, with its applied components this interference effect (or control effect) did take place, but it was not unintentional nor did it go unobserved. Its presence means that we have no knowledge of how the organization might have differed if it had been absent. The problem instead becomes one of assessing the impact of the applied research on the organization.

Over a period of eighteen months it is impossible not to establish close friendships with a number of individuals in an organization you are studying, and these friendships are a possible source of bias in the research.

I had close friendships with individuals in all positions studied: students, clerical, teachers, Headmaster, and administration. One student lived in my home for seven months. One of the school clerks became my research assistant and lived in my home for three months. I courted and married one of the teachers. The Headmaster became a close friend and confidant. I also knew individuals in educational administration in

the Central Government. It could be claimed that these relationships facilitated the study. Vidich has noted that "the greater the social distance between the observer and the observed, the less adequate the communication between them."[25]

These friendships coupled with the applied aspects of the research resulted in my being in a position of mobility (access to individuals) which was not normally available to other occupants of positions in the school system. This movement ranged from parents and students (I could visit parents freely and had permission to call students out of classes) through to the top levels of administration. Recognition of my accessibility to occupants of other positions is demonstrated by their approaches to me to request that I mediate or communicate to the Headmaster for them or in their behalf. This action was taken by two teachers (one who had serious role conflict with the Headmaster, the other who had difficulty communicating with the Headmaster). A number of students requested me to mediate for them with the Headmaster (four who had been suspended, another who had been expelled, and a number who had been asked to leave school until they obtained their school fees).

The open access that I had to those in positions of authority could have been a liability if the students or teachers felt that any confidences were being violated. All research was conducted with the stated promise

25. Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 60. No. 4, 1955, p. 359.

that information obtained would remain confidential. I know of only one incident where the subjects felt that I had violated my word, and this was because one of the students concerned came to me and accused me of having done so. I was able to convince the students that I had not. On the other hand this open access to those in power tended to enhance my status as "researcher," and facilitated the research.

Conclusion:

The justification of the methods used in this case study is that they are best suited to an intensive effort to assess the organizational goals and activities of the school; the attitudes, expectations, and role performance of students, teachers, and Headmaster, and the interaction between the school and its environment. The uniqueness of the school to be studied was assumed. The intent of the sociological case study was not to test hypotheses, but to conduct a pioneer investigation which might lead to the formulation of hypotheses that could be tested in further research.

SUDAN

UGANDA →

KENYA

TANZANIA

ZAMBIA

MALAWI →
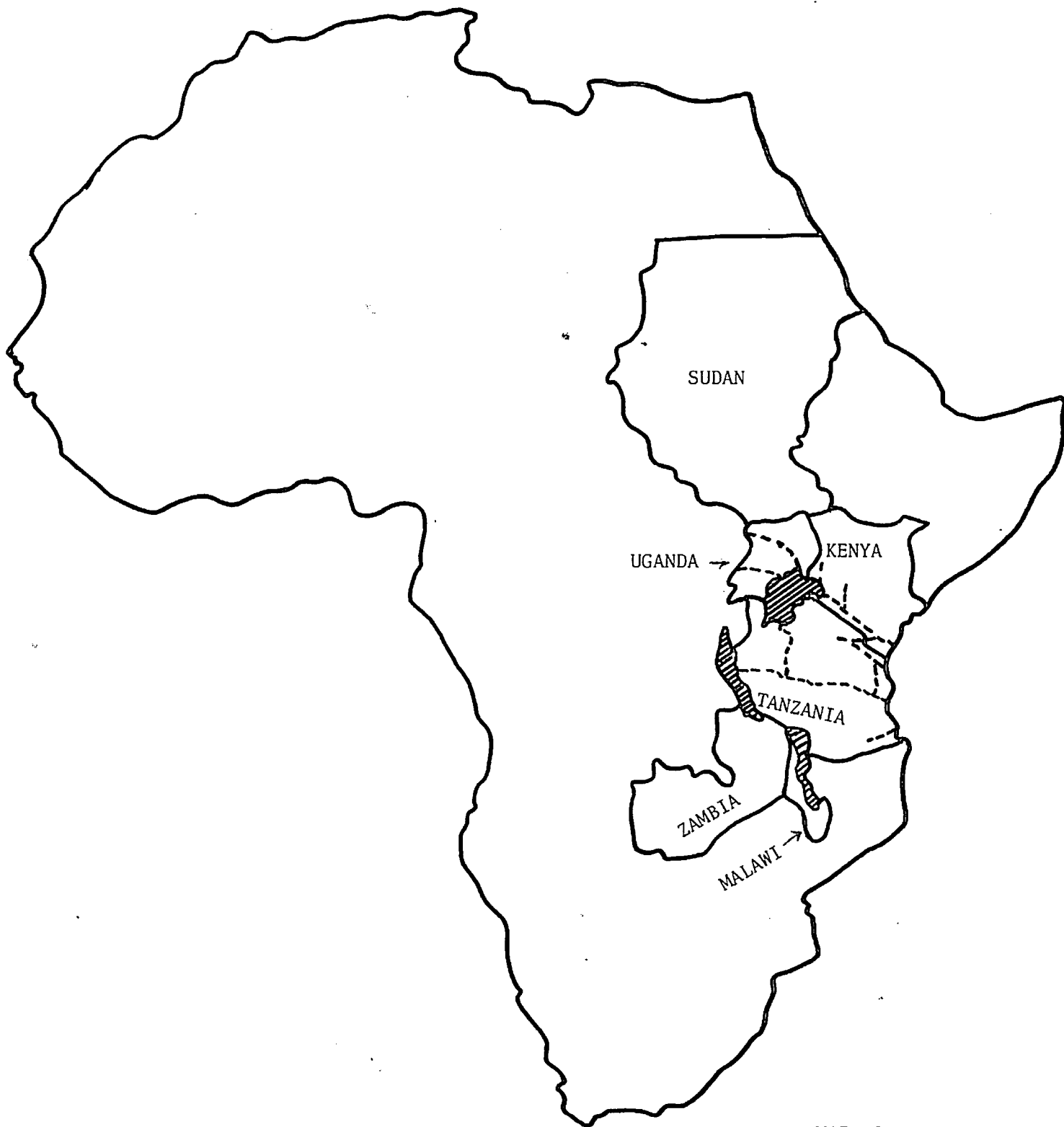
MAP 1

Uganda's Place in Africa, Countries
from which Uganda's Private Schools
Draw Pupils, and East Africa's Rail-
road System.

CHAPTER IV

THE BACKGROUND: EDUCATION IN UGANDA

Introduction:

To help understand the position of the Mutesa School in Uganda it is

necessary to place the school in a number of contexts: its place in a

developing educational system; its place in a changing urban area; its

place in Buganda in relation to Uganda.   The purpose of this chapter is

to sketch in some of this background information.   In the first part of

the chapter certain aspects of the early development of Uganda and

Greater Kampala will be considered.   Historical events of seventy or

eighty years ago may seem extraneous in a chapter on education and in a

case study of one school, but a comprehension of the impact of the

initial stages of evangelization and conquest is essential if one is to

understand the economic, political, religious, and social forces that

in 1962-1963 were at play in the environment and within the Mutesa

School and that still affect developments in Buganda and Uganda.   The

country, people, settlement of Kampala, and some significant social,

economic and political changes will be considered in this chapter.   In

the second half of the chapter six stages of the development of formal

education in Uganda will be presented.

S U D A N   K E N Y A

WEST

NILE   MADI

Arua   ACHOLI

. Gulu   Moroto

KARAMOJA

. Lira

LANGO

TESO

BUNYORO   . Soroti

. Hoima   BUGISU

BUKEDI   Mbale

BUSOGA

. Fort Portal   BUGANDA   Jinja

TORO   Mengo ..Kampala

ANKOLE

Mbarara

KIGEZI   LAKE VICTORIA

Kabale

T A N Z A N I A   Map 2[a]
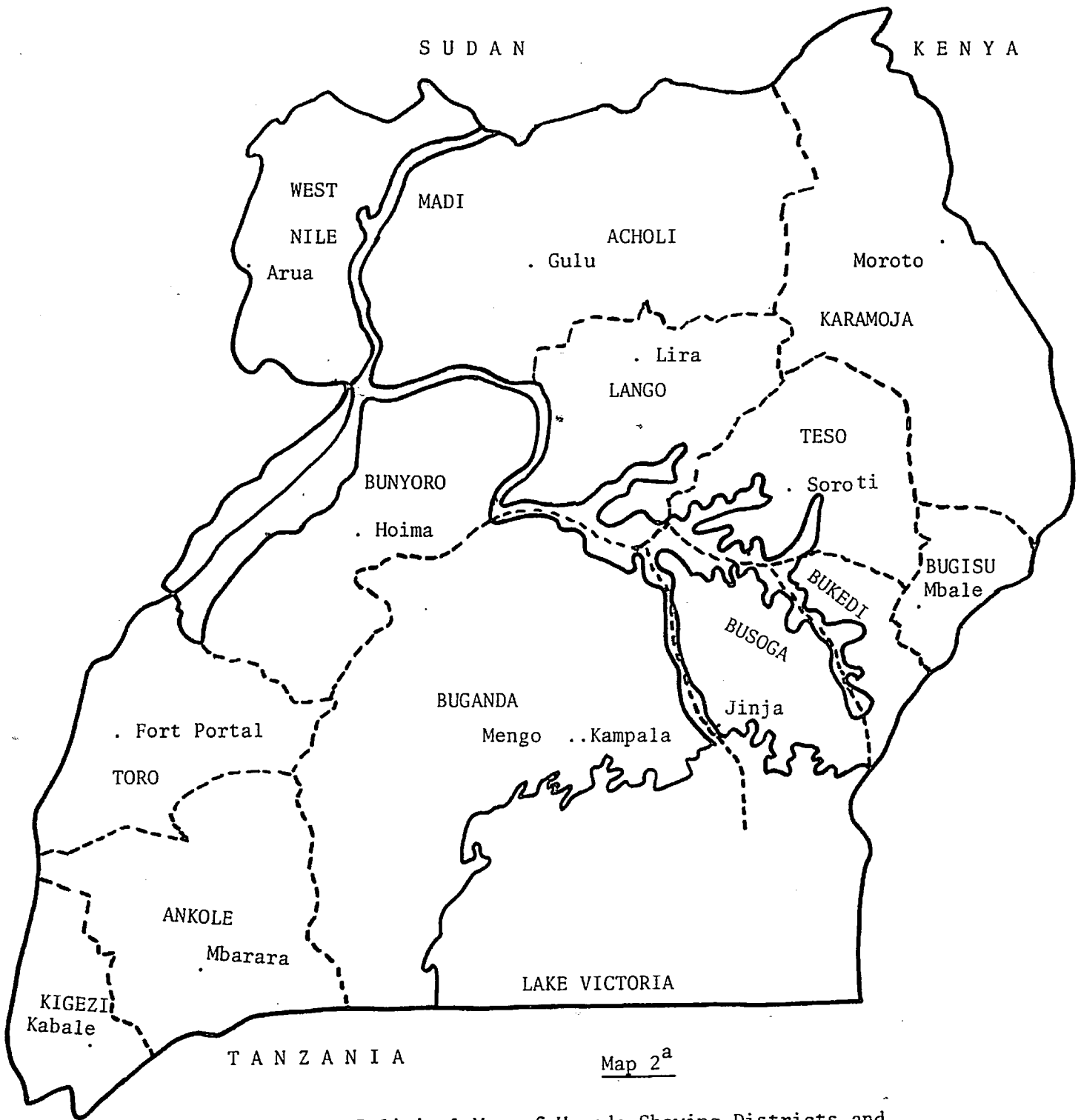
RWANDA

Political Map of Uganda Showing Districts and
District Headquarters (Except in Buganda).

a. Source: International Bank for Reconstruction
and Development, The Economic Development of Uganda,
(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962) p. 2.
Boundaries are modified as of January 1, 1965.

The Country:

Uganda, Churchill's tropical paradise, is a unique country even in Africa.[1] It is set to the north and west of Lake Victoria on a plateau approximately 3800 feet above the sea. It is bounded on the east and west by mountains and extensions of the great rift valleys that run from the Red Sea to Lake Nyasa. Most of Uganda is a garden state, being one of the few places in Africa without a real dry season. It is the only high-altitude place in tropical Africa with a climate like perpetual Spring that has not had exclusive land alienated to non-African settlers.[2] The near absence of land-alienation makes Uganda more comparable to West Africa, but Uganda's position in the interior of Africa delayed European penetration. While the coast of Africa has been

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1. Winston S. Churchill, My African Journey (London: Holland Press, 1908). "The Kingdom of Uganda is a fairy-tale. You climb up a railway instead of a beanstalk, and at the end there is a wonderful new world. The scenery is different, and most of all, the people are different from anything elsewhere to be seen in the whole range of Africa. Instead of breezy uplands we enter a tropical garden. . . . Under a dynastic King, with a Parliament, and a powerful feudal system, an amiable, clothed, polite, and intelligent race dwell together. . . . More than two hundred thousand natives are able to read and write. More than a hundred thousand have embraced the Christian faith. . . . there is discipline, there is industry, there is culture, there is peace.", p. 59.

2. Land alienation occurred in Kenya, Tanganyika, Angola, the Congo and all of Africa South. In Uganda less than 1% of the land was alienated. That more land was not taken is due to a combination of factors: malaria, poor results in initial attempts at plantations, difficulties in getting labor, and policy laid down by Governor Bell that forbid the further ownership of land by non-Africans. For a study of the implications this has had for developments in Uganda compared to Kenya see: Sheldon G. Weeks, "Divergence in Educational Development," (mimeographed) Harvard University, Center for Studies in Education and Development, 1964.

L A N G O

B U N Y O R O

Nakasongola

BURULI

BUGERERE

B U S O G A

SINGO

BULEMEZI

Kayunga

T O R O

Mubende

Luwero

Bombo

BUSIRO

KYAN-
DONDO

KYAGWE

BUWEKULA

Mityana

Mengo

Mukono

BUSUJU

Kampala

MAWOKOTA

GOMBA

MAWOGOLA

BUTAMBALA

BUVUMA

KABULA

Masaka

MAP 3[a]

A N K O L E

Political Map of the Kingdom of
Buganda, showing Counties and Towns.

BUDDU

a.   Source: Uganda Government Map.

KOKI

SESE

known to Europe for over five hundred years the area that is now Uganda

was not "discovered" by Europe until 1862.

The subsistence economy is a "wealthy" one, with a variety of crops

(plantain, cassava, groundnut, millet sorghum, maize, sweet potatoes

and simsim) and live stock (sheep, goats and cows). Its 93,981 square

miles contain many lakes and swamps which provide an abundance of fish.

Today Uganda's monetary economy depends heavily on cash crops (coffee,

cotton and tobacco), plantation crops (tea and sugar) and one copper

mine at Kilembe. Uganda has what is considered the best network of

main and feeder roads in tropical Africa, but its main route for import

and export is the "permanent way" to Mombasa.[3]

The People:

In 1965 Uganda had approximately 7,580,481 people.[4] The African people

of Uganda fall into two main groups; first, the Western and Eastern

Lacustrine Bantu around Lake Victoria, and the Bantu tribes near Kenya

and Mt. Elgon; and second, north of Lake Kyoga, the Nilotic, Nilo-

Hamitic and Sudanic tribes.[5] The largest tribe in Uganda is the

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3. George H. T. Kimble, Tropical Africa, Vol. 1 (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1960), pp. 481-482. Also see: Arthur Hazlewood, Rail and Road in East Africa (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1964). -

4. Calculated on the basis of a 2 and 1/2% annual increase in the population since the census of 1959 when the total population was 6,536,616.

5. For information on the people of Uganda see: Department of Land and Surveys, An Atlas of Uganda (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962), pp. 36 and 37; and Brian K. Taylor, The Western Lacustrine Bantu (London: International African Institute, 1962); Margaret Chave Fallers, The

Baganda (over one million). They occupy over a quarter of the area of
Uganda (the Kingdom of Buganda) and approximately a third of the people
of Uganda live in Buganda. The North is lower in altitude, has an
average population density of 39 per square mile (compared to 124 in the
South) and has a short dry season that makes for a very different pattern
of agricultural development.[6] The population of Uganda is continually
being swelled by migrants from neighboring countries.[7] Within Buganda
over half the people are from outside with the largest proportion being
immigrants from Rwanda who have come to work as agricultural laborers
for Baganda landlords (or take unused land as tenants). In Uganda English
has been adopted as the national language to overcome the barrier to
communication that exists in having four major language groups (these
parallel the ethnic groups Bantu, Nilotic, Nilo-Hamitic and Sudanic).

Eastern Lacustrine Bantu (London: International African Institute, 1960);
Pamela and P. H. Gulliver, The Central Nilo-Hamites (London: Inter-
national African Institute, 1953); and Audrey J. Butt, The Nilotes of the
Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and Uganda (London: International African Institute,
1952). For more detailed studies of the Baganda, see: Rev. John Roscoe,
The Baganda: An Account of Their Native Customs and Beliefs (London:
MacMillan and Co., 1911); Sir Apolo Kagwa, The Customs of the Baganda,
translated by Ernest B. Kalibala (New York: Columbia University Press,
1934); L. P. Mair, An African People in the Twentieth Century (London:
Routledge, 1934); Ernest B. Kalibala, The Social Structure of the Baganda
Tribe of East Africa, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard Univer-
sity, 1947; and L. A. Fallers (ed.), The King's Men (London: Oxford
University Press, 1964).

6. Derived from: Uganda Protectorate, Uganda Census, 1959: African
Population (Uganda: Statistics Branch, Ministry of Economic Affairs,
1961), p. 17.

7. See Audrey Richards (ed.), Economic Development and Tribal Change
(Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, no date), and Walter Elkan, Migrants
and Proletarians (London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

The population of Uganda is predominantly rural, with only 5% living in urban areas (1959 census).

Results of the Nile Quest; 1862-1890:

The discoveries of Speke and Grant in 1862 were confirmed by the American explorer Stanley in 1875. Stanley found the Kabaka (King) of Buganda, Mutesa I, receptive to missionaries. In 1877 the CMS (Anglican) missionaries arrived in Buganda and in 1879 the French White Fathers (Roman Catholic).[8] With them came the first attempts at formal education in Uganda, nearly a hundred years after schools were introduced in West Africa.[9] These first settlements were established on hill tops in the Kibuga or Mengo (capital area) near the hill where the King had his Lubiri (palace compound). The missionaries, traders, and adventurers were attracted to Mengo because there they found, compared to other parts of the interior of East Africa, an indigenous town, and the large Baganda nation organized under a monarchy with an administrative hierarchy of chiefs. During the 1880's rivalry between the three religious groups (Protestant, Catholic and Muslim) resulted in religious wars. In 1890 Captain F. D. Lugard arrived in Buganda and placed his fort on Kampala Hill within shooting distance of the Kabaka's palace on Mengo Hill and

8. For a history of this period see Kenneth Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1958), and Alan Moorehead, The White Nile (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1961).

9. D. L. Sumner, Education in Sierra Leone (Freetown: Government Printer, 1963), pp. 4-26, and F. H. Hilliard, A Short History of Education in British West Africa (London: Nelson's Education Handbooks, 1957).

the hills of the rival faiths--Namirembe and Rubaga.[10]

The Development of Greater Kampala; 1890 on:

In 1890 Lugard established a polarization of forces within Buganda (between the Kingdom and Central Government) which has lasted until now. Because of ants, rot and fire (or death) the Kabaka's Lubiri used to move every few years from hill top to hill top. The Lubiri has not moved since 1890, but has become a permanent fixture on Mengo Hill, and is is within the brick and red walls of the compound that the Mutesa School has grown. The CMS (now Church of Uganda) has its head-quarters and cathedral on Namirembe Hill, and the White Fathers and Catholic Church in Uganda have theirs on Rubaga Hill (see the map of greater Kampala, facing page 85). On the slopes of Lugard's hill (now called Old Kampala) there developed the British administrative head-quarters and an Asian bazaar. On one side we have the division of religious forces, and on the other the division of secular forces. East from Lugards Fort grew Kampala, an area of European and Asian settle-ment, where taxes were adequate enough to support the development of a modern town with paved roads, storm drains, sewers, electric lighting, piped pure water and drained swamps for mosquito control.[11] This modern

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10. For a description of this period see: Margery Perham, Lugard: The Years of Adventure, 1858-1898 (London: Collins, 1956), pp. 209-326.

11. For a study of the development of Kampala and Mengo until 1955 see: Henry Kendall, Town Planning in Uganda (Entebbe: The Government Printer, 1955), pp. 13-33; also, Edwin S. Munger, Relational Patterns of Kampala, Uganda (Chicago: University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1951). For more recent information see: Sheldon Weeks, "Kampala: Profile of a

city became the political and commercial capital of Uganda (though the political capital was moved to Entebbe to try and avoid some of the conflicts with the Kingdom of Buganda, it was moved back to Kampala in 1961).

The Kibuga, to the west of Old Kampala, the capital of the Kingdom of Buganda, has developed at a slower pace retaining in places its suburban and rural appearance. While planning began in Kampala in 1913 it did not take place in the Kibuga until 1962. In the 1948 census Kampala had 22,000 people and Mengo 38,000. By 1959 Kampala had more than doubled in population. The population of the two areas by the 1959 census is given in Table IV-1.

City," Africa Today, October, 1962; and P. H. Temple, "Kampala: In-fluences upon Its Growth and Development," East Africa Institute of Social Research, Conference Paper, June, 1963. For a sociological study of two areas in Mengo see: A Southall and P. C. Gutkin, Townsmen in the Making, East African Studies No. 9 (Kampala: EAISR, 1957). For a study of the administrative organization of the Kibuga (Mengo) and its relations with Kampala and the Central Government see: Peter C. W. Gutkind, The Royal Capital of Buganda (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963). Also, Alvin H. Scaff et al., Recommendations for Urban Development in Kampala and Mengo (New York: United Nations, TAO/Uganda/1 August 1964).

TABLE IV-1[a]

The Populations of Mengo and Kampala
by Race, from the 1959 Census

	Mengo	Kampala
Africans	52,673	24,046
Europeans	360	3,179
Asians[b]	7,300	19,500
Totals	60,333	46,725

a. Source: From D. J. Stenning, Documentary Survey of
   Crime in Kampala (Kampala: East African Institute
   of Social Research, 1961), p. 9, mimeographed.

b. "Asians" combines Hindus, Goans, Ismailis, Arabs
   and others.

Part of the power struggle of the Baganda with the protectorate Govern-

ment and in the pre-independence period was over the status of the

Kibuga. At independence when Kampala was raised to the level of a city,

the administration of the Kibuga was reorganized; the area became the

Mengo Municipality and dropped its rural pattern of administrative

organization as a Gombolola, a sub-county unit in Buganda.[12]

As the European and Asian city of Kampala grew,the attitudes of the

"foreigners" in Kampala towards Mengo evolved away from the favorable

ones which had originally caused them to settle adjacent to the capital

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12. For a political analysis of the Kingdom of Buganda and its role in
Uganda, see: David E. Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in
Bureaucratic Nationalism (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University
Press, 1961). Another view of the development of politics in Uganda is
given by D. A. Low in Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-62 (London:
The Athlone Press, 1963).

of Buganda:

> The Ganda have regarded the European and Asians in Kampala as
> foreigners occupying the center of their national territory,
> while the 'foreigners' have viewed the Kibuga as a 'septic
> fringe' with low standards of order and sanitation which could
> only be improved by bringing this traditional capital under
> the authority of the British type Municipality of Kampala.[13]

The people in Mengo have had no intention of subordinating themselves

to the Protectorate Government. The conflict between Buganda and

Central authorities has been marked by violence and mistrust (the burn-

ings in 1949, the suppression of the Farmers' Union in 1951, the deporta-

tion of the Kabaka in 1953, the boycott in 1959, the attempted uni-

lateral declaration of independence in 1960, the winning of a favored

position for Buganda in the Federal Constitution of 1962, the struggle

over the lost counties in 1963, and the "Nakulabye incident" in 1964).

That the first and major European settlements took place in the heart

of Buganda resulted in Buganda continuing as the most developed part of

Uganda, a favored position which only now is being altered by a Central

Government that contains leadership from the North. A focal point of

the unity of the Baganda has been their King, with reactions being the

strongest when the people felt the kingship was threatened. One com-

promise to the Baganda was to make the Kabaka President of Uganda on

October 9, 1963, when Uganda became a Republic.[14]

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13. Audrey Richard in P. C. W. Gutkind, The Royal Capital of Buganda,
op. cit., p. x.

14. See Kenneth Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda, op. cit., Chapters
VII and VIII, for information on the period up to 1956. The government

Significant Social and Economic Changes:

Buganda formally became a Protectorate of Great Britain in 1894 (the
present boundaries of Uganda were not established until 1926). In-
ternal disorder until 1899 resulted in the deportation of Kabaka Mwanga
and the Buganda Agreement of 1900 with rule invested in three regents
and the chiefs. The most far reaching aspect of the Buganda Agreement
was the creation of the _mailo_ land system with title deeds and private
ownership of land. Of the 17,295 square miles of land in Buganda, 350
square miles were attached to the Kabakaship, 416 square miles to the
posts of ministers and. the twenty Saza (County) chiefs and 8,000 square
miles were distributed among 3,700 claimants. This resulted in the
creation of an elite that held land by the square mile.[15]

In 1903 a Church Missionary Society missionary, Borup, began distribut-
ing American cottonseed around Uganda. In 1902 the lake steamer-railway

that led Uganda to independence in 1962 was made possible by a coalition
between the Uganda Peoples Congress (UPC) and the Kabaka Yekka (King
Only) in opposition to the party in the minority, the Democratic Party
(DP). The Kabaka Yekka group has been considered a "tribal" party
representing the Baganda. In 1963 they joined the DP in the opposition.
See: Cherry Gertzel, "Report from Kampala" and "How Kabaka Yekka Came to
Be," _Africa Report_, Vol. 9, No. 9, October, 1964, pp. 3-13. For another
view see Audrey Richards, "Epilogue" in L. A. Fallers (ed.), _The King's
Men_, op. cit., pp. 357-394.

15. The Uganda Agreement is reproduced in D. Anthony Low and R. Cranford
Pratt, _Buganda and British Overrule_ (London: Oxford University Press,
1960), pp. 350-366. D. A. Low analyzes the agreement, pp. 3-159. By
1950 over 50,000 had title to land in Buganda (p. 114).

For a thorough analysis of the operation and effects of _mailo_ land in
Buganda see: A. B. Mukwaya, _Land Tenure in Buganda_ (Kampala: East
African Institute of Social Research, 1953).

route from Kampala-Port Bell-Kisumu-Mombasa was functioning. in 1904

the first cotton crop of 54 bales was exported from Uganda. The pro-

duction of cotton rose quickly to 13,378 bales by 1910, valued at over

one hundred and sixty-five thousand pounds. As a peasant based crop

grown on small plots this meant that cash incomes were being distributed

among the people.[16] In Buganda, from the 1950's on, robusta coffee (which

requires less labor and has a higher cash yield per acre) was to replace

cotton as the main source of money.[17]

These social and economic changes in Buganda in the early 1900's

combined to produce a group of industrious peasants, chiefs, and land-

lords with sufficient monetary wealth to pay school fees and educate

their children. The expansion of schools in Buganda thus had an economic

base which was lacking in other parts of East Africa.

Stages of Educational Development:

The history of formal education in Uganda can be divided into six

stages. These are listed in Table IV-2.

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16. C. C. Wrigley, Crops and Wealth in Uganda (Kampala, Uganda: East
African Institute of Social Research, 1959), pp. 14-15.

17. For further information on agriculture in Uganda see: J. D. Tothill
(ed.), Agriculture in Uganda (London: Oxford University Press, 1940).
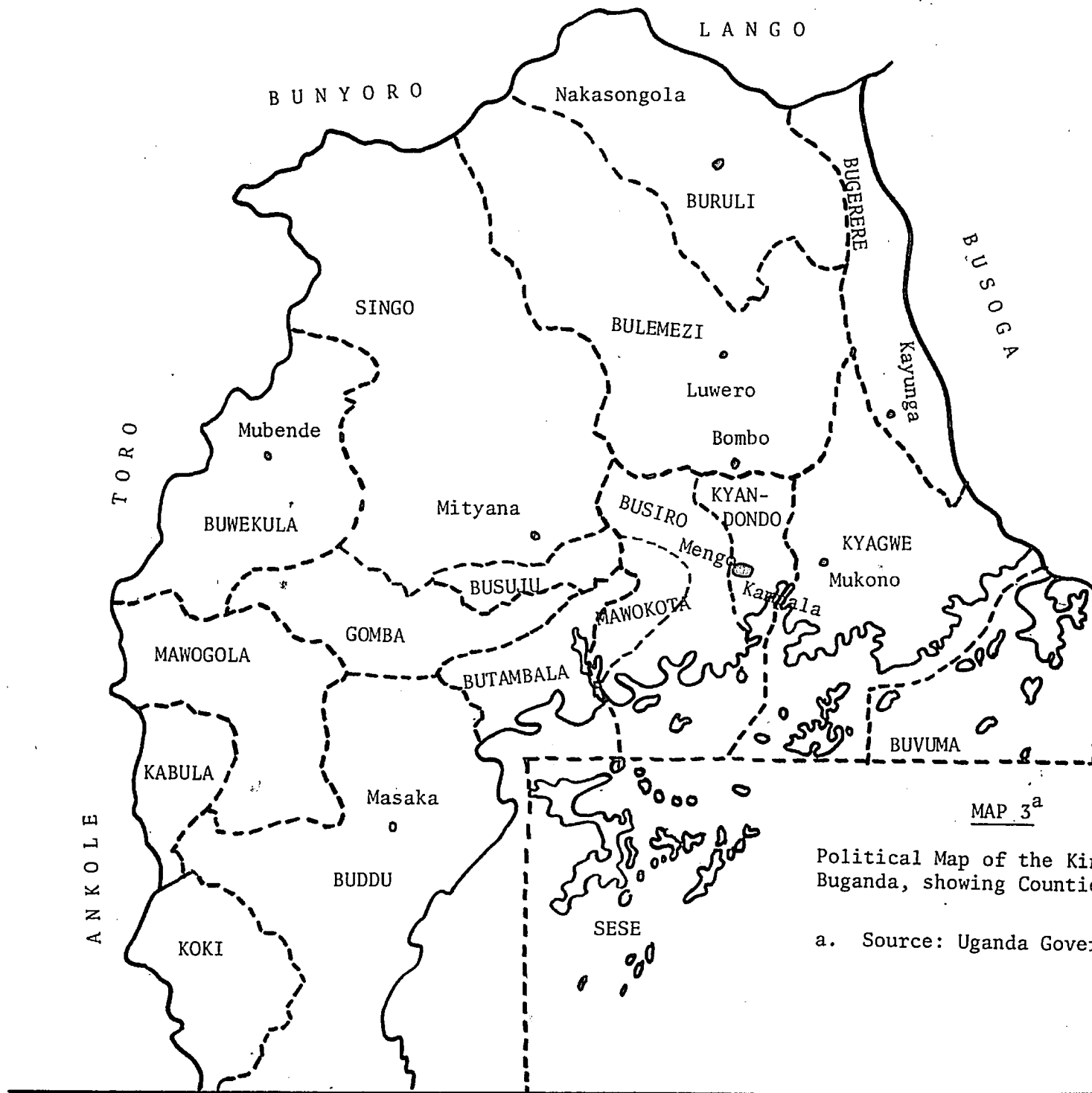For a consideration of the role of agriculture in the economic develop-
ment of Uganda see: The International Bank for Reconstruction and De-
velopment, The Economic Development of Uganda (Baltimore, Maryland:
The Johns Hopkins Press, 1962).

TABLE IV-2

Six Stages of the Development of Formal
Education in Uganda between 1877 and 1965

	Stage	Dates
I	Evangelical	1877-1903
II	Expansion of mission schools	1904-1920
III	Government involvement	1921-1935
IV	School Certificate and post School Certificate training	1936-1945
V	Post-World War II Expansion	1946-1960
VI	Self-government, Independence and the first Five Year Plan	1961-1965

These six stages are merely arbitrary divisions that are related to

certain changes that took place in Uganda as education developed over time.

When a history of education in Uganda is written it may approach these

distinctions in a very different way.

Stage I covers that period when the Church Missionary Society and White

Fathers developed schools as an instrument of evangelization. The first

pupils and recruits were boys related to the royal court or sent by the

chiefs and others for the purpose of being educated.[18]

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18. Some of the initial converts were pages who refused to renounce their
new faith before Kabaka Mwanga and were publicly burned to death (the
Catholic ones were canonized in 1964). See: J. P. Thoonen, Black Martyrs

The second stage is marked by the establishment in 1903-1904 of two post primary boarding schools: Mengo High School, by the CMS, and Namilyango by the Catholics. In 1905 three more second level schools were opened: King's College, Budo, and Gayaza Girls' School by the CMS, and St. Mary's, Kisubi by the Catholics, all in Buganda. Busoga College, Mwiri, and Nabumali opened in the Eastern Province in 1911 and 1913. During this period all education remained in the hands of the missionaries.

Stage III is dated as starting in 1921 because that is when the government opened a technical school on Makerere Hill. Extensive involvement in education on the part of the Protectorate Government did not come until 1925 when a Department of Education was formed in Kampala. This action was partially the result of an international education commission that visited Uganda in 1924, the Phelps-Stokes Commission led by Thomas Jesse Jones.[19]

In 1928 the technical courses were removed from Makerere College to a Government Technical School in Kampala, and Makerere concentrated more on secondary courses, and eventually in 1935 submitted its first students

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(London: Sheed and Ward, 1942). For a more secular view of these events see: J. A. Rowe, "Baganda Chiefs Who Survived Kabaka Mwanga's Purge of 1886," (memeographed), Conference Paper (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, June, 1963).

19. Thomas Jesse Jones, Education in East Africa (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1925), pp. 142-168.

for the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate.[20] During this period the government also became involved in teacher training.

Stage IV is marked by the transferal of School Certificate studies to King's College, Budo, and St. Mary's, Kisubi. In 1938, following the recommendations of the De La Warr Commission, Makerere College became an autonomous post-secondary higher college for all of East Africa (yet the largest proportion of students was from Uganda--and Buganda--until the 1950's).[21] Educational expansion was limited because of the depression and World War II.

Stage V includes a period of more marked educational expansion. The increase in schools and enrollments was largely made possibly by increases in the growth of cash crops, especially robusta coffee in Buganda, and through 1958, rising prices on the world markets.

The enrollments for the years between 1945 and 1965 are given in Table IV-3.

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20. For a chronicle of Makerere College see: Margaret MacPherson, They Built for the Future (London: Cambridge University Press, 1964).

21. Ibid., p. 37.

For an historical survey of education in Uganda see: Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Education Department, 1952 (Entebbe, Uganda: The Government Printer, 1953), pp. 1-22.

TABLE IV-3[a]

Primary and Secondary Enrollments and School Certificate
Passes with Number of Aided Secondary Schools in Uganda
between 1945 and 1970

Year	Enrollments[b]		Number of Aided	Number of
	Primary	Secondary	Secondary Schools	SC Passes
1945	132,645	3,059[c]	9	18
1950	114,105[d] 170,672[e] 284,777	1,449[f]	13	106
1955	95,937[d] 246,081[e]	2,946	15	296
1960	198,000[d] 365,000[e] 563,000	3,619[g] 196[h] 3,815	23	728[j]
1965[k]	578,456	16,142[g] 1,181[h] 17,323	66	2023
1970[k]	900,000	29,900[g] 4,000[h] 33,900	[i]	4700

a. Source: Annual Reports of the Education Department for 1945, 1950
   1955, 1960, and Work for Progress (Entebbe: Governemtn Printer, 1966).
b. The primary cycle figures include pupils in junior secondary schools.
c. This figure is inflated because it includes JS 3 pupils.
d. Unaided schools.
e. Aided schools.
f. This figure does not include JS 3 enrollments.
g. Forms One to Four.
h. Higher School Certificate classes which began in 1959.
i. Unknown.
j. Includes private candidates.
k. Estimates in the five year plan, Work for Progress, op. cit.

This period between 1945 and 1960 was marked by many other changes. It

was a time when Uganda had enlightened governors who were interested in

the development of the country, Sir John Hall from 1944 to 1952, and

Sir Andrew Gohen, from 1952 to 1957. Sir Andrew was particularly inter-
ested in the development of social services in Uganda as a foundation for
economic development.[22] Makerere was reorganized as a University
College in 1950 (with a special relationship to London University) and
graduated its first BA's in 1953.

Stage V was also a time when national politics was beginning to develop
in Uganda.[23] The nationalist demand for more education, the rising per-
sonal incomes of the people, and the shortage of places in aided schools
help to explain the rapid growth of unaided private schools during this
period. As the numbers who finished primary school expanded, competition
for existing places in aided-Junior Secondary schools increased. Competi-
tion also was keen at the next level between junior secondary school
leavers hoping to enter senior secondary schools. Of 21,912 pupils who
finished primary school in 1956, only 5,339 could enter a junior secon-
dary school in 1957 (a gap of 15,573). By 1960 this gap had increased
to 26,723 (see Table IV-4). At the level of entrance into senior
secondary school (which was from both J 2 and J 3), the change was
from a place for approximately 1 out of 4 to 1 out of 5. Successful
expansion at one level was bound to result in increased frustration for

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22. See: David Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda, op. cit., pp. 237-
239, and 264-276. Also, Kenneth Ingham, The Making of Modern Uganda, op.
cit., p. 259.

23. Ibid., pp. 263-349; and D. A. Low, Political Parties in Uganda, 1949-
62, op. cit. Also, George W. Shepherd, They Wait in Darkness (New York:
John Day and Company, 1955), for a personal account of the birth of the
African National Congress in Uganda.

TABLE IV-4[a]

Enrollment Statistics for African Pupils
in Grant-Aided Primary, Junior Secondary,
and Senior Secondary Schools in Uganda for
the Years 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959 and 1960

	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960
P1	73731	79987	76440	79967	80235
P2	58257	61836	64714	66524	67444
P3	46425	51982	57057	60398	61597
P4	39274	43961	49266	52624	54528
P5	26166	34430	38672	41484	43723
P6	21912	25573	31730	36581	38307
TP	265765	297769	317879	337578	345834
J1	4377	5339	6930	8003	9852
J2	3195	4018	4914	6078	7136
J3	1569	2187	2457	2767	1134
TJ	9141	11544	14301	16848	18122
S1	687	890	955	963	1096
S2	691	824	889	897	887
S3	619	661	687	830	852
S4	413	536	622	658	784
S5				84	118
S6					78
TSS	2410	2911	3153	3412	3815
GT	277316	312224	336323	357838	367771

a. Source: J. Silvey and S. G. Weeks, compiled from Annual Education
Reports for these years.

TABLE IV-4B[a]

Enrollment Statistics for all Pupils (African and Non-African) in Grant-Aided Primary, Junior Secondary, and Senior Secondary Schools in Uganda for the Years 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964

	1961	1962	1963	1964
P1	85938	87771	114879	106236
P2	72934	70957	84711	94140
P3	68841	66739	88878	81806
P4	61906	60251	70091	73905
P5	51591	50996	60901	64924
P6	46008	48381	57030	61432
TP	387218	385095	476490	482470
J1	14742	14276	22156	23725
J2	10626	11201	16698	19390
J3	440	252	309	282
TJ	25808	25729	39136	43397
S1	2017	2228	3067	4100
S2	1876	1957	2529	3047
S3	1406	1799	2039	2494
S4	1147	1412	1907	2068
S5	149	270	399	575
S6	104	157	254	368
TSS	6699	7823	10195	12625
GT	419725	418647	525848	538519

a. Source: Planning Office, Entebbe, Uganda. The high rise in enrollments in 1963 reflects the flush of independence.

more pupils who aspired to the next level. The partial safety valve

existed in the private schools. The peak in enrollments in the private

senior secondary schools occurred during the mid-1950's.[24]

This was also a period of more organized planning (under a Labor

Government in England).

> The Worthington Development Plan was published in 1946: in this,
> for the first time, future expansion was based on the number of
> teachers produced by the training centres and on an annual quota
> of extra teachers... Two years later this plan was revised...
> and the annual quota of teachers available for development was
> increased.[25]

Considerable attention was given to the development of technical educa-

tion during this period. A Technical Advisory Committee was established

in 1951. It recommended that two million pounds be spent on the develop-

ment of technical schools.[26] The results of these technical schools

were very poor.

> The attempt to produce artisans in Uganda's vocational schools
> during the fifties involved the handling of large numbers of
> persons at excessively high annual per-student costs, but

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24. For example I found that Aggrey Memorial, which in 1963 had 146 students in the secondary section, had over 500 ten years before. Chwa II Memorial School had 400 students in 1963. Its peak was in January, 1958 (at the end of the economic boom) with 719 enrolled in the senior section (from an examination of the school records).

25. Uganda Protectorate, Annual Report of the Education Department, 1953 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1954), p. 4. See: E.B. Worthington, A Development Plan for Uganda, December, 1946 (Entebbe: Government Press, 1947).

26. Uganda Protectorate, Technical and Commercial Education in Uganda (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1954).

produced no significant addition to the country's skilled
manual labor supply. The total cumulative output of thirteen
vocational schools over an eight-year period yielded only twenty-
five qualified craftsmen. The following explanations have been
advanced for this spectacular failure: First, the students
enrolled were inadequately prepared in the language or instruc-
tion (in this case, English). Second, the schools forced the
student into a narrow vocational choice long before he had
sufficient knowledge of himself or the occupations to make an
intelligent selection of his life work. Third, it was impossible
to estimate the demand for specific craft skills with any degree
of accuracy. And most important, the needed craft skills could
only be acquired by training on the job in the environment of
practical working conditions, and the attempt to simulate such
conditions in the pre-employment schools failed because of
inadequate equipment and unqualified staff.[27]

The failure of technical education in Uganda in the 1950's is a signifi-

cant occurrence in the light of the persistent demands for an "applied"

or "adapted" education in the 1960's. It also raised questions concern-

ing educational goals and the problems created by terminal pupils at

each level.

Also in 1951 Uganda received a visit from the Binns Commission (The

East African Study Group).[28] This led to the creation in 1952 of the

de Bunsen Commission.[29] The de Bunsen Commission set up general goals

for educational development in Uganda during the decade. It was accepted

in 1953 as an African Education Development Plan, with approximately

27. Frederick Harbison and Charles Myers, Education Manpower and Economic
Growth (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1964), p. 56.

28. Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office, African Education: A
Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa
(London: Oxford University Press, 1953), the Binns Report, pp. 57-141.

29. Uganda Government: African Education in Uganda (Entebbe: Govern-
ment Printer, 1953).

eight million pounds alloted to its implementation.[30] The expansion of

educational facilities by 1960 (see Table IV-3) exceeded the goals of

the eight year program.[31] In 1959-1960 Uganda spent 19 percent of its

budget on education, or 4.97 million, compared to 1.65 million in 1952.[32]

The Situation at the Time of the Study:

Stage VI, from 1961 to 1965, is the period of internal self-rule and

independence.[33] Stage VI includes the period of the case study of the

Mutesa School. It is marked by more extensive educational planning than

in the past and the first comprehensive five year plan.[34] The priorities

in educational planning now shifted from primary education (and primary

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30. Uganda Protectorate, Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the African Education Committee (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1953); Uganda Protectorate, African Education Development Plan, Progress Report, 1953-1955 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1956).

31. The goals of the de Bunsen Commission Report were: "a, the reorganization and expans n of teacher training; b, the expansion of secondary education and the ṛrovement of its quality; c, the expansion of facilities both primary and secondary for girls; d, the extension of the period normally spent in primary schools and the establishment of new primary schools; e, the improvement of the conditions of service of teachers of all categories." Annual Report of the Education Department, 1953, op. cit., p. 9. Only the primary school cycle was not lengthened, though the senior secondary school cycle was increased to four years following two in junior secondary school.

32. Rugh C. Sloan, "Uganda" in: Helen Kitchen (ed.), The Educated African (New York: Praeger, 1962), p. 164. Of the nearly five million only four million was spent on African education (the remainder of Asian and European). Though the schools became "inter-racial" in 1957, separate budgeting did not end until after independence in 1962.

33. The first national government was set up in 1961 under the Democratic Party. Elections in 1962 transferred power to the Uganda Peoples Congress which has been in power since independence in October, 1962.

34. "Education and Manpower", chapter 12 in: The Economic Development of Uganda, op. cit., pp. 343-373; and Uganda Government, The First Five Year Development Plan, 1961/1962-1965/1966, op. cit.

teacher training) to the expansion of academic senior secondary schools,
university education and higher education overseas.[35] As in other African
countries independence made possible a rapid growth in secondary education,
an expansion facilitated by foreign aid, loans, and the recruitment of
foreign teachers into new programs, like the Teachers for East Africa
(which placed one American teacher at the Mutesa School). By 1963 the
number of grant-aided senior secondary schools had increased to 43 (com-
pared to 23 in 1960) and the enrollment had climbed to 10,195 (it was
3,815 in 1960). See Table IV-5 for the complete formal educational
pyramid in Uganda in 1963.

The period of self-government was also one of heightened public interest
in education. In late 1962 a lengthy debate on education in the
Parliament resulted in the creation in 1963 of an education commission
to investigate "the content and structure of education in Uganda... con-
sider how it may best be improved and adapted to the needs of this
country..."[36]

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35. In 1965 the intake into Senior Secondary one was increased by 6,000
pupils (it was 3,000 in 1963). This was accomplished by opening 20 new
day secondary schools. It required 195 new teachers and 1/4 million
pounds was added to recurrent educational expenditures. The further de-
velopment of secondary education calls for the capital expenditure of
over 2 1/2 million pounds by 1966. Places in Higher School Certificate
classes (Sixth Form) have expanded from 400 in 1963 to 622 in 1964. In
September 1964 Uganda had approximately 2000 students studying overseas
(240 in the United States). In 1965 the Uganda Government planned to
spend one million pounds on scholarships and bursaries (half overseas)
compared to Ⱡ74,000 in 1961. Source: Dr. Zake, "1964/65 Estimates,
Policy Speech," op. cit.

36. Uganda Government Debates (Hansard), Second Series, Volume Three,
First Session, 1962-1963 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963), pp. 658-

In spite of these changes between 1961 and 1964, senior secondary edu-
cation was available to less than three percent of the age group (between
14 and 18). Secondary education thus remained a scarce item in high
demand. The social and economic rewards of a secondary education were
considerable. The status made possible by secondary education is per-
haps equivalent to that of a university graduate in the United States.
If a Ugandan was able to attend one of the older boarding schools with
established traditions (compared always to "Eaton") like King's College,
Budo, or St. Mary's, Kisubi, his status was raised in a similar manner
as Oxbridge attendance benefits an Englishman, or Harvard, Yale or
Princeton·an American.[37]

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687. See also: Education in Uganda (The Castle Commission Report)
(Entebbe: Government Printer, 1963). For a summary of the ·Report, see:
Sheldon G. Weeks, "Education for Ugandans", West African Journal of Educa-
tion, Vol. VIII, No. 1, February, 1964, pp. 24-27. For a partial crit-
ique of the Castle Commission Report, see: R. Jolly & E. Rado, "Education
in Uganda - Reflections on the Report of the Uganda Education Commission,"
(mimeographed) East African Institute of Social Research, Conference
Paper (Kampala: January, 1964).

For an excellent study of education in Uganda (and East Africa), see:
Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region (London: George Allen &
Unwin Ltd., 1963), and E. B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa
(London: Oxford University Press, 1966).

37. Of twenty-two African elite whose biographies were given to the press
at independence in 1962, 3 had been educated at St. Mary's, 9 at Budo,
2 at Busoga College, Mwiri, 2 at Mengo High School, 2 at Namilyango
College, four at other secondary schools. Fallers and Musoke report find-
ing in a sample of 298 Baganda elite that (not counting 66 who are priests,
ministers, or sheikhs) that 38.6% went to Budo and 21.9% to St. Mary's.
From: F. A. Fallers and S. B. K. Musoke, "Social Mobility, Traditional
and Modern," in L. A. Fallers (ed.), The King's Men, op. cit., p. 197.
For a time when there were fewer secondary schools (only six) this is
not so striking, but from Table IV-6, we can predict that approximately
a third of the future educated elite from the 1960's in Uganda will
have attended the eight high status schools, on the basis that these
schools are providing about a third of those students who receive further
education, though only one fifth of those finishing secondary school.

TABLE IV-5[a]

The Educational Pyramid in Uganda for 1963 for All Levels of Formal Education (Aided Schools Only)

Class	Number Schools	Total Enrollment	Enrollment By Class	Other Schools
S6			254	Abroad = 1200
	15	653		
S5		Higher	399	University of East
				Africa = 570
S4			1,907	
				Kampala Technical Institute (post SC) = 24
S3			2,039	
	43	9,542		
		Senior	2,529	Junior Secondary Teacher Training (post SC) = 376
		Secondary		
S1			3,067	
				15 Secondary Modern Schools = 843 (post Jr. Leaving).
JS 2			16,900	
	448	39,246		
JS 1		Junior	22,346	28 Primary Teacher Training (post Jr. Leaving) = 3,400
		Secondary		
P 6			57,228	
P 5		Primary	69,885	6 Farm Schools = 450
	2,495	468,501		9 Technical Schools = 953
P 4			61,618	
P 3			79,311	
P 2			85,116	
P 1			115,343	

a. Source: Personal communication from Basil Kiwanuka, Planning Section, Ministry of Education, Kampala, Uganda.

These older, high prestige boarding schools also had the best results on the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination (also referred to simply as the School Certificate). For a description of the School Certificate see Appendix B. In the December, 1963, School Certificate the high prestige schools had up to 80% of their pupils passing with the first or second grades. Ninety-one percent of the pupils of the Gayaza High School (for girls) achieved these grades. For a comparison of the results on the 1963 School Certificate between the different types of schools, see Table IV-6.

TABLE IV-6[a]

School Certificate Results by Percentages Arranged
by Private Candidates, Pupils from Day Schools,
Low Status Boarding Schools, and High Status
Boarding Schools for Uganda, December, 1963

Results	Type of School			
	Private Candidates	10 Day Schools	21 Low Status Boarding Schools	8 High Status[b] Boarding Schools
First	-	6.4	11.6	29.1
Second	4.1	16.3	35.3	39.9
Third	16.3	17.9	26.3	17.7
GCE	6.7	16.3	10.9	6.9
Fail	72.9	43.1	15.9	6.4
Total Number	295	966	586	419

a. Source: Taifa Empya, February 18, 1964, and private communication from M. Sozi, Ministry of Education, Kampala, Uganda.

b. The Schools chosen as high status boarding schools are: Government--Nyakasure and Ntare; Catholic--St. Mary's and Namilyango; Protestant--Budo, Gayaza, Nabumali, and Busoga College. These are the older, more established schools.

The information in Table IV-6 indicates that these students who attend the high status boarding schools have the best chance of doing well on the School Certificate and of then being able to continue their education at the next level (only those with a first or high second are accepted into Fifth Form). In the process of selection between the junior secondary and senior secondary schools each pupil taking the Junior Leaving Examination selects three senior secondary schools as his first, second and third choice. At a conference of Headmasters from the aided senior secondary schools, students are then divided up between the schools of their choice on the basis of their results on the examination. In the past, the best students would get their first choice, and the majority of first choices would be for the high status boarding schools. Today with the numbers taking the Junior Leaving Examination rapidly increasing--by approximately 5,000 a year--there are now "good" students making other than the high status schools their first choice, or even their second and third choices. This method of selection has meant that the high status schools acquire the "best material" to educate (accepting the criteria of Junior Leaving Examination results).[38]

Those pupils that did not make it into aided schools, but had sufficient financial backing and wished to continue their studies, could enter private secondary schools. In 1962 there were approximately

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38. This is a cycle that goes back to primary school (and for some students begins with nursery school or varied stimuli from already educated parents) as there are some primary schools that have better results than others, and then some junior secondary schools that do better on the junior leaving examination than others. Academic success is a combination of many factors. For a study of selection at this level see: Jonathan Silvey, Selection for Senior Secondary Schools in Uganda, East African Institute of Social Research, (mimeographed) September, 1964.

34 of these schools in Uganda with over 4,000 pupils. Private senior

secondary schools were required to register, but not all did. The

Central Government did not have the administrative capacity then

to control these schools.[39] Private secondary schools develop in res-

ponse to a demand for education that the authorities are unable to meet.

Technically a private secondary school could receive grants-in-aid from

either the Buganda or Uganda Ministry of Education. The private school

would have to be inspected and found to conform to minimum prescribed

standards of staffing, buildings and equipment.[40]

The constant struggle between the Buganda Government for more autonomy

and power and the Protectorate Government to control the Uganda Govern-

ment has been documented by Apter and Gutkind.[41] This conflict also

extended into questions of educational administration and control. At

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39. For more information on private secondary schools see: E. B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa, op. cit., pp. 133-134; and Education in Uganda, op. cit., pp. 59-61. These selections are partially based on an unpublished memorandum that I submitted in 1963 to the Uganda Education Commission dealing with private schools. The Central Government was aware of the private school that was operating without register- ing, but took no action because the owner was a leading politician.

40. The Uganda education regulations are in The Education Ordinance, 1959 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959). They include the rules for registration, inspection, and control of schools. Until 1961 the Uganda Government had an Advisory Officer on Private Schools in the Ministry of Education. During the period of this study the priority was placed on developing existing aided schools. The inspectorate was not prepared to cope with private secondary schools. The limited financial resources made it impossible to extend grants-in-aid to private schools. As the pressure for more second level institutions built up a change in policy did occur, but not until 1965.

41. David Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda, op. cit. For a description of the operations of the Buganda Government, see pp. 349-389. P. C. W. Gutkind, The Royal Capital of Buganda, op. cit.

the pre-independence constitutional conference in London in 1962 Buganda

insisted on being granted control over all senior secondary schools in

Buganda, and won this concession. The "technical" change-over took place

in January, 1963. The Central Government Ministry of Education retained

authority over secondary education in the rest of Uganda. The Central

Government effectively blocked the Buganda Government's efforts to

obtain real control over the other secondary schools within the Kingdom.

The power struggle and hostility between the two governments continued

into the post-independence period.[42] 1962-1963 was a time of transi-

tion. The Kabaka's Government was attempting to obtain more power and

the Central Government was trying to limit the region's authority.

Buganda felt that her favored status in the new Constitution was threat-

ened. Education became one of the arenas of the conflict. Details con-

cerning some of these conflicts and how they influenced the Mutesa School

will be considered in later chapters.

The period during 1962-1963 was one of exuberance and growth. Students

were affected by being involved in the process of change, and in it lay

their hopes for their futures. There were now new schools, new buildings

at old schools, a new parliament building and other new buildings in

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42. The conflict between the two governments came to a head in 1966
when in April a new constitution was declared that destroyed the privi-
leged position of Buganda. In May, 1966, civil war broke out in Uganda,
and Kabaka went into exile, and the Kingdom was divided into four
administrative units. The Mutesa School became a "refugee school" in
abandoned school buildings near Kibuli, a few miles from the Lubiri,
after the school buildings were shelled by the Uganda Army and then oc-
cupied by the troops. See: Sheldon G. Weeks, "Unease in Uganda,"
Africa Today, Vol. 13, No. 6, June, 1966, pp. 5-7; and M. Crawford Young,
"The Obote Revolution," Africa Report, Vol. II, No. 6, June, 1966, pp. 8-14.

Kampala (in the fifteen years since the 1948 census Mengo and Kampala

both more than doubled in population and in buildings). Though the

employment picture for those with only eight years education (junior

secondary school) was now dim, for those who could complete secondary

school the prospects were bright.[43] Programs of Africanization (alter-

natively called "Ugandanization" or "Localization" to include Asians or

exclude Kenyans) promised increased opportunities in the form of post-

senior secondary school training programs that could be considered as an

alternative to further formal education.[44]

The stock of "educated Ugandans" is given in Table IV-7. In 1962 the

total number of Africans in Uganda who had taken the School Certificate

was approximately the same as the number enrolled in senior secondary

school. The students enrolled at the Mutesa School represented 4% of

the existing stock of "educated Africans" and nearly 4% of the total

enrollment in grant-aided senior secondary schools. Thus as a group

they were already members of an elite. Seen in this light a finding

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43. This change in the absorptive capacity of the economy in relation to
level of education has been experienced in other developing countries--
as a saturation point is reached at one level (in Uganda's case now at
the level of eight years of education) the educational "standards" re-
quired for employment rise. "Jobs which were previously done by people
with less education are now done by people with more education. The
educated lower their sights, and employers raise their requirements."
W. Arthur Lewis in "Education and Economic Development," International
Social Science Journal, Vol. XIV, No. 4, 1962, p. 687. For a pessimistic
view which ignores this process of adjustment see: K. J. McAdam, "The
Need for Selection and Guidance Services in Uganda," Makerere Journal,
No. 7, 1962, pp. 33-60.

44. For a description of these training programs see Guy Hunter, Educa-
tion for a Developing Region, op. cit., pp. 44-53.

TABLE IV-7[a]

The Stock of Educated Ugandans
in 1962 by Level and Pass for
Africans and Asians between 13
and 46 Years Old (Probable Ages)

Examination Levels	African	Asian	Total
Junior Secondary Failures	25,596	4,444	30,040
Junior Secondary Passes	21,431	3,600	25,031
School Cert. Failures	2,961	1,150	4,111
SC Passes with GCE or Grade III	2,561	1,199	3,760
SC Passes with II or I Grade	3,714	1,184	4,898
Total Stock	56,263	11,577	67,840

a. Source: Richard Jolly, "Stocks and Flows in Uganda Education: mimeo-graphed, Conference Paper (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, January, 1964), pp. 13 and 14. This table does not take into account a slight inflation in the figure which would be caused by individuals repeating examinations, as Richard Jolly's tables were based on cumulative annual reports that were then adjusted for mortality.

that the Mutesa students hold unrealistically high aspirations, for further education and professional occupations, is not surprising: as individuals the students had already succeeded where 97% of their age group had "failed."

The period immediately before and after independence was one of "nation building." The spirit that accompanied this could not help but be absorbed by some of the students. Proof that education opened the "golden door" was all around them in hundreds of individual success stories of returned "been-to's" and graduates of the University Colleges of East Africa. Relatives or friends now had new posts in government, the civil service, and in business; the future seemed most promising.

Summary:

The period of European penetration and conquest in Uganda did not take place until the late 1800's. The Europeans established the city of Kampala adjacent to the existing African city of Mengo, the capital of the Baganda people. The Catholic and Protestant missionaries who introduced formal Western-style education into Uganda established their centers in Mengo. The religious, political, economic and social conflicts that resulted from this early pattern of settlement were still present in Uganda in 1962.

Educational development in Uganda between 1877 and 1965 can be conveniently divided into six stages. These stages reflect the goals that were held for education at the time. In 1877 to 1903 it was for the development of the missionary societies. Between 1904 and 1920 the aim was to further develop the new churches and provide a small cadre of clerks. Starting in 1921 the Protectorate Government became formally involved in education, at first sponsoring a technical course at Makerere, and then in 1925 by creating a Department of Education, with

the intention of insuring the supply of Ugandans with certain types of training. Between 1936 and 1945 (the depression and war period) the aim was to raise the standards of the educational system. During the period following World War II Uganda benefited from rising prices on the world markets for her cash crops, changes in the colonial world (beginning with India's and Pakistan's independence in 1947), the introduction of nationalist politics, and more liberal colonial administrators. In 1950 Makerere became the University College of East Africa. The goal was to provide a limited supply of local people who could work on the development of Uganda, but the number finishing twelve years of education could still only be counted in the hundreds. After 1960 the emphasis shifted to the education of middle and high-level manpower. The priority was placed on the expansion of aided secondary schools and the provision of higher education for Ugandans both within East Africa and abroad. By 1965 the number enrolled in senior secondary schools was four times that of 1960 and there were nearly three times as many aided secondary schools. With the coming of independence in 1962 "human resource development" was now viewed as an essential aspect of the total development of Uganda.

CHAPTER V

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL

Introduction:

In this chapter we will consider the early history of the school,
the significance of the school strike, what happened as a result of the
strike, what the school was like in early 1962, and the changes that
have taken place in the school since then.

Early History:

The Mutesa School has its beginnings in the late 1920's when the
Nabagereke, the wife (Queen) of Kabaka Daudi Chwa, initiated a primary
school within the walls (lubiri) of the palace on Mengo Hill in the
Kibuga.[1]

Around 1947 junior secondary classes were started at the school, and
in 1956, a senior secondary section was begun. By then the school was
under the supervision of the Ministry of Education of the Kabaka's Govern-
ment. It has been noted, in Chapter IV, that the period of the mid-1950's
was one of growing nationalism (especially within Buganda), of increased

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1. The Nabagereke School remains as a separate primary school adjoining
the school grounds of the Mutesa School. In January, 1963, the junior
secondary section became the upper grades (7 and 8) at the Nabagereke
School.

to Hoima

to Bombo

to Sentema

Mulago

Makerere
College

Kololo

(b)

to Mityana

Nakulabye

K A M P A L A
C I T Y

Namirembe

Old
Kampala

Nakasero
6

Industrial area

Kibuli

Natete

Rubaga

Kabaka's
Lake

5   3 2 1

Nsambya

a

MENGO

to Masaka

Bunamwya

Ndeeba

Makindye (c)

to Entebbe
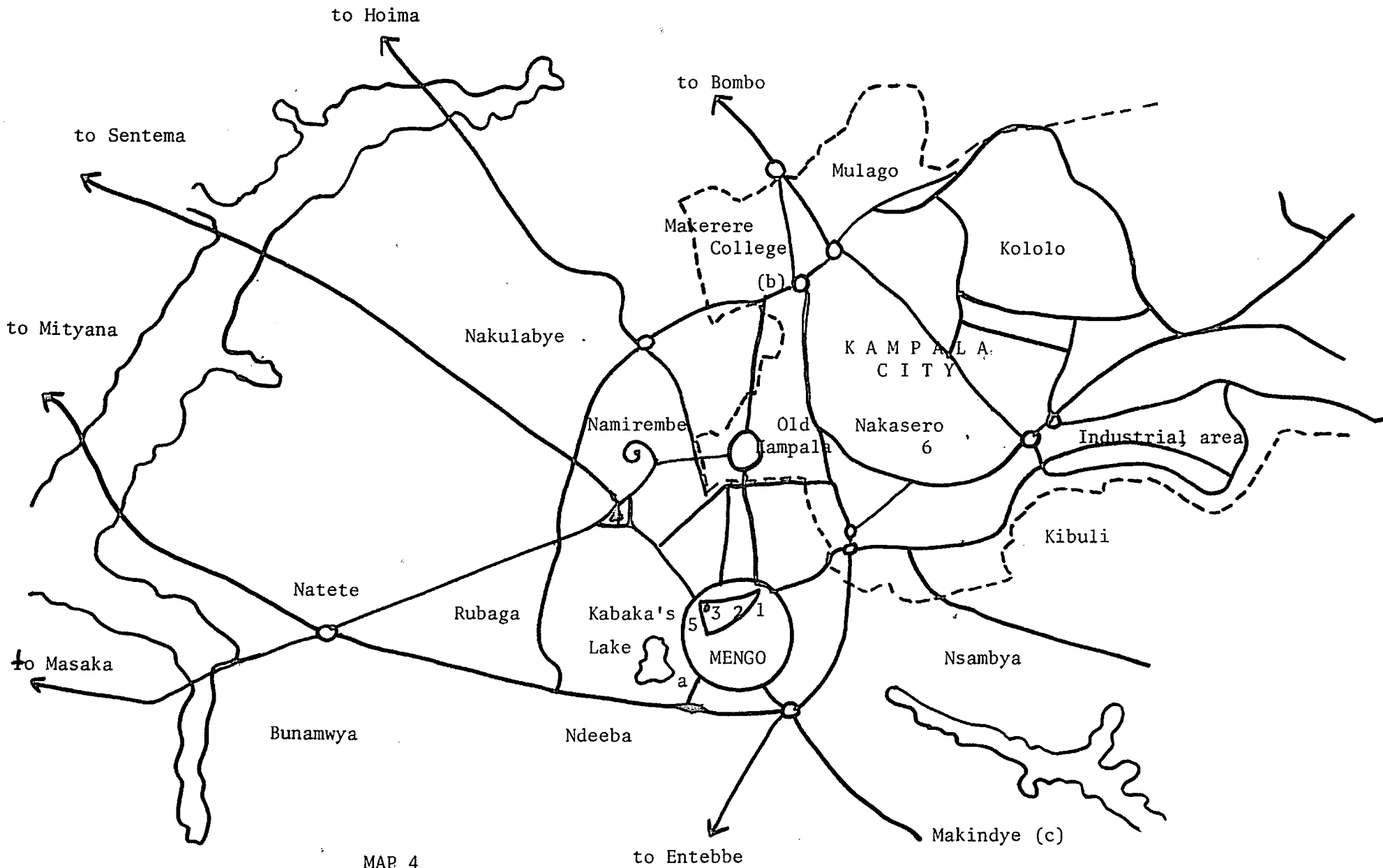
MAP 4

The Mutesa School and its Surroundings.

1 = Mutesa School
2 = Nabagereka School
3 = Kabaka's Palace

4 = Bulange (Buganda Parliament)
5 = Kabaka's Ministry of Education
6 = Central Government Ministry
      of Education and Parliament

incomes from cash crops (again in Buganda and mainly from <u>robusta</u>

coffee), and increases in the number of school leavers at all levels.

These three factors are related to the rapid growth of private senior

secondary schools at this time. In 1962 it was estimated that there were

34 private secondary schools in Uganda. The Mutesa School in all res-

pects in the period 1956-1958 was like a private school.

Private schools have a number of things in common. They are owned and

operated privately, many of them for profit. They have usually poor, if

not completely inadequate buildings, no laboratories, no library, generally

no housing for students or staff, hardly any text books, few exercise

books, inadequate educational equipment such as maps and other materials

for demonstration. The students are not selected; generally all who can

pay their fees being admitted, with up to 80 pupils being placed in one

classroom; half of the pupils are without desks and a majority of their

teachers have failed the School Certificate. To be able to take the

School Certificate students in private schools must first take a "Qualify-

ing Examination" in English during their third year and then if they pass,

and only 10% of those taking this exam pass, they may take the School

Certificate as private candidates the following year.[2]

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2. These comments are based on visits to over ten, of the thirty-four
private schools, that I made in 1962-1963. Five private schools were
included in the extended social survey of day senior secondary education
carried out in 1963.

The Mutesa School differed from the general private school substantially in two ways. Though it received no funds from the Central Government it was a Buganda Government School and grant-aided by the Buganda Government. This made possible the hiring of some graduate teachers, and because school fees were not relied on as the only source of income (as in other private schools) the fees were very low, only 40/= a term. But in all other respects the Mutesa School at this time (1956-1958) was like a private school. There was no library, no laboratory, the students were not selected, there were twice as many students as desks, there was no provision for text books or exercise books, there was no hostel for students, not all the teachers were qualified (that is trained university graduates), and the buildings were run down and in poor condition. The Headmaster, Rev. Kaizi, was an elderly Muganda minister who was a Makerere graduate of 1932. He also was the Uncle of the Kabaka, Mutesa II.

Causes of the School Strike; The School in 1956 to 1958:

These three years were ones of chaos. Pupils who joined the Mutesa School at this time did not enroll by choice, but because they had been rejected in competition by the grant-aided boarding schools and the other aided secondary schools, and because the fees were lower than at any other private schools. In 1958 there were approximately 500 pupils in the Mutesa School and 19 teachers. The students did not identify with the school, were dissatisfied and disobedient. The minutes of the staff meetings for 1957 and 1958 are largely devoted to discipline problems

and deciding whether or not to expel students. One teacher was actually physically beaten by his students.

There was considerable dissatisfaction and conflict between the teachers and between the teachers and the Headmaster. Rev. Kaizi was considered incompetent by some of the teachers. A number of years previously he had been removed from the registry of teachers.[3] The Asian and African teachers who had a higher standard of education than the Headmaster, felt that they could run the school better. Not only was there a high rate of absenteeism among the students, but many teachers failed to attend their classes. Two teachers were fired with a month's pay for being frequently drunk at the school, one in 1957, another in 1958. Another teacher was dismissed for having no qualifications to teach, for being unable to maintain any discipline in his class, and for being over retiring age. There was a high turnover of teachers with a resulting dislocation and the constant remaking of school "timetables."

These problems at the Mutesa School were compounded by inefficiency and corruption in the Buganda Government. One Education Secretary General absconded with the funds in the treasury leaving the Ministry bankrupt. Salaries were constantly late in being paid. School fees were also collected by class by the teachers and there was a continual problem of stolen school fees. An appeal at this time to the Central (Protectorate) Government that the Mutesa School be aided by the Central Government was

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3. All this material is from recorded documents in the files of the Mutesa School or the Ministry of Education, Buganda Government.

rejected on the frounds that any attempt to turn the Mutesa School into
an aided school would be unsuccessful - "Senior Secondary education in
the conditions existing at the Mutesa School is bound to be unsuccessful."
The continual insistence on the part of some of the teachers that they
be consulted in the running of the school resulted in the introduction
of staff meetings in July, 1957, and between then and July, 1958, 24 staff
meetings were recorded. One continual complaint was over inefficiency
and delays in the payment of teachers' salaries on the part of the
Buganda Government.

In February, 1959, seven teachers petitioned the Education Secretary
General, Buganda Government, to make "complaints regarding the way the
school was run." The staff meetings, instead of facilitating coopera-
tion had only intensified the conflicts. The Headmaster failed to attend
the special meeting with the Education Secretary General. At this
session the teachers concerned indicated that they expected the Head-
master to consult them before making decisions, to treat all teachers
equally, and to support the teachers over the students. "The staff is
never consulted on the appointment of prefects." "The Headmaster does
not refer important correspondence to the staff." "The opinion of some
of the students is that the staff is treated in the same way as students."
"The Headmaster thinks the staff doesn't count--he only consults two
inexperienced teachers." "The Headmaster is discourteous to staff in
the presence of students."

Rev. Kaizi's response to this meeting was to write a letter to the Education Secretary General, Buganda Government, defending himself and his authority and labelling the seven teachers as "subversive" to the Headmaster. He continued to run the school as previously. At this time the school was also attacked in the vernacular press with unsigned letters. The Headmaster blamed these on a former teacher.

The School Strike; 1958:

Matters came to a head during the second term in 1958, and culminated in a student strike in early June. The students refused to attend their classes, threw stones at the teachers they disliked (which resulted in the dissident teachers being accused of having organized the strike) and then threw stones at passing cars belonging to members of the Buganda Government. The strike resulted in an immediate inquiry by a "Commission of Investigation" consisting of the Permanent Secretary, Buganda Government Ministry of Education, the Education Secretary General, and another staff member from the Ministry of Education.[4]

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4. The Permanent Secretary was a European, the other two Baganda. Their reaction to the strike was that it was justified; the students were protesting a bad Headmaster, poor teaching, and impossible conditions. This is in marked contrast to the series of strikes that took place after independence when the Central Government reacted by temporarily closing the schools and expelling student strike leaders.

There were strikes. in 1963 at Sir Samuel Baker (Gulu), St. Leo's (Ft. Portal, Butobere (Kigezi) and St. Mary's, Kisubi. The strikes at the first three were related to: 1) poor school certificate results in comparison to other boarding schools; 2) a feeling on the part of students that certain teachers were inadequate; 3) discontent over the limits imposed by school rules and regulations; and 4) a response to the increased tempo of events in the struggle for civil rights in the

The students attempted through the strike to rid themselves of their Headmaster, to obtain better teachers, better equipment (they had just been two weeks without even chalk in their classrooms), books and a library.

After a brief inquiry, the Commission of Investigation into the strike decided that what was needed was a European Headmaster. This was approved by the Buganda Government Minister of Education. Until a European Headmaster could be recruited from England, the Ministry appointed as Acting Headmistress a Miss Jenkins who was seconded from the Inspectorate.

Results of the Strike; 1958-1962:

The approach of Miss Jenkins, designed to improve the school, ignored the grievances of the teachers and could not help but produce ambivalent responses in the students. Miss Jenkins insisted upon having complete authority in the school over all students and teachers; in her words-- "dictatorship." The immediate result was that all direct cooperation

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United States (this in relation to most of the teachers being Europeans with a few white Americans on the staff too).

The Minister of Education (Central Government) made a major speech (radio and copies distributed for school bulletin boards) attacking indiscipline in the schools. At the same time the government made two significant "concessions" to senior secondary school students: they were not to be expelled for academic reasons (recognizing that if they were good enough to get into a school they should be able to complete the four years), and that expulsions for other reasons must be referred to the Board of Governors of each school. No study of school strikes either before or after independence in East Africa exists. One report from Zambia is available: Northern Rhodesia, Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Disturbances in Certain African Schools (Lusaka: Government Printer, 1960) (the Harragin Report).

with the teachers ceased. Instead both teachers and pupils were told exactly what to do. While under Rev. Kaizi there had been a staff meeting at least fortnightly; they were now terminated. Teachers who resented being "counted as students" were during Miss Jenkins' "rule" given brooms, mops and buckets and told to clean the school buildings from top to bottom, each teacher working with crews of selected students.

At a special assembly Miss Jenkins was introduced to the staff and students by the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Buganda Government. He told all those present that they must respect Miss Jenkins and obey her completely. He emphasized that Miss Jenkins was backed completely by the Establishment, including His Highness the Kabaka and that anyone who disagreed with her should simply leave the school. The Ministry of Education and others in the Buganda Government did not want to be pestered by staff, pupils, or parents who were critical of Miss Jenkins.

Though the Buganda Government Ministry of Education was resolute in backing Miss Jenkins (compared to the inconsistent support that Rev. Kaizi had received--for example when he would expel students for not having paid their school fees he often would be ordered by the Ministry to reinstate them if the expelled students complained effectively to the Ministry) the Ministry was still undecided as to how to deal with Rev. Kaizi. Though his way of running the school was one of the causes of the strike he was allowed to remain at the school as an assistant to

Miss Jenkins. But this arrangement worked for only a few weeks. Rev. Kaizi was found "incapable of class teaching" and "unable to cooperate now that he is not the head." The solution was to make him Headmaster of the adjoining Nabagereka Primary School.[5]

Miss Jenkins expelled all pupils who could not prove that they had passed the Junior Leaving Examination and all pupils who had not paid their school fees. For the remainder she set an examination. These actions reduced the number enrolled from over 500 to 262. In September, 1958, only those pupils who could pay the school fees were registered. This reduced the enrollment further to 120. So for the students the strike resulted in a new Headmaster and other changes in the school, but it also forced 76% of the pupils to leave the school.

The teachers were also similarly affected. Those teachers who were considered unqualified were fired. A number of the teachers who led the attacks against the former Headmaster found that they could not work in

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5. This information is based on interviews with students and teachers who were at the Mutesa School at the time of the strike and with Miss Jenkins, and on documents in the files at the Ministry. The rationale given for first letting Rev. Kaizi stay at the school, and then transferring him to the Nabagereka School was because he was related to the Kabaka. This traditional tie also helped four students to remain at the school who otherwise would have been expelled. A good example of the administrative chaos during this period is the following: Rev. Kaizi did not trust the clerks at the Ministry with the school fees he succeeded in collecting, and opened an account in the name of the school at a local bank and deposited the fees there instead of with the Ministry. (The new Headmaster in 1960 found approximately Ł 900 in this account.) Rev. Kaizi also did not use the school vote of 20,000 shillings a year, but ran the school on approximately 1,000/= for books and equipment. In view of these facts it can be seen why the Central Government had no confidence in the school.

such an autocratic atmosphere, that they had conflicts with Miss Jenkins, and voluntarily left the Mutesa School (one to start his own private school).[6] The number of teachers was reduced from 19 to 13.

Miss Jenkins was provided with a budget of Ł 1500 during the remainder of 1958 with which she started a school library, bought textbooks and exercise books, and other equipment. To stretch the budget one textbook had to be shared between two students. Miss Jenkins made her role one of "continuous supervision." "For three weeks I didn't sit down in my office; I just kept roving." She was continually checking on the teachers and students. If it was a rainy morning she would check on which students came late and then relate this to the time the rain began and how far and how they came to school. At the beginning up to 65 pupils were late each morning, but lateness was controlled by giving "ruthless" punishments.

To gain a better understanding of the conditions faced by her pupils and their background Miss Jenkins had them complete a short questionnaire. She found that 91.2% of the pupils in the school in July 1958 were Baganda. While 81.7% said that their fathers were tax payers in Baganda only ten pupils (or 3.8%) had bursaries. Only 56.5% of the pupils said they lived within five miles of the school. Only 39.7% lived with their

6. The dedication of a few of these teachers to their pupils is demonstrated by their having bought exercise books out of their own pocket for the students in their classes. These were dispensed and collected daily.

fathers. Only 10% had electricity where they lived to study by at night. Thirteen point four per cent worked to pay their own school fees. The information obtained by this questionnaire provided the justification for three changes in the administration of the school: The number of bursaries was increased, students were not to be enrolled in the school unless they lived within three miles of the school, and students were encouraged to have bikes.

During the 1959 school year the school was under the direction of Mrs. J. Maugham, wife of an instructor at Makerere University College, who agreed to act as Headmistress until a Headmaster could be recruited. During that year the Buganda Ministry of Education negotiated with a Mr. James White, who finally arrived on December first, 1959 (from the U.K. where he had been an English teacher at a Secondary Modern School for the previous eleven years). Mr. White assumed the headship of the Mutesa School on January 1, 1960. Also in early 1960 there were a number of changes in the Buganda Government Ministry of Education. The Minister of Education had died. Because the post must be occupied by a Muslim, and there are few university educated Baganda Muslims, it was offered to Abu Mayanja. There was also a change in the Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Education, the position being Africanized. Mr. Lubaga remained as Chief Education Officer.[7]

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7. That different political posts must still go to members of the three religions is a legacy of the religious wars and settlements in the late 19th century. The six other Ministerial posts and the twenty (now 18) Saza Chief posts were also alloted by relisious affiliation. Abu Mayanja,

In Mr. White the school acquired a dynamic, devoted, and hardworking Headmaster. The Buganda Government Ministry of Education decided to give its support and more financial backing to the development of the school. In many respects the Mutesa School in 1960 was still very much like a private school, the main exception being that the Headmaster and some of the teachers were qualified. Of the pupils that took the School Certificate Examination in 1959 only one passed (with a Grade II).

In 1960 the Mutesa School had six full time teachers (none of whom were graduates), and five wives of lecturers at Makerere University College (four were graduates, two of these with teacher-training) all of whom taught part-time, four teaching two-thirds time, and one three-quarter time. There was no laboratory or library, nor were textbooks or exercise books provided for the pupils. Even if the school had had a laboratory there was no teacher qualified to teach any science. The pupils had to take the qualifying examination and then those who passed and could take the School Certificate did so as private candidates.

when a student at Makerere, was one of the founders of the first national political party (non-Regional) in Uganda, the African National Congress, in 1952, and became Secretary General of the party. He was known up to 1960 as a radical nationalist. He had been expelled from Makerere for his political activities, but Governor Cohen assisted him in getting to Cambridge University in England. Abu Mayanja, as a nationalist, led in the attack on the Buganda Government. In becoming a Minister in the Kabaka's Government he did a complete about face. Soon he became the spokesman for Buganda in its continual conflict with the Central Government to maintain and enhance its rights and privileges. Abu Mayanja was of bakopi (peasant) origins, and his first schools were private day schools. See: David Apter, The Political Kingdom in Uganda, op. cit., pp. 348, 363. It is suggested that he was offered the post of a Minister in order to convert him to the cause of Buganda. In 1964 he resigned as Minister of Education to resume his law practice and later became a Kabaka Yekka Member of Parliament. In 1965 he crossed the floor and joined the Uganda Peoples Congress.

F

r

L2
L1
C9
p

.t

M1 M2

S O1 A3

A5 P

A2

A1 O× A4

s

r

M3

M4

A6
A7

pl

d1

d2

.t

.t
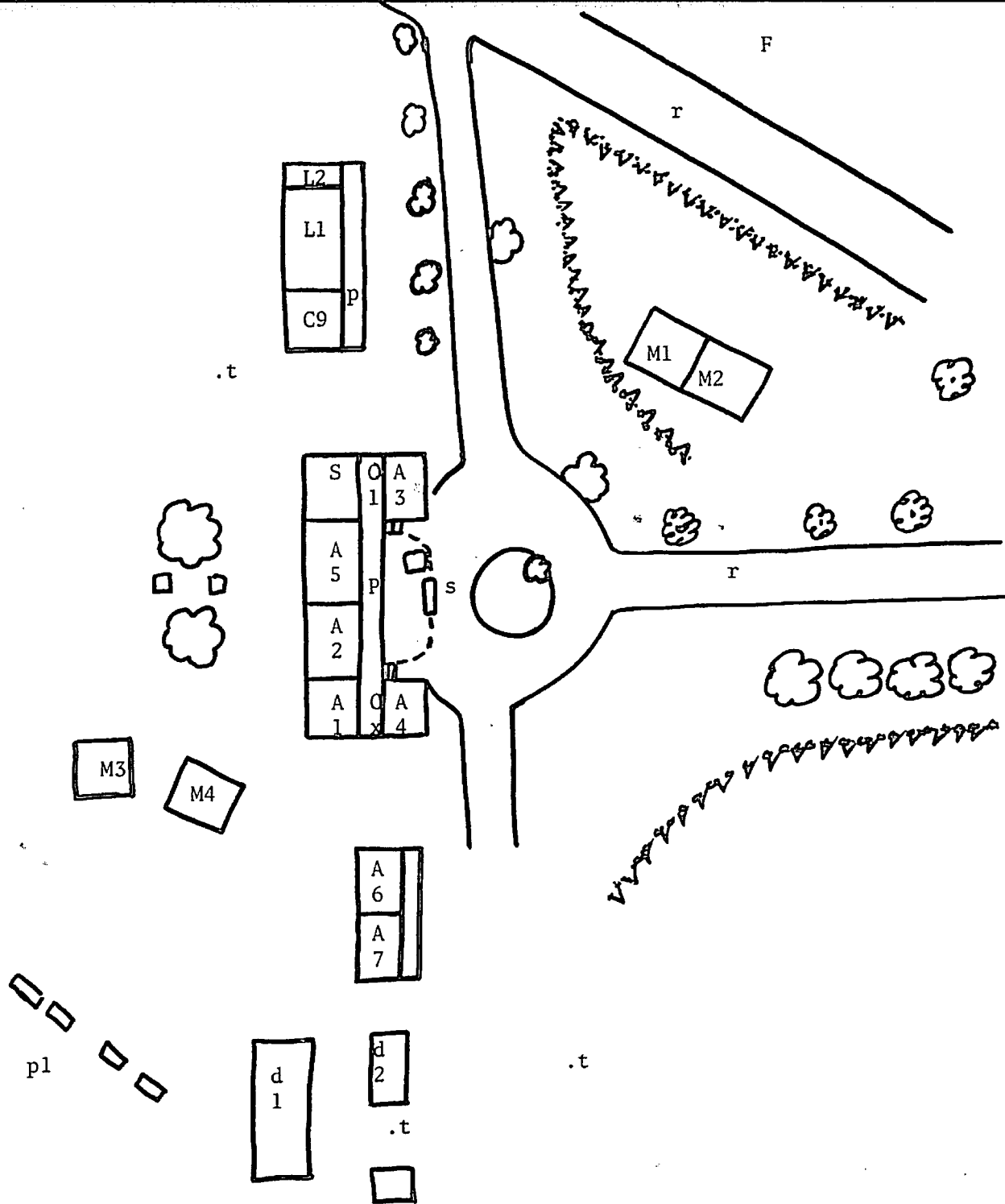
MAP 5   The Mutesa School in 1962

key to symbols: A = classrooms   M = mud and wattle buildings
                 C = art room   M 1 = workshop
                 O = offices   M 2 = bike storage storage
                 L = laboratory   M 3 = kitchen
                 P = porches   M 4 = clay room
                 S = staff room   pl = pit latrine
                 d = domestic science t = water taps
                 F = playing field   r = roads

There were few student societies and no school meals. The school was not represented at the annual selection meeting held by recognized senior secondary schools' Headmasters each January. Therefore selection of pupils could only be haphazard, the pupils coming to the school to seek a vacancy by necessity being mainly pupils who had failed to gain entrance into any other school that they would have normally chosen.

The School in Mid-1962:

When I began my study of the Mutesa School in June, 1962, a number of changes had already taken place. The physical plant of the Mutesa School in 1962 is shown in Map 5 (facing the page). The major change in the school plant was the addition of a proper laboratory (L1 and L2 - the preparation room), in 1961. The laboratory plus the recruitment of two trained science teachers made it possible for the Central Government to provisionally "recognize" the Mutesa School.[8]

In 1962 the school had 199 pupils in the senior section, in six classes (one Form One, two Form Twos, one Form Three, and two Form Fours) with

8. The upgrading of the school from the status of a private school to a provisionally recognized school followed the inspection of the school by the Central Government inspectorate, and was granted on April 19, 1961. This meant that the school was now listed as a senior secondary school and included in the statistics of the Central Government. It also meant that the Headmaster now received mail and circulars the same as other Headmasters. But most important, to the students, it meant that they would not have to take the qualifying examination in 1961 to take the School Certificate in 1962. The upgrading was granted on the condition that the Headmaster would continue to remain at the school, and that the school would continue to have qualified teachers.

an average of 33 students in a stream. In 1962 the school had twelve

full-time teachers, all who were trained teachers (though three were

not graduate teachers). There were four Europeans (counting the Head-

master who taught approximately fifteen hours a week), six Africans,

one Asian, and one American (from the Teachers for East Africa program).

No other aided senior secondary school had such a high proportion of

African teachers (50%) and many had no African teachers.[9]

In 1962 the school still had attached to it the junior secondary section.

They had classroom A6 as a home room and made use of other classrooms;

the other junior classes were in buildings of the neighboring Nabegereka

(primary) School. The domestic science classes were limited to junior

secondary students and took place in "d 1, 2, and 3" (on Maps 5 and 6);

"d 3" is an open shelter which the upper class students used as a place

to read during a free period. Electricity and water had also been

brought into the school.[10]

Because there was no assembly hall school assemblies were held, in

good weather, in front of the main classroom block, where there was a

gravelled round-about for cars. Mr. White had a stoop constructed out

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9. Of 500 teachers in the grant-aided secondary schools in Uganda in 1963 only 34 (or 6.8%) were African. As an urban day school the Mutesa School was in a more favorable position to attract African teachers than most outlying boarding schools.

10. Electricity helps to make possible the use of many visual and audio-aids that assist in the educational process: movies, slides, records, and tape recordings. The lights are also most helpful on a cloudy or stormy day when the classroom normally would be very dark.
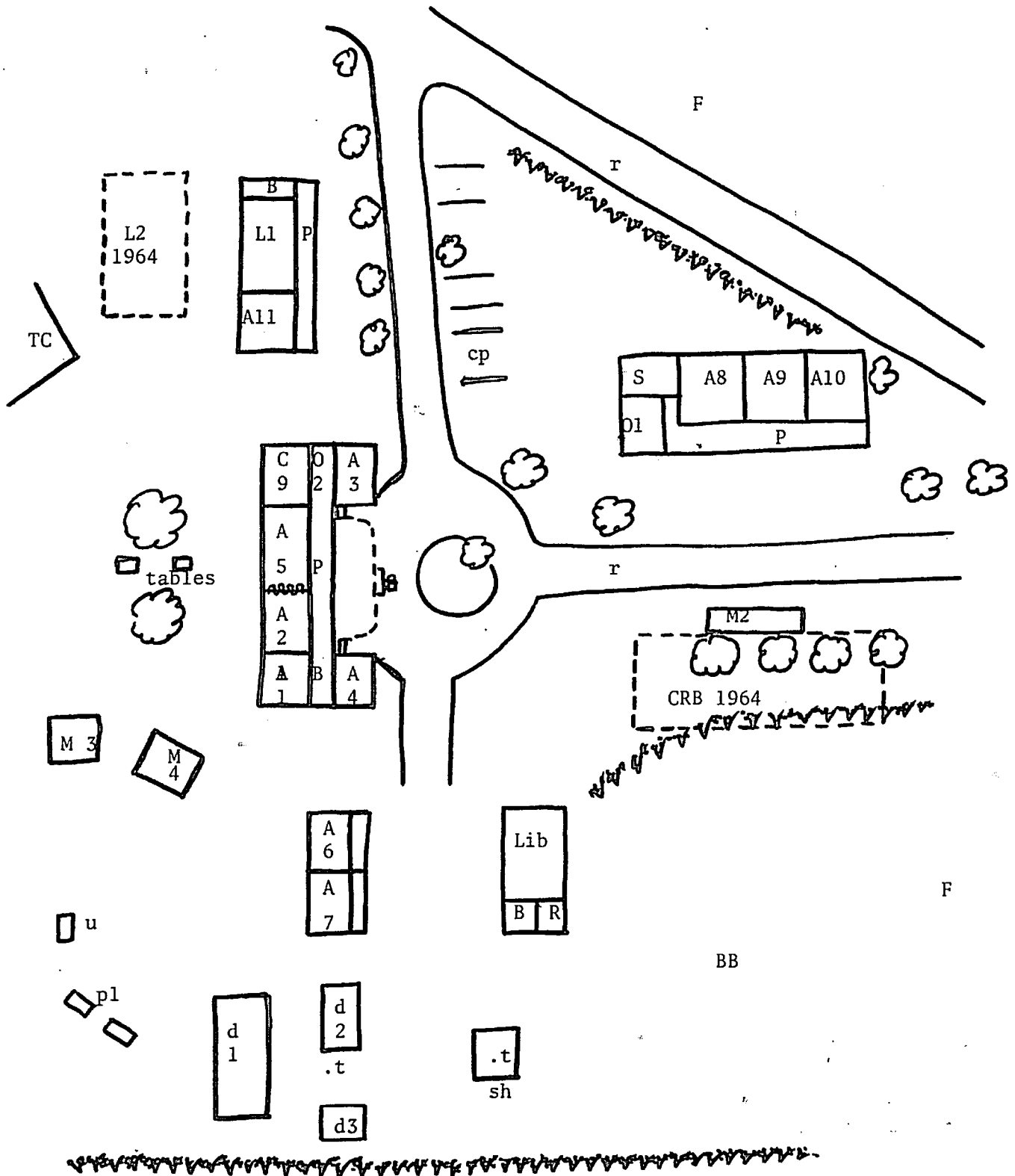
Map 6   The Mutesa School in 1963

Key to symbols:
A = classrooms
B = storage
C== art room
L = laboratory
P = porch
S = staff room
d = domestic science
F = playing field
BB = basketball court

M = mud and wattle
M2=bike storage
M3=kitchen
M4=odd room
pl = pit latrine
t = taps
r = roads
s = stoop
CRB = class room block

u = urinal
sh = boys showers
cp = car park
TC = tennis court
R = Research Office

of cement so that he could stand closer to the students (see "S" in Map 5).

A new kitchen (mud and wattle) was constructed and all students were provided with lunch and approximately a third received breakfast.[11] Eating tables built out of reeds were placed under some large trees near the kitchen (M3). The general physical appearance of the school had been improved through landscaping and planting.

The school fees were now at 60/= a term (plus 25/= a term for school meals). The fees had been raised in 1960 to help cover the costs of providing all pupils with the necessary textbooks (instead of one for every two) and exercise books.

Changes in the School: 1962-1963:

A. The Physical Plant:

In 1962 and 1963, two more buildings were added to the plant of the school (see Map 6, facing this page), a classroom block with space for three classrooms, a small staff room, and a large office, and a library with two store rooms (one of which I used as a research office). The woodworking classes were dropped. New pit latrines were built, and one student

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11. The average cost per day per student for the two meals was fifty cents (East African, or .07 U.S.). The reason more students did not have the morning meal at school was that they either had some food where they lived before coming to school, or they were in the habit of leaving their home too late to get to school in time for breakfast (this applied particularly to the pupils who walked or cycled long distances). Also, breakfast was not a traditional meal.

society (the Adventurers) built a changing-washing enclosure for the

male students to use after physical education (PE). A regulation foot-

ball field was bulldozed and graded across the road (still within the

palace compound), a basketball court (boards and nets) set out near the

new library and a tennis court constructed. New tables were built for

eating meals on out of surplus materials from the Independence Celebra-

tion stadium. By now every student had his own desk that he could

padlock.[12]

One of the old domestic science rooms ("d 2) was converted into a

place for the girls to change into their uniforms for physical education.

The dropping of the junior secondary section made one more classroom

available to the senior section. The school was now, as in name, only

a senior secondary school. By the end of 1963 plans had been laid for

another new classroom block in 1964 and a new laboratory. Except for

the absence of an assembly-hall dining room and its own hostel, the

physical plant of the school now compared favorably to that of the other

aided day senior secondary schools in Kampala.[13]

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12. A necessity because stolen books were easily sold to students at the many private schools in the area.

13. In 1964 the two new buildings were constructed and the library opened (no shelves and few books were provided in 1963). In 1964 the Mutesa School had 11 streams with 374 pupils enrolled in January, 1964 (including 20 transfer pupils into Forms 2, 3, and 4, and 6 students repeating Form 4). To meet the needs of the increased enrollment the school now had 17 teachers besides the Headmaster. In September 1964 the Mutesa School was again inspected by the Central Government and given complete recognition. Their major recommendation was that the school move to a new site which would have room for future development.

B. The Intake into the School:

The pattern of intake changed drastically between 1960 and 1963. In 1961, only ten pupils applied formally to enter the Mutesa School. By 1962, the number had risen to 400, and in 1963, to 600. Mr. White now attended the Headmasters' Conference where pupils were selected. The dramatic increase in the numbers applying to enter the school could have a number of causes: the number of pupils finishing junior secondary school in Uganda was also increasing between 1961 and 1963; the school had achieved some official recognition; unlike private school students, a student at the Mutesa School did not have to take the qualifying examination in English at the end of his third year before he could take the School Certificate the following year; in 1963, the Mutesa School was recognized as a school where students could sit the School Certificate Examination (the previous years, Mutesa School pupils had to go to other schools to take the Examination); and the pupils who took the School Certificate in 1961 and 1962 had performed better than those in the past.

C. Teachers, Pupils, and Activities:

By 1963, the Mutesa School had thirteen full-time teachers all with graduate degrees, and all but two with teacher-training. Three of these teachers were science teachers. There were 314 pupils enrolled in four classes, with three streams in senior one and two streams in the other classes. The school had become self-governing with its own Board of Governors. The school day began at 8 AM and ended officially

at 4 PM but most students were at school participating in athletics, school societies, and studying, until 6 PM. Forty of the pupils were girls (or 13%) indicating that parents were now willing to send their daughters to the Mutesa School (compared to the less than 7% enrollment of girls at the private schools without any boarding facilities for girls). Physical education was organized and supervised by teachers. Each student was required to have a uniform and equipment. In 1963 there were over a dozen active school societies, a School Council, and a Prefects Council. Two issues of a literary magazine were produced by the students in 1963. The public image of the school had also changed substantially over these four years. This can be partially attributed to the improvements in buildings and staff, but also to the success of the students in extracurricular activities, in academic work, and in their involvement in community activities. In sports the students won six cups, provided members to all Uganda Football teams, and was one of the first schools to take up basketball (with the encouragement of the American in Uganda on the Teachers for East Africa scheme).

In 1962 the Mutesa School won three cups in the Uganda Students Drama Festival; First Prize for the best play in English, for the best Kiganda dancing, and for the best "extravaganza," or the "producer's prize." The last was a play written by two pupils in Luganda and produced in Luganda, "Emomboze Enjeru," which was redone as part of the Independence Week show "Now and Then" presented at the National Theater in October, 1962. In 1963 in the same drama competition one of the Mutesa pupils

won the Central Government Ministry of Education cup as the best male actor.

The students at the school have become active in community causes. The school has kept the record for the largest donations of blood to the Red Cross. Students turn out regularly to help on "Flag Day" collections for different voluntary organizations. The Adventurers, a student branch of the Uganda Boys Club, has become one of the most active branches in the country.

The fees were raised again in 1963 to 100/= a term (this time at the initiative of the Ministry of Education) and the cost of meals was included in the fees, making the total fee for a year 375/= (or $53.71).

The student body in 1962-1963 would present a number of subtle contrasts to what it was like five years before at the time of the strike, or in comparison to the pupils today at private schools. One marked difference would be in punctuality, and in a lower rate of absenteeism. Another, which will be examined at a later point in this study, would be in the student's attitude towards his school and his identification with the school. There would also be a difference in the general appearance of the pupils (a difference supported by school regulations), the pupils all having shoes, socks, and usually clean and well kept school uniforms.

The student body of 1962-1963 can be compared (though not reliably) to Miss Jenkins' students of 1958 on a few of the questions that Miss Jenkins asked. The direction of change seems to have been towards more

bursaries (with fewer students working for their fees) and for the students to live during school term nearer the school (though 29% still live beyond the "three mile limit" set by the Ministry). See Table V-1.

TABLE V-1

262 Students at the Mutesa School
in 1959 Compared to 345 Students
at the Mutesa School in 1962-1963

Item	1958 %	1962/63 %
Percent with bursaries	3.8	17.7
Percent working for fees	13.4	5.2
Percent living within five miles	56.5	87.0
Percent with electricity	10.0	23.8
Percent Baganda	91.2	89.6

The School Leavers; Examination Results Compared:

Perhaps the most significant contribution a senior secondary school can make to its "public image" is its students' results on the School Certificate Examination. In the 1962 School Certificate Examination 21% of the Mutesa pupils received a First Grade pass while the average for the other eight grant-aided day senior secondary schools was 8% (and the range from 13 to 0%) earning Firsts.[15] This result helped to improve

15. The number of First Grade Passes and high Seconds is perhaps the crucial indicator of academic success for senior secondary schools because a pupil is then guaranteed that his education will continue at the next step--Fifth Form. In 1964 there were places for 622 pupils

the "status" of the Mutesa School.

In Table V-2 the School Certificate results for the Mutesa School over four years are given:

TABLE V-2

School Certificate Examination Results
for 128 Pupils at the Mutesa School
between 1960 and 1963

Year	Grade I	Grade II	Grade III	GCE	Fail
1960	1	5	10	-	5
1961	1	6	3	2	3
1962	6	5	3	10	5
1963	1	8	19	2	33
Total	9	24	35	14	46
%	7%	19%	27%	11%	36%

It is of particular interest that these 128 pupils represent a group of students who failed to gain entrance to other senior secondary schools and were not selected at the annual Headmasters' selection conference. Yet the over all success rate is still better than at five of the large multiracial urban day senior secondary schools during 1963.

in the Fifth Form in Uganda, or only 27% of the 2266 students who took the Cambridge School Certificate Examination in December, 1963.

Summary:

The Mutesa School has evolved from a poorly staffed, ill-equipped, and inadequately housed institution. Until 1958 when the pupils staged a strike the school was very much like any other private school. The strike initiated a number of changes; the interest of the Buganda Government Ministry of Education, the recruitment of a qualified Headmaster and teachers, and the limitation of the number of pupils enrolled in a class. Mr. White, who became Headmaster in January, 1960, carried the process of change even further. A building program was begun that included new laboratories, classrooms, library, sports fields, and other facilities. The teaching staff was improved until it was composed of 100% qualified full-time teachers. With pupils now choosing to attend the school the selection of pupils could now take place at the Headmasters Conference. Successful student activities were organized and encouraged. The school achieved partial recognition in 1964. The pupils at the Mutesa School no longer had to take the qualifying examination and could sit the School Certificate at their own school. The number of pupils passing the School Certificate went from one in 1959 to twenty-eight in 1963. The transition from a school with a poor reputation to one with a good reputation had taken place.

CHAPTER VI

THE ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS OF THE SCHOOL

Introduction:

In Chapter II we have considered some of the theoretical issues that

relate to the problem of defining and assessing organizational goals.

It will help to reiterate briefly some of the considerations.

> An organizational goal is a desired state of affairs which the
> organization attempts to realize.... An organizational goal is
> that future state of affairs which the organization as a col-
> lectivity is trying to bring about.... The goals of organizations
> serve many functions. They provide orientation by depicting a
> future state of affairs which the organization tries to realize.
> They set down guide lines for organizational activity. Goals
> also constitute a source of legitimacy which justifies the
> activities of an organization and, indeed, its very existence.
> Moreover goals serve as standards by which members of an organi-
> zation and outsiders can assess the success of the organization--
> i.e., its effectiveness and efficiency. Goals also serve in a
> similar fashion as measuring rods for the student of organiza-
> tions who tries to determine how well the organization is doing.[1]

It should be noted that the actual goals of an organization may not be

the same as the personal goals held by incumbents of positions in the

organization. It is also possible that there may be a discrepancy be-

tween what participants perceive as the organization's goals and what

its real goals are. Stanton and Schwartz report such a gap between

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1. Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall,
Inc., 1964), pp. 5 and 6.

perceived goals and real goals in their study of a mental hospital.[2]

The real goals of an organization are defined by Etzioni as:

> Those future states toward which a majority of the organization's means and the major organizational commitments of the participants are directed, and which, in case of conflict with the goals which are stated but command few resources, have clear priority.[3]

The specification of the goals of an organization is not necessarily an easy task. Within an organization there can be different conceptions of what are its goals. It is necessary to explore the different perceptions of the organization's goals as held by the incumbents of different positions within the organization. The organization does not exist in a vacuum, but has a pattern of relationships in the larger social system. It is also necessary to weigh the goals that are held for the organization by those in responsible positions in the external environment.

In this chapter, we will consider the ways in which the goals of the school are perceived externally by the Central and Buganda Governments and parents, and internally by people occupying different positions in the school. Then the goals of the Mutesa School that will be viewed as organizational objectives for the study will be specified. In the study of organizational change, it is necessary to consider goals as part of the process and as indicating where an organization is going.

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2. Alfred H. Stanton and Morris S. Schwartz, The Mental Hospital (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954), Chapter 5.

3. Amitai Etzioni, op. cit., p. 7.

Official Education Objectives of the Governments:

The possible goals of the Mutesa School must be considered in relation-
ship to the stated aims of education in Uganda. During 1961 and 1962
the speeches of the Central Government Minister of Education and the
Annual Reports of the Ministry emphasized the goal of expanded secondary
school facilities in order to meet the demand for future middle and high
level manpower. The plans for expansion were geared realistically to
balance capital expenditures, increased in recurrent costs, and the
supply of qualified teachers (mainly recruited from abroad). The
secondary schools were to supply an increasing number of students who
would take the School Certificate Examination. At least a quarter of
those who took the School Certificate (from all schools) would continue
their education towards a university degree, while the remaining propor-
tion would be divided between other forms of further education and
training programs and those who entered the labor market.

In considering the aims of education in Uganda the Castle Commission
in 1963 went beyond simply the development of manpower. "We have
assumed throughout that education is not only a means of producing pro-
ducers, but also a way of life in which children learn to become good
men and women and good citizens."[4]

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4. Uganda Government, Education in Uganda (Entebbe: The Government
Printer, 1963), p. 1. For an insight into this bias see E. B. Castle's
Educating the Good Man (New York: Collier Books, 1962).

On the goal of expansion the Castle Commission says:

> We would expect our schools to provide appropriate education
> for an increasing number of children in accordance with
> their ability and aptitude. Such a requirement implies that
> schooling should be planned to cater not only for varying
> degrees of ability but also to provide recruits for the wide
> range of occupations and professions essential to the
> balanced economic and social structure of the modern state.
> Our schools must, therefore, feed back into the community
> young people capable of playing their part in public life,
> Government service, technical, commercial, and agricultural
> enterprises, in the Churches, the social services, and the
> teaching service in particular. Such objectives clearly
> demand that we should secure a proper balance of trained re-
> cruits in numbers commensurate with the needs of each sector
> of the national economy.

> It will also be a duty of those who teach to encourage Uganda's
> citizens to think beyond the confines of race and tribe, for
> Uganda as a nation now exists in an international world where
> parochial thinking is at a discount. We hope therefore, that
> sound education will help to heal division and promote national
> harmony.[5]

The Uganda Education Commission summarized the aims of secondary

education. These aims as stated by the Castle Commission merge a number

of academic goals with other goals that are non-academic:

> a) To inculcate high standards of individual and corporate
> conduct and a sense of personal responsibility.
> b) To fit children for earning a livelihood.
> c) To establish permanent literacy.
> d) To prepare children for living in their local and national
> communities and to develop their desire to serve both.
> e) To enable children to develop manual skills and to express
> their aesthetic gifts.
> f) To develop the initiative, confidence, and resourcefulness of
> children and their powers of independent, logical and imaginative
> thought.

We do not believe that aims (c), (e) and (f) are being adequately

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5. Uganda Government, Education in Uganda, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

achieved or that aims (e) and (f) are consciously and actively accepted by the general public or even by many teachers.[6]

As a Buganda Government School the Mutesa School received a number of limited specifications on how to operate. As a government school (not mission-managed) it was to be inter-denominational and was not to discriminate in any way on the basis of religious affiliation. The school was to be co-educational. The Buganda Government Ministry of Education set the rate of expansion for the school (faster than that planned by the Headmaster), and set the goal of a full four form, three-stream school.[7] The Buganda Government Ministry of Education also set its sights on the retention of all pupils to eliminate wastage. Another objective of the Ministry of Education was the full recognition of the school by the Central Government. The Ministry also required that pupils pay (in 1963) a school fee which amounted to 20% of the cost of their education. Before 1960 a goal of the administration had been to provide an education for children from "poor" families (the fees were 90/= a year). To minimize the problems created by living a long distance from the school, the Ministry decided that all pupils should live within three

6. Ibid., p. 4. See also p. 22. (c) refers more to primary education.

7. In his first report to the Board of Governors in 1963 the Headmaster anticipated that the school would become a complete three-stream school throughout all four years in 1967. This goal was reached in 1965.

miles of the school. Also the Ministry preferred that students live with their parents or relatives. After completing four years at the school students were to take the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate Examination.

But the Mutesa School was the only Buganda Government senior secondary school. The Buganda Government Ministry of Education was most concerned that the school receive no further adverse publicity. As we noted in Chapter V the Buganda Government had been forced into initiating changes in the school by the students' strike. The Buganda Government was most concerned that the school run smoothly and economically. Nearly all matters involving the organization of the school were delegated to the Headmaster.[8] The Buganda Government Ministry of Education specified no relationship between the quality and nature of the output of the school and the resources available to the school. On the other hand the Minister of Education and others in the Ministry were quick to recognize and take credit for changes, successes, and improvements in the Mutesa School.

The Goals of the Headmaster:[9]

The Headmaster, Mr. White, was in general agreement with the official

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8. The Board of Governors would assume some of these responsibilities in 1964 when they began functioning.

9. In this section of the chapter Mr. White's views are summarized. This has been read by Mr. White and he accepts it as an accurate reflection of his views. In the coming chapters his attitudes and statements will be considered in more detail where they relate to the functional and dysfunctional aspects of the achievement of the organizational goals of the school.

educational objectives of the Uganda and Buganda Governments. He also accepted the general specifications for the operation of the school as defined by the Buganda Government Ministry of Education.

Mr. White endorsed the School Certificate as the major educational objective of the Mutesa School. He also shared with conviction the aims of the Castle Commission concerning moral and character education (though at times he had intellectual reservations concerning their relevance). He also approved of the school's being inter-denominational and co-educational, but the immediacy of certain problems led him to have a flexible view on these objectives.

Mr. White's major energies were devoted to developing the Mutesa School into an important educational institution in Uganda that ranked equally with other leading institutions. To this purpose he related nearly all events and activities and then judged them on the criteria of how much they facilitated or hindered the development of the school. Mr. White's desire to see the school develop into a leading educational institution went beyond his interest in the welfare of his pupils; he believed that his reputation as a Headmaster depended on his building a new reputation for the school. He saw that the better his pupils' results on the School Certificate the more likely that the reputation of the school would change favorably. Good School Certificate results are related to good teaching. Good teachers must be recruited and must work in a smoothly functioning school. The more the students are selected from

those with better results on the Junior Leaving Examination the more likely they will do well on the School Certificate. The best students should be retained at the school and if possible the unfavorable conditions which many day students encounter outside the school should be changed for the better.

Other activities and limits were also related by the Headmaster to the primary purpose of developing the school. As day students are more visible in the community (than boarding school students) they should be clean, neatly dressed, in a clean school uniform. The pupils should also be celibate, sober, punctual, courteous, honest, of service to the school and community, and free of particularism. In the school the students should be obedient, well mannered, and disciplined. School societies should be active and successful. School athletics should be carried out with spirit and fair play and if possible with victories. The school should compete with other schools in music, elocution, and drama festivals. The prefects should assist in maintaining order and the Student Council should help in the improvement of the school. Mr. White also believed that the reputation of the school would be based on what happened to the students who studied at the school when they left the school. In November, 1963, he said to a group of future teachers at Makerere: "Geniuses tend to go to established boarding schools, but a school catering for good, steady, just-above-average students has a vital part to play in producing reliable people to keep society running." He was most concerned that the school do all that it

could to help develop the full potential of each student. Yet he
knew that only a few of his pupils would perform really well on the
School Certificate Examination. This awareness resulted in a search
for ways in which the school could serve to develop non-academic aspects
of its students. On the other hand an awareness of possible failure on
the part of many students resulted in an even greater emphasis being
placed on assisting them to do as well as possible on the School
Certificate Examination.

The Goals of the Teachers:

The teachers were not a cohesive group. There was continual turnover
among the teachers, with old teachers leaving and new teachers coming
every term and sometimes even during a term. The goals of the teachers
tended to be more personal as the majority of teachers were not consulted
in the formulation of school policies. When the teachers were asked
"Who should have the responsibility of determining the educational
objectives of your school?" and "Who does have the responsibility of
determining the educational objectives of your school?" a majority of
those answering said that this was the responsibility of the Headmaster
and the Ministry of Education. But 43% said that it should also be the
responsibility of the teachers, but that they were not in reality
consulted. One of the American teachers said that not only should the
teachers be involved in the formulation of educational objectives but
so should the parents and students. No other teachers agreed with this.

The major goal of each teacher is to teach his or her subject to the best of his ability so as to help the students to do the best that they can on the School Certificate. This conforms with the main educational objective of the school. In general the teachers accept the other specifications placed on activities at the Mutesa School that have been mentioned in the previous sections on the Headmaster and the administration.

The teachers have little say about a number of the organizational limits of the Mutesa School that have been determined by the Administration and the Headmaster: recruitment, selection, retention, co-education, no particularism, and that the school be inter-denominational. The teachers are involved in the selection of prefects but most interaction is directly between the Headmaster and students. The teachers have even less to do with the operation of the Student Council.

The teachers share Mr. White's goal of institutional building. As viewed by the teachers they have benefited from the changes that have been made (new buildings, books, funds, equipment, better selection of students, etc.) that have improved the school and will benefit too from future developments. Improvement in the status of the school accrues to them too. A few of the teachers object to the difficulties caused by the collection of school fees, the maintenance of discipline, book checks, uniform checks, and other duties that take time from and disrupt the process of teaching.

The Goals of the Students:

The students have their major goal set squarely on a good grade on the School Certificate as this is the prerequisite for further education and helps to determine their future occupation, real income, and way of life.

> The School Certificate holders themselves are divided sharply. The top third will move towards a university degree and a starting salary of up to Ł 500 - Ł 700; the last third will be at the Ł 300 level, possibly as teachers.[10]

This division in what happens to those who take the School Certificate, results in individual students having as their goals not only taking the School Certificate (the goal the administration and school holds for them) but also in passing with a First Grade or a high Second Grade. That the students at the Mutesa School hold this goal is indicated by their future educational aspirations. Four point six per cent do not know how far they want to go with their education while 4.2% expect to leave school before or go no farther than the School Certificate.

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10. Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963), p. 104. Actually 27.4% of those who took the School Certificate in 1963 proceeded to Sixth Form (or 622 out of 2266). It is not known yet how many of this group went abroad for university studies at this level, but it might raise the proportion some. Those who fail the School Certificate are lucky to obtain employment with an annual salary of Ł 180. The failure rate in 1963 was 33.2%.

The categories accurately would be: 1) university stream; 2) diploma stream; 3) further training stream; 4) employment stream; and 5) unemployment stream.

So 91.8% of the Mutesa pupils hope to do well enough on the School Certificate to be able to continue their education. Another 20% hope to go only as far as some form of post-School Certificate course (for commercial, technical, vocational, or agricultural training). The remaining 71.2% of the pupils hope to have some form of university or higher education. When later asked how far they realistically think they will be able to go with their education, considering all the obstacles (examinations, few places, their ability, competition) 60.4% still believe they will obtain university or higher education.

The occupational aspirations of the Mutesa pupils reflect their educational aspirations. Only 4.3% do not know what they want to be while another 4.3% want to go into agriculture, either farming or as agricultural officers. Four per cent expect to enter some technical occupation (e.g., electrician or nurse) or do minor trading. Thirty three point one per cent hope to become secondary (or university) teachers. Twenty seven per cent say that they will be either a doctor or a lawyer while 10.7% want to be some form of engineer. Two point eight per cent say they will be full-time politicians while 13.8% list a variety of occupations from minister to airline pilot. At least 70.8% of the occupations mentioned would require university training.

When faced squarely with the question what would they do if they failed the School Certificate and took it a second time and still failed they demonstrate that they are very realistic. Twenty four point five per cent

say that they would go into agriculture (and this is an open-ended question too)! Twenty seven point seven per cent say that they would look for or start working. Only 20.4% claim that they would continue their education at some other form of school (commercial, technical, vocational). Five point one per cent are willing to become teachers at the primary level. Twelve point four per cent are still determined and write that they will take the School Certificate a third time. One point nine per cent are absolutely sure of themselves and state "I will not fail." Seven point nine per cent do not know what they would do. Counting those who will take another type of course, those who "will not fail," and those who will repeat a third time, one third of the students from the Mutesa School were determined to continue their education beyond the School Certificate.

Asked to rank some possible purposes of the Mutesa School the pupils ranked citizenship training slightly higher than the School Certificate. The students understood this largely in terms of their future role as "leaders" in Uganda (as senior secondary "school boys" they were aware that they were already members of a small elite). This was after the period of independence and one could speculate that under different conditions (before or a number of years later) this result would not have appeared. The comparative rankings of the eight questions on the goals of the school are given in Table VI-1.

TABLE VI-1

The Mean Response for 200 Students in
November, 1963 on Ranking Eight Items
on the Purposes of the Mutesa School

Mean	Standard Deviation	Item
2.5	1.8	To make students better citizens for Uganda.
2.6	1.8	To get students to pass the School Certificate.
3.7	1.8	To prepare students for jobs.
4.0	1.9	To select those students who are able to continue their education.
4.7	1.7	To give character training (teach proper manners).
4.8	1.8	To educate children from poor families.
6.1	1.6	To teach dramatics.
7.2	1.4	To help maintain Kiganda tradition.

The results shown in Table VI-1 do not indicate the lack of full agreement on these goals, though they do indicate a scale on which the students as a whole placed them. On nearly all the items the standard deviation was between 1.7 and 1.8 except for the last item (Kiganda traditions) where there was greater agreement among the students and the standard deviation was 1.4. The reason dramatics was included as school goal is that during each school year around July (and in 1962 in September and October for Independence celebrations) considerable time and energy is put into the formal production of plays by the Headmaster, teachers (especially the English teachers) and the students.[11]

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11. The Headmaster and the three teachers are devotees of the theater and also took part in productions of the "Independent Players" where they produced She Stoops to Conquer and Murder in the Cathedral. These were the plays on the School Certificate for 1962 and 1963.

The students were also asked to rank a number of items that enquired into their personal goals as students. The results and items are given in Table VI-2.

TABLE VI-2[a]

The Mean Response for 200 Students in
November, 1963, on Ranking Five Items
on the Things They Work ʻfor during
School Day.   (How Important to Them)

Mean	Standard Deviation	Item
1.54	0.9	Learning as much as possible in school.
1.99	0.9	Pleasing my parents.
3.5	1.1	Living up to my religious ideals.
3.5	1.0	Being accepted and liked by other students.
4.3	0.8	Doing well in athletics (sports).

a. The first four of these items are from James S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961) questionnaire I, p. 2, items 29-32.

The students rank "learning as much as possible in school" as the most important thing they work for during school days (62.7% First, 25.9% Second, 6.7% Third).   Though "pleasing my parents ranks second, 28.8% ranked this item first.   What is of interest here is that these two items were _more_ important (by 88% of the students) than "being accepted and liked by other students" and "doing well in athletics."   "Doing well in athletics" was ranked first by only one pupil and second by five. These findings indicate that the students at the Mutesa School place more emphasis on academic goals and in living up to parental expectations.

(which is achieved by being a "good" student) than on successful inter-
action in the peer group or in peer group non-academic activities
(athletics).

The students embraced the Headmaster's goal of developing the school,
for they were the ones who stood the most to benefit from the changes in
the school. The feeling of the students is perhaps summed up in the
following incident. One student had clipped out of the Sunday Nation an
article by J. T. Ngugi on private schools and tacked it on the bulletin
board. The tone of the article was one deploring the conditions in the
private schools. Another student wrote on the clipping: "Thank God for
the Mutesa School."

The Mutesa students also have objectives that relate to their activi-
ties away from school. These objectives are connected with their being
students in a day school. Their major desire here is to have sufficient
suitable time in which to do their "revising." Derived from this goal
is another goal: to live in a school hostel. The students know that the
Makerere College School and the Aga Khan School have hostels for their sen-
ior secondary students. A hostel is a desired substitute for failure in
their original objective to study in a boarding school. If they could live
in a hostel, they believe they would be free from the conditions, duties,
obligations, and responsibilities which conflict with spending time on one's
lessons. And if one does not have enough time to study, the goal of obtain-
ing a good pass on the School Certificate becomes less of a possibility.

When asked: "If the Mutesa School had a hostel would you want to live in it?" Eighty nine point three per cent of the pupils said yes (giving reasons like they would then be able to study, or they would no longer have the journey to and from school). Of the 10.7% who said "No" (34 out of 318 pupils) one third (11 students) did so because they believed they never would have enough money to pay a hostel fee. Only 19 students said they were satisfied where they were living and therefore would not want to live in a school hostel.[12] Counting those who said they could not afford to live in a hostel as wanting to live in a hostel gives a figure of 92.8% of the students who endorse the goal of having hostels for day senior secondary school students.

The Educational Goals of Parents:

Twenty-seven parents or guardians in four geographical areas were interviewed during 1962-1963. These represented six parents in the Masaka rea between 80 and 110 miles from the school, seven in the Mityana area, between 30 and 50 miles from the school, four in the Luwero area, between 20 and 40 miles from the school, and ten in the Kampala area up to 10 miles from the school. The educational level of those interviewed approximates that of the total sample of Mutesa pupils: one had no education, eighteen some primary education, four junior

12. One student admitted that he preferred to live in a hired room because he then had free access to his girl friends while if he lived in a school hostel this would be denied to him. He was over twenty years old.

secondary schooling, and four had been to senior secondary school.

Five of the interviews were conducted using some English and Luganda. Twenty-five were conducted entirely in Luganda. Interviewed were 16 fathers, seven mothers, and four uncles. They were 100% pleased that their children were receiving a secondary education at the Mutesa School.

Those parents that had little education themselves conceived of secondary education as a process through which the student learned English and obedience. When asked to mention different characteristics of a "good pupil" 19 parents said "obedient" or "good mannered." Only two mentioned "clever" or anything that related to being able to learn as the mark of a good pupil.[13] This attitude conforms to basic traditions in Kiganda society. A major goal of traditional education was to inculcate into the growing child patterns of submission, obedience, and correct behavior.[14]

The sample of parents or guardians interviewed did not include any who had had university or higher education (approximately 8%). I did have

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13. It has been observed by anthropologists that sometimes the criteria used by parents in selecting which off-spring shall go to school and which shall herd animals or scare birds is based on obedience--the more obedient child being the one sent to school. For example see: Robert and Barbara Levine, "Nyansongo: A Gusii Community in Kenya" in Beatrice B. Whiting (ed.), Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1963), p. 125.

14. See A. I. Richards, "Authority Patterns in Traditional Buganda," in L. A. Fallers (ed.), The King's Men (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), pp. 256-288.

informal contact with a number of these parents and discussed informally with them questions concerning the Mutesa School. As a group they were more modern, less traditional, and held different educational goals (being less concerned with discipline, etc.). They indicated that to have their child at the Mutesa School was not their choice, but a matter of necessity because the pupil had failed in the competition at Junior Leaving to gain entrance to a boarding school. They judged the Mutesa School as the best of the possible day schools in the Kampala area.

Summary: The Organizational Goals of the School:

We have observed that the governments at this time tended only to provide guidelines for the operation of the Mutesa School. As a Buganda Government School the Central Government had no direct authority over the school. The Buganda Government, Ministry of Education, in the absence of a Board of Governors and to minimize their own administrative burdens, abdicated to the Headmaster the responsibility for the total operation of the organization. The Headmaster then had complete autonomy as long as he did nothing antithetical to the guidelines laid down by the Ministry.

Our strategy then will be to focus on the primary goals of the organization as defined by its chief administrator. The rationale for this approach is as follows: 1) in this case the goals held for the organization by the Headmaster can be considered as the actual goals which the organization as a collectivity is trying to bring about; 2) this is

possible because the Headmaster's conceptions of the organizational

goals of his school are essentially compatible with those held by others;

3) he was the key administrator responsible for the overall operation

of the organization; and 4) he generally did not consult subordinates

when making decisions.

In this context we discover that the Mutesa School has two major

organizational goals. The first relates to what the organization is

trying to accomplish for its clients and the second to the direction in

which the organization is moving.

The organization as a collectivity is trying to maximize the potential

of each (pupil) client. This goal has two components. The first is

academic and the second non-academic. The first component is that the

organization is trying to make it possible for its clients to perform

to the best of their ability on the School Certificate Examination, or

in organizational terms, to maximize the number who do well on the

School Certificate Examination. On this aspect of the first organiza-

tional goal of the Mutesa School there exists complete consensus on the

part of all participants within the school and in the administration.

The second component relates to the actual products of the school.

The school as an organization functions to produce educated manpower

that can assume a variety of positions in the society. The organiza-

tional goal of the school then is not only to maximize the potential of

its clients, but more concretely, to maximize the potential of its

clients so that they may better be able to take their places in the
society. As in actuality only a proportion of the clients do well on
the School Certificate Examination this is an essential aspect of the
first major organizational goal of the Mutesa School. Pupils usually
have a gestation period of four years at the school. During this period
they not only are processed in ways that are designed to help them to
perform well on the School Certificate, but they also are organized into
a variety of activities and undergo experiences that are not part of the
formal academic activities. Included here are the School organizations
which exist for students, the process of socialization and acculturation
that is accomplished by the school, and the moral education that is pro-
vided by the school.

It is necessary to divide this first goal into these two components
because the first lends itself more readily to operationalization than the
second. How the students perform on the School Certificate Examination
is a matter of record. Indices to assess the non-academic activities
of the school that relate to the goal of maximizing the potential of
each pupil so that he may better be able to take his place in his society
are more difficult to arrive at and involve certain value judgements.

This second part of the first goal is one on which there is not general
agreement. It is a goal shared by the governments and by the Headmaster
but is not one articulated by the teachers or endorsed wholeheartedly
by the pupils (though in Table VI-1 "to prepare students for jobs" is

ranked third).

The second major organizational goal of the Mutesa School is to maximize the resources available to the institution so as to create stability and improve the image of the school. This goal will be referred in the text as that of "institution building." It focuses on the activities of the participants in the school that are designed to change the school into a better school. This includes improvements in the human, material and fiscal resources of the school. On this goal there was considerable agreement on the part of the incumbents of positions within the internal organization of the school.[15]

15. This approach to the analysis of organizational goals does not imply any implicit endorsement of these goals. Other goals might have been followed by the organization. Some of the organizational alternatives are outlined in Chapter XIII. The approach taken in this case study avoids any consideration of the merits and validity of the examination system, and specifically the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate. One might ask if it is desirable for a school to devote so much of its energy into pursuing an examination? As shown in Chapter XIII, other objectives are possible, such as to modernize the curricula. Others might ask if it is desirable to have a strong expatriate as Headmaster? Tanzania said "no" to this query in 1966. But it has not been the purpose of this thesis to explore these questions.

CHAPTER VII

THE FORMAL AND INFORMAL ORGANIZATION

OF THE SCHOOL

Introduction:
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   The issues to be examined in this chapter are based on several concepts

that were presented in Chapter II. The first is that the term "formal

organization" refers to a social system which has been deliberately

established to achieve goals.

> The goals to be achieved, the rules the members of the organiza-
> tion are expected to follow, and the status structure that de-
> fines the relationships between them (the organizational chart)
> have not spontaneously emerged in the course of social inter-
> action but have been consciously designed a priori to guide in-
> teraction and activities. Since the distinctive characteristic
> of these organizations is that they have been formally estab-
> lished for the explicit purpose of achieving certain goals, the
> term "formal organization" is used to designate them.[1]

The second concept is "informal organization." As Barnard has noted,

"when formal organizations come into operation, they create and require

informal organizations."[2]

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1. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations: A Comparative
Approach (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), p. 5.

2. Chester I. Barnard, The Functions of the Executive (Cambridge, Massa-
chusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 120.

The roots of informal systems are embedded in the formal organiza-
tion itself and nurtured by the very formality of its arrangements.
...the application of general rules to particular cases often
poses problems of judgement and informal practices tend to emerge
that provide solutions to these problems.... Finally, complex
networks of social relations and informal status structures
emerge, within groups and between them, which are influenced by
many factors besides the organizational chart.... But to say that
these informal structures are not completely determined by the
formal institution is not to say that they are entirely indepen-
dent of it. For informal organizations develop in response to
the opportunities created and the problems posed by the environ-
ment, and the formal organization constitutes the immediate en-
vironment of the groups within it.[3]

In other words the informal organization develops partly because of in-

adequacies in the formal organization. Some of the activities accom-

plished by the informal organization compensate for certain limitations

or shortcomings in the formal organization. An examination of the in-

formal organization of an institution thus may help to reveal what is

dysfunctional in its formal organization.

This chapter describes the formal and informal organization of the

Mutesa School from two perspectives: its external and internal relations.

The Formal Organization of the School:

A. External:

The external formal organizational structure of the Mutesa School is

given in Chart VII-1. This is the external "administrative web" of the

school. Outside the school the Headmaster is directly responsible to the

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3. Peter M. Blau and W. Richard Scott, Formal Organizations, op. cit..
p. 6.

CHART VII. - 1.

The External Formal Organization of the Mutesa School
1962 - 1963. The Board of Governors was not established
until mid-1963. Arrows indicate direction of communication.
Dotted lines are not as strong as solid lines.
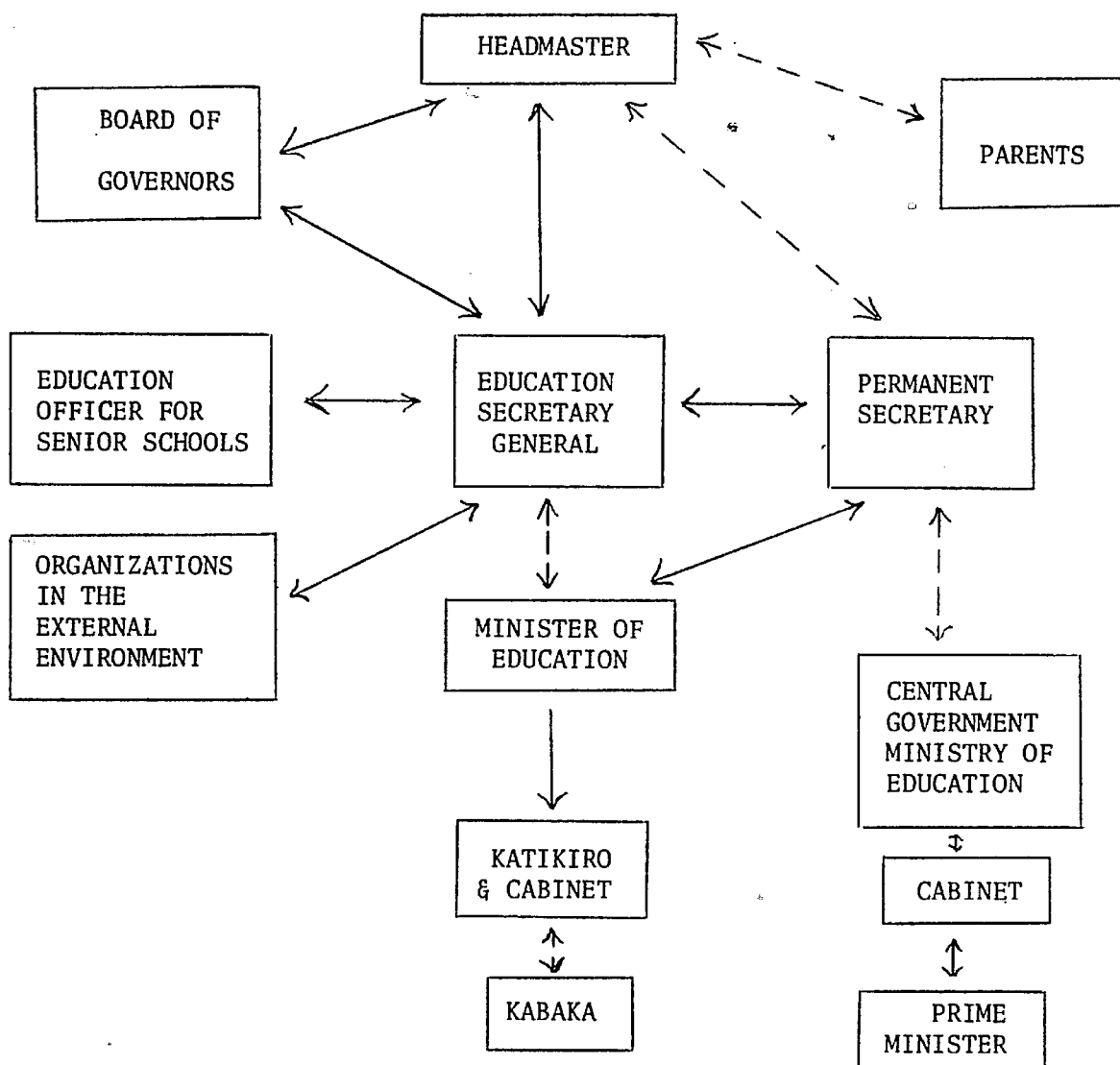
Education Secretary General. The Board of Governors, which did not come into existence until August, 1963, is responsible for recommending policy for the school to the Chief Education Officer, but since it did not function during the period of the study it had no bearing on the problems of the study.[4]

The formal organizational chart specified that all directives between the Minister and the Headmaster (or communications upwards from the Headmaster to the Minister) go through the Education Secretary General and then the Permanent Secretary. The distinction between these two positions during the period of the study was that the Education Secretary General was responsible for the implementation of policy, while the Permanent Secretary was responsible for its formulation. The line of communication between Headmaster and Permanent Secretary primarily reflects the interaction between these two positions on questions of hiring staff and the formulation of annual budget estimates for the school. The Education Secretary General and the Permanent Secretary are both accountable to the Minister of Education, who in turn reports to the Cabinet which is answerable to the Kabaka.

From 1960 until 1964 Mr. White had complete autonomy in the operation of the school and the development of policy. He was ambivalent about

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4. Under the Self-Governing Rules of 1944, Boards of Governors have been established at most senior secondary schools in Uganda. They are responsible for the budget, auditing of the accounts, and development plans. Teachers and staff are technically employees of the Board of Governors. They also approve bursaries and must approve expulsions from the school.

the creation of a Board of Governors, wanting it because he viewed the Board as a necessary aspect of institution building, but fearing that it might eventually limit his freedom and powers and consume too much of his time and energy.[5] Mr. White also realized that since he was a European Headmaster of an African school, a Board of Governors composed of a majority of Africans might eliminate some of the criticisms and political attacks to which he would be exposed because he was European that might have negative consequences for the school. For example, he had earlier experienced difficulties over the expulsion of a student; if a Board of Governors had been in existence and approved this expulsion, the student probably would not have made troublesome appeals to people higher up in the administrative hierarchy.[6]

Under the external formal organizational structure of the school the Headmaster was meant to communicate to the Central Government only through his superordinates. Arrangements for construction and purchasing were also to be done through the Buganda Government Ministry of Education.

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5. Recently at a number of schools there had been incidents where the Board of Governors had seriously interfered in the management of the school by the Headmaster and the Headmasters had threatened to resign. The Mutesa School's new Board of Governors consisted of a number of individuals who were professional educators, including the Chief Education Officer of the Central Government (raising the question of divided loyalties). It is not known whether in 1964 the Board of Governors actually assisted in the development of the school, but its existence and composition certainly made it politically feasible for the Central Government to aid the school in 1965.

6. By waiting in offices and writing letters to the Minister of Education and individuals in the administration he was able to cause an investigation of his case, but was not re-admitted to the school.

Formal contacts with parents were very limited and consisted primarily

of their visits to the school on its annual Sports or Prize-Giving Day.

The parents were in no way involved in the formal organization of the

school. There was no Parents' Association. Only a third of the parents

or guardians lived within ten miles of the school. My inquiries about

the relationships between parents and the school revealed that neither

the Headmaster or teachers had developed any patterns involving relations

with the parents of the Mutesa pupils. Nor were any such activities

expected of the Headmaster or teachers by the administration.

One aspect of the external formal organization that cannot be described

in a chart, but that was of importance, is that a position may have more

or less significance depending on the individual occupying it. This has

relevance in the case of two positions external to the Mutesa School.

In 1962 Mr. Lubega was Education Secretary General and in 1963 he was

promoted to Permanent Secretary. When Mr. Lubega was Education Secretary

General it was the more important of the two posts, and when he became

Permanent Secretary this post regained its normal strength.[7]

B. The Internal Formal Organization:

The internal formal organizational structure of the Mutesa School is

developed in Chart VII-2. It is more than a simple pyramidal hierarchy

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7. It is not known what effect this change in occupants of the two posi-
tions had on the actual functioning of the Ministry or the relative
importance of these two positions in relations to other organizations as
this view is one of the administrative web as viewed from the Mutesa
School.

with the Headmaster on top, the teachers below him, and the students
on the bottom. The formal organization has three basic components
which reflect the intention of separating teaching, administrative, and
social control (disciplinary) activities. On the administrative side
the school had two clerks; one who functioned as the Headmaster's
secretary, but also typed materials for the teachers during his slack
periods (his salary was not in the official budget until 1964); the
other served as school bursar. He collected school fees, kept accounts,
and made purchases for the school. The "other staff" the Headmaster
supervised were the three cooks, three groundsmen, a wood cutter, and
a messenger.

The position of Assistant Headmaster was occupied in 1962-1963 by
Mr. Jukko. His activities as Assistant Headmaster were extremely limited
(as those of a Vice-President might be in an organization with an ex-
tremely powerful, authoritatian President). Mr. Jukko's main duties
consisted of drawing up the timetable (what, when and where teachers
teach) for each term, and helping the Headmaster to answer inquiries of
parents, and translating letters to or from Luganda and English when
necessary. Between March and early June, 1963, when Mr. White was on
leave Mr. Jukko served as Acting Headmaster of the school. In August,
1963, when Mr. Jukko left the school Mr. White did not appoint a new
Assistant Headmaster.

The total number of teachers employed at the school in 1962-1963 are
listed in Table VII-1. Out of twenty-six teachers only thirteen were

CHART VII-2

The Internal Formal Organization of the Mutesa School,
1962-1963. Arrows Indicate the Direction of Communica-
tion. Dotted Lines Are Not as Strong as Solid Lines
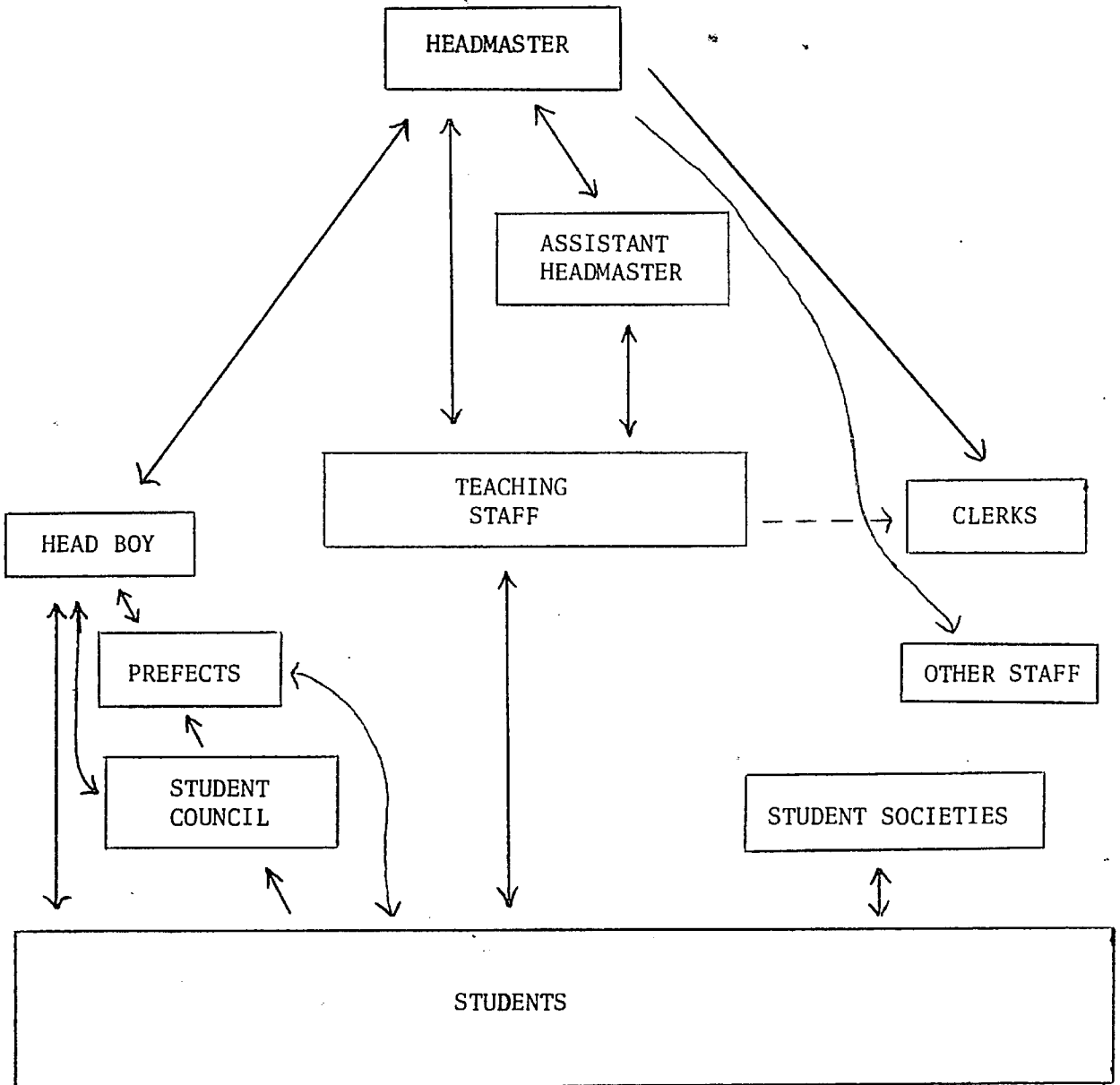
TABLE VII-1

The Total Staff List of the Mutesa School
during 1962 -1963

Europeans	Year & Term Commenced Employment	Year & Term Terminated Employment
+ Mr. White	1960 I	- [c]
Mr. Gordon	1962 I	1963 III
+ Mr. Fuller	1960 II	1962 II
Mrs. Fraser	1963 I	1963 II
+ Mr. Jones	1961 III	-
Mr. Larson	1963 I	-
+ Mr. Matthews	1961 II	-
+ Mr. Small	1963 I	-
Mrs. Trilling	1959 I	-
Miss Thayer	1963 II	-

Africans		
Mrs. Nambi	?	1962 II
Mrs. Nanubi	1962 III	-
Miss Nakumi	1963 I	1963 II
Miss Namukasa	1963 III	-
Miss Nakasa	?	1962 III [a]
Mr. Kintu	1963 II	-
Mr. Kalema	1961 II	1962 III
Mr. Musoke	1962 III	1962 III
Mr. Jukko	1961 I	1963 II
Mr. Lule	1961 II	-
Mr. Wachuku	1963 II	1963 III [b]
Mr. Sampa	1963 II	1963 III [b]

Asian		
Mrs. Thomas	1960 II	-
Miss Fernandes	1963 III	-
Mr. Gupta	1962 II	1962 III [b]
Miss Patel	1962 II	1962 III [b]

+ Teachers on expatriate terms. All others on local terms.
a Course transferred to primary school.
b These were Makerere students hired during their long vacation to teach at the school to help fill vacancies created by pregnancy and/or leave. They taught part of two terms.
c These teachers were all employed at the Mutesa School in January, 1964. All names are fictitious.

still at the school in 1964. Only six of these had held their positions
before 1962 (White, Jones, Matthews, Trilling, Lule, and Thomas). Of
these six four were European, one was African, and one was Asian. The
expatriates left the school to return to their countries of origin
(Gordon and Fraser to the United States and Fuller to the United Kingdom).
For the African teachers two left to continue higher studies in the
United Kingdom (Nakumi and Jukko), three transferred to other schools
(Nambi, Nakasa, and Kalema) and one was fired (Musoke). The other four
left to return to Makerere to resume their studies.

The teachers discussed school business and related issues at the staff
meetings. They took place in 1962 and for the first half of 1963 at the
end of each term, and on the day before school opened for the next term.
Following the requests of a number of teachers staff meetings were held
weekly (the first period every Monday) starting in July, 1963. The
daily schedule is an important facet of the formal organization of the
school. It is presented in Table VII-2.

Each teacher was expected to teach on the average thirty periods a week
(or twenty hours) though a few taught 31 and some only had 27 or 28
periods a week. The teaching load of the Headmaster varied each term,
but when possible he taught 15 periods a week. The subjects taught at
the Mutesa School and the number of hours they were taught per week are
given in Table VII-3.

TABLE VII-2

The Daily Schedule of the Mutesa School

Time	Activity
A.M.	
7:45 to 8:10	Breakfast
8:10	Registration (1963)
8:20 to -	Assembly
- to 9:10	First Period
9:10 to 9:50	Second Period
9:50 to 10:30	Third Period
10:30 to 11:00	Break (Tea for Staff)
11:00 to 11:40	Fourth Period
11:40 to 12:20	Fifth Period
P.M.	
12:20 to 2:00	Lunch. Meetings of Student Societies
2:00 to 2:40	Sixth Period
2:40 to 3:20	Seventh Period
3:20 to 4:00	Eighth Period
4:00 to -	Athletics Student Societies
6:00	Kalala Gate Closes

TABLE VII-3

The Subjects Taught at the Mutesa School, Third
Term, 1963 (Twelve and One Half Teachers and
Three Hundred and Fourteen Pupils) by the Number
of Hours per Week for Each Subject

Subject	Number of Hours
English	50
Science	50
Maths	40
Geography	30
Luganda	20
Réligious Knowledge	15
Physical Education	15
History	14
Art	14
Music	6
Total	254

Each teacher was supposed to have ten free periods a week which were
to be devoted to preparing for his lessons and correcting exercise book
and examinations. If any teacher was absent a teacher that was free was
expected to sit in his classroom. In 1963 this was organized on the
timetable with a notation for teachers who were free and an order in
which they were to substitute for absent teachers.

The students were divided into forms and classes (streams) on the basis of the number of years they had been at the school and their academic performance. For senior one pupils the division was based on their performance on the Junior Leaving Examination. In 1963 there were three classes: Senior One A, Senior One B, and Senior One C. Class A contained pupils who had achieved the best results on the Junior Leaving Examination and Class C included those with the worst results. The division of the students in the other forms into classes was done by the staff and Headmaster at the end of each year when the performance of the students had been assessed. A student did not progress automatically from an A, B, or C class one year into the same class the next year. In 1963 the teachers gave similar examinations at each level and then ranked all the pupils in the streams of a form as one group. Students whose performance was at the level of the stream above the one they were in or the stream below were moved either up or down depending on the direction of the change.

Two aspects of the organization of students were of special importance to the operation of the school. The first was the student societies and extracurricular activities where the students elected their own leaders. The second was the social control component of the total organization and contained three tiers: the Head Boy, prefects, and student council.

The prefects were appointed from above by the Headmaster on the basis of suggestions from the teachers. Prefects served for three terms

beginning at the start of the third term one year and going through to

the end of the second term the next year. They normally were chosen

from among three students who would be in the fourth form the next year.

This method of selecting prefects meant that they represented those

students who were known to the Headmaster and teachers but they were not

necessarily those students who were acceptable to and recognized as

leaders by the students. During the third term, 1963, 200 students in

forms one through three were asked to name the five students they con-

sidered the most important pupils in the school. At that time there were

in the school 16 pupils in senior four who had been prefects and 16 in

senior three who were prefects. Only 15 students were mentioned 10 or

more times as the "most important pupils in the school," and only seven

of these fifteen were or had been prefects (47%). Of 723 answers given

as to why a student was mentioned as important only 100 were because he

was a prefect (or 13.8%). Of the seven students who were prefects and

were seen as important students by their fellow students only three

achieved their high ranking due to their ascribed status as prefect.

Of the other four, two were mentioned more frequently as being important

because they were the best students in the school academically, one

because he was a top athlete, and one because he was the leader of a

student activity.[8]

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8. In a personal communication on the choice of prefects for 1965 Mr.
White writes: "There were no prefects selected this year from Senior 3 C.
The 3 or 4 I put up at the staff meeting because of their leadership
qualities were turned down by the staff. Afterwards a delegation from
(form) 3 C turned up to know why the class had been discriminated against
prefects-wise. I called a (staff) meeting and appointed my nominees

The student in charge of the prefects at the Mutesa School is called

the "Head Boy." In the words of the Head Boy his duties were:[9]

> To preside over all the council's meetings, prefects' meetings,
> give duties to individual prefects, and indeed to look around
> the school so as to see that all the school's regulations are
> being carried out. It is the duty of the Head Boy to act as a
> medium between the Headmaster and the students. He carries the
> Headmaster's orders to the students and at times brings the
> students' wishes to the Headmaster who then discusses them with
> his staff.

What is significant here is that the Head Boy and the prefects work in

direct communication with the Headmaster and not with the teachers.

This point will be referred to again in discussing the authority struc-

ture of the school.

The Head Boy also was the Chairman of the Student Council and had to

preside over its meetings. The Student Council was created by the Head-

master in 1962 as an organization through which he could channel the

creative energies of students and more accurately sense the feelings of

the students, their desires and grievances. The Headmaster believed that

an organization separate from the prefects (who were only Fourth Form-

ers) was necessary because the prefect's role was coercive (the main-

tenance of discipline and the administration of punishments) and did not

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(four from form 3 C). One has become an outstanding chap. Academically
he is very much behind, but as a man of action he is first rate. This
chap did very well on Outward Bound (a youth training course for lead-
ers) - but was found not good enough to be a prefect. I sometimes won-
der if staff who sit in judgement know anything at all about the students
under their control."

9. From a statement of the Head Boy in December, 1963.

necessarily support the voluntary constructive development of the school.

The Student Council decided nothing. It made recommendations ("advice and opinions") which were recorded in a Minute Book by the Secretary on one page. This book was then taken by the Head Boy to the prefects' meeting and in a column on the next page they wrote their comments on the recommendations of the Student Council. The book then went to the Headmaster who in the remaining column wrote his comments (in red ink). The constitution of the Student Council called for meetings every Wednesday but the process of passing the book from Student Council Secretary to Head Boy to prefects' meeting, to Headmaster, and then waiting for the Headmaster to make his notations, often took two to three weeks. Term examinations and special activities could also disrupt this schedule.

The members of the Student Council were chosen by each House one from each class. The House system is also derived from the English public school. In a boarding school the students live in Houses. The main activity of the Houses at the Mutesa School was in games. There were three Houses: red, green, and blue. The Houses were also meant to meet weekly during the midday break, but the frequency of meetings depended on the interest of the House Master (a teacher).[10] Students were divided into the three Houses on the basis of their Clan, and the remaining

10. This duty usually fell to the male African teachers as they were usually the only teachers who remained at the school during the hour and forty minute midday break. Mr. Fuller, who lived six miles from the school had been responsible for a House. He ate a sandwich lunch at the school.

students who were not Baganda were distributed to equalize the groups.

At the three Houses each chose one councillor for each class, this meant that in 1962 eighteen were selected and in 1963 twenty-seven. This process of selection, and the upward orientation of the Student Council meant that there was no formal reporting by the councillors to the students. This is why the arrow between the student body and the Student Council only goes one direction. No teacher or the Headmaster ever attended any council session. As there was no formal class government or meetings there was no organized opportunity for student councillors to report back to the students.

The following aims of the Student Council were agreed upon by the Headmaster, prefects and councillors (1962).

1. To provide a means whereby the practical wishes of the student body shall be made known to the Headmaster and Staff.

2. To make suggestions and recommendations to the Headmaster and Staff via the School Prefects regarding school rules, either existing or proposed.

3. To devise means whereby high standards of behaviour and work can be encouraged and maintained.

4. To make sure that the school is properly represented among schools in this district with regard to social activities.

5. To give every assistance to the Headmaster, Staff, and Prefects in the maintenance of good discipline, and to encourage the development of a right sense of school spirit by every means in its power.

6. To ensure that members of the School Council, by their example, encourage other members of the student body to do their best always in the interest of the school and each other.

The Informal Organization of the School:

While the formal organization of an institution can be expressed
through an "organizational chart" the informal organization is fluid,
indefinite, and may not lend itself to this more formal type of repre-
sentation. In spite of this drawback two charts of the informal organiza-
tion of the Mutesa School are provided because of the contrast they offer
to the formal organization.

A. The External Informal Organization:

The external informal organizational structure of the Mutesa School is
given in Chart VII-3. It will be recalled from Chapter V on the history
of the school and Chapter VI on the organizational goals of the school,
that the Headmaster was granted considerable freedom in the administra-
tion and development of the school. Under these circumstances, and in a
situation where a series of organizational commitments had not yet de-
veloped, Mr. White found it advantageous to move in informal ways beyond
the confines of the more formal division of tasks and responsibilities
and patterns of communication.

A major blockage to the development of the school (goal two) was in-
efficiency, particularly in the organizational hierarchy external to the
school. No matter how capable, the best administrator can become bogged
down when he has little control over his assistants and they are in-
competent. Progress is tedious when documents are lost, letters misfiled,

CHART VII-3

The External Informal Organization of the Mutesa School,
1962 - 1963. This Chart Indicates the Range of Informal
Interaction Viewed from the Position of the Headmaster.
Arrows Indicate the Direction of Communication. Dotted
Lines Are Not as Strong as Solid Lines.

HEADMASTER

BOARD OF
GOVERNORS

PARENTS

EDUCATION
OFFICER FOR
SENIOR SCHOOLS

EDUCATION
SECRETARY
GENERAL

PERMANENT
SECRETARY

ORGANIZATIONS
IN THE
EXTERNAL
ENVIRONMENT

MINISTER OF
EDUCATION

CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT
MINISTRY OF
EDUCATION

MAKERERE
STAFF

KATIKIRO
& CABINET

CABINET

PRIME
MINISTER

KABAKA
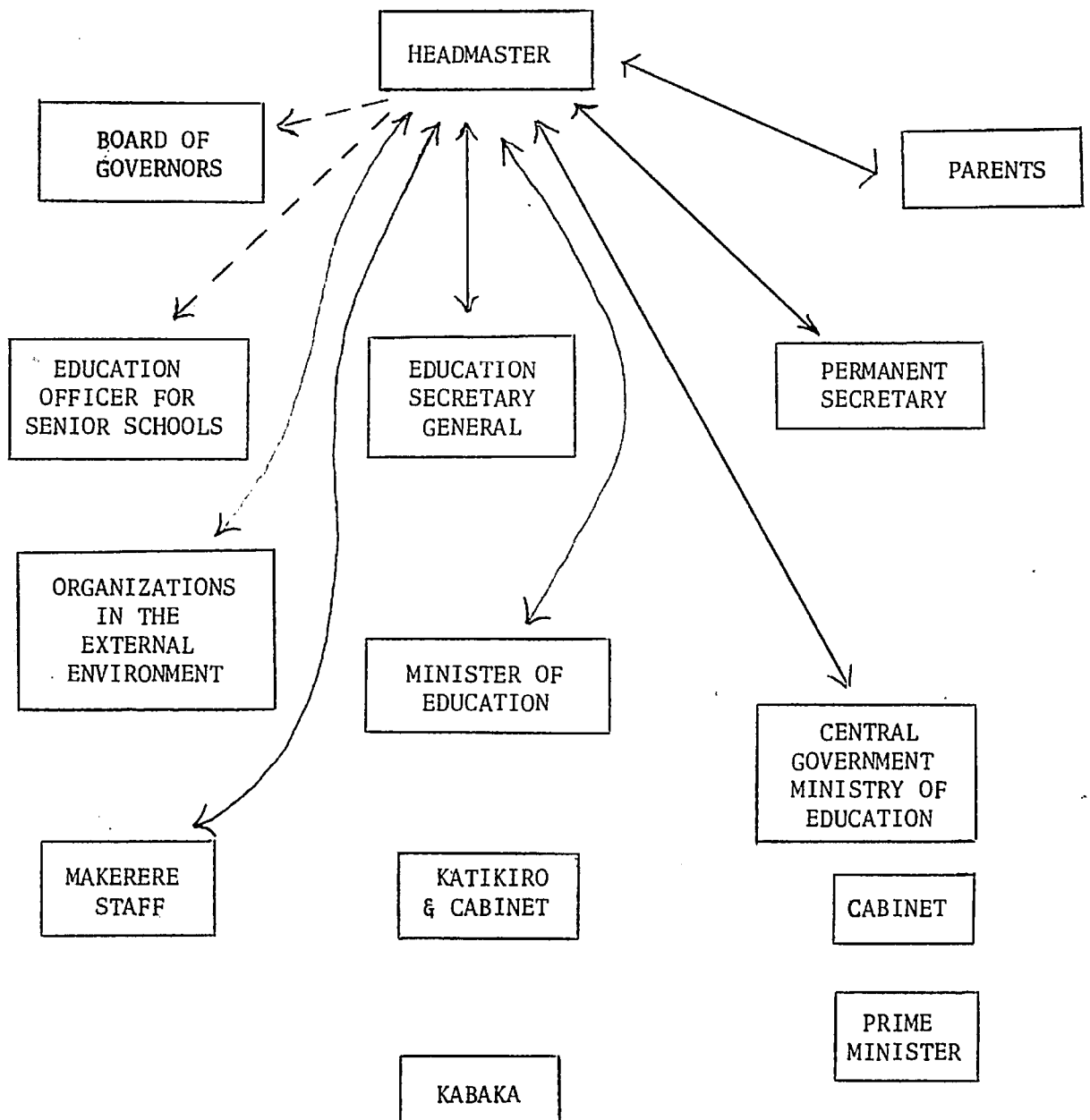
and funds mis-allocated, or even lost.[11] One source of inefficiency in

the Buganda Government Ministry of Education was from clerks who held

jobs because of their traditional ties or connections. The senior

staff had limited control over them if they were not on friendly terms

with the "palace circle," or related to the Kabaka.

In 1963 one school financial vote was "lost" because a clerk in the

Ministry of Education wrote 70,000/= instead of 7,000/=. Another budget

request never came through because a clerk did not forward it on to the

Treasurer's Office before the deadline for the meeting of the Budget

Committee. But even having a budget request approved did not necessarily

mean that the funds would be available when needed. The new school block

which was begun by the students in August, 1962, and then finished by a

contractor did not open until February, 1963. In November, 1962, the

contractor stopped working because he had not been paid and would not

continue until he was paid. At another point the Headmaster found the

contractor building walls where windows should have been and told him to

stop. When I inquired why they were doing this I discovered that they

had never received the plans for the buildings from the Ministry of

Education. The three streams that were admitted into Form One to begin

on January 23, 1963, were told to come two weeks later, because the

building was not finished. They still had to enter unpainted classrooms

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11. Mr. White's arrival in Mengo in 1959 was delayed approximately nine
months because letters were constantly "lost." They later appeared in
1963, having been completely mis-filed.

without blackboards, lights and glass in the steel window frames. These three new classrooms were dark and cold, and when it rained the wind would blow water in through the windows. The 7,000/= that was lost at this time was intended to cover the costs of finishing the new building. The Headmaster released funds to finish the new building by taking them from the 15,000/= voted for scholastic materials.[12]

The Headmaster found that one way of overcoming some of these inefficiencies was to do a considerable amount of clerical work himself and check the work that had been done by others. Another way was to bypass the intermediary step in the formal organizational hierarchy and go directly to those with whom he wished to communicate. For example, at times the Headmaster was in direct communication with the Minister of Education without going through the Education Secretary General or the Permanent Secretary.

The Headmaster also established his own network of informal contacts with individuals in the Central Government and at the Makerere University College. The scale of social life in Kampala was small. A person with the status of "Headmaster" of a senior secondary school could circulate at various levels in the round of parties, celebrations, and public gatherings, and informally meet people occupying key positions in other organizations. These informal confrontations became part of the

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12. These events underline one aspect of what Adam Curle meant when he wrote, "nations are under-developed because it is so frequently impossible to get the things done which would develop them." Educational Strategy for Developing Societies (London: Tavistock Publications, 1963), p. 1.

Headmaster's strategy of institution building. Key posts in the Central

Government (Chief Education Officer and Permanent Secretary) and the

Inspectorate were still occupied by Englishmen in 1962 and 1963. At

informal gatherings Mr. White would turn the discussion on to the latest

shipment of books that had come (none of which had yet been distributed

to the Mutesa School), the prospect for the inspection of the school,

the possibilities for a grant-in-aid for the construction of a new build-

ing, what should be done to have the school one of those which received

capital development funds from A.I.D., etc. These informal exchanges

made possible "off-the-record" replies which helped to clarify for Mr.

White what he could reasonably expect from other organizations. In

this manner Mr. White frequently interacted with external organizations

outside the normal line of communications which would have limited him

to operating through his superordinates in the Buganda Government Ministry

of Education. This method also avoided putting on paper questions that

delicately were filled with overtones of the conflict between Buganda

and the Central Government.

After the Mutesa School was provisionally recognized Mr. White began

to receive copies of the circulars that went to the Headmasters of senior

secondary schools that were aided by the Central Government even though

these circulars were not sent to anyone in the Buganda Government

Ministry of Education.[13]

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13. In 1963 when all senior secondary schools in Buganda came under its
Ministry of Education the Central Government continued to send its cor-
respondence directly to the Headmasters instead of through the Buganda
Government Ministry of Education.

Mr. White also found it advantageous to maintain his own contacts with organizations in the community and made arrangements for school supplies, furniture, and even the construction of minor structures (bike shed, outdoor tables, shower stall, etc.) without going through the Ministry. The Headmaster had to make arrangements for school meals, school and PE uniforms, the purchase of school books and equipment, and school furniture. He was constantly involved in the decisions and dealings that accompanied the acquisition of services and the purchase of goods. The seasonal fluctuations in the prices of agricultural commodities required decisions on what was to be purchased when for the school meals to insure that an average of 40 cents (E.A.) per student per school day was not exceeded. The Headmaster had to arrange for a school tailor and take actions to maintain quality and productivity in the sewing of school uniforms. The purchase of school books was a constant burden, as all items that were to be ordered from abroad had to be planned months in advance. Credit was negotiated from local bookstores but was maintained and stretched through constant bargaining so that supplies could be obtained without delay. (At one point the debt to one bookstore ran up to 7,000/=. It was paid only after the Headmaster made an urgent plea to the Minister of Education.) To obtain desks in 1963 for the new classrooms the Headmaster made special trips to different fundis in the Kampala area and finally as far away as in Busoga, where he found one who offered a price-quality combination that was favorably competitive with the Kampala product. Later in 1963 the Buganda Government Ministry

of Education established its own purchasing department for school fur-
niture and required that all requests go directly through the Ministry.
Mr. White's informal contacts in the environment enabled him to maximize
the use of the school's limited fiscal resources.

Mr. White's informal contacts with people at the Makerere University
College helped him to obtain substitute teachers when necessary, the
assistance of the psychologist at the Institute of Social Research, and
he cooperated with the School of Education by accepting a number of
practice teachers each year.

The informal contacts with parents were greater than the formal contacts.
There was a group of approximately two dozen parents or guardians who
had had secondary or higher education themselves and were employed in
occupations with sufficient earnings to run cars, and who lived within
Greater Kampala, who had informal contacts with the Headmaster. Most
of this informal interaction was related to questions or problems that
arouse concerning the welfare of their daughters. Few of the teachers
ever had contact with any parents. When parents came to see the Head-
master it usually was because of a behavior problem or because of dif-
ficulties in meeting the costs of education or to pay fees (for the
latter they would usually go to the bursar, but parents did not cus-
tomarily pay fees directly themselves). The Headmaster's main contact
with parents was by mail. Letters were sent on the average of once a
term and were sent in Luganda and English (some are reproduced in
Appendix B).

Where students said their "home" was (where their parents or guardian lived) gives an indication of the catchment area of the school. It spreads through all parts of Buganda and beyond. Students who were attracted to the educational opportunities that exist in the Kampala area (usually first to private schools and then they were able to transfer to the Mutesa School) came from Malawi, Zambia, Tanzania, and Kenya (see Map 1). Within Uganda pupils came from Ankole, Toro, Bunyoro, Lango, Busoga, and Kukedi (see Map 2). Table VII-4 shows the distance of students' "homes" from the Mutesa School.

TABLE VII-4

How Far 340 Pupils Who Attended the Mutesa
School in 1962-1963 Said Their "Homes" Were
from the School

Distance in Miles	Number of Students	Percent
0 - 9	132	38.8
10 - 19	41	12.1
20 - 100	129	37.9
100 plus	38	11.2

The Headmaster and teachers expressed the conviction that a group based on only a few parents could not be representative. The belief that a parents' group could not be representative was based not only on geographical realities (61.2% of the parents or guardians living 10 miles or more from the school) but also on the feeling that a majority of the parents were uneducated or ill-educated and would not be in a position

to participate effectively in any parents' organization. Only one fifth of the parents had had more than ten years of education. The educational background of the parents of Mutesa School pupils compared to adults in Uganda as a whole is given in Table VII-5.

TABLE VII-5[a]

The Educational Level Attained by the Parents of the Students at the Mutesa School in 1962-1963 Compared to the Educational Level of the Population in Uganda over 16 in 1959

Level	Uganda %	Mutesa Parents %
No schooling	75.0	13.1
Primary 1 to 6	21.3	49.1
Primary 7 to 9 (Jr. Secondary)	2.6	17.8
Ten or more years education	1.1	20.0

a. Interpolated from the Uganda Census, 1959, op. cit., p. 32, Table IV.27. This gives only an approximate indication of the educational background of the general population and is not an accurate representation of any population which would be comparable to that in age and geographical location of the Mutesa School parents.

Of the twenty-seven parents I interviewed only sixteen of them had ever visited the Mutesa School. Of these only eight had talked with the Headmaster and some had talked to any teacher. Only four of the sixteen had made more than one visit to the school and for informal reasons.

The other twelve had all gone to the Mutesa School in response to an invitation to attend a Prize Giving Day, Parent's Day (1960), or Sports Day (1961 and 1962), annual occasions during these four years (with a change in name for the event only). Though they were glad that their child was receiving further education at the Mutesa School, six said that they would prefer a boarding school (King's College, Budo or St. Mary's, Kisubi) and that the Mutesa School should have a hostel.

B. The Internal Informal Organization of the School:

Extensive informal interaction between the occupants of different positions occurred within the school. A comparison of the charts of formal and informal organization (Charts 2 and 4) reveals that the lines of communication were more numerous in the latter and that the arrows in the informal organization go in both directions. There are a number of important differences between the internal formal and informal organization of the school.

First is the Headmaster's reliance on a few "core" teachers, and second, his use of "core" pupils. The 100% "turnover" of teachers in a two year period (or 77% based on the figure of 6 out of 26 staying at the school throughout the two years and on into the next year) could not help but have some effect on the organization and operation of the school. It meant that the Headmaster, the few teachers who stayed on, and students (the majority of whom stayed four years) were faced in two years with twenty teachers who were new to the school with whom new patterns of

CHART VII-4

The Internal Informal Organization of the Mutesa
School, 1962-1963. Arrows Indicate Direction of
Communication. Dotted Lines Are Not as Strong as
Solid Lines
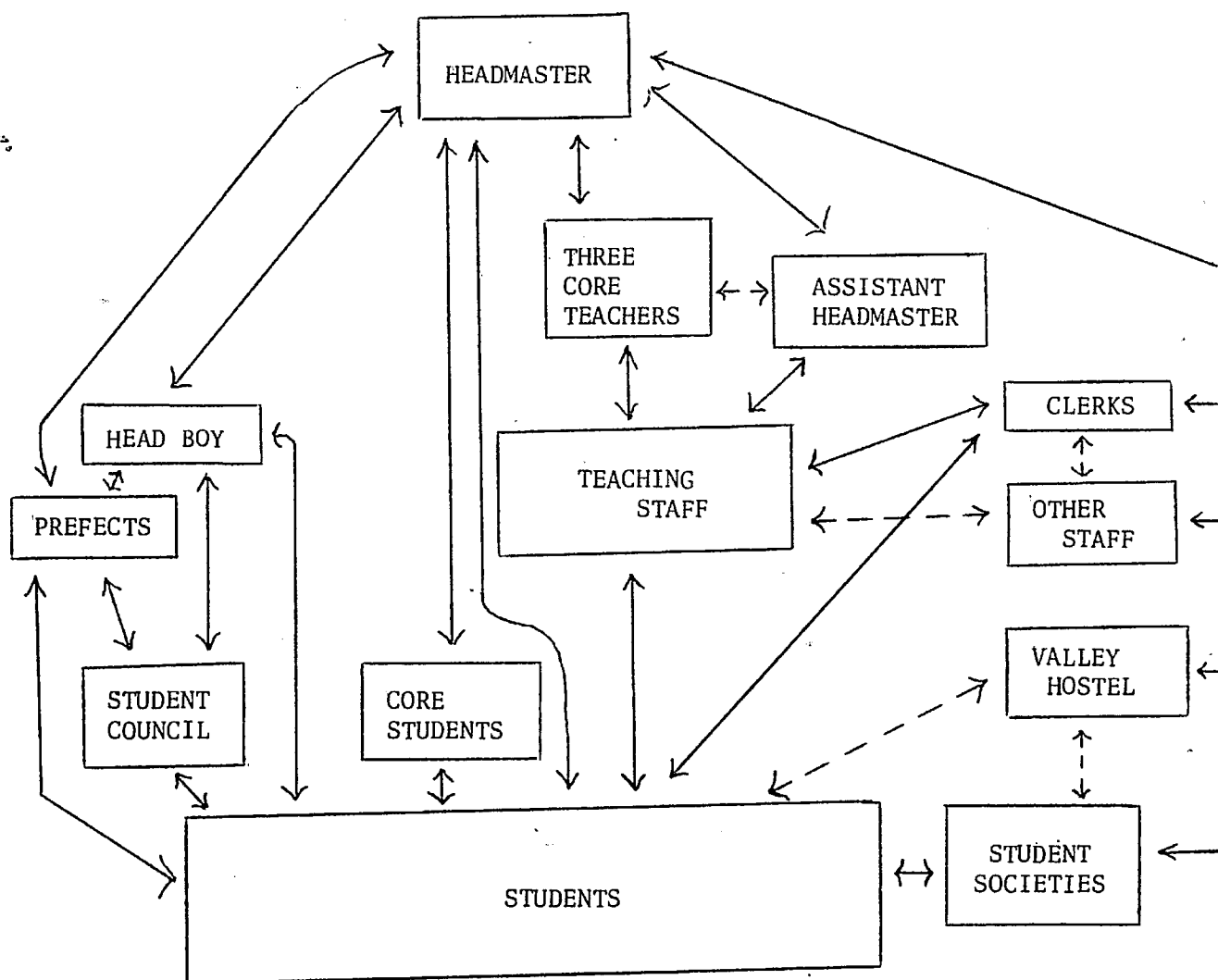
interaction and expectations had to be established.

The high turnover in teachers at the Mutesa School also resulted in those teachers who were among the core who stayed at the school gaining certain privileges that accompanied "seniority." Mr. Jones, Mr. Matthews, and Mrs. Trilling were known as "senior teachers" in their subjects. These three also formed an inner core that had greater access to and communication with Mr. White, the Headmaster, and would be relied by Mr. White in special circumstances. They were considered by others to be competent teachers, and by staying at the school shared a knowledge of the school and its patterns with the Headmaster. They also were articulate individuals and tended to monopolize the discussion in staff meetings. They shared Mr. White's cultural background and two of them had been recruited from the United Kingdom by Mr. White. Mr. Small, who came in early 1963 (also recruited by Mr. White) began to replace Mr. Jones in this "triumvirate" towards the end of 1963. During 1963 Mr. Jones and Mr. White had a number of open conflicts involving contrasting educational philosophies and opinions on administrative procedures. Mr. Lule and Mrs. Thomas who had been at the school since 1961 and 1960 were not part of the inner core for a number of reasons. Mr. Lule was viewed by the others as an incompetent teacher and was only called on for his views when absolutely necessary. Mrs. Thomas took little initiative in the affairs of the school that went beyond her immediate interests in her academic work. Both preferred to limit their responsibilities to their teaching duties and did not try to influence the

operation of the school.[14]

The main point of informal contact among the staff was over the morning
tea during the break between the third and fourth periods. Tea was
served from a small table that had room for only three to five chairs
around it. Mr. Lule's desk was at the opposite side of the room and he
nearly always took his tea there. If Mrs. Thomas joined the small circle
by the tea table she rarely participated in the conversation unless
spoken to. Mr. White usually took his tea standing with the others at
the edge of the small circle. Mr. White believed that this break was
the best time to discuss informally "school business," and used it to
sound out his core staff on different matters and the other teachers when
it involved them. The Headmaster believed that the daily informal inter-
action that took place over tea was superior to any weekly formal staff
meeting and took less of the teachers' time. That three teachers came
to serve more as the "Headmaster's assistants" than any of the other
teachers was facilitated by the pattern of informal interaction at tea
time.

In certain respects the Headmaster also found the formal sources of in-
formation from students inadequate (the Head Boy, Prefects, and Student
Council) and relied on a core group of less than a dozen pupils that he
had come to know especially well and considered reliable. These students

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14. Though Mr. Lule took an interest in the school choral society and
Mrs. Thomas volunteered to help beautify the school compound.

were frequently called on by Mr. White in private to present their view of what had happened when a matter was being disputed by others (for example when contentions developed over a theft, or the quality of the school meals, or what certain students had or had not done) and when the Headmaster wanted to test student opinion (such as on a change in the school uniform, in extra-curricular activities, or assessment of a teacher). The formal structure of prefects and Student Council did not lend itself to brief and simple communications along the lines made possible by the informal interaction between the Headmaster and the core students.

The absence of any formally organized feedback from the Student Council to the students was partially compensated for by informal communications of some of the student councillors with their friends about what had happened at the Student Council meetings. One councillor posted in his classroom his own version of what had taken place at the Student Council meetings. This action was well received by the other students (and was encouraged by his homeroom teacher).

Though the Mutesa School had no hostel as part of its formal organization (many other government day senior secondary schools did) the school came to accept into its informal organizational structure an arrangement that became known as the "Valley Hostel." The Valley Hostel began as a place near the Mutesa School where a few pupils hired rooms. After the numbers living in the many-roomed mud-and-wattle structure had grown to about ten and a number were delinquent in paying their rent the Headmaster

was brought into negotiations with the landlord and the pupils over the rent (the landlord was ready to punish all involved in the cooperative hostel venture because of the failure of a few). Mr. White was more concerned that such a large group of students living closely together in the "disreputable" area of Kisenyi could easily become involved in anti-social activities that would be detrimental to their studies. He suggested that they draw up a constitution and rules of conduct and have a patron (the pupils chose Mr. White). In 1963 the "Vallelians" hired a cook to prepare their evening and weekend meals. The building had no electricity but in the evening they could study in the library of the Mengo Social Centre which was nearby. By 1963 there were sixteen pupils living in the Valley Hostel. They formed an "intellectual community" which they found stimulating and enjoyable.[15]

Summary and Conclusions:

The external formal organization of the Mutesa School was examined from the Headmaster out. The Headmaster was responsible to the Education Secretary General who was responsible for implementing policy while the Permanent Secretary was responsible for formulating policy. These two

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15. Fees varied at different times, but averaged 40/= a term for rent and 40/= a term for food. Adding this to the 375/= Mutesa School fees (1963) and not considering any other expenses (paraffin, soap, etc.) it was costing these students more to go to the Mutesa School than to a boarding school (over 600/= a year). The Valley Hostel was at times a problem to the Headmaster. At one time a parent claimed his daughter had been impregnated in the Valley Hostel. Another time three pupils became involved in a fight over hostel fees, were expelled from the hostel, and Mr. White eventually housed them at his home to keep them from dropping out of school.

in turn were accountable to the Minister of Education, Buganda Government, who was responsible to the Katikiro, the Cabinet and the Kabaka. The Board of Governors, though begun in mid-1963, was not functioning until 1964. There was no formal organization of parents. Contact between the Headmaster and other organizations in the community theoretically went through the Buganda Government Ministry of Education.

The internal formal organizational structure of the Mutesa School had three components: first, the Headmaster, Assistant Headmaster, and teaching staff; second, the Headmaster, Head Boy, prefects, Student Council and student body; third, the Headmaster and non-teaching staff (clerks, etc.). The temporaral organization of the school divided the day into eight periods with two breaks, one for staff tea in the morning and one for lunch. Each teacher was expected to teach a total of thirty periods (twenty hours). In 1963 there were four forms in the school with three streams in Form One and two streams in the other forms, each stream consisting of approximately 35 pupils. The Head Boy and prefects were chosen by the Headmaster and the teachers. The prefects helped to maintain order in the school. The Student Council was composed of three pupils from each class chosen by Houses. The Student Council was intended to facilitate communication between the students and the Headmaster.

The informal organization was found to be flexible and fluid. Through it some of the shortcomings of the formal organization were partially compensated for. Examples were given of inefficiency in the Buganda

Government that was in part dealt with in an informal system of com-
munication and action that bypassed the official hierarchy. Informal
contacts with some parents helped in the absence of any formal parental
organization.

The internal informal organization differed from the formal organiza-
tion in that three core teachers were most active in assisting the Head-
master to run the school. The Headmaster also relied on a dozen core
pupils for information and support. The morning tea break was a time
of informal communication and decision making for the Headmaster and
some of the staff. The lack of any formally organized feedback from the
Student Council to the pupils was made up for in part by a few council-
lors who told others what had happened at the meetings and one who even
posted minutes of the meetings in his home classroom.

CHAPTER VIII

EXTERNAL FORCES: THE ENVIRONMENT

Introduction:

Organizations do not exist in a vacuum but within larger social systems.
The Mutesa School is no exception and is related to its external environ-
ment in a variety of ways. Though the school had considerable autonomy
in its operations, its freedom existed within certain limits. As noted
in the previous chapter the school was involved in a web of interrelations
with other organizations. Certain rules and regulations established by
these organizations applied to the Mutesa School and influenced its
functioning. Its external environment was the source of its clientele
and its resources, both fiscal and human, were derived from it. Effec-
tive change within the school required certain changes in other organiza-
tions in the environment. In the long range, the products of the school
were intended to assist in altering the environment.

In this chapter selected aspects of the environment and the ways ex-
ternal forces influence the Mutesa School will be examined. How the en-
vironment facilitates or blocks the achievement of organizational goals will
be considered. The focus will be on the influence of other organizations,
the image of the school, and the pupils in the external environment.

External Forces: The Influence of Other Organizations:

The Cambridge Overseas School Certificate was established by a syndicate in the United Kingdom. As this was the examination for which all the students were preparing, it determined the syllabus to be followed at the Mutesa School, though the people had some latitude in choice of subjects and the teachers in text books and methods they used.

The autonomy of the Mutesa School was achieved as a result of its conformity to certain minimum standards covering conditions of service, salaries, registration and licensing of teachers, registration and classification of schools, and inspection and control of schools[1] that were assessed by external organizations (the Central Government Ministry of Education and Inspectorate). These bodies set minimum requirements for buildings, equipment, and the educational qualifications (on paper) of the staff, and were assessed through a process of inspection. Less defined but agreed upon standards existed for the registration and recognition by the Central Government of a senior secondary school.

These external regulations to which the Mutesa School had to conform established a number of objectives toward which school could work (in building laboratories, library, obtaining equipment and books, and recruiting qualified teachers). At the same time between 1959 and 1963 the slow process of preliminary inspection, temporary recognition, withdrawal of the requirement that pupils take the Qualifying Examination,

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1. Uganda Government, The Education Ordinance, 1959 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1959); Uganda Government, The Education (Teachers' Conditions of Service) Rules, 1962 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1962); Uganda Government, Report of the Teachers' Salaries Commission (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1961).

permission to take the School Certificate as Mutesa School pupils (instead of privately) and finally in December, 1963, to take the examination at the school, had the effect of retarding the development of the school. The ability of the school to produce pupils who did well on the School Certificate depended partially on their quality when they entered the school. Only after the school obtained temporary recognition from the Central Government and the pupils no longer had to take the Qualifying Examination did the number of applications to enter the school begin to increase. The change enabled the school to begin to shift from an un- selected clientele to one that was selected. Mr. White could now attend the annual Headmasters' Conference in January where pupils were parcelled out between the recognized schools. Here he could compete with other schools for pupils and could bargain with their Headmasters. Thus the change in pupil intake (from poor quality and unselected to selected and better quality; here quality is defined by performance at the June Leaving Examination) that followed the process of inspection and recognition as provided by the two external organizations, appeared to facilitate the achievement of the schools' organizational goals. This matter will be examined in more detail in Chapter XII which deals with the students of the Mutesa School.

The internal autonomy of a school can be restricted by external agents when it blatantly fails to achieve its goals. An example of this is seen by the strike at the Mutesa School in 1958 which initiated outside inter- ference into the school and a process of change. The Buganda Government made a commitment to develop the school and each year between 1958 and 1964 met some capital expenses and increasing recurrent costs (the

recurrent costs averaged 1500/= per pupil for teachers' salaries, text books, exercise books, library books, and equipment while capital costs varied, with the classroom block built in 1962-1963 costing 100,000/=, the library 22,000/=, and the laboratory built in 1964, 77,000/=). The assistance of the Buganda Government made possible major improvements at the school. Yet the fact that the school was a Buganda Government School also imposed limits on its development. Between 1960 and 1963 the Central Government extended its recognition and financial support to nineteen schools and obtained funds from the United States Agency for International Development to expand selected schools (of the twenty-three pre-1960 aided-senior secondary schools) to three streams. If the school could have been included in these new grants-in-aid it would have made available adequate funds for needed equipment and made possible the construction of required school buildings (three laboratories, classrooms, library, assembly-dining hall, kitchen) on a new site within a year.[2] Instead the process of re-building the school had to be drawn out over a five year period; even by 1965 the school was short one laboratory, had no hall, staff offices, vehicles, or music or art room that compared favorably to those of other aided schools. Thus, while being a Buganda Government school made possible some improvements, what changes did take place fell far short of what they might have been had the school been aided by the Central Government.

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2. For a number of years the proposal to move the Mutesa School outside the Lubiri was given preliminary consideration by the Buganda Government. If funds for the complete reconstruction of the school had been available this move probably would have taken place. At an interview on September 22, 1962, the Kabaka expressed concern that there was no way for the school to expand except up.

The inability of the Buganda Government to contribute more to the rapid and complete development of the physical plant of the Mutesa School can be attributed to the inadequate financial resources of the Kingdom. Between 1959 and 1964 the Buganda Government operated at a deficit and depleted its reserves by an estimated Ł 673,876 (from 731,986 to 58,110).[3] Expenditures of all Ministries ran at a higher rate than approved. The Ministry of Education accounted for approximately one third of the Kabaka's Government expenditures each year.

As a Buganda rather than a Central Government school all funds for capital development and recurrent costs came from the Buganda Government. (School fees also went to the Buganda Government treasury and were not remitted for the use of the Mutesa School, as was the practice for schools aided by the Central Government.) The budget for the school was prepared by the Headmaster and then passed by the Permanent Secretary to the Budget Committee of the Ministry of Finance. The Mutesa School competed for funds at the level of the Ministry of Education with other schools supported by the Buganda Government (primary, junior secondary, teacher training, farm, technical and trade schools). In the Budget Committee the school would compete with budget requests from the other ministries of the Buganda Government.

The shortage of funds available to the Mutesa School resulted in a number of anachronisms. The school budget each year for athletic equipment remained at twenty shillings (just to keep the item open). Though the Buganda Government Ministry of Education accepted the Lawrence Scale for

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3. Kabaka's Government, The Economic Development of the Kingdom of Buganda, Part I, Economic Survey (Kampala: Ministry of Economic Planning and Development, 1965), p. 89.

budget of a domestic science school program at another Buganda Government school. The library was built in three months at the end of 1962-beginning of 1963, but the limited resources did not permit the construction of shelves during 1963. It did not open with shelves and books until 1964.

One constant source of difficulty was communicating by telephone. The school's tight budget did not allow for it to have its own telephone. The school was on an extension phone from the Old Bulange. The school also had to share the same extension with the Headmaster and teachers at the neighboring Nabagereka School. The switchboard at the Old Bulange closed promptly at four o'clock (and often before four) while the school day did not end until much later (sometimes till six o'clock). The Old Bulange had an insufficient number of lines and frequently a line was not available when it was needed. Sometimes up to half an hour could be spent trying to complete a phone call which under efficient circumstances might take a few minutes.

Another condition in the formal external relationships of the Mutesa School that appeared to be dysfunctional for the achievement of its goals was bureaucratic inefficiency. Some examples of inefficiency on the part of the Buganda Government have been presented in the previous chapter. But inefficiency was not limited to the Kabaka's Government. At one time the Central Government Ministry of Education took three months to say whether they would license a teacher Mr. White had recruited from abroad and to indicate what his salary scale should be. The school was also handicapped in its development by the conflicts between the Buganda Government and the Central Government. If the two governments had been on more harmonious terms it is likely that the school might have been

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granted complete recognition and financial aid by the Central Government in 1961, when the school was first inspected. But in 1960 and 1961 Uganda was a Protectorate and the Central Government was still controlled by Great Britain. In 1960 Buganda attempted to secede from Uganda and issued its own unilateral declaration of independence. In 1961 UPC supporters in Buganda boycotted the national elections in Uganda.[6]

After independence in 1962 Abu Mayanja, the Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government, became the spokesman for Kabaka Yekka and the Buganda Government in defending the position of the Kingdom and the Kabaka. On January first 1963 the Buganda Government Ministry of Education assumed control (under the 1962 Constitution of Uganda) of the eleven other senior secondary schools within Buganda that had been administered by the Central Government, and received a block grant from the Central Government to cover the increase in expenditure. This might have been a suitable time for the Central Government Ministry of Education to extend their block grant to cover the recurrent and capital costs of the Mutesa School, but no such change was made. Having as Buganda Government Minister of Education a key political leader in the "opposition" impeded the achievement of the goals of the school.[7]

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6. For another view of the conflict see: Joseph Mubiru, "Uganda: Nationalism Unresolved," Africa Today, Vol. 8, No. 7, September, 1961, pp. 8-13.

7. Only in 1964 after Abu Mayanja resigned as Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government did the school begin to benefit more directly from Central Government assistance. In 1964 the Mutesa School passed inspection and in 1965 the new Minister of Education in the Kabaka's Government made successful applications to the Central Government to include the school in the block grant and in the budget for capital development. This change may also be due to a change in personalities. It might also be attributed to a new Chief Education Officer in the Central Government who was not so hostile to Buganda as the previous Chief Education Officer (a European) and who remained a member of the Board of Governors of the school (he was appointed when he was a Headmaster of another school before he became a civil servant).

During 1963 the Buganda Government was in direct conflict with the Central Government over the future of the "lost counties." The Ndaiga settlement scheme which was such a drain on the treasury was part of a political effort by the Kabaka's Government to retain the two counties of Buyaga and Bugangazzi as part of the Kingdom of Buganda instead of relinquishing them to the Kingdom of Bunyoro. A few thousand Baganda ex-soldiers were settled in these counties with the intention of "packing" the vote on the referendum. The Buganda Government moved to limit the powers of the Central Government in the counties and the Kabaka spent a large part of 1963 in residence at Ndaiga.[8]

Education became involved in this political arena over the issue of who determined educational policy for Buganda--the Buganda Government or the Central Government.

> There is unfortunately plenty of room for misunderstandings over the responsibility for educational policies between the Kabaka's Government and the Uganda Government,...The Uganda Government regards itself as the ultimate authority for education and the Kabaka's Government as a sort of delegated administering authority. While it is obviously desirable that there should be close coopera-tion and coordination, and while it is desirable that, as far as possible, there should be general educational policy, common to all the Kingdom Governments and District Administrations, the Kabaka's Government and not the Uganda Government is responsible for education in Buganda and a common policy does not mean uniformity. If the Kabaka's Government feels that a policy laid down by the Uganda Government is undesirable and if a reversal cannot be obtained, then the Kabaka's Government should devise and carry out its own policy.[9]

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8. These moves were circumvented by the Central Government. Only those who had been resident and registered to vote in the two counties before independence were permitted to vote in the referendum in 1964. The counties were lost by Buganda and on January 1st, 1965 they were trans-ferred back to the Kingdom of Bunyoro.

9. Kabaka's Government, The Economic Development of the Kingdom of Buganda, op. cit., p. 84.

In 1962-1963 the Buganda Government did attempt, whenever possible, to
"devise and carry out its own policy." Mr. White anticipated being able
to choose 35 (only one stream) of the best pupils from the seven hundred
that applied to enter the school in January, 1963. Instead his Minister
instructed him to accept 105 (three streams) into Form One and 35 new
pupils at the Form Two level (giving two streams in Form Two in 1963
instead of only one). If Mr. White had been able to limit the new
recruits to one stream he could have been assured of having a group of
students who had the potential to perform well four years later on the
School Certificate. Only sixty-five pupils did well enough on the Junior
Leaving Examination in 1962 to be approved by the Central Government for
entrance into the Mutesa School in 1963. Contrary to the desires of
the Central Government Mr. White had to admit eighty pupils that had
"failed" the Junior Leaving Examination (this includes 45 into Form One
to help make three streams and 35 into Form Two). This resulted in the
admission of pupils who could be "expected" to do poorly on the School
Certificate.[10]

The Minister, Abu Mayanja, wanted for political reasons to be able to
point to what the Kabaka's Government was doing to develop education in
Buganda. He could also argue that if at some later date the Central
Government desired to have 10% of the senior secondary age group in
schools, the school could accept a few more students now when the pro-
portion was less than 3%.[11] Thus political realities accelerated the

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10. This expectation of future inferior performance on a distant examina-
tion is based on the evidence that the best indicator of future performance
is past performance. The 35 pupils who entered Form Two were partially
selected by an achievement test prepared by Jonathan Silvey.

11. The problem also must be considered in the light of the question--
what proportion of the age group are capable of doing academic senior

rate of growth of the Mutesa School while at the same time they extended the school's dependence on recruiting from an unselected clientele. These external forces are seen in this instance as hindering the achievement of the school's goals.[12]

External forces also influenced the pattern of recruitment of teachers for the Mutesa School. The teacher supply was world wide, with teachers coming from Uganda, other parts of Africa, Asia, Europe, the United States and Canada. Though the Headmaster was responsible for recruitment, the distant and varied sources of teachers made it impossible for him to attract teachers whom, through personal contact and interviews, he could be sure held views close to his own (though his recruitment of Jones, Matthews and Small was an effort in this direction). The source of this lack of control may be traced to the school's external environment. Furthermore, both the Buganda and Uganda Governments preferred that the educational service be localized for political reasons. The pressure for localization also had an economic origin. By far the most costly item in the recurrent expenditures of the Mutesa School was teachers' salaries and it is not surprising that the Governments encouraged the hiring of locally recruited teachers whose salaries were only one-half those which expatriates could command. During the third term, in 1963, only four of the teachers were Ugandans (one Asian and three Africans) out of a total

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secondary school work and passing the School Certificate? In England and Wales in 1962 only 18.4% of the age group of 14 years old were in academic grammar schools. In 1961, 15.8% of the age group of 18 year olds passed the GCE. The numbers enrolled and passing are projected as increasing in the future. See the Robbins Report, Committee of Higher Education, Higher Education Appendix One (London: HMSO, 1963), pp. 95, 11, and 233.

12. The admission of unselected students (the same as private schools) did not help the image of the school.

of thirteen teachers. Of these the school had six teachers for which

the Buganda Government had to pay the expatriate bonus. Yet in Uganda

in 1963 out of a teaching force of over 500 in senior secondary schools

only 34 were Ugandans. The Mutesa School, though it was only one of 42

aided secondary schools had 14.7% of these teachers. It was able to

attract African teachers because it was located in the main urban area

of Uganda. But the high upward mobility of university educated Africans

into more responsible and higher paying jobs with other organizations

resulted in a high turnover of African teachers.[13]

These external circumstances made it impossible to establish a cohesive

and permanent teaching force at any school.[14] The school had to compete

with the Central Government in both recruiting and retaining teachers.

A number left the school to join other schools aided by the Central

Government. The opportunities for upward mobility of African teachers

in the society, that began with increased Africanization in 1961, re-

sulted in Africans remaining in teaching who were either recent recruits

to the profession or older teachers who for a number of reasons were

incapable of change. One effect of this at the school was that the

pupils perceived their African teachers as inferior to other members of

the staff.

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13. By 1965 the only African teachers left at the Mutesa School who had
been there in 1963 were the two who were wives of Makerere University
College senior staff members. Two Asians and five Europeans who were
there in 1963 were still teaching at the school in 1965.

14. The Uganda Government has suggested ten year contracts for expatriate
teachers that are reconsidered every two years. See E.K.K. Sempepbwa,
"Overseas Sources of High Level Manpower," East Africa Journal, August,
1965, pp. 21-29.

The quality of the teaching received by the pupils relates directly to the achievement of the goals of the school. This point will be examined in more detail in later chapters (Chapters XI and XII). What is pertinent here is that the external forces of Africanization and the mobility of university educated Africans resulted in the necessity for the school to employ and retain local staff who were not always the best.

The Buganda Government followed the Central Government in offering expatriate teachers inducements that were not extended to locally hired teachers. These teachers hired from abroad were paid approximately twice the sum that the local teacher with equivalent qualifications received. The expatriates were also offered car loans and subsidized housing while these benefits were denied to most locals. These externally established procedures helped to attract and maintain at the school three of the teachers who had been recruited from England.[15] It was also one of the reasons that a number of the African teachers left the school for positions of responsibility (or training leading to new credentials) with higher salaries that would enable them to own a car and live in better circumstances. The differential reward system then served to facilitate the achievement of the goals of the school where the expatriates were concerned, while mitigating against their attainment with respect to the African teachers.

A traditional regulation imposed on the school by its presence within the Lubiri made it impossible to utilize fully the physical plant of the school.

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15. In England the expatriate teachers were earning approximately £ = 780 a year while in Uganda they were paid nearly £ = 1500. They were also provided a substantial ranch-type house to live in at a highly subsidized rent, and they employed servants ("house boy" and "shamba boy") that they could never have afforded in the United Kingdom. Given these conditions it is not surprising that these teachers renew their contracts.

Traditionally all males who were not invited into the Lubiri by the Kabaka had to leave the royal compound by six PM. But each year in the months preceding the School Certificate Examination (October and November) a number of students in the Fourth Form would stay at the school after six PM. They would close the large wooden shutters on the windows and stay in a classroom reading by the dim electric lights and then sleep at their desks all night. They did this to avoid the time lost travelling home, preparing their own evening meal, and the various disturbances where they live. The most that would happen to them would be that they would be discovered by the night watchman who would tell the Headmaster. Mr. White, understanding the situation, would simply request them not to stay at the school over night again.

The school was assisted in the development of its student societies by people from a number of external organizations. Representatives from the Red Cross, the Uganda Boys Clubs, Youth Leads Youth, the YMCA, YWCA, and the Boy Scouts helped to organize branches among pupils at the school. Religious representatives from the Catholic, Protestant, and Muslim faiths visited the school weekly to lead classes in religious education. Students also participated in the special programs and flag days of other organizations. They would assist the Save the Children Foundation to raise money, donate blood for the blood bank, and appear on special programs of Radio Uganda and Uganda T.V. All these activities in cooperation with external organizations helped to improve the public image of the school. The school cooperated with other schools in arranging athletic, debating, elocution, singing, and dramatic competitions. The Mutesa School competed with other secondary schools for the books distributed by the British Council, the United States Information Service,

and Books for Africa. The school had received some books for its library from these agencies, but only after considerable effort on the part of the Headmaster. It required convincing the agencies that the Mutesa School, though it was not on the list of senior secondary schools aided by the Central Government, was an aided school supported by the Buganda Government.

The Image of the School:

A significant aspect of an organization's relations with its environment is the image that others have of it.

> Men act according to the way they perceive, and they act toward organizations on the basis of their impressions of them. Public impressions are important social facts, whether they are accurate or not.[16]

We have already noted that one of the motivations behind one of the major goals of the Mutesa School, institution building, was to change the public image of the school from "just another private school" to that of "the best day senior secondary school." Mr. White was very sensitive to the politics of creating a public image and tried to instill in the students an appreciation for the way their actions affected the school as a whole. His repetition of the ideology of the school was a move in this direction. He also sought out favorable publicity for various activities of the school, for example victories in athletics, awards in drama, debating, elocution, and singing competitions, recognition for service in blood contributed, flag days assisted, and public works performed by the

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16. Burton R. Clark, Educating the Expert Society (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co., 1964), p. 197.

Adventurers Club.[17] School Certificate results are published annually
in the press. The better the results for a school the higher its status.
The status of the school partly influenced the chances of the school in
competing and bargaining for support and services from other organizations,
especially the Central Government.

Two good examples of the relationship between the external environment
of the school, its status, and the behavior of students involve changes
in the school uniform. In 1962 the girls' uniform was a simple blue
skirt that gathered at the waist and a white blouse. This also became
the "unofficial uniform" of a number of the local _Malaya_ (prostitutes).
There had already been some talk at the school about many non-Mutesa
girls wearing the same clothes and giving a "bad name" to the school
when the following letter appeared in the vernacular press:

> Permit me to convey my appeal to the Headmaster of the Mutesa
> School and to allow all fellow parents concerned about the
> uniform of the girl-students in this school, which according
> to myself, out to be changed.
>
> Several times when I walk in Kampala and districts I get very
> annoyed to see the girl's uniform used in a way which can
> annoy every parent. And because of this atmosphere that is
> caused I personally think the uniform ought to be changed.
>
> Generally this uniform isn't for students any longer, but to
> every person here in Kampala, mostly to girls who sew on the
> sewing machines.
>
> In this way when people use the uniform they give the
> rightful owners a bad name because of the places and circum-
> stances in which some of the wearers are met.
>
> As a result, anyone who sees this goes away shaking his head at
> the bad behaviors of the Mutesa pupils, when in reality it is not so.
> Therefore, as we like to avoid such things, I ask that the uniform be

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17. When the Headmasters of other schools made sarcastic comments to Mr.
White about the amount of publicity his school was getting he responded
by limiting the press coverage. He felt that they were jealous of the
Mutesa School's successes.

changed in order to avoid spoiling the name of our school and our children.[18]

This provided the incentive and the rationale on which the change to a new uniform could be made (and helped to avoid some of the resistance that would be met by poorer parents to having to spend 40/= for a new uniform). The Headmaster read the letter at the end-of-term staff meeting and two of the women teachers produced a design for a girls' uniform that would definitely be "school-girlish" so that it would not be copied by others. The new uniform had a rise in front with straps that crossed in back. The girls were ambivalent in their reaction to the new uniform but understood why they had to change.

The change in the girls' uniform made possible a change in the boys' uniform. Since a July 5th, 1962, meeting of the Student Council there had been some agitation for long trousers for the students who were in the fourth form. The African teachers were against the students' having trousers. They were school boys. One said, "If you have trousers you'll soon have tight jeans." The additional cost was the main objection. The Headmaster then pointed out that the present uniform which combined white shorts (18/=) plus long stockings (12/=) cost more than a pair of long trousers (or 30/= to 26/=). It was eventually decided to change to gray shorts for form one, and gray trousers or shorts for forms two and three, and trousers for form four. It was reasoned that many of the pupils above form one were eighteen or older and fully grown and that it was senseless to make them wear shorts as "school boys." The Headmaster favored the change because of the difficulty of keeping white shorts clean.

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18. Translated literally by Henry S. Kimbugwe, from the _Taifa Empya_ (Kampala), November 22, 1962, p. 3.

The students welcomed the new uniform, first because it was a sign that they were being treated as adults; second, a recognition of their request and dignity; and third, because it gave them a special status in the community of Greater Kampala where students usually didn't get to wear trousers as part of a school uniform until fourth form, and often until fifth form.

In October 1962 and again in February 1963 (for the new students) I asked the pupils to rank their school in relation to two boarding schools and three other day schools. They ranked the two boarding schools best (1 and 2) and then ranked their own school third, or best of the day schools.[19] They were then asked how they thought other people would rank the school. To help them understand this question and what "other people" meant they were given the following example: "If you went into Kampala, or to the Katwe Market, and began asking people you met on the street how they would compare your school to the other schools, what do you think they would answer?"[20] The results are given in Table VIII-1.

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19. One of the boarding schools was run by Catholics and one by Protestants and which was ranked first conformed to the religious affiliation of the students.

20. Unfortunately I did not repeat this question in the same way at the end of 1963 to see if all the accomplishments of the school were followed by a parallel change in how the students perceived others' perception of the school.

TABLE VIII-1

How 345 Pupils at the Mutesa School in Late 1962
and Early 1963 Ranked Their School and How They
Thought People in the Community Would Rank the
School (Out of Six Schools) with "1" Being
"Best," "2" Next, to "6" the "Worst"

Item	Mean Rank	Standard Deviation
Students	3.02	1.13
"Others"	3.78	1.03

The results shown in Table VIII-1 indicate that the students at the

Mutesa School ranked their school as "better" than they thought others

ranked the school. When asked about this, a few students indicated that

they knew how the school had improved but they thought people outside

the school did not know and would still consider the school as a "poor"

school. It could be postulated that when a school is in the process of

rapid change something akin to "status lag" in the external environment

will take place.

External Conditions; Students and the Environment:

Because the Mutesa School is a day school the pupils spend more time

outside the school than in it. They might spend only 40 to 54 hours a

week within the school compound. This is between a third and a half of

the time they are awake each week during term time. The remainder of

their time was spent in its external environment. For a majority of the

pupils all of their vacations were spent away from the school. Assuming

students sleep eight hours a night (or are active sixteen hours a day)

and counting them in school for 54 hours a week for 36 weeks a year, the

Kawempe 5

Kazo 1

Bwaise 2

KYANDONDO SAZA

Nansana 1

Kawaala 2

Mulago 8

Ntinda 4

Namungoona 3

Kasubi 3

Makerere 18 1

Nakulabye 3

KAMPALA CITY

Naguru 4

Kagugube 1

Kololo 1

Nasanafu 2

Lubya 1

Namirembe 12

Old Kampala 3

Nakasero 5

Lugala 3

Bulange 3

Nakawa 2

Bugolobi 3

MENGO

Mengo "Area" 28

Kibuli 3

Busega 2

MUNICIPALITY

x
MUTESA SCHOOL

Katwe 3

Natete 12

Rubaga 9

Ndeeba 7

Kibuye 7

Nsambya 5

Mutundwe 5

Lukuli 4

Bukasa 2

Najanankumbi 15

Kabowa 9

Makindye 3

Masajja 6

Bunamwya 5

BUSIRO SAZA

MAP 7

The Density of Students from the Mutesa School Living in Mengo Municipality, Kampala, and Parts of Kyandondo Saza by "village." Kampala City = 18; Mengo = 175; Kyandondo = 33. 35 other pupils lived elsewhere in Kyandondo and 18 in Busiro and 1 in Kyagwe. Information is for 280 pupils in Setptember, 1963. The distance across the map is approximately seven miles.

students spend only one third of their total active time each year in school.[21]

It has been shown previously that only 49.1% of the students had "homes" twenty or more miles from the school and 61.2% came from beyond ten miles. The majority of pupils thus had to seek a place to live within Greater Kampala. Seventy-two per cent succeeded in finding quarters within the three mile limit (264 out of 366) while of these 67% were with parents or relatives (177 out of 264). The living arrangements made by students and the distance they resided from the school and its possible relation to the achievement of goals will be considered at a later point.

Conditions such as excessive or insufficient rainfall can damage the coffee and cotton crops, and thus can result in lowered incomes on the part of those who help to pay school fees. A shrinkage in financial resources can force pupils to withdraw from school because they are unable to pay their fees. The inability of the school to retain its pupils due to external forces of this kind directly contradicts the goal of maximizing the potential of the pupils. Problems of retention will be examined in more detail in Chapter XII.

The minimal financial resources available to the majority of pupils made it impossible for them to utilize the educational and cultural opportunities outside their school available in the capital. The distribution of the Mutesa pupils within Greater Kampala is shown in Map 7 facing this page.

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21. This assumes no absences due to external causes (such as illness, or inability to pay school fees). If the students spent the minimum of time at the school, 40 hours a week, they would during a year spend only 24.7% of their time in school, compared to students in boarding schools who spend 69% of their time in school.

Of 280 students reporting where they lived by villages in September, 1963, only 18, or 6.4% lived within Kampala City. Of those who were in Kampala City 6 were in housing estates (Naguru and Nakawa) with relatives, one was with her parents (Old Kampala) and the other 11 were living in servants' quarters. So even those who lived in the City were not living in the best of circumstances.

The students at the Mutesa School lived in or near the most modern developed part of Uganda, the city of Kampala, but their interaction with and participation in modern life was severely limited. Seventy nine per cent of the students rarely ever went to the cinema. Twenty seven per cent never read magazines. Only 17.3% said they read a newspaper daily, while 26.1% said they rarely read a newspaper. Only 34.6% of the students said they belonged or participated in any organization outside of school. When asked, "What is your favourite way of spending your free time?" 63.7% mentioned reading or studying. When asked, "What are the things you do with your friends after school or on Saturdays and Sundays?" 25.4% mentioned studying. The most popular places students visited were: first, the various parks in the area; and second, the libraries (British Council and United States Information Services). Only 4% mentioned going to the cinema as what they did with their friends, or the place they went to most often.

An excellent description of the conditions in which at least 25% of the students live is contained in the section on Kisenyi by Aiden Southall in Townsmen in the Making. These conditions would hold for those in hired rooms and a small proportion of the others. The conditions in which the majority of students live who are scattered through Mengo Municipality and

beyond are similar to those described by Peter Gutkind in his section on Mulago in Townsmen in the Making.[22]

Ideally the pupils in a day senior secondary school should be as free of competing demands for their time as are pupils in boarding schools. Instead the environment interferes in a variety of ways that are detrimental to their activities as pupils and therefore hinders the achievement of the goals of the school.

In going between the Mutesa School and the place where they live during term time, the students move between two environments. Movement into a "field of cultural change" is now daily, compared to three times a year for students in boarding schools, and seasonally or longer for workers who migrate to urban areas.[23]

Unfortunately this is not a depth study of how students change as a result of being in a day senior secondary school. From being with them, visiting

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22. Aiden Southall and Peter Gutkind, Townsmen in the Making, East African Study No. 9 (Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, 1957). Southall's part on Kisenyi is covered in pages 19 to 91 and Gutkind's on Mulago in pages 92 to 182.

23. Musgrove in his study of a secondary boarding school as a field of cultural change found that students changed in three ways when in the school: 1) class groups obliterated age groups; 2) merit and achieved status became more important than tribal or age status; and 3) new loyalties were to class, team, dormitory, school society, and the school. (F.A. Musgrove, "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Cultural Change," Africa, 1952, No. 22, pp. 234-49). It has already been shown in this study that Mutesa students recognized achieved status and that their loyalty was to the school (a function of their role as students). Friendship patterns were nearly completely within classes. Musgrove had really only observed a role change in his students. He did not carry out any follow-up study during vacations that would have answered questions about how "central" these changes were and what new patterns of behavior remained irreversible.

in their homes, and observing them I would say that what occurs is not simply a process of acculturation or detribalization. The young Africans quickly learn the proper expectations associated with their new role as "student" but this does not negate their other roles as son, sibling, member of a family, member of a clan, villager, friend, etc. This conforms to Van Velsen's findings that a change in roles occurs; that Africans are fully capable of functioning in a new sphere and in no way lose the ability to function in the old.[24] The daily involvement in roles external to the school was a source of conflict for many students. They were keenly aware that their ability to perform well as students depended on having sufficient time to do their academic work. Even if they had found solutions to the problem of where to live, how to get to school, and where the next meals were coming from, they still remained vulnerable to external pressures. A pupil's loss of time can be considered detrimental to the attainment of the school's goals.

The Mutesa students functioning in the external environment inevitably resulted in a variety of conflicts. Where they lived they would have both "minority" and "student" status. As a minor they had to obey their parents or guardians and attempt to meet their expectations. Where the parents or guardians placed a higher priority on non-student activities (this often accompanied an ignorance of what senior secondary education consisted of and how much time it required of the pupils after school) the pupil often had insufficient time for his homework. Students, to varying degrees, were expected to dig in gardens, haul water, take care of siblings, and

24. Van Velsen, "Labor Migration as a Positive Factor in the Continuity of Tong Tribal Society," Economic Development and Cultural Change, Vol. VIII, No. 3, April 1960, pp. 265-278.

cook and clean. If the paraffin candle they used to read by at night

disturbed an adult as its light flickered over a low partition it might

be ordered out with little consideration given to the pupil's need to

finish his lessons.

Few pupils had a room that was theirs only, and having to share a room

with a number of others, especially if they were not students, could be

a source of conflict. Those pupils who lived in hired rooms had some

choice over with whom they shared their room, but no control over what

the neighbors might be like (and this could range from prostitutes to

beer rooms). They also had little protection from thieves.

An attempt was made to develop an index, the "study climate scale." It

was based on a combination of five factors, with one point being given

for each factor present (and a zero if none were present). The factors

were: walking not more than three miles or riding a bike, bus, or car not

more than five miles to school; being satisfied with the place where the

student lived during term; receiving some assistance in his studies outside

of school (by friend or relative); having an electric or paraffin pressure

lamp to study by at night; and having enough time to study. For the 357

pupils on which this information was available the mean was 3.27 and the

standard deviation 1.28. The complete distribution is given in Table VIII-2.

TABLE VIII-2

The Study Climate of the Pupils at the Mutesa
School on a Six-Point Scale from One Equals
Worst to Six Equals Best

Points	%	n
1	6.4	23
2	26.8	96
3	21.9	78
4	27.5	98
5	13.2	47
6	4.2	15

Six categories were used to describe places where the pupils lived. They are: with their parent(s), free with a friend, free with relatives, with relatives where they made an agreement to work in exchange for room and board, with a non relative ("master") with whom they have agreed to exchange their labor for room and board, and in a room that they have rented. The distribution of the Mutesa pupils on these six categories is given in Table VIII-3.

TABLE VIII-3

The Distribution of Mutesa School
Pupils by Living Categories and
Distance Residing from School
(% by Category)
(When First Reported on Their Questionnaire)

Living Category	Total	Distance in Miles:			
		0 - 3	4 and 5	6 - 8	9+
1) Parents: 27.9%	102	61.8	22.6	8.8	6.9
2) Free with Friends: 6.8%	25	84.0	12.0	4.0	-
3) Free with Relatives: 36.1%	134	74.2	15.9	6.1	3.8
4) Working for Relatives: 6.8%	25	64.0	4.0	20.0	12.0
5) Working for a Master: 2.5%	9	55.6	22.2	22.2	-
6) Hiring a Room: 19.9%	73	83.5	13.7	1.4	1.4
Totals: n =	366	264	60	26	16
% =	100	72.1	16.4	7.1	4.4

Those students who live free with friends, work for a master, or who hire a room, have had the greatest freedom of choice as to where they live (especially those who hire a room) compared to those who must live in with their parents or relatives. Of the 42 students who live six or more miles away from the school 36 (or 88%) live with their parents or relatives.

The housing situation for students is not stable. The students will move if a more favorable situation presents itself. A student who lives ten miles from school with his parents (cycling twenty miles a day) will move to live in one of the other categories if the opportunity presents itself. A student who is hiring a room and runs short of funds will seek a place to live where he can work as a servant for a "master" in exchange for his room and board rather than drop out of school. To live "free-with-friend" was a most desired category. During the study ten teachers provided housing for sixteen pupils in their "servants quarters."[25] The distinction between "Free with relatives" and "Working for relatives" rests in the latter group expecting the student to work for his room and board.

If the student planned to better his living conditions, he usually made the change between terms, though some students were forced by circumstances to move during the term (their benefactor left town, they found it impossible to manage where they were staying, or the people whom they were staying with threw them out). If a student who was in a hired room had insufficient funds to pay the rent over a school vacation he usually was

25. Probably more students who listed that they live with "relatives" in fact were living with people who were completely un-related to them. The Baganda have a traditional system of forming ties between people who are un-related which can result in an individual assuming responsibility for a boy. This boy may then call this individual "father." I only learned of three students who were in this situation.

forced to vacate the room and then seek another at the start of the next term.

Table VIII-3 is misleading in that it gives the first recorded living situation for students at different points in time. It gives a static impression when in reality 41.5% (153 out of 360) changed the place where they lived during the five terms studied or definitely planned to move into a different place in January, 1964. One student moved four times, thirteen moved three times, 47 moved twice, and 92 moved once during the study. The main reasons given for moving (in open ended questions) were, in referring to the place the student had moved from: "not enough time to study," "too far from school," "I'm disturbed by others," "not enough money," "the place was too bad," "my master is moving," or combinations of these.[26]

The student who lived in four different places during the eighteen months moved for three different reasons. At first he lived at Namirembe with his brother. His brother then left to study in the U.K. and he moved in with a friend at Namirembe. He had conflicts with this family over studying at night - the low partitions let the light from his paraffin candle disturb them when they wanted to sleep - so he moved to a hired room, at Bulange. When he ran out of funds he moved to the servants' quarters of a Mr. Musisi in Namirembe for whom he worked as a servant digging and cleaning. He hoped to move from this place because he felt he was "overworked."

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26. "Bad" was used to refer to situations where the student was in a hired room next to a room occupied by prostitutes and used as a bar, or where the student was sharing his room with others who were not students and had no interests in his studies. I found three students who were sharing a room with a non-student and his "wife."

For the 229 moves that were recorded (and there may have been more if a student had moved twice between the times two questionnaires were administered or a student did not complete a questionnaire), 223 new living situations were mentioned. Twenty-eight times students moved back to live with their parents (or 12.6%). This would happen when funds were not available to pay for a hired room near the school, or a student found the conditions where he was living with a relative unfavourable, or parents could now buy a bike or pay the bus fare so a student could live with them farther away from school. The highest proportion of moves were into hired rooms (79 or 35.4%). In Table VIII-4 the original living situation for the students when they entered the study is shown by the six living categories (the same as in Table VIII-3), compared to the new living situations for the 223 moves of 153 students, over six terms (including 32 students who said they planned to move in January, 1964), and the relationship between these two by category.

TABLE VIII-4

The Original Living Situation of 366 Students (A),
the Living Situation Which 153 Students Made 223
Moves into (B), and the Proportion of B to A

Living Category	A		B		B as % of A
	Number	%	Number	%	
1	102	27.9	28	12.6	27.5
2	25	6.8	30	13.5	120.0
3	134	36.1	51	22.9	38.1
4	25	6.8	14	6.2	56.0
5	9	2.5	21	9.4	233.3
6	73	19.9	79	35.4	108.2
Total	366	100.0	223	100.0	-

Table VIII-4 indicates that more students moved between "free with friend," "working for a master," or in a "hire room" than those who lived with parents or relatives.

By September 1963 the distribution of where students lived by categories had only changed slightly, with slightly less proportionately living with parents or free with relatives while proportionately more were living with friends, a master, or working for their relatives. This is shown in Table VIII-5.

TABLE VIII-5

The Living Category for 298 Pupils at the
Mutesa School in September, 1963

	Living Category	Number	Per Cent
1	Parents	71	23.8
2	Free with Friends	27	9.1
3	Free with Relatives	94	31.5
4	Working for Relatives	36	12.1
5	Working for a Master	16	5.4
6	Hired Room	54	18.1
	Totals	298	100.0

With whom students live and under what arrangements appears to have a direct relationship to their activities as students. While 47.0% of those pupils who lived free with relatives and 41.6% of those with their parents thought that they had enough time to revise (do homework), only 31.6% of those in

hired rooms, 24% of those working for their relatives, and 11% of those working for masters thought that they had enough time to prepare their lessons after school. Only 15.7% of those pupils living with their parents prepared their own supper while 55% of those with masters and 67.6% of those in hired rooms had to cook their evening meals. A paraffin pressure or electric light was available to 41.1% of those pupils who lived with their parents while only 10% of those in hired rooms had this type of light.

A major factor external to the school is the family background of the pupils. Those pupils whose parents have had the advantage of more education and whose fathers have higher paying occupations tend to have less conflict from their environment than those pupils from lower socio-economic levels. Greater financial resources enable pupils to travel to and from school with greater ease (bike, bus or car), have less difficulty over paying school fees and obtaining their school uniform, have greater access to radio, newspapers, magazines, books and movies, and have more time to revise. An occupational list was prepared which was divided into 43 levels. These levels were grouped into six categories. That these categories also parallel levels of educational attainment suggests their reliability. The relationship between occupational category and mean educational level is given in Table VIII-6.

TABLE VIII-6

The Distribution for Father's Occupation for 348 Pupils
at the Mutesa School and the Mean Educational Level for
Each Occupational Category (on a Scale of 1 = No Education,
2 = Primary One to Four, 3 = Primary Five and Six, 4 = Junior Secondary,
5 = Senior Secondary and 6 = Post Senior Secondary)

Occupational Category	Number	Per Cent	Mean Educational Level
Professional	33	9.5	5.28
Sub-Professional	69	19.8	4.62
Middle Range	83	23.9	3.82
Lower Range	60	17.2	3.19
Low	54	15.5	2.75
Lowest[a]	49	14.1	3.03

[a]Includes some retired and unemployed people.

Girls in Buganda in 1962-1963 were particularly vulnerable to environmental forces. Fewer occupations were open to girls and in 1962/1963 one could train to be a nurse, secretary, or primary school teacher without finishing senior secondary school. As these were the main opportunities available the girls tended to leave school before finishing to join specific training programs. Girls who became pregnant could not conceal their condition and under existing practices had to drop out of school. While over thirty per cent of the boys rode bicycles to and from school only one girl had and used a bike. Kiganda tradition was against girls riding bicycles.

It is generally said that one of the major forces that retards the expansion of girls' education is the small number of mothers who have had any degree of education, because it is assumed an educated mother will want her

daughter educated. Ignorance and poverty are factors that hinder the education of women in Uganda.[27] As long as education, especially secondary education with its higher fees, is viewed by parents and relatives as an investment, post-primary education for girls will be neglected.

One would then predict that the girls at the Mutesa School came from families where both the father and mother had considerably more education than the boys' parents. Eighty-one per cent of the girls' fathers had had junior secondary or more education compared to only 50.3% of the boys' fathers. Fifty-three of the girls' mothers had had junior secondary or more education compared to only 17.7% of the boys' mothers. See Table VIII-7.

TABLE VIII-7

The Educational Level Attained by Girls' Fathers and
Mothers Compared to that of Boys' Fathers and Mothers

Educational Level by Per Cent

Category	Number	None	Primary One to Six	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary
Girls' Fathers	36	-	19.4%	22.2%	58.3%
Boys' Fathers	266	11.3%	38.3%	21.4%	28.9%
Girls' Mothers	38	2.6%	44.7%	26.3%	26.3%
Boys' Mothers	254	18.1%	64.2%	13.4%	4.3%

27. For a full discussion of the problems of girls' education in Uganda see Albert Maleche, "Sociological and Psychological Factors Favouring and Hindering the Education of African Women in Uganda," Conference Paper (Kampala, East African Institute of Social Research, June, 1961), mimeographed.

28. In Uganda in 1959 only 3.9% of the population over 16 had had junior secondary education or more. The finding that 80.5% of the girls enrolled in the Mutesa School had fathers with junior secondary or more education suggests that fathers who have had more education are also more likely to have their daughters go beyond primary school. As father's education

The girls as a group differed in a number of ways from the boys in their position in the environment. The girls tended to live nearer to the school (82.2% living within three miles compared to 57.3% of the boys). Proportionally more girls lived with their parents (44.4% compared to 24.3% of the boys). None of the girls ate breakfast at the school while half of the boys did regularly. More of the girls believed that they had enough time to study (57.8% compared to only 35% of the boys), enough money for their personal needs (42.2% compared to 14.3% of the boys), and had a paraffin pressure or electric light to read by at night (53.3% compared to 21.3% of the boys). On the study climate 68.9% of the girls have three or more points compared to only 44.7% of the boys.[29]

The more favorable situation that the girls enjoyed in the environment is directly related to their family backgrounds (higher socio-economic status and more education). If girls were to stay in school, complete the four year course, and take the School Certificate some positive relationship between their favorable external situation and the goals of the school might be predicted. But only two girls are among the 94 Mutesa pupils who took the examination in 1962 and 1963, and both failed.[30] In spite of the

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is related to father's occupation (and income) it is possible that having a high income combines with attitudes towards girls' education to support the education of daughters. This would be a matter for further research as the total number of girls at the Mutesa School in 1962-63 was only 48.

29. These percentages are based on a sample of 300 male and 45 female pupils enrolled in the Mutesa School before April, 1963.

30. Of 33 girls in Forms One and Two in 1963 only 15 (or 45.5%) were still in the school in 1965. Girls drop out of school because they have no fees, are pregnant, transfer to another school or training programs, or get married. Of ten girls in Form Three in 1963 only two took the School Certificate in 1964 and both failed, three were repeating Form Three, three were impregnated, and two had transferred to boarding schools.

highly selected parental background of the girls the position of women in
Uganda hindered the completion of formal academic secondary education at a
day school. Having girls in the school was therefore not favorable to the
overall attainment of the goals of the school.

There were a number of other ways in which the external environment
facilitated the achievement of the goals of the school. The emphasis in
the traditional culture on obedience served to support the maintenance of
order within the school. The high absorption rate into the nation's
economy of senior secondary school leavers made it possible for the school
to move towards its goal of maximizing the potential of its pupils. Not
only was obedience externally supported, but the general absence of
discipline problems within the school was achieved because the pupils
formed a subculture that was highly motivated and not in competition with
the teachers. The motivation of the pupils to study was derived from
their aspirations for their future, aspirations that originated in the
environment but required the successful completion of the senior secondary
school course and the School Certificate. These three aspects (obedience,
absorption of school leavers into the economy, and student attitudes) will
be considered in more detail in later chapters. The traditional extended
family also helped the pupils because through it a variety of assistance
could be obtained (place to live, food, money, school fees) that helped
to support them in the school.

The discipline problems that the school did have with its pupils, however,
were largely caused by external forces. There was a continued effort on
the part of the Headmaster and staff to supervise the pupils' conformity
to rules requiring promptness, cleanliness, use of school uniforms (for

classes and physical education) and the payment of school fees.

Why did students come to school without shoes, without their uniform, or late? Invariably the cause lay in environmental conditions. The absence of shoes, and often the lack of a proper uniform could be traced to poor financial circumstances. If a student was splattered with mud by a passing car and only had one uniform he was placed in the predicament of wearing other clothes to school or not going at all. Lateness was often due to a cloudy morning that delayed a student in awakening. Duties required by parents, relatives or a master could cause a student to be late. Given the conditions in which many of the students lived and the distance they had to come to school they did a remarkable job of getting there on time. If school fees were not paid it was because of conditions external to the school.

Even the method by which a student obtained a Buganda Government bursary was subject to considerable influence by others in the environment. In order to assess the financial need of a student a procedure had developed which was meant to insure that the statements of a student and his parents were accurate. The bursary application form had to be approved by the Headmaster and then the local Gombolola Chief. As the person responsible for collecting taxes the Gombolola Chief should have had immediate access to information about each family in his area and be able to verify the extent of individual need. This system, though it was intended to insure an equitable distribution of bursaries placed the Gombolola Chief in a position of power which could be misused. It also was a time consuming procedure requiring many months before a final

decision is reached. If a student's parent or guardian died or for some
other reason was no longer able to pay his fees (such as mental or physical
illness, all his coffee trees being cut down or burned, or having to
assume the responsibility for the children of a deceased sibling) in one
year, under the normal procedure a bursary was not automatically available.
A pupil had to apply before a prescribed date in order to be considered
for a bursary the following school year.

Where the student's need for a bursary would become most apparent would
be at the school at that point when a student would announce he could not
pay his fees and was leaving school. Of 64 bursaries available in 1963
the Headmaster had discretion over only nine that were offered independent
of local governments by the Uganda Shell Company, Pepsi-Cola Company, the
African-American Institute, and the Save the Children Fund, but even for
these nine final approval and selection lay with a committee of the
external organization offering the bursary.[31]

Summary:

In this chapter a number of aspects of the relationship between the school
and its external environment have been examined. These were the influence
of other organizations, the image of the school, and the pupils in the
external environment. It was shown that the school was influenced by
other organizations that were responsible for establishing regulations

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31. Because Mr. White wished to have available a special fund to assist
students who were in financial need and when prompt action was required,
he at first established his own emergency bursary fund, and then in 1964
obtained approval from the Board of Governors to use 5% of fee income for
free places (this would give his discretion over 17 full bursaries). In
1963 only 4 students had full bursaries of 375/=, most bursaries being
far less than 200/=.

that governed the recruitment of the pupils and staff, established
standards for inspection and recognition, controlled examinations, and
dispersed financial resources. The school's development was made
possible through financial support from the Buganda Government, but its
development was also limited because of their inadequate financial
resources. The conflict between the Central and Buganda Governments
was dysfunctional to the achievement of the goals of the school in that
it resulted in delayed recognition and assistance for the school by the
Central Government. Bureaucratic inefficiency in other organizations
was also dysfunctional to the attainment of the goals of the school.

External forces influenced the pattern of recruitment of teachers.
Political and economic pressures favored localization. The upward mobili-
ty of educated Africans and the short contracts of others made it im-
possible to establish a cohesive and permanent teaching force. Africans
who were teaching were either recent graduates, politicians who had lost
an election, or old teachers who were unable to change. This left African
teachers who were often perceived by the pupils as inferior to other
members of the staff. The external forces of Africanization and the
mobility of the African teachers resulted in the schools employing local
staff who were not always the best.

The externally established procedure of providing inducements to ex-
patriate teachers that were not available to those locally hired was one
of the reasons why African teachers left teaching. The differential
reward system served to facilitate the goals of the school where the ex-
patriates were concerned while militating against their attainment with
respect to the African teachers.

The traditional regulation that required the school to cease at six P.M. also mitigated against the achievement of the goals of the school as it did not permit the full use of the school facilities.

The Headmaster, teachers, and students endeavored to project a "new" image of the school as "the best day senior secondary school" to supplant the old image of "just another private school." This was accomplished through changes in the school uniform, favorable publicity for school activities, participation in community projects, the development of the school's facilities, and improvements in the performance of its pupils on the School Certificate. The pupils ranked the school higher than they thought others in the external environment would rank it.

It was found that the majority of pupils do not utilize the educational and cultural resources of Kampala. Because of their poverty and academic pressure they spend their free time studying.

The external environment interfered in a variety of ways in the activities of pupils and therefore hindered the achievement of the goals of the school. The daily involvement in roles external to the school was a source of conflict for many of the pupils. A pupil's loss of time to revise can be considered detrimental to the attainment of the school's goals. It was also found that with whom students lived and under what arrangements had a direct relationship to their activities as students. Those pupils whose parents have had the advantages of more education and whose fathers have higher paying occupations tended to have less conflict in the external environment than those pupils from lower socio-economic levels. The girls at the Mutesa School came from families where both the fathers

and mothers had considerably more education than the boys' parents.
The girls also lived in more supportive conditions in the external
environment. Because of a variety of factors that hinder the education
of women no girls were passing the School Certificate. Having girls in
the school was not favorable to the overall attainment of the goals of
the school.

The high absorption rate into the nation's economy of senior secondary
school leavers made it possible for the school to move towards its goal
of maximizing the potential of its pupils. The emphasis in the tra-
ditional culture on obedience contributed to the smooth functioning of
the school. A variety of assistance provided to pupils through the
network of the extended family helped to maintain them in school. This
was particularly important because the system of providing bursaries
established by other organizations was slow and limited.

CHAPTER IX

IDEOLOGY, NORMATIVE AND ROLE STRUCTURE

Introduction:

This chapter describes aspects of the normative and social structure of the Mutesa School that focus on important relationships between its network of roles and its organizational goals, and their implications for the implementation of these goals. The issues to be examined are based on three concepts that were considered in Chapter 2: ideology, normative structure, and role structure.

Ideologies are used by organizations to justify the organization to members and to others and as rallying points for their members.[1]

> Such doctrines are an important technique for infusing behavior with long-run meaning and purpose. In spelling out a broad rationale for daily work, an organizational ideology helps to convince the personnel that their efforts are worthwhile, contributing to a valued, common end... Such conceptions, often vigorously and continuously voiced, are in part the verbal blankets that cover and warm the cold bed of administrative acts. They may at times be advanced cynically, largely to manipulate loyalties and shape impressions. But successful doctrines are more than that, even when put forward deliberately by an insecure organization to strengthen its appeal and gain support.[2]

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1. The defensive function of an ideology is emphasized by Robert K. Merton: see Robert K. Merton, _Social Theory and Social Structure_ (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), pp. 492-494.

2. Burton R. Clark, _Educating the Expert Society_ (San Francisco: The Chandler Publishing Company, 1962), p. 195.

Ideologies are also formulated to support the goals of organizations. Their doctrines that develop as a reaction to internal and external forces may be more fiction than fact. Where ideology approaches mythology, some adjustment is bound to take place. When an organization is in the process of rapid change it may develop to a point where new conditions do not support an old ideology (ideological lag).[3] Where there is a discrepancy between the ideology and the goals of an organization this may result in a process of goal suction, with the expectations created by the ideology causing new goals to be formulated and organizational activity shifting towards the implementation of these new goals. Where the ideology contradicts organizational realities and there is no adjustment, frustration and conflict can be anticipated.[4]

Norms can be either explicit or implicit. The normative structure of any social system can be looked at in two ways. One approach focuses on those norms which are held as ideals for behavior. In this sense a norm is an ideal set of expectations applied to a position.[5] Thus the normative structure of an organization can consist of a network of norms, explicit and implicit, that apply to the incumbents of various positions.

3. For a valuable discussion of these issues see: Philip Selznick, T.V.A. and the Grass Roots (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949), Chapter 2, "The Functions and Dilemmas of Official Doctrine," pp. 47-82.

4. An example of this is seen in the strike that occurred at the Mutesa School in 1958 and at other schools in Uganda in 1963. The doctrine is "success" and the reality "failure."

5. This is in addition to the scheme presented by Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason, and Alexander W. McEachern, on page 67 of Explorations in Role Analysis, op. cit. In this section, as the others, it is not my intention to describe completely the normative structure of the school. For an encyclopedia approach see: H. Otto Dahlke, Values in Culture and Classroom, op. cit., pp. 227-279.

The other view of norms employs the concept of consensus. In this view an organizational norm consists of a set of expectations held in common by most members and applied to all positions within the organization.[6]

In order to achieve their goals, organizations divide tasks required to accomplish them among individuals occupying different positions arranged in a formalized authority structure. The role structure of an organization refers to the pattern of distribution of positions, the expectations held by incumbents of these positions, and the role behavior or actual performance of their incumbents. In this study the Headmaster is viewed as occupying the focal position and his role network includes the counterpositions of teachers, pupils, clerical and maintenance staff.[7] In this chapter we consider those aspects of the network of positions within the school and the patterns of interaction between these incumbents that may bear on the attainment of the school's goals. In the following three chapters we examine how the performance of the Headmaster, teachers, and pupils influenced their achievement.

Ideology:

At the Mutesa School two main ideological themes were reiterated to the students at morning assemblies, at special assemblies, and at other times by their teachers. Both these ideologies dealt with the process of transition of the Mutesa School from a private-type school to a recognized senior secondary school.

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6. For a discussion of organizational norms see: Robert L. Kahn, et al., Organizational Stress: Studies in Role Conflict and Ambiguity (New York: John Wylie and Sons, 1964), pp. 150-164.

7. Neal Gross, Ward S. Mason and Alexander McEachern, Explorations in Role Analysis, op. cit., p. 67.

The first ideological theme emphasized "success." Here stress was laid on how much had been accomplished at the school, what improvements (in staff, faculties, and buildings) had been made within the last year, how the school was continuing to improve, and how well the students, compared to those in other day senior secondary schools, had done on the School Certificate.

The second ideological theme was a reflection of the first. This theme stressed how much the school had done for the students, the sacrifices the staff and Headmaster were making for them, and the many educational benefits the students received from the school despite the fact that their fees were not proportionate to the costs.

The first theme was used to evoke loyalty and the second thankfulness. They were resorted to particularly when the Headmaster sensed an increase in indiscipline. They also were used to stimulate "school spirit." These two themes had real meaning to those students who had been at the school for a number of years and had witnessed changes that had taken place in the school. The second theme had particular meaning to those students who had transferred into the Mutesa School from private schools and those students who had not chosen to enter the Mutesa School, but obtained a place there as a last resort and were grateful to be in school. In 1962-1963 this was a large proportion of the students; 45.7% had not chosen the Mutesa School on the selection sheet when leaving Junior Secondary School where they had to list three choices for Senior Secondary Schools. Over thirty-five per cent of the pupils had transferred into the Mutesa School from other schools (4/5th of these from private schools). Thus this group of students had something to be thankful for to the Mutesa School

for accepting them.[8]

The ideology of the Mutesa School during the period of the case study did reflect the goals of the school and was functional to the major goals of maximizing the number who did well in the School Certificate and institutional building.[9] One manifestation of this ideology was that successes were lauded and failures ignored. In the case of the Mutesa School, a good example of this process is found in the reactions of the students in the announcement of the 1962 School Certificate results at an assembly described by a student in the fourth form.

THE DAY WE HEARD THE CAMBRIDGE RESULTS

It was on the 15th Feb. 1963, when we heard the Headmaster break the news to us that the former members of Senior 4 had put up good performances in the Cambridge Exams. This announcement was followed by long applauses which took about six minutes. Each and every one of our class waited eagerly for the names and the number of the successful candidates.

We were then told that five of our students had passed in the First Grade; this also was followed by a long applause. Then we heard that 5 others had passed in the Second Grade, 3 in the Third, 10 with G.C.E. and there were only 5 failures. This record, which was outstanding in comparison with other day schools, increased our appetite and confidence for passing our own exams. Some of us had been losing hope of success before the results had come out. But the number of successful candidates made everyone realize each and every one of our class is capable

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8. In discussing the differences between the classes, the teachers would mention form 2B (1963) as the best class, having the best discipline, school spirit, and the most students turning out for school activities. This class is the one that was specially recruited from other schools to enter their second year (mainly private -67.7% of the students in the class having been in private schools the previous year) and were thus grateful to be in a "better" school. In reply to the question "Do you want to stay at this school?" class 2 B (1963) had the lowest percent saying "No" - only 2.9%. This is another indication of their loyalty and thankfulness to the school. The high percent saying "No" in Form One in 1963 (30%) could be explained by their desire to transfer to a boarding school and it might be reasoned that those pupils in the higher forms are more realistic about the actual possibilities of transfer out of the Mutesa School. The next highest percent saying "No" for a class was 8. The fact that those in form 2 B had transferred in would make it unlikely that they would want to transfer out.

9. However, an ideology of success given the realities of failure might become dysfunctional at some future time.

of passing the School Certificate.

> This move made most of the students in my class concentrate
> hard on their studies for they did not want to degrade the
> Lubiri School's fame by not doing well on the next occasion.

> The next day, the Minister of Education, Mr. Mayanja, praised
> the school, and this was published in the local and English
> newspapers. This good name, of course, was not earned by the
> students alone, but also by the hard work of the Headmaster and
> staff, and the co-operation between the Staff and students.
> So we thank those who make it possible for us to succeed, and
> promise to do all that it is in our power to keep this good name
> in the next Cambridge Examination.[10]

In spite of a 52% failure (the GCE is not officially considered a "pass")

success is what he emphasized. He stressed the improvement in the number

obtaining first and second grades. His comparative perspective minimized

recognition of the reality of the high number of failures.

The ideology or doctrine of an organization often attempts to state

what is unique about the organization. In focusing on the positive changes

that were taking place in the Mutesa School (better results on the School

Certificate, more permanent and qualified teachers, and new buildings),

a positive value judgement was placed on these changes. The ideology

also, in conforming to most of the major goals of the school, served to

support its organizational structure and helped to maintain and endorse

the authority of those in superordinate positions.

The school's ideology, though it supported the goals of institutional

building and of maximizing the number who do well on the School Certificate,

did not embrace the second part of the first goal (maximizing the potential

of pupils so that they would be better prepared to serve their societies).

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10. By a Mutesa student, from the school magazine, The Torch in the Ring,
mimeographed (Mengo, Uganda: Spring, 1963), p. 20.

Occasional references were made by the Headmaster and teachers to a very
few "Old Boys" who had been successful since leaving the school ("Mukasa
boxes on Uganda's olympic team," or "Katende is an announcer at Radio
Uganda"), but the school in 1962-1963 was still a "young" school with few
alumni; of the many who were unable to continue their education after
leaving the school there were only a handful that could be singled out
and mentioned as a "success."

Normative Structure:

In the Mutesa School explicit norms were generally formulated as rules.
For the Headmaster and teachers these were minimal and were contained in
a legal document called the "Teacher's Conditions of Service." For the
students there was a mimeographed document that each received on admission
called "School Rules, Orders, and Information" (see Appendix B).

The School Rules covered the use of telephone (emergencies only), the
school and athletic uniform, hours, fees, meals, area of the school,
language usage, conduct and discipline. As so often happens, these rules
were modified and altered in the operation of the school, and influenced
by the informal norms which evolved. For example, a stated rule was
that "any student found guilty of theft will be dismissed instantly."
While all the teachers believed in the importance of enforcing the rules,
the Headmaster's views on discipline were more flexible. Mr. White had a
basic norm which called for the recognition of individual differences.
He said, "I have a flexible idea about justice, I place it in the context
of the situation, but (I recognize that) this inconsistency can produce
confusion." Mr. White would strictly enforce the rule on theft to students
in the lower forms, but students who were in the upper forms were only

suspended for a week or two or the remainder of a term on the grounds
that they were very near sitting for the School Certificate. The Head-
master's lack of consistency in the administration of punishments was
particularly confusing to the prefects. The prefects failed to compre-
hend why pupils should be punished differently for the same violation of
school rules. They tried to adhere to the explicit norm laid down in the
rules.

Sanctions were not applied to those students who did not conform to
the rule that they should speak English at all times during school hours.
English was the second language for all of the students and Luganda was
the first one for over 90% of them. Luganda was constantly used in the
school, even in formal teaching situations where students who were unable
to articulate an answer or a question in English might ask for assistance
in Luganda. Many students were concerned about the contradiction result-
from these deviations from the rule. They not only spoke Luganda, but
studied Luganda as a subject to take on the School Certificate. Yet
they wished to improve their English since a good record on the School
Certificate required a credit in English. The question as to how this
rule could be enforced was considered a number of times without success
by the Student Council.

The only rule that referred directly to relations between the sexes read:
"Boys and girls are to treat each other with the highest respect at all
times." The students were aware of the informal regulation that any girl
who became pregnant would be expelled from the school and any boy who
caused a girl to become pregnant would also have to leave the school.
During 1962 - 1963 six girls left the school because they were pregnant

and one boy was expelled for impregnating a girl. Yet one girl who became pregnant and then <u>successfully aborted</u> after taking a traditional medicine, and a boy who impregnated a girl outside the school were allowed to remain as pupils in the school.

The vagueness of the stated rule on heterosexual relations resulted in 1962 in the students interpreting it in a more stringent manner than the school staff. In the early part of the year during the morning break, after lunch, and after school, boys and girls frequently sat on the grass together talking, or they walked together to school in the morning or away in the evening. Later in the year, however, students had reason to believe that the Headmaster and teachers frowned on such activities. A few parents had complained about their daughters coming home late and the Headmaster then ordered all girls to leave the school immediately at four and go home unless they were staying for an organized school activity. He also sent a note to the parents saying when their daughters were to stay late at school for "legitimate" purposes. At a Student Council meeting in October the students made the following minute:

> It has come to the student's notice that if a boy is seen talking
> to a girl he is reported to the Headmaster as loving that girl.
> It is believed that there are many cases of this kind which have
> no foundation!! As a result, the boys and girls fear talking to
> each other lest they are suspected. This is creating an uneasy
> atmosphere at the school and perhaps a full explanation to the
> assembly might help. The councillors feel that this policy
> should stop AT ONCE.

As the subjects discussed at the Council meetings were not conveyed to the Headmaster until the minute book had passed to the prefects, this issue was delayed in reaching him. It came to his attention by a completely different route. A girl had come to ask the Headmaster's clerk

who sat in his office) if her name was on the "black list." At the next morning assembly Mr. White told the students that there was no black list, that there was no segregation of boys and girls (he had recently had them stand separately at assembly), and that he was "delighted to see boys and girls talking to each other."

Other informal codes were in operation with respect to such matters as student's smoking and drinking (don't be found smoking or drunk) and attending "night clubs" (don't be seen in a night club). The students also learned that they were expected to arrive at school as soon as possible after a rain, but that the Headmaster did not expect them to arrive "wet."[11] This would be the opposite of their experience in other day schools.

In discussing sanctions the students always showed a preference for some type of manual labor as a suitable punishment (slashing--cutting grass with a metal whip, other work on the school compound such as sweeping and mopping the floors, etc.). The students viewed depriving them of their privilege to attend classes as serious punishment and the ultimate deprivation was seen as expulsion. During 1962-1963 one student was suspended for smoking, one for drinking, and one for going to a dance hall.

The norms of hard work and punctuality also applied to the teachers and the Headmaster. The teachers were expected to be present at the school

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11. Pneumonia is said to be one of the major causes of death in East Africa and mainly occurs during the rainy season when people are caught in a downpour and then continue to wear wet clothes. This could be claimed to be an example of the negative effects of acculturation as a person without clothes would not suffer from the prolonged wetness and evaporation.

by 8:10 A.M. (and preferably 8 A.M. if they were "dedicated") to do the
following: check student's uniforms, check that they had their PE
uniform, check those who had not brought their school fees, and take
attendance.[12] At one time when the Headmaster felt that the teachers
were not taking these "chores" seriously he taped a note on a table in
the staff room for them to initial reminding them of these duties and
adding:

> It was also resolved that form lists should be on hand in each
> classroom for the purpose of checking on those late-comers who
> have arrived so late that they have avoided the notice of the
> prefect on late-duty.
>
> It is regretted that so many before-assembly chores are necessary,
> but in this school, probably more than any other, it is necessary
> to keep standards high. All form teachers are reminded that ex-
> pert academic instruction is only a part of their function.
> Enforcement of rules is of first importance. In order that you
> shall have time to carry out these necessary chores, registration
> will begin at 8-10 a.m. I respectfully suggest that you may find
> it necessary to attend at school by 8 a.m. so that the day may
> begin in an unhurried manner.
>
> YOU WILL PROBABLY RECALL THAT IT WAS RESOLVED THAT FORM TEACHERS
> SHOULD STAY WITH THEIR CLASS UNTIL ASSEMBLY STARTS, AND THAT
> CLASSES WERE TO BE CONDUCTED TO ASSEMBLY BY THEIR TEACHER.

The Headmaster used the prefects to see that no student arrived at
school undetected during or after assembly and to observe all students
who were not wearing the school uniform. Students dismissed for these
reasons were an obvious indication that a teacher had not adequately
performed his morning duties.

These standards not only had reference to pupils. They also could be

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12. On November 1, 1962 these "chores" were placed before instead of
after the morning assembly. This institutional change gave more time to
the first period, required the definite presence of the teachers, and
controlled "latecomers."

applied by students to the teachers' and Headmaster's performance of their duties. At one Student Council session, the students approved the following minute:

> It has been observed that the Headmaster takes too long to come to morning assembly. The Councillors know very well that he is swamped with work and that perhaps this is the reason why he does not come to the assembly on time. However, punctuality is essential and the Headmaster should send a teacher to read the announcements whenever he is busy. We hope that you will understand the case, which is not an attack on the Headmaster. Time waits for no man!!

This criticism was made by a Student Council that was learning its limits and duties. The source of the grievance was the students' irritation at having to stand by the round-about in front of the main building waiting for the assembly to start. The later the assembly, the shorter was the first period. This is an example of how the students had internalized the informal organizational norm of punctuality. The students also demonstrated that they had internalized the norms of "hard work" and "obedience." This is indicated by the large amount of time they spent on their studies and their answers to the question "What are the qualities of a good pupil?": obedience was mentioned the most, and hard work next. Other informal norms of this kind to which they subscribed were the desirability of courtesy, honesty, and cleanliness, the need for chastity and sobriety, and the indispensibility of being of service to others. These norms which had reference to their "moral education," were in a variety of ways reinforced by the daily activities of the school.

The Headmaster in assembly, at special assemblies, in his classes and in individual talks with students was continually making references to the need for proper behavior on the part of the students so that they conformed

to these informal norms. The teachers tried to reinforce the norms of

moral education, both within and outside their classes. Some of the

content of what was taught also related to the theme of moral education,

especially in the subject "religious knowledge." Underlying this approach

was the assumption that it is the "gentleman" who is rewwarded with the

fruits of life. The Headmaster was aware that what is taught may not

necessarily be learned, and what is learned is not always acted upon.[13]

He hoped that the staff would set an example that might be followed by

the students.

What influence did the normative structure have on the achievement of

organizational goals? The explicit rules that represented a part of the

formal organization of the school served to establish a framework for the

smooth functioning of the school. One rule served to encourage the usage

of English, a crucial subject on the School Certificate. Other rules

dealt with student conduct and were intended to help minimize possible

student exposure to stress, for example, theft or pregnancy which would

interfere with their academic performance. The informal norms of

punctuality, hard work, sobriety, honesty, chastity, cleanliness,

courtesy, service and obedience also were intended to facilitate the

attainment of the goals of the school. Not only were they considered

fundamental to academic performance and future success on the School

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13. To teach character development does not imply that perseverance,
thoroughness, order, cleanliness, punctuality, thrift, temperance, self-
control, reliability, honesty, obedience, chastity, sobriety, courtesy,
and service will be learned. If learned, it does not ensure that the
pupil will act upon what is understood. The meaning of "punctuality",
for example, may be clearly comprehended but because of a variety of ex-
ternal conditions or conflicting role expectations may not be acted on.
See the discussion of active and non-active interpretation of learning in
Chapter 5 of: Israel Scheffler, The Language of Education (Illinois:
Charles C. Thomas, 1960).

Certificate Examination, but they were also viewed an essential training for students who were being socialized to become responsible citizens within their own society. In addition, if the students were punctual, remained within the school compound until the school day was finished, and did not violate school rules that extended into the external environment (where the students were most visible), their performance would improve the external image of the school and facilitate stable social relations within the school. Thus, the norms of the school were also directly related to the goal of institutional building as well as to the goal of maximizing the potential of the students.

Role Structure:

In this section we examine those aspects of the role structure of the
Mutesa School that we view as of special relevance to the achievement
of its organizational goals. We focus on the network of social
relationships, expectations of the Headmaster, teachers and students,
and the problem of role overload. Other issues involving the
position of Headmaster, teachers, and pupils will be considered in
the following three chapters.

A. Network of Relationships:

We have earlier described certain aspects of the role structure in our
previous discussion of the history, the organizational goals, and the
formal and informal organization of the school. Chart VII-4 in
Chapter VII gives the informal organizational structure of the school.
It is helpful to examine this chart again as it depicts the positions
which are pertinent to the daily operation of the school. This chart
also shows the basic network of positions. These positions, as noted
earlier, go beyond the three tiers of Headmaster, teacher, and student.
We have also maintained that it is important to view these not as static
but as undergoing considerable change over time as the individuals
occupying these positions change. We have pointed out that there have
been shifts in the core teachers, and assistant Headmaster; there was a
turnover in the teaching, clerical, and maintenance staffs; students
have entered and left the school; twice a year the composition of the

Student Council and the prefects has changed and shifting patterns were noted in the composition of student societies. The network in Chart VII-4 also shows the division of labor in the school designed to facilitate the achievement of goals of the school. It does not show that the Headmaster and assistant Headmaster also performed the duties of a teacher. Nor does it indicate that the occupants of these positions also held positions in social systems external to the school (for example, from husband, wife, father, mother, sibling, son, daughter, servant, dramatist, photographer, and so on).

We have noted that interaction between the Headmaster and the teachers of special importance to the operation of the school occurred during the morning tea break and during the weekly staff meetings. Ideally these might be times for deliberation and decision-making about what needed to be done to implement the goals of the school. The ways in which the Headmaster used these meetings will be examined in more detail in the next chapter. What is important to note here is how these meetings did not overcome certain barriers to communication nor resolve certain role ambiguities and role conflicts which existed among the staff. As in most other institutions, the subordinate staff at the school could be divided on the basis of age, sex, education, and experience. The teachers at the Mutesa School, however, also belonged to four separate "cultural" groups: English, American, Asian, and African.[14] Certain aspects of this division by "continents" will be considered in Chapter XI on the teachers.

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14. There also was not uniformity among these groups. For example, of the twelve African teachers at the school in 1962-1963, nine were Baganda, one Mutero, One Mugisu, and one Yoruba. The Asian teachers were one Ugandan-Goan, two Ugandan-Hindu, and one Indian national, Catholic. For further information on the Asians of Uganda see: L.W. Hollingsworth, The Asians of East Africa (London: MacMillan, 1960), and George Delf, Asians in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1963).

Our concern at this point is how the interaction between the staff affected the attainment of the goals of the school.

A new teacher was provided with no formal orientation to the school. A teacher who came at any point during the academic year generally had to learn from the students in his classes what they had been studying and what they expected him to cover. One teacher when he discovered that it was his turn to lead the morning prayers at the opening assembly fled out the staff room window and disappeared in back of the school. The orientation new teachers received from other staff members, they received informally in the staff room. Interaction within the staff room was limited, and the teachers tended to divide themselves into three groups, each one having their desks near each other in "continent" clusters. A table and a few lounge chairs where tea was served were set on one side of the room. This tended to be monopolized by the European teachers with the African teachers taking their tea back to their desks. An analysis of sitting patterns during the tea break over a period of time revealed this pattern. This meant that the African and Asian staff were largely excluded from a proportion of the informal discussions on school issues which took place during this tea break. This division was further accentuated by the African staff talking at times among themselves in Luganda (only Mr. White understood Luganda among the non-Ugandans). These comments in Luganda mainly concerned things that they did not think the expatriates would be interested in; at times they were actually humorous comments about the other teachers.

The more formal scheduled staff meetings occurred at the end and beginning of each term and started in July 1963, were held every Monday

morning (timed to exclude Mr. Lule who took the whole school in

singing during that period). The weekly staff meetings were organized

by the Headmaster in response to the request of two members (American

and English) who were not in the core group and wished to know more

about the decisions that were being made and hopefully to participate in

making them. These two teachers articulated a concern over the lack

of consensus in the running of the school. They were particularly upset

by some of the confusion that had been taking place at the school

because of a lack of clarity over what was to be done, when, and by

whom. This stemmed from the many changes which had taken place during

the preceding months in the schedule of courses, the meeting places,

the participation by teachers in physical education and extra-curricular

activities, and on special activities for students. These staff meet-

ings were more formal (and were held around a number of tables that had

been put together).

One indication of the pattern of interaction that took place at these

meetings is shown by the number of times that different people spoke.

The discussion at the staff meetings was nearly entirely monopolized by

the Headmaster and the core group of teachers (who were English). Often

when the other teachers would try to speak they would be interrupted

by these teachers. The Africans were brought into the discussion at

times consciously by the Headmaster when he wished to elicit an opinion

from them, but often they would go through a meeting without fully par-

ticipating or limiting their comments to an expression of agreement

--"yes." Even though Mr. White was on leave in early 1963 and Mr. Jukko

chaired two staff meetings there was no change in this pattern. During

these two sessions the core teachers tended to assume the responsibility

for directing the staff meeting and the non-Ugandans monopolized the discussions.

Mr. White's partial deafness also served as a contributing factor to the reluctance of some of the non-Europeans to speak at the staff meetings, as they spoke softly and did not like to shout to be heard, and at times when they did try, they were frequently misunderstood. There was also the feeling on the part of a few of them that if decisions were already made by the Headmaster or would be made in spite of what they said, it was of little use becoming involved in the discussion. A good example of this is the discussion concerning the boys' uniform in which the Africans were unanimously opposed to any change from white shorts and shirt to grey trousers with white shirts. A change was made, however, in spite of their feelings. They were aware that the school was basically run by the Headmaster and his core group of teachers, and that only a few decisions would be discussed in the staff meeting, most being made directly in the Headmaster's office.

How did this network of relationships affect the attainment of organizational goals? It might appear that the lack of cohesion and communication between the staff would be dysfunctional to the attainment of goals. But such a conclusion would ignore two important things. First, the teachers enjoyed a high degree of autonomy within their classroom and were subject to few controls or sanctions that related to their teaching. Second, the organizational significance of blocks to communication and consensus is dependent partially upon the attitudes and expectations that the individual teachers hold (these will be considered in the next section). Though the staff meetings did not bring about complete cooperation or consensus, they did shift the activities of the core

teachers from a strictly informal level to a more formal level in an open situation with all the staff present. Staff meetings also enabled the teacher who believed that he was being excluded from any participation in the process of planning and making decisions for the school to feel that he was now being included. Observation confirms that staff meetings were functional to the achievement of organizational goals. They helped the school to function more smoothly by improving communications and permitting some of the teachers to feel more involved in planning.

B. Expectations:

The students were asked open-ended questions about the three positions in the school (student, teacher and Headmaster) in order to understand what expectations they held for these positions. The answers of the students are given in the following tables, IX-1 through IX-6.

TABLE IX-1

"What Are the Qualities of a Good Pupil?" As Defined
by 200 Pupils at the Mutesa School in November, 1963

Qualities	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Obedient, listens to the teacher, has proper manners, good behavior, punctual.	163
2. Works hard in studies, is academically a good student, learns lessons, understands.	108
3. Is kind, loving, helpful, respectful.	42
4. Is involved in school activities.	9
5. Loves his country, is religious.	7
6. Good in sports, an athlete.	3
7. Works hard for the school, a leader.	3
8. Knows what he wants for the future.	5

TABLE IX-2

"Describe a Bad Pupil:" As Defined by 200
Pupils at the Mutesa School in November, 1963

Characteristics	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Disobedient, noisy, bad manners, dishonest, late to school, dirty.	166
2. Poor student academically, does not learn, not good in class, does not want to study.	71
3. Selfish, self-centered, does not help others.	33
4. Steals, a thief, breaks rules against law.	26
5. Despises teachers, feels superior to teachers.	7
6. Drinks alcohol, a drunkard.	7
7. Not patriotic to his school and its name.	3
8. Sleeps with girls.	1

TABLE IX-3

"What Are the Qualities of a Good Teacher?" As Defined
by 200 Pupils at the Mutesa School in November, 1963

Qualities	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Teaches well, answers questions, helps pupils to understand, talks well, makes things clear, takes time for those who need special attention.	155
2. Friendly, patient, kind, fair, unselfish, loves students and the school.	103
3. Works hard, enjoys his subjects, prepared for his lessons.	19
4. Punctual.	16
5. Educated, experienced, qualified.	14
6. Enforces obedience, disciplines pupils.	14
7. Drinks little.	3
8. Cooperates with Headmaster and other teachers.	3
9. Gives guidance to the students.	3

TABLE IX-4

"Describe a Bad Teacher" As Defined by 200
Pupils at the Mutesa School in November, 1963

Characteristics	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Teaches poorly, doesn't help, won't answer questions, can't talk.	132
2. Cruel, unfair, dislikes pupils, angry dictator, over-strict, beats pupils.	93
3. Lazy, dislikes subjects, doesn't give notes, doesn't mark books, unprepared.	31
4. Late, absents himself.	27
5. Mercenary, teaches for money only.	12
6. Drinks too much, a drunkard.	12
7. Lax in discipline.	10
8. Uneducated, unqualified, ignorant, inexperienced.	9
9. Conflicts with Headmaster, insubordinate.	4

TABLE IX-5

"What Are the Qualities of a Good Headmaster?" As
Defined by 200 Pupils at the Mutesa School, November, 1963

Qualities	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Kind, fair, non-discriminatory, listens to all students, helps students who need help, sympathy for poor students.	100
2. Runs the school well, looks after everything, spends money properly, develops school, enthusiastic.	97
3. Discusses things with staff, cooperates with staff, cooperative.	46
4. Keeps pupils obedient, trains character.	31
5. Sees that teachers teach right, finds good teachers for the school.	25
6. Does not punish excessively, expels only bad pupils.	10
7. Is a good teacher, educated, qualified.	4
8. Honest, does not accept bribes.	4

TABLE IX-6

"Describe a Bad Headmaster." As Defined by 200
Pupils at the Mutesa School in November, 1963

Characteristics	Number of Times Mentioned
1. Unkind, cruel, unfair, doesn't help pupils, doesn't like pupils.	94
2. Runs the school poorly, does not develop the school, lazy.	88
3. Does not cooperate with the staff.	54
4. Does not supervise the teachers.	26
5. Does not control or discipline the pupils.	25
6. Gives unreasonable punishments, expells pupils without reason.	18
7. Mercenary, takes bribes, steals school fees.	16
8. Drinks, a drunkard.	7
9. A poor teacher, unqualified, ignorant.	3

Although they do not reveal what the students consider most and least important for each position, the answers to these six open ended questions suggest basic elements of the role definitions held by students. For example, with respect to their conception of a "good student," Table IX-1 obedience-content answers were given by 82% of the pupils but only 54% gave responses that reflected "academic performance." It would be inappropriate to conclude from the low mention of school societies and athletics that these activities are not important to the students. When it comes to their responses for the teachers (Table IX-3), they mentioned most frequently expectations for their academic performance (78%). For the Headmaster humanitarian (effective role relations) and administrative-content responses were mentioned with nearly equal frequency with "cooperation with the staff"

coming third, obedience-content fourth, and academic performance replies fifth. These findings confirm that students see the role of Headmaster as primarily one of administrator and professional leader and not as teacher. This is of particular interest because when asked in November 1963 (on the same questionnaire) to name the "best teacher" the Headmaster comes second out of twelve teachers (he comes first when "teacher liked most" and "best teacher" are combined). In spite of judging Mr. White in this way, they still have not altered their expectations for the role of Headmaster.[15]

Role expectations for the incumbent of a position were in reality altered over time in a process of evaluation of each individual occupant of a position, formulated by other occupants in the cohort or counter positions based on the actual role behavior of the incumbent of the position, resulting in new role attributes for each individual who occupied a position. The Headmaster came to anticipate that Mr. Larson would have more discipline problems than other teachers. The students came to anticipate that Mr. Lule would give them little work and would not look at the exercises they did do. The teachers came to anticipate that Mrs. Trilling would leave the school if she had no classes during the final periods. These are only three examples of role anticipation that developed at the school that need to be differentiated from expectations held for the position, "teacher."

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15. That the content items "educated, experienced, qualified," were mentioned only fourteen times as qualities of a good teacher does not support F.A. Musgrove's finding that students tended to judge teachers by the number of degrees they held and not by their ability as teachers. See: "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change," *Africa*, 1952, No. 22, pp. 234-249.

In a number of areas, the African and Asian teachers held views in complete disagreement with their European and American counterparts. The former group felt that obedience was one of the most important virtues for students to learn (and obedience is an important Kiganda and "Asian" tradition); while the European and American teachers did not. African and Asians favored the caning by the Headmaster of students who had become serious discipline problems. With one exception they were against students having any voice in the formulation of school policy. They were the only teachers to agree strongly with the statement: "A good teacher aims at working exactly like other teachers in his school so as to avoid inequalities in student opportunities." They also (with one exception) were the only teachers to agree with the statement: "Learning and teaching are technical processes that require considerable repetition and memory work." Their answers on these questions conform to the experiences they would have had when they were students and lend support to the theory that teachers teach the way they were taught.[16] But this observation contains the assumption that the English and American teachers were educated in schools where there was less emphasis on obedience, where students did take part in the formulation of policy, where caning was not used as a form of punishment, where the teachers differed markedly in their abilities, and where learning was based on more than repetition and memorizing. Though these may be characteristic differences between education in England and the United States compared to East Africa, we have no evidence in this study to support this interpretation of our findings.

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16. For example see: C.E. Beeby, The Quality of Education in Developing Countries (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 37-47.

The Headmaster, teachers and students responded to a number of the same questions. In Tables IX-7 through IX-10 the responses of the Headmaster, teachers and students are presented to thirteen questions. The differences in their replies reflect the varying emphasis placed on the same activities by people occupying different positions. There exists clear consensus between the three positions on only one item (number 9 in Table IX-9), and near consensus on two items (in Table IX-8, items 6 and 7): The teachers and two thirds of the pupils are in agreement that the Headmaster should not have absolute power over all teachers and make decisions without consulting them, while the Headmaster felt that, given the conditions and the need for control in the development of the school, he should have this power "but not use it."

With one exception the teachers were in agreement with the Headmaster that he should preferably not devote all his time to running the school but also teach. Mr. White was firmer here and said that the Headmaster absolutely should not devote all his time to running the school and that he should be expected to teach. Mr. White believed that the amount of respect he had as Headmaster was "directly related to the amount of teaching done." Through his teaching he felt he was able to keep in touch with his students and his teaching staff. The one teacher who was indifferent to this activity for the Headmaster was an American. While the teachers and Headmaster believed that the Headmaster should do some teaching most of the students were in favor of the Headmaster devoting "all his time to running the school" with only 32.2% favoring his doing some teaching. This is particularly interesting in that more students found Mr. White the second best teacher in the school and the one that they liked the best. Thus in spite of their ranking the

227

Headmaster in this way, they prefer that his energies be devoted to

administering and developing the school.

TABLE IX-7

The Response of 308 Pupils, 8 Teachers, and the Headmaster
in 1963 to Two Questions Concerning the Position of the
Headmaster. (Where the Letters Mean: a = Absolutely Should;
b = Preferably Should; c = May or May Not; d = Preferably
Should Not; and e = Absolutely Should Not)[a]

	H M	Teachers %			Students %		
		a/b	c	d/e	a	c	d/e
1. The Headmaster (a-e) have absolute power over all teachers and make decisions without consulting them.	a*	0	0	100	18.6	12.1	69.3
2. The Headmaster (a-e) give all his time to running the school and none to teaching.	e	0	12.5	87.5	43.4	24.4	34.2

a. The Format and content of some of these items are derived from
    a questionnaire by Neal Gross (National Principalship Study,
    Graduate School of Education, Harvard University).

*   This "a" qualified by the comment, "but not use it."

The five questions (in Table IX-8) refer to the duties of the teachers

in the school. The answers of the teachers to four of the five ques-

tions reflect considerable agreement. The teachers are in complete

agreement (Number 6) that they should help with school clubs and

societies. The majority believe that whether or not they report any

difficulties with a pupil to the Headmaster depends on the nature of

the problem. Here the teachers are not in agreement with the Head-

master. He believed that the teachers should be able to handle the

students themselves but realized the need to back up any teacher who

lacks confidence or the ability to control his students. The teachers

were in least agreement on the question of giving extra time to assist

students in their academic work (number 7). The Headmaster stated that

"teachers absolutely should be required to give extra time to students

who need academic help." This is in sharp contrast to the 50% of the

teachers who favored such assistance but only answered "preferably

should." On this item the students had the largest proportion responding

in the same way (75.4%; 45.8% responded "absolutely should" while no

teacher gave this response). The students embraced the idea that the

teachers should assist them in their academic work outside the classroom

because they knew that it would help them towards their primary goal of

obtaining a good pass on the School Certificate. It deserves note that

one of the activities to prepare students to take the School Certificate

Examination was the holding of extra classes and special tutoring.

It is interesting that the teachers were not in agreement among them-

selves or with the Headmaster or students on this point.

The data reveals that the area in which the teachers desired to main-

tain their autonomy was in the conduct of their classes. The teachers

believed that they should be able to talk about things that were not on

the School Certificate syllabus (item 3), and that they should be free

to make changes in what was studied (item 5). The Headmaster did not believe that the school had developed to the point where the teachers could be free to make unilateral changes in what was studied and what books to use in their classes. The students were divided on these two questions. This reflects the concern of many of the students that they learn only what is on the School Certificate syllabus so that they might do well on the examination.[17]

The teachers' responses reveal that they were willing to cooperate in school activities that did not directly involve teaching. All of them indicated that they were willing to help with school clubs or societies. Helping students in their academic work outside the normal class time was an activity which did impinge upon their concept of their duties as teachers; but half the teachers felt it was something that they wished to be able to volunteer for, instead of having this task made a compulsory activity. Those teachers who gave a neutral answer to question 7 were also the ones in favor of not being exposed to mandatory expectations with regard to questions 3 and 5.

The four questions in Table IX-9 concern the nature of the relationship between students and teachers with primary reference to the amount of warmth and empathy the teachers should have with their pupils. This may be described as representing the dilemma of effective role relationships versus bureaucratically defined, impersonal relationships in the teachers' interaction with students.[18]

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17. Those students in the higher forms tended to be more opposed to the teachers having this degree of autonomy.

18. See David A. Goslin, The School in Contemporary Society (Chicago, Illinois: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1965), pp. 136-137.

TABLE IX-8

The Response of 308 Pupils, 8 Teachers and the Headmaster
to Five Questions Concerning the Duties of Teachers.
(Where the Letters Mean: a = Absolutely Should; b =
Preferably Should; c = May or May Not; d = Preferably
Should Not; and e = Absolutely Should Not)

		H M	Teachers			Students		
			a/b	c	d	a/b	c	d/e
3)	If a teacher has something interesting to say even though it is not on the School Certificate syllabus and would take a period to tell, he (a-e) use the class time in this way.	b	75.0	25.0	0	35.4	30.2	34.4
4)	A teacher (a-e) report to the Headmaster any trouble with a student.	e	25.0	67.5	12.5	36.7	35.8	27.5
5)	Teachers (a-e) be free to make changes in what is studied and what books are used in their classes.	d	62.5	12.5	25.0	42.6	22.8	35.6
6)	Teachers (a-e) help with school clubs/societies	a	100.	0	0	56.1	32.3	11.6
7)	A teacher (a-e) be made to give extra time to students who need academic help.	a	50.0	50.0	0	75.4	16.9	7.7

There was a lack of consensus among teachers over the need to enforce
rigidly discipline at all times (question 8); the Headmaster who sub-
scribed to the norm of recognizing individual differences was opposed to
this expectation.   It was the African and Asian teachers who believed
in the need to "be strict with students on all occasions."   The greatest

consensus on any of the questions among the Headmaster, teachers and pupils was on question 9. They are nearly all in favor of the teachers understanding "the personal problems of students and their individual differences."

In question 10 we probably have a good example of an instance of semantic confusion. The students disagree with the teachers on the question "Teachers (a-e) be easy with students in the amount of school work they demand from them," but the reason may lie not in the laziness of the students but possibly in a different interpretation of the word "easy." To the teachers "easy" was probably interpreted as giving the pupils little school work (quantity), but to some of the students "easy" was defined as "understandable" material (quality). These students did not want work they could not understand. So we draw no conclusion from responses to this item.[19]

Only one teacher was opposed to having informal contacts with pupils. This individual taught only from eight A.M. to 12:20 and two to four P.M., and at all other times she was completely removed from her position as a teacher. She also had little informal contact with the other teachers and the Headmaster. To the Headmaster the amount of informal contact that a teacher had with his pupils depended on the teacher. He himself had a considerable range of informal contact with the pupils varying from students living with him, to their dropping in at his home for afternoon tea. It could be claimed that these informal patterns of interaction were of considerable educational value to the students

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19. This finding does underline the need to be extremely careful when doing research through a second language.

and to the staff in assisting it to learn more about students.

TABLE IX-9

The Response of 308 Pupils, 8 Teachers, and the Headmaster
to Four Questions Concerning the Effective Role Relation-
ships Teachers Might Have with Students (Versus Bureau-
cratically Defined Impersonal Role Relationships)*

		H M	Teachers			Students		
			a/b	c	d/e	a	c	d/e
8)	A teacher (a-e) be strict with students on all occasions.	d	50.0	37.5	12.5	44.8	28.0	30.2
9)	Teachers (a-e) to understand the personal problems of students and their individual differences.	a	100.	0	0	72.9	16.6	10.5
10)	Teachers (a-e) be easy with students in the amount of school work they demand from them.	d	12.5	0	87.5	67.1	14.5	17.1
11)	Teachers (a-e) have informal contacts with the students outside school.	c	75.0	12.5	12.5	36.0	39.9	24.1

*Where the letters mean: a = absolutely should; b = preferably should;
c = may or may not; d = preferably should not; and e = absolutely should
not.

Table IX-10 reports the views of students and the adults in the school in two questions concerning student involvement in school activities. In responding to question 12, "If a teacher makes a mistake a student (a-e) call the teacher's attention to what he has done that is wrong," all but one of the teachers favored being assisted by a student in his class while only 50% of the students felt that they should do this. The reluctance of the students to speak out in such a situation perhaps reflects their own background and training in obedience and respect for elders and those in authority. Question 13 dealt with one way that students could be of service to the school. Only 21% of the pupils were in favor of working on the school grounds on Saturday mornings and 44.1% are opposed to such behavior. The teachers are also divided with only 37.5% saying that "students preferably should be asked to do physical work on the upkeep of the school on Saturdays." The Headmaster, however, felt that students should absolutely be asked to do this.

TABLE IX-10

The Response of 308 Pupils, 8 Teachers, and the Headmaster to Two Questions Concerning Student Involvement in the School. (Where the Letters Mean: a = Absolutely should; b = Preferably Should; c = May or May not; d = Preferably Should Not; and c = Absolutely Should Not)

	H M	Teachers			Students		
		a/b	c	d/e	a/b	c	d/e
12) If a teacher makes a mistake a student (a-e) call the teacher's attention to what he has done that is wrong.	-	87.5	12.5	0	50.6	26.1	23.3
13) Students (a-e) be asked to do manual work on the upkeep of the school on Saturdays.	a	37.5	62.5	0	21.0	34.9	4 4.1

What impact did these expectations and attitudes have on the attainment of organizational goals? It might be assumed that consensus on expectations and attitudes could provide the climate in which the school could function smoothly and thus be better able to achieve its goals than if this consensus was absent. But there are a number of problems with this approach. First it is necessary to establish a link between expectations, attitudes, and role behavior; second, it is necessary to establish a hierarchy of items on which consensus becomes more and more crucial to the activities directed towards the attainment of organizational goals, and to specify when the lack of consensus is dysfunctional; and third, such an approach requires developing means of assessing individual strength of expectations and attitudes and the factors that influence them.

One goal of the school is to maximize its resources. A way to do this is to have the students work on the maintenance and physical construction of the school. In 1963 after the success of the Adventurers Club in helping to build the new classroom block Mr. White instituted a formal work-period for students on Saturday mornings. In answering the question the students indicated that they were not in favor of this. But there exists a gap between what they would like to do and what they will do. For many of the students it was a hardship to have to come to school on Saturday because of their obligations and responsibilities outside of the school. Yet they still came. The lack of consensus was not dysfunctional. What is not known is what influence greater agreement among the students and between the students and staff might have had on this activity; perhaps it would have resulted in more enthusiasm and harder work.

When we have consensus on expectations it does not necessarily follow that there is conformity to them. It could be postulated that if teachers understood the personal problems and individual differences of their pupils, this would assist them in their teaching and thus further the main goal of maximizing the number of pupils who do well on the School Certificate. We have nearly complete consensus on the expectation among the students, teachers, and the Headmaster (question number 9). Yet, in fact, the teachers knew extremely little about their pupils and made little effort to learn about their background, living situation, and personal concerns and problems. When Mr. White put a notice on the bulletin board in the staff room requesting that teachers write down the names of pupils who were in need of hostelization only one teacher put down a name; and this was an African teacher who was transferring to another school and had a pupil living with him who would need a new place to live. Yet, the Headmaster in his interviews with pupils found over sixty whom he felt were in immediate need of better housing. This is a good indication of how little the teachers knew about their pupils. Only Mr. White and Mrs. Trilling appeared to be genuinely concerned about the external situation of the pupils and how this might affect their studies. Only one teacher approached me for consultation to discover why certain pupils were having problems in learning and inquired if their behavior was being influenced by external conditions.

The absence of consensus in certain situations, however, can be an indication of interpersonal problems. The pupils and the Headmaster were in agreement that the teachers should give extra time to students who need academic help, but the teachers were split 50-50 (with none of the teachers in favor saying "absolutely should"). We found that only the

Headmaster and four teachers were active in assisting pupils in the
afternoons after four o'clock and during the vacations.

C. Role Overload:

The Headmaster, teachers and students all complained of the insufficient
time to do what had to be done. As the school changed and grew the
actual duties required of the occupants of the different positions expand-
ed until they overtaxed the capacity of the incumbents. This resulted in
conflicts which mitigated against the achievement of organizational goals.
This form of conflict is known as "role overload."

> Overload could be regarded as a kind of inter-sender conflict in
> which various role senders may hold quite legitimate expectations
> that a person perform a wide variety of tasks, all of which are
> mutually compatible in the abstract. But it may be virtually
> impossible for the focal person to complete all of them within
> given time limits.[20]

In considering the external environment of the school in the previous
chapter we showed that many of the students faced conflicting demands on
their time outside the school. During the school day, the students did
not devote one hundred per cent of their time to their academic work.
Physical education and athletics were an organized part of the school
program. The prefects, Student Council, clubs and societies met both
during the long lunch period and the two hour period at the end of the
day, between four and six P.M. Athletic competitions, activities like
debating and participation in radio and T.V. programs or rehearsing for
school plays also cut into the normal time alloted to academic work.
Students were also expected to contribute their share to the maintenance
of the school and join in special projects on Saturdays. The duties of the

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20. Robert L. Kahn, et al., Organizational Stress: Studies in Role
Conflict and Ambiguity, op. cit., p. 20.

Head Boy and prefects also absorbed a considerable amount of their time.[21]

The teachers also had extensive demands placed upon their time. Not only did they have to prepare their lessons, teach, correct their students' work, prepare exams and correct them, formulate end of term and end of year reports, but they also had a number of administrative and clerical duties. They were expected to advise student activities, supervise athletics after school, substitute for other teachers who were sick or absent, give special tutoring during the school vacations, and provide some informal guidance to their pupils. They also were responsible for checking attendance in their class in the morning, making book collections and checking on exercise books, making a check on both school uniforms and physical education uniforms, insuring that each pupil had paid his school fees, constantly checking to see who had and who had not paid their school fees, and supervising students during the long lunch period; and were also held accountable for the tidiness of certain areas of the school. They were also required at times to provide supervision for practice-teachers from the School of Education, Makerere University College. Those who were "senior" teachers also had administrative responsibilities in planning schedules, choosing textbooks, and coordinating the teaching done in their subject area. Beyond this all the teachers occupied a variety of positions external to the school. These too could place demands on the teachers for their time and conflict with the time needed both to prepare lessons and to correct students' work.

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21. This is in sharp contrast to one other secondary day school where students had to attend compulsory study halls between four and six P.M. or others which were open only between eight A.M. and one P.M. and then closed the remainder of the day.

Two teachers, contrary to regulations, held down jobs outside the school.

In this maze of teaching, administrative, and clerical duties it is not surprising that the teachers did not carry out all of them effectively. The teachers never took seriously the requirement that they supervise the students during the long lunch time break. Some of the teachers openly resisted participation in the Saturday work projects and the daily duties of seeing that their area of the school was kept tidy. One teacher, because of her seniority, was able to avoid any involvement with an extra-curricular activity.

Role overload forced the teachers into making their own personal choices as to where they would give priorities in carrying out their duties. It was not surprising that the teachers did not continuously check their pupils as to whether or not they had paid their school fees, nor were they consistent in demanding that students wear the proper school uniform and have their P.E. uniform with them. Some teachers were more efficient than others in the clerical activities of checking attendance, books, exercise books and uniforms. It might be assumed that all teachers would place their highest priority on their teaching duties. This, however, was not the case. A few teachers made little, if any, preparations for their classes nor did they correct their students' work. Two teachers even went as far as submitting grades and positions for their pupils that bore no possible relation to reality. When it came to supervising Makerere students in their practice teaching, again there was a wide variation in response from the teachers, varying from teachers who took this as a challenge to their own ideas of the profession and seriously worked with the student-teachers to a teacher who scheduled the

practice-teachers in his subject so that he was free all afternoon every-
day for a number of weeks; he then spent his time reading or sleeping in
the staff room. The teachers were also not uniform in their willingness
to substitute for another teacher when he or she was sick or absent. It
was for this reason that the Headmaster instituted the system of having
the prefects check every classroom at the beginning of every period to
make sure that there was a teacher present. If no teacher was present
and none was free to take a class that had no teacher then the Head-
master would appoint a prefect to supervise this class as a study period.

The Headmaster, Mr. White, had three main functions: that of administra-
tor, professional leader, and teacher. As an administrator Mr. White was
responsible for the implementation of policies established by his super-
ordinates in the external organization, controlling and planning the de-
velopment of the school, selection of pupils, recruitment and selection
of teachers, choice of equipment, plans for new buildings, drawing up
reports, and preparing annual and semi-annual budgets. He also had to
handle the school's public relations and serve as its organizational
representative. Mr. White directed the clerical and maintenance staff
of the school, supervised the purchase of food for the school breakfasts
and lunches and ordered the school furniture, supplies, and educational
materials. The process of continual growth and development of the school
imposed additional administrative burdens on Mr. White. The activities
and problems involved in the development of a Board of Governors in 1963
are a good example of this. Though the Board of Governors was supposed
to serve as a legitimizing function for the Headmaster and the school
they created a major addition to his work load. It was necessary to

contact potential members, prepare detailed written reports for the new Board, and attend their meetings.

The school only had one bursar and one clerk. This resulted in many of the minor clerical duties associated with administration of the school falling upon the Headmaster if he wished to see them carried out promptly and efficiently. Mr. White had to do a considerable part of the filing, typing, and he had to write references, take care of the general correspondence and even answer the telephone.

As a professional leader, Mr. White was responsible for setting minimum standards for the teachers. He felt that this was partially achieved by setting an example in his own work and by living up to his own standards. This meant that he had to teach well and work hard. Mr. White did a minimal amount of actual supervision of the teachers, limiting it to dropping in on some of the classes of his new teachers and making comments to them afterwards when he felt it was necessary. Mr. White was also responsible for controlling the deviant behavior of both students, teachers, and other staff. He also provided leadership in decisions about the use of books, educational materials, the library, and on such issues as the way in which the school should be "streamed."

As a teacher (and Mr. White hoped to be able to teach at least fifteen periods a week) he shared nearly all the duties and responsibilities of the other teachers that have been enumerated previously. Although he did not have to make attendance, book and uniform checks in a classroom, nor serve as a homeroom teacher, he did have the overall responsibility of supervising these activities. Neither did he assume any direct involvement in physical education. However, he was involved in the

development of dramatics at the school and this was one of his major
personal interests. Mr. White did have the additional responsibilities
of leading the morning assemblies and special assemblies and chairing
the staff meetings. He also was more active in assisting the students
in their personal problems, giving guidance and help in obtaining further
education and employment.

Mr. White was the type of person who enjoyed overworking himself. He
did not like taking a vacation. When asked whether or not he was kept
awake at night thinking about problems associated with his job, he com-
mented that he frequently was, but that it was not unpleasant. Yet the
wide range of responsibilities that fall on the Headmaster were still
too much for one man. Mr. White was dissatisfied with the amount of
clerical and custodial help available to him, the amount of space provided
for his office, and the number and quality of teaching supplies available.
He enjoyed his administrative and teaching duties, but when caught in a
time-bind which forced him to decide on how he should allocate his time,
invariably administrative responsibilities came first. At times when the
school had an adequate number of teachers, especially during the Makerere
University College long vacation when a number of Makerere students
would teach at the school, Mr. White would limit the time he devoted to
teaching and would devote even more time to his administrative and pro-
fessional functions. Mr. White was very dissatisfied with the impact of
his job upon his family life. He worked late nearly every day, often
went to school early in the morning, and frequently worked seven days a
week.

Role overload was dysfunctional to the attainment of organizational goals. This has been shown in the discussion of role overload and its influence on the people occupying the positions of Headmaster, teachers and students. Role overload also had a positive influence on the attainment of goals. The pervasive presence of role overload throughout the organization precluded the development of norms of laziness and procrastination. Instead, incumbents of positions felt pressured to work harder at their tasks. Role overload was thus also to some degree functional to the achievement of organizational goals. The continuous pressure of having more work to do than could be done in a given period of time served to keep people on their toes, although it also resulted in some degree of personal stress and strain.

Our conclusion then is that role overload had both negative and positive consequences. The problem is even more complicated when we recognize that different people are able to cope with varying amounts of work and stress so the threshold of role overload is not the same for everyone. We have not been able to arrive at any measure of when this threshold is reached, yet alone analyze its relationship to the activities designed to implement the goals of the school. Thus we must rely on observation, and as has been shown, on what different people report concerning this problem.

Summary:

First, there were two main ideological themes: "Success" or how much the school had accomplished, and "nurturence" or how much the school had done to help its pupils. The first was used to evoke loyalty, the

second, thankfulness. The school's ideology, though it supported

the goal of institutional building and of maximizing the number of

pupils who did well on the School Certificate, did not embrace the

second part of the first goal; maximizing the potential of the

pupils so they would be better prepared to serve their societies.

Second, as part of its formal organization the school has a set

of explicit rules. These served to establish a framework for the

smooth functioning of the school. One rule encouraged the use of

English, a crucial subject on the School Certificate. A set of

informal norms were also functional to the attainment of the

goals of the school. They also facilitated the training of the

pupils towards being responsible citizens. The normative structure

was functional to the goal of institution building as student

behavior both within the school and in the external environment

that conformed to the norms assisted in improving the image of the

school.

Third, with respect to the role structure of the school three aspects

were examined for their influence on the achievement of organizational

goals: the network of relationships, expectations, and role overload.

The network of relationships was characterized by a lack of cohesion, and

uneven communication; yet the better teachers had a high degree of

autonomy within their classrooms. Staff meetings that became regular-

ized during the period of the case study were considered to be functional

to the attainment of goals. The encumbents of the different positions

in the school were asked a series of questions to assess their expecta-

tions. More research needs to be done on the possible relationships between

consensus or lack of consensus and role behavior. In a highly task oriented school with a controlled organizational climate less consensus may be less dysfunctional. Role overload was evaluated as generally dysfunctional to the attainment of organizational goals, but where it served to pressure people to work harder it was functional.

CHAPTER X

THE HEADMASTER

Introduction:

The performance of the Headmaster was of critical importance in the operation of the Mutesa School. He influenced the determination of school goals; his behavior had effects on both the internal and external relationships of the school; he was responsible for mobilizing human and fiscal resources and coping with the external forces that influence the school. In working on both internal and external organizational problems the Headmaster had considerable autonomy. He was responsible for implementing policy as set by his superordinates in enforcing minimum standards of performance for teachers and students.

One perspective toward the role behavior of an individual is to focus on system influences on it; another view, and the one we shall use, is to examine how the performance of a position incumbent, in this case Mr. White as Headmaster, influences the operation of a social system. In this chapter we focus on how he attempted to manipulate the authority structure and the formal and informal organization of the school in his efforts to facilitate the achievement of its goals.

Two concepts we shall use, formal and informal organization, have been defined and discussed in Chapter VII. A third concept involved in our

analysis is authority. As shown in Chapter II, authority has been viewed in somewhat different ways by Barnard and Weber. For Weber, authority exists in a social situation when an order of a superordinate is obeyed by a subordinate. For Barnard, authority is present when a communication of a superordinate is complied with voluntarily by a subordinate. Weber's view of authority employs the operation of power in a hierarchy, while Barnard's conception of it treats authority as a process of effect in communications. Yet both views assume compliance on the part of the subordinate. We view authority as a process of social interaction in which a legitimate order given by a superordinate is complied with by his subordinate.

The Authority Structure:

The authority system of the school in part followed the pattern outlined in the chart on Internal Formal Organization (Chart VII-2). The lines of authority were down, but were not restricted, as in most bureaucracies, to an established hierarchy where the lines of communication go only from one level to the next, even though the occupants of positions still had limited areas of jurisdiction and responsibility. The lines of authority in Mutesa School, as in the Kingdom of Buganda, did not fit Weber's model.

One reason for this "deviation" is that the Kingdom of Buganda was not a "typical African state." In Africa most kingdoms have a pyramidal struc-ture of authority, and "each segment--and there were frequently several levels of segmentation--was a kingdom in miniature, owing only conditional

allegiance to the larger unity of which it formed a part."[1]

> Perhaps the clearest expression of the difference between these
> states and Buganda lay in the ability of the Kabaka to control
> appointments to positions of authority over territorial sub-
> divisions. Unlike the subordinate chiefs in the more segmentary
> kingdoms, whose positions rested upon some combination of descent
> and consent of the people over whom they ruled, the chiefs of the
> Kabaka were increasingly responsible directly and solely to him.
> Legitimacy, instead of rising pyramidally, so to speak, through a
> series of heads of increasingly inclusive units to the king, went
> in Buganda directly from the people to the king, who in turn con-
> ferred it upon a hierarchy of subordinates. The kingdom as a
> whole could thus become an object of explicit and continuous
> government in a way which was impossible in a more pyramical state.[2]

In Buganda, there were four main levels of chiefs. Each was under the

authority of the one above him in the hierarchy, and directly under the

authority of the Kabaka.

At the Mutesa School during the period of the case study, the Headmaster

exercised his authority in both a bureaucratic and "traditional manner."

A majority of the pupils of the school in 1962-1963 had been recruited,

selected, and admitted to the school by the Headmaster. The Headmaster

also had almost complete control over the selection and appointment of

his teaching staff. Final and formal approval, however, was the preroga-

tive of the Ministry of Education. The prefects and Head Boy were

primarily selected by the Headmaster. And as noted in Chapter IX at times

the Headmaster used students to check on the activities of the teachers.

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1. L. A. Fallers, F. K. Kamoga, S. B. K. Musoke, "Social Stratification
in Traditional Buganda," in L. A. Fallers (ed.), The King's Men (London:
Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 98.

2. Ibid., p. 99.

But control is not solely unidirectional. "Since the superior's ability to exercise authority depends on the willingness of his subordinates to obey him, he not only controls them, but is, in fact, also controlled by them."[3] The degree of an individual's power in the organizational structure of a school was determined by his position in the hierarchy. Yet the very process of education requires that both teachers and students in a school have considerable autonomy for in Uganda there is no compulsory education.[4] There was no requirement that students attend school. As students in a day school, they also had autonomy in most areas of their lives, for example, where and how they lived, and how frequently they studied. Of course, on entering the Mutesa School they voluntarily accepted its regulations and were aware of the ultimate sanction of expulsion, but how "willingly" they accepted its control of their behavior is related to a number of factors: their degree of identification with the school, their attitude towards their Headmaster and others in positions of responsibility, and the extent to which their needs were being met by the school.

The formal authority of the teachers was limited to the control of pupils in their classrooms. Within them the teachers had considerable autonomy. In answer to the question, "What things help to make your teaching easier?" one teacher said: "The attitude of the Headmaster who lets you do a job in

3. Peter N. Blau, The Dynamics of Bureaucracy (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), p. 161. (This is Barnard's concept of authority based on compliance.)

4. I use "autonomy" here in the sense used by Katz: to refer to areas where an incumbent of a position is independent of control by others in the organization. See: Fred E. Katz, "The School as a Complex Social Organization," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer 1964, p. 433.

your own way as long as you do it well." This type of statement indicates a basic characteristic of the school: although autonomy is given to teachers, they must use it effectively or they will be subjected to external constraints. This suggests that although an individual teachers may have autonomy in what, and how, he teaches, there was considerable variation in the freedom from control that different teachers in fact enjoyed. At the Mutesa School those teachers granted the most autonomy had established seniority or status, were viewed by the Headmaster as most competent, and conformed to his organizational expectations for their performance, for example, through their punctuality, completion of reports on time, and performance of special duties, etc. Evidence in support of this condition is that in the Mutesa School one of the teachers was fired in 1962 for poor teaching and in 1963 Mr. White considered firing another teacher.

The acceptance of Mr. White's authority was facilitated by the following six aspects of his role performance: one, his competence; two, his "congenial" personality; three, his respect for the autonomy of teachers and students; four, a general positive assessment of his activities directed towards implementing the goals of the school; five, his achievements; and six, by his commitment. Mr. White was not only a capable administrator; he also, as previously noted, believed that a Headmaster should teach, and his reputation as a teacher was excellent. Asked how they viewed the students, the school, teachers, and the Headmaster of their school (four separate questions) in comparison to other secondary schools in Uganda the students responded as follows (see Table X-1):

TABLE X-1

How 348 Pupils at the Mutesa School Rated Themselves
(Students), the School, Teachers, and Their Head-
master on a Six Point Scale from: Worst (1), Poor
(2), Fair (3), Good (4), Excellent (5), First Class
(6), Compared to Other Secondary Schools

Item	Mean	Standard Deviation
Students	4.31	0.74
School	4.48	0.75
Teachers	4.88	0.83
Headmaster	5.29	0.79

The student's responses reveal that the Headmaster was evaluated as "first class" while most of them rated themselves "good" and the teachers as "excellent." When asked to name the teacher that they liked the most and the teacher whom they thought was the best teacher, in November 1963, the Headmaster was mentioned in both categories in total more times than any teacher. He was mentioned 62 times, compared to 59 for the next teacher and 46 for the next; 180 students out of 200 answered the question; in all, 12 teachers were mentioned.

Though Mr. White was the occupant of a position with considerable power in Weber's usage of the term, authority, he also had great authority as Barnard employed this term.[5] Mr. White had earned the high prestige that voluntary compliance facilitates, and often results in spontaneous followers.[6]

5. In a cooperative system where authority depends partially on the acceptance of communications authority can be both ascribed to a position in the organization (like teacher or headmaster) and enhanced (achieved authority) or diminished by the individual occupying the position.

6. For a discussion of the relationship between prestige and authority see: Kurt H. Wolff (ed. and translator), The Sociology of Georg Simmel (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), pp. 183-185.

It could also be said that Mr. White was characterized as Headmaster by "charisma." Etzioni defines charisma in an organization as more than simply the unique attributes of an individual, but as a sociological concept which integrates the reaction of followers: charisma refers to "the ability of an actor to exercise diffuse and intense influence over the normative orientations of other actors."[7] In most sociological treatments of the exercise of authority in organizations such as the Mutesa School, it is viewed as limited by the normative structure of the organization; that is, authority "is constrained by group norms."

> This plainly requires that those in authority have substantial knowledge of these norms...otherwise orders issued by authority will often and unwittingly violate these norms and cumulatively reduce the effect of authority of those who issue them. Orders will not be followed, or followed only under duress...but when authority remains more or less intact, it does so because 'orders' are contained well within the limit set by the group norms which those authorities take into account.[8]

Authority based on charisma is different from that based on the occupancy of a formal position in that the leader who has achieved charismatic authority is now in a position to influence the normative structure of the organization and thus further enhance his influence. In the previous chapter (Chapter IX) we noted some of the ways Mr. White influenced the ideology and normative structure of the school.

The Headmaster recognized that the acceptance of his authority required him to support the decisions of his teachers in their classrooms. At times he

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7. Amatai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961), p. 203. For a discussion of how this relates to Weber's use of the term "charisma" see pp. 204-206.

8. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957), p. 340.

had to back teachers in situations that, in other circumstances, he would not have. He felt that the worst teachers were those who tried to turn him into "an automatic punishing machine," and always expected to be backed up 100% in their actions. Mr. White claimed that some of his staff showed little imagination in the use of punishments. "I have to say to B... 'Don't send me so-and-so for the next month.'" Mr. White said that he found it most difficult to continue to support a teacher who was not fully performing his duties (failing to correct pupils' exercise , books or to grade their work, and teaching only by reading from textbooks), especially when the teacher sent him pupils to be punished. This difficulty was increased when the teacher sent a pupil for reasons like: "Do you know I caught Mukasa looking out the window?" The Headmaster said to me: "I never have the guts to say to this type of teacher: 'Perhaps you're boring them to death.'"[9]

The decision-making process of the school was also centralized in the Headmaster. He believed that given the history and pressing problems of the Mutesa School, this was necessary. In the previous chapter we have seen that the Headmaster and teachers were not in agreement on some aspects of the extent of the Headmaster's authority. Mr. White believed that he should have the power to make decisions without consulting the teachers, "but not use it." At one time he became angry with a teacher for what he considered insubordination. This teacher had challenged one of his decisions. He told him that "for the staff to be consulted by the Headmaster in the formulation of policy or in making a decision was a

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9. It was mentioned in the previous chapter that only one teacher agreed with the Headmaster that a teacher should not report discipline troubles with their students to the Headmaster, while two felt that they should. The remaining teachers indicated that they believed that this depended on the situation.

privilege, not a right." Mr. White did at times make unilateral decisions. The school was in a process of constant change and there were often times when quick decisions had to be made on issues that it was impossible to place before the staff for open discussion, or even to consult the three core teachers that Mr. White relied on for advice. When in July 1963, Mr. White initiated weekly staff meetings, this was done as a concession to a few of the teachers. But in no way did Mr. White compromise his use of his formal authority. He recognized that the teachers viewed it as legitimate. He in turn used staff meetings to maintain compliance from the teachers. Being aware that the teachers were far from a homogeneous group, Mr. White saw the necessity to meet some of the expectations of those teachers who were in the minority so as to try to promote unity between the teachers as much as possible. It was for similar reasons that Mr. White refrained from firing the one teacher whom the students and some of the other teachers had been complaining about. Though he recognized that the teacher was not an asset to the school, he felt that it would have been more disruptive to the school if he had fired this teacher due to his qualifications, length of service, and especially his access to people in positions of influence in the external environment. At staff meetings Mr. White presented his ideas to the staff, listened to their comments, but did not basically involve them in the process of making decisions that affected the total development of the school. The teachers were not consulted formally in the process of making decisions concerning the budget, financing, planning of the development of the buildings and grounds of the school, or the intake of students or the selection of teachers.

Some insight into the relationship among organizational structure, the system of formal authority, and the attainment of goals can be gained by examining the organizational climate of the school. The Mutesa School, with certain variations, "fits" Halpin's and Croft's description of a "controlled climate."[10] In the controlled organizational climate the major emphasis is on achievement and everyone works hard. "The climate is over-weighted toward task-achievement and away from social-needs satisfaction."[11] The teachers are absorbed in their work, morally involved and committed--"They are there to get the job done, and they expect to be told personally just how to do it."[12] There is a considerable amount of paper work--correcting exercise books, completing school records. There is little social interaction among the teachers as a whole, with "warm relations" being limited to certain cliques of teachers. "Job satisfaction found in this climate results primarily from task-accomplishment, not from social-need satisfaction."[13] The administrative head of the school delegates few responsibilities, prefers to make decisions himself and expects that they will be followed. His directives are impersonal and aimed at standardizing the non-academic duties of the teachers. An example of this in the Mutesa School is found in the note from Mr. White to the teachers, reproduced in Chapter IX. The teachers "respond well to

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10. Andrew W. Halpin and Don B. Croft, The Organizational Climate of Schools (Chicago: Midwest Administration Center, 1963). A different approach to what he calls "organization character" is used by Burton Clark. See: Burton Clark, The Open-Door College (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960), pp. 135-155.

11. Halpin and Croft, op. cit., p. 63.

12. Ibid., p. 63.

13. Ibid., p. 64.

this type of militant behavior and apparently obtain considerable job satisfaction within this climate."[14]

Such a summary of the organizational climate of the Mutesa School glosses over some of the essential distinctions. At the school a line must be drawn between academic and non-academic activities. It was in the non-academic activities that the Headmaster most freely exercised his formal authority and the teachers followed (some willingly, some with grumbling); in the area of academic activities he granted his teachers considerable autonomy.

Regarding their autonomy, the teachers were asked the same question twice, first with respect to how much autonomy they felt they should have and second, in regard to how much autonomy they actually had. Five key questions were repeated in both contexts. They referred to the teacher's participation in formulating school policy, his use of his own discretion in making minor exceptions to school policy, his following the teaching methods that he personally believed to be most effective, his taking the initiative in introducing new teaching materials in his classes, and his changing his school curriculum program to meet the needs of his students. The teachers in 1963 who said they "absolutely should" were the ones who felt that they "very often" could do the above five things. While those who said "preferably should" were the ones who "often" could. Thus, the teacher's perception of his degree of autonomy in academic matters tended to conform to his desire for autonomy. In non-academic matters some teachers were thankful that the Headmaster exercised strong control over the operation of the school. They knew that they could count on being

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14. Ibid., p. 64.

backed up in disciplining students, and those who chose to send students to the Headmaster's office preferred to leave decision-making and activities in this area to him.

One problem was how far the power of the Headmaster should extend beyond the school into its external environment. In spite of Mr. White's declaration that the school's influence ended at the Kalala gates, the activities involving the retention of students, the development of the school, and the improvement of the school's image in the community, resulted in the extension of Mr. White's control into external environment. In the previous chapter we pointed out the informal norms that had evolved that were intended to govern the behavior of pupils outside of the school. Ten days before independence (October 9, 1962) Mr. White stated to the students:

> In a government school you should not come to school wearing
> political badges. The independence badge is permissible, but
> no others. These are the orders of the Minister and the
> Permanent Secretary. What you do outside of school is a
> different matter. After four o'clock we have no control over
> your lives.

Yet twelve days later a "crisis" occurred that indicated how much control the school could have over its pupils. A picture appeared in the Taifa Empya under the heading: "The Twist Has Captured the Marrow of the Youth." The picture showed two couples twisting on the stage of the National Theater in Kampala with a small band playing behind them. The caption of the picture stated:

> They are twisting the twist that has captured the marrow of
> youth all over the world. This is the Mutesa School Band doing
> it. The girl shown here seems to be only twist. And the boy
> says: "You've not seen me yet; let me twist till you'll be
> shocked--I'll even reach right down to the floor."

When Mr. White saw the picture, he immediately called the students in it from their classes. The students explained that they had been participating in a Sunday-afternoon radio show. Mr. White told them that there were to be no further public performances without his prior permission. He criticized the students for never having told him about their group. They looked down at the floor and shuffled their feet. "You belong to the Mutesa School. What you have done harms the public image of the school."

Our observations of the functioning of the school lead to the conclusion that, in general, the formal authority structure, highly centralized in the position of the Headmaster, yet balanced by the autonomy of the individual teachers within their classrooms was conducive to the attainment of organizational goals. Yet, it must immediately be noted that this interpretation is not easy to document, because in our case study we have no controls and no way of knowing what would have happened "if" a variety of different conditions had existed.

During the two months that Mr. White was on leave Mr. Jukko served as Acting-Headmaster. Though he had the formal powers of Headmaster, it was also clear that he did not possess the charisma which Mr. White had in his position of Headmaster. During this time the school continued in its momentum with no departures from the pattern established by Mr. White, with the exception that Mr. Jukko refrained from caning any pupils. The most that we can say is that the formal authority structure of the school in 1962 and 1963 appeared to be well suited to the achievement of the major organizational goals of the school.

Mr. White's use of his authority was also conducive to change. The goals of the school assumed the need for change in the organization. To overcome inefficiency in the operation of school required the adoption of flexible procedure and the turn-over in the staff contributed to the lack of rigidity in its organization. While Mr. White assumed the responsibility over the major innovations introduced into the school, the autonomy accorded teachers and students permitted a degree of innovation within their own realms of responsibility and action. This was also facilitated by the general lack of rigidity in the gradually evolving informal norms of the school, and was supported by Mr. White's norm of recognition of individual differences. Two of the major blocks to innovation present in many schools were absent: rigid rules and the presence of individuals unduly married to the status quo. The major blocks to innovation we observed were inefficiency tied to ritualism, role overload, and in the external organization, the shortage of funds to support the school fully in its activities designed to achieve its goals.

The Headmaster's Use of the Organizational Structure:

Aspects of the informal organization recognized by formal leaders as facilitating the attainment of organizational goals are sometimes absorbed in the formal organizational structure. There were a number of instances where this happened at the Mutesa School.

Most day senior secondary schools rely on hostels to provide housing for the portion of their pupils who have no relatives near the school and who can afford to pay the hostel fees. The Mutesa School sponsored no hostels for its pupils. But a few pupils who wished to live near the school and

benefit from the mutual support and stimulation they could give to each other formed an informal hostel. This arrangement, called the "Valley Hostel" has been described in Chapter VII. Mr. White made preliminary surveys of what it would cost to rent, furnish, feed and house between 20 and 60 pupils in buildings made of permanent materials and equipped with water and electricity. He found the costs prohibitive, and for this reason focused his attention on maximizing the resources of the Valley Hostel, for the objectives of the school. He made the Valley Hostel initially an informal organization outside the school, a part of its formal organization; thus, it came under the jurisdiction of the Headmaster. Mr. White believed that the Valley Hostel would minimize personal conflicts experienced by pupils who had no relatives near the school. Further, he felt that establishing some formal control over the informal hostel (by inspection, reports, requiring a "constitution", and supervision of the payment of rent), would result in better performance of students on the School Certificate and also would teach them how to become better citizens.[15]

The research findings indicate that the "Vallelians" did do comparatively better on the School Certificate than the other pupils. Of the 65 pupils who took the School Certificate in 1963, 10 lived in the Valley Hostel. Seventy percent of those who lived in the Valley Hostel passed the examination while only 39.6 percent of the others passed. Of the students

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15. In December, 1964, Mr. White made the hostel an integral part of the formal organization of the Mutesa School. He required the members of the Valley Hostel to pay their fees directly to the school and that they prepare their own meals (rather than employ a servant). This decision also solved the Headmaster's problem of being relied on to bail out the finances of the Valley Hostel.

living in the Valley Hostel, 66.7% received a second or first grade

pass. One of the Vallelians who failed the School Certificate had

written six months previously an article for the school magazine in

which he said:

> We are proud of our Valley Hostel in that it brings good results
> on the School Certificate examinations. Though I shall not
> mention the particular Vallelians who have succeeded very well
> in the past (1962) School Certificate Examinations, I wish to
> stress that most of the old students of the school who are now
> taking higher education have been Vallelians at one time. Oh,
> is it nice and profitable to be a Vallelian?

Though the students believed the advantages offered by the type of living

arrangements provided by the Valley Hostel made a difference in the final

performance on the School Certificate, there is insufficient data to

support or negate their conviction. The Valley Hostel members constitute

an economic elite in the sense that they had considerable financial

support from their parents, relatives or guardians. There may also have

been a process at work that tended to sort out those students with

greater academic potential as members of the Hostel. A bias in selection,

as with bursaries, could have worked in favor of students becoming

Vallelians who had already demonstrated intellectual talents.

Another example of the way Mr. White attempted to incorporate an aspect

of the informal to the formal organization with the interaction of imple-

menting goal achievement is found in his use of the Adventurers Society.

In August 1962 some pupils volunteered to do manual work for the school

during their vacation period. Mr. White used these student volunteers to

begin construction of the new classroom block so that he would be in a

better bargaining position with his Ministry to obtain funds to complete

the building. In a month the students had only been able to demolish the

old shed that stood on the building site and to begin constructing the foundations and a few feet of the cement block walls for the new building. The students also worked on some weekends after the third term began, but the real job of construction did not resume until November 9th, when a contractor took over the project. The contractor began by knocking down some of the walls the students had built. The Headmaster told the students at an assembly:

> Some of you are disturbed that part of the building is being knocked down, but the contractors have the right to build the way they want. Your achievement was not in 1000 or 2000 cement blocks, but that you came in your vacation--also that because of what you did, because you started the new classroom block, you made the government move to start to finish the building.

The students who had worked during their holiday on the new block decided to form a society which would continue this type of activity. This move was strongly encouraged by Mr. White. It was also supported by Mr. Astor of the Uganda Boys' Club who had assisted in supervising the voluntary work project in August and had hoped that the new student society would affiliate with the Boys' Club. The Adventurers, the name the pupils gave to this new group, continued to support voluntary work projects at the school and at other locations, just as Mr. White had hoped. In 1963, they built an enclosed area for male pupils to wash after physical education classes and sports competitions. Their work also received considerable favorable publicity in the local press. Mr. White, in short, used the Adventurers as a device to achieve student internalization of organizational goals. Through his backing of this activity, he attempted not only to achieve student participation in institution building but also their active engagement as citizens who could work constructively on problems of their school and community. This activity was in direct support of

the goal of citizen building, and of the objective that focused on development of the school.[16]

Most of the recruiting of teachers was carried out informally by the Headmaster through his contacts at Makerere and abroad. Competition with other organizations over teachers occurred at two points: first, in trying to keep teachers from leaving the school; and second, in trying to recruit them. The Headmaster was particularly anxious to have as many Ugandans as possible on his teaching staff for three reasons: to improve the image of the school through having local people on the staff; to make the school more balanced racially; and to have more teachers who were hired on local terms and those who would receive lower salaries than expatriate teachers. Localization helped to decrease the total costs of the school and released funds for other forms of development. To achieve this end Mr. White tried to recruit students who were finishing their diploma in education at Makerere. These university students were also actively recruited by other schools. In one instance the Headmaster lost a teacher he had recruited because the Central Government Ministry of Education wanted the teacher for a boarding school near Kampala. In another, the Headmaster discovered that one of the older elite boarding schools was trying to "steal" one of his African teachers. The Headmaster was forced to invoke a regulation that governed a teacher's resignation (a resignation must be submitted in writing within a certain time) to make

16. This work continued. In the 1964 the Adventurers built a new shed to hold over 100 bicycles. They also wrote and performed Kiganda plays on Uganda TV. The Uganda Boys' Club with which they were affiliated was supported by the Ministry of Community Development and Planning. Through this affiliation they were able to go on weekend and full vacation camping trips to islands in Lake Victoria, participate with others in work camps and attend activities abroad.

this teacher stay at the school to the end of the term. Through this action the Headmaster had more time to recruit a teacher to replace the one he was losing.

Pregnancy leave for the female teachers and leave for expatriate teachers also resulted in the Headmaster's devoting great effort to finding substitute teachers. If the leave fell during the long Makerere University College vacation substitute teachers could be obtained for students at the college. In 1963 Mr. White was promised a science student as a substitute teacher but the competition was so great that one never was forthcoming, and the school went without one science teacher for several months.

One way to recruit teachers was through personal contacts. This was the way in which Mr. White, a friend of Miss Jenkins who led the school after the strike, was obtained. All the other teachers recruited on expatriate terms from England came through Mr. White's personal contacts. One teacher was recruited from Pakistan (for 1964) in the same manner and I helped recruit another from Canada.

The school did have one American teacher from the Teachers for East Africa Program, a joint program sponsored by Columbia University under contract with the Agency for International Development and the Territorial Governments in East Africa. The Central Government paid the salary of this teacher but would not assign another one to the school because of difficulties experienced in being reimbursed the cost of this teacher's salary by the Buganda government. Thus Mr. White used his position to obtain a staff which he felt was best suited to the achievement of the school's goals. In 1963 the staff, including those teachers on local terms, contained the highest proportion of graduate trained teachers of any

senior secondary school in Uganda and the highest proportion of Ugandan citizens.

One activity of the Mutesa School that led to improvements in the School Certificate results of its students was that selected students spent five years preparing for the examination instead of the usual four. Students were individually discussed at the end-of-the-year staff meeting, and those pupils encouraged to repeat a year whom the Headmaster and teachers agreed might benefit and do better on the School Certificate. Those pupils whom the staff and Headmaster believed there was "no hope for" and those whom they believed would do well were encouraged to take the examination and not repeat a year. Twenty-six students who were in Form Four in 1962 repeated that form in 1963. In 1963 thirty students who were in Form Three were encouraged to repeat it the following year.

Six students who took the School Certificate in 1963 were re-admitted to take the examination again in 1964 and two of these had already repeated Form Four in 1963. Of these six, one of the two who was repeating a third time (second time around on the examination) obtained a third grade, the other failed. For the other four who failed in 1963 three of them obtained a second grade pass and one failed again on the examination in 1964. Repetition enabled four of the six who failed in 1963 to pass in 1964.[17]

Mr. White's belief that repetition could result in improved performances on the School Certificate was based on previous experience with this

17. It is normal for educational planners to treat repeating as a form of wastage. This small sample indicates that repeating can also be considered as a "salvage operation," in that students who repeat the examination are able then to do well enough so that they can continue their education and are not lost to the system.

procedure. Many students who do not do as well as they had hoped on the examination one year, then study privately and take the examination over another year. In 1962 two students raised their results by repeating; one went from a GCE the first time (or failure) to a second grade pass the second time, and one went from a third grade pass to a first grade pass. For these students repeating the School Certificate allowed them to continue their formal education.

The Headmaster had had a group of students who were in the Fourth Form in 1962 repeat Fourth Form in 1963. He believed that this had helped them on the School Certificate. This is difficult to support for though they had achieved five years of senior secondary education by repeating, they did not repeat the School Certificate Examination, so that results on the exam at two different times cannot be compared. The performance on the School Certificate in 1963 of those students who transferred into the school that year, those who repeated and those who were in Form Three the previous year, is shown in Table X-2.

TABLE X-2

Results on the School Certificate Examination in 1963
for Six Transfer Students, Twenty-six Repeating Fourth
Form Students, and Thirty-three Non-repeating Students

	Examination Results %				
Category	First	Second	Third	Fail	Total
Transfer			33.3	66.7	6
Repeating		11.5	26.9	61.4	26
Non-repeating	3.0	15.2	30.3	51.5	33

Repeating does not appear to have improved the results of these twenty-six students on the School Certificate; however, it is not known how they would have done had they not repeated. The poor results of repeaters (61.4% of them failed versus 51.5% of the non-repeaters) might also be due to the influence of other factors. The pupils who repeated entered into the second form in 1960 since no class was enrolled in form one in 1959. They thus spent only four years at the Mutesa School, not five. They also had previously attended sub-standard private schools (66.7% of them compared to only 25.7% of the non-repeaters). The class of repeaters also had the lowest rank (on a 6 point scale, from one being the worst situation to six the best) for study-climate of any class in the school while the non-repeaters had the highest rank: the mean of the repeaters was 3.18%, in comparison to 3.74 for non-repeaters. Only 39.4% of the repeaters lived where they had four or more points on the study-climate scale while 69.6% of the non-repeaters had four or more points on the study-climate scale. The non-repeaters also scored higher on the Progressive Matrices scale than the repeaters (a mean of 3.5 to 3.1). These differences between the classes would lead one to expect the non-repeaters to do better on the School Certificate than the repeaters.

Mr. White used this informal reorganization, having students either repeat the School Certificate examination or spend a fifth year at school, to maximize the number of pupils who successfully passed the School Certificate. But as the recurrent cost per pupil averaged 1,500 shillings a year (this included teacher's salaries, textbooks, exercise books, and sports equipment), it was a costly undertaking, even though repeating helped to "salvage" some pupils. It could be justified in terms of the non-selected intake prior to 1962 but in the future one

might anticipate that the school would have greater difficulty in rationalizing the procedure of repeating.

Mr. White also devoted considerable effort to trying to bring about the application of rules to his school that applied to other senior secondary schools. The ways in which he functioned to bring about these changes were discussed in Chapters VII and VIII. These were significant goal achieving activities. We showed that Mr. White was successful in having the school recognized as a place where the students could take the School Certificate, in having the school inspected, in obtaining provisional recognition, and in being able to select the students that entered the school on the same basis as other recognized senior secondary schools.

Mr. White used the strategy of coopting individuals he had made contact with informally in the external organizational environment into his evolving formal organization.

> Co-optation has been defined as the process of absorbing new
> elements into the leadership or policy determining structure
> of an organization...to the extent that co-optation is effec-
> tive it places the representative of an 'outsider' in a position
> to determine the occasion for a goal decision, to participate in
> analyzing the existing situation, to suggest alternatives, and
> to take part in the deliberation of consequences.[18]

In creating the Board of Governors for the school Mr. White coopted indi-viduals with other organizational commitments to key organizations in the environment: the University College, the Central Government Ministry of Education, the Buganda Government Ministry of Education, the British High Commission, the Uganda People's Congress and business organizations.

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18. James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment," op. cit., p. 184.

In creating the Board of Governors Mr. White recognized that this could result in future limits being imposed upon his powers, but such a compromise he considered necessary as part of the total development of the school. He also recognized that every senior secondary school had to have its own Board of Governors; that it could help relieve some of the pressures on the Headmaster by assuming responsibility with him for such decisions as expelling a student or firing a teacher.

Mr. White also made use of individuals from external organizations to facilitate the development of school societies and clubs. He recognized that the many duties of his teachers often made it difficult for them to give the time that was needed for the supervision of certain school societies. He thus cooperated with a Uganda Red Cross in establishing a student branch of the Red Cross; with the Uganda YMCA and YWCA to establish youth sections of their organization within the school; with the Catholic and Anglican churches for religious instruction; with the Uganda Boys' Club to establish the Adventurers Society; and with the Uganda Boy Scouts to develop a Boy Scout group. His cooperation with these external organizations enabled the school to utilize their staffs and thus help to relieve the role overload of his own faculty. These relationships were also a source of minor conflict in that occasionally these "external staff members" would encourage an activity which conflicted with or competed with an ongoing school activity, for example, extra-curricular athletics engagements. In 1963 Mr. Astor assisted in the sponsoring of yet another youth organization at the school, Youth Leads Youth, and scheduled events without consulting the Headmaster which directly conflicted with the programs of the school.

Mr. White made use of the internal formal organization in many ways designed to facilitate goal achievement. He tried to insure that the student societies served the interests of the school. He also devoted considerable time in efforts to motivate his pupils. These activities were facilitated by the general outlook of the pupils and reinforced by the successes that the school had in institutional building and on the School Certificate. Mr. White gave considerable support to the student organizations, especially those initiated by the students. When the Student Council, an association he had initiated and encouraged, requested after-school dancing instruction, Mr. White accepted this proposal and implemented it. Mr. White believed that student involvement in clubs, societies, and athletics served the goal of citizenship training and the goal of institution building through helping to improve the image of the school. The students, as noted earlier, won prizes in a variety of inter-school competitions and also were successful in athletic meets. Athletics were viewed as "an essential part of moral education" in that they were thought to teach standards of fair play, sportsmanship, friendliness and perseverance. It was also believed that athletics helped consume excess energy and thus help students to avoid being involved in unnecessary conflicts when they left the school at the end of the day. Mr. White also used the students to present a favorable public image to the local community, by having them participate in such events as the flag days of various voluntary organizations, requesting them to donate blood at the school to the Red Cross, by having the students turn out as a group for parades and public holidays, and by having them give special dramatic presentations for independence in the Lubiri and in the National Theater.

Sources of Conflict:

There were a number of aspects of Mr. White's role behavior that were dysfunctional for the operation of the school. The role overload to which the Headmaster was exposed was considered in the previous chapter. It resulted in inefficiency in both the administration of the school and in certain defects in his teaching. The conflict between time spent on teaching and time devoted to running the school was usually resolved in favor of administrative duties.

Mr. White was a flexible person. He was open to new experiences, adaptable in meeting new and changing conditions, and responsive to others. We have earlier pointed out that he had a norm of recognizing individual differences. In his answers to value-content questions he demonstrated a need to respond to the context of a situation and not on the basis of any predetermined absolute values. In this respect he differed completely from Mr. Jukko, the Assistant Headmaster who was more rigid. The flexibility of Mr. White's performance was supportive of the autonomy of the teachers and students, but it also accounted in large part for his role overload. It blocked goal achievement in that it produced confusion on the part of those staff members and pupils who expected a more rigid approach to the running of the school and the enforcement of sanctions when school rules were not obeyed. Some of the communication difficulties that arose between the Headmaster and others within the school may thus be traced to the Headmaster's role performance.

Mr. White's flexibility was in part a consequence of his recognition that environmental factors made it difficult for pupils at all times to conform to some of the basic school rules, for example, the regulation that boys

who came to school without shoes should be sent away. If a boy did not wear the correct school uniform he was supposed to be dismissed for the day. If pupils were late to school they were supposed to be punished. Mr. White was troubled by these rules in his school. At one point he said: "How do you keep standards high? My standards are from my parents, school and church and England. What are high standards in an East African culture? I know that my standards are not their standards, still I must go ahead and try to do what I believe is right." In the absence of any unequivocal answer to these questions Mr. White remained flexible in his enforcement of the regulations that were expected to lead to "high standards." His flexibility was not accepted by most of the teachers and pupils who believed that a punishment should always fit the crime.

Another aspect of Mr. White's behavior which had dysfunctional effects on the school was his failure at times to delegate authority to others within the system. We showed earlier how he refrained from appointing a new Assistant Headmaster after the departure of Mr. Jukko for further studies in England. This void in the administrative hierarchy aggravated communication problems in the school.

Summary:

We have examined three aspects of the functioning of the Headmaster
of the Mutesa School; his use of the authority structure and the
organizational structure to move towards the realization of goals,
and some sources of conflict.

Mr. White established a controlled organizational climate in his
school, which was task oriented. He utilized lines of authority in
ways similar to the Kabaka in the Kingdom of Buganda. He enhanced
his position of leadership with charisma. He supported the autonomy
of his teachers in academic matters, but reserved all decision making
powers to himself, and maintained a tight control over non-academic
affairs. The authority structure was functional to the attainment
of organizational goals.

At times when aspects of the informal organizational structure appear-
ed to be functional to the attainment of goals Mr. White would absorb
them into the formal organizational structure. He integrated the
Valley Hostel and the Adventurers Society into the School. He encour-
aged certain pupils to remain a fifth year in school in order to
achieve better results on the School Certificate. He coopted informal
contacts from outside into the formal structure of the school. He
utilized informal patterns of teacher recruitment to obtain better
teachers. He encouraged a variety of student activities designed
to serve the interests of the school and help it realize its goals.

The major sources of conflict were the Headmaster's failure to delegate leadership functions and to improve channels for communications. Both of these became more serious as the school grew from 200 pupils to over 400.

CHAPTER XI

THE TEACHERS

Introduction:

We have already indicated a number of ways teachers have served as
facilitators or blockers of organizational goals. In this chapter we
will extend the analysis further by focusing on two additional elements.

In Chapter VI it was shown how the teachers were not a cohesive group,
that they were subject to continued turnover, were not involved in the
formulation of the goals of the school but were supportive of its major
goals. In Chapter VII the ways in which teachers fit in the formal and
informal organization of the school were presented, their relation to
the hierarchy, their use of their time, and the position the core
teachers held was described. In Chapter VIII some ways in which internal
forces influence recruitment and employment of teachers were examined.
It was found that the pressure for Africanization resulted in the em-
ployment of teachers who were not always the best, and was dysfunctional
to organizational goals. It was also shown how externally established
procedures, the inducements for expatriates, were favorable to the
attainment of the goals of the school while the procedures that applied
to locally hired teachers tended to be dysfunctional. In Chapter IX we
examined the function of the staff meetings, showed how the teachers
were divided into different groups, considered certain attitudes of the
teachers and the problem of consensus between teachers, students and

Headmaster, found that the teachers had a high degree of autonomy within their classrooms which was functional to goal attainment, but that they were subject to extensive role overload which was dysfunctional. In Chapter X we saw how the teacher's authority was limited to where he controlled pupils--within the classroom the teacher had considerable autonomy, with those who had seniority and status enjoying more autonomy. The teachers were not involved in major decision making in the school. They were task oriented and obtained their job satisfaction from their accomplishments in teaching, not from their social relationships with the other teachers (with the exception of a small clique of European teachers). The teachers had no autonomy in non-academic affairs. The teachers' perception of their autonomy and degree of freedom in academic matters tended to conform to their desire for autonomy (those teachers who thought that they should have more autonomy felt that they did) and this was considered functional to goal attainment. In non-academic matters some teachers were thankful that the Headmaster exercised strong control, that they could count on him to back them up in disciplining students and they preferred to leave decision making up to him. In this chapter we will examine some other ways the Headmaster influenced his staff; his efforts to use them to support the attainment of organizational goals.

We will focus on two dimensions and how they relate to the attainment of the organizational goals of the school. The first dimension is that of the teachers' level of commitment to the school. The second dimension we will examine is that of performance. Here we will look at the activities that the teachers were involved in, and the constraints on the quality of teacher performance. Were teachers committed and highly

motivated, and did they have the skills? In what ways did the Head-master influence their commitment and performance? The commitment of teachers refers to the intensity of their involvement in the school and their loyalty to the organization (see the discussion in Chapter II). An hypothesis would be that a high level of commitment would be functional to organizational goals while a low level would be dysfunctional. The extreme opposite of a high level of commitment would be complete aliena-tion from the school.

Ideally we had wanted to obtain a number of indicators of teacher commitment, but as was indicated in Chapter III, it was impossible to do this. We do not have the same type of data and in the same detail on the teachers as on the pupils. Methodologically it would have been better to have been able to create a scale on which the Headmaster judged each teacher's level of commitment, and the teachers judged themselves and each other, but it was impossible to do this. Instead some assessment must be made by the researcher.

The Teachers' Level of Commitment:

There are a variety of factors that could influence the teachers' level of commitment: their previous experience and training, salary, aspirations, possible mobility, and job satisfaction. There are a number of indicators of level of commitment that we can consider: inputs of time and preparation of lesson, correction of students' work, academic assistance to pupils, involvement in school athletics, activities and societies, special work programs and other involvement beyond the normal expectations such as tutoring and vacation teaching.

One indicator of level of commitment to the school was the willingness of the teachers to stay on after school. Of the teachers (shown on Table VII-1) staying beyond 1965 five of them were Europeans while only one of the African teachers remained. Why were a corps of European teachers willing to stay at the school while the Africans left? An answer can be found when one compares the aspirations, salaries, mobility and job satisfaction of the two groups. Three of the five English people were hired on expatriate terms, they had higher salaries than they would have received in England, car loans, subsidized housing, servants and generally superior living conditions than they might have had in the United Kingdom (see Chapter VIII and footnote 15). They also felt that the teaching situation (eagerness of the pupils, general absence of discipline problems) was superior to that they might have had at home.[1]

This small sample of Europeans had wanted to be teachers, and all three responded to the challenge of too much work by working harder. They identified with the school and the process of building a new institution. In 1963 they gave their aspirations as follows: Mr. Jones wanted to remain as a teacher at the school indefinitely; Mr. Mathews hoped to stay at the school for a number of years but eventually to become an editor in a publishing firm; and Mr. Small hoped eventually to become the Head-master of a secondary school.[2] Working in Africa appeared to be for them a more realistic avenue to their aspirations than working in the United Kingdom.

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1. For example, teaching at a heavily streamed secondary modern school, or a comprehensive school in the United Kingdom they would have had to cope with terminal students who might have belonged to indifferent or delinquent student subcultures.

2. He did.

The three European teachers also reinforced each other. They were aliens in a very different society. Their diet, dress, activities and social life were extensions of life in their homeland. They belonged to a segment of the expatriate community, and as teachers and through two of their wives who worked at Makerere College, had access to the facilities there (swimming pool, etc.) and social activities, such as the weekly Makerere oriented modern jazz club sessions at Logogo Stadium. One of the other two European teachers who were employed on local terms was an exception. Mrs. Trilling did identify strongly with the school and went out of her way to both assist students and to lead in the organization of the old students' organization as a means of helping to develop the image of the school and build it as an institution, while Mr. Larsen did not identify with the school, was able to get by with a minimum amount of effort, and met his financial needs through extensive moonlighting as a photographer, activities which made it impossible for him to contribute any time to school after hours or over vacations. He was the breadwinner in his family, Mrs. Trilling was not.

The African teachers were paid on local salary scales, approximately half (depending on how long they had taught) what the three Englishmen received. They also were provided no assistance with housing and were unable to obtain car loans.[3]

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3. The "discrimination" on car loans was bitterly fought by the African teachers. The absence of a car was a real hardship to a number of them. Only four of the twelve African teachers at the school in 1962-1963 had a car. This was the main reason they stayed in the staff room during the day break--while the other teachers drove home for lunch. Some of the African teachers lived over six miles from the school and were a few miles off from bus routes, and thus they had to walk many miles, bike the whole way to school, or at times use taxis at considerable personal expense.

It was shown in Chapter VIII that the high upward mobility of educated Africans in the society meant that there was a high turnover of African teachers. The school was unable to hold (except for one Makerere family wife) beyond 1965 the African teachers who had been there earlier. They left for higher paying jobs in other fields, to become headmasters at other schools, or for further education which could lead to "better employment."

For the Asian and American teachers the situation was again different. The Americans came on short-term contracts, were paid on local terms (one half to one third what they would earn in the United States) and viewed their mobility as existing in their own society. Few Americans have renewed their contracts after teaching two years.[4]

The Asian teachers have limited opportunities within East African society. Ugandans of Asian origin were attracted to teaching in an all African school instead of one of the predominantly Asian schools with an Asian headmaster because they considered the Mutesa School "better" than the former Asian schools.[5] The teacher who came directly from India was

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4. Based on information supplied in April 1965 by Dr. R. L. Gold of the Teachers for East Africa Research Unit (Columbia University Teachers College), at Makerere University College.

5. During 1962-1963 the Central Government investigated conditions in the former Asian Government day senior secondary schools. The charges revolved around nepotism in hiring, duplication in board of governors, religious-communal conflict between Sikh, Hindu and Ismaili and Goan, and complete authoritarianism on the part of the headmasters. African students at one of these schools claimed that some of the teachers were not qualified and that they were taught in Gujerati which they did not understand. Teachers at this school were given a "book of rules" by the headmaster which detailed everything down to the color of the covers of the report books. The Asian teacher who transferred from one of these schools to the Mutesa School was amazed at the autonomy that the teachers had and at the weekly staff meetings at which the teachers were consulted by the Headmaster.

earning eight times as much in Uganda as she had as a secondary school teacher in India.

The highest level of commitment based on the previous discussion, belonged to the Englishmen (the Headmaster had not been included in this discussion, but if he was, as he did teach, he also would "fit" with this group--with the exception that he had learned Luganda and was more at home in all levels of African society). The next level of commitment belonged to the Asians, then the Americans, and last the African teachers.[6]

One must caution that this finding is a function of the situation in Uganda in 1962-63, and at that point in the 1970's when a stable supply of African teachers is available the situation will probably change. Nevertheless the facts would seem to support the initial hypothesis for a relationship between level of commitment and organizational goals. Those teachers who stayed at the school longer and who were involved and loyal to the organization, provided a continuity of staff and hard work that furthered the goals of the school. Other aspects of this will be considered in the next section where an attempt will be made to assess the quality of teacher performance.

The Quality of Teacher Performance:

A key factor in the attainment of the major organizational goal of the Mutesa School, passing of the School Certificate, is the quality of the teaching. A common assumption of students, staff, and Headmaster was that the more effective the teaching the greater the proportion of students who would pass the School Certificate. Students whose future social

6. Wives of Makerere teachers seem not to fit no matter what their continent.

and economic position in their society is largely determined by the School Certificate are very sensitive to the quality of the teaching they receive. This was the foundation for the student strike in 1958 and for the strikes at other schools in Uganda in 1963. I made no effort to assess the effectiveness of teaching directly.[7] Instead I relied on what I learned from students about their assessment of their teachers and on examination results (the teachers followed a syllabus for the examination). At different times I asked the students to name the teacher they liked the most and the one whom they thought was the best teacher. I also asked them to rank whom they preferred as teachers (assuming the same qualifications): Americans, Asians, Africans and Europeans. The results of the ranking of teachers by continent of origin is shown in Table XI-1.

TABLE XI-1

Teachers at the Mutesa School Ranked 1 to 4 by
Continent of Origin by 308 Pupils in 1962/1963
and 193 Pupils in November, 1963, in Response to
the Question: "Whom Do You Prefer as Teachers?"

Continent of Origin	1962/1963		November 1963	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
European	1.51	0.74	1.39	0.70
African	2.20	0.94	2.31	0.87
American	2.50	0.87	2.72	0.84
Asian	3.73	0.64	3.59	0.73

7. Neal Gross has commented on this problem: "I am acutely aware that the measurement of effective teaching is a difficult task and that the large body of research on this topic does not shed much light on it." In "Organizational Lag in American Universities," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 33, No. 1, Winter, 1963, p. 67.

Though Africans are ranked second and Asians are ranked fourth the best results on the School Certificate were obtained, first in a subject taught by an African teacher (100% of the 36 students taking this subject in 1963 obtained a pass and 97.2% credits); second by an Asian teacher (with 87.5% of the 64 students taking this subject passing, 30.3% of these with credits); and third by another African teacher (72.7% of 55 pupils passing, 36.3% with credits). These three teachers were followed by European (English) teachers. The poorest teacher, in terms of the criteria of results of students in the subject taught by that teacher, was a European teacher. The next poorest was an African teacher.

The lack of any relationship between results on the School Certificate of a teacher's pupils and the evaluation of that teacher by the students is demonstrated by the European teacher who had the highest number of failures in his subject being mentioned most as the "best teacher" in November, 1963, and second in November, 1962, while the three African and Asian teachers who had the "best" results were together mentioned 43% as often. On the other hand the African teacher who had the worst results was only mentioned once each time as the "best teacher" (compared to 44 and 37 times for the European teacher who had the worst results).

Obviously other factors must be influencing the evaluation of teachers by the students. It is possible to suggest some of these. In their essays on themselves ten students mentioned having liked joining the Mutesa School because there were many Europeans on the staff. As the instruction in the school is in English (and English is the most important aspect of the School Certificate examination because without a credit in English you cannot "pass") it is understandable that the

students would prefer English teachers. The students also had more experience with poor African teachers than they have had with poor European teachers; thus there may have been a tendency operating which led them to assume that Europeans are therefore the better teachers.[8] It is also important to note that the subjects that the African teachers taught in which the students had the best results on the School Certificate could be taught in the vernacular--Art and Luganda. It is also possible that the students are assessing qualities of the teachers that are more closely related to their level of commitment than to results of pupils in their subjects on the School Certificate. The pupils are keenly aware which teacher corrected their homework, worked after school, was concerned about their performance and learning, and were freely giving extra time to the pupils.

Another way to assess the activities of a teacher is to observe his work external to his classroom. Nearly all the teachers had desks in the staff room where they were to work during their ten or more free periods if they were not substituting for another teacher. One teacher could frequently be found asleep at his desk during his free periods. During the weeks when he was meant to be supervising the teaching of a Makerere teacher-trainee he simply assigned the teacher-trainee all his afternoon classes and spent his afternoons in the staff room napping or reading or

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8. A study of the attitudes of students, and other people, to Europeans, has been done by Gustav Jahoda in Ghana before independence. A similar study was done of Mutesa School pupils which also had certain similarities with Jahoda's study where he found considerable ambivalence on the part of secondary school boys, with their considering Europeans "superior" and at the same time rejecting them for their colonial role and asserting their dignity as Africans. See: White Man (London: Oxford University Press, 1961). At times when I was teaching I would have a student say something like--"and in more civilized countries--" and I would stop and ask him what he meant.

working on his lesson plans or marking his students' exercise books. Sometimes he would simply leave the school without consulting the Headmaster.

It was apparent that this teacher was not interested in his teaching. He was the only teacher who received only one choice from the students as "the best" teacher and no student said he liked him as a teacher. Mr. Lule presents an interesting study of conflict, attempts at change, and frustration. He was a junior secondary school teacher for six years, then in adult education for seven, after which he spent five years studying in the United Kingdom. He returned to Uganda in 1961 with a BA Honours Degree and a Diploma in Education. He hoped to become headmaster of a secondary school. Because of a history of illness he was only given a teaching post. This frustration of his aspirations combined with some initial conflicts with a few of the European teachers at the Mutesa School complicated his first year at the school. After he had been at the school three weeks he stopped coming to school in protest over an "insult" from one of the European teachers. Mr. White then informed him that he would have to report him to the Ministry for "defaulting from his duty." He returned after being absent for two weeks. He soon was in conflict with Mr. White for neglecting his classes, and after Mr. White had spoken to him a few times about his absence without permission or cause, Mr. Lule again absented himself from school for a few weeks. During this time Mr. Lule contacted a number of the people in the Buganda Government Ministry of Education and accused Mr. White of "inhuman treatment," and attacked his qualifications as a Headmaster.

The other teachers were concerned about what was happening and went to Mr. White to inform him that they backed him "100%." The Ministry

decided, to avoid further trouble at the Mutesa School, to transfer
Mr. Lule to the headmastership of a junior secondary school, but the
Educational Secretary General in charge of this school protested, and
Mr. Lule was not transferred. Instead the Ministry wrote him that if he
did not return to work he would receive no further salary (this was May,
1962). He returned to the school. But as far as the students were con-
cerned his teaching did not improve. He would read to them from the text
book, or from his prepared notes. They requested notes and outlines from
him, and that he correct their exercise books.

In 1963 the members of Form Four frequently protested to Mr. White
about Mr. Lule's teaching. Finally they requested in June that Mr. White
meet with them to discuss Mr. Lule. Mr. White agreed to meet with them
under the condition that the meeting and what was discussed would not
be mentioned to any other students or any teachers. The students were
unanimous in their agreement that they did not want him any longer as a
teacher. They requested another teacher immediately who could prepare
them properly for the School Certificate. Mr. White explained that he
could not simply fire a teacher, especially one who had influential
friends, and that if the students were serious they should write a letter
to Mr. Lule explaining their grievances in detail and then if there was
no improvement, to write to him (Mr. White) and he would go to the Minis-
try. This took place and by the end of June Mr. White had approval from
the Ministry of Education to fire Mr. Lule, but was told that he would
have to do it himself. Mr. White did not fire him. He was unwilling to
do so because he did not wish to have the burden of his action on himself.
Mr. Lule began to work harder, the students' complaints subsided, and no
action became necessary.

Except for the African who was judged a poor teacher and whose pupils did poorly on the examination there was at this time in this school no direct relationship between the students' judgements of the teachers' quality and actual examination results. The assumption, in this case, of effective teaching resulting in "improved" performance on the School Certificate has not been supported in this unreliably small sample. In only one instance has it been suggested, in the case of Mr. Lule, that a "poor" teacher is dysfunctional to organizational goals. In the next chapter other factors that relate to performance on the School Certificate will be considered, and it will be shown that in the case of the Mutesa pupils the possible quality of the teaching was only one of many forces that influenced their performance.

Summary:

In this chapter two dimensions involving the teachers were examined. The first hypothesis suggested was that a high level of commitment would be functional to organizational goals while a low level would be dysfunctional. The second was that the more effective the teaching (the better the teachers) a larger proportion of pupils would perform better on the School Certificate while that with "poorer" teachers the examination results would be worse.

1. Based on observations of the researcher it was concluded that a high level of commitment (their motivation and dedication to the school) was functional to goal attainment. It was also noted that Mr. White tried in a variety of ways to raise the teachers' level of commitment. He respected the autonomy of those teachers he thought were performing well in their classrooms. He tried to enlist their involvement in extra-

academic work, extracurricular activities, athletics, and institution building (like participating in the Saturday work days). He tried to win additional supports so that the "better" teachers would stay on at the school. He personally set an example of a high-level of commitment through his own activities.

2. The assumption held by people in all positions in the school that "good" teaching will improve the pupils' results on the School Certifi- cate was not supported by the inadequate evidence available; it was suggested that other forces were intervening to block any effective link between teaching and pupils' performance on the examination. It was found that pupils' judgements of teacher "quality" did not relate to their performance on the School Certificate (but possibly did relate to the teacher's level of commitment). Pupils preferred European teach- ers first over other teachers, but the best results on the School Certi- ficate were in the subjects taught by two African and one Asian teacher. Mr. White did his best to recruit to the school teachers whom he thought would be effective teachers. In the case of one teacher who had a bad reputation with pupils and staff he tried to use his influence to mani- pulate pressures so the teacher might improve and short of that be fired. In the next chapter on the pupils we will examine in more detail some of the forces that influence pupils' activities and performance.

CHAPTER XII

THE PUPILS

Introduction:

We have already discussed many circumstances involving pupils that had
consequences for the achievement of organizational goals. How the pupils
view their goals and the purpose of the school, their position in the
formal and informal organization and how it served goal attainment, how
the Headmaster manipulated the students to serve the ends of the school,
and the way the external environment hindered the achievement of the
goals have all been discussed in previous chapters. Their daily involve-
ment in roles external to the school was a source of conflict for many
of the pupils. A pupil's loss of time to revise can be considered detri-
mental to the attainment of the school's goals. It was shown that the
pupils' living arrangements had a direct relationship to their activities
as students. Those pupils who belonged to higher socio-economic status
levels tended to have less conflict in the external environment than
those pupils from lower socio-economic levels. In spite of girls coming
from more favorable backgrounds than boys a variety of other factors
hindered their performance as measured by the school leaving examination.
The emphasis in the traditional culture on obedience was supportive to
the smooth functioning of the school. Assistance provided to pupils
through their contacts made possible by the extended family network
helped to support them during the school year.

In Chapter IX some information was presented on how the students fit into the normative and role structure of the school and how they respond to its ideology. The ideology was one of success--it was supportive to the goals of the school and meaningful to the students (though it was relative success and avoided confrontation with the overwhelming failure of the school in achieving its goals). The students' respect towards the Headmaster and their high ranking of him as both a teacher and administrator helped to provide a climate in which the students were more receptive to the manipulative behavior of the Headmaster.

In Chapter X examples were presented of the way in which the Headmaster was able to change the informal situation of the students along lines designed to accomplish goal achievement. The Headmaster took steps to formalize the functioning of the informal student living arrangement called the Valley Hostel, he assisted in the development of a student civic organization which became known as the "Adventurers," which was intended to assist in the overall development of the school, thus serving his goal of institution-building; he also arranged for a select number of students to stay at the school for another year, a procedure of repeating which was intended to salvage those students who might benefit from a fifth year of secondary schooling while at the same time maximizing the overall results of Mutesa students on the School Certificate.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine other aspects of the students and their characteristics that had an impact on the attainment of the organizational goals of the school. A number of questions will be considered. One question is what extent did the students have characteristics which tended to preclude them from successfully completing the School

Certificate. In examining this we will focus on the following question:
how does the composition of the student body influence the achievement
of organizational goals? Another way to isolate factors which may block
or facilitate the achievement of organizational goals is to determine
what are the characteristics of pupils who have successfully passed the
School Certificate compared to those who were unsuccessful. To do this
we will compare those pupils who did and did not pass the School Certifi-
cate. Another way one can assess some of the factors that block or facili-
tate the achievement of the organizational goals is to examine what happens
to the product of the system, the clientele, when they leave the school.
As we noted (in Chapter II) students may compose their own culture or
collection of subcultures, based on their different attitudes, values,
norms and expectations. Student cultures or subcultures can be supportive
to or in opposition to the goals of the school. We must determine what
the student culture was like and what impact it had on goal achievement.

The Composition of the Student Body:

Provisional recognition by the Central Government made possible the
shift from an unselected clientele to one which was selective. Before this
the school had to accept pupils who had failed to gain admission into
any recognized school. One might expect that changes in the composition
of the student body might have an influence on the attainment of the
organizational goals of the school.

Twenty-seven per cent of the pupils at the Mutesa School in 1962-63 had
transferred from a private senior secondary school. Sixty-seven per cent
of two classes had been in private senior secondary schools for one or
more years before entering the Mutesa School (the school had accepted no

students into Senior I in 1959, so Mr. White had recruited both the Senior I and the Senior II class in January 1960; and in January 1963 in order to have two streams in Senior II, he recruited from former private school pupils to fill Senior IIB).

Competition in the recruitment of students favored other schools since they preferred to attend a boarding school and made these schools their first choice over day schools. In January, 1963, out of 700 students who had applied for a vacancy in the Mutesa School, only 65 had done well enough in the Junior Leaving Examination to place on the "Selection List," and only 33 of these had selected the Mutesa School as their first choice. These figures for the Mutesa School give the impression that the school was now being chosen frequently by students. But a deeper look will reveal that while this was true for the school compared to previous years, the school still had fewer choices than the possible average and that the pupils selecting the school were of poorer calibre than those selecting other schools. Approximately 12,700 students took the Junior Leaving Examination in 1962 competing for 3,000 places in Senior Secondary Schools in 1963. Each could make three choices out of 42 schools. If these choices were distributed evenly each school would have been selected 953 times; the Mutesa School, however, was selected only 700 times. More pertinent are the findings with respect to the students who selected the Mutesa School. There were places for 23.6% of the students taking the Junior Leaving Examination (3,000 out of 12,700) while for those who chose the Mutesa School, there were places available (on the basis of making the selection list) for only 9.3% (65 out of 700). This suggests that those students who were choosing the

Mutesa School were doing so because they were advised they would not do well enough on the Junior Leaving Examination to gain entrance into a boarding school or because they believed that they would not be admitted in a boarding school (or a combination of both); in short, the Mutesa School appeared to be a realistic choice for them. This process of self-selection meant that the poorer students were the ones who selected the Mutesa School. Until more and better qualified students chose to enter the Mutesa School it would not really be in direct competition with boarding schools.

The Mutesa School did accept students who had left or been expelled from other grant-aided schools. Seven per cent of the students in 1962-63 had at one time attended another grant-aided senior secondary school. The majority of these 23 pupils had lost their place in their previous school because they failed to pay their school fees. Five had been expelled for "insubordination."[1] Mr. White willingly accepted these students because he believed that "they wouldn't cause trouble in a day school," and because they were often "better" academic material than the other students, and thus might improve the school's record on the School Certificate. These transfer students were also grateful for being given a "second chance."

Although there was a relative improvement in the "quality" of the intake into the school in 1962 over previous years, in 1963 two factors contributed

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1. "Insubordination" varied from being involved in a school strike, being suspected of organizing a school strike, or refusing to name the leaders of a school strike (a prefect of a school where the Headmaster believed the students should know the strike leaders--the student claimed he never did) to refusing to play volley ball when ordered to by a teacher (the student said she was ill and the teacher refused to believe her).

to a slight proportional decline in "quality" and they both could be
considered dysfunctional to goal attainment; favoritism and politics
(see also Chapter VIII). The one Form One class that entered the school
in 1962 had 61.1% of the pupils with a grade A on the Junior Leaving
Examination. Only 41.4% of those pupils entered Senior One in 1963 had
a grade A on the Junior Leaving Examination and only 13.9% of those who
were recruited in the Senior Two B (the specially recruited class to
make two streams in the Second Form). There were two forces at work
that tended to lower "the standard" of the intake in 1963. One was
favoritism; the Headmaster accepted students who had been referred to
the school by people who held important positions in both the Buganda and
Uganda Governments. The other was the administrative decision by the
Minister of Education, Buganda Government, to accept three streams in
Senior One and an additional stream in Senior Two, which resulted in the
school's having to admit 75 students who had not made the selection list.
This rapid expansion facilitated the admission of pupils who were recom-
mended by people in positions of power since places for non-selected
pupils now existed.[2]

It was generally assumed by people in Uganda that the pupils who attended
the elite boarding schools, performed the best on the School Certificate

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2. In 1962 with only one stream entering the school the Headmaster was
forced to turn away students that were "recommended" by people of in-
fluence. As part of a strategy of institution building the Headmaster,
in late 1962, wrote to these people (and to the students who had been
turned away) to say that they should re-apply as places were now being
made available in 1963. The increases in intake beyond the selection
list made it possible for Mr. White to accept in the school a few pupils
who had been at the school in 1962 in the Junior Secondary two classes
who he knew at least were good athletes and could contribute to that
part of the school life and aid in the development of the reputation
of the school through athletics even though they did not appear to be
promising material for the School Certificate.

because they were the cream of the school-leavers from the primary cycle (besides having had the "best" teachers and good living conditions in secondary school). An examination of the School Certificate results for 1963 indicates that for students of the Mutesa School there is a relationship between how they performed on the Junior Leaving Examination and how they performed on the School Certificate. Past academic performance remains the best indicator of future academic performance. Of the 65 students who took the School Certificate in 1963, 40 said they received a grade A (or 1st) on the Junior Leaving Examination, 15 a grade B, 2 a grade C, and 8 reported "no grade." The performance on the examination for these three groups is shown in Table XII-1.

TABLE XII-1

The Results on the 1963 School Certificate for
65 Mutesa School Pupils Divided into Three
Groups on the Basis of Their Performance
on the Junior Leaving Examination

Results on Junior Leaving	First	Second	Third	Fail	Total
No Grade			12.5%	87.5%	8
B and C		11.8%	23.5%	64.7%	17
Grade A	2.5%	15.0%	32.5%	47.3%	40

Those students who did better on the Junior Leaving Examination tended to do better on the School Certificate. Fifty-three per cent of those pupils who say they achieved a grade A on the Junior Leaving Examination passed the School Certificate while only 28.0% of those who did less well on the

Junior Leaving Examination passed the School Certificate.[3] These findings would tend to confirm the working hypothesis of the Headmaster that for the school to improve its record on the School Certificate it would have to recruit students who had done well on the Junior Leaving Examination. Working with a clientele that has demonstrated inferior performance is dysfunctional to organizational goals.

The new Form I class in 1963 did tend to conform more than earlier classes to the specifications for the student body. One was that all students should reside within three miles of the school and another was that they should live in situations that were more likely to favor a student in his academic work. Students in 1963, in comparison to those students who entered the school in earlier years in other classes, came from a smaller catchment area (more lived within 3 miles of school); they more frequently had enough time to study; fewer lived with masters or in hired rooms; and more of them proportionately ranked higher on the 6 point scale for "study climate." These findings are presented in Tables XII-2 through XII-6.

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3. This is a very crude breakdown of results on the Junior Leaving Examination. A more sophisticated approach would be to compare actual number credits on both examinations. This has been done by H.C.A. Somerset with a sample of pupils who had been admitted into aided schools on the basis of their Junior Leaving Examination results. He found no real correlation between the results on the two examinations, except at the extremes. See H.C.A. Somerset, "Success and Failure in School Certificate: Part I," Conference Papers (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, January, 1966), mimeographed.

TABLE XII-2

The Pupils in Form One in 1963 Compared to All Other
Pupils in the Other Classes of the Mutesa School on
the Distance They Lived from School during Term Time

	% 0 to 3 Miles	% Four or More Miles	Total
S 1	80.5	19.5	113
Others	68.3	31.7	253

TABLE XII-3

The Pupils in Form One in 1963 Compared to All Other Pupils
in the Other Classes of the Mutesa School on the Distance
to Where Their Parents or Guardians Lived

	% 0 to 19 Miles	% 20 or More Miles	Total
S 1	58.9	41.1	107
Others	41.6	58.4	253

TABLE XII-4

The Pupils in Form One in 1963 Compared to All Other Pupils in
the Other Classes of the Mutesa School on Whether They Lived
with Their Parents, Relatives, or Free with Friends, or Were
Working for a Master or Renting a Room

	% Parents, Relatives or Friends	% Working for a Master or in a Hired Room	Total
S 1	83.8	16.2	111
Other	68.9	31.1	254

TABLE XII-5

The Pupils in Form One in 1963 Compared to All Other Pupils in
the Other Classes of the Mutesa School on Whether They Think
They Have Enough Time to Revise Their Lessons after
School, Not Quite Enough, or Definitely Not Enough

	% Enough Time	% "Not Quite"	% "Not Enough"	Total
S 1	50.4	31.9	17.7	113
Other	33.2	22.0	44.8	250

TABLE XII-6

The Pupils in Form One in 1963 Compared to All Other Pupils in
the Other Classes of the Mutesa School on a Six Point Scale for
Study-Climate (1 Point for Worst to Six Points for Best Conditions)

	Mean for Study-Climate Scale	Total
S 1	3.59	111
Other	3.15	246

The differences in the composition of the student body in the new class
in 1963 compared to previous intakes can be attributed to a number of
factors. First, the catchment area had become smaller because of an in-
crease each year in the number of students who finished the 8 year pre-
secondary school cycle within the area of Greater Kampala. Second, the
steady rising reputation of the Mutesa School resulted in an increase in
number of students who chose to go there. Of the two selected forms in
1962 and 1963, 79.6% of the students had chosen the school; for the other
forms only 35.8% had selected the school. Students who had chosen the

school had been more conscious that they were choosing a day school and as all their previous education had been in day schools they knew what conditions to expect.[4] Third, the students who did not choose the school tended to come from farther away, to have gravitated to the Kampala area at first to continue their education at a private school, and then to have found a vacancy at the Mutesa School. Fourth, there were also fewer non-Buganda in these two forms, only 5.3% in the Forms One of 1962 and 1963 compared to 16.1% in the other classes. The majority of the non-Buganda came from outside Buganda (only 2 out of 43 lived with their parents in Greater Kampala), and therefore had to seek a place to live within the urban area. Nearly 56% of the non-Buganda lived in hired rooms compared to 15.3% of the Buganda. It can be seen that the larger proportion of the non-Buganda in the upper forms tended to account for the findings in the directions shown in Tables VII-2 and XII-6.

Results on the School Certificate Compared:

The Headmaster also had a working hypothesis that it was dysfunctional to organizational goal attainment to have unmotivated pupils of inferior quality, whose parents had little education, who had attended un-aided private schools and who were struggling against obstacles in the external environment. Some aspects of the significance of the quality of the clientele have just been considered. Another approach is to compare the characteristics of the pupils who passed and failed the School Certificate. Their performance on the examination could provide an index to be used to assess factors that may be facilitating or blocking the achievement of

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4. That students are familiar with what it means to be a day student does not mean they would not prefer to be in a boarding school.

organizational goals.

Performance on the School Certificate is obviously related to a variety of factors; for example, a successful performance should be related to innate ability, high motivation, having sufficient time to study, productive study habits, adequate health and diet, proper instruction and intellectual stimulation, adequate preparation in pre-secondary schools, facility in working in English as a second language, emotional maturity, being part of an "academic" student culture, and living in a supportive external environment. In gathering information on the students I was able to collect some data that relates to the student culture, environmental conditions, attitude towards these conditions, intelligence, motivation, a little on intellectual stimulation outside of the school (whether or not they were helped in their revising by others), and on parental background. I was unable to assess the quality of the teaching, their previous educational background at the primary level, what attributes might influence their ability to work in a second language, their study habits, their emotional and intellectual environment, their physical and mental health or their need for glasses.

A pupil could live within a mile from school with his parents who were in a high income bracket, have a room to himself, a bicycle, study over two hours a day, be in the top five of his class, perform well on the Raven's Progressive Matrices, be helped by his educated father with his school work, have an electric light in his room, wear spectacles, be in good health and still not pass the School Certificate. The reasons why this pupil failed might be a combination of a number of unknown influences: poor primary and junior secondary school preparation, poor teachers at

the Mutesa School, poor study habits with too great an emphasis on rote

learning, difficulties with English, poor health, or some psychological

problem.

The opposite type of situation could also occur with a student passing

the School Certificate who had extensive conflicts in the external environ-

ment, who had not ranked the top ten in his class in class exams, who per-

formed poorly on the Raven's Progressive Matrices, who had minimal finan-

cial and emotional support from parents or relatives, was in poor health

and needed glasses but did not have them. Again other variables that

relate to the performance on the School Certificate could account for

this student's passing the examination in spite of seemingly impossible

external conditions. He could have had an excellent pre-secondary school

education, had better teachers at the Mutesa School, chosen the right

combination of subjects on the School Certificate, had efficient study

habits, an adroitness with English, and been emotionally mature.

One might predict that a group of students who had to walk or ride

long distances to and from school, who lived in hired rooms or worked for

their room and board, who had to prepare their own meals, who had to use

small paraffin candles, who were dissatisfied with their living situation,

who were disturbed by others where they lived, who had difficulties and

anxiety over the payment of school fees, who had previously been educated

in private schools, and who were not helped in their studies by anyone

else, would not perform well on the School Certificate compared to a

second group of students who would do well on the examination. This

second group might have the following cluster of characteristics: (hold-

ing constant for both groups performance on the Progressive Matrices,

Junior Leaving Examination results, and time spent studying) a short journey to and from school; living with their parents or relatives or free with friends in conditions satisfactory to them; having a paraffin pressure or an electric light to study by at night; having a room that was not shared with anyone who interfered with their studies; and being near some other people who helped them with their revising. The first group, it is predicted, would fail the School Certificate because of a variety of environmental forces that conflict with their role as senior secondary student, while the second group would pass the School Certificate because they did not experience these conflicting situations.

I had a sample of only 94 Mutesa pupils who had both taken the School Certificate and had answered by questionnaires. Even if one could test the above predictions using this sample, attempting to hold constant their ability (as indicated by performance on the Raven's Progressive Matrices) and their motivation (the number of hours they said they studied on the average day), it would be impossible to control for a number of other variables which might influence their performance on the examination (study habits, language skills, quality of previous teaching, health, emotional stability, etc.).

Given these reservations it is still possible to compare the actual results of those students who took the School Certificate in 1962 and 1963 (a total of 94 pupils) on a number of dimensions. Forty-one students obtained a Third Grade or better pass and these are treated as one group under the category "pass." Those students who failed, or obtained a GCE are treated under the other category "fail." In Table XII-7 these two

categories of students are compared on selected factors. Differences between the students who passed and failed appear in all but the first factor.

A higher proportion of students who are members of the Church of Uganda have passed than for the other religions. Only 44.4% of the Anglicans failed compared to 66.7% of the Catholics, 80.0% of the Protestant separatist church members, and 100% of the Muslims. This difference could probably be attributed to the quality of the previous education these students have had, and other factors that are associated with the different religious groups rather than mere religious affiliation.

Performance between the two groups on the Raven's Progressive Matrices is slightly different, but not overwhelmingly. The students who have failed have twice as many in the lower two sextiles than the students who have passed (38.7% to 17.2%). The students who have passed have proportionally five times as many in the sixth sextile, but the number of students placing here is very small (only five). The mean for the 298 pupils in the school who took the Progressive Matrices was 3.376. That the mean for those who passed the School Certificate is higher than this and the mean for those who failed lower suggests that there is some relationship between performance on the School Certificate and performance on a non-verbal intelligence test.[5]

Academic performance by term in the examinations set by the school's teachers also relates to performance on the School Certificate, as 60.7%

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5. These are very gross considerations. There is no control for age. See: Jonathan Silvey, "Aptitude Testing and Educational Selection in Africa," Conference Papers (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1962). Mimeographed.

TABLE XII-7

A Comparison of Those Pupils Who Failed (53)
and Passed (41) the School Certificate in 1962
and 1963 on Three Background Factors

	% Pass	% Fail
1. Ethnic Grouping:		
Baganda	80.5	81.1
Non-Baganda	19.5	18.9
2. Religious Affiliation: N #	37	45
Church of Uganda	(55.6)	(44.4)
Roman Catholic	(33.3)	(66.7)
Muslim	-	(100.0)
Other Protestants	(20.0)	(80.0)
3. Level of Education Attained by Pupils' Fathers: N #	31	47
None	12.9	14.8
Primary 1 to 6	41.9	36.2
Junior Secondary	6.5	21.3
Senior Secondary	16.1	23.4
School Certificate or More	22.6	4.3

TABLE XII-8

A Comparison of Those Pupils Who Failed (53) and Passed (41)
the School Certificate in 1962 and 1963 on Three Aspects
of Their Previous Education

	% Pass	% Fail
1. Type of Junior Secondary School Attended: Total #	40	49
Aided	67.5	44.9
Un-Aided Private	17.5	42.9
Outside of Uganda	10.0	12.2
Seminary	5.0	.0
2. Attended Any Other Senior Secondary Schools: Total #	39	46
No	64.1	37.0
Aided	2.6	2.15
Un-Aided Private	30.7	58.7
Seminary	.0	2.15
Outside of Uganda	2.6	.0
3. Repeating of Grades in: N #	41	53
No Grades Repeated	51.2	54.7
Repeated in Primary 1 to 4	4.9	9.4
Repeated in Primary Five to Six	17.1	5.7
Repeated in Senior Secondary	26.8	30.2

TABLE XII-9

A Comparison of Those Pupils Who Failed (53) and Passed (41)
the School Certificate in 1962 and 1963 on Raven's
Progressive Matrices, Their Position in Their Class,
and Their Self-Evaluation as a Student

				% Pass	% Fail
1.	Raven's Progressive Matrices by Sextiles, Low to High:		Total #	35	44
	Less than 20	1		2.9	11.4
	20 to 32	2		14.3	27.3
	33 to 38	3		31.4	25.0
	39 to 43	4		28.6	13.6
	44 to 49	5		11.4	20.4
	50 plus	6		11.4	2.3
			Mean	3.657	3.144
2.	Position in the Class:		Total #	28	28
	Top 15	1		60.7	35.7
	Bottom	2		39.3	64.3
3.	Self-Evaluation as a Student:		Total #	37	45
	Poor	1		16.2	4.4
	Fair	2		29.7	28.9
	Good	3		40.6	64.5
	Excellent	4		13.5	2.2
	First Class	5		.0	.0
			Mean	2.514	2.644

TABLE XII-10

A Comparison of Those Pupils Who Passed (41) and Those Who
Failed (53) the School Certificate in 1962 and 1963 on
Five Factors External to the School: the Type of Light
Used to Read by at Night; If They Have a Room to Study
in Alone at Night; Their Living Category; Whether They
Think They Have Enough Time to Study and
Actual Time Spent Revising

		% Pass	% Fail
1. Type of Light Used to Read by at Night:	Total #	41	51
Paraffin Candle		14.6	39.2
Paraffin Pressure or Electric		85.4	58.8
2. If the Students Have a Room to Study in Alone:	Total #	28	34
Yes		67.9	52.9
No		32.1	47.1
3. Living Category of the Students:			
Parents		4.9	18.9
Free with Friends		14.6	11.3
Free with Relatives		36.6	35.9
Working for Relatives		2.4	3.8
Working for a Master		4.9	1.9
Hired Room		37.6	28.3
4. Enough Time to Revise?	Total #	41	51
Yes		46.3	41.2
Not Quite		36.6	43.1
No		17.1	15.7
5. Actual Time Spent Revising Daily:	Total #	41	52
Up to 1/2 an Hour		12.2	21.2
1/2 to Two Hours		53.7	51.9
More than Two Hours		34.1	36.9

of those who passed were in the top half of their class (scaled by positions) and only 35.7% of those who failed were in the top half of their class. There is also some indication (though again only 9 students are involved) that those students whose fathers have obtained the School Certificate or higher education will do better on the School Certificate themselves. This finding could reflect a complex network of interacting factors such as heredity, and economic, social, and cultural conditions (the more educated parents being able to assist their children, provide early English language training, intellectual stimulation, individual tutors, better primary schooling, etc.).

That the kind of school a student attends may influence his future academic performance is indicated in parts 1 and 2 of Table XII-8. Those students who failed the School Certificate attended private schools twice as frequently at both the Junior Secondary and Senior Secondary levels than those who passed.

The students who have passed the School Certificate are slightly more satisfied with the amount of time they have to study, and report (in part 5, Table XII-10) studying a bit more daily than those who failed. Fewer of the students who passed the examination say they had to cook for themselves, and of those who did prepare their own meals, they had more efficient stoves and spent less time cooking their meals.[6] Those

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6. Tables for these observations are:			% Pass	% Fail
Students Preparing Their Own Meals:		N	#41	#53
		No	63.4	54.7
		Yes	36.6	45.3
Type of Stove Used:		N	#15	#24
	Wood or charcoal		46.7	75.0
	Paraffin Pressure		53.3	25.0
Time Spent Cooking:		N	#14	#20
	Less than one hour		79.6	55.0
	More than one hour		21.4	45.0

who passed also tended to have a better light to study by at night and 15% more of them had their own rooms (Table XII-10).

In part 3 of Table XII-10 the living categories for the two groups of students is presented. Proportionally fewer of those who passed lived with their parents while more lived in hired rooms. To fully understand the implications of this it would be necessary to know more about the living conditions for the students in each category. It is possible that other forces were at work here. That this is so is suggested by the finding that those who failed had to cook longer, more often, on poorer stoves, had to share their rooms more frequently with others, and more of them had to study by little paraffin candles.

There are a number of interesting differences in attitudes between the two groups. Those who passed were more realistic (or is it "pessimistic") in considering their future as one of "digging" if they failed the School Certificate twice; they were slightly more confident that they would obtain higher education; and they ranked the Mutesa School higher than did those who failed.[7]

7. Tables for these observations are:		% Pass	% Fail
Do If Failed School Certificate Twice?			
	N	#32	#44
Don't Know		5.7	2.3
Dig		40.0	20.9
Work		25.7	39.5
Further education		11.4	16.3
Repeat third time		14.3	16.3
Never fail		2.9	4.7
Educational Aspirations:	N	#36	#45
Don't know			8.8
Non-University		22.2	24.4
University		77.8	68.9
Ranking of School on 5 Point Scale			
1 High to 5 Low	N	#35	#46
	Mean	2.771	3.130
	S.D.	1.21	1.20

The two groups were approximately the same in the distance they lived from the school (and the distance to their "home"), how they obtained their school fees (though more--12.2% to 3.7%--of those who passed earned their own fees), and on the six point scale for "study climate" where they had means of 3.23 and 3.21.[8]

This comparison of the characteristics of pupils who passed and failed the School Certificate tends to confirm the working hypothesis of the Headmaster concerning the attributes of his pupils and goal attainment. It is dysfunctional to organizational goals to have students who have low innate potential, low motivation, whose fathers have not had higher education, who attended un-aided private schools, and who face adverse conditions in the external environment.

Most of the differences were not very large, thus no <u>single</u> factor stands out as having any particular influence on School Certificate

8. Tables for these observations are:		N	% Pass #41	% Fail #51
Distance to School Miles:	0-3		70.7	66.7
	4-5		24.4	25.4
	6-9		4.9	5.9
	9+		--	2.0
Who Pays School Fees:		N	#41	#52
	Ego		12.2	3.7
	Parents		65.8	66.0
	Relatives		19.5	23.0
	Guardian		2.4	7.4
Study Climate on a Six Point Scale:				
	Mean		3.225	3.114
	S.D.		1.03	1.09

results. The strongest seems to be religion and previous education and, as has been pointed out, these two are inter-related; Muslims and Catholics are more likely to have attended un-aided private schools. Though this working hypothesis may appear at first glance to be sound, the large number of exceptions on most items and the absence of adequate information about possible intervening variable indicates that it must be treated with some reservation.

Another way to look at the problem is to consider the results on the School Certificate (including those pupils who took the examination in 1964), of 181 Mutesa pupils over five years (of whom 9 were repeating a second time). The total results for five years are given in Table XII-11.

TABLE XII-11

Total Results on the School Certificate over a
Five Year Period from 1960 through 1964 for 181
Mutesa School Pupils, Giving Only the Second
Performance Results of Nine Students
Who Repeated

% Grade I	% Grade II	% Grade III	% GCE	% Fail	Total
5.0	20.4	26.5	8.8	39.2	181

Considering that the GCE is officially a failure, approximately half of the pupils who took the examination over five years failed. But the aim of most pupils was to gain admission into Fifth Form and to do so they

must obtain a First or a Second Grade pass. The students perceive that

they have "failed" if they do not achieve this.[9] Seen in these terms

the "failure" rate of the school over five years rises to over 75%.

From a third perspective the "failure" rate is even higher. Seventy

one per cent of the pupils aspired to some form of university or higher

education and sixty per cent believed they would obtain some higher edu-

cation. A survey of what happened to school-leavers will reveal that

though only one in four obtained a First or high Second Grade pass, only

one in ten were able to obtain any further education that could lead to

a university degree.[10]

The unexpected consequences for the majority of pupils for their activi-

ties in the school was failure--failure on the School Certificate, failure

to score well for 75% and failure to continue into the Fifth Form for 90%.

Mr. White was aware of this reality of failure and that in reality the

function of the school was the production of middle-level manpower. As

was noted in Chapter VI this goal was recognized by Mr. White but was

not considered as a goal by the majority of the pupils. Now let us look

again at this goal which the Headmaster had.

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9. Some students are so heartsick that they have failed to obtain a First
or high Second pass that they talk about suicide even though they have
obtained a third and this would qualify them for other paths of further
education or training.

10. Admission into Fifth Form is dependent not only on the aggregate points
or grade but also on the profile of subjects taken on the examination.
For example, in the test pupils who earned credits in art, Luganda, and
religious knowledge would be in a less favorable position compared to
pupils at other schools whose credits were in the sciences, mathematics
or English, English literature, history, or geography. The Higher School
Certificate program is divided into two tracts, Arts and Sciences, and
art, Luganda and religious knowledge are not considered adequate prepara-
tion in themselves.

At a talk in late 1963 at the Institute of Education, Makerere University College, Mr. White referred to the main unstated goal of the Mutesa School as one of helping to provide Uganda and East Africa with middle-level manpower. Seventy-five per cent of the product of the school was a failure when it competed for further education. Instead the school had been producing young adults who were in a position to be trained for specific jobs (such as those who have gone to Community Development, East African Post and Telegraph, Radio Uganda, Mulago Hospital Laboratories, the university library, the police, nurses training, the Uganda College of Commerce, and to work as clerks in various departments and private businesses). Those pupils who had passed with a Second Grade but had not done well enough to go overseas or into Fifth Form could receive further formal training which leads to other middle-level manpower employment--mainly as junior secondary school teachers or lower level senior secondary school teachers, and some might enter agricultural, veterinarian or technical colleges.

This discussion does not include the pupils who dropped out of school without finishing their education. During the period covered by the study approximately 6% of the students who were enrolled in the Senior Secondary section left each year. This is a low retention rate compared to boarding schools.[11] Over the five-year period between 1960 to 1964 this would mean approximately 58 students dropped out of the school. A majority of these dropouts probably entered the labor market (only 16% of the 1962 to 1963 dropouts were able to transfer to another

11. Sources indicate that the elite boarding schools only lost an average of 3 students a year, or less than 1%. There are no figures to use to compare to the other day senior secondary schools.

school).[12] Thus, another result of external forces and an unintended consequence of the organizational activity of the school, was the production of dropouts who added to the existing stock of low-to-middle level manpower.

It has been asserted that the pupils who failed the School Certificate and those who dropped out contributed to the supply of existing low- to middle-level manpower. In 1962-63 sufficient shortages existed that there was a demand at these levels; school-leavers were absorbed into the economy. It was observed that a function of the Mutesa School was the provision of low- to middle-level manpower, it being suggested that up to 75% of the pupils would eventually be employed at these levels. Mr. White recognized that because this was what happened to the pupils after they left the school that this was a goal of the institution, part of what was identified as the second part of the first goal of the school-- "to maximize the potential of its clients so that they may better be able to take their places in their societies."

What we do not know is whether these pupils who contributed to the pool of lower-level manpower are actually functioning at their highest potential. The mere fact of having attended the Mutesa School may have

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12. Only 5 of the 9 pupils who transferred were able to enter a boarding school. As most of the pupils would rather be in a boarding school it is not surprising that the school lost a number of pupils who dropped out in order to join a boarding school. Mr. White supported the transfer of those students whom he felt capable of doing well in a boarding school and who were encountering difficulties in their living situation. In 1965 ten pupils transferred to boarding schools. This was the result of an inquiry into the cost of education that revealed that many of the boarding schools had as few as twenty five pupils in a stream (the appropriate number was considered to be 35). The schools then attempted to fill the new "empty" places by accepting transfer pupils from other schools.

assisted them in attaining a position that made some use of their talents, but it is possible that if they had attended a boarding school or a combination of influences had facilitated their performing well on the School Certificate that they might have gained access to further education and thus improved opprtunities within their society.

Failure on the School Certificate is dysfunctional to the other organizational goal of institution building. The high failure rate reinforces the low public image of the school (in spite of the changes discussed in Chapter VIII).[13] This makes it difficult for the school to compete with other schools for clientele, and for fiscal and material resources, and until all these can be improved there may be little marked improvement in the performance of the students on the examination and the majority of pupils may not realize their aspirations or potential. Failure on the School Certificate resulted in a higher proportion of the students becoming future lower-level manpower than would have if they had done better on the examination: failure thus strengthens the latent function of the school--the provision of lower-level manpower. For a more accurate understanding of this it is necessary to examine what actually has happened to the school-leavers.

The School-Leavers:

Two of the national educational goals expressed by the Educational Comission were: "to fit children for earning a livelihood," and "to prepare children for living in their local and national communities and to develop

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13. Even if it is considered to be the "best" day senior secondary school its reputation is inferior to that of the boarding school.

their desire to serve both." These also are similar to Mr. White's goals

which we have been discussing above, to maximize the potential of pupils

so that they may be better able to take their places in their societies.

The School Certificate relates to these two as its possession was con-

sidered the mark of an educated secondary school pupil. It is important

to inquire about how the education of the Mutesa pupils influenced what

happened to them after they left the school.

Unfortunately, the information on this aspect of the output of the school

is scanty. Records on how the students had performed on the School Cer-

tificate Examination began in 1960 (the year of Mr. White's arrival).[14]

In the two years before I began my case study only 36 students are re-

ported as having finished Fourth Form. Many more had left the school be-

fore reaching this level. I was able to obtain old addresses for ap-

proximately 100 students who had attended the school between 1958 and 1962.

To these students in mid-1963, I mailed a questionnaire which contained a

stamped return envelope. I received 67 back (55.8%), but I have no idea

how many of them never received their questionnaire. Of these 67, 28

had attended the school in 1962 or 1963, but only 16 had finished Fourth

Form and taken the School Certificate (of the other 12, 2 had been ex-

pelled, one had transferred to another school, 3 were pregnant, and 6 had

dropped out because they were unable to pay their school fees). Thirty-

nine of the 67 had left the school before my study had begun in June 1962.

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14. Mr. White also completely reorganized the system of keeping students'
records: each student was given a "report card" at the end of each term
which included comments by his teachers on his performance and comments
by the Headmaster. These sheets were printed in Luganda and English,
and a duplicate sent to the person responsible for the student. When I
interviewed parents, many indicated they had been favorably impressed
by this change.

Of these 39, 21 had completed Fourth Form, 5 had left for academic

reasons (poor work), 11 for inability to pay their school fees, one had

transferred to another school, and one had been unable to find a place

to live near the school and had to drop out.

Of the 67 old students who responded, 22 were studying (9 for Higher

School Certificate, 4 abroad in universities, 7 at Kyambogo Teacher

Training College, and 2 in other secondary schools), 11 others said they

were neither working nor studying ("nothing," said one; one was still

looking for a job, 5 were at home "digging," and 4 at home reading--

these last 9 included the 5 girls who dropped out of school (one because

of "no fees," one to get married, and 3 because they were pregnant).

Thirty-four reported that they were employed.

For these 34 who were working, the average time required to obtain a

job was a month and a half with the range being from a few days for four to

a year for three alumni. The Mutesa "old boys" were also asked how many

places they went to before they found a job. One wrote "several" and

eight wrote "many." For the 40 who enumerated their attempts at finding

employment, twelve said they were successful on their first try, while

one said he did not find employment until the tenth try and another not

until the eighteenth. The mean number of tries for those who were success-

ful was 3.4. The ex-students were also asked to name the type of place

at which they tried to find work unsuccessfully. The list is a breakdown

of private companies in Greater Kampala, the commercial banks, government

offices, and aided junior secondary schools. As to the types of job they

were unable to obtain, 24 (or 60% of those looking) mentioned clerical

jobs, and 10 teaching posts (25% of those seeking employment). The

remainder mentioned 17 different jobs ranging from translator to surveyor

(there is some overlapping due to some having tried more than one type of

job). Only 19 indicated who had assisted them in finding employment.

Five mentioned a relative, five friends, three said "nobody," three men-

tioned teachers or the Headmaster, one said a "reference from a former

employer," and another mentioned having heard a "radio advertisement."

They were employed in a variety of types of work; however, the two most

common jobs they held were 11 in teaching (eight private and three aided

schools) and 21 in clerical work. One student was employed as a mental

hospital nurse, another as a policeman, one as a fisherman, one worked

as an agricultural assistant, and two were salesmen. Over 50% reported

that they had moved from their first job: eight to continue their edu-

cation, four because the job was finished, and 11 to find a better-paying

job. Eight indicated they had already moved to a third job and one was

on his fourth job since leaving school.

The income of the alumni who were working (on the last job reported)

ranged from less than 75 shillings to over 600 shillings a month. The mean

was 263 shillings a month. The mean monthly earnings for ten students who

had not completed Senior Four (the dropouts) was 171 shillings while the

mean monthly earning for 23 students who had completed Fourth Form (and

reported their monthly earnings) was 294 shillings and 50 cents, a dif-

ference of over 120 shillings. A third of those students, however, who

had not finished secondary school reported earning more than the mean of

those who had finished Fourth Form. The student who dropped out during

the first term of his third year because he could not pay his school fees

competed successfully for a job against other students who had passed the

School Certificate and obtained the position. This suggests that not all employers look only at an applicant's School Certificate.

Of those students who were not able to continue their education directly into Fifth Form, a teacher training college, or abroad, 40% (or 18 out of 45) had some form of further education (five in a government training program, five in commercial schools, and eight privately towards taking the School Certificate again).

In response to the question, "How did your schooling at the Mutesa School prepare you for the work you have been doing?", 5 of the 35 students who were working said "Nothing," 20 named specific topics (like English or math) and 13 mentioned items that related to moral education and character training (like punctuality). In reply to the question, "What would you have liked to learn at the Mutesa School that you did not learn that you think would have better prepared you for the work you have been doing?", 5 students said, "Nothing," 9 mentioned commercial subjects (like how to file, shorthand, typing), 3 mentioned character training, and 21 mentioned academic subjects (18 of these were students who had left the school before its status had improved). Those who had finished Fourth Form ranked the school higher in status than those who dropped out (3.28 to 3.61 on a 5 point scale).

In Table XII-12, those students who finished Fourth Form and those who dropped out of school are compared in terms of their educational aspiration when enrolled at the Mutesa School and their present educational plans.

TABLE XII-12

A Comparison between Students Who Finished Fourth
Form and Students Who Dropped Out of the Mutesa
School on Previous Educational Aspirations and
Presently Held Educational Aspirations

	Finished		Dropouts	
Aspiration	% Past	% Present	% Past	% Present
Only to School Certificate	5.4	.0	21.4	3.4
Higher School Certificate	2.7	2.7	28.6	6.9
Teacher Training College	8.1	13.9	3.6	10.3
University BA Degree	78.4	50.0	46.4	10.3
Graduate Education	5.4	5.6	.0	.0
No Plans	.0	.0	.0	10.3
Commercial or Technical Course	.0	11.1	.0	27.6
Correspondence Course	.0	5.6	.0	13.8
Further Study, Undetermined as to Field	.0	11.1	.0	17.2
Total #	37	36	28	29

The data reveal several interesting findings; first, both groups show a marked change in their current educational aspirations as compared to those held when they attended the school; second, the group that dropped out had lower educational aspirations when they were students; third, and of special interest is the finding that whereas only 10.3% of the dropouts now indicate that they aspire to a university education, 46.4% previously had such aspirations; fourth, commercial, technical, and correspondence courses now have become part of these students' view of possible paths to future success while previously these avenues were not even considered. It also deserves note that the number who now chose teaching has risen slightly.[15]

Of the 65 students who finished Fourth Form in 1963, the Old Students Newsletter of October, 1964, contained information on 39 of them. The school had information on what had happened to 89% of those who had passed the School Certificate, but only for 38% of those who had failed the School Certificate. The distribution of these students in terms of their activities as reported to the school is given in Table XII-13.

Seven of the 30 pupils who passed the School Certificate are either in a university or in Fifth Form leading to enrollment in a university college and 21 of the 30 pupils are in some form of continuing education. Only 4 of the 25 pupils reporting their activities in October of 1964 are

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15. For a more thorough discussion of secondary school-leavers in an African country, see Phillip Foster's "Secondary School Leavers in Ghana," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 34, No. 4, Fall, 1964, pp. 537-558. Dr. Foster did a mail survey of a group of students who had finished secondary school, but he did not study those who had dropped out of secondary school. Patterns of education and employment are considered and future educational and occupational aspirations presented.

TABLE XII-13

Mutesa Pupils Who Passed or Failed the 1963 School
Certificate as to Their Activities Reported
by the School in October, 1964

Activity	# Pass	# Fail
University Overseas	3	0
Fifth Form in Uganda	4	0
Teacher Training College	4	0
EA P & T Training Program	5	2
Uganda College of Commerce	1	1
Uganda Technical College	1	0
Veterinarian Training Program	2	0
Makerere Art School	1	0
Lab Technician	3	0
Librarian	1	0
Clerk	0	3
Community Development Worker	0	1
Radio Training School	0	1
Repeating Fourth Form	0	6
Total	25	14
Number No Information	5	21

working; of those who failed the exam an insufficient number reported their activities so that it is impossible to draw any conclusions about them. Only 4 are in further training outside the school.

What, then, is the relationship between what happens to the pupils after they leave the school and the attainment of the goals of developing the potential of the pupils as citizens and institution building? A major component in the reputation of the elite schools is the success of their alumni. The elite schools can claim that they educated a majority of the known elite of the country: Kings, Prime Ministers, to university faculty and key people in the civil services. New schools and struggling schools will also build their reputations partially upon the success of their alumni (though the youths themselves will look first at School Certificate results). At first glance it might be assumed that those pupils who gain certain notoriety and publicity through winning scholarships abroad or a place in Fifth Form or in the University of East Africa have brought fame to the Mutesa School and are therefore functional to the general achievement of goals; that they assist in the process of building the image of the school and thus contribute significantly to goal attainment. Conversely, one might then be tempted to argue that those students who are unable to move forward generally within the society because of a variety of reasons are dysfunctional to goal attainment. But it is likely that an alternative interpretation is more reasonable. A school alone is not the only factor in the transition from being a pupil into the working world. The students are generally aware of the educational alternatives available upon finishing their School Certificate but know little about the occupational alternatives within the society, the structure of the labor force or even the educational pre-requisites of

certain types of employment. They realize that a successful education

is a foundation for future mobility but rapid changes in the employment

picture make any attempt on their part to understand the relationship

between education and employment extremely frustrating. The relationship

between education and employment is that of one between supply and demand

and the demand picture is determined by factors unrelated to the process

of education, the skills attained or the general attributes of the school-

leaver. The number of years' education needed to obtain a job moves up

as the supply of school-leavers becomes greater than the demand at any

given level.[16] While at any given time there may be educational pre-

requisites for employment, these are subject to continuous change. The

Mutesa pupils have a number of advantages over up-country school pupils

when it comes to seeking employment within Greater Kampala. The pupils

have, through living a number of years in the urban area, learned a

variety of the aspects of urban dwelling that the up-country students

would be unfamiliar with. The Mutesa pupils are also in a better posi-

tion to obtain employment since many employers tend to look for students

who have come from the local secondary schools and do not advertise or

solicit from up-country schools. The information obtained from the

school-leavers in the special questionnaire to old students tends to

support the thesis that seeking employment and the process of obtaining

employment were carried out independent of what the pupil learned at the

school; that is, to whom they went for jobs, who assisted them in obtain-

ing jobs, and how they found their jobs.

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16. For a more complete discussion of this problem by an economist see:
W. Arthur Lewis, "Education and Economic Development," International
Social Science Journal, Vol. 14, No. 4, 1962, pp. 685-699, and his
follow-up article, "Secondary Education and Economic Structure," Social
and Economic Studies, Vol. 13, No. 2, June, 1964, pp. 219, 232.

Unfortunately, we have little concrete information about the influence

of the school on the school-leavers after they left the school. We lack

knowledge about the impact on them of the skills (academic and practical)

acquired by attending the school, the new behavior patterns learned

(such as punctuality), and the cluster of attitudes and values which can

be attributed to an individual's having gone to school. The information

obtained through the old students' questionnaires underlines a general

problem which is prevalent in most school systems--the conflict between

the aspirations and ambitions of students while they are students which

lead them to reject "lesser" vocational goals and thus reject alternative

terminal courses that would provide them with more practical skills re-

lated to their future employment as clerks or teachers (two occupations

which many of the students end up in). After the students have left

school and enter lower-level manpower jobs, they then are able to look

back and say that they would have been better off if they had received

more practical courses while they were students. This is the problem

that was recognized by Mr. White and discussed in Chapter XIII.

Except for those few successful students who receive further education

and help to give credit to their alma mater, what happens to the majority

of school-leavers in most situations is non-functional to the achievement

of the goals of the school. It is non-functional because what happens to

them appears, after closer analysis, to be irrelevant to the activities

and requirements designed to achieve the goals of the school. What

happens to the majority of school-leavers is also non-functional because

it has little impact on the school, or at least a minimal influence through

the small network of inter-relationships that each school-leaver establishes

with his friends, relatives, and other interactions with people who

know that one of his attributes is that he once attended the Mutesa

School. Furthermore, for those pupils who are successful in obtaining

further education, they will probably be identified as graduates of the

last institution that they attended, and their success will be accredited

to that institution, not to the Mutesa School.

Student Culture:

Now let us examine the student culture and how it affects the attain-

ment of organizational goals. In the discussion of the concept of student

culture in Chapter Two, eight types of distinct student subcultures

were identified from studies in the United States and United Kingdom.

Perhaps these concepts are not automatically transferable to Africa.

The theoretical implications of this will be discussed in Chapter XIV.

The eight subcultures that have been isolated are: academic, vocational,

non-conformist, athletic, collegiate (or fun), apathetic (or anti-aca-

demic), alienated (or hopeless or rejected), and delinquent. In the

United States or the United Kingdom each of these eight subcultures has

its counterpart in the youth culture of the society. In Uganda we have

no definable youth culture, no literature is known which identifies a

youth culture in a tropical African society, nor is it possible in this

study to cope with the concept of an African youth culture. Any attempt

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17. Very little has been written about adolescence in tropical Africa.
For the Baganda, who did not have an age-grade system [see: A.H.J. Prins,
East African Age-Class Systems (Groningen, Holland: J.B. Wolters, 1953).]
There were not points which marked the transition from childhood to
adulthood. For the boy it was marriage and the girl first

to define an African youth culture would require extensive research which is irrelevant to this study but also would probably result in the description of a variety of youth subcultures dependent on tribe, age, sex, number of years of education, rural-urban residence, kinship characteristics, parental education and occupation, ecology of the area, employment, underemployment, and unemployment, etc.

Even if it is impossible to deal with the concept of an African youth culture one can explore what the student culture or subcultures are in a school and its relation to the values of occupants of other positions and the achievement of organizational goals.

African senior secondary school students within the society occupy a separate position with definite status differentials. They are visually separated by their uniform (and those in the higher status boarding schools are even geographically separate). In Uganda the separate status of secondary school pupils is officially recognized by granting them an exemption from the poll tax which every other male 18 or over must pay.

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menstruation. A period of male "adolescence" was recognized (post-maturity, pre-marriage) in the traditional requirement (still followed extensively today from my observation and home visits) that the mature "boy" sleep in a separate hut. See: L.P. Mair, An African People in the Twentieth Century (London: Routledge, 1934), pp. 73-77. Other recent writers have concentrated on school-going or school-leaver youth and not explored the wider questions of a youth culture. For example, see: E.B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), chapter ten on "What Happens to Adolescents?" or chapters 4 and 6 in L.A. Fallers, editor, The King's Men (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), or chapter 8, "Youth and the Schools" in John V. Taylor, The Growth of the Church in Buganda (London: SCM Press, 1958); see also David Gottlieb, Jon Reeves and Warren D. TenHouten, The Emergence of Youth Societies; A Cross-Cultural Approach (New York: The Free Press, 1966), pp. 173-216, a bibliographic survey in which the majority of articles concern values or attitudes in relation to the impact on formal education.

Though it would be possible to identify a few pupils at the Mutesa School who might conform individually to the picture of the academic, vocational, collegiate, or delinquent subculture, the "fit" would be an awkward one, and an unsatisfactory explanation of what was happening.

The pupils at the school were one out of thirty of their age group in the nation, wanted to go to school, and had been selected by "achievement" and preference. Deviant youths would have dropped out of school long before, so the alienated, the apathetic, and the non-conformist are not to be found at this level. The delinquent rebellion of youths in other countries is directed against the Establishment, but these students perceive themselves as a few steps from joining the Establishment. They are not part of a youth culture which is rebelling against an adult world as in Northern societies. During the months I was at the school, only a few students during term time were in conflict with the police.[18]

Within the school there were those pupils who had excelled in sports, in societies, and in their school work. The outstanding pupils in these

18. Of those students who got into trouble with the police all of them were released on the intervention of the Headmaster. One was accused of having gotten a girl pregnant, another of having stolen a raincoat, a third was accused of stealing a pair of pants, another of having stolen a generator from a bicycle, and a number of students were taken to jail for stealing sugar cane. Theft within the school was a different matter. In 1962, 83 library books were stolen (before they had a library building). It was realized that there was a market for school books in Kampala and a close check was kept on all books for classes on loan. Within the school thefts that were reported were also infrequent. Those students who rode bicycles kept them locked and all students had locks for their desks; "Delinquency" was not anti-school, but was economically purposeful. In East Africa, the rate of juvenile arrest is very low. In 1963, in Kenya, the majority of the prison population was over 25. See R.E.S. Tanner, "Crime and the East African Child," Kenya Education Journal, Vol. II, No. 7, January 1966, pp. 13-15.

three areas were well-known to the other pupils. The best athletes were made captains of the different teams (football, basketball, track, tennis, net ball). They were also singled out in sports days, and frequently by the Headmaster for special mention during assemblies. Those pupils who achieved leadership positions in the student societies were chosen and recognized by their fellow pupils. Those pupils who performed best academically in their classes were also known to their peers. The school awarded them a high rank, attention, and prizes on "prize day."

The pupils who were mentioned most frequently in response to the question, "Who are the five most important pupils in your school?" are listed by number in Table XII-14. The student who was named most frequently, 075, was head of the Adventurers Society, active in drama and in the Geography Society. Next with half as many mentions was the future Head Boy (038) who was also mentioned because he excelled academically in his class. Third (160) was the present Head Boy who was also first in his class. Fourth (035) is our first athlete, a track star. Fifth is another athlete (352) who was captain of the track team. Sixth (011) comes the key goalie in the football team who also played football for Uganda's National team. Seventh (143) is a person who was active in the student societies and chairman of the Red Cross Society. Eighth came another student who was active in the Adventurers Society, ninth the Head Girl; tenth one of the most brilliant students in the Fourth Form; eleventh the captain of another team; twelfth the captain of the basketball team, and down near the bottom but still mentioned were the school artist and three other students who were first in their classes academically and the

TABLE XII-14

"Who Are the Five Most Important Pupils in
Your School?" Frequency of Responses of
200 Mutesa Pupils in November, 1963

I. D. #	Number of Times Mentioned	Major Reasons
075	106	Head, Adventurers
038	55	New Head Boy/First Rate Student
160	43	Old Head Boy/First Rate Student
035	42	Athlete/Track
352	40	Athlete
011	38	Footballer
143	30	Chairman/Red Cross Society
007	20	Adventurers
087	19	Head Girl
047	17	First Rate Student
191	18	Athlete
020	13	Captain/Basketball
277	13	Student
363	12	Footballer
001	10	Student

Number of Times Qualities Mentioned:

No reasons given	283
Athlete	223
Leader/Societies	196
Good student	132
Prefect	100
Character/helpful	29
Leader (general)	15
Friend	15
Artist	13

head of the scouting society. In terms of number of times a reason was given for mentioning a student as the most important pupil in the school, athletics came first, mentioned 223 times, school societies and activities came next, mentioned 196 times, and academic excellence came third, mentioned 132 times. Being a prefect or general leader in the school was mentioned 100 times and then general comments on a student's character such as "He's helpful" drops down to 29 times.

But can we conclude from this that we have at the Mutesa School three subcultures in the following order of importance: athletic, collegiate, and academic? If we did so we might also be ignoring the importance of a whole other dimension, that there are other pupils who are mainly job-oriented, not interested in other activities at the school, but more interested in the relationship between their studies and employment and thus forming a "vocational" subculture. One characteristic of the value structure of a subculture is that it rejects or minimizes the value structure of other subcultures and is in marked contrast to the socio-cultural system (value structure, etc., of teachers and Headmaster) of the school. Even if individual students could be identified with these subcultures (academic, vocational, athletic, and collegiate), are they in opposition to each other and to the school? Would it be correct to assume that these subcultures are mutually exclusive of each other, or is it possible that they are supportive of one another and the goals of the school?[19] Is it possible that a monolithic student culture exists which is more than the sum of its parts and that this whole more meaningfully fits all the pupils than the identification of a number of subcultures?

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19. Fred E. Katz raises this question in his article, "The School as a Complex Social Organization," _Harvard Educational Review_, Vol. 34, No. 3, Summer, 1964, p. 450.

The answers of the pupils when asked to identify the leading students might suggest that athletics and participation in student societies were the most important attributes of student leaders. But these activities were encouraged by the school, and were completely congruent with its goals. So would the vocational and academic student subcultures be supportive to the goals of maximizing the number of pupils who did well on the School Certificate and institution-building.

A great deal has already been said about the goals and values in previous chapters. It is necessary to review some of these items from earlier chapters, but with a slightly different emphasis. It was shown that the major goal of the pupils was to do well on the School Certificate. Ninety-two per cent hoped to do well enough to continue their education beyond senior secondary school. Twenty per cent anticipated only some post-School Certificate training, while 71 per cent aspired to higher education and 60 per cent "realistically" thought that they would obtain some university or higher education. In their occupational aspirations, 71 per cent mentioned jobs that would require a university education. The overwhelming majority of the pupils set targets for themselves in the distant future, with less than 10 per cent having no long-range objectives. Ninety per cent are involved in activities that will lead to the attainment of a goal anticipated in the future; studying towards the School Certificate. This extensive agreement would suggest the hypothesis that the student culture would be monolithic, and could best be described as instrumental, because the pupils seek the attainment of objectives

anticipated in the future.[20]

When asked to rank some possible purposes of the school (Table VI-1), the cluster of four items containing delayed gratification content were ranked above four items which were associated more with immediate rewards. In Table VII-2 the pupils ranked five items that they worked for during school day. "Learning as much as possible in school" and "pleasing my parents" were ranked first and second and "being accepted and liked by other students" and "doing well in athletics (sports)" were ranked 4th and 5th (with greatest agreement on the last). Again, instrumental value content items came first and relating to patterns of social inter-action with their peers came last. Pupils indicated that they had inter-preted "pleasing their parents" to mean "being a good pupil," in terms of both moral and achievement criteria.

The very low place granted to athletics, and good relations with fellow pupils again emphasize the dichotomy between ranking instrumental content items high and immediate gratification content items low. This is a question of assessing individual values of pupils, and simply because personal excellence and support is ranked lower than the other items does not

20. This concept of an instrumental student culture is derived from Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 75 and 209. This also relates to Arthur L. Stinchcombe's major thesis; which could be rephrased as follows: adolescent rebellion results when pupils perceive little of value to be accomplished in the future as a result of their present schooling. See: Rebellion in a High School (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964).

necessarily mean that collectively athletics does not have a significant place in the student culture. We have already noted that it does.

Pupils were also asked to rank 5 items that initially were designed to provide information on non-academic activities of the pupils. In Table XII-15 the mean response of the pupils on these 5 items is given.

TABLE XII-15[a]

The Mean Response for Two Hundred Students in
November, 1963, on Ranking Five Items as to
Their Importance to Them

Mean	Standard Deviation	Item
2.10	1.2	Reading Novels
2.58	1.1	Clubs and Societies in School
2.98	1.4	Having a Good Time: How _____ ?
3.11	1.2	Groups and Activities Outside School
4.23	1.3	Just Talking with Other People

a. Three of these items are derived from James S. Coleman, Questions 33, 34, and 35. See: The Adolescent Society (New York: The Free Press, 1961), p. 340.

In this table an activity that is related to academic involvement is ranked highest; "reading novels," and second is "clubs and societies in school." As many of the student clubs have an academic payoff this also ties in with their instrumental orientation. What is especially interesting here is that the pupils were asked to write in an answer to "How __?" Eighty did not answer, but 110 students did write meaningful answers to this question; the others wrote things like "Anyhow." Of the 110, over 50% wrote answers that related to academic pursuits, like revising or studying. The 53 non-academic responses covered a large range

(22 different items) with 7 students saying "going to the movies;" 7
"just relaxing;" 5 "visiting friends." Only 3 students mentioned a hobby
("playing the guitar and painting") and only one a sport ("tennis").
Four said "dancing" and three "walking." If "having a good time: how?"
was not made into an open-ended question it might have been assumed that
having a good time referred to non-academic pursuits. The findings indi-
cate that having a good time for 52% of the pupils who filled in this
open-ended question was tied into their long-range objectives and was
partially an instrumental value content item.

Asking students separate questions that call for a response that is
different from that of ranking reveals that though they may not rank an
item high, they may still consider it important when thinking about it
separately. For example, the students were asked to agree or disagree with
the following statement: "Character and moral education should be learned
at school." Forty-three per cent (of 308 pupils) strongly agreed with this
statement and 33% agreed with it (a total of 76% in agreement). Yet in Table
VI-1 the students had ranked character training fifth; this then does not
mean that they did not consider it important. Likewise, because students may
rank "being accepted and liked" and "doing well in athletics" lower than
"pleasing my parents" or "learning as much as possible in school" does
not mean that they do not want to be liked or do not want to do well in
athletics. What it does show is that their primacy of orientation is
to future objectives. This observation is supported by the finding shown
in Table XII-15 where "reading novels" is most important and for half the
pupils who respond to "How?", "having a good time," reading and revising

is a way they enjoy spending their time.[21]

These findings would tend to confirm the thesis that the predominant student culture is instrumental.

There are other aspects of the student life which also suggest the validity of this thesis. In discussing the norms, ideology and image of the school, it was shown how student attitudes were congruent to those of the other occupants of positions and supportive of organizational goals. Student societies and sports were organized and encouraged by the school as a means of having students serve its goals. In Chapter X on the Headmaster, ways in which Mr. White manipulated the students to serve the purposes of the school were discussed. The pupils' acceptance of authority and emphasis on obedience constituted a significant part of the overall student culture (see Chapters VI and IX). It was also noted that the sanctions preferred by the pupils were immediate ones that involved a minimum conflict with their time spent studying--thus they viewed having to stay away from school (suspension or expulsion) as the worst form of punishment. This demonstrates their intense concentration on the route to the School Certificate and supports the idea of an instrumental student culture.

Other observations on how the pupils spent their free time are also relevant here. During the school day the major block of free time was between 12:20 and 2:00 p.m. when the majority of the staff left for their lunch break. The pupils lined up for lunch by Form but the process of queuing up at eating rarely took individual students more than 15 minutes. They thus had up to an hour and a half free. Random observations during

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21. Fifty-seven per cent of the pupils claim that they read books (novels) that were not required as school work every day (191 out of 337).

1962 and 1963 of how the pupils used this time again support the idea of an instrumental student culture. Ostensibly the lunch period was a time when student societies could meet (after school between 4 and 6 was the other time). At least twice a term the debating club would stage a heavily attended and heated debate ("Should the practice of women kneeling before men end on independence," "Tribal customs are a hindrance to progress," "Western civilization has done more harm than good to Africa," "Force is better than persuasion," "Interracial marriage should be encouraged"). Other societies occasionally had guest speakers or a movie (Red Cross, Adventurers, Geography, Luganda). The Student Council meetings were held between 12:30 and 2:00 (though never weekly because of the process of communicating the reports to the prefects and the Headmaster). If intensive practice for a play was underway the pupils might rehearse in a class room. The art room was in frequent use nearly every day after lunch (and art was a keen subject for earning credits on the School Certificate). Occasionally the "houses" would meet with their teacher; but this vehicle adopted from boarding schools as a means of developing school spirit never functioned beyond serving as a division point for intramural sports. Some students might be seen playing football but for the overwhelming majority of pupils this time served as an extended study hall. Small clusters of pupils could be found in their classrooms, scattered over the school grounds, sitting along the edge of the Lubiri wall, under shrubs or trees discussing their schoolwork or doing their own exercises or "revisions." In 1963 out of 315 pupils in the school never more than 100 came to hear a debate. The most popular student society, the Adventurers, seldom had more than 70 members at a meeting (for these larger meetings the sliding wall double classroom could be moved to one side). Rarely was

more than one meeting a day during lunch scheduled because of the over-
lap of membership in some of the student societies.

At other points in their lives outside school the pupils also demon-
strated their instrumental culture. They were still intensely motivated
to spend as much time as possible on schoolwork and reading that would help
improve their English. The urgency of this after-school and vacation
academic activity increases as the pupils get nearer to taking the School
Certificate. Only the task of raising funds to meet their school fees takes
a higher priority on the use of their time (for those who must work for
their fees or raise it from their extended family or friends).[22]

Pupils in the Fourth Form are so concerned about the Examination that
they do not even take a vacation and hope that some of the more dedicated
teachers will stay at the school and help them prepare for the School
Certificate. It has been noted how some of the Fourth Formers even
camped in classrooms so they could be "full-time" students. The Fourth
Formers also rejected the Monday morning school singing periods so that
they would have more time for revision.

General social and economic conditions in the country were also conducive
to an instrumental student culture. As noted in Chapter VII pupils had
little contact with mass media, such as radio, TV, newspapers, or maga-
zines. Missing also were specific recreation activities for youth and
the impact of cars, motorcycles and independent incomes. African youth in

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22. This observation is based on home visits I made, student autobiogra-
phies, and diaries kept by some students during their vacations.

Uganda were limited by severe economic restrictions. Only seven of the

Mutesa pupils saw movies regularly. The overwhelming majority of the

pupils just did not have the funds to participate in such forms of

recreation or to engage in adult activities such as smoking and drinking.

The latter actions also constituted violations of school rules.[23]

The pupils derived their pleasures from a round of activities (see Chap-

ter VIII) that required no financial investment. Their main recreation

came from school activities, societies, clubs and athletics. Only a third

of the pupils belonged to and participated in any organization outside

school. When asked, "What is your favorite way of spending your free

time?", 64% mentioned reading or studying. To the question, "What are

the things you do with your friends after school or on Saturdays or

Sundays?", 25% said something that referred to academic activities.

The material presented in this case study has supported the thesis of

an instrumental student culture. Not all aspects of student life have

been considered in this chapter, but other facets have been found to con-

firm this thesis.[24] An instrumental student culture was functional to

the attainment of the organizational goals of the school.

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23. One pupil was suspended for smoking. He was a Luo from Kenya. There
were indications that he wanted to be suspended because a few weeks later
he wrote from Moscow as a student at the Patrice Lumumba University, and
thanked the school for all it had done for him.

24. For example, a survey of the sex life of a random sample of twenty-
five pupils was carried out through interviews. The researcher interview-
ed eleven boys and the assistant, fifteen girls. The findings confirm
the concept of an instrumental student culture. The pupils interviewed
demonstrated an ability to delay sexual gratification because indulgence
might result in the termination of their studies. Those pupils who did
have sexual activities did so during vacations and chose a partner who
was not a pupil in the school, and usually one who was not a student,
especially at any secondary school, thus minimizing the possibility of
pregnancy that could result in expulsion. The girls who indulged in
sexual activity also tended to choose non-student partners.

Summary:

In this chapter we have examined the pupils at the Mutesa School
from four perspectives. First, we considered the relationship between
the composition of the student body and the achievement of organiza-
tional goals. While the evidence was not conclusive, there were indica-
tions that the newer pupils were better material for preparation for the
School Certificate than the older pupils. Thus changes in the composi-
tion of the students (more doing better on the Junior Leaving Examination,
living closer to the school and with relatives, having more time to
study and a better study climate) were functional to the attainment of
organizational goals.

Second, we compared the characteristics of pupils who had passed
and failed the School Certificate. It was recognized that performance
on the School Certificate was related to a multiplicity of factors
over which we had no control; and for some even no information. Those
pupils who passed and failed the terminal examination were compared
on over a dozen different factors. Though there are important
exceptions a general trend indicated that those pupils who passed
the examination were more likely to have had fathers who had attained
the School Certificate, be Protestant, have previously attended
aided schools, have a higher result on the Raven's Progressive Matrices,
be in the top fifteen in their class, have their own room, a better
light to read by, and spend more time revising and less time preparing
their meals, have higher educational aspirations, and rank the school

higher than those who failed. The high rate of failure (50% on the School Certificate, 75% when it came to further education, and 90% not going on to Sixth Form) was also dysfunctional to the other goal of institution building. These findings confirmed the working hypothesis of the Headmaster concerning what characteristics of pupils were functional to the attainment of goals.

Third, we examined what happened to the pupils after they left the school. It was concluded that what happened to the school-leavers, if viewed from the perspective of institution building and developing the reputation of the school, was for the time being non-functional to the attainment of organizational goals.

Fourth, a survey of the student culture revealed that it might best be described as instrumental because the pupils seek the attainment of objectives anticipated in the future and that this influences nearly all aspects of their lives. The instrumental student culture was considered to be functional to the attainment of organizational goals.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF ORGANIZATIONAL GOALS:

AN INTERPRETATION

Introduction:

This is a case study of a school as an organization functioning to
achieve goals. Every organization faces a series of obstacles which
must be overcome concerning its resources, personnel and clients.

How a school copes with certain basic problems may be one indication of
its effectiveness. What behavior and activities are required to over-
come these obstacles, or implement the goals of the organization? The
type of leadership an organization has may be a critical factor. What
kind of leadership is most effective in moving an organization between
two points in time and at what stage in the organization's development?
It is necessary to examine the relative success and failure of the Head-
master to take minimum advantage of the leadership possibilities to move
the organization towards goal achievement. In this case achievement of
organizational goals necessitated organizational change over time. In
my interpretation the critical factor was the performance of the Head-
master. The alternatives of no leadership or the development of infor-
mal leadership were not applicable. Many aspects of the organization
could have a major impact on this process. So far we have been looking
at the school in a sequence of "snap shots" or static points; we now need

to re-examine the material in a more dynamic interpretative framework.
In Chapter I fourteen questions were raised concerning the formulation
of organizational goals and the structural factors that might influence
the achievement of these goals; these were sociological questions that
could be asked of most organizations. They have been systematically con-
sidered in the body of this thesis. They assumed an analysis based on
comparative statics. But in a more dynamic interpretative framework the
school must be viewed as one instance of trying to attempt organizational
change. In this case the goals indicate where the organization intended
to go. As the Headmaster was critical in the process of organizational
change, in the final analysis this becomes a study of organizational
leadership over time. This is a study of the extent an organization was
able to achieve its goals. In previous chapters we have looked at many
elements in a static way. Now we wish to pull them together in a dynamic
interpretative framework in the form of a case study of an organization
over time.

First let us review a few points relevant to this chapter. One, we have
specified the goals as viewed by the Headmaster and have dealt with them
in this context. Second, we have documented and will review the extent
to which there was movement towards the accomplishment of these goals.
Third, the perspective of interpretation in this case study is that the
leadership of the Headmaster was critical in moving the organization over
time towards the achievement of its goals. Fourth, given the options open
to the Headmaster, it appears that he made a series of wise decisions that
facilitated positive organizational change. Fifth, there was not complete
successful realization of the goals; there were certain failures and these

will also be interpreted.

We will now reconsider in more general terms the Headmaster's use of organizational arrangements to achieve goals.

Organizational Pre-conditions:

In the case of the Mutesa School a variety of historical and environmental conditions favored organizational change. The school had had a short history as a senior secondary school, a most chequered and unsuccessful past, marked by failure, a student strike, limited resources, poor personnel, and inadequate leadership. When Mr. White came to the school as Headmaster in 1960 he entered a situation where change had already been initiated--the resources of the institution had been increased, and steps had been taken to slightly improve the clientele and personnel. He assumed a position in which he was granted considerable autonomy by his superordinates and in the internal organization of the school his authority was highly centralized and he had considerable power for decision making and innovation which permitted the manipulation and exploitation of the situation. Staff and students were dissatisfied with their lot, with each other, and the previous absence of direction and policy (before Mr. White entered the school). Mr. White's leadership position was strengthened by a high turnover of subordinates, creating teaching vacancies which he attempted, through his own informal channels external to the school, to fill with more qualified personnel. External changes which had taken place at or before Mr. White's arrival also facilitated the process of organizational change. The Buganda Government was now more committed to the school and its transformation from an inferior private school into a grant-aided day secondary school. The increased resources, though never adequate, made possible developments

that would have been impossible without this official support (though
if the school had been able to be supported directly by the Central
Government in 1960 an even more rapid organizational change might have
occurred). It was also advantageous to Mr. White's task of moving the
school towards the achievement of its goals that it was located adjacent
to the two capitals as this facilitated a network of external formal and
informal contacts that Mr. White utilized in the process of institution
building, a condition which would have been impossible if the school
had been isolated in a distant rural area.

The Major Obstacles Mr. White Faced:

What were the major obstacles Mr. White faced and what were the factors
that enabled him to provide leadership? This depended on the nature
of the situation and the staff and pupils to be led. The Headmaster was
keenly aware of the manipulative variables in the situation. He had his
own strategy, or planned activities, designed to move the organization
closer to the achievement of its goals. He recognized critical problems.
He was aware of the degree to which he could manipulate resources (and
cost limitations), and the constraints imposed by external regulations.
He knew the limitations of his staff and pupils. He was flexible, and
in order to maintain a smooth-functioning school was willing to adapt to
legitimate requests for change and innovation on the part of his
subordinates, though reserving the final say in decision making to himself.
He was careful,when possible, not to violate their value system, and
capable of responding to the individual differences of his staff and
pupils. His strategy for planned organizational change included attempts
to diagnose the favorable and unfavorable possible outcomes of inno-
vations. He had a sense of timing and when he might terminate his

leadership and still be successful.[1] He embodied a number of different
leadership styles (instrumental and expressive) depending on the situa-
tion and the people involved. He knew that he was being continually
evaluated and tested by his subordinates (especially by new staff and
pupils) and that in the continuing process of organizational progression
over time and change that compliance to his position of authority must
be systematically checked and reinforced. He attempted to maximize the
skills of his staff. He was not aware of the charismatic qualities of
his leadership, but did know that the majority of his subordinates and
superordinates liked and respected him. He was able to motivate his
subordinates. This charisma helped to mobilize support for his policies.
It was based on the client's own needs and their reactions to Mr. White's
successful acts of leadership. He was determined to make a personal
reputation for himself by doing something different--building the best
day secondary school in Uganda.

His leadership was facilitated in a number of other ways, beyond the
power derived from his position. There was marked consensus within the
organization on key goals. The normative structure favored goal attain-
ment and supported his leadership. He was leader of <u>both</u> the formal
and critical parts of the informal organizational structure. His actions
and pattern of interaction over time reinforced his leadership. He knew
and liked the society he was working in. He assumed responsibility for
his own actions and was able, with his drive, to follow through on his
innovations to insure their acceptance if they were functional or

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1. At the end of 1964 he did leave the school to become Headmaster of a
Central Government rural boarding school.

discontinuation if they were dysfunctional. He used the structure to achieve organizational goals instead of being used by it.

Theoretical Organizational Alternatives:

To help comprehend the leadership options open to the Headmaster over time, we have constructed a thematic chart which shows a variety of the possibilities along a number of dimensions (see Chart XIII-1). The dimensions used are: goals, leadership, organizational structure, environment, staff, input (clientele) and output (clientele).

A standard technique would be to treat what happened over time in the organization using an input-output model.[2] An input-output model of this school would require an extensive description of the _processes_ that went on over time directed toward goal fulfillment. The major obstacle in the past to this approach is that the models have not separated _inputs_ from _processes_. A school is not a factory, which utilizes material, nor can a school be solely evaluated in terms of its efficiency estimated by quantifiable _output_ (results on the examination, percent entering finishing, number receiving further education, entering training programs and finding employment).[3] In this type of model the

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2. See Allen H. Barton and Bo Anderson, "Change in an Organizational System: Formalization of a Qualitative Study," in Amatai Etzioni, op. cit.

3. For an attempt by economists to do an input-output study see: Jesse Burkhead with Thomas G. Fox and John W. Holand, Input and Output in Large-City High Schools (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1967). After first conceptualizing a series of separate input, status, process, and output variables the authors later observe, "As inputs are subdivided into their components, the distinction between input and process becomes blurred. The process variables become, in effect, a correction for nonhomogeneous inputs." (p. 44) The authors isolated very few "process variables;" average class size, vocational class enrollment, median teacher age, median years of teacher experience, and the proportion of teachers with MA or higher degrees. Dimensions

inputs, in human resources (Headmaster, staff, pupils) also are part of

the process. What is necessary is a model that limits the inputs to

the clientele and controls for these inputs as only certain characteris-

tics of the pupils are examined as outputs. Even material resources

used in the school cannot be considered in isolation as physical plant

and educational materials alone do not make a school. A school may be

inadequate without books, chalk, blackboards, paper and pencil, but

learning may still take place given a skilled teacher, while these edu-

cational materials will not necessarily transform a poor teacher into a

better one. A school as a living organization is a whole greater than

the sum of its parts--and the whole orchestration of these parts de-

pends on a multiplicity of factors.

In the case of the Mutesa School we have examined what was, but not what

might have been. An examination of the hypothetical organizational al-

ternatives may help to shed light on what was happening. The two goals

isolated were not the only ones possible for the school. The school

might have had a Sixth Form and the goal of maximizing the number of

pupils who did well on the Higher School Certificate. It might have had

special applied courses (or "biases") leading to other certificates or

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such as leadership were completely ignored, though this shortcoming was
briefly recognized (p. 93). What is at fault is their model. It does
not restrict inputs to the same thing as outputs, and it does not com-
pare them over time. A true production function would require tests of
substitution. In sociological terms, what difference in the input
(clients) account for what differences in the output (clients)? Or if
you can hold your inputs constant then you can analyze the process.
Burkhead relates SES to output but ignores the process of education.
Efficiency (input-output with respect to goals) can only be measured
over time.

CHART XIII-1   Theoretical Organizational Alternatives

GOALS	LEADERSHIP	ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	ENVIRONMENT	STAFF

Certificates
  Higher (A)
  School (0)
  Biases
  Terminal
	Quality
	  None (informal)
	  Weak
	  Strong
	  Excellent
		Role Definition
		  Loose
		  Rigid
			Location
			  Rural
			  Urban
				Quality
				  Poor
				  Excellent

Institution
Building
  Status Quo
	External
	Control
	  Tight
	  Autonomous
		Structure
		  Formal
		  Informal
			Economy
			  Poor Crops
			  Good Crops
				Performance
				  Poor
				  Excellent

Socialization
Indoctrination
  Citizenship
  Laissez Faire
	Direction
	  None
	  Has Strategy
		Consensus
		  Present
		  Absent
			Physical Plant
			  Poor Plant
			  Good Plant
				Commitment
				  High
				  Alienated

Direction
  Conventional
  Experimental
	Division of
	Labor
	  Teach
	  Administer
		Norms
		  Defined
		  Implicit
		
		Tradition
		  Weak
		  Strong
			Funding
			  Inadequate
			  100 Percent
			
			Regulations
			  Loose
			  Rigid
				Origin
				  Local
				  Expatriate
				
				Job Satisfaction
				  Satisfied
				  Dissatisfied

Innovation
  None
  Lot
	Enhanced
	  Alienation
	  Charisma
		Ideology
		  Absent/Negative
		  Present/Positive
			Student Housing
			  None
			  Hostels
				Mobility
				  High
				  Stationary

	Effort
	  Lazy
	  Hard Work
		Role Overload
		  Few Tasks
		  Many Tasks
			Employment Opportunities
			  Scarcity/Demand
			  Surplus
				Cooperative
				  High
				  Isolated

	Motivation
	  Indifferent
	  Make Reputation
		Autonomy
		  None
		  Considerable
			Image
			  Low
			  High	

	Relations
	  Instrumental
	  Affective
			Political Climate
			  Negative
			  Supportive	

			Bureaucracies
			  Efficient
			  Inefficient	

INPUT (Clientele)	OUTPUT (Clientele)

Quality
    Poor
    Excellent
	# Passing School
	Certificate
	    Low
	    High

Socialization
    Little
    Maximum
	% Entering/Finishing
	    Low
	    High

Leadership
    Poor
    Good
	Opportunity-Option
	(Proportion Continuing
	Education)
	    Low
	    High

Culture
    Instrumental
    Academic
    Apathetic
    Delinquent
	Employability
	    Low
	    High

External Conflict
    Low
    High
	Socialization
	    Low
	    High

Sex
    Male
    Female	

Background Factors
    Negative
    Supportive	

it could have had some lower-level terminal courses (as many other African nations do with a proportion of pupils forced out after an examination at the end of the Second Form).[4]

While the Mutesa School had a goal of citizenship training--it might have had no goal here, or it might have had a more elaborate goal of indoctrination of the pupils with the ideology of the nation.

Instead of the goal of institution building it might have been content with the status quo. There are numerous other goals present at other schools in developing nations which are not found at this school. Some schools have definite religious and cultural goals. Others are experimental institutions working toward developing new curricula, new methods, and new organizational patterns.

On the dimension of leadership a number of alternatives exist. The leadership could have ranged between weak and ineffective to strong and excellent; between charismatic and alienated; between lazy and indifferent and driving to make a reputation; between instrumental and affective; between vacillating and strong, decision-making; between submissive and autonomous; between having a strategy and having none; between influencing the ideology and norms of the organization to being ineffective; between being able to reinforce compliance and failing to do so.

The organization might have had rigidly defined roles and loosely defined roles; a tight formal structure or an undeveloped structure; a heavy

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4. Examples of this would be within school terminal levels (such as at a comprehensive school) or national terminal levels as in Tanzania, Zambia, and Rhodesia who had a Form Two Leaving Examination.

reliance on the formal structure or none; considerable autonomy for the occupants of positions or little autonomy; role consensus or disunity; well-defined norms or undefined norms; no organizational tradition (or history) or a significant set of traditions; and no ideology to a highly developed ideology.

The environment of the school could have ranged through a number of possibilities: rural or urban; poor physical plant to excellent plant; inadequate financial resources (both in pupils' fees and government funds) to 100 percent funding; no external regulations to strict regulation; no hostel to a hostel or boarding places for all pupils; staff housing to none; a high demand for senior secondary school-leavers in the community to a saturated market; a low image of the school in the environment to a high image; a favorable political climate to an unfavorable one; an inefficient bureaucracy to an efficient one; and considerable organizational autonomy to tight control by superordinates.

The staff of the school could have spread out over a number of possibilities: from high commitment to alienation; from high performance to neglect; from first class quality to inferior; from local to expatriate; from cooperative to isolated; from satisfied to dissatisfied; and from upwardly mobile to stationary.

In Chart XIII-1 these theoretical organizational alternatives are presented as dichotomies, while in reality they may not be found in this way. Where positions are occupied by more than one person a range of possibilities exists. Even where a position is limited to one individual (like a Headmaster or Head Boy) his characteristics can vary over time.

The Organization at the Time Mr. White Took Over:

What were the conditions when Mr. White entered the school? In Chart XIII-2, the situation in early 1960, at the time of Mr. White's arrival, is presented. At this time, the stated goal of the organization was to educate towards the School Certificate, but the real goal was to survive as an organization. Changes had taken place so that institution building was now a stated goal and the activities designed to start the process of institution building had already been initiated. What were the major obstacles he faced? The previous leadership had been ineffective; with Mr. White's arrival the organization had new leadership, but one with no strategy yet worked out, leadership viewed with suspicion (he was being tested by the other occupants, and hence learning about the society). Mr. White was committed from the beginning to teaching and hard work; he was intensely motivated, but offered at first instrumental leadership. He was willing to make decisions and to take steps to reinforce compliance to his authority. Mr. White had not yet related to either the ideological or normative structure of the school and communication was highly formal with little informal contact.

The organizational structure in early 1960 was rigid, highly formalized and lacked unity. The organizational history and tradition of the school was negative, with the ideology being one of failure (as a private school). The staff at this time faced considerable role overload, fatigue, and aversion.

The environment supports were minimal. The physical plant was extremely poor for a secondary school, there being no laboratories, no library, no hostel, etc. The image of the school was rock bottom. The political

CHART XIII-2   The Organization at the Time Mr. White Took Over in 1960

GOALS	LEADERSHIP	ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	ENVIRONMENT

Certificates
  Started School
  Certificate
	Quality
	  None (New)
		Role Definition
		  Rigid
		Structure
		  Formal
			Location
			  Urban

Institution Building
  Survival
	External Control
	  Tight
	  (Autonomy to
	  Be Granted)
		Consensus
		  Disunity
			Economy
			  Poor Crops
			
			Physical Plant
			  Inadequate

	Direction
	  No Strategy
		Norms
		  Rules
			Funding
			  Beginning

	Division of Labor
	  Teach and
	  Administer
		Tradition
		  Weak
			Regulations
			  (Non-Conforming)

	Enhanced
	  Suspicion
	  (Learning and
	  Being Tested)
		Ideology
		  Failure
		
		Role Overload
		  Aversion
			Student Housing
			  None
			
			Employment Opportunities
			  Poor (Pupils not Meet-
			  ing Qualifications)

	Effort
	  Hard Work
		Autonomy
		  Little
			Though Demand for
			  Graduates High.

	Motivation
	  Make Reputation
			Image
			  Low

	Relations
	  Instrumental
			Political Climate
			  Negative
			
			Bureaucracies
			  Inefficient

STAFF	INPUT (Clientele)	OUTPUT (Clientele)

Quality
    Low
	Quality
	    Poor/Unselected
		# Passing School
		Certificate
		    (Taken in 1959)
		    Unknown

Performance
    Low
	Socialization
	    Little
		% Entering/Finishing
		    Extremely Low

Commitment
    Alienated
	Leadership
	    Ineffective
		Opportunity-Option
		    Unknown/Negligible

Origin
    Expatriate
	Culture
	    Apathetic/
	    Pessimistic
		Employability
		    Low

Job Satisfaction
    Minimum
	External Conflicts
	    High
		Socialization
		    Low

Mobility
    Out
	Sex
	    Girls 10%	

Cooperative
    Isolated
	Background Factors
	    Negative	

climate was hostile and the bureaucracies inefficient. The external regulations were firm and the school conformed to none of them. The opportunities for the pupils were poor because few met standard qualifications. The major favorable circumstance in the external environment was that funds from the Buganda Government were now available for staff salaries and the construction of a few buildings.

The staff in 1960 was not committed to the school. Many were part-time teachers. Their performance in general was of low quality. Their rewards were minimal. There was little cooperation between them, and their job satisfaction was low. No positive informal leaders arose among the teachers. Most were pessimistic about the potential of their pupils. For the majority mobility was out of teaching.

At this time the pupils were non-selected, there was little socialization of the pupils, and the student culture was instrumental but the pupils were apathetic and pessimistic about success. There were few girls in the school. The little information we have on the pupils in 1960 indicates that they were exposed to more external conflicts, such as living further from school, having fewer bikes, being poorer, and more having to work, than the pupils as a whole in 1962.

The Situation in May, 1962:

By 1962 the school had changed in a variety of ways all consistent with the possibilities outlined on our theoretical alternatives chart. By mid-1962 the goals of the school, through Mr. White's initiatives, had been more clearly defined and there was consensus on the two goals of maximizing pupils' performance on the School Certificate and institution building.

Mr. White in two years had established a pattern of strong leadership, especially his control over non-academic affairs (while granting autonomy to the better teachers in academic matters). He had learned Luganda and identified with Uganda, having become a charismatic figure. He worked consistently and dedicatedly, maintaining his drive and motivation to build his reputation and that of the school, through a balanced strategy of development and innovation. He made his mark through a variety of approaches, including the encouragement of new student organizations (Student Council) and activities (dramatics, other student societies, and athletics). He was in a position to reinforce compliance; he used both the formal and informal organizational structure to his own ends in the process of implementing the goals of the school. He purposely shaped the ideology and normative structure of the school. His leadership was both instrumental and effective depending on the situation.

Changes in the organizational structure were partially the result of Mr. White's leadership. There was now consensus at a number of points. The ideology had become one of success. The organization was beginning to establish new traditions and a "history." In the external environment the image of the school was up. It had improved even more in the eyes of the participants in the school. The first step in coping with the external authorities and regulations had been taken (preliminary inspection) and the school had been granted provisional recognition in April 1961. The laboratory had been built, electricity and water brought to the school, and a kitchen and outdoor tables for lunch constructed. The political climate was still hostile, but Mr. White was learning to bridge between the two camps. So far there had been little impact of these changes on the new students; as part of the process of

consolidation and improving the clientele Mr. White had taken in no
Form One in 1961 and only one stream in 1962 which he was able to
partially select himself. The student culture was still instrumental
but becoming less pessimistic and apathetic. Latent student leadership
was being tapped by Mr. White. There were more girls in the school than
in 1960. Nineteen sixty-one and 1962 were years of heavy rains and
damage to crops which made it more difficult for students to raise the
funds to pay their school fees.

The staff was now more committed to the school. Already the core staff
had evolved into the informal hierarchy. The "quality" of the teachers
was higher and their performance and job satisfaction in working in the
school improved. Mr. White in order to have a school secretary hired
one out of his own personal funds.

The Transition:

The leadership of the school had a critical perspective, being aware
of the options open to him, the organizational alternatives, and what
could feasibly be implemented.

By the end of 1963 the school was a very different organization than in
May 1962 or early 1960. The changes that had taken place in the organi-
zation were the result of the combination of forces interrelating over
time. Most critical were the things that Mr. White did in support of
the new goals. He manipulated both the formal and informal organiza-
tions to achieve his objectives. He recognized certain strains in the
organization and did his best to cope with these by turning them to
the advantage of the school. A high turnover of staff was a negative
strain but Mr. White used this both to maintain his control and replace

poorer teachers with better ones. Limited physical and financial resources were a major constraint but Mr. White was able to show ways to surmount these limitations and develop the school (such as fostering the student society, the Adventurers, and getting them to volunteer on various work projects to build more facilities). A major obstacle to the efficient operation of the school was role overload; Mr. White found when he arrived that this was demoralizing to the staff and pupils besides inhibiting the efficient operation of the school. He personally set an example of commitment to the organization through efficient hard work. Because of his efforts and the initial changes in the institution it became an exciting place to work in and role overload was partially coped with through extra effort, with some of the staff accepting the challenge it presented instead of becoming victims of fatigue, aversion to the school, and alienation. Mr. White enhanced his leadership through his personality and hard work so that to some of the staff and pupils he became a charismatic leader.

Mr. White had a conscious strategy for development. He wished to improve the quality of his pupils and the level of their involvement in the school. He sought to obtain students of a better calibre than in the past through selection, accepting "good pupils" who had been expelled from boarding schools, resisting the favorites of politicians when possible, and utilizing the assistance of psychological testing assessments when accepting transfers from private schools. To improve the level of involvement of pupils he emphasized the ideology of success and reiterated the need for loyalty (and gratitude). He took initiative in the development of student activities that were designed to serve the interests of the school (the appointment of Head Boy and prefects, the

creation and operation of the Student Council, the development of student
societies and athletics). As much as possible he tried to deal with
student problems outside the school (such as his work with the Valley
Hostel and in his limited contact with parents). These efforts helped
the pupils to internalize the goals of the school. His concern that
the pupils be clean, neat, punctual, sober, celibate, courteous, honest,
obedient, free of particularism, well-mannered, of service to the school
and society, active in school societies and athletics with fair play
and good character, were also the concerns of the pupils.

Mr. White's strategy to improve the quality of the staff involved fir-
ing or easing out of the poor teachers, recruiting trained graduate teach-
ers whenever possible, from Uganda or abroad, to "localize" with the best
teachers he could recruit, to encourage the best expatriate teachers
to renew their contracts, to work hard himself and expect the better
teachers to follow his example, to support the autonomy of the better
teachers in their academic work while reinforcing their commitment to
the school and compliance to his authority whenever possible. He went
out of his way to assist the local teachers in obtaining some of the
benefits which accrued officially to expatriate teachers.

Mr. White maintained a strategy designed to insure the smooth function-
ing of the school. His office door was always "open," and he was also
"available" when at home to both students and staff. He relied on an
informal structure of core-staff and core-pupils to assist in running
the school. Kabaka-like he spread his lines of authority directly to
all the subordinates in his school. He responded to the requests of a
minority of the staff for more frequent staff meetings. His strategy
in coping with some of the more bewildering complexities of the external

hierarchy and environment was to utilize informal contacts whenever possible. He as an expatriate with no prime-loyalty to either Government was able to bridge both of them. He even utilized the sociological researcher as part of his overall strategy of institution building.[5]

Mr. White's key strategy from 1960 on was to move the institution through a sequence of steps which were essential to its transformation from a poor private school to the best day senior secondary school. The first step was preliminary inspection. This had to be timed so the school would pass and be provisionally recognized. Then pupils would no longer have to take the Qualifying Examination in English before they could take the School Certificate. This then would lead to his having formal communication with the Central Government, Ministry of Education and Inspectorate. It was also essential to be able to sit with the other headmasters of aided schools at the annual selection meeting when they decided what pupils would enter which schools. This recognition Mr. White achieved in 1962 and attended his first session in January, 1963. The next step was to win permission from the Central Government for the pupils to take the School Certificate at the school (instead of as private candidates at other schools). This was achieved in November 1963. Mr. White worked cautiously towards final inspection and full recognition because he did not want the school to be rejected. This did not take place until (after this study was concluded) 1964 when the school had constructed a second laboratory, more classrooms, and had more qualified

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5. It was pointed out that he had made a request to the East African Institute of Social Research in 1961 that his school be studied. He welcomed this as something which would contribute to developing the external image of the school and possibly to the process of solving some of the problems that were dysfunctional to goal attainment.

teachers.

The process of change is one of continuous interaction between different forces. A change on one front affects change on the other fronts. Changes in leadership made possible changes in the organizational structure, which placed the school in a better position to cope with the environment, and obtain more resources and recognition from external organizations. An improvement in the clientele resulted from these changes and served to improve the external image of the school. Favorable publicity in the school was acquired because of better results on the School Certificate, new teachers and buildings, and victories in student activities and competitive sports. An improved image of the school made possible the further involvement of personnel and their commitment to the organization. The general impression of the school was of one "on the go." Pupils and staff found the school an exciting place in which to work and study. Their activities make possible the total thrust of institution building and organizational change.

The Situation: December, 1963:

The situation in 1963 is presented schematically in Chart XIII-3. The goals were as in 1962. The leadership had not changed. The organization had more "history" behind it and an evolving tradition. Role overload was being coped with. The environment was now more conductive to goal attainment. The physical plant of the school had changed dramatically. A base had been set for an increase in the student body from 199 pupils in Form One to Form Four to over 400 in the future. New classrooms, offices, a library, athletic fields, a basketball and tennis court, boys' showers, bike shed, and car park had all been built and plans accepted for a second lab and four more classrooms. The Central

CHART XIII-3   The Organization in 1963

GOALS	LEADERSHIP	ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE	ENVIRONMENT

Certificates
  School Certifi-
  cate
	Quality
	  Strong
		Role Definition
		  Loose
			Location
			  Urban

Institution Building
  Develop New
	External Control
	  Autonomous
		Structure
		  Formal
		  Informal Evolved
			Economy
			  Good Crops

Socialization
Indoctrination
  Citizenship
	Direction
	  Has Strategy
		Consensus
		  Present
			Physical Plant
			  Fair

	Division of Labor
	Both Teach
	  Administer
		Norms
		  Defined
			Funding
			  Improved

	Enhanced
	  Charisma
		Tradition
		  New
			Regulations
			  Rigid (Recognized)

	Effort
	  Hard Work
		Ideology
		  Success
			Student Housing
			  Informal
			  Valley Hostel

	Motivation
	  Make Reputation
		Role Overload
		  Many Tasks
		  (But Coped With)
			Employment Opportunities
			  Scarcity/Demand

	Relations
	  Instrumental
	  Affective Both
		Autonomy
		  Complete
			Image
			  Improved

			Political Climate Difficult
			Bureaucracies Inefficient

STAFF	INPUT (Clientele)	OUTPUT (Clientele)
Quality Good	Quality (Selected) Fair	# Passing School Certificate Medium 50%
Performance Good	Socialization Some	% Entering/Finishing Medium
Commitment High (Core)	Leadership Good	Opportunity-Option (Proportion Continuing Education) Good
Origin Mixed	Culture Instrumental	Employability Good
Job Satisfaction Satisfied	External Conflicts High (Attempts to Control)	Socialization Medium
Mobility High (Africans) Stationary (Expatriates)	Sex Female (15%)	
Cooperative Medium	Background Factors Negative	

Government was moving on opening official hostel spaces for secondary school pupils, and included pupils from the Mutesa School in its plans. The Valley Hostel through Mr. White's intervention had become a formal part of the school. The major change in the organizational structure was the creation of a Board of Governors for the school, making it possible for the school to be self-governing, and moving it further into a position in which it could win full recognition from the Central Government and relieving Mr. White from being fully responsible for all his decisions (especially the recruiting and firing of pupils and teachers). The Board of Governors was not established by Mr. White until mid-1963 and it did not become fully operative until 1964.

The number of pupils applying to the school increased dramatically. The student culture was instrumental, serving the interests of the school, and goal attainment, and student activities were richer in every aspect. The external conflicts that the pupils faced had not been eliminated, but the composition of the student body was closer to that envisioned by the Headmaster and the authorities. The staff had a highly committed core and performance was up. They were more cooperative and interacting more frequently.

The observable output of the school had changed. There were more pupils passing through the school, more finishing fourth form, more taking the School Certificate, more receiving further education, entering training programs, and finding employment (in an economy where there was still a shortage of people who had had secondary education). In spite of many obstacles the school had changed and was in a better position to achieve its goals than in 1962 or in 1960. The major factor that accounts for these changes is effective leadership that made constructive decisions

on possible organizational alternatives and moved the school towards the achievement of its goals.

Failures:

Leadership is never perfect. The emphasis has been on change and accomplishments. There were also failures. Some things were ignored. It is not our point here to place blame, but for a full comprehension of what was happening at the school, it is necessary to consider some of the points at which the school did not achieve its objectives and indicate activities that were beyond its reach. By the end of 1963 Mr. White still had a long list of development projects that had not been achieved, mainly because of limited resources. He wanted the school to have an auditorium, dining room, music room and properly equipped art room, a third laboratory, more staff offices, and a better common room, hostels for pupils, staff housing, and a school vehicle for transporting students to special activities. He was also concerned that steps could be taken to implement more fully his goal of providing the pupils with an education that would better fit them for the middle-level manpower jobs in which the majority of them would eventually find employment.

He was aware that a number of intermediary steps could have been taken that would have assisted the pupils to possibly perform better on the School Certificate. Examples of these activities are eye examinations and making some provisions to supply those pupils who needed spectacles with glasses and assisting pupils to learn more constructively from their external environment (helping them to use outside libraries, arrange passes to movies, obtaining newspapers and magazines for them to read, establishing other reading centers outside the school besides the one informally developed by the Valley Hostel pupils at the Mengo Social

Center). Few schools in Kampala made use of the resources of the city to widen the horizons of their pupils, because of limited resources and role overload. Mr. White and some of the staff were also concerned about the possibility of involving more parents in the activities of the school and assisting parents or guardians to comprehend what it meant for their children to obtain a secondary school education. Steps had been taken to ease the conflicts that pupils had external to the school with parents, guardians, or others, by mailing them letters and occasionally discussing things when they visited the school. There are other techniques that could have been used to educate and involve parents and guardians in the activities of the school.

It is also possible that there were certain deficiencies in the quality of the leadership offered to the school. In Mr. White's activities as Headmaster a number of things were observed that at times served to block rational development. When his dual functions as teacher and administrator came in direct conflict for his time his duties as administrator usually came first. One might assume that his pupils suffered, but this cannot be proven (either in terms of performance in their class or on examinations). His norm of recognizing individual differences was not shared by all the teachers nor comprehended by most of the pupils and was a source of confusion. A few of the teachers were at times irritated by his tendency to make decisions unilaterally without consulting them, and his failure to delegate some task and responsibilities (such as not appointing an Assistant Headmaster in 1963 after Mr. Jukko had left). If he had more effectively shared leadership functions it might have relieved role overload and contributed to organizational efficiency.

A major failure in the school relates to a more decisive implementation of the goal of maximizing the potential of the pupils so that they may be better able to take their places in their societies. There was not consensus on this goal, especially on how it might be implemented. It was a goal for the organization held by the Headmaster, not fully shared or recognized by the staff or pupils. It was interpreted by Mr. White to require organization and activities that the school between 1960 and 1963 was not involved in or ready to face. Being accutely aware that the majority of the pupils fail to go on to further post-School Certificate courses, Mr. White at different times discussed with his staf fand Minister of Education the possibility of making the school more comprehensive by adding special applied courses that he thought would constitute a better preparation for the type of work he felt a majority of his pupils would actually be employed to do. He was aware that the same pupils who might benefit from a terminal education would not be too keen about it while in school, because they still hoped to do well on the School Certificate and be able to continue their education in Fifth Form (though in their questionnaires some of the alumni, using hindsight, wished that they had had practical courses).

After the school expanded to three streams in 1963, Mr. White frequently tried at staff meetings to stimulate a discussion on the merits of a terminal commercial course (typing, accounting, bookkeeping, leading to a London Guild Certificate) for the "bottom" stream which he thought had limited prospects of doing well on the School Certificate. None of the staff ever took any interest in this problem.

In late 1962 Mr. White was sufficiently concerned about providing some of his pupils with the type of education that would better equip them when employed in business that he took action. His strategy was to append to the school a post-Fourth Form experimental commercial course. His hope was that if it was successful that he would then be able to integrate it into the school proper. A combination of factors made possible this special course: the departure of Junior Secondary classes to the local primary school left a room free; a pre-School Certificate commercial course at a technical school near Masaka had been consolidated freeing a number of typewriters; formal discussions with the Minister of Education, Buganda Government, resulted in Mr. White's receiving permission to start a program on a small scale including authorization to use typewriters from the other school and for funds for books and to hire a special teacher; and he had found an English woman, a faculty wife working at Makerere College, who had the training and qualifications to teach in a commercial school program and was willing to give it a try.

They advertised in a number of local papers for students. One of the Mutesa school-leavers of 1962 came forward for the special course and three other students eventually enrolled--far short of the minimum of twenty students that they had expected. The experiment was dropped at the end of the first term in 1963. Mr. White felt his experiment had failed because of two forces: the high school fees that had been set; and the aspirations of pupils (they preferred to repeat the School Certificate as private candidates rather than commit themselves to a terminal course that did not conform to their own educational and occupational dreams). This failure underlines the different ways

Mr. White and the pupils viewed their potential. The failure of this effort was a major set-back to Mr. White's efforts to introduce programs designed to give pupils practical training at the Mutesa School.

Mr. White was aware that some of his pupils would stand a chance of doing better on the School Certificate if they were at a boarding school. He thus devoted some time to finding places for certain pupils to transfer into the better boarding schools. This effort was of value to individual pupils, but meant that the school lost some of its better pupils (he never recommended a pupil whom he did not have confidence in). These pupils might have done well on the School Certificate if they had stayed and thus helped to raise the overall record of the school. Mr. White's support of the transfer out of individual pupils was thus possibly dysfunctional to the main organizational goal of the school.

A Latent Function:

An unintended and generally unrecognized function of the process of day secondary education was that the pupils accumulated a variety of experiences, or informal education. The very challenge to survive as day pupils forced many of them to be self-reliant. It has been shown how the experiences of the pupils in their environments, the external forces that conflicted with their activities as pupils, were dysfunctional to goal attainment. It is possible that some of the pupils benefited in a variety of ways from being forced to be self-reliant. It could be argued that because of these activities the pupils were accelerated in the process of becoming mature individuals and made aware of what it meant to be a citizen in Uganda.

Summary: Forces Facilitating and Backing the Achievement of Organizational Goals:

We have examined the organizational goal of maximizing the potential of its clients. Now let us examine in review the forces that favored or hindered the achievement of goals. The organizational goals of the school were interrelated and mutually supportive. More pupils doing well on the School Certificate reinforced the ideology of success of the school, helped to improve the reputation of the school by raising its external image, and facilitated the process of attaining funds from the Buganda Government and dealing with the Central Government Ministry of Education and Inspectorate. A positive change in the external image also helped in the recruitment of staff and the process of more pupils with better results on the Senior Entrance Examination choosing to go to the school. These changes in turn made it possible for more students in the future to possibly do better on the crucial examination everyone was focused on.

But a mere improvement in results on the School Certificate was not sufficient to cause change by itself. This case study has emphasized that the critical factor in the process of organizational change was its leadership. The institution was fortunate to have as a leader an individual who was able to efficiently guide the organization, making the most of those forces that were functional to the attainment of organizational goals, while trying to cope with those forces that were dysfunctional. The autonomy granted to Mr. White by his superordinates in the external hierarchy and his centralized authority in the school were functional to goal attainment, as was the commitment of the Buganda Government to develop the school. The location of the school in one capital and near the other, the presence of a core staff with a high

level of commitment to the organization and its goals, the instrumental
student culture and the pupils' acceptance of the ideology of the school
and its norms, were all functional to goal attainment.

The major forces that were dysfunctional to goal attainment were the
limited resources available to the schools through the Buganda Govern-
ment and the conflict between the state and Central Government, the
previous history of the school with its poor reputation and external
image, and its location within the Lubiri which limited its flexibility.
Also dysfunctional to goal attainment were the inefficiency and role
overload found at all levels, the requirements of external rules and
regulations, poor clientele, poor staff, inadequate physical plant and
educational materials, environmental constraints, especially the poverty
and poor living conditions of most of the pupils, and the social dis-
tance of parents and the lack of any familiarity with secondary education
on the part of most of them.

The Headmaster was able to partially cope with these obstacles in a
variety of ways, through the development of the school and increase the
number of pupils who did well on the School Certificate. He obtained
funds from different sources to further the building program, to provide
activities for the pupils, and to minimize the poverty of some of them.
Wherever possible, he worked through the external informal organization
to further the interests of the school. He cooperated with and coopted
people from other organizations (obtaining teachers from Makerere, volun-
teers to work with student societies, a psychologist to test transfer
students applying from private schools, etc.). When the funds did not
exist to initiate a project he used some of his students in an informal
volunteer work camp to get the job started (which he then formalized

into the Adventurers Society). He had a keen eye for where he could win favorable publicity for the school and where his pupils could be successful in competition with other institutions (drama festivals, being the first to introduce African dancing, making special contributions to the independence celebrations, assisting in flag days, donating a record amount of blood to the Red Cross, etc.), and thus contribute to building up the image of the school. He realized that boys were more likely to stay through to School Certificate and do better on it than girls (at that time given certain conditions in Uganda) so he kept the number of girls in the school to a minimum.

The school has two main organizational goals: one, to maximize the potential of its pupils; two, to maximize the resources available to the school (human, material, physical). Previous to 1960 the goal of the school had been to survive as an institution. The stated goals of the school were now the ones on which it was operated. The first goal had two parts: a) to maximize the number of pupils who did well on the School Certificate; b) to maximize the potential of its clients so that they might be better able to take their places in their society. The Headmaster was the key administrator and as such was critical in the formulation of goals. There was consensus on the goal of having as many people do as well as possible on the terminal examination and in that of institution building but not on the goal of citizenship training (how to prepare the pupils to be better citizens). Where the formal organization was not conducive to goal attainment the Headmaster attempted to make up for its inadequacies through the informal organization. The authority structure was critical, the organizational climate controlled, but it was not pyramidal; the Headmaster exerting his authority directly

over the occupants of every position. The competent teachers had auto-nomy in academic matters while the Headmaster maintained control over non-academic affairs. Decision-making was centralized in the Headmaster. He also over time enhanced his authority by charisma. The ideology of the organization became one of success. The student culture was in-strumental and supportive to goal attainment, as were most student attitudes and activities. In the beginning the image changed from that of a poor private school to a good aided day secondary school; the new image facilitated the attainment of organizational goals. External forces in the environment were generally dysfunctional: bureaucratic inefficiency in external organizations, inadequate resources, external regulations which retarded the rate of change, procedures that caused a gap between expatriate and local teachers, an environment which made it possible for competent local teachers to be highly upwardly mobile while leaving poorer local teachers at the school, and an environment that imposed constraints and conflicts on the activities of pupils out-side the school which were detrimental to their functioning as students. The environment was functional in that the resources came forward to facilitate development and an expanding economy that could absorb scarce senior secondary school-leavers made the realization of goals easier. Though there was no conclusive evidence of a relationship between the family structure of pupils (the educational and occupational level of parents) and the attainment of organizational goals, the facts suggested that the school would be in a better position to achieve these goals if more pupils had at least fathers who had had some secondary education and were semi-professionally or professionally employed. The implica-tions of these findings for official policy will be considered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE
IMPLICATION OF THE CASE STUDY

Introduction:

In this concluding chapter we will examine both the educational and

social science implications of our case study. Although care must be

taken not to generalize from the findings of a case study of an organi-

zation, one can suggest the possible implications for this school and

other similar institutions. A major point of a case study is that it

suggests new ideas that can be the basis for further research. In

respect to the study's implications for education we will focus on the

following four topics: first, the nature and training of educational

leadership; second, the type of staff and staff supports in day secondary

schools; third, some ameliorative steps that could be taken; and fourth,

possible institutional changes which might facilitate goal attainment.

In respect to the social science implications of the study we will

discuss: first, certain methodological matters; second, the implica-

tions of our findings for certain social science issues related to

organizational analysis; and third, we will present some of the over-

all implications of the study.

The Nature and Training of Educational Leadership:

A major study of educational leadership was published in 1965.[1] In

this a general survey of the literature was presented. Two other studies

have become available since then that highlight the problem.[2] The

theoretical significance will be considered later, but at this point it

is important to know that the finding of this case study has been that

the effective leadership provided by the Headmaster was critical in the

process of organizational change over time and the partial realization

of goals. This study does not support Campbell, Cunningham, and McPhee's

contention that educational leadership only maintains but does not

change an organization. Instead the study supports the findings of Katz

and Kahn, that leadership can occur in formal structures. No organiza-

tion remains static over time. No matter how well designed, organiza-

tions are incomplete. They are open systems in changing environments.

The internal dynamics of organizations and the people occupying different

positions in the organizations change over time.[3] To Kahn and Katz,

when people are influenced to engage in organizationally relevant be-

havior leadership has occurred.

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1. See Neal Gross and Robert E. Herriott, Staff Leadership in Public
Schools (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1965).

2. See Roald Campbell, Luvern L. Cunningham, and Roderick F. McPhee,
The Organization and Control of American Schools (Columbus, Ohio:
Charles E. Merrill Books, 1965). And Daniel Katz and Robert L. Kahn,
The Social Psychology of Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons,
1966).

3. Ibid., pp. 304-308.

4. Ibid., p. 309.

They distinguish between three patterns of organizational leadership: the first relates to the organization of structure--is involved in structural change in the formulation of policy; the second interpolates organizational structure, piecing it out or improvising on it; the third uses the existing structure to keep the organization in motion. (It is only this third aspect of leadership which Campbell, Cunningham and McPhee recognize.)[5]

The distinction between these three types of leadership is significant for educational policy in a developing nation. Most developing nations are embarking on the rapid growth of second-level educational institutions. Do these new organizations require the same type of leadership as older, more established schools? This case study suggests that the answer is an emphatic "No!" Instead, the implication of this case is that there is such a thing as the right leader in the right place at the right time; or that there is one type of leadership that is most capable of starting schools, possibly another type that establishes cohesion in existing schools, and a third type which keeps established schools functioning smoothly. This finding also raises questions concerning the type of preparation that is most appropriate for these three types of leadership patterns. A headmaster who has built a new school may not only need different attributes, but also require different training than one who will guide an established school. It also indicates that while strong leadership can build a school with inadequate resources, viewing this as a challenge and maximizing the dysfunctional aspects

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5. Ibid., p. 308.

of the organization, weak leadership will most likely flounder, would

not perceive it as a challenge, would be blind to the potential of

the situation, and be lacking in any systematic perspective.[6]

Because role overload was such a strong negative factor in the school,

this suggests that ways should be explored to minimize it. This is not

to deny role overload: a little can have a positive influence if it is

seen as a challenge to work harder. Not only can institutional struc-

tures be created that will distribute some of the functions of leader-

ship, but channels to provide information to subordinates can be de-

signed by those in central positions of authority in the hierarchy.[7]

This case study took place during a period in the life of the school

when it had no Board of Governors. This suggests that the educational

leadership of a new school might be more effective during the initial

years of institution building if it had considerable autonomy and the

leadership was not burdened by having to work through a Board of

Governors.[8]

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6. Ibid., p. 313. In discussing leadership in secondary schools in East
Africa, E. B. Castle calls for a Staff College located within the
Institute of Education to train Schoolmasters. See: Growing Up in East
Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 228.

7. These were two aspects of the failure of the school and its leader-
ship in implementing the achievement of organizational goals. See
Chapter XII.

8. Even if it was a "rubber stamp" Board of Governors it would still
tend to increase the role overload of the headmaster.

The Staff:

It follows from the above discussion that the staff of an organization may need to vary depending on its pattern of leadership. In a school that is new and in the process of institution building, there may be some degrees of freedom in selecting the teachers who will "fit" over those who would not. This would require assessment of their commitment (high), quality (high), and performance (good), job satisfaction (willing to do a variety of tasks), mobility (desiring to stay at the school for a number of years), and cooperative spirit (high). Additional "bonuses" might be worked out to reward those teachers who work the best in new institutions; for example, with teaching assistants in the school, adequate clerical support, and for local funds for car loans and housing allowance and an extra end of a two or three-year term monetary bonus. These steps would serve to relieve some of the role overload in the situation and eliminate any moonlighting (which might also be forbidden). As locally hired teachers are cheaper than most expatriate teachers (some provided by the Ministry of Overseas Development, Peace Corps, Teachers for East Africa, etc. are exceptions) these incentives and new positions might be justified.[9] It is possible that these changes would increase the efficiency of a new secondary school. It could also be argued that they are even more necessary at a day secondary school than one with boarding facilities.[10]

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9. This could be related to other institutional changes such as team teaching and non-graded approaches, and possibly letting some pupils take the School Certificate after spending only three years in secondary school.

10. Though it is likely in the future that most boarding institutions will have both day and boarding pupils.

Ameliorative Changes:

There are a number of educational policy implications of the study
that may have relevance for decisions designed to improving the
conditions of day senior secondary school pupils in East Africa.

1. Selected pupils might be given the opportunity to repeat the
School Certificate after a fifth year (repeating fourth form).
This repeating could constitute a salvage operation. Repeating
would not be advisable if there was insufficient demand for senior
secondary school-leavers, but when there exists a shortage of
"qualified" school-leavers repetition might add to the flow of pupils
who qualify for further education or training (the other technique
would be to "lower standards").

2. The abolishment of school fees at this level would eliminate
a major administrative burden of the headmaster, teacher, clerical
staff and school burser. It would facilitate retention and could
be argued, would eventually make for a more egalitarian society in
that attendance (not selection) in secondary school would not be
dependent on family or other ties and ability to pay school fees.[11]
It could also be argued that even if it is believed that this would
be too expensive an undertaking (fees represent about 20 percent of

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11. In Tanzania school fees at the second level were abolished in
1963. In 1965 the Assistant Chief Educational Officer in charge of
planning told me in Dar-es-Salaam that he felt that it had cost them
more to collect the fees than they collected in fees.

the recurrent cost of secondary schooling in recognized schools) it might

be done in stages, making day secondary schools fee-free first because

the other "cost" of many day pupils makes it more "expensive" for them to

go to a day school compared to a boarding school.[12]   There is also a

strong argument for maintaining fees: it increases involvement, re-

sults in people paying for service they desire through a means that is

more amenable to them than an increase in taxes, and it expands the

funds available to educate more youths. This line of reasoning implies

that an equitable system of bursaries can be developed and function (and

what proportion is this of the 20 percent gained from fees?). It

ignores the "hidden tax" that fees imposed on those who pay for more than

just their own children to go to school.[13]

3.   There are a number of changes which might be made that possibly

would help to minimize the difficulties that day pupils experience

outside their schools.

A.   In every day school one could identify those pupils who are des-

perately in need of better accommodations. A hostel for a proportion

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12. Not only had we found that the real costs were higher for most
pupils who had to hire rooms, but if one was to attempt to impute
costs to the conflicting situations that students faced in the
internal environment this would accentuate this difference.

13. See Guy Hunter, The Best of Both Worlds (London: Oxford University
Press, 1967), pp. 112-113, for the argument for maintaining fees.

of these pupils is at this stage a desired alternative. A criterion
could be developed based on family circumstances, distance living from
school, form in school, and mode of transportation available. Students
who met these conditions could be hostelized. This is certainly not a
solution to the conditions faced by all the secondary school pupils.
A properly run hostel is both expensive and in the long run they con-
stitute mis-utilization of facilities and manpower. The cost per student
for providing an additional space at an existing boarding school is less
than (L250 to L380) providing a hostel space in an urban area.[14]

B. An alternative is to encourage the development of a variety of in-
formal hostel arrangements similar to the "Valley Hostel" that developed
at the Mutesa School. Small units using existing buildings built of
traditional materials occupied by groups of students managing their own
affairs are cheaper than the government attempting to provide a fully
capitalized and supervised hostel.

C. It was observed that the pupils who lived free-with-friends tended
to live in a situation which was more conducive to their effective function-
ing as pupils. This suggests that one pattern of action might be to
organize a group of social workers who would facilitate the placement
of pupils in empty rooms or even if necessary in vacant servant quarters
in the more well-to-do areas of the city. It would probably be cheaper

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14. For an extended study of this problem see Sheldon G. Weeks, "Are
Hostels Necessary? A Study of Senior Secondary School Pupils in Greater
Kampala," The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 1, No. 3, April, 1967,
pp. 357-373.

to hire one social worker who would be responsible for these arrange-
ments for 80 to 120 pupils than to maintain a hostel for these many
pupils. This case study suggests that this approach might be an
effective temporary measure designed to help solve some of the problems
of students who cannot afford to rent rooms and, therefore, must work
as servants for relatives or other people.[15]

D. The Valley Hostel students who lived near the Mengo Social Center
were able to obtain the use there in the evenings of a well-lit room
equipped with tables and chairs where they could read and do their home-
work. This suggests that if other evening reading centers were made
available in other parts of the urban areas near where there were
concentrations of students living that many pupils would be assisted and
helped to escape some of the conflicting situations in which they reside.
Perhaps rooms in existing facilities could be used as in other schools,
at the university college, and in social centers. Cost could be kept
to a minimum (mainly to electricity) by establishing a prefect system
(some of the older students might be even paid a little for assuming
responsibility for these reading centers).

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15. If the manpower that could carry out this type of social work with
students is unavailable within the society, it might be possible to use
foreign volunteers in this position. In Cuba, since 1961, many of the
vacated villas have been transformed into homes for students.

4. A major area in which many students faced difficulties was in their daily transportation to and from school. In more developed societies this problem is handled by bussing the pupils between their homes or points near their homes and the school. An underdeveloped country cannot afford to establish special bussing networks for pupils (though this has been suggested by foreign aid donors).[16] There are three alternatives that are suggested from this study.

A. While the existing network of public bus transportation is inadequate it still could be relied on to move more pupils than it currently does because of the fare being an additional cost that makes it prohibitive for many pupils. What might be worked out is a system of passes for pupils so that they might at least use busses along existing routes to travel to and from school. This concession might also be extended to assist those pupils who travel long distances six times a year going between their home and school for their vacations.[17]

16. At an AID assisted comprehensive day senior secondary school in rural Kenya AID offered to provide for bussing (personal communication of the Headmaster of Kyavakali).

17. This is an area in which I did special applied research, made a brief report to the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education which was accepted and acted upon. Bus companies eventually gave half price concessions to secondary school pupils. In my follow-up survey in 1965 I found that the number of pupils utilizing bus transportation had gone up from 5% to nearly 13%. This innovation had also enabled some pupils to reside at their homes long distances from schools rather than living in nearer but costly and inferior conditions.

B. Not as many students travel to and from school by bicycle as would like to. The main obstacle to the wider use of bikes is their cost. If a system of subsidizing the purchase of bikes was worked out this would make it possible for those pupils who are now unable to afford a bike to obtain one and thus eliminate many tedious miles of walking to and from school.

C. The third way would be to encourage people with cars to offer lifts to students when they saw them walking along the highways. In certain areas this might even be organized into car pools in which students would join with others who regularly drove to work and back.

5. Another area where more might be done to assist the pupils is their health. a) More frequent physical check-ups might find medical problems that exist and serve to retard the student. b) Only a small proportion of the pupils ever had their eyes tested for spectacles. These findings suggest that every pupil upon entering school and at some later point should have his eyes examined. If it is found that he needs glasses, then arrangements could be made where necessary to subsidize the cost of spectacles.

In the long run the solution to the problems of the students in the urban environment will come about through the changes in the standard of living of African families. As African family incomes rise, the situation cannot help but change for the better. Research at one of the multiracial schools in Kampala indicated that only a small proportion of the Asian pupils faced problems that the majority of African pupils

had to cope with daily.[18]

6. In 1962-1963 selection policy and procedure made it possible for many urban dwellers to send their relatives to rural secondary boarding schools. Policy might be changed so that at least one of the three choices had to be a day secondary school near one's place of residence. This would then free places in boarding schools for pupils from those areas in Uganda where there is a low density of population. This would result in qualified students from places like West Nile, Acholi, Koki, or Mubende going to boarding schools while those pupils whose parents lived near a day secondary school would attend that school. Such a major policy decision will not easily be made as it might result in numbers of the present educated elite living in urban areas being unable to send their children to the highly prestigious rural boarding schools.[19] Such an approach though, if implemented, would minimize the need for hostels.

7. While the girls accounted for only a small proportion of the pupils in the Mutesa School, it is likely that their numbers will grow in the future. Certain ameliorative steps might be taken to improve the conditions faced by girls. Hostels should not be limited to boys. Girls might be required to have bicycles (if they are not driven to school or do not live very near their school) and if they are not able to afford them (though they were in a better position in terms of family socioeconomic status than boys) some system of subsidizing bikes

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18. For more detailed discussion of the better conditions which urban Asian pupils enjoy see Sheldon G. Weeks, op. cit., p. 369.

19. Though these schools may eventually become partially day schools, as has happened in other parts of Africa.

for girls could also be worked out. But the major problems girls in the day school face are not limited to transportation. They have little perception of their possible futures.[20] Given the current situation (high wastage of girls, few finishing and fewer passing the School Certificate) it might be recommended for an indefinite period of time that girls be sent only to boarding schools. Unresolved questions do remain concerning sex education for boys and girls and policy concerning pregnancy. Is it feasible that a girl who becomes pregnant should be made to terminate her education? Is this not a high form of enforced wastage? The main objection is that if a girl is allowed to remain in a school after giving birth it would only encourage others to become pregnant.[21] This has never been proved.[22] At the university level women students are permitted to stay on and I've never heard it claimed that this increased the rate of pregnancy of unmarried university students. As some of the impregnated secondary school girls succeed in transferring to other institutions after having their child, this suggests that the policy might be changed in favor of permitting girls who

20. It would have been helpful if the Career Guides Book [See 101 Openings for Senior IV Leavers (Kampala: Ministry of Education, December, 1965)] contained a special section directed at girls.

21. This observation is based on interviews with a variety of teachers and public officials.

22. Though fear of expulsion for impregnating a girl appears to be a major reason for delayed gratification for the boys; or at least not choosing girls who are senior secondary school pupils for partners.

have been through this experience to transfer to other schools.

8. Our study suggests the value of designing programs to involve parents or guardians more in the process of secondary education. The stock of possible parents or guardians who have had some senior secondary education is small (approximately 12,000 males over 35; only 5.2% of the males over 16, in the 1959 Uganda Census had had more than 10 years education). Most parents or guardians have little idea of what is meant by secondary education. Those who have not experienced it conceive of it as just more work in English, Math and Geography, those subjects they might have had some familiarity with in primary school. Existing efforts to communicate with parents fall far short of bridging this gap. A prize or sports day involves few parents, and even those who do come gain little insight into what happens within the school or what is required of the pupils. It is felt that parent-teacher associations are unnecessary, and if tried would be unworkable as secondary schools have no "community" with a majority of the pupils coming from more than 20 miles away. But this is not what we are talking about. The goal is to minimize some of the conflicts day secondary school pupils face in the external environment. It was felt that excessive demands were often made on the pupils, or restrictions imposed on the use of their time, by parents or guardians or others that would not have been made if the people involved knew more about what the requirements of secondary education were (e.g., the amount of time needed to read and revise).[23]

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23. There are indications that knowledge of this need may not necessarily result in providing a student with sufficient time to do his work. One of my students, in another sample, was living in the home of a senior civil servant in one of the Ministries of Education. He was from another tribe and his position was that of a servant and he was treated as one who had to work for his room and board rather than as a secondary school pupil.

What is needed is an introduction to the mysteries of secondary school--
some sense of how it differs from primary school, especially the use of
laboratories. Prize or sports days could become demonstration school
days. Parents could also be reached through publicity in the press and
on the radio and television. They might be reminded that secondary
school pupils need time to do their school work. Parents could also be
told that secondary pupils are an investment of the nation and a scarce
resource that should not be squandered; that the amount of digging,
hauling water, cutting firewood, cooking, cleaning, minding children
that secondary pupils do should not be excessive.[24] Parents might be
told that if a student's light bothers others a reed enclosure could
be constructed to provide privacy. Parents might be encouraged to
assist day secondary pupils by providing, where possible, a bike, an
undisturbed place in which to study, and a good light to read by at
night. Those who are employing a student as a servant and only pro-
viding room and board might be requested not to expect too much from him.

There are probably other ways the social distance parents feel from
school could be breached. The parents might also be more receptive
if they also felt like clients.

24. This emphasis on minimizing the amount of work that senior
secondary school pupils have to do will seem odd to those who are used
to hearing continued references to the need for pupils to learn the
"dignity of manual labor" and to recognize that they are not an elite;
that they should not be treated with separate status. This underlines
the major dilemma in any emphasis upon "self-reliance." The conflict
becomes one between the need to do those tasks that relate to academic
demands and the need to do those that are required in order to exist.
Many of the day secondary school pupils in performing these varieties
of manual labor were self-sufficient but this did not help them in their
academic work and when time required to spend on these manual tasks be-
came in their view excessive it hindered their functioning as pupils.
Should child labor be enabled or should it be discouraged? What, if any,
are the educational components of such labor? See: Julius Nyerere,
Education for Self-Reliance (Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1967).

Institutional Changes:

There are a number of other institutional changes that this study

suggests might be made to improve day secondary education: (1) develop-

ing a program that is more related to the real function of this type of

school; i.e., provision of middle-level manpower; (2) some steps that

could be taken to increase the output of the schools; (3) and channels

for the distribution of information between the headmaster, staff, and

students that could be developed and might improve the operation of

schools.

1. The need for a comprehensive approach: The vocational school

fallacy would not exist if one could relate in advance a pupil's aspira-

tions (occupational and educational), his course of study, and his future

employment. As Philip Foster aptly points out in the past the most

"vocational" education was that which was academic (or bookish).[25] We

have learned a significant fact concerning day secondary schooling that

could be utilized as the basis of a new educational policy: the majority

of pupils fail to achieve further education and they thus are the major

source of future middle-level manpower (while the best boarding schools

tend to provide most of the future high-level manpower). This tells

us something about the future level of employment of day secondary

school pupils (even if we do not know the actual jobs). It also suggests

that if certain general skills are to be taught in a comprehensive school

fashion it would be less wasteful to develop these programs in day senior

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25. See: Philip J. Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development
Planning," in C. Arnold Anderson and Mary Jean Bowman, eds., Education
and Economic Development (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1965), pp.
142-166.

secondary schools than in boarding schools. It can safely be stated that middle-level manpower is more likely to be able to utilize a practical education than high-level manpower. But for a terminal secondary education to be fully successful, the pupils must have aspirations that embrace such courses. Vocational, commercial, and technical courses will be more readily acceptable to pupils if they can take them for the School Certificate. Such courses might then be chosen instead of art, religious knowledge, or a vernacular language. Yet pupils' aspirations are extremely persistent. Underdeveloped nations cannot afford a network of guidance counselors that assist pupils in the process of formulating more realistic aspirations, but perhaps there are other alternatives. One finding of this study was that "old boys" who had finished and were working had a different attitude towards practical courses than when they were pupils. Therefore they might be utilized in talking to pupils in an attempt to convince them of the value of practical courses while attending secondary school. Also the career guidebook now developed could become one part of a social studies course. Mock exams could be another weapon in persuading pupils about future reality. Pupils might then be sorted into terminal streams based on their different commercial, vocational or technical aspirations. The main argument in Africa against this approach that has evolved is that a general education is the best preparation for post-School Certificate employment and training. It may also be cheaper (to the government) than attempting to include practical courses that cannot keep up with shifts in the

employment market.[26]

This is true in overdeveloped nations, but manpower studies have shown that in East Africa it is the middle manpower level which over the coming years will expand most dramatically.[27] The function of day senior secondary school education is the provision of middle-level manpower. These schools will therefore be in even a better position to maximize the potential of their pupils so that they may take constructive places in their societies if they can offer them some practical courses. To educate a day pupil for four years costs the government in recurrent expenditures approximately Ŀ300 and up to Ŀ150 in capital expenditures compared to Ŀ500 recurrent and Ŀ800 capital for a boarding pupil. The additional costs of adding vocational, commercial, or technical courses (assuming qualified teachers are available) would consist

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26. See: E.B. Castle, op. cit., Chapter 19 on education for industry. Castle feels the significant element is not skills learned but "the liveliness of a pupil's comprehension and his capacity to learn new skills when he has left school." p. 158. But educators in weighing the conflict between general versus specific education tend to ignore that if they are going to argue that general education is cheaper they must then balance their comparison with the alternatives that after a pupil leaves school. What the general education then does is to transfer the burden for further training or specific education to the society. It is not cheaper because someone else still has to train the school-leavers. But general education may involve less risk as there is less chance of the school system mis-directing its pupils. Still general education is wasted unless further specific education or training follows. (These comments are based on a personal communication from Dr. Manuel Zymelman.)

27. See: Guy Hunter, Education for a Developing Region: A Study in East Africa (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1963); E.R. Rado and A.R. Jolly, "The Demand for Manpower--An East African Case Study," Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1965; and the manpower section of Work for Progress, Uganda's Second Five-Year Plan, 1966-1971 (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1966).

mainly of capital to provide the extra buildings and equipment but might be justified by the future benefits. Day pupils are more likely to utilize such learning in their lives than are pupils in boarding schools. This is an important observation in that the tendency now is to add practical courses to boarding schools and recent World Bank loans to develop secondary education in East Africa have contained this re-quirement.[28]

2. Increasing Output:

In underdeveloped countries there is constant pressure to increase the efficiency and output of existing educational facilities. This comes both from planners and economists, from politicians and from parents. Possibly there are some implications from this case study that might give some insights into how one can develop more rational educational systems. We will consider here three possible ways to maximize the utilization of educational facilities: (a) to put the school on double-shifts, with one set of pupils attending during the morning, the other in the afternoon;[29] (b) to divide the pupils into two groups that take their vacations at different times, for example five and one-half months

28. This observation is based on personal communications from staff in the Ministries of Education in Kampala and Nairobi. An example of this misplaced effort in Uganda is the special program in farming practice and dietary improvement at Gyaza Girls School. See: African Education in Uganda (Entebbe: Government Printer, 1953), pp. 41-42. I visited the school in 1962 and found the program still in effect. Yet at this time at this elite school ninety percent of the girls were able to qualify for some form of further training or education which would not involve them in agriculture. But the school clerk told me he had learned enough from the demonstration farm that he was saving to become a farmer!

29. This had already begun at two former Asian schools in Kampala in 1964. It was introduced at the Mutesa School in 1966.

in school, six and one-half months on vacation, while the staff have

a two-weeks vacation and then the other group attends school for five

and one-half months; (c) reduce the amount of time required to study

for the School Certificate from four years in secondary school to

three.

A. While the policy of double-shifts does not derive from this study,

the research does suggest some ways in which such an innovation might

be successfully implemented. The main objection to double-shifts is

that the school is transformed into a factory and all extra-curricular

activities, student societies, clubs and athletics are eclipsed. This

happens if the time pupils are permitted to be at school is limited to

attendance at classes. In the study of the Mutesa School we found that

the pupils formed an instrumental student culture. They also organized

their "free" time effectively, especially during the long lunch break.[30]

During this time the pupils held meetings of their clubs and societies,

prefects, student council, and joined in athletics. Many pupils used

this as a time to read and revise, sitting under trees, on the grass,

or in the shelter of a simple post-and-beam structure that had only

an asbestos roof but was open at the sides. This suggests that day

secondary schools with double-shifts could permit the pupils to be on

the school grounds for longer periods under the supervision of their

own prefects. One approach might be to provide all pupils with lunch

and have all pupils present at the school between noon and two o'clock

for special activities. Physical education might be run for the morn-

ing shift after two p.m. and for the afternoon shift before noon, with

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30. The Mutesa School demonstrated that lunch can be provided success-
fully at a day secondary school. In 1963 four of the six aided day
secondary schools in greater Kampala did not provide meals for their
pupils.

teacher aides being responsible for P.E. (instead of graduate teachers).

The two sets of staff could work different shifts, one from approximately

7 a.m. until 2 p.m., the other from approximately noon until seven. Sat-

urdays could be added as an official school day for special extra-

curricular activities and volunteer work programs. Pupils could be

permitted on the campus at other times if they were reading or revising

in specially constructed post-and-beam shelters that might ring parts of

the compound (and these could be constructed by the pupils). At the

Mutesa School those pupils who were unsupervised in study halls out in

the open never created a disturbance. If the facilities do not exist

for all the pupils to be present at the school, an arrangement could

be made limiting it to those in the upper forms.

B. A second way to increase the output of day senior secondary

schools is to stagger vacations and studies so that twice as many pupils

attend a school a year; while one group is on vacation the other is at

school. Such an innovation would require teaching for five years to the

School Certificate instead of the present four. A major criticism of

this approach (besides increasing the workload of teachers) concerns the

pupils utilization of their long vacations.[31]

This study of the Mutesa School suggests some answers to this reser-

vation. It was found that those pupils that were members of the Adven-

turers Society were concerned with the use of their vacations. They

participated in formal vacation programs such as those of Uganda Boys Club

and in volunteer projects at the school and in the community. In their

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31. I always fail to understand why people will suddenly get concerned
about what pupils would do during a six and one-half month vacation when
they have indicated little concern over how the pupils utilize their
present three and one-half month vacations and weekends.

villages they tried to assist in community development in a variety of ways.[32] One approach would be to try to create institutional structures for vacation time activities, but these might be capital intensive and require skilled manpower that is not available. The other approach would be to make as part of one's passing through secondary school to the School Certificate a record of their vacation activities which would be included on their school report card. Those pupils who participated in formal activities would have no difficulty in attaining a report. Those who joined in informal activities could obtain a note to that effect from their local Miruka or Gombollola chief confirmed by their guardian and be requested to submit an essay on their vacation time activities. In this way pupils' holidays could be related to nation-building and education could be demonstrated to consist of more than just what happens within the school during term.[33]

Mutesa pupils were also permitted to take books out over their vacations. This procedure could be extended in a school that was on double session. This could be structured in such a way as to handle the other major criticism: that pupils would "forget" too much over their long vacations. The introduction of such double sessions in schools that had pupils both on vacation and in school at the same time could be carried out on an experimental basis at first in one or two schools. Some educators are

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32. This observation is based on home visits, student autobiographies, the questionnaire concerning how students use their vacation time, and selected student diaries.

33. This new approach has certain parallels in work-study programs carried out in American colleges (Antioch, Bennington, Goddard, Bard, etc.). It has been tried in Africa in Ghana by Bill Sutherland at Shito. See p. 94 in "Bill Sutherland: Tanzania" in The Black Expatriates, edited by Ernest Dunbar (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968), pp. 88-112.

convinced that the speed in which one becomes educated is not as important as the meaning of his education.

It is not my place here to evaluate such a proposal as the one above suggesting double sessions but only to indicate some of the implications from my research for such an educational innovation. In 1965 in Uganda the Chief Planning Officer did make such a suggestion and it was firmly resisted by the headmasters of the secondary schools. They came up with an alternative proposal that certain schools teach towards the School Certificate in three years instead of the present four.[34]

C. One finding of this study suggests that an alternative type of three-year institution is perhaps feasible. In 1963 Mr. White recruited thrity-five pupils into Form Two directly from private secondary schools. Such an approach could be institutionalized in the form of three year schools that would select on the basis of special exams and records from Forms One and Two of private schools.[35] The direct cost to the government for educating pupils to the School Certificate would thus be reduced by one quarter.[36] In the next few years the number of pupils finishing the primary cycle is going to rise rapidly from approximately 24,000 in 1965 to over 80,000 in 1970. This will result in additional pressures

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34. Since then such an option has been initiated at Kings College, Budd0.

35. In Ghana, the three tier system of primary, middle and secondary schools results in some pupils transferring at different points from middle schools into secondary schools so this would not be a unique innovation in Africa.

36. But one should note that the year or two in a private secondary school has cost the pupil, parents, or guardians something, so the saving is only in the budget of the Ministry of Education and not to the society as a whole.

on the government to open up more places in Form One and will result in many more pupils entering Form One in private secondary schools than have in the past. This then will provide the basis for selecting into Form Two from private secondary schools.[37] A number of experimental institutions might be established with three or four streams that selected directly from private schools.[38] Such an experiment would enable some late-bloomers to be discovered, pupils to continue their education who had for a variety of reasons done poorly on the senior entrance examination (which they are not meant to take more than once). It would, however, discriminate in favor of those pupils who were able to raise the fees required at private secondary schools (but so does the present system in aided schools which require fees).[39]

3. Ways to Improve Channels of Communication within Schools:

We cannot in the space allotted here analyze the general problems of indiscipline in schools and the conflicts which cause school strikes.[40]

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37. See: Sheldon G. Weeks, Divergence in Educational Development: The Case of Kenya and Uganda (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967), Chapter 2, on the Educational Revolution in Kenya for a discussion of Kenya's private schools, the Harambee Schools, and Chapters 3 and 4 on Uganda.

38. If ten such schools were started with three streams the eventual savings to the Ministry of Education would total $24,150 a year assuming the recurrent cost saved per pupil were at least Ł75.

39. Some of the better private schools might complain that they were forced to lose their best pupils to aided schools but this already happens.

40. This has been done elsewhere: see especially (besides the reference in Chapter 5, footnote 4) Chapter 24, "Tensions in Schools," in E.B. Castle's Growing Up in East Africa, op. cit.; also the unpublished manuscript of Jonathan Silvey, University of Nottingham, January, 1967, Student Strikes in East African Secondary Schools.

One reason given for indiscipline and student strikes is a general breakdown in communications between staff and students. The findings of this study suggest that where pupils internalize the goals of the institution, are used to serve the interests of the schools, and maintain a high level of commitment to the organization, that the school may function smoothly. The internalization of goals is clearly possible in a new school which is caught up in institution-building, and where there are a multiplicity of tasks that the pupils can participate in and derive satisfaction from that help to build the school, its physical plant, and its reputation in the community.

At the Mutesa School the Headmaster attempted to establish lines of communication between himself and his pupils, both through creating new formal structures (the Student Council) and through informal relationships (such as his use of the core pupils or his special meetings with pupils over Mr. Lule when he suspected that the students might strike against this teacher). Student Councils appear to be a rare innovation at African secondary schools. They might be encouraged and organized in such a way that the Form members function as representatives of their classes (as a few of the pupils tried to do at the Mutesa School) instead of being oriented as a clique and upwards to the Headmaster. A school like this will be increasingly vulnerable when the ideology (success) loses its meaning and pupils become more acutely aware of the

reality (failure).[41] Channels for expressing grievances are not the only answer. School strikes often result, as we have seen, from valid protests against poor teachers, defective staff relationships, the rapid turnover of staff resulting in youthful, inexperienced, and unprepared teachers. External social and political conditions may interact in schools, especially those with a large proportion of expatriate teachers and rigid authority and normative structures, and result in a strike. The vulnerability of schools to strikes is increased where the parents are not related to the school (perceive themselves also as clients).

Methodological Implications

While the tools of sociological research should be relevant to investigations conducted in various societies, one has to be careful in their application. Tests and questionnaires developed in other societies can not automatically be applied in a new context. Problems of culture, semantics, vocabulary, and language structure need to be taken into account

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41. It is questionable how long the school will be able to continue to utilize these ideologies. As the development program of the school reaches fruition development in itself can no longer be a rallying point. With new classes entering the school composed of pupils who chose the school and were selected at the headmasters' conference, the school will be populated by pupils who will have had different experiences at the school, and do not have the same basis for loyalty and thankfulness to the school as older pupils. A new ideology will have to be developed. The new class (Form One) in 1963 of 113 pupils is markedly different in a number of ways from the other classes. Seventy-six percent of this class chose to go to the Mutesa School compared to only thirty-one percent in Forms Three and Four. In reply to the question "Do you want to stay in the school?" thirty percent of Form One responded "No," the next highest percent saying "No" for the other classes was eight percent. Thus form one in 1963 had already begun to demonstrate that its attitudes towards the school were different from those of the earlier classes.

in working in other cultures. Even a standard pre-test of a questionnaire is not sufficient; instead pre-test questionnaires need to be gone over carefully with subjects in intensive interviews to look for problems that would not be easily apparent at first to the researcher. At no point can the researcher automatically assume that an answer means what he thinks it means or what it might mean to a respondent in his own culture. One will also have to be aware that answers from test naive subjects may have different meanings than those obtained from test sophisticated ones.[42]

In examining data from the pupils (Chapter XII) it was noted how one's methodology needs to be flexible. Open-ended questions, though more laborious to treat as data, were superior; only after the range of possible answers had been established were they pre-coded.[43]

We also observed in Chapter XII that ranked items do not necessarily justify the conclusion that what is ranked low is unimportant, or would not be ranked high in a different context (and vise versa).[44]

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42. With some tests, like the Raven's Progressive Matrices, a major share of the time has to be devoted to teaching how to do the test in order to get any reliable results. Here the problem is sophistication, not language. (From personal observation of Jonathan Silvey giving the test in Uganda and confirmed by Dr. Peter Rees from his experience in Nigeria.)

43. J. David Colfax and Irving L. Allen in research in the United States found that when requesting information on father's occupation from pupils that open-ended questions were more reliable than pre-coded. See: "Pre-Coded versus Open-Ended Items and Children's Reports of Father's Occupation," Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, No. 1, 1967, pp. 96-98.

44. These comments refer to the methodology used by James S. Coleman in his Adolescent Society, op. cit. For further criticism of Coleman's approach see: Edgar Friedenberg, The Dignity of Youth and Other Atavisms (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967), pp. 218-223.

A ticklish problem in Africa is the development of any scale of socio-
economic status. The problem is that in most African societies tradi-
tional status and modern status do not coincide. The six levels that
I evolved constitute an effort to develop a valid scale for Buganda,
but it is easier there because of the way the traditional hierarchy has
become "modernized" in the last one hundred years.[45] This scale follows
roughly levels of possible income. It ignores a variety of high
status traditional positions such as head of a clan. The scale is given
in Appendix B. It also attempts to cope with the problem of status/
income differentials in "farming."[46]

Still it must be emphasized that the scale I developed is not automati-
cally transferable to other parts of Africa. A rigorous approach would
require the development of a system of treating both the traditional
and modern dimensions of socioeconomic status and weighting them together.

This study did not go very far in developing refined indices that could
be used to assess the attainment of organizational goals. The model
developed in the previous chapter needs to be elaborated and whereever
possible the operationalization of goals and the other dimensions should
be carried out. Items in every "box" (see Chart XIII-1) are capable
of being assessed through carefully designed indices, instead of relying

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45. See Lloyd Fallers, editor, The King's Men (London: Oxford Univer-
sity Press, 1963). My scale was partially derived from one that Fallers
originally published in "Social Class in Modern Buganda," Conference
Papers (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1957).

46. This is something Philip Foster failed to do in Education and
Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965),
see Chapters XII and VIII. See also my review of this study in the
Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 36, No. 3, Summer, 1966, pp. 373-374;
and G. E. Hurd and T. J. Johnson, "Education and Social Mobility in
Ghana," Sociology of Education, Vol. 40, No. 1, Winter, 1967, pp. 55-79.

on observation and description.[47] This approach is necessary because
only then will we begin to have a system of analysis which will permit
the comparative study of schools.[48]

The utility of the case study method in the study of organizational
change, detailed in Chapter III (follow the process of organizational
change over time and go directly to the people involved for information)
has been confirmed by this study. The procedures of identifying with
persons in the different positions in the organization and of using
systematic procedures such as scheduled interviews and questionnaires
has also proved to be a worthwhile methodological innovation. It now
needs to be carried further in future studies, relying even more on
carefully worked out indices that conform to the new model for analyzing
the school as an organization functioning over time to achieve definite
goals.[49]

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47. Hargreaves, Social Relations in a Secondary School, op. cit.,
contains some imaginative examples of the creation of indices in his
assessment of the effects of streaming on student culture.

48. See S. N. Eisenstadt, Essays on Comparative Institutions (New York:
John Wiley, 1965), pp. 40-68; also Amatai Etzioni, A Comparative Analysis
of Complex Organizations (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1961),
pp. 297-303, where he suggests, under "two methodological problems;"
isolating "involvement-objects" as a possible new basis of comparison.
This study contains many suggestions on ways to elaborate indices; for
example the discussion on commitment and the extension of the dimension
along a three to five point continuum. See pp. 8-11.

49. Since my case study research was concluded in 1963 two case studies
of schools have been published (Stinchcombe,op.cit. and Hargreaves, op.
cit.) which go beyond previous case-study methods. I have serious doubts
about the reliability of Stinchcombe's findings in that he used the
teachers in the school to administer his questionnaire (see p. 12) even
though he had spent six months in "anthropological observation" there.
For a description of his methodology see "Appendix on Method," pp. 186-
213. In Hargreaves see particularly Appendix I, "Participant-Observation
and Role Conflict," pp. 193-205.

Implications for Future Research:

Etzioni comments:

> At present organizational theory is generally constructed
> on a high level of abstraction, dealing mainly with general
> propositions which apply equally well--but also equally
> badly--to all organizations. The difference among various
> organizational types are considerable; therefore, any theory
> of organizations in general must be highly abstract. It can
> serve as an important frame for specification--that is,
> for the development of special theoretical models for the
> various organizational types--but it cannot substitute for
> such theories by serving itself as a system model, to be
> applied directly to the analysis of actual organizations.[49]

This study has been an effort to explore one way of examining one

organizational type (a school) by interpreting the factors that facil-

itated or blocked the achievement of organizational goals through

evaluation along a number of social systems and structural dimensions.

The guide lines that were set at the beginning of this case study ap-

pear to constitute a fruitful research structure. The main concepts

used have all demonstrated their utility in understanding and explain-

ing the dynamics of organizational functioning. And each was necessary

to complement the other and to obtain a total picture of the school.

The model as elaborated in Chapter XIII (Chart XIII-1) should prove

to be a useful tool for analysis of other schools. What is missing

in the model is the dimension of time, but it is assumed in that activi-

ties, conditions, or characteristics which relate to each "box" will

change: 1) organizations are incomplete; 2) they are open systems in a

changing environment; 3) internal imbalance results in change; and 4) new

people are constantly occupying positions within the organization.[50]

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49. Amitai Etzioni, Modern Organizations (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey:
Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 18.

50. Katz and Kahn, op. cit., pp. 304-309.

It is most important to observe that in my model any given item ("box") may be functional, non-functional, or dysfunctional to goal attainment depending on the context of the situation. Also that in the dynamic process of change certain other items may be <u>both</u> functional <u>and</u> dysfunctional at the same time in different contexts (e.g., incentives for expatriate teachers were functional to goal attainment, but were dysfunctional in their effect on local teachers).

In piecing together the puzzle of the organization it must be remembered that "x" relates to "y" under condition "z" and that just because we have found such a relationship between "x" and "y" does not mean that it will exist under condition "a" or "b." It is also necessary to emphasize that if we had neglected any of the dimensions included in this study we would have been unable to view the organization as a whole. Goals and organization structure, environment and external forces, authority, normative and role structure, ideology and image, commitment and autonomy, student culture, etc., all need to be examined and related to their influence on the achievement of organizational goals.

We have also discovered that the process of organizational change can not be understood <u>only</u> from examining dysfunctions.[51] The Mutesa School changed not only because of the stresses and strains created by dysfunctions but also because of the support that functional items (e.g., charisma, staff commitment, instrumental student culture) gave to development, and because of certain external forces in the environment, but most significantly through the leadership exercised by the Headmaster. If one had

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51. Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1957), p. 53, and pp. 122-123. "All this is not to say, of course, that these strains are alone in making for change in a social structure, but they do represent a theoretically strategic source of change which has yet to be the object of sufficiently sustained and accumulative sociological research." p. 123.

looked only to dysfunctions to understand organizational change one would have developed a very distorted picture. This study has also confirmed that it is not necessary to limit one's analysis of organizational change to comparative statics, but that one can obtain a dynamic picture of the process by combining the goal-model and systems-model approaches with structural functional analysis.

This study found that the position of Headmaster was critical in the process of organizational change and goal attainment. The problem of organizational change is one of implementation. Many people in Uganda looked at the Mutesa School and commented that given the human, financial and physical resources of the school what happened appeared to be inexplicable.[52] We have observed that it was not a "miracle," but that it involved a number of forces and conditions, coinciding with an individual occupying the focal position of authority who was determined to make it the best day secondary school in Uganda, who had a clear image of his role, and who viewed the obstacles as challenges instead of blocks to the achievement of his goals; and that he was the type of formal leader who evolved a sensible strategy of organizational change, utilized organizational structure, the environment, ideology, normative and role structure, and the student culture, to facilitate the achievement of organizational goals. It was a case of the proper leadership at the right time and place in the history of the organization. The success of planned organizational change can be thus seen to depend in part on the behavior of its formal leader. This study has supported the con-

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52. See E.B. Castle, op. cit., pp. 131-132: "The school referred to is an African day school in the Lubiri, or Kabaka's Compound, whose British headmaster transformed it, by courage and leadership and very little money, into an efficient and proud community."

tention of Katz and Kahn concerning at least the first type of leadership of three they distinguish: The necessity of leadership that is involved in policy formation and the introduction of structural changes, and does not support the assertion of Campbell. Cunningham and McPhee, that leaders "for the most part maintain and do not change their organization."[53]

Suggested Further Research:

I have already indicated one prime area in need of examination in future case studies of schools as organizations: the development and operationalization of indices to assess the degree to which they achieve their goals. Besides the further study of the effectiveness of schools in achieving their objectives, future inquiries need to pay more attention to the factors that influence their efficiency, that is how resources are used in relation to the quantifiable output of the organization.[54] This is particularly important in developing nations where secondary education takes such a high proportion of the educational budget.

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53. See Katz and Kahn, op. cit., p. 335; also Roald F. Campbell and Luvern L. Cunningham and Roderick F. McPhee, The Organization and Control of American Schools (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1965), p. 225. For a further discussion of the theoretical implications of leadership and social change see: J.A. Ponsioen, The Analysis of Social Change Reconsidered: A Sociological Study (The Hague: Mouton, 1962), Chapter IV, "Theories Explaining Dynamics of Inclusive Societies as a Result of Agents who Instigate the Process," pp. 79-107. Ponsioen did not have the benefit of the work of Amitai Etzioni. For a discussion and analysis of the determinants of educational leadership see: Neal Gross and Robert E. Herriott, Staff Leadership in Public Schools: A Sociological Inquiry (New York: John Wiley, 1965).

54. See: Etzioni, Modern Organizations, op. cit., pp. 8-10; and Jesse Burkhead, Input and Output in Large-City High Schools (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1967).

The sociology of education in Africa is an open field. Little socio-logical research has been carried out there on the school as an organiza-tion, or on most other sociological issues that are of general theoretical and practical significance. Although it is tempting in discussing future research to catalogue these needed studies I will primarily focus on further research investigations that are suggested by this case study.[55]

A major problem area that merits further research is the effects of for-mal education on pupils and their society. It is generally assumed that because formal education is a Western import, African pupils undergo a "process of Westernization." But we really do not know what happens as the result of formal education in tropical Africa. How in fact does a youth acquire his sense of identity?[56] What part does the school play in his socialization? Should it be described as Westernization, or is it something else, for example, Bagandanization, or Ugandanization, Kikuyuization or Luoization or Kenyanization? Related to this are ques-tions concerning the part that formal education plays in the transmission and preservation of culture and in its change. We also know very little

55. One can merely extend the outline presented by Neal Gross (in survey of the field of sociology of education in 1959) to get an idea of the possibilities. See: Neal Gross, "The Sociology of Education," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell Jr., editors, Sociology Today: Problems and Prospects (New York: Basic Books, 1959), pp. 124-152.

56. One example of an exploration in this direction is the Pathways Project. See: Robert A. Rosenthal, Florence C. Shelton, and Bernard E. Bruce, Progress Report, September,1965 - November, 1966 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Research and Development Center, Harvard University Graduate School of Education, 1967), mimeographed, pp. 1-11.

about the impact of formal education on attitudes, values and morals.[57]

This study has not made use of reference group theory. It has been assumed that the key reference group for Africans in schools was Europeans (missionaries, traders, civil servants), but it is possible that their key reference group today may be the new African elite.[58] Further research into the aspirations of pupils should include an examination of their role models and the forces that influence their choices.[59]

The research also suggests that further studies into what happens to the pupils after they leave school (afternoons, weekends, vacations, and on graduation) might be of value. A follow up study of the pupils in their communities could probe for answers to questions about their impact

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57. See: F. Musgrove, "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change," Africa, Vol. 42, 1952, pp. 234-249; and "Education and the Culture Concept," Africa, Vol. 43,1953,pp. 110-126; also for a more recent attempt to assess one aspect of the influence of education see: David Koff and George Von der Muhll, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania--A Comparative Analysis," The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 5, 1967, pp. 13-51.

58. See Philip Foster, op. cit.; J.E. Goldthorpe, "Educated Africans: Some Conceptual and Terminological Problems," in Aidan Southall, editor, Social Change in Modern Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp. 155-157; and An African Elite (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 77. Though Goldthorpe points to some of the mis-uses of the concept, he fails to recognize the function of the African elite as a critical reference group for students (do African students dress neatly where the Europeans around them dress sloppily just because neat dress is a badge of status, or also because they observe that successful Africans dress neatly). See also: Peter C. Lloyd's introduction in The New Elites of Tropical Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966). For a description of the activities of an early African elite and their influence on their society see: John A. Rowe, "The Western Impact and the. African Reaction: Buganda 1880-1900," The Journal of Developing Areas, Vol. 1, No. 1,1966, pp. 55-65. The early African modernized elite certainly served as a more effective reference group than the white colonial elite.

59. For an elaboration of one possible approach see: Robert E. Herriott, "Some Social Determinants of Educational Aspiration," Harvard Educational Review, Vol. 33, No. 2, Spring 1963, pp. 157-177.

on social and cultural change.[60]   Are the theoretical concepts of ac-

culturation and detribalization really heuristic in explaining what

happens to students or may it perhaps be better to view their formal

socialization as a process of individuals learning the expectations that

accompany new positions, a condition which does not necessarily imply

that they have abandoned old roles.   In the past theorists assumed that

individuals occupied one position at a time but in fact people occupy

a multiplicity of them simultaneously.[61]

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60.   See my discussion of this issue in Chapter VIII and footnote 23 in that Chapter.

61.   Gross, Mason, and McEachern make this point on pages 323 in Explorations in Role Analysis: Studies in the School Superintendency. Role (New York: John Wiley, 1958).   For examples of the uses of the concepts acculturation and detribalization see: Melville J. Herskovits, Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact (New York: Augustin, 1938) and M.J.B. Molohan, Detribalization (Dar-es-Salaam: Government Printer, 1959).   A recent expression of this kind of view is found in Fred G. Burke, Africa's Quest for Order (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1964).   Burke uses the concept "sociation."   He says, "Sociation is definable as a process whereby individuals shed values, beliefs and be-havior relative to membership in certain groups; are exposed to new values and beliefs; modify their behavior and human interrelationships; and act in such a way as to form new groupings which give expression to the new or altered values, beliefs, and behavior."   Ibid., p. 2.   A similar treatment of change as being uni-directional and irreversible is found in the work of Doob.   Leonard W. Doob, Becoming More Civilized (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1960), see especially his hypotheses, pages 324-326.   Do these approaches really help us to understand social change in Africa?   For example,one would find if one asked (I did) secondary school pupils their opinions about the use of traditional medicines that it was negative; they will have shed old beliefs, values and embraced modern medicine, and if sick want to see a modern doctor. But further investigation would reveal that many pupils still used tradi-tional medicines.   What does this mean?   Or does their use of traditional medicine relate to what position they are occupying at the time they are sick?   A pupil at home (now "son") would be functioning in a different social matrix, and the contextual factor would be distance to and avail-ability of modern medicine.   When a pupil at home many miles from a modern doctor is bitten by a snake or has a stomach ache he isn't generally going to reject the initial use of a traditional remedy.

Our findings also suggest that assumed relationships between other theoretical concepts used to explain social change need critical re-examination. What in fact is the relationship between formal education and particularism and universalism; between ascribed status and achieved status; and between self-orientation and collectivity?[62] Do changes in these value orientations take place as a result of formal education and in the direction predicted, and if so what facilitates and what hinders their occurence? It is generally assumed that formal education reduces particularism[63] but my own research suggests that third variables influence the relationship.[64]

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62. These are concepts of Parsons meant as pattern variables or value orientations. See: Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe: Illinois: The Free Press, 1951), p. 101; and Talcott Parsons and Edward A. Shils, editors, Toward a General Theory of Action (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959), pp. 80-88. An example of their use in the African context is found in Musgrove, "A Uganda Secondary School as a Field of Culture Change," op. cit. For a recent application of these Parsonian ideas see: David C. McClelland, The Achieving Society (New York: The Free Press, 1967). On pages 16 and 17 he presents the pattern variables and cautions, "It is not always clear how a characteristic of social structure like stress on 'achieved' versus 'ascribed' status should be reflected in the attitudes of members of that social structure so that one can check empirically whether those attitudes are in fact present in a society where they are theoretically supposed to be present." He extends his own analysis of these variables in his study (see especially pages 178-188).

63. See Musgrove, op.cit.

64. See S. G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Examination of the Role of Minority Students at a Day Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda," Conference Papers (Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1963), mimeographed. Mere attendance in secondary school was not sufficient an explanation for any change in attitudes on the part of the pupils from particularistic to universalistic. It was found that the ability of the Minority pupils to learn the dominant vernacular was a significant factor influencing their value orientation (those who could being more universalistic). For the Baganda it was found that their attitude (particularism) was influenced by their friendship patterns (though possibly vice versa) those who had minority friends being less particularistic. There is a possibility that the network of pupils' role relationships were affecting their attitudes. This merits further research.

It is generally assumed that educational achievement leads to higher positions in the social structure that then can be transmitted to the children of those who have been educationally mobile. In developing nations where there is a dearth of trained and experienced local middle- and high-level manpower educational attainments often result in a degree of ascribed status. Even within schools one can find status differentials that are not based completely on achievement, but where ascribed status is important in assigning pupils to positions; for example the use of clan memberships in assignments to Houses at the Mutesa School, in streaming, and in pre-requisites for positions such as only Fourth Formers can become Prefects.

One might hypothesize that though pupils are becoming more aware of the larger society of which they are members as a result of formal education, they are also becoming more self-oriented and less willing to assume their traditional responsibilities to their extended families. Social scientists have contended that a major block to effective educational planning is that individual felt needs are placed before collective societal needs, and this circumstance is often mentioned in the consideration of the failure of agricultural education in developing nations.[65]

Future studies of schools in Africa also need to pay more attention to patterns of deviance, how they are dealt with, and how they influence the achievement of organizational goals. In this study we were not able to examine issues of this kind with respect to pupils who were caned, those given other punishments, those who came late to, or those who were absent from school.

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65. See Philip Foster, "The Vocational School Fallacy in Development Planning," op. cit.

Comparative studies of schools are also needed that would focus on factors that influence the degree of effectiveness of organizations in achieving their objectives. Such studies would be most useful if they were similar in their goals and had approximately the same input of clientele. Utilizing the model outlined in Chart XIII-1, one could then compare schools along dimensions and then sub-dimensions. A whole series of hypotheses are derivable from the model that could be em-- pirically tested. It would be perhaps especially useful to make comparisons between boarding schools and day schools in terms of their cost-efficiency in achieving specified sets of educational goals. Such analyses would need to take account of the fact that boarding schools, except for the three vacations, are total institutions, while day schools are not.[66]

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66. Erving Goffman in "On the Characteristics of Total Institutions," in Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1961), pp. 1-124, explores some of the features of total institutions. He mentions five types: 1) care of harmless; 2) care of potentially harmful; 3) to protect community from dangerous; 4) task oriented (here he includes boarding schools) and 5) retreat. Goffman writes mainly about prisons and mental hospitals. One reason he is unable to include boarding schools in his scheme is that he ignores the dimension of compliance. Etzioni has pointed out that prisons and mental hospitals fit together as coercive organizations, while schools are normative organizations. My point is that the distinctions that both Goffman and Etzioni make must be recognized; schools may be both normative and total institutions. For nine hypotheses concerning day schools and ten concerning pupils in boarding schools compared to day schools see: Sheldon G. Weeks, "A Preliminary Report on a Sociological Case Study of an Urban Day Secondary School," Conference Papers (Kampala: East African Institute-of Social Research, 1962), mimeographed, pp. 7-8.

A Further Observation

There exists a definite need to ask sociological questions in study-
ing education in Africa. There are still frequent references in the
literature to British education in Africa, but only in the most super-
ficial respects was formal education in the Mutesa School "British."
It had an English Headmaster and a number of teachers from the U.K.,
English was the official language, and the final examination was set by
the Cambridge syndicate (even though it had many points of "adaptation"
like Luganda, Geography of East Africa, or Commonwealth History), but
these conditions did not make it an English school. It was firmly rooted
in African conditions--those of Mengo, Greater Kampala, Buganda, Uganda,
and East Africa. We have found that the school was unique in a number
of ways, and that the obstacles it faced as it moved towards the real-
ization of its goals were particular to its social environment. To
label the Mutesa School "British" would constitute an erroneous inter-
pretation of the realities. The goals of the school were derived from
local and national objectives. The organizational structure of the
school had many facets that were particular to its setting, as did the
cluster of external forces that influenced how it functioned. Many of
the factors that were functional or dysfunctional to goal attainment
most likely would not be found at a school in the U.K., e.g., different
hiring and salary practices, mobility patterns, the conflicts faced by
pupils in the external environment of the school, and the instrumental
nature of the student culture. Even the particular problems and stra-
tegies of institution building the Headmaster employed as he exerted
his leadership to move the school closer to its goals might only be

found in this specific situation. The pattern of recruitment of clientele, though similar to that of other day secondary schools, was also unique as it related to the school's external image, its sponsorship by the Buganda Government, fee-structure and its location. The functions performed by the school were also related to the available range of activities of different school-leavers within the wider Ugandan social system--not those available in Great Britain.

APPENDIX A

INSTRUMENTS

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1   August, 1962

Introduction: This questionnaire is part of a study of the problems
               of day secondary education. It is similar to other
               studies of schools made in England and America.
Please answer the questions directly and honestly. Only the truth
will help further the study. All answers will remain confidential.

Sheldon Weeks
East African Institute of
           Social Research

1. Name: _____, _____ _____
                  last   first   middle

2. Class:

3. Sex:

4. Age:

5. Tribe: _____ clan: _____

6. Where do you live during term: (describe giving distance from
    school, name of area, name of street or nearest landmarks, of
    neighbors.

7. With whom (name):

8. Relationship (if any):

9. Where do you live during vacation: (describe, giving distance
    from school, name of the area, name of street or nearest land-
    marks, of neighbors, and post office box number):

10. With whom (name):

11. Relationship (if any):

12. How do you get to school?   a. foot
                                     b. bike
                                     c. bus
                                     d. car
                                     e. scooter
                                     f. foot and bus
                                     g. foot and car

13. Do you eat breakfast at school? Yes   No

14. If you eat breakfast at home, what do you have?

15. Do you have a raincoat? Yes   No   Why?

16. How many people share the room where you live during term?

    0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

17. What furniture do you have?

18. What kind of light do you study by?

19. Does the light disturb anyone else?

20. Where do you eat your evening meal?

21. Who cooks it?

    If you pay for it, how much?

22. Who owns the house you live in during term?

23. If you pay rent for a room how much a month?

24. From what source do you get water?

    How far away?

25. Have you been bothered by thieves?

    How?

26. Do you work during the school term? Yes   No

    If "yes" what kind of work?

    For whom?   How many hours a day?

    What do you receive in return?

27. If Lubiri had a hostel would you want to live in it? Yes   No   Why?

28. Who pays your school fees?

    Relationship?

29. Do you have a bursary? Yes No   If so, how much? _____

30. When you were at Junior Secondary what Senior Secondary School did you want to attend? First choice: _____
    Second choice: _____Third Choice: _____

31. How long have you been at Lubiri?

32. Have you been at any other Senior Secondary Schools?
    School   Location   How Long At?
    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.

33. What Junior Secondary Schools did you attend?
    School   Location   How Long at?
    a.
    b.
    c.

34. What grades have you repeated in school?
    Grade   School   Why Repeated?
    a.
    b.
    c.

35. What primary school were you attending for Standard VI.
    School   Location
    a.
    b.

36. If you could transfer to another (any one) Senior Secondary School what would be your first choice?
    Second choice: Third choice:

37. Would you prefer to stay at Lubiri?
    Why? (Explain your answer):

38. How would you suggest improving Lubiri?

39. At times of personal who do you turn to for help?

40. Do you have enough time to prepare your lessons?
    Explain your answer:

41. How many years education has your father had?
    (Or level attained).

-4-

42. What work has your father done? (Describe):

43. Where does your father live?

44. Amount of land your family uses, has, and what is grown?

45. How many years education has your mother had (or level attained)?

46. What work has your mother done? (Describe):

47. Where does your mother live?

48. Have you worked during the school holidays?
What kind of work?
What have you earned (a month)?

49. Number of brothers and sisters?

age	sex	last school	standard	if they have left school what what they are doing now?

a.
b.
c.
d.
e.
f.
g.
h.
i.
j.
k.
l.
m.
n.

SURVEY OF LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE No. 2   September, 1962

Introduction: This is a continuation of the study of problems related
               to day secondary education. Please answer the questions
               directly and honestly. All answers will remain confi-
               dential.

                                        Sheldon Weeks
                                        East African Institute of
                                            Social Research

1. Name: _____, _____ _____
              last   first   middle

2. Class: _____

3. Sex: _____

4. Date of Birth: Day _____ Month_____ Year _____

              Place _____

5. Do you live with any other students? (circle correct answer):

       0   1   2   3   4   5   6   more

         name   school   class
    A. _____

    B. _____

    C. _____

    D. _____

    E. _____

    F. _____

6. Did you live with your father during primary school? Yes   No
    If not, whom did you live with (name and relationship)?

7. Does your father pay Buganda taxes? Yes   No

8. If you share a room with someone who is not a student what do they
    do?
    Do they help or hinder your studies and if so how?

-2-

9. How many acres of land does your father have? _____

10. How many acres does he use for himself? _____

11. Does your father have tenants on his land? (circle correct answer):

    a. no land
    b. land but no tenants
    c. tenants   1   2   3   4   5   6   or more

12. Who contributes to your school fees? (circle the correct answer):

    a. only myself
    b. only my father
    c. only my mother
    d. only my parents
    e. only relatives: whom: _____
    f. parents and relatives:
            what relatives? _____
    g. unrelated friends: why? _____
    h. unrelated friends and relatives
            whom? _____
    i. other? _____

13. When you finish your education and start working do you expect to
    give financial assistance to anyone?

    Who? _____

    Why? _____

14. Circle the type of light you use to study by at night:

    (a) wax candle (b) paraffin candle (c) paraffin lamp (d) pres-
    sure lamp (e) electric light low wattage (under 40) (f) electric
    light high wattage (over 40)

15. Do you cook your own food for supper? Yes No

    If you cook it circle type of stove used and time spent cooking:

16. Stove: (a) wood   17. Time spent: (a) 15 minutes
            (b) charcoal   (b) 30 minutes
            (c) paraffin wick   (c) 45 minutes
            (d) paraffin pressure   (d) 1 hour
            (e) Afrigas   (e) Hour and half
            (f) electric   (f) two hours

17. Have you been seriously sick while at Lubiri S.S.? Yes No
If yes with what illnesses _____
How much time did you lose from school _____

18. Who takes care of you when you are sick during school term?

_____

19. How much time do you spend studying daily after school classes?

(a) none
(b) less than ½ hour a day
(c) about ½ hour a day
(d) about 1 hour a day
(e) about 1 and ½ hours a day
(f) about 2 hours a day
(g) more than 2 and ½ hours a day

20. If you had an extra hour at school how would you want to use it?

(a) lesson with a teacher
(b) athletics
(c) club/society
(d) time to study privately
(e) free time
(f) other _____

21. About how many evenings a week do you go out with other boys (for girls "girls")?   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

22. About how many evenings a week do you stay where you live during term?   1   2   3   4   5   6   7

23. What boys (for girls "girls") here in school do you like to be with the most or are your best friends? (give full names)

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

24. Of all the students in your class, which is _____ (give full name)

a. the best student academically _____
b. the best athlete _____
c. most liked by girls (boys) _____
d. would you like to be friends with _____
e. teachers like the most _____

-4-

25. Do you go out after school with girls/boys? (circle answer)

a. no
b. yes, but rarely
c. about once a month
d. once a week
e. about twice a week
f. more than three times a week

1. When you go out is it with a Lubiri student?

a. Yes
b. No

26. If a new student came to school and he/she wanted to know the leading students in the school whom should he/she have to become friends with (give full names)?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

27. How often do you listen to the radio? (circle answer)

a. never
b. once a month
c. once a week
d. a few times a week
e. every day
What programs? _____
In what language? _____

28. How often do you read a newspaper?

a. rarely
b. once a month
c. once a week
d. a few times a week
e. every day

What papers?

What do you read?

29. How often do you read magazines?

a. never
b. rarely
c. once a month
d. twice a month
e. weekly

What magazines?

What do you like to read in them?

30. How often do you read books? (not required for school work)?

    a. never   Name a few books you have read not
    b. rarely   for school
    c. once a month
    d. twice a month
    e. once a week
    f. nearly every day

31. How often do you see a movie (films now shown in school)?

    a. never
    b. rarely
    c. once a month
    d. twice a month
    e. every week
    f. more than once a week
    Name a few movies you have seen (if any)

32. What are the things you do with your friends after school or on Saturdays and Sundays?

33. Among popular places around here where do you go the most often?

    How often?

34. What is your favorite way of spending your free time?

35. If you had a thousand shillings what would you do with it? (circle one letter)

    a. spend it all
    b. spend most of it
    c. save most of it
    d. save it all

36. Do you desire to own land? Yes No

    Explain why?

37. If you were able to join the club/society you most wanted to at Lubiri which one would it be?

    Do you already belong to this club? Yes No

38. Do you belong to any clubs or activities outside school? Yes No

    If so, what are their names and programs?

-6-

39. Do you smoke?

    a. yes, regularly
    b. yes, occasionally
    c. rarely
    d. no

40. Do you drink beer (bottled)

    a. yes, regularly
    b. yes, occasionally
    c. yes, at special events
    d. rarely
    e. no

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI S.S.S.

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 3   October, 1962

Name: _____, _____ _____ Class ___
              last   first   middle

This questionnaire is part of the general study of the Lubiri School.
It is similar to studies already made in England and America. We hope
that you will find these questions interesting to answer. Please note
that in this questionnaire there are **No Correct** answers. It is not a
test, therefore there are no right or wrong answers. All the questions
can be answered in the same manner. They are to be **ranked** by you in
order from the most important to the least important as seen by **you**.
All answers remain confidential.

SAMPLE QUESTION: What foods do you prefer to eat? (rank from 1 to 6)

_____a   meat
_____b   maize
_____c   matoke
_____d   fish
_____e   cassava
_____f   rice

SAMPLE ANSWERS by two different people with different tastes for food:

Person A   Person B   Interpretation: This means that
                                        Person A liked meat the most,
___1___ a   meat   ___5___ a   maize next best, and matoke, the
___2___ b   maize   ___4___ b   least; while person B liked Matoke
___6___ c   matoke   ___1___ c   the best, fish next, and cassava
___4___ d   fish   ___2___ d   the least. It can be seen from
___5___ e   cassava   ___6___ e   this sample that there is no cor-
___3___ f   rice   ___3___ f   rect order for ranking items from
                                        highest (best, most important)
                                        which is 1 to lowest (worst,
                                        least important), the order in
                                        which you rank items being depen-
                                        dent on your own feelings.

1. Different students work for different things. Among the things
    you work for during school days how important is each of these?
    (rank from 1 to 5)

_____a.   pleasing my parents
_____b.   learning as much as possible in school
_____c.   living up to my religious ideals
_____d.   being accepted and liked by other students
_____e.   doing well in athletics

-2-

2. Now rank the following items in terms of their importance to you (1 to 5)

    _____a.   groups and activities outside school
    _____b.   clubs/societies in school
    _____c.   having a good time: How? _____
    _____d.   reading novels
    _____e.   just talking with other people

3. What are the characteristics of a student who is well liked by other students (1 to 7)?

    _____a.   high marks
    _____b.   a good reputation
    _____c.   has money
    _____d.   a good debator
    _____e.   comes from a good family
    _____f.   a leader in activities
    _____g.   good manners.

4. If you could be any of these, rank them in order of your preference (1 to 6)

    _____a.   clerk
    _____b.   farmer
    _____c.   secondary school teacher
    _____d.   atomic scientist
    _____e.   member of the national assembly (parliament)
    _____f.   social worker (like Save the Children Fund).

5. If you could enter Government Service what would be your order of preference? (rank 1 to 6).

    _____a.   Gombolela chief
    _____b.   International Civil Service (United Nations).
    _____c.   Town Civil Service
    _____d.   Local Government Civil Service
    _____e.   Uganda Civil Service
    _____f.   Saza Chief

6. Rank the following six occupations in terms of their desirability to you (from 1 to 6).

    _____a.   writer or journalist
    _____b.   scientist
    _____c.   business executive
    _____d.   medical doctor
    _____e.   engineer
    _____f.   agricultural officer

-3-

7. Now rank the following occupations in terms of their desirability: (rank 1 to 7).

           a.   small cultivator
           b.   clerk
           c.   carpenter
           d.   duka proprietor (owner)
           e.   tailor
           f.   shoemaker
           g.   primary school teacher

8. Where would you prefer to live? (rank from 1 to 7).

           a.   rural village
           b.   Jinja
           c.   Masaka
           d.   Mityana
           e.   farm
           f.   Kampala (Mengo)
           g.   Kampala (Kololo)

9. Rank the following in terms of their significance to you when you are at work (from 1 to 6).

           a.   security of steady work
           b.   opportunity for rapid advancement
           c.   the enjoyment of the work itself
           d.   friendly people to work with
           e.   high income
           f.   working with relatives

10. Good results on the Cambridge School Certificate depend on: (1 to 5).

           a.   the teacher's ability to make you learn
           b.   the student's ability to memorize facts
           c.   the student's understanding of the subject matter
           d.   creativity and imagination
           e.   extra reading of many books

11. Rank the following according to what you think their quality is (from 1 to 7).

           a.   Makerere College
           b.   Royal College, Nairobi
           c.   London University
           d.   University of Delhi (India)
           e.   Edinburgh University (Scotland)
           f.   Columbia University (America)
           g.   Cambridge University (England)

-4-

12. On what basis should Buganda Government Bursaries for secondary school be awarded? (rank 1 to 5).

    _____a.   Because the family is very poor
    _____b.   Because the student has a relative in the Government
    _____c.   Because a bribe has been paid
    _____d.   The academic ability of the student
    _____e.   The character and motivation of the student

13. Here are some possible qualities of an _educated man_ (rank from 1 to 7)

    _____a.   owns a car
    _____b.   has a graduate degree
    _____c.   has an important Government job
    _____d.   works with his hands
    _____e.   reads a great deal
    _____f.   lives in a big house
    _____g.   has a school certificate

14. Whom do you prefer as teachers? (assume same qualifications). (rank 1 to 4).

    _____a.   Americans
    _____b.   Asians
    _____c.   Africans
    _____d.   Europeans

15. Rank the following schools from best to worst (from 1 to 6).

    _____a.   Kings College, Budo   a. _____
    _____b.   Aggrey Memorial   b. _____
    _____c.   Kitante Hill School   c. _____
    _____d.   Lubiri School   d. _____
    _____e.   Makerere College School e. _____
    _____f.   St. Mary's, Kisubi   f. _____

16. How do you think other people would rank these schools? **Mark above**

17. Here are some possible purposes of the Lubiri School, (rank from 1 to 7).

    _____a.   To make students better citizens of Uganda
    _____b.   To get students to pass the School Certificate
    _____c.   To teach dramatics
    _____d.   To prepare students for jobs
    _____e.   To select those students who are able to continue their education
    _____f.   To educate children from poor families
    _____g.   To give character training

-5-

PART TWO: In the following questions complete the sentence or write a
            sentence or two as an answer.

18. Complete the following sentences:

     a. More than anything else I'd like to
     b. The best thing that could happen to me at school this year
         would be
     c. The most important thing in life is
     d. I worry most about

19. Do you have enough money for personal needs?   Yes   No
     If not why do you need more money and what for?

20. What will you do if you pass the school Certificate examination?

21. What do you plan to do if you fail the School Certificate, and
     after taking it again still fail?

22. A good student can learn without a teacher?   Yes   No
     Explain your answer:

23. If you could go to the university of your choice which one would
     you go to?

     What would be your second choice?

     Why these universities?

24. Would you marry a woman who had more education than you had (for
     girls "man")?   Yes   No
     Explain your answer.

25. What are your parents religion?   father:
                                       mother:

26. What place of worship do you go to?

27. How frequently?

28. Have you moved since last term (the place where you sleep)?
     Yes   No

29. If so describe the new place you are at, giving distance from
     school, name of area, name of street, if any, or nearest landmarks,
     name of your neighbors, and name of person whose house you are
     staying in.

-6-

30. Why did you move?

31. If you got up in the morning and found a chicken or a goat with the head cut off in front of your door how would you react?

Why?

Would you be able to go to school?

Why?

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 4   October, 1962

NAME: _____, _____ CLASS: _____ AGE: ____
        last   first   middle

Introduction: This questionnaire is part of a study of day secondary
education. It is similar to other studies of schools
made in England and America.
We hope that you will find the questions interesting. Please answer
them quickly without skipping. It is not a test: therefore there is
no right or wrong answer, only what is true about yourself or what you
believe. To make it easy to do the quiz many questions can be answered
simply by circling a letter or word. All answers will remain confiden-
tial.

SAMPLE QUESTION: A. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the
same mother and the same father?

a.	1	g.	7
b.	2	h.	8
c.	3	i.	9
d.	4	j.	10 or more
e.	5	k.	0
f.	6		

It can be seen that the answer will vary from each student. If you have
five brothers and sisters by the same mother and father then you would
put a ring around letter "e." A student with only one would circle
letter "a" and so on.

PART ONE

1. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the same father and
different mother(s)?

a.	1	g.	7
b.	2	h.	8
c.	3	i.	9
d.	4	j.	10 or more
e.	5	k.	0
f.	6		

2. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the same mother and different father(s)?

a. 1   g. 7
b. 2   h. 8
c. 3   i. 9
d. 4   j. 10 or more
e. 5   k. 0
f. 6

3. When you marry how much education do you want your wife (for girls "husband") to have had?

a. none
b. primary
c. Junior secondary
d. senior secondary
e. higher school certificate
f. university
g. post graduate

4. What do you think of the Lubiri Secondary School when compared to others?

a. the worst
b. a poor school
c. a fair school
d. a good school
e. one of the best
f. the best

5. If you had a choice how often would you go to worship (church or mosque)?

a. regularly
b. twice a month
c. once a month
d. a few times a year
e. not at all

6. What amount of money do you expect to earn per year when you finish your education and start working?

a. less than 100 pounds
b. 100 to 300 pounds
c. 300 to 700 pounds
d. 700 to 1200 pounds
e. more than 1200 pounds

7. How much do you hope to be earning after you have been working for ten years (salary per year after ten years)?

    a. less than 100 pounds
    b. 100 to 300 pounds
    c. 300 to 700 pounds
    d. 700 to 1200 pounds
    e. more than 1200 pounds

8. How much do girls distract you (keep you from being able to study or concentrate at school)? (for girls answer thinking of "boys").

    a. not at all
    b. very little
    c. some
    d. a great deal

9. Schools should not be coeducational (have boys and girls together):
   Yes   No
   Explain your answer:

10. How much do you want to go out with girls (for girls "boys")?

    a. not at all
    b. very little
    c. Some
    d. a great deal

11. If you are able to go to a university what will be your source of funds? Write in the percentages so that the total is 100:

    Parents   %
    Relatives   %
    Friends   %
    Scholarships ____%
                     %

12. How many children do you hope to have? Put a ring around the number.

    0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10 or more

13. What occupation do you hope to enter when you finish your education?

    Why?

    Will you change to any other occupations?

    Why?

-4-

14. How do the students stand academically at the Lubiri School when compared to others?

    a. the worst
    b. poor
    c. fair
    d. good
    e. excellent
    f. first class

15. How do the teachers at the Lubiri School compare to those at other secondary schools?

    a. the worst
    b. poor
    c. fair
    d. good
    e. excellent
    f. first class

16. How does the Headmaster compare to headmasters of other schools?

    a. the worst
    b. poor
    c. fair
    d. good
    e. excellent
    f. first class

17. The Lubiri School should be moved outside the Lubiri: Yes No
Explain your answer:

18. The Lubiri School should have more students from other parts of Uganda and Africa than it does: Yes No
Explain your answer:

19. The Lubiri School should be a religious school: Yes No
Explain your answer:

PART TWO: In the following questions put a ring around the letter that best indicates (shows) your beliefs (remember there is no correct answer): The meanings of the letters are:

            a. strongly agree
            b. agree
            c. indifferent (do not care)
            d. disagree
            e. strongly disagree

-5-

20. It is important to own land so that one can live on it when he retires.

a b c d e

21. Character and moral education should be learned at school.

a b c d e

22. The more degrees a teacher has the better teacher he will be.

a b c d e

23. A man who neglects his obligations to his relatives is a bad man.

a b c d e

24. Women have and always should have an inferior position to men.

a b c d e

25. Experience is the best teacher.

a b c d e

26. A good student has to be able to remember facts.

a b c d e

27. When relatives make frequent requests of you for money (if you are working) it is important to honor these demands even if it means you will not have enough money to get something that you want or need.

a b c d e

28. The best life in Uganda remains that of living and working on the land.

a b c d e

29. Age is a real mark of wisdom: the young, even if educated, should respect and obey their elders.

a b c d e

30. There is nothing exceptional in teaching; any teacher can easily be replaced by another.

a b c d e

31. What one learns at home during the first six years of life is more important than any amount of further education for it is at home that one learns correct behavior, respect of others, proper manners.

a b c d e

32. Cultivating is hard, tedious, unrewarding work fit only for people who have not gone to school or been good students.

a b c d e

33. The good teacher is a unique person. He is rare because teaching is an art.

a b c d e

34. The school Certificate Examination is a real test of one's intelligence and ability.

a b c d e

-6-

35. Technical education is equal to academic education.   a b c d e

36. Women's place is in the home.   a b c d e

37. Education is like a commodity that can be bought and sold.   a b c d e

38. When a student finishes his education and starts working he should give from what he earns to his relatives and parents who helped pay his school fees.   a b c d e

39. The Lubiri School should have more students from outside Puganda.   a b c d e

40. A student who cheats on an examination should be expelled from school.   a b c d e

41. All students (except for reasons of health) should be made to participate in school athletics.   a b c d e

42. Agricultural science and techniques should be taught to students at the Lubiri Secondary School.   a b c d e

43. School societies are a waste of time: we should have more classes.   a b c d e

44. Luganda should be the first language in the school and English only studied as a second language.   a b c d e

45. A person should always do what he knows is right regardless of what may happen.   a b c d e

46. People should be quick to take to new customs and leave behind mere traditions and old-fashioned habits.   a b c d e

47. Man cannot solve any problems alone; he must turn to God for help.   a b c d e

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 5   November, 1962

NAME: _____, _____ _____ CLASS _____
                last   first   middle
AGE: (date of birth) _____/ _____/ _____ SEX _____
                        day   month   year

Introduction: This questionnaire is part of a study of day secondary
                education. It is similar to other studies of schools
                made in England and America.
We hope that you will find the questions interesting. Please answer
them quickly and carefully. It is not a test. Answer each question
according to what is true for yourself. Answers will differ for dif-
ferent students. To make it easy to do the many questions can be
answered simply by making a ring around a letter or word. All answers
will remain confidential.

In the following questions put a ring around the letter that stands for
the phrase that best answers the question for you. The meanings are:

        a.   leave school before finishing the school certificate
        b.   school certificate
        c.   commercial school
        d.   technical school
        e.   teacher training college
        f.   abroad for university (without higher school certificate)
        g.   higher school certificate
        h.   University of East Africa
        i.   higher degree study abroad
        j.   don't know

1.   How far do you hope to go before stopping your
     education?   a b c d e f g h i

2.   How far does your mother want you to go before
     you stop your education?   a b c d e f g h i j

3.   How far does your father want you to go before
     stopping your education?   a b c d e f g h i j

4.   How far does your Headmaster want you to go?   a b c d e f g h i j

5.   How far do your relatives want you to go before
     you stop your education?   a b c d e f g h i j

-2-

6. How far do your friends want you to go?   a b c d e f g h i j

7. How far do your teachers want you to go?   a b c d e f g h i j

8. If you are supported by a guardian how far does
    he want you to go?   a b c d e f g h i j

9. Facing what you know of yourself, your ability,
    and academic competition, how far do you
    realistically think you will be able to go?   a b c d e f g h i j

10. How do you evaluate yourself as a student?

    a. poor
    b. fair
    c. good
    d. excellent
    e. first class

11. Do you think that you would be getting a better education if you
    were at another school? Yes No
    Explain your answer:

In the following put a ring around the letter which best shows how much
weight (importance) you would give (or gave) to the opinions or recom-
mendations of certain people when you are making a decision.

The meanings of the letters are: a. a great deal of weight
                                   b. some weight
                                   c. very little weight
                                   d. no weight at all
                                   e. do not know

12. In deciding to come to this school how much weight did you give to?

    1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
    2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
    3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
    4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
    5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
    6. Your friends' desires?   a b c d e
    7. Your own desires?   a b c d e

13. In deciding to go to a university how much weight would you give to?

    1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
    2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
    3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
    4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
    5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
    6. Your friends' desires?   a b c d e
    7. Your <u>own</u> desires?   a b c d e

14. In choosing an occupation how much weight would you give to:

    1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
    2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
    3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
    4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
    5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
    6. Your friends' desires?   a b c d e
    7. Your <u>own</u> desires?   a b c d e

15. In choosing the person you marry how much weight would you give to:

    1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
    2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
    3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
    4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
    5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
    6. Your friends' desires?   a b c d e
    7. Your <u>own</u> desires?   a b c d e

16. It is a mistake to require that secondary school teachers be university graduates; many teachers who never went to a university are capable of doing excellent secondary school teaching. Do you agree with this statement: Yes No
Explain your answer:

17. What work do you think you will be doing twenty-five years from now in 1987?

In the following questions put a ring around the letter which best shows what you believe. The meanings of the letters are:

    a. absolutely should
    b. preferably should
    c. may or may not
    d. preferably should not
    e. absolutely should not

-4-

18. A teacher (a b c d e) be active in politics.

19. A teacher (a b c d e) be strict with students on all occasions.

20. If a teacher has something interesting to say, even though it is not on the School Certificate syllabus and would take a period to tell, he (a b c d e) use the class time in this way.

21. A teacher (a b c d e) report to the Headmaster any trouble with a student.

22. Teachers (a b c d e) attempt to understand the personal problems of students and their individual differences.

23. Teachers (a b c d e) be easy with students in the amount of school work they demand of them.

24. Teachers (a b c d e) have informal contacts with the students outside classes.

25. Teachers (a b c d e) be free to make changes in what is studied and what books are used in their classes.

26. The Headmaster (a b c d e) have absolute power over all teachers, and make decisions without talking to them.

27. Teachers (a b c d e) assist with school clubs/societies.

28. Students (a b c d e) be asked to do physical work on the upkeep of the school on Saturdays.

29. Students who fall asleep in class (a b c d e) be sent home.

30. Students (a b c d e) have some voice in how students are punished.

31. Parents (a b c d e) be concerned about the education of their children.

32. The Headmaster (a b c d e) give all his time to running the school and none to teaching.

33. Teachers (a b c d e) be made to give extra time to students who need help.

34. Students (a b c d e) complain about their teachers to the Head-master.

35. If a teacher makes a mistake a student (a b c d e) call the teacher's attention to what he has done that is wrong.

-5-

36. If a student is caught drinking alcohol he (a b c d e) be suspended from school.

37. How well do you speak Swahili?

    a. not at all
    b. very badly
    c. poorly
    d. fairly well
    e. perfectly

38. Do you belong to any club/society at Lubiri? Yes No
    If so, which one(s)?

39. How many acres of land do you want to own in the future?

    a. none
    b. 1
    c. 5
    d. 10
    e. 50
    f. 100
    g. more than 100

40. If you had land who would do the digging?

    a. only myself
    b. only my wife (husband)
    c. myself and family
    d. people hired to dig
    e. others? _____

41. Who is your favorite teacher at Lubiri? _____

    Why?

42. Who do you think is the best teacher in the school?

    _____why?

43. On what basis do you think the Buganda Government bursaries have been awarded? (rank 1 to 5)

    a. _____ because the family is very poor
    b. _____ because the student has a relative in the government
    c. _____ because a bribe has been paid
    d. _____ because of the academic ability of the student
    e. _____ because of the character and motivation of the student

-6-

44. How do you like hymn singing?

    a. not at all
    b. very little
    c. a little
    d. some
    e. a great deal

45. How do you like P E.?

    a. not at all
    b. very little
    c. a little
    d. some
    e. a great deal

46. How do you like school meals?

    a. not at all
    b. very little
    c. a little
    d. some
    e. a great deal

47. Waliwo eyali agezezaako okuloga? Yes No
    (Has anyone ever tried to bewitch you?) When, How, and Why?

48. Have you ever helped yourself by using a Kiganda "medicine"?
    Yes No

    When and Why?

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 6   November, 1962

NAME _____, _____ _____CLASS _____
          last   first   middle

This questionnaire is part of the general study of the Lubiri Senior
Secondary School. Please answer questions truthfully and quickly.
Where possible answer by putting a ring around the correct word or
letter that goes before a group of words. All answers will remain
confidential.

1. Where will you live during vacation? (write in the following blanks)

   a. village _____ b. county _____

   c. distance from school _____ miles. Road used _____

   d. name of owner of house you will stay in _____

   e. name of neighbors _____

   f. landmarks _____
      (near where house is).

   g. whom will you live with: name _____

   h. relationship (if any): _____

2. What do you plan to do during the vacation?

3. Will you work?   Yes   No

   A. If "Yes", for whom?   Name: _____

      Relationship (if any): _____

      What kind of work will you do?

      How much will you earn (in six weeks)?

      How many hours a day will you work? _____

   B. If the answer to 3 was "No" why won't you work?

      What will you do?

-2-

Complete the following:

4. I like being home for vacation because

5. I do <u>not</u> like being home for vacation because

6. During vacation I enjoy myself by

7. The most difficult things for me during vacation are

8. During vacation I would really like to be

9. If I am at home during vacation my parents (guardian) expect me to

10. Are you happy with what they want you to do? Yes No (Explain why)

11. What could be done to make vacation better for senior secondary school students?

12. How do you spend your time during vacation (a typical day)? Mention morning, noon, afternoon, evening and night.

13. How would you <u>like</u> to spend your time during vacation? (Give a typical day again)

14. Will you be troubled during vacation by raising money for school fees and expenses for the next term? Yes No

    If "Yes" what do you propose to do about it?

15. Do you think your parents (or guardian) is sufficiently interested in your education? Yes No

    Explain your answer.

16. Name a number of ways your parents help you in getting your education:

17. Name some ways you would like your parents to help you:

18. During school vacation I read newspapers:

    a. not at all
    b. once or twice
    c. once a week
    d. two or three times a week
    e. daily

-3-

19. During school vacation I listen to the radio:

 a. not at all
 b. once or twice
 c. once a week
 d. two or three times a week
 e. daily

20. During school vacation I read novels:

 a. not at all
 b. once or twice
 c. once a week
 d. two or three times a week
 e. daily

21. During school vacation I study school lessons:

 a. not at all
 b. once or twice
 c. once a week
 d. two or three times a week
 e. daily

22. Did you take part in the voluntary work on the school building during the August vacation?

 a. not at all
 b. a few days
 c. four or five days
 d. six to ten days
 e. eleven or more days

23. What do you think of this kind of volunteer work?

24. Would you do it this coming vacation? Yes No
 Explain your answer:

PART II. Student Housing During Third Term 1962

25. How do you feel about where you lived during this term?

 a. very satisfied
 b. satisfied
 c. dissatisfied
 d. very dissatisfied

 Why do you feel this way?

-4-

26. How do you feel about the conditions you had to study in where you lived during this term?

   a. very satisfied
   b. satisfied
   c. dissatisfied
   d. very dissatisfied

   Why do you feel this way?

27. A. On an average how much time did you read and revise where you lived during this term?

   a. less than $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour a day   a.
   b. up to an hour a day   b.
   c. an hour and a half a day   c.
   d. about two hours a day   d.
   e. more than two and a half hours a day   e.

27. B. How much time would you have liked to have had? (ring letter here/

28. Are you planning to move from where you lived this term?   Yes   No

   Why?

29. Would you like to move from where you lived this term, if you could?   Yes   No   Why?

30. What will be your address for mail during vacation?   Box:
                                                          Town:

SOCIAL SURVEY LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

To: Voluntary Participants in August, 1962 on new classroom block.

Please answer all questions. All answers will remain confidential.

Sheldon Weeks
E A I S R, Makerere
Kampala, Uganda

1. Had you ever participated in a Uganda Boys Club program previously?
Yes   No
When and why?

2. Why did you choose to do this work on the Lubiri School Building?

3. What type of work did you do? What type did you like doing the most?

4. What is your opinion of people who have to make their living working with their hands?

5. Would you be willing to volunteer to do this kind of work again?
Yes   No   Why?

Under what conditions?

For another school? Yes   No   Why?

6. How many days did you work?

7. How did the work please you?

   a. very satisfied
   b. satisfied
   c. dissatisfied
   d. very dissatisfied

Explain your answer:

8. What did your friends think of your doing this work?

   a. that you were foolish
   b. they didn't understand
   c. that you shouldn't do it
   d. that it was a good thing
   e. they admired you

-2-

9. What did your father think of your doing this kind of work?

   a. that you were foolish
   b. he didn't understand
   c. that you shouldn't do it   .
   d. that it was a good thing
   e. he admired you (was very pleased)

10. What did your mother think of your doing this kind of work?

   a. that you were foolish
   b. she didn't understand you
   c. that you should not do it
   d. that it was a good thing
   e. she admired you (was pleased)

11. What did your relatives think of your doing this kind of work?

   a. that you were foolish
   b. they didn't understand
   c. that you shouldn't do it
   d. that it was a good thing
   e. they admired you (were pleased)

12. Why do you think more students did not participate?

13. What do you think of the building sitting so long without any work being done and now being finished by workmen?

14. Do you think students should have finished the job? Yes No Why?

15. What is your feeling towards the non-Lubiri students who worked on the building?

16. Did you learn anything from this experience? Yes No What?

17. Do you belong to the Adventurer's Club? Yes No Why?

18. Would you have been able to volunteer for this work if school fees had been required this past term? Yes No Why?

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 7   February, 1963

                                                  No. _____
NAME _____, _____ _____CLASS _____

This questionnaire is to be answered by students who have been in the
Lubiri Secondary School during 1962. It is intended to study changes
in residence, vacation activity, and other things relating to the new
term. Please answer questions truthfully and quickly. Where possible
answer by putting a ring around the correct word or letter that goes
before a group of words. All answers will remain confidential.

1. I am living at the same place I was at last term: Yes No

   If the answer is <u>Yes</u> go on to question No. 3. If <u>No</u> go on to
   No. 2.

2. I am now living at: a. village _____
   b. county _____ c. Distance from school _____
   c. Roads used to get to school _____
   d. name of owner of house you stay in _____
   e. relationship (if any) _____
   f. landmarks _____
   g. if a hired room how much are you paying: _____per month.
   h. how many people are in the room besides yourself: 0 1 2 3 4 5 6
                              name   school   class
      If others students:

      Do they help or hinder your studies, and if so how?
                              name   age   type of work
      If others <u>not</u> students:

   i. Type of light you study by at night:
      a. wax candle
      b. paraffin candle
      c. paraffin lamp
      d. pressure lamp
      e. electric light

   j. Do you cook your own food for supper? Yes No
      If <u>you</u> cook it circle type of stove used and time spent cooking:

      Stove: a. wood   Time spent: a. 15 minutes
              b. charcoal   b. 30 minutes
              c. paraffin wick   c. 45 minutes
              d. paraffin pressure   d. 1 hour
              e. Afrigas   e. hour and a half
              f. electric   f. two hours

3. How do you get to school:

    a. foot
    b. bus
    c. bike
    d. car
    e. bus and foot
    f. car and foot
    g. scooter

4. Do you have a raincoat? Yes No Why?

5. Are you doing any work this term besides your school studies:
   Yes No
   If yes, why, for whom, when, how many hours a week, and what kind
   of work?

6. What people have contributed to your school fees for this term?
   names   relationships

7. Do you have a bursary this term: Yes No   If yes, how much_____
                                                              for 1963

8. Where did you live during the last vacation and what did you do?
   If you worked, how much did you earn and what have you done with
   the money?

9. How did what happened to you during the vacation differ from what
   you had planned?

10. Do you have enough time to study this term?

    a. Yes
    b. No
    c. Not quite

    If No or Not quite, why?

11. How do you feel about the conditions you are living in now?

    a. very satisfied
    b. satisfied
    c. dissatisfied
    d. very dissatisfied

12. Would you like to move from where you are living now? Yes No
    Why?

-3-

13. Have any of your brothers or sisters (either same mother or same father--not cousins) dropped out of school this year who were in school in 1962? Yes No

If so: Name   School   Why dropped out

a.

b.

c.

ANY COMMENTS?

SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 8   April, 1963

NO. _____   NAME: _____

This questionnaire is a continuation of the study of the Lubiri Secon-
dary School. Please answer all questions quickly and truthfully. All
answers will remain confidential.

                                    Sheldon Weeks
                                    EAISR, Makerere

1. This coming holiday I will live at the same place as during the
    last (December-January) holiday: Yes No
    (If Yes go on to question 3, if No, do question 2)

2. I plan to go to: village _____
    county: _____
    distance from school: _____ miles
    whom will you live with? name: _____
    relationship: _____
    name of the owner of the house: _____

3. What do you plan to do during the coming vacation?

4. When the second term begins on May 8th are you planning to live at
    the same place you lived at this term? Yes No
    If No, where do you plan to move to? village _____
    distance from school: _____ miles
    whom will you live with? name: _____
    relationship (if any): _____
    name of the owner of the house: _____
    Why are you moving?

5. This past term has anyone helped you with your school homework
    after you leave school? Yes No
    If Yes, whom:

    1 = a friend
    2 = parent
    3 = relative
    4 = master
    5 = guardian

-2-

6. How often:

Everyday	= 1
Nearly everyday	= 2
Two or three times a week	= 3
Once a week	= 4
Less than once a week	= 5

7. Who are your best friends in the school? (Name four):

      name   class   why your friend

a.
b.
c.
d.

8. Of all the students in the school are there any you are not friends with now whom you would like to get to know better? (name two):

      name   class   why you would like
                                      to know him/her

a.
b.

9. Are there any students in the school whom you do not like? (name two):

      name   class   why you do not like them

a.
b.

10. Have you the new school uniform? Yes No
If No, why not?

11. Give the relationship to you of the people you have lived with during your life (whether mother, father, parents, sister, brother aunt, uncle, grandparent, master, guardian, etc.)

From birth to two years of age:
From two to four years of age:
From four to seven years of age:
During primary school:
During junior secondary school:
During senior secondary school:

12. Is the person who pays your school fees paying the school fees of anyone else? Yes No If Yes, fill in below:

                      How many   how related to you

In primary school:
In junior secondary:
In senior secondary:
In higher school:

SOCIAL SURVEY LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 9   Second Term, 1963

NO. _____

NAME: _____, _____CLASS _____
                surname

This questionnaire is a continuation of the study of the problems of day
secondary education. This questionnaire is intended to study changes in
residence, vacation activity, and other things relating to the new term.
It is similar to previous questionnaires you have filled out but please
answer all questions. Where possible answer by putting a ring around
the correct word or letter or number that goes with a group of words.
All answers will remain confidential.

                                                Sheldon Weeks

_____

8. How many years old are you?

        13 = 0
        14 = 1
        15 = 2
        16 = 3
        17 = 4
        18 = 5
        19 = 6
        20 = 7
        21 = 8
        22 = 9
        23 = 11

9. How far are you now living from school (in miles)?

        Less than ½ a mile = 1
        Up to one mile   = 2
        1 to 1½ miles   = 3
        Two miles   = 4
        2½ miles   = 5
        3 miles   = 6
        4 miles   = 7
        5 miles   = 8
        6 miles   = 9
        7 miles   = 0
        8 miles   = 11
        9 or more miles   = 12

10. How do you get to school:

    On foot   = 1
    By bus   = 2
    By bike   = 3
    By car   = 4
    By bus and foot = 5
    By car and foot = 6
    By motorscooter = 7

A. This term I am now living at: village _____
    county: _____district: _____
    name of the owner of the house you live in: _____
    relationship to you (if any): _____

12. If a hired room how much are you paying per month? _____

13. With whom are you living during this school term?

    Both my parents = 1
    My mother only = 2
    My father only = 3
    My aunt   = 4
    My uncle   = 5
    A grandparent   = 6
    My sister   = 7
    My brother   = 8
    A master   = 9
    My guardian   = 0
    A friend   = 11
    My cousin   = 12
    Hostel   = b

14. Where did you live during the last school vacation (April)?

    With my parents = 1
    With relatives   = 2
    With my guardian = 3
    With friends   = 4
    In a hired room = 5

    Where? village: _____county: _____

B. What did you do during this past vacation?

    Did you earn any money? Yes No. If Yes, how much _____ Sh
    How have you used this money?

-3-

C. Are you now living at the same place as last term? Yes No
    If No, why did you move?

D. The house you are now staying at this term, from what kinds of
    material is it made? Walls _____
    Roof _____ Floor _____ No. of rooms ___
    Number of people in the house altogether:
    Adults (over 21) _____
    Others (under 21) _____
    Is there water in the house? Yes No
    If No, distance to water: _____
    Does the house have electricity: Yes No
    Is electricity used for cooking: Yes No

17. Where you sleep tonight how many other people sleep in the same
    room with you?

    None 1 2 3 4 5 6

    How many of those you share a room with are also students?

    None 1 2 3 4 5 6

    The people I live with (put a ring around one of these):

    a. help me with my studies and revising = 1
    b. do not help or trouble me in my
        studies and revising   = 2
    c. trouble me when I try to study or
        revise   = 3

18. What type of light do you read by at night?

    Wax candle   = 1
    paraffin candle = 2
    paraffin lamp   = 3
    pressure lamp   = 4
    electric light   = 5
                        6

19. Do you have enough time to study?

    Yes   = 1
    No   = 2
    Not quite = 3

    If No, or not quite, why?

-4-

21. Are you doing any work this year besides your school studies?
Yes No   If yes, why?

.   For whom:

When:

How many hours a week:

What kind of work:

What do they give you in turn for working:

22. Do you cook your own food for supper:

Yes = 1
No = 2

If yes, what type of stove do you use?

I do not cook my own food = 0
I use a wood stove   = 1
A charcoal stove   = 2
A paraffin wick stove   = 3
A paraffin pressure stove = 4
An Afrigas stove   = 5
An electric stove   = 6

23. If you cook your own food how much time do you spend on cooking
supper?

I do not cook my own food = 0
I take only 15 minutes   = 1
30 minutes   = 2
45 minutes   = 3
One hour   = 4
One hour and a half   = 5
I take two hours to cook = 6

24. What people have helped to pay your school fees for this term?
        names   relationships   amount in Sh

25. If your school fees are being paid largely by someone other than
your father or mother what work does the person (or persons) do?

If he is a cultivator or farmer how many acres of land does he
use? _____acres.

-5-

26. For how many years did the person who mainly pays your school fees (if not your father or mother) go to school? _____ years

   At what class level did he stop? _____

27. How do you feel about the conditions where you are living this term?

   Very satisfied   = 1
   Satisfied   = 2
   Dissatisfied   = 3
   Very dissatisfied = 4

   Why do you feel this way?

   Would you like to move from where you are living now?
   Yes No
   If yes, why?

28. Would you want to live in a hostel if one was open to you?
   Yes No
   Explain your answer in detail:

29. Did you pay your school fees for this term already? Yes No
   If no, why not?

30. Have you paid last term's school fees? Yes No

31. When was the last time you were examined by a doctor?
   Year: _____
   Why?

32. Have you ever during your life missed a term or more of school due to illness? Yes No   If yes, when and why?

33. Have you ever had your eyes examined for glasses: Yes No
   Were you told you needed to wear glasses: Yes No
   Do you wear glasses now: Yes No

Any Comments?

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 10   Third Term, 1963

_____

NAME: _____, _____ CLASS _____
              Surname   Christian name

This questionnaire is a deliberate repetition of previous question-
naires you have already completed (with a few exceptions). It is
necessary at this time to have again a complete picture of your situ-
ation as a day secondary student. The Ministry of Education has re-
quested a report on all African students at the six grant-aided day
secondary schools in Greater Kampala. In the past month question-
naires have been filled out by students at Old Kampala, Agakhan,
Kololo Kitante Hill, and Makerere College School. I regret having to
ask you to do this work again but it is most important that it be done.
Please answer all questions. Where possible answer by putting a ring
around the correct word or letter or number that best indicates your
answer. All answers will remain confidential.

Sheldon Weeks
East African Institute of
Social Research, Makerere
College, Kampala, Uganda

_____

Answer by putting a ring around the number on the right hand side of
the equation.

8. How many years old are you?

    13 = 0
    14 = 1
    15 = 2
    16 = 3
    17 = 4
    18 = 5
    19 = 6
    20 = 7
    21 = 8
    22 = 9
    23 = 11

9. How far are you living from school (the place where you sleep tonight)?

Less than ½ a mile = 1
Up to one mile   = 2
1 to 1½ miles   = 3
Two miles   = 4
2½ miles   = 5
3 miles   = 6
4 miles   = 7
5 miles   = 8
6 miles   = 9
7 miles   = 0
8 miles   = 11
9 or more miles   = 12

10. How do you get to school?

On foot   = 1
By bus   = 2
By bike   = 3
By car   = 4
By bus and foot   = 5
By car and foot   = 6
By motorscooter   = 7

11. At whose place do you stay during school term? (the place where you sleep tonight):

I live with my parents . . . .   = 1
I live with my relatives . . . .   = 2
I live with my relatives but must work for them for
my room and board . . . .   = 3
I live with my relatives but must pay them for my
room and board . . . .   = 4
I live in a hired room   . . . .   = 5
I live with a friend free . . . .   = 6
I live where I work for a master for my room and board   = 7
I live in the Valley Hostel . . . .   = 9

12. If you live in a hired room how much rent are you paying <u>per month</u>? /_____shs

-3-

13. With whom are you living during this school term?

Both my parents = 1
My mother only = 2
My father only = 3
My aunt = 4
My uncle = 5
My grandparents = 6
My sister = 7
My brother = 8
A master = 9
My guardian = 0
A friend = 11
My cousin = 12
Valley Hostel = B
Alone in a
  hired room = b

14. Where did you live during the recent school holiday (this past August)?

With my parents = 1
With relatives = 2
With my guardian= 3
With friends = 4
In a hired room = 5

A. Where? Village _____
           County _____
           Country _____

B. What work did you do during the last holiday (if any?)

Did you earn any money? Yes No If yes, how much _____shs
How have you used this money?

C. This term I am now living at; village _____
   county: _____
   distance from school: _____miles
   name of the owner of the house you are staying at: _____
   relationship to you (if any) _____

-4-

15. This term I am usually eating breakfast at:

School   = 1
<u>At home and I have</u>:
  Only tea   = 2
  Porridge   = 3
  Tea or coffee and bread   = 4
  Tea or coffee and eggs   = 5
  Tea or coffee and matoke   = 6
  Tea or coffee and posho   = 8
<u>I usually do not get any breakfast</u> = 7

17. Where you sleep tonight how many other people sleep in the <u>same</u> <u>room</u> with you?

None   1   2   3   4   5   6

How many of those you share a room with are also students:

None   1   2   3   4   5   6

The people I live with (put a ring around the letter that best stands for your case):

a. = help me with my studies and revising
b = do not help or trouble me in my studies
c = trouble me when I try to study or revise

18. What type of light do you use to read by at night?

Wax candle   = 1
Paraffin candle = 2
Paraffin lamp   = 3
Pressure lamp   = 4
Electric light = 5

19. Do you have enough time to study?

Yes   = 1
No   = 2
Not quite = 3

If no or not quite, why?

20. Do you have enough money for your personal needs?   Yes   No
If No, why do you need more money, and what for?

21. Are you doing <u>any work</u> (even for master or relatives) this term besides your school studies? Yes No
If Yes, why?
For whom:
When:
How many hours a week?
What kind of work:
What do they give you for working:

22. Do <u>you</u> cook your own food for supper?
Yes = 1
No = 2

If <u>you</u> cook your own food for supper what type of stove do you use?

I do not cook my own food = 0
I use a wood stove   = 1
A charcoal stove   = 2
A paraffin wick stove   = 3
A paraffin pressure stove = 4
An Afrigas stove   = 5
An electric stove   = 6

23. If <u>you</u> cook your own food how much time do you spend on cooking supper?

I do not cook my own food = 0
I take only 15 minutes   = 1
30 minutes   = 2
45 minutes   = 3
One hour   = 4
One and a half hours   = 5
I take two hours to cook = 6

24. What people have helped to pay your school fees for this year?

Names	Relationships	Amount in shs of school fees	How much has been paid so far?

25. If people <u>other than</u> your parents or yourself are helping to pay your school fees please answer this question. (If it is yourself, your mother or your father paying your school fees please leave this question and go on to question 26.)
What work does he/she do?
If he is a cultivator or a farmer how many acres of land does he use? _____ acres
How many years did the person who mainly pays your school fees (if <u>not</u> your father or mother) go to school? _____ years
At what class (level) did he stop? _____

26. Do you have a bursary this year? Yes No
    If Yes, how much for 1963? shs _____
    Who has given you the bursary:

27. How much time do you spend studying (revising) daily after school
    closes?

    None   = 1
    Less than ½ hour a day   = 2
    About ½ hour a day   = 3
    About 1 hour a day   = 4
    About 1½ hours a day   = 5
    About two hours a day   = 6
    More than 2½ hours a day   = 7

46. A. Where does your father live? (put a ring around a letter
        for your answer)

        a. = he is dead
        b = he lives at: Village _____
              county _____ Country _____

    B. Where does your mother live?

        c = same as above where my father lives
        d = she lives at: Village _____
              county _____ Country _____

    C. If your father and mother <u>are alive and do not live together</u>
        please answer the following:

        f = mother deserted (left) father
        g = father deserted (left) mother
        h = father's work made him leave

54. How do you feel about the conditions where you are living this
    term?

    Very satisfied   = 1
    Satisfied   = 2
    Dissatisfied   = 3
    Very dissatisfied   = 4

    Why do you feel this way?

    Would you like to move from where you are living now? Yes No
    If Yes, why?

55. How many wives has your father had altogether?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

How many wives is your father caring for now?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

If your father is dead, how many wives was he caring for when he died?

0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

60. How far do you hope to go before stopping your education?

1 = leave school before finishing the school certificate
2 = stop after getting the school certificate
3 = go to a commercial school after the school certificate
4 = go to a technical school after the school certificate
5 = go to a teacher training college after the school certificate
6 = abroad for university after the school certificate
7 = go on to higher school certificate and stop there
8 = go to the University of East Africa
9 = study for a Phd abroad after the University of EA
0 = I do not know

68. Facing what you know of yourself, your ability, academic competition, the few places in higher schools, and the difficulty of exams, how far do you really think you will go?

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 0

69. How do you evaluate yourself as a student?

Poor   = 1
Fair   = 2
Good   = 3
Excellent   = 4
First Class = 5

77. When you go home after school (or on weekends) does any person help you in revising your school lessons? Yes   No
If Yes, whom:
  in what subjects:
  how often:

78. What ought to be done to improve your school?

-8-

79. What was your position in your class last term?

_____th out of _____

80. What were your results on Senior Entrance Examination?

Grade A or 1 = 4
Grade B or 2 = 3
Grade C or 3 = 2
Failure   = 1

G. Who are your four best friends in this school?
(please name four with their class and why they are your friend)
        Full Name   Class   Why your friend

1
2
3
4

K. Do you belong to any clubs or societies in your school? Yes No
If Yes, what ones? Any official position in them?

Are there any clubs or societies you do not belong to you would
like to join? Yes No   If Yes, which ones and why?

SURVEY OF DAY SECONDARY SCHOOLS

QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 11   November, 1963

_____

NAME: _____CLASS _____

This questionnaire is a continuation of the study of the problems of day secondary education. Please answer all questions directly and honestly. All answers will remain confidential.

21. Are you planning to move from where you have lived during this term? Yes No Why?

   If Yes, to what village? _____
   Distance to school? _____
   With whom? (name) _____
   Relationship: _____
   Work to be done: _____

27. Would you like to move from where you have lived during this term if you could? Yes No Why?

29. On an average how much time did you read and revise where you lived during this term?

   a. less than $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour a day
   b. up to an hour a day
   c. an hour and a half a day
   d. about two hours a day
   e. more than two and $\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day

30. How much time would you have liked to have had to read and revise where you have lived during this term?

   a. less than $\frac{1}{2}$ an hour a day
   b. up to an hour a day
   c. an hour and a half a day
   d. about two hours a day
   e. more than two and $\frac{1}{2}$ hours a day

31. Do you hope to do any work during the coming long Dec/Jan. School Holiday? Yes No
   If No, what will you do?
   If Yes, what kind of work? (Describe, type of work and for whom)
   Will you earn any money? Yes No
   (If Yes, how much?)

-2-

34. What do you think it means to be a success in life?

35. What teacher do you like the most in your school?

_____

Why?

36. Of the teachers you have which one do you think is the best teacher?

_____

Why?

38. Who are the five most important pupils in your school? (academically, in societies, in athletics)

1. _____   why? _____
2. _____   why? _____
3. _____   why? _____
4. _____   why? _____
5. _____   why? _____

48. Who are the five most important men in Uganda?

1. _____   why? _____
2. _____   why? _____
3. _____   why? _____
4. _____   why? _____
5. _____   why? _____

58. Who are the five most important men in Africa?

1. _____   why? _____
2. _____   why? _____
3. _____   why? _____
4. _____   why? _____
5. _____   why? _____

68. Who are the five most important men in the world?

1. _____   why? _____
2. _____   why? _____
3. _____   why? _____
4. _____   why? _____
5. _____   why? _____

78. Our school should have more students from other parts of Uganda and Africa than it does: Yes No
Explain your answer.

79. During 1963 have you been bothered by thieves? Yes No
If Yes, when _____
What happened?

PART II

In the following put a ring around the letter which best shows how much weight (importance) you would give (or gave) to the opinions or recommendations of certain people when you are making a decision. The meanings of the letters are:

a = a great deal of weight
b = some weight
c = very little weight
d = no weight at all
e = do not know

A. In deciding to come to this school how much weight did you give to:

1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
6. Your friend's desires?   a b c d e
7. Your own desires?   a b c d e

B. In deciding to go to a university how much weight would you give to:

1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
6. Your friend's desires?   a b c d e
7. Your own desires?   a b c d e

C. In choosing an occupation how much weight would you give to:

1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
5. Your headmaster's desires? a b c d e
6. Your friend's desires?   a b c d e
7. Your own desires?   a b c d e

-4-

D. In choosing the person you marry how much weight would you give to:

1. Your father's desires?   a b c d e
2. Your mother's desires?   a b c d e
3. Your relative's desires?   a b c d e
4. Your teacher's desires?   a b c d e
5. Your headmaster's desires?   a b c d e
6. Your friend's desires?   a b c d e
7. Your <u>own</u> desires?   a b c d e

Please write about the following:

A. What are the qualities of a good pupil?

B. Describe a bad pupil.

C. What are the qualities of a good teacher?

D. Describe a bad teacher.

E. What are the qualities of a good headmaster?

F. Describe a bad headmaster.

In the following questions put a ring around the letter which best shows what you believe. The meanings of the letters are:

    a = absolutely should
    b = preferably should
    c = may or may not
    d = preferably should not
    e = absolutely should not

61. A teacher (a b c d e) be involved in politics.

62. A teacher (a b c d e) be strict with students on all occasions.

63. If a teacher has something interesting to say, even though it is not on the School Certificate syllabus and would take a period to tell, he (a b c d e) use the class time in this way.

64. A teacher (a b c d e) report to the Headmaster any trouble with a student.

65. Teachers (a b c d e) attempt to understand the personal problems of students and their individual differences.

66. Teachers (a b c d e) be easy with students in the amount of school work they demand of them.

-5-

67. Teachers (a b c d e) have informal contacts with the students outside classes.

68. Teachers (a b c d e) be free to make changes in what is studied and what books are used in their classes.

69. The Headmaster (a b c d e) have absolute power over all teachers, and make decisions without consulting them.

70. Teachers (a b c d e) assist with school clubs/societies.

71. Students (a b c d e) be asked to do physical work on the upkeep of the school on Saturdays.

72. Students who fall asleep in class (a b c d e) be sent home.

73. Students (a b c d e) have some voice in how students are disciplined.

74. Parents (a b c d e) be concerned about the education of their children.

75. The Headmaster (a b c d e) devote all his time to running the school and none to teaching.

76. Teachers (a b c d e) be required to give extra time to students who need help.

77. Students (a b c d e) be critical of their teachers and the Headmaster.

78. If a teacher makes a mistake a student (a b c d e) call the teacher's attention to what he has done that is wrong.

79. If a student is caught drinking alcohol he (a b c d e) be suspended from school.

PART III

In the following questions put a ring around the letter that best shows your beliefs (remember that there is no correct answer). The meanings of the letters are:

a = strongly agree
b = agree
c = do not care (indifferent)
d = disagree
e = strongly disagree

-6-

37. Education is like something at the dukka that can be bought and sold.

a b c d e

38. When a student finishes his education and starts working he should give from what he earns to his relatives and parents who helped pay his school fees.

a b c d e

39. Our school should have more students from outside Buganda.

a b c d e

40. A student who cheats on an examination should be expelled from school.

a b c d e

41. All students (except for reasons of health) should be made to participate in school athletics.

a b c d e

42. Agricultural science and techniques should be taught to students at our school.

a b c d e

43. School societies are a waste of time; we should have more classes.

a b c d e

44. Luganda should be the first language in the school and English only studied as a second language.

a b c d e

45. A person should always do what he knows is right regardless of what may happen.

a b c d e

46. People should be quick to take to new customs and leave behind mere traditions and old-fashioned habits.

47. Man cannot solve any problems alone; he must turn to God for help.

a b c d e

-7-

Please write about the following:

A.   In what ways are Africans and Europeans the same?

B.   In what ways are Africans and Europeans different?

C.   In what ways are Africans better than Europeans?

D.   In what ways are Europeans better than Africans?

E.   What <u>benefits</u> do you think Europeans have brought to this country?

F.   What <u>evils</u> do you think Europeans have brought to this country?

G.   <u>In your opinion</u> how do whites feel about Africans?

H.   On the whole <u>how</u> do you feel about the whites you meet personally?

I.   Of the Europeans you have met which nationalities do you like the best?

                         _____best
                         _____next best
                         _____next best
                         _____next best
                         _____least

J.   Do you feel that most Europeans are pretty much alike, or are there great differences?

    Alike   Differ   (circle one)

    Explain your answer:

K.   What did people tell you about Europeans when you were young?

Please write about the following:

A.   In what ways are Africans and Asians the same?

B.   In what way are Africans and Asians different?

C.   In what way are Africans better than Asians?

D.   In what ways are Asians better than Africans?

-8-

E.   What <u>benefits</u> do you think Asians brought to this country?

F.   What <u>evils</u> do you think Asians brought to this country?

G.   <u>In your opinion</u> how do Asians feel about Africans?

H.   On the whole <u>how</u> do you feel about the Asians you meet personally?

I.   Of the Asians you have met those of which communities do you like best?

_____best
_____next best
_____next best
_____next best
_____least

J.   Do you feel that most Asians are pretty much alike, or are there great differences?

Alike   Differ   (circle one)

Explain your answer:

K.   What did people tell you about Asians when you were young?

L.   How are Asians like Europeans?

M.   How do Asians differ from Europeans?

PART IV

In the following section there are <u>no correct</u> answers. It is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers, only an answer for each person. All the questions in this part can be answered in the same way. They are to be <u>ranked</u> by you in order from the most important (1) to the least important (5 or 6) as seen by <u>you</u>.

Sample question: What foods do you prefer to eat? (rank from 1 to 6)

_____ a.   meat
_____ b.   millet
_____ c.   matoke
_____ d.   fish
_____ e.   cassava
_____ f.   rice

21. Different students work for different things. Among the things you work for during school days how important is each of these? (rank from 1 to 5):

_____ a. pleasing my parents
_____ b. learning as much as possible in school
_____ c. living up to my religious ideals
_____ d. being accepted and liked by other students
_____ e. doing well in athletics

26. Now rank the following items in terms of their importance to you (1 to 5):

_____ a. groups and activities outside school
_____ b. clubs/societies in school
_____ c. having a good time. How? _____
_____ d. reading novels
_____ e. just talking with other people

31. What are the qualities of student who is well liked by other students (1 to 7:

_____ a. has good grades
_____ b. has a good reputation (thought well of)
_____ c. a good talker
_____ d. comes from a good family
_____ e. has money
_____ f. a leader in activities
_____ g. has good manners

38. If you could be any of these, rank them in order of your prefer-ence (1 to 6):

_____ a. clerk
_____ b. farmer
_____ c. secondary school teacher
_____ d. atomic scientist
_____ e. member of the national assembly (parliament)
_____ f. social worker (like Save the Children Fund)

44. If you could enter Government Service what would be your order of preference? (rank 1 to 6)

_____ a. Gombolola chief
_____ b. International Civil Service (United Nations)
_____ c. Town Civil Service
_____ d. Local Government Civil Service
_____ e. Uganda Civil Service
_____ f. Saza Chief

-10-

51. Rank the following six jobs according to their preference by you
(rank 1 to 6)

_____ a. writer or journalist
_____ b. scientist
_____ c. business executive (manager of a company)
_____ d. medical doctor
_____ e. engineer
_____ f. agricultural officer

57. Now rank the following jobs in order of their preference (1 to 7):

_____ a. small cultivator
_____ b. clerk
_____ c. carpenter
_____ d. duka proprietor (owner)
_____ e. tailor
_____ f. shoemaker
_____ g. primary school teacher

64. Where would you prefer to live?   (rank 1 to 8):

_____ a. small rural town
_____ b. Jinja
_____ c. Masaka
_____ d. Kisumu
_____ e. small farm (Kibanja) (Shamba)
_____ f. Kampala (Mengo)
_____ g. Kampala (Kololo)
_____ h. Nairobi

_____

21. Rank the following in terms of their importance to you when you
will be working (from 1 to 6):

_____ a. security of steady work
_____ b. opportunity for rapid advancement
_____ c. the enjoyment of the work itself
_____ d. friendly people to work with
_____ e. high income
_____ f. working with relatives

27. Good results on the Cambridge School Certificate depend on
(1 to 5)

_____ a. the teacher's ability to make you learn
_____ b. the student's ability to memorize facts
_____ c. the student's understanding of the subject matter
_____ d. creativity and imagination
_____ e. extra reading of many books

-11-

32. Rank the following according to what you think their quality is:
(from 1 to 7)

        _____ a. Makerere College
        _____ b. Royal College, Nairobi
        _____ c. London University
        _____ d. University of Delhi (India)
        _____ e. Edinburgh University (Scotland)
        _____ f. Columbia University (America)
        _____ g. Cambridge University (England)

39. On what basis do you think Government Bursaries for secondary
school pupils have been awarded? (rank 1 to 5)

        _____ a. Because the family is very poor
        _____ b. because the student has a relative in the Government.
        _____ c. because a bribe has been paid
        _____ d. the academic ability of the student
        _____ e. the character and motivation of the student (his
correct behavior and manners and his eagerness to
learn and be of service).

44. Here are some possible qualities of an educated man (rank 1 to 7)

        _____ a. owns a car
        _____ b. has a graduate degree
        _____ c. has an important Government job
        _____ d. works with his hands
        _____ e. reads a great deal
        _____ f. lives in a big house
        _____ g. has a school certificate

51. Whom do you prefer as teachers? (assume the same qualifications).
(rank 1 to 4)

        _____ a. Americans
        _____ b. Asians
        _____ c. Africans
        _____ d. Europeans

55. Here are some possible purposes of your school. (rank 1 to 8)

        _____ a. To make students better citizens of Uganda and E.A.
        _____ b. to get students to pass the School certificate
        _____ c. to teach dramatics
        _____ d. to prepare students for jobs
        _____ e. to select those students who are able to continue
their education
        _____ f. to educate children from poor families
        _____ g. to give character training (teaching proper manners)
        _____ h. to help maintain (Kiganda) traditions

-12-

63. Please rank the following schools from best to worst: (1 to 10

_____ Aga Khan Secondary School
_____ Aggrey Memorial School
_____ Kitante Hill School
_____ Chwa II, Namungoona
_____ Lubiri Secondary School
_____ Old Kampala Secondary School
_____ Makerere College School
_____ Nile College
_____ Kololo Senior Secondary School
_____ Mahmud High School

73. Are you in favor of the East African Federation?

Yes, No   Explain your answer.

_____

(This space is provided to enable you to write down any comments, acknowledgements or criticisms on this study)

HOME VISITS
LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL   Interview Form No. 1

Sheldon Weeks
EAISR
Box 16022
Kampala, Uganda

Student's Name _____

Who Interviewed _____ Date _____

Relationship _____

Village_____ Interpreter _____

Language of Interview: English   Luganda
(If information not on questionnaire No. 1)
        Occupation
        No. Years education
        Other

_____

Observations of Home/Lodgings

1. House

2. Size

3. No. Living in it

4. Condition

5. Artifacts

6. Physical appearance

7. Ownership

8. Land and use

9. Time Lived there

10. Other

_____

QUESTIONS

1. Have you ever visited the Lubiri School?

2. Have you met the Headmaster or any teachers?

3. Are you happy your son is at Lubiri?

-2-

4. Is there any other senior secondary school you would rather your son be at?

5. Why do you send your son to Lubiri?

6. How do you feel about your son being away from home and having to take care of himself?

7. Have you ever applied for a bursary?

8. What do you think Lubiri prepares your son for?

9. How far do you want him to go in school?

10. How far do you think he wants to go?

11. What jobs do you think he can get when he finishes his education?

12. What work do you want him to do?

13. Would you like to see the Lubiri School a boarding school? Why?

14. What do you think students should be taught?

15. How much authority should the Headmaster and Teachers have over students (ask HM first, then teachers)?

16. What do you think makes a good headmaster?

17. What do you think makes for a good teacher?

18. What are the characteristics of a good student?

19. What do you think students should be taught?

20. Do you expect your child to support you after he finishes his education?

21. Do you think students should be taught agricultural techniques?

22. Does education fit boys to work on the land?

23. Who do you want to take over your land when you are older?

24. What do you think is the purpose of education?

25. Would you send all your children to senior secondary school if you could? Why?

-3-

26. And to a university?

27. Why did you choose to send _____through school?

28. Do you think your son should get more money for shoes, a raincoat, food, a blazer, etc.

29. Would you have liked to have gone further in school than you did?

30. Do you have any comment about school fees?

31. What do you think about girls education?

32. How far do you want your daughters to go with their education? (Or if not in school "did you want")

_____

Other questions asked:

33. What do you think of day secondary education?

34. How would you suggest improving the Lubiri School?

35. Do you discipline your children harshly, a little, or not at all?

36. What is your sons attitude towards his elders?

37. Does he have enough time to study?

38. Whom do you prefer as teachers?

39. If your son wants to do one thing and you want him to do another will he listen to you? (Example: You want him to dig and he says he has to go to school on Saturday.)

HOME VISITS - RENTED ROOMS   Sheldon Weeks
LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL   Form No. 2   EAISR, 1962

STUDENT'S NAME _____, _____ _____
               last   first   middle

Class _____ Date _____

LOCATION OF HOUSE _____
_____
_____

1. Owner:

2. Size:

3. Material:

4. Condition:

5. Water:

6. Lighting:

7. No. living in it:

8. Student's room:

    A. Size:
    B. Rent:
    C. Furniture:
    D. No. of People in it:
       Whom:
    E. Cooking facilities:

9. Time Lived There:

10. Land and use:

11. Work required, if any:

12. Advantages:

13. Disadvantages:

14. Satisfaction: (Want to move or stay?)

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL

Minorities Questionnaire

Sheldon Weeks
E.A.I.S.R.
Makerere College
Kampala, 1962

CONFIDENTIAL: PLEASE READ THIS QUESTIONNAIRE PRIVATELY AND DO NOT SHOW IT TO ANY OTHER STUDENTS OR DISCUSS THE CONTENTS WITH ANY OTHER STUDENT. PLEASE RETURN IN THE SPECIAL ENVELOPE PROVIDED. THANK YOU.

1. When did you come to Buganda? Why?

2. Why did you go to the Lubiri School?

3. Do you speak Luganda?

    a. like my own language
    b. good
    c. fair
    d. poor
    e. not at all

4. Would you like to learn to speak Luganda better? Yes No Why?

5. Are you glad that you are in a Buganda Government School? Yes No Why?

6. If you could transfer to a school in your own community (or country) for your further education, would you?

7. What do you think of Buganda?

8. What do you think of the Baganda?

9. Are you happy here?

10. What could be done to make things better for students who are not from Buganda?

11. Do you get along better with other students who are non-Baganda? Yes No Explain your answer:

12. Do you think that non-Baganda students should pay higher school fees to make up for the fact that their fathers pay no Buganda taxes? Yes No Why?

13. How do the Baganda outside school treat you?

    a. perfectly
    b. fairly
    c. poorly
    d. very badly

Describe some examples of the above:

14. How do the Baganda at the school treat you?

    a. perfectly
    b. fairly
    c. poorly
    d. very badly

Describe some examples of the above:

Comments (if any):

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

Special questionnaire for girls, 1963

Interview sheet: see special instructions first.

1. How old were you when you first went to school? _____

2. Had you wanted to go to school (   ) or did your parents send you without consulting you (   )?

3. What position did you have in your family? _____
    (first child, second, etc.)

4. How old were you when you started doing the following work at home?

    digging   _____
    hauling water   _____
    cooking   _____
    washing   _____
    cleaning house   _____
    minding babies   _____

5. Do you feel inferior to men (   ) or do you feel that you are equal to men (   )? Why?

6. Do you know how to ride a bicycle? Yes No If you do/did would you ride one to school? Why? How do your parents feel?

7. How old do you want to be when you get married? _____ Why?

8. How old do you think girls should be when they get married?

9. Would you leave school to get married? Why?

10. Do you want a traditional wedding or a ring wedding? Why:

11. Do you believe in "love"? Yes No How?

12. Do you know how to dance the cha cha cha or the twist? Yes No

13. Would you have liked to have been one of the girls who danced these dances at the National Theatre last year? Yes No Why?

14. Do men like you? Yes No How?

15. Do men tell you that they love you?

16. Have men asked you to have intercourse with them? Yes No
    Have you?
    (If no, go to question No. 24)

17. How old were you the first time? _____

18. Was it willingly on your part?

19. Does anyone else know about it?

20. Did you like it?

21. Have you had intercourse since then?

    a. If yes, how often?
       The same person or others?
    b. With older men or students or both?
    c. If students, ones from the Lubiri?

22. When was the last time you had intercourse with a man? Under
    what circumstances?

23. Do you take any precautions to keep from getting pregnant (or has
    the man?)

24. When you walk to and from school have men made trouble for you?
    Yes No If yes, when, how, and what did you do?

25. Do men bother you more during the vacation or during school time?

26. Has anyone ever given you any sex education? Yes No If yes,
    when, where, whom, what kind of education?

27. Do you masturbate: Yes No If yes, how frequently, any fears,
    etc? (and alone?)

28. Did you have your external organs stretched (obusika)? Yes No
    If yes, how old _____ by whom?

29. At what time of her menstrual cycle can a girl become pregnant?

30. What is menstruation?
    Is it clean or dirty?
    What do you use?

31. Do you think a lot about boys or men? Yes No In what way?

32. Do you think it is a good thing for a girl to have intercourse
    with a boy or man? Explain:

-3-

33. What do your parents think?

34. Do you think that the girl who becomes pregnant should be allowed to return to school? Explain your answer:

35. And what do you think should be done to the boy or man who has made her pregnant?

36. What happened to the girls in the school who have become pregnant recently?

   Do you know how it happened?

   Do you know what the girls wanted?

   What will happen to them now?

   What do you think should happen to these girls?

   What do you think should be done to the men?

37. Does having the school within the Lubiri have any influence on all these things? Explain:

38. Do you want your husband to have more than one wife? Explain:

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

Special questionnaire for boys, 1963

Interview sheet: see special instructions first.

1. How old were you when you first went to school? _____

2. Had you wanted to go to school (   ) or did your parents send you without consulting you (   )?

3. What position did you have in your family? _____

4. How old were you when you first started doing the following work?

    digging   _____
    hauling water   _____
    cooking   _____
    cleaning house   _____
    washing   _____
    minding animals _____

5. Do you feel superior to girls?   Explain:

6. How old were you when you first learned how to ride a bicycle?

    _____

7. How old do you want to be when you get married?   Why?

8. How old do you think men should be when they get married?

9. Would you leave school to get married?

10. Do you want a traditional wedding or a ring wedding?   Why?

11. Do you believe in "love"?   Yes   No   How?

12. Do you know how to dance the cha cha cha or twist?   Yes   No

13. Would you have liked to have been one of those to dance these dances at the National Theatre?

14. Do you like girls?   Yes   No   How?

     Do girls like you?   Yes   No   How?

15. Do girls tell you that they love you?
     (Or you tell girls)?

-2-

16. Have you ever asked a girl to have intercourse with you? And have you had intercourse with a girl (Yes No)? (If no, go on to question 24)

17. How old were you the first time? _____

18. Did you initiate it?
Was it willingly on the girls part?

19. Does anyone else know about it?

20. Did you like it?

And the girl?

21. Have you had intercourse since then?

a. If yes, how often?
The same girl or others?
b. With older girls or students?
c. If students, ones from the Lubiri?

22. When was the last time you had intercourse with a girl?
Under what circumstances?

23. Do you take any precautions to keep the girl from getting pregnant?

24. Have you had a girl while walking home from school?

25. Is it easier to have a girl during term or during vacation? Why:

26. Has anyone ever given you any sex education? Yes No
If yes, when, where, whom, what kind?

27. Do you masturbate? Yes No
If yes, alone, how often, any fears, etc.?

28. Venereal disease?

29. At what time of her menstrual cycle can a girl become pregnant?

30. What is menstruation?

Is it clean or dirty?

31. Do you think a lot about girls? In what way?

32. Do you think it is a good thing for a boy to have intercourse with a girl or woman? Explain:

-3-

33. What do your parents think?

34. Do you think that a girl who becomes pregnant should be allowed to return to school?

35. And what do you think should be done to the boy or man who made her pregnant?

36. What happened to the girls in the school who have become pregnant recently?

   Do you know how it happened?

   Do you know what the girls wanted?

   What will happen to them? What do you think should happen to the girl and the fellow?

37. Does having the school within the Lubiri have any influence on all these things?

38. Do you want to have more than one wife?

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE LUBIRI SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOL

To: Old Lubiri Students   Special Questionnaire, 1963

During the past year I have been doing a study of the Lubiri School to
learn what the problems of day secondary education are. Ten other
schools in Uganda have also been included in the study. The study is
similar to work done on education in Nigeria, England and America. It
is being made to help the authorities in the future planning of educa-
tion. Please answer all questions directly and honestly. Only the
truth will help further the study. All answers will remain confidential.

> Sheldon Weeks
> East African Institute of
> Social Research
> Makerere College, Box 16022
> Kampala, Uganda

Instructions: Each question can be answered by simply writing a few
words or by putting a ring around a number which goes with your answer.
To make it easy and quick to answer each question all you do is put a
ring around the right answer. In each question draw a circle around
only one number. There is only one possible answer to each question.
Look at Question 7. If you are a boy you would put a ring around number
1 and if you are a girl you would put a ring around number two. Please
do so now. PLEASE DO NOT write in the column on the right hand side of
the page. This will be used by us in coding your answers. Remember
this is not an examination. Each answer may be individual to each stu-
dent. We hope you enjoy filling out this questionnaire.

_____

NAME: _____, _____
              Surname   -   Christian name

POSTAL ADDRESS: _____

5.   VILLAGE LIVING IN NOW: _____

6.   Tribe: _____Clan: _____

7.   Sex: Male   = 1
           Female = 2

8.   Your age: _____years old

     Date of your birth: Year   _____
                          Month   _____
                          Day of the month _____

9. Year and term you left the Lubiri:

    Year   _____
    Term   _____
    Class in _____

10. Reasons for leaving the Lubiri School (please give all reasons in detail)

11. What did you want to do when you left Lubiri?

12. What did your parents want you to do?

13. Have you had any further education since leaving the Lubiri?
    Yes No
    If Yes, at what schools, for how long, in what subjects (include correspondence courses here), with what qualifications gained or working towards, and for how long.

14. If you have not been at school or working please describe what you have been doing.

NOTE: IF YOU HAVE DONE ANY PAID WORK PLEASE ANSWER QUESTIONS 15 TO 25, IF NOT GO ON TO 26.

15. If you have been working please describe the process you went through in finding your first job (how long it took, the number of places you went to, the kinds of employment you tried to find unsuccessfully, who helped you find the job, etc.)

16. Please list your work experience since leaving the Lubiri:

    | | | Dates | |
    | Employer | Actual work done | Employed | Salary p.m. |

    1. First Job
       Reasons for leaving this job:

    2. 2nd Job
       Reasons for leaving this job:

    3. 3rd Job
       Reasons for leaving this job:

    4. 4th Job
       Reasons for leaving this job:

    OTHER

-3-

24. How did your schooling at the Lubiri prepare you for the work you have been doing?

25. What would you have liked to have learned at the Lubiri that you did not learn that you think would have better prepared you for the work you have been doing?

26. Since you have left school, have you done any work in agriculture, including digging for your parents, relatives, money, for yourself, picking coffee or cotton, etc. Yes No If Yes, please write in detail about the work you have done in agriculture, for how long, your earnings if any, the crops you have cultivated, and for whom you have worked:

27. What do you think it means to be a success in life?

28. When you were at the Lubiri what work did you think you were studying for (what did you want to be when you finished your education)?

30. What work would you like to be doing now?

32. Do you hope to change to any other kind of work in the future?
Yes No If yes, what kind and why?

34. When you were at the Lubiri how far did you hope to go with your education? (name level and institutions):

35. Are you planning to take any courses again in the future? Yes No (If Yes, what kind, with what purpose, in what institutions?)

36. Since you left the Lubiri where have you lived?

	Village	Distance to Kampala	Rent if Hired P.M.	Why Moved	Dates There	What were you doing?
1. Now:						
2. Before:						
3.						
4.						
5.						
6.						

42. When you were at the Lubiri who paid your school fees? (give their relationship to you and work they did)

	NAME	RELATIONSHIP	WORK
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

-4-

44. Do you have any children now? Yes No
    Dates of birth: a _____ sex _____
              : b _____   _____
              : c _____   _____

45. Are you married? Yes No
    If Yes, what does your wife/husband do?

46. How often do you listen to the radio?

    Never   = 1
    once a month   = 2
    once a week   = 3
    a few times a week = 4
    every day   = 5

    What programs do you listen to most?
    In what languages?

47. How often do you read a newspaper?

    rarely   = 1
    once a month   = 2
    once a week   = 3
    a few times a week = 4
    every day   = 5

    What papers?
    What do you read in them?

48. How often do you read magazines?

    never   = 1
    rarely   = 2
    once a month   = 3
    twice a month   = 4
    weekly   = 5

    What magazines?
    What do you like to read in them?

49. How often do you read books?

    never   = 1
    rarely   = 2
    once a month   = 3
    once a week   = 4
    nearly every day   = 5

    Name a few books you have read that you did not read as part of
    your school work:

-5-

50. How often do you go to the cinema?

    never   = 1
    rarely   = 2
    once a month   = 3
    twice a month   = 4
    every week   = 5

    Name a few films you have seen (if any)

51. Do you belong to any library? Yes No
    How often do you go there?

    never   = 1
    rarely   = 2
    once a month   = 3
    twice a month   = 4
    once a week   = 5
    nearly every day   = 6

52. What are your parents religion? Father:
                                     Mother:
    What is your religion? _____
    What place of worship do you go to? _____
    How often do you go? _____

53. a. What work has your father done? (describe):

    b. How many acres of land does your father own?

       1 = none, and he uses none
       2 = none, but he is a tenant
       3 = he does own land, he owns _____ acres.

    c. If your father grows crops how many acres of land does he use
       for himself? He uses _____ acres.

    d. What food crops does he grow?

    e. What cash crops does he grow?

    f. If your father owns land how many tenants are on his land?
       none   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   plus

    g. Is your father alive now? Yes No

    i. If not, who is your guardian? _____

57. For how many years did your father go to school? _____
    At what class level did he stop? _____
    Did he have any further education? Yes   No
    If Yes, where and for how many years?

58. For how many years did your mother go to school? _____
    At what class level did she stop? _____
    Did she have any further education? Yes   No
    If Yes, where and for how many years?

59. What work has your mother done?

60. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same</u> father and
    the <u>same mother</u>?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

61. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same father</u> and
    different mothers?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

62. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same mother</u>
    and different father(s)?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

63. A. Where does your father live? (put a ring around a letter for
        your answer, viz. b for "He lives ....")

        a = He is dead
        b = He lives at: village _____
                          county _____ country _____

    B. Where does your mother live?

        c = Same as above where my father lives
        d = She lives at: village _____
                           county _____ country _____
        e = She is dead

    C. If your father and mother <u>are alive and do not live</u> together
        please answer the following:

        a = Mother deserted (left) father
        b = Father deserted (left) mother
        c = Father's work made him leave

64. How many wives has your father had altogether?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

    How many is he caring for now?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

    If your father is dead, how many wives was he supporting when he died?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 or more

65. The following question asks about the education of your sisters and brothers. Under the heading "school" we ask you to write about the last school where your sister or brother was, or at the moment is, educated. If it was, or is, a primary, junior or senior secondary school you write the name of that; if it was, or is, a teacher training college, university or any other kind of school you write that. For sisters and brothers that never went to school you can just write a line in this column. Please write from oldest to youngest.

    A. Brothers and sisters by same mother, same father:

        Age Sex   School   Class now in   If left school what
                             or stopped at   he/she is doing now
    1
    2
    3
    4
    5
    6
    7
    8
    9

    B. Brothers and sisters by same father as yourself and different mothers:

        Age Sex   School   Class now in.. If left school ....
    1
    2
    3
    4
    5
    6
    7
    8
    9

65. C. Brothers and sisters by <u>same mother as yourself</u> and <u>different</u> fathers:

       Age Sex School   Class now in.. If left school ....

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9

  D. How many of your brothers and sisters of school age never went to school? _____

  E. How many of your sisters have left school because they became pregnant? _____

70. Have you repeated any classes in any schools? Yes No

    <u>If repeated:</u>   <u>class and school</u>   <u>why repeated</u>

      Primary:
      Jr. Sec:
      Sr. Sec:

72. Have you ever attended any other Senior Secondary Schools? Yes No

    <u>School</u>   <u>Village</u>   <u>District</u>   <u>How many years you were a student there</u>

73. What Junior secondary (or Middle) Schools did you go to?

    <u>School</u>   <u>Village</u>   <u>District</u>   <u>How many years you were a student there</u>

74. Do you desire to own land? Yes No
    Explain why:

-9-

75. How many acres of land do you want to own in the future?

        none   = 1
        one acre   = 2
        five acres   = 3
        ten acres   = 4
        50 acres   = 5
        100 acres   = 6
        more than 100 acres   = 7

76. If you had land who would do the digging?

        only myself   = 1
        only my wife   = 2
        myself and family   = 3
        people hired to dig (porters)   = 4
        myself, family and porters   = 5

77. Please rank the following schools from best to worst: (best = 1; next best = 2; third best = 3; then 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 which would go before the worst school)

        _____ King's College, Budo
        _____ Aggrey Memorial
        _____ Kitante Hill School
        _____ Chwa II, Namun'goona
        _____ Lubiri Secondary School
        _____ Makerere College School
        _____ Nile College
        _____ Mahmud High School
        _____ St. Mary's, Kisubi

78. What were your results on the Senior Entrance Examination?

        Grade A or 1 = 4
        Grade B or 2 = 3
        Grade C or 3 = 2
        Failure   = 1

79. How many children would you like to have? Put a ring around the number:

        none 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

80. Do you belong to any clubs or societies? Yes No
    If Yes, what are their names?
    What do you do in these clubs?
    Do you hold any positions?

SURVEY OF DAY SECONDARY EDUCATION   TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 1

This questionnaire is part of a study of day secondary education. A number of schools in East Africa are included in the study. It is similar to other studies of schools made in England and America. All answers will remain confidential.

> East African Institute of Social Research
> Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda

NAME: _____, _____
            Surname

SCHOOL: _____

TRIBE: _____

SEX: Male   = 1
      Female = 2

AGE: _____

11. Number of children: by first wife _____
                         by second wife _____
                         by third wife _____

12. Schooling of children:

    <u>age</u>   <u>sex</u>   <u>school</u>   <u>class</u>   <u>who pays school fees</u>

13. Are any other children who are not your own living in your household? Yes No
    If Yes, how many: _____

14. Are you paying the school fees of any children that are not your own? Yes No
    If Yes, how many children: _____
    How much money per year: _____ sh

FAMILY HISTORY - <u>Wife</u>

Please answer the following information about your wife (or wives)

                              First   Second   Third
    Age
    Tribe
    Occupation
    Number of years of
      education
    Fluency in English

-2-

20. Where do you live? village: _____
    county: _____ District: _____
    Distance from your home to school: _____ miles

HOUSING

21. Do you own the house you are now living in? Yes   No
    If No, who does own the house: _____
    If you pay_rent_ for the house, how much per month?
    _____ sh per month.

22. Who owns the furniture in your house? _____
    If you do not own the furniture, is it rended? Yes No
    If the answer is yes, how much rent do you pay per month for the
    furniture? _____shillings per month.

23. What type of lighting do you have in your house? (please circle
    the number which applies)

    wax candle   = 1
    paraffin candle   = 2
    paraffin lamp   = 3
    paraffin pressure lamp = 4
    electric light   = 5

24. Of what materials is your house made?

    Roof: _____
    Walls: _____
    Floor: _____

25. Do you own any land? Yes   No
    If Yes, how many acres? _____acres
    If you do not own land do you use land as a tenant? Yes   No
    If Yes, how many acres do you use? _____

26. If you use land, what subsistence crops do you grow?
    How many acres do you have in coffee? _____acres
    How many acres do you have in cotton? _____acres

27. If you grew cash crops, what was your income from them in 1962?

    cotton _____ sh
    coffee _____ sh
    other _____ sh (what kind: _____)

28. Do you desire to own more land (or some land if you own none now)?
    Yes No   If Yes, how much: _____acres. If Yes, why?

-3-

29. If you use land, do you employ porters? Yes No
    If Yes, how many? _____·____ on a casual basis
                      _____ on a long-term basis

30. Would you like to earn more money from the land? Yes No
    If Yes, why? ·

31. If your income from the land increased sufficiently would you
    stop teaching? Yes No
    Why?

32. How do you get to school?

    On foot   = 1
    By bus   = 2
    By bike   = 3
    By car   = 4
    By bus and foot   = 5
    By car and foot   = 6
    By motorscooter   = 7
    By taxi   = 8

YOUR EDUCATION

Please write down what schools you have attended and the results

                        school   place   certificate

Primary:

Junior Secondary:

Senior Secondary:

Teacher Training:

Higher School:

University:

Graduate:

34. Have you taken any special courses (like extra-mural)? Yes No
    If yes, when and where and in what subjects?

35. Have you been upgraded through taking any courses since you
    started teaching? Yes No
    If Yes, explain:

36. Are you now taking any courses or preparing privately for any examinations? Yes No
If Yes, what?

37. Are you planning to take any course or to prepare for any examination in the future? Yes No
If Yes, what?

FAMILY HISTORY

38. Parents: How many years education did your father have? _____ years
level attained _____

39. How many years education did your mother have? _____ years
level attained _____

40. What work has your father done? Describe:

41. What work has your mother done? Describe:

SIBLINGS

In the following please write down the level of education achieved by your brothers and sisters.

42. A. Number who have gone beyond senior secondary school: _____
     Sex   School   Work doing now
                      (if not still in school)

43. B. Number who have gone to senior secondary school: _____
     Sex   School   Work doing now
                      (if not still in school)

44. C. Number who have gone to teacher training college: _____
     Sex   School   Work doing now
                      (if not still in school)

45. How many of your brothers and sisters dropped out in primary school? _____ brothers
_____ sisters

46. How many of your brothers and sisters dropped out of school in junior secondary school?
_____ brothers
_____ sisters

47. How many of your brothers and sisters never went to school?
_____ brothers
_____ sisters

-5-

48. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same</u> father and the <u>same</u> mother? (circle the correct number):

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

49. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same</u> father and <u>different mother(s)</u>?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

50. How many brothers and sisters do you have by the <u>same</u> mother and <u>different father(s)</u>?

    0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 or more

GIVING OF FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

51. Do you give financial assistance to others? Yes No
    If Yes, please answer the following:

People	Why assisted	How often	How much per month
father			sh
mother			sh
siblings			sh
to others			sh
(whom?)			sh

52. Are relatives making demands for assistance from you that go be-yond your ability to help them? Yes No
    If Yes, why and for what reasons:

PERSONAL POSSESSIONS

53. Do you own a car? Yes No
    If Yes, year: _____ model: _____
    Number of miles you drive on an average per month: _____
    Do you own a scooter? Yes No
    Do you own a bicycle: Yes No

54. Do you own a radio? Yes No

55. Do you have your own library of books? Yes No
    If Yes, approximately how many? _____
    Please name some of your favorite books:

56. Are there any possessions you do not have now that you would like to acquire? Yes No
    If yes, what?

OUTSIDE ACTIVITIES

Please list your activities during a month (on the average). The list includes organizations other than your school. Please add any that are not included here.

57.

Name organization	What you do	Frequency of attendance	Number of hours per month
Clubs			
Church			
Sports			
Bar			
Dancing			
Political Party			
Others			

58. In this question please list the frequency in which you make visits to other people, and the distance travelled:

Relationship or type of friend	How often you visit them	Distance travelled
1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		

59. What place of worship do you go to? _____

60. How much time do you spend reading (things not related to school) in a week (on the average)?

```
none      = 1
½ an hour = 2
1 hour    = 3
2 hours   = 4
3 hours   = 5
4 hours   = 6
5 hours   = 7
6 plus    = 8
```

61. Do you make use of any public library? Yes No
    If Yes, what library and how often?

EARNINGS

62. What is your income per year as a teacher? _____Sh

63. What is your annual income from other sources? _____Sh

64. Do you make use of a chequeing account? Yes No

65. Do you have a savings account in a bank? Yes No
    If Yes, how much do you save per month? _____ Sh

TEACHING

66. What things make your teaching most difficult?

67. What things help to make your teaching easier?

68. What did you learn in school that you have found most helpful as
    a teacher?

69. What did you learn in school that you have not used as a teacher?

70. What would you have liked to have learned that you did not learn
    that you think would have helped to make you a better teacher?

71. Was there any other occupation you preferred to teaching when
    you were younger?

72. Do you plan to shift to any other kind of work? Yes No
    If Yes, what kind and why:

73. What kind of school do you prefer to teach in? And why?

74. Do you have enough time to prepare your lessons? Yes No
    If No, why not?

75. Do you have enough time to do the private reading you want to
    do? Yes No
    If No, why not?

-8-

76. How adequate in your judgement are the following in your school (check the appropriate square)?

	Very Adequate	Adequate	Not Very Adequate	Completely Inadequate
Number of teachers				
Quality of teachers				
Number of school bldgs.				
Quality of school bldgs.				
Number of laboratories				
Quality of laboratories				
Number of text books				
Quality of text books				
Amount of instructional materials				
Quality of instructional materials				
Selection of students				
Quality of students				

How would you suggest improving your school?

WORK HISTORY: (from now back to first job)

Title	Years Held (dates)	School Level	Size	What Taught	Name of School	Salary per annum in Sh

PRESTIGE OF OCCUPATIONS

The following material refers to the status of yourself as a teacher when compared to other occupations, and how you see the incomes of other occupations compared to yours. Please write one number in each square. The meanings of the numbers are:

1 = much higher
2 = somewhat higher
3 = the same
4 = somewhat lower
5 = much lower

	Column I Prestige	Column II Income
Doctor		
Lawyer		
Accountant		
Civil Servant (Administrator)		
Business Executive		
Army Officer (Captain)		
Large Farm Manager		
Government Clerk (Upper grade)		

-9-

	Column I Prestige	Column II Income
Skilled Artisan (foreman)		
Nurse		
Social Worker (e.g., probation wkr.)		
Skilled industrial worker		
Skilled traditional craftsman		
Small farm owner		
Small business owner		
Police constable		
Gombolola chief		
Miruka Chief		
Bus driver		
Government Clerk (lower grades)		
Waitress		
Stenographer		
Sales Clerk		
Salesman		
Skilled Domestic Servant		
Unskilled Industrial worker		
Tenant farmer		
Farm laborer		
Soldier (non-commissioned)		

SURVEY OF DAY SECONDARY EDUCATION   TEACHER'S QUESTIONNAIRE NO. 2

This questionnaire is part of a study of day secondary education. A number of schools in East Africa are included in the study. It is similar to other studies of schools made in England and America. All answers will remain confidential.

> East African Institute of Social Research
> Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda

Instructions: To facilitate the process of answering the questions and to allow for some standardization in answers, most of the questions can be answered by circling <u>one</u> of the possible answers. Remember that there is no such thing as a "correct answer" to questions of this type, each answer reflecting an individual's personal beliefs. In certain questions you will be able to indicate that the question does not relate to your school. If this alternative is not available, yet you find a certain difficulty in answering a question, please try to answer it by circling or indicating that which is closest to the best answer for you.

___

NAME: _____, _____
                  surname

SCHOOL: _____

11. When did the idea <u>first</u> occur to you that you might enter teaching? (put a ring around the number which goes with your answer):

    1 = Before entering secondary school
    2 = In secondary school
    3 = After completing secondary school but before going to higher studies
    4 = While in higher studies
    5 = After finishing higher studies

12. When did you make the <u>final</u> decision to enter teaching?

    1 = Before entering secondary school
    2 = In secondary school
    3 = After completing secondary school but before going to higher studies
    4 = While in higher studies
    5 = After finishing higher studies

13. At the time you made your <u>final</u> decision to enter teaching, did you prefer teaching over any other occupation?

   1 = Yes, I preferred teaching
   2 = No, I preferred another occupation but was unable to enter it

In the following questions please put a ring around the letter which best shows what you believe. The meanings of the letters are:

   a = absolutely should
   b = preferably should
   c = may or may not
   d = preferably should not
   e = absolutely should not

14. A teacher (a b c d e) be involved in politics.

15. A teacher (a b c d e) be strict with students on all occasions.

16. If a teacher has something interesting to say, even though it is not on the School Certificate Syllabus and would take a period to tell, he (a b c d e) use the class time in this way.

17. A teacher (a b c d e) report to the Headmaster any trouble with a student.

18. Teachers (a b c d e) attempt to understand the personal problems of students and their individual differences.

19. Teachers (a b c d e) be easy with students in the amount of school work they demand from them.

20. Teachers (a b c d e) have informal contacts with students outside classes.

21. Teachers (a b c d e) be free to make changes in what is studied and what books are used in their classes.

22. The headmaster (a b c d e) have absolute power over all teachers and make decisions without consulting them.

23. Teachers (a b c d e) assist with school clubs/societies.

24. Students (a b c d e) be asked to do physical work on the upkeep of the school on Saturdays.

25. Students who fall asleep in class (a b c d e) be sent home.

26. Students (a b c d e) have some voice in how students are disciplined.

-3-

27. Parents (a b c d e) be concerned about the education of their children.

28. The Headmaster (a b c d e) devote all his time to running the school and none to teaching.

29. Teachers (a b c d e) be required to give extra time to students who need academic help.

30. Students (a b c d e) be critical of their teachers and the Headmaster.

31. If a teacher makes a mistake in a lesson a student (a b c d e) call the teacher's attention to what he has done that is wrong.

32. If a student is caught drinking alcohol he (a b c d e) be suspended from school.

33. The Headmaster (a b c d e) expel a student when he thinks he has cause, without consulting the teachers.

34. The Headmaster (a b c d e) cane every student who has become a serious discipline problem.

35. The Headmaster (a b c d e) inspect each teacher's teaching at least once a term and suggest how the teacher can improve his teaching.

What obligation do you feel as a teacher in your school to do the following activities?

I. "I feel that as a teacher in this school I . . . . .

    1 = absolutely must
    2 = preferably should
    3 = may or may not
    4 = preferably should not
    5 = absolutely should not

(in the following circle the one number from 1 to 5 which best completes the statement for you).

36. . . . give considerable weight to parental wishes and desires concerning a student in my class.   1 2 3 4 5

37. . . . encourage the introduction of curricular changes which I believe in even though there is little proof that the new curriculum will do a better job than the old one.   1 2 3 4 5

-4-

38. . . . conform to the teaching patterns set by my
school, my fellow teachers, and the requirements of
the Cambridge School Certificate.   1 2 3 4 5

39. . . . in a conflict of interest put the student's
welfare before the teacher's welfare.   1 2 3 4 5

40. . . . use my own discretion in making minor excep-
tions to school policies.   1 2 3 4 5

41. . . . bring new educational ideas to the attention
of the other teachers and the Headmaster.   1 2 3 4 5

42. . . . bring to the attention of the Headmaster a
violation of professional ethics by another teacher.   1 2 3 4 5

43. . . . modify system-wide curriculum programs to fit the
level of interest and ability of my students.   1 2 3 4 5

44. . . . have an active part in the formation of school
policies.   1 2 3 4 5

45. . . . be satisfied in performing at the minimum
level required by the school.   1 2 3 4 5

II. "I feel as a teacher in this school . . . . . have
the freedom to . . .

46. . . . follow the teaching methods that I personally
believe to be most effective.   1 2 3 4 5

47. . . . resist the introduction of a new educational
method when I believe that the current method is
reasonably satisfactory.   1 2 3 4 5

48. . . . take considerable initiative in introducing
new teaching materials in my classes.   1 2 3 4 5

49. . . . allow students to engage in an educationally
beneficial activity even though some teachers and the
Headmaster disapprove of it.   1 2 3 4 5

50. . . . insist that students listen and obey me; re-
fuse even to discuss a student's complaint.   1 2 3 4 5

-5-

III. In your school to what degree can you do the following?

" I can . . . . .

1 = very often
2 = often
3 = sometimes
4 = rarely
5 = never

51. . . . have an active part in the formation of school
     policies.   1 2 3 4 5

52. . . . follow those teaching methods I believe to be
     most effective.   1 2 3 4 5

53. . . . make minor exceptions to school policies at
     my own choosing.   1 2 3 4 5

54. . . . take the initiative in introducing new teach-
     ing materials in my classes.   1 2 3 4 5

55. . . . change a school curriculum program to meet
     the needs of my students.   1 2 3 4 5

IV. Listed below are some activities in which teachers sometimes
    engage. Circle the number which best completes the sentence
    for you.

    "I . . . . . engage in this activity."

    1 = very often
    2 = often
    3 = sometimes
    4 = rarely
    5 = never

56. Give over 50% of class time to active participation
    in discussions by the students.   1 2 3 4 5

57. Give less than 10% of the class time to active par-
    ticipation in discussions by the students.   1 2 3 4 5

58. Help students participate in local and national
    contests and festivals in my field.   1 2 3 4 5

59. Encourage students to aim at results a little
    higher than their potential.   1 2 3 4 5

-6-

60. Have group discussions in my class.   1 2 3 4 5

61. Spend part of each school day in informal discussions with my colleagues over professional matters.   1 2 3 4 5

62. Contribute to professional journals.   1 2 3 4 5

63. Encourage parents to discuss their children's problems with me outside school hours.   1 2 3 4 5

64. Allow students to learn through their own activities rather than through well-tried lecture techniques.   1 2 3 4 5

65. Read at least two professional journals a month.   1 2 3 4 5

66. Tell students to spend only as much time on homework (revising) as they do in class.   1 2 3 4 5

67. Attend courses (seminars) to further my knowledge of my job, when such courses are not required and do not bring about a raise in my salary.   1 2 3 4 5

68. Attend teacher's conventions, workshops or conferences other than those required of me.   1 2 3 4 5

V. How would you rate your performance as a teacher in each of the following areas?

1 = Outstanding (First Class)
2 = Excellent
3 = Good
4 = Fair
5 = Poor

69. Handling student discipline problems.   1 2 3 4 5

70. Using new educational methods.   1 2 3 4 5

71. Obtaining parental cooperation.   1 2 3 4 5

72. Getting the students to think through for themselves to the answer of a problem.   1 2 3 4 5

73. Knowing my students well and working with them at their level.   1 2 3 4 5

74. Keeping my students interested, alert and well motivated.   1 2 3 4 5

-7-

75. The performance of your students in your classes compared to those of other teachers (the amount learned assuming students of equal ability).   1 2 3 4 5

76. Your relations with other teachers.   1 2 3 4 5

77. Your relations with your headmaster.   1 2 3 4 5

78. Your use of community resources to enrich what you are teaching.   1 2 3 4 5

79. Experimenting on your own initiative with new methods in your classes.   1 2 3 4 5

(80) = 2

THIRD CARD

VI. Listed below are some of the things that sometimes trouble teachers. Please answer this question by circling the one number that best represents your reply. To what extent does each of the following occur in your situation?

1 = I very frequently
2 = I frequently
3 = I sometimes
4 = I almost never
5 = I never

11. Am concerned that what I do or say may cause me to be disliked by other teachers.   1 2 3 4 5

12. Worry about what an individual or group may do if I make a decision contrary to their wishes.   1 2 3 4 5

13. Am concerned with the impression I make on my students.   1 2 3 4 5

14. Have anxiety when I deal with complaining parents.   1 2 3 4 5

15. Find myself worrying whether I have made the right decision on a matter I have just dealt with.   1 2 3 4 5

16. Am kept awake at night thinking about problems associated with my job.   1 2 3 4 5

17. Am annoyed by the extra demands teaching responsibilities make on me which interfere with my leisure time.   1 2 3 4 5

-8-

VII. To what extent do you enjoy each of the following aspects of teaching?

1 = a great deal
2 = very much
3 = somewhat
4 = very little
5 = not at all

18. Preparing lessons   1 2 3 4 5

19. Correcting student's work   1 2 3 4 5

20. Lecturing to the class   1 2 3 4 5

21. Working with students in extracurricular activities
    (societies, clubs, etc.)   1 2 3 4 5

22. Leading a class discussion   1 2 3 4 5

23. Talking with parents about a problem concerning
    their child.   1 2 3 4 5

24. Working primarily with children rather than adults.   1 2 3 4 5

25. Having to follow specified curricula.   1 2 3 4 5

26. Working with a committee of teachers on a common
    problem.   1 2 3 4 5

27. Working with slow students.   1 2 3 4 5

28. Evaluating the progress of your students   1 2 3 4 5

29. The social life open to teachers   1 2 3 4 5

30. The opportunity which teaching offers for making
    the best use of my talents   1 2 3 4 5

31. The salary   1 2 3 4 5

32. The recognition teachers are given by others   1 2 3 4 5

33. The evaluation process which my superiors use to
    judge my effectiveness as a teacher   1 2 3 4 5

34. Having to discipline problem children   1 2 3 4 5

-9-

VIII. How desirous are you to do the following?

    1 = I would not want to . . .
    2 = I am not especially anxious to . . .
    3 = I have some desire to . . .
    4 = I would like very much to . . .
    5 = I am extremely anxious to . . .

35. . . . become an assistant headmaster.   1 2 3 4 5

36. . . . become the headmaster of a primary school.   1 2 3 4 5

37. . . . become the headmaster of a junior secondary
school.   1 2 3 4 5

38. . . . become the headmaster of a day senior secondary
school (non-aided, private).   1 2 3 4 5

How desirous are you to do the following?

    1 = I would not want to . . .
    2 = I am not especially anxious to . . .
    3 = I have some desire to . . .
    4 = I would like very much to . . .
    5 = I am extremely anxious to . . .

39. Become the headmaster of a Government, grant-aided
day secondary school.   1 2 3 4 5

40. Join the Inspectorate of the Buganda Government.   1 2 3 4 5

41. Join the Inspectorate of the Central Government.   1 2 3 4 5

42. Become an administrator in the Ministry of Education,
Buganda Government.   1 2 3 4 5

43. Become an administrator in the Ministry of Education,
Central Government.   1 2 3 4 5

44. Remain a teacher in this school for the remainder
of my educational career.   1 2 3 4 5

45. Remain a teacher in this school system for the
remainder of my educational career.   1 2 3 4 5

46. Remain a teacher at my present grade level(s)
for the remainder of my educational career.   1 2 3 4 5

-10-

47. Obtain a higher paying teaching job in another school system.   1 2 3 4 5

48. Obtain a higher paying position outside the field of education. (If so, in what occupation? _____) 1 2 3 4 5

IX. Listed below are statements about which educators have differing points of view. Please answer the question by circling the one number that best represents your view.

"I . . . . with the statement that . . .

1 = Strongly agree
2 = Agree
3 = Slightly agree
4 = Slightly disagree
5 = Disagree
6 = Strongly disagree

49. Teachers should take stands on controversial issues in the community.   1 2 3 4 5 6

50. The basic responsibility of the teacher is to develop the intellectual capacities of the student.   1 2 3 4 5 6

51. The best measure of a teacher is the degree to which he has mastered his specialty.   1 2 3 4 5 6

52. The schools should accept as much responsibility for developing the moral character of students as they do for developing academic abilities.   1 2 3 4 5 6

53. The school should take the responsibility for the sex education of its students.   1 2 3 4 5 6

54. Firm policies of right and wrong have little use in practice, for each situation must be judged on its merits.   1 2 3 4 5 6

55. The only legitimate function of schools is to facilitate the learning of academic material.   1 2 3 4 5 6

56. One of the primary purposes of education is to provide practical help for the student in order that he may "get along" more adequately in life.   1 2 3 4 5 6

-11-

57. When a substitute teacher has to take over a class from another teacher the change is mechanical; the students still learn as much as from their own teacher.   1 2 3 4 5 6

58. Learning is something that occurs in the student: given a well motivated student who wants to learn the quality of teaching makes no real difference.   1 2 3 4 5 6

59. Decisions that are made in the school without consulting me, that affect my teaching, I must be prepared to fully accept, whether I approve of the decisions or not.   1 2 3 4 5 6

60. Learning and teaching are technical processes that require considerable repitition and memory work.   1 2 3 4 5 6

61. There is nothing really special about my teaching that any other teacher could not duplicate.   1 2 3 4 5 6

62. Examinations are only tests of performance and do not really indicate what a student has learned.   1 2 3 4 5 6

63. When a teacher leaves a school in the middle of a term it is no real loss to the school or the students; any teacher can take up where the other left off.   1 2 3 4 5 6

64. Only self-discovered, self-appropriated learning is assimilated by the student and can be communicated to other people.   1 2 3 4 5 6

65. A teacher should have the final say on what text books and curriculum are used in his classes.   1 2 3 4 5 6

66. What can be taught to students is only inconsequential and has no influence on character formation: what is seen in the classroom is superficial changes in verbal behavior reflecting the content of the teaching, the student responding to and imitating the teacher.   1 2 3 4 5 6

67. There are many teachers getting paid more than they are worth.   1 2 3 4 5 6

68. The school that has a multi-racial staff will always be a better school.   1 2 3 4 5 6

-12-

69. If a student can gain insight into a problem through practical experience what he has learned will be remembered better than if he just learned it from a textbook. 1 2 3 4 5 6

70. The solution to almost any problem should be based on some general moral rule, not on the situation at the time. 1 2 3 4 5 6

71. As a general rule it is the poorest university graduate who goes into secondary school teaching. 1 2 3 4 5 6

72. No values can be eternal; the only real values are those which meet the needs of the given moment. 1 2 3 4 5 6

73. A teacher should always do what he believes is right regardless of what the unwelcome consequences might be. 1 2 3 4 5 6

74. Teaching is a timeless art: the values and purpose of teaching has never changed over the years; the new techniques and curriculum in reality introduce little of any real value. 1 2 3 4 5 6

75. A good teacher aims at working exactly like other teachers in his school, so as to avoid inequalities in student opportunities. 1 2 3 4 5 6

76. Teachers should help to develop a strong extra-curricular activities program (clubs and societies). 1 2 3 4 5 6

77. Students can often learn more through extra-curricular activities than in classes. 1 2 3 4 5 6

78. There are so many under-qualified teachers that some measure of outside control over curriculum is essential. 1 2 3 4 5 6

79. The community is a veritable classroom whose resources are unlimited in the development of a curriculum; they should be fully tapped so that students can learn from what exists around them. 1 2 3 4 5 6

(80) = 3

-13-

FOURTH CARD

Please continue answering as before.

11. Every school needs "new blood" from time to time.
It is bad when a large proportion of a school's
staff have been there for a long time.   1 2 3 4 5 6

12. It is job security that helps to make a teacher a good
teacher.   1 2 3 4 5 6

13. Parents should be encouraged to participate in the
formation of school policies.   1 2 3 4 5 6

14. Obedience and respect for authority are the most
important virtues students should learn.   1 2 3 4 5 6

15. Students should have an active voice in making
school policies.   1 2 3 4 5 6

16. School planning should be democratic; teachers
should talk things over and decide what should be
done unanimously.   1 2 3 4 5 6

17. The teacher has a responsibility to improve his
community by working through his students to bring
about needed changes in the community.   1 2 3 4 5 6

18. You have to respect authority; when authority is
not respected social control is impossible.   1 2 3 4 5 6

19. Man can solve allhis important problems only with
the help of a Supreme Being.   1 2 3 4 5 6

20. A group of teachers with clear lines of authority,
responsibility, and discipline, can work better
than a group of equals.   1 2 3 4 5 6

21. A teacher should abide by the decisions of his
superiors even when it means he will have to go
against his own principles.   1 2 3 4 5 6

-14-

X. The following two questions deal with the process of evaluating the work of the teachers in your school.

1 = Very great weight
2 = Considerable weight
3 = Some weight
4 = Little weight
5 = No weight at all

<u>First:</u> In your judgement what weight should be given to each of the following factors in evaluating how well a teacher is carrying out her or his job?

<u>Second:</u> In evaluating yourself or other teachers in the school what weight <u>do</u> you give?

		First	Second
22.	Cooperation with school administration.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
24.	Interest in social and emotional development of the students.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
26.	Initiative and originality in teaching.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
28.	Results of students on exams.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
30.	Ability to maintain good relations with other teachers.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
32.	Ability to maintain classroom discipline.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
34.	Knowledge of subject matter.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
36.	Social habits in the community.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
38.	Extent to which students respect the teacher.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
40.	Participation in staff meetings.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
42.	Stimulating students to think without imposing own answers.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
44.	Knows students well and works with them at their level.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5
46.	Relies on proven way of teaching a subject, using the same material and same methods year after year.	1 2 3 4 5	1 2 3 4 5

-15-

XI. The next four questions concern areas of responsibility in your
school. In answering the questions write the appropriate letter
or letters which best represent your reply in each of the four
places. Please answer all questions in all four parts.

A = Ministry of Educ.	1. Who should have the responsibility in doing this	2. Who does have the responsibility in doing this	3. Whose views should be taken into account in doing this	4. Whose views are being taken into account in doing this
B = Headmaster				
C = Teachers (all)				
D = Indiv. Teacher				
E = Students				
F = Parents				

48. Determining the educational objectives of your school.

52. Determining the level of satisfactory student performance in your school.

56. Determining the work load of a teacher.

60. Determining the extracurricular tasks of teachers in your school.

64. Determining how a student who is a constant discipline problem should be handled.

68. Deciding what textbooks should be used in your classes.

72. Choosing the members of the school council.

76   77   78   79

(80) = 4

C O N F I D E N T I A L

INSTRUCTIONS FOR WRITING AUTOBIOGRAPHY   April 1963
                                        from Sheldon Weeks, EAISR, Makerere

Please write about your life from birth to now in a smooth, flowing
style, colorful and descriptive, including information on the following:

1. All your relationships with people who have been important
   to you as you have been growing up, both relatives and
   other people.

2. All the places you have lived and their influence on you
   (and people with).

3. Your early childhood, as much as you can remember.

4. Your early informal education (before going to school) what
   you learned, from whom, how and why, how you played and what
   over work you did.

5. Going to school--why you went, how old you were, what the
   school was like, your first impressions, what happened to
   you at school, how you reacted, what you did with your
   friends, what going to school meant to you and to your
   relatives, how you played and work then, and what mistakes
   you made in and outside of school.

6. Any special things that have happened to you during your
   life and while getting an education.

7. Difficulties and obstacles you have succumbed to or overcome
   in your life and education.

8. Anything else you want to write about yourself.

This autobiography may be of any length. You may organize the above
information in any way you wish. You do not need to use this as an
outline, just be sure that you include something on each of the points.
Also write about the things that have made you happy or sad, your ma-
jor conflicts and joys in life, and your relationships with girls.

SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE IJIBIRI SECONDARY SCHOOL   August, 1963

Student Diaries

Instructions: Please keep a daily account of your life during the
school holiday. This journal should be more than just a factual ac-
count of what happens to you, what you do, and your interaction with
other people, relatives, friends, and acquaintances. Try to make what
you write as vivid and colorful as possible, within the limitations of
reality. Please train yourself to observe things that are happening
around you in your family and village. If possible include observa-
tions, supported by a description of actual events, on the following
things:

1. The informal education and recreation of children.

2. Your attitude to and interaction with other people in dif-
    ferent walks of life.

3. Your attitude and interaction with your parents and other
    relatives.

4. What people think of you as a student and how they react to
    you as a student and you to them as nonstudents.

5. The ways in which people conform to traditional patterns of
    life.

6. The ways in which people try to change to more modern ways
    of living and the conflicts between this and the traditional.

7. What various people expect of you and how this fits with what
    you want for yourself.

8. The interaction between the sexes.

9. The ways in which people spend their leisure time.

10. Patterns of work and attitudes to work.

11. Unusual events, their causes and effects.

12. Visiting back and forth between people; who, when, why.

13. Anything else.

APPENDIX B

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE

(Buganda Government School...)
Kampala.

To.....................

....

....

....

....

Entrance to a Senior Secondary School - 1963

I have pleasure in informing you that you have been granted a place in form Senior Secondary.......... at this school.

It is necessary for me to tell you that this school is a DAY SCHOOL, which means that you will have to find for yourself a place to stay in within the Kampala area. You should not live more than 2-3 miles away from the school even if you do not come to school on foot. I regret to say that you cannot be permitted to accept a place in this school unless you have somewhere to live within this distance.

School Fees

The fees at this school are shs. 100 term. For this sum, tuition and books, etc. are provided. You must also provide yourself with a few schillings per term to enable you to take part in out-of-school activities, visits, etc. The school fees are payable to the school at the beginning of the term.

School Uniform

The school uniform has recently been changed. The details are as follows:-

Boys: White shirt, grey shorts OR grey slacks. For boys of Form Senior Secondary 3 and above, grey slacks are compulsory. Below form S.S.3 slacks are optional. The slacks or shorts are made by the school tailor and the cost of the shorts is shs. 14. Shoes must always be worn.

-2-

Girls: Yellow blouse, blue dress, shoes. Further information about girls' uniform will be supplied at school, but the cost will not be more than shs. 30/-

Money for uniform for both boys and girls should be paid to the headmaster who will commission the tailor to make the uniform.

I request you to write to me <u>at once</u> informing me whether you accept a place in this school. If I do not hear from you within a short period, I shall conclude that you are not coming to this school and shall offer the vacancy to someone else.

Dear...................,

I have pleasure in informing you that you will be able to come to school here on Monday 4th February, 1963 at 8 a.m. The new block of classrooms planned to house you is now ready for occupation.

You should come to school at the time stated and you should bring your
      (a) School Fees - Shs 100/-
      (b) School dinner money - Shs 25/-
      (c) Uniform (shorts) money - Shs 14/-.

1961-2
SCHOOL RULES, ORDERS AND INFORMATION

The following rules are a re-issue of those issued previously, brought up to date to fit present circumstances.

1. **ADDRESS**

2. **TELEPHONE**
   The school telephone number is KLA 64355, Extension 17.
   The telephone for incoming messages to pupils is available only in emergency. No message will be taken by the office unless it is considered really urgent. There will be no exceptions to this rule.

3. **UNIFORM**
   The uniform for the boys consists of a white shirt and white shorts, grey stockings and black shoes.
   The uniform for the girls consists of a white blouse and blue skirt.

4. **SCHOOL HOURS**
   Students must be in the school compound between 8-15 a.m. and 4 p.m. For official school activities students may be required to stay after 4 p.m. Students arriving after 8-25 a.m. are considered late and will be dealt with accordingly.

5. **COMPOUND**
   (a) The school compound is the area within the following boundaries:
   - (i) The hedges.
   - (ii) The road from the Kalala Gate to the hedge.
   - (iii) The brick wall in the North West of the playground and the distance between it and the hedge. Any other area or office in the Lubiri is considered outside the school compound.

   (b) The Kalala Gate is the only gate to be used by students for entrance and exit. No student is allowed to stand or play about within 100 yards from this gate.

   (c) Under no pretext whatsoever is any student allowed to leave the school compound without permission from the headmaster.

   (d) The school is here by the courtesy of H.H. the Kabaka. Any wilful damage within the Lubiri may lead to immediate dismissal.

-2-

6. **SCHOOL FEES**
   The fees per year per student are
   (a) Fees   Shs 180/-
         School Meals   "   75/-
                                255/-
   These figures are liable to change at any time.
   (b) These fees may be paid by installments of Shs 60/- per term for fees, and Shs 25/- per term for school meals.
   (c) These fees must be paid within a few days of the beginning of term.

7. **SCHOOL TERM**
   All students must appear at school on the official day of term and continue until the official last day of term. This applies to all students at all times except at the discretion of the headmaster.

8. **SCHOOL MEALS**
   (a) School breakfasts. All students who have no breakfast elsewhere should have that by the school. Breakfasts are served at 7.40 a.m. and service finishes at 8 a.m.
   (b) Mid-day Meal. Service begins at 12.20 p.m. and finishes at 1 p.m. All students will take meals at mid-day unless a letter from parent or guardian is brought at the beginning of each term expressing wishes to the contrary.

9. **ABSENCE FROM SCHOOL**
   (a) Any student who absents himself/herself from school at the beginning of term because he/she is unable to pay school fees will be assumed to have left school unless explanation is made beforehand.
   (b) Any absence during term must be explained by students themselves will be regarded as false and the student will be dealt with accordingly.

10. **LANGUAGE**
    During school hours students should speak English at all times. This rule is made to improve the standard of the students' spoken English.
    It is a common courtesy to speak English in the presence of those who understand English but who do not understand the students' language.

11. **CONDUCT**
    Students of this school will conduct themselves in a proper manner at all times both in and out of school.
    Students will extend to teachers the courtesy of standing to attention when the teacher enters the classroom.

-3-

12. **CARE OF SCHOOL BUILDINGS, etc.**

(a) The cleanliness of classrooms is in the care of each class. Students on cleaning duty after 4 p.m will see to it that their task is thoroughly carried out. Any failure to keep the classrooms tidy will be punished.

(b) **Locking of Doors.** All doors of classrooms are to be done under supervision by form teachers. All keys are to be handed in to the headmaster's office. Monitors should be certain that keys are handed to the form master. No school keys should ever be carried off the school premises by boys.

(c) All breakages, and how they were done, are to be reported to the headmaster or a member of staff immediately.

(d) The compound should be kept clean at all times. Students are expected to pick up paper, etc. and place it in the bin provided in front of the main block. Students should practice the habit of picking up paper, replacing loose stones from paths, etc. on sight.

13. **CARE OF BOOKS, SCHOOL FURNITURE, etc.**

All books, etc. must receive the greatest care from students. Nothing is to be written in exercise books without the authority of a teacher. New exercise books will be issued from the headmaster's office only between the hours of 9 a.m. and 12 a.m.

This rule will be strictly observed.

14. **PREFECTS**

Prefects may expect obedience to all reasonable commands. Disobedience or impertinence to a prefect will of course be dealt with in the same way as disobedience or impertinence to a teacher.

15. **PHYSICAL EDUCATION**

All students, unless excused by a medical certificate or especially excused by a teacher, will take part in physical education. Proper P.E. clothing must be worn for this.

16. **THEFT**

Any student found guilty of theft will be dismissed instantly.

17. **RELATIONS BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS**

Boys and girls are to treat each other with the highest respect at all times.

18. **HOMEWORK**

Homework is expected of all students in Secondary Schools. Failure to do homework set will be regarded in the same way as failure to do classwork.

These rules, and many others considered necessary, are to be obeyed at all times by all students.

8th August 1962

Mr/Mrs ....,

.........................,

........................,

Dear Parent,

I am glad once again to have this opportunity of addressing you. This letter comes because I have one or two requests to make and some points to clear up.

The Buganda Government has been supplying all school books necessary. In a large school such as ours this is a major item of expenditure. It is, you will agree, unreasonable to ask any education authority to replace books, etc. that are lost by pupils. It is my intention to insist that all losses of government property shall be made good by the loser. This, I think, is just.

A great deal of school time is lost through extreme lateness during rainy weather. You would be very surprised at the total amount of time lost. The School Council comprising pupils of the school has itself been disturbed by the lateness during the rains and has suggested that I request parents to supply a plastic raincoat for use during the rainy season to prevent this great wastage of time. I should very much appreciate your cooperation in this matter.

Again on the point of clothing. It is recommended that a School Blazer should be an item of uniform. As these are quite costly it would not be reasonable to insist that each pupil of the school should possess one. Such a garment, however, is desirable if possible and I earnestly hope that one can be bought for your child. A good Navy Blue Blazer is obtainable in Kampala at 75 shs. for a lined one and 50 shs. for an unlined one. Please cooperate.

You are all aware that education is not confined to the classroom. Very frequently concerts, exhibitions, etc. are arranged that are of definite educational value. Some of our pupils are not able to avail themselves of these things because they lack the necessary funds. I am only too aware that money is not easy to find, but the school would appreciate it very much if you could manage to set aside a few schillings so that your child can attend at least one of these outside-school functions.

-2-

I have **to** make it quite clear that the term that has just finished was not the 'free-term'. I shall not be able to re-admit to this school those pupils who <u>attended</u> school last term but did not pay school fees.

I am very grateful for the ready help you have given in the past and look forward to it in the future.

Many thanks,

LETTER TO PARENTS (2)

November, 1963

(translated from Luganda)
Dear Parent/Guardian,

There has been a great important research work these days to study carefully the situation of the students of day senior Secondary Schools, where they take their studies.

I have written to you, as a parent/guardian, to request you to do all that you possibly can to help your child, so that he may be able to do his homework well. I should like you to realise that such a letter has been sent to all parents, and that you are not the only person who has been sent such a letter. I am sure that you appreciate just as I do the necessity to help our young citizens. We must do our utmost to assist them in their studies. I also, indeed know that you will agree with my ideas generously, because I present them to you full of friendliness and they are meant to be good.

1. Many parents are familiar with primary education, which is a good sign of progress in education. The majority of students reach senior Secondary level. Unfortunately, very few people realise that at this stage the studies are hard and vast. Day Senior Sec. School pupils ought to spend a lot of time to do their homework at their homes. Very often this takes them about two or three hours. This can be a difficult situation for a student who passed his daytime at school struggling in his studies.

I therefore here call for your parental assistance to help these students to enable them do their homework at home, and this can be maintained or done in a number of ways:

A Lamp: If students use a small paraffin lamp (tadooba) their eyes are affected by poor light. To make it clear, 550 students in day schools in Kampala, 210 use these small lamps, the source of poor light. It is no wonder many such students complain of constant eye trouble and headaches. You will then find that there is a glaring difference between these two students. The student who studies by poor light, because he tries hard to see, he left with little power of thinking and reasoning. 119 students out of 550 (the number I have just mentioned above) have the greatest advantage, for they have good lamps.

Meals: It is likely that some parents do not stay at home to make sure that students receive breakfast before they go to school. If so, tell the student to come to school early so as to get his breakfast at school. School breakfast is light, nevertheless, it can stop hunger. According to my experience, I know quite well that a starving

young man will always be sleepy in class, and a sleepy chap absorbs nothing; and as such he wastes time as well as money.

I ask you not to think that I am trying to interfere with your home affairs, or that I seem to do so. My sole aim in this matter is that we want our students to do well. We want to see them working well.

I have been informed that certain students get their supper very late at night, sometimes 10 hours from the time they had lunch at school. With regard to what I have stated above, I know that you understand that students with full stomachs do better than those with empty loose bellies. A successful student must have his supper as early as possible.

Petty Everyday Work at Home: All considerate people accept that children must do some simple work at home—good people learn to help one another. This is true, and again it is true for people who have plenty of leisure time to do the work at home. If such people are available, they must do the work at home rather than the students who have a lot to study. You will have done a valuable thing for your child if you furnish him with plenty of time for his study work so that he may not be left behind.

Before I conclude my letter, I know you will not deny my request to encourage your child work as hard as he can, because he is facing a difficult job; but your encouragement will play a major part here.

Finally, if you find your child with not much work to study at home, you must know that he is only lazy about his studies. I ask you to remind him by asking him to let you know about his homework he was given at school; whenever you can remember. I think you have understood that this letter is intended not to evoke anger or worse results, but it is because the school wants to assist our children as much as it possibly can.

Reading can enfeeble the eyesight. There are many students who need glasses, as this was approved by an (optician). Sometimes students choose to buy expensive glasses, which is unnecessary. To examine the eyes together with the suitable glasses for a student, would cost about 40/. only. Dear parent, it is dangerous to neglect a student's eyes, since eyesight cannot be replaced or created.

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOL CERTIFICATE

11th February, 1964.

Dear...................,

Attached to this letter is a slip which gives you details of your performance in the Cambridge School Certificate Examination you took at the end of last year. The letters and figures on the slip may require some explanation. This explanation follows below.

On behalf of the school we offer our warmest congratulations to you if you have done as well as you expected to do - and our sympathy if you have had the misfortune to be unsuccessful. In any case, we wish you well for the future.

Notes on the interpretation of the slip of paper attached.

1. The figures to the left of the list of subjects you took indicate the group to which the subjects belong.

2. The column of figures beneath the arrow marked 'SUBJECT GRADE' shows the standard reached. The letter X shows that the candidate was absent for the subject or took insufficient papers of the examination. The letter P or S or f immediately to the right of the column of figures shows the exact standard reached. For example, 4P means that standard 4 was reached and that the student passed with credit. (See details below)

3. The figure in the first portion of the rectangular box to the right of the words 'SUBJECT GRADE' for a full School Certificate candidate is the grade aggregate. The aggregate figure has been obtained by adding together the standard numbers of the six subjects with the best results. The figure appearing in the second portion of this rectangular box shows the candidates result for the whole examination. For Example

32/3 means, aggregate 32 - grade 3 pass.

-2-

4. Still considering the figure in the right hand portion of the rectangle,

    1 or 2 or 3 indicates respectively a First, Second or Third grade certificate.
    4 or 5 indicates a G.C.E.
    6 indicates a Statement of Success.
    7 or 8 or 9 indicates that the candidate failed.
    0 indicates that the candidate was absent throughout.

5. The standard reached in each subject taken is shown by a grade from 1 to 9 followed by the letter P, s or f. The table below shows the meaning of these grades and letters.

1P)		)	
2P)	Very good	)	
		)	G.C.E.
3P)		)	Ordinary Level Pass
4P)	Pass-with-Credit	)	
5P)		)	
6P)		)	
7S)		)	
8S)	Subject Pass	)	G.C.E.
		)	fail.
9f	Fail	)	

- 3 -

For the benefit of students who are taking the Cambridge School Certificate

---

1. **Subjects**

   The subjects are Grouped as follows.

I	II
English Language (Compulsory for SC)	English Literature
	Bible Knowledge
	History
	Geography

III	IV
French	Mathematics
Luganda	Additional Mathematics
Swahili	

V	VI
General Science	Art
General Science (Second Subject)	Music
Agricultural Science	Woodwork
Physics	Needlework & Dressmaking
Chemistry	Cookery
Biology	General Housecraft
Physics with Chemistry	
Botany	

   VII
   Health Science

2. **Choice of Subjects**

   All candidates for the School Certificate must enter and sit for 6, 7 or 8 subjects; these must include English Language and subjects chosen from at least 3 of the groups II, III, IV, V, VI and VII.

3. **Conditions for the Award of a School Certificate**

   All the requirements must be satisfied at one and the same examination. To qualify for the Certificate candidates must

   A. reach a satisfactory general standard as judged by their performance in their best six subjects, AND

   either

- 4 -

B. pass in at least six subjects (including English Language) with credit in at least one of them,

or

C. pass in five subjects (including English Language), with credits in at least two of them.)

First Grade School Certificates will be awarded to candidates who
(i) Pass, repeat PASS in 6 or more subjects which
   (a) must include English Language - group I
   (b) must include subjects from at least 3 other groups

(ii) Pass with Credit in at least 5 of these subjects, including English Language

(iii) Reach a certain general standard as judged by their performance in their best six subjects.

Second Grade School Certificates will be awarded to candidates who,
(i) Pass in six or more subjects which
   (a) must include English Language - group 1
   (b) must include subjects from at least 3 of the other groups

(ii) Pass with Credit in at least four of these subjects

(iii) Reach a certain general standard as judged by their performance in their best six subjects.

The remaining successful candidates will receive Third Grade Certificates.

You are reminded once again that in order to gain a School Certificate at all you must,

1. Pass in English Language

2. Either, pass in six subjects (one of the six may be English Language) and have at least ONE Credit

   or, pass in five subjects (one of the five may be English Language) and have at least TWO Credits.

Character Education:

There is an English proverb which says "Politeness costs nothing." To some ignorant people this may merely mean the opposite. Such people are excusable because they know no better, but there are some people who do know better who are just proud and rude. For such, there is no excuse. Let us examine the meaning of "manners." Manners mean good behavior. We say that such and such a person has good manners. This means that he has good behavior. One who is rude and unpolished is said to have bad behavior.

In schools boys and girls are given not only knowledge that enables them to earn money, but they are also taught how to behave. The word "school" itself gives the best meaning of manners. On analysing the word "school" we get its complete meaning as given below:

"S" stands for Service
"C" stands for Character or Courtesy
"H" stands for Honor
"O" stands for Obedience
"O" stands for Order
"L" stands for Loyalty

In this sense we may say that in school we learn to be gentlemen, for gentlemanliness, in the ordinary meaning of the word, consists of service, character, courtesy, honor, obedience, order, loyalty, and considerate behavior towards others. If we want to be of any use in human society, we must know what it means to have good manners. We are entirely wrong if we think that we can ill-treat, or misbehave towards others and call this a sign of independence. We must realize that politeness is the key to success, as fluid is to the working of the joints of bones. Manners denote polite behavior which we may as well know as good moral conduct.

We may have many things in the world such as wealth, high rank, fine clothes, but none of these things alone or together can make a man. Therefore, a man of good manners, however poor or low-born, is more of a man than a millionaire, a prince or princess, and a scholar of no-good character.

(reprinted from the student's magazine).

1 Professional:	Politician	1	1
	Doctor	1	2
	Lawyer	1	3
	High Civil Serv.	1	4
	Business/Large Farmer	1	5
	Army Officer	1	6
	University Prof	1	7
	Veterinarian	1	8
	Saza Chief (County)	1	9
2 Sub-Professional:	Social Worker	2	1
	Nurse	2	2
	Senior S S Teach.	2	3
	clerk/sten/acc	2	4
	Magistrate	2	5
	Skilled Ind Wkr	2	6
	Medical Asst	2	7
	Agric. Asst/Vet	2	8
	Gombolola Chief	2	9
3 Middle Range:	Miruka Chief	3	1
	Priest/Minister	3	2
	Jr. Sec Sch Teacher	3	3
	tailor	3	4
	trader	3	5
	builder	3	6
	butcher	3	7
	Carpenter	3	8
	Farmer owns 100 acres +	3	9
4 Lower Level:	Driver	4	1
	Domestic Servant	4	2
	Mechanic	4	3
	Mutongole (village) headman	4	4
	Farmer (8 to 100 acres used)	4	5
	Primary teacher	4	6
	Soldier	4	7
	Policeman	4	8
5 Low:	Unskilled worker	5	1
	Agric labourer	5	2
	Cattle herder	5	3
	Hunter	5	4
	Fisherman	5	5
	Farmer (3-8 acres)	5	6
6 Lowest:	Peasant (0-2)	6	1
	Unemployed	6	2
	Too old to work	6	3
	Deceased (no occ)	7	1
	No information	8	1

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

Luganda	Language
Muganda	person
Baganda	people
Buganda	Kingdom/region
kiganda	adjective
Uganda	nation

Kabaka Mutesa I	King 1856 - 1884
Kabaka Mwanga II	King 1884-8; 1890-1897
Kabaka Chwa II	King 1898 - 1936
Kabaka Mutesa II	King 1936-53;1955-1966

Bulange	Buganda Government Headquarters
dukka	small store
fundi	skilled worker
Gombolola	sub-county
indiscipline	poor behaviour
Kabaka	king
Kabaka Yekka	King Only political group
Katikiro	Kabaka's Prime Minister
Kibuga	Royal Capitol of Buganda
Lubiri	wall of the royal compound
Lukiko	Kabaka's Parliament
Lumonde	sweet patatoe
matoke	steamed bananas
Mengo	Municipality (Kibuga); after a hill
muzungu	a European
revise	to study
safari	a trip
Saza	county

APPENDIX C

AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

A LOOK AT SELECTED STUDENT AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

by

S. G. Weeks

Twenty autobiographies averaging three thousand words were obtained from students at a day secondary school in the Kampala area. The students were selected out of 315 students on the basis of a relationship of friendship and confidence which had been established over a period of a year. An effort was made to select students that seemed to be representative of a cross-section of the student population when considering ethnic background, parental factors, location of the period of early socialization, size of the family, and educational experience.

A number of the autobiographies are reproduced here (with the permission of the students). All names of people and some places have been changed in order to preserve a degree of anonymity. These autobiographies have not been edited (though they are slightly cut). This keeps the sentence structure and mode of expression in English that is unique to each student. None of the autobiographies reproduced can be claimed to be typical of all students.

There are a number of trends that do appear throughout the twenty autobiographies. Perhaps the most common factor is that most of the students when in primary school were first or second in their class, and in junior secondary school were in the top five academically. This demonstrates the degree of selection that has occurred as they have mounted each step of the educational pyramid. When they were ready to enter senior secondary school they were unable to go to a boarding school because their results on the Senior Entrance Examination were not sufficiently good in the face of stiff competition or their financial backing was inadequate.

For the students whose father makes his living off the land (37% of the students) from both subsistence and cash crops there runs a common thread of experience relating to poor crops, insufficient food, hunger, and illness. In choosing what to write about in describing their life these events may receive heightened emphasis. Most of the students make some reference to the use of "Kiganda medicines." This use of traditional and modern forms of medicine closely follows the findings of Southwold reported in his paper; that the two are not mutually exclusive.[1] One student even describes being hospitalized for an extended period and subsequently being discharged by the

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[1] M. Southwold, "Ganda" in a Symposium on Attitudes to Health and Disease, EAISR Conference, December 1959 (mimeographed).

authorities without improvement because of a "Kiganda type of illness" which was then successfully treated by traditional medicines.

Another pervasive factor is the general insecurity that many of the students face in the payment of their school fees. As the student progresses up the school ladder, becoming one of an increasingly smaller group of students the school fees rise and the problem of school fees increases. Means of raising the necessary fees are deeply intertwined with the whole fabric of the society. Not only is the student, where his father's financial resources are inadequate or the father is not interested in encouraging his son's education, turned out into the extended family in search for the necessary funds, but he may also turn away from his family because of these circumstances, or turn in on his own resources and become isolated as an individual.

These conflicts may also be intensified in families where the students have many siblings who may also compete for the available limited cash that can be applied to school fees. This problem is accentuated in polygamous families (or where the father has had one wife after another) when the various mothers may come into open conflict. Often when a student has persisted in his education into junior secondary school and senior secondary school he will resist to the best of his ability any effort to discontinue his education. When his guardian begins to make demands on him to stop studying and start working or the guardian simply discontinues paying the school fees (either because the cash is unavailable or younger siblings are to be given some education rather than none so that an older sibling may progress further) the student at first turns to those relatives whom he thinks will assist him. This often involves a rupture with his father and a physical movement from one homestead to another (or place where the student spends his vacations). When this happens some students express that this cessation of responsibility is mutual, that they no longer have an obligation to assist their father on his land or to help their father in his old age. They tend still to feel an obligation to assist their siblings by the same mother, but postpone any realization of this until they have gone as far as they can with their education. Those students who are unsuccessful in finding a relative who will help them with their school fees (24% have relatives contributing to their school fees while 5% manage their own fees) are then forced back on their own initiative. A number of students have succeeded in becoming self-supporting by working in dukkas, serving in "hotels" or bars, buying and selling coffee during school holidays, cultivating their own plot of cotton and coffee, and even running a vacation school for students who have not progressed as far as they have.

These moves between relatives and the general sense of self-sufficiency are not new things to the students. From the time that they are very young the majority of them for quite a variety of reasons

-3-

are cared for by a series of different relatives, (mother or father sick, dead, deserted or separated, father's work requiring that he move, or simple rejection by one, or both parents, etc). Only 58% of the 345 students' (in the total sample) parents are living together.

In the midst of these difficulties students demonstrate an extraordinary drive to continue their education and to succeed, the goal that lies ahead for the educated man being clear to them (though an understanding of occupational possibilities seems to be very limited). Having done well in primary school these students seem to be singled out by their former teachers and headmasters (and some even report being given minor financial assistance by a former teacher or headmaster) and encouraged to continue their education. Having performed at the top of their class is an added inducement to keep going and may in part explain why another 1% of the secondary age group is willing to attend private senior secondary day schools where they receive an inferior education (the majority of the teachers being unqualified and the schools lacking proper equipment and laboratories). Still attendance in private schools has been a lever of entrance into this government school for about one-quarter of the students.

The autobiographies contain descriptions of outstanding events that are common in the experience of most students: the first day at school, the making of friends at school, skipping school, the stealing of fruit, and the movements from one school to another. Because only 27% of the students live with their parents during school term, a major theme is the difficulties involved in living with relatives where the role of the student conflicts with the expectations for manual work that the relatives hold for the students. One extreme conflict that student recounts was when the relatives wanted the student to contemplate marrying their daughter and encouraged the two to have sexual relations. The student quickly found another relative to live with. Those students who are forced to live in hired rooms because they have no relatives in the Kampala area tell of common experience with troublesome landlords, difficulties with thieves, the bother of having to prepare their own meals, the many times they are short of funds and the times when the only meals they have are those provided by the school. Another 8% of the students live free with friends they have made (either African or European) and in general experience very favorable conditions.

The autobiography as a research tool has elicited some information that probably could not be obtained any other way. But the autobiographies fail to provide material on attitudes and values, early socialization, pre-school indigenous education, etc., in any of the detail that might be desired. Although the autobiographies are helpful they definitely need to be supplemented by intensive interviews. Interviews would also help to eliminate some of the vagueness that is present in the autobiographies and clarify some of the many questions

-4-

that each story elicits. In spite of these shortcomings the autobiographies still convey something of what it means to the students to have grown up in Uganda and to be a student in senior secondary school.

TO SCHOOL, WITH LOVE   an autobiography   I.

I am a Muganda boy approaching nearly eighteen years of age. I was born in a village called Bira. Bira is a small village in a valley enclosed by lofty hills. On the hills one can see the immovable huge stones covering each and every hill. Here and there are groups of trees on which early in the morning birds used to sing merrily. Short grass grows at the lower regions of the hills and it is in such places that the villagers inhabit. At the foot of certain hills streams meander towards banana plantations.

In the year 1945 in the month of June I came to dwell in a country which differed in every way from that I came from. I did not dream at all of the new country that was comforting me. I could never guess to visit a new land and I thought that my mother's cavity was my home forever. Although I was safe here I felt desirous to find rather a larger room where I could romp. The need became so strong that I started to stretch my body out from the dark, secret room, where nothing could be felt but organs of every shape, and among these I wriggled.

My mother felt my struggle, and perhaps she became aware of the fate that lay before her. My search for a way out became so continuous that she was forced to leave everything she was doing aside to prepare for the stranger. I was in my despair when I found my way out. I was born at last. It might have been a sunny day since the glare of the sun struck me sharply and I screamed at that very instant. My delicate bag was removed from me and I remained naked. As it is the Kiganda custom, "Luwoneko" Lukulike, Katonda Yebale, were words of praise. The whole family remained in great joy for most of the hour. Their gratitude for my birth was supreme. I had come to a country of pleasures and a country full of life. I was slumbered somewhere in the dining room and most people of the village came to look at me. I was now and then uncovered, and fell in every hand. I cursed this kind of behavior, but nevertheless I liked it. I received some coins which my grandmother kept and brought a cloth with for me later. I cried a great deal, and my mother was quite bound to fasten me on her back when she was performing something. She worked all day, myself on her back. After the work in the garden, when she was preparing meals, my sister Nabusi kept care of me.

-5-

This peaceful period could not last long. My mother disappeared from our home and everything went sharp upon me. I could not then detect why she had left the home but I was told later that she had left because of a certain quarrel. She never turned up for two years. I was eight months old when she went away so I stayed with my grandmother for life. In actual fact my mother's desertion did me no good. Instead of being fed on my mother's milk I was all the time given tea without milk but with some watery matoke. My grandmother, who by simple calculation was thirty years old, was a kind woman, eager but ignorant who tried to keep me in good health and to bring me up as a wholesome chap. I was not at all energetic. Most people looked at me questioningly wondering what was my real trouble. At the age of two mother came home again, but she found me already attacked by a horrible disease of which I cannot tell its name. I was always under injections. I was invariably under great pain. The disease together with the bad food I ate made me so weak that if the wind blew a little harder I could be rolled along the ground. I could feel all my bones projecting out. At the first sight of me my mother could hardly believe that I was her son. She could not tell who her son was. I was a funny looking creature only waiting for death. She turned storm-like and in a few moments her face was filled with tears. I was then bestowed the name of Musiki and she called me by that name. I strangely looked at her without any recognition of her to be my mother. To her it did not take her long to stress that I was to die the following few days and that was why she cried. The doctor, whose name I have forgotten, paid more attention to me and I soon recovered from my shocking mood.

My father was rarely seen at home and whether he loved me or not I could not judge. The few times he visited us, he showed no parental pleasure to ensure love to me. All the family, with the exception of my grandmother and sister Nabusi, hated me. My clumsy, abominable appearance could evidently attract no one to love me.

Most of my relatives disliked me and I hated them. I disliked my grandfather just as anything. He dedicated himself to alcoholic drinks. Every day, when silence had inherited the terrible bellows of the day, he came back home and grumbled throughout the night. He pulled me out of my bed and chased me together with my grandmother out of the house. Every night he was heard singing and whistling uncontrollably as he came home. He could even flay the goats at night so that everything was under disturbance at his arrival from his drinks.

I was very fond of the goats. Every morning I went to cheer them up and to sympathize with them after the long night of displeasures. I talked to them telling them that we were being treated in the same way. However they took no notice and sometimes they seemed to rebel as I undid their ropes and they ran away. Whenever they saw any of us in the house they were especially troublesome. It was always my pleasure to go out with my sister to graze the goats, and later I alone

could go out for grazing the animals. The goats also liked me and when they saw me pulling their ropes along they bleated and dashed towards me perhaps in pleasure. I felt quite uneasy to graze them on a rainy day. The weather was cold and the dew created disease in me when I went out to graze them.

Under the consent of my grandmother, and at her expense, I was finally sent to school, a mixed school known as the Lule Mixed School. This was in 1950 when I was five years old. I was very much pleased at the idea as I was then dispensing with the laborious works at home. I also would escape grazing animals on rainy days.

The first day at school created astonishing impressions in my mind. I had never come in contact with a place where people of various ages collected. I wondered where all these chaps lived, and at first I thought they lived at the school, and perhaps I was also to live with them. They eyed me superficially and boastfully. They wore a pair of shorts made out of Khaki and blue shirts out of cotton. They were very smart but they had no shoes. I wore a pair of pocketless shorts and a shirt called kapere kungulu (ticking cloth). My uncombed hair was something to notice, and my presence divided me from my hopeful new friends.

I was taken to the headmaster in a narrow room furnished with a wooden table and a wooden chair on which the headmaster sat. On the table was an inkpot and pen inside the inkpot. There was also a pile of long thin books and these were the Registers. He pulled out one and in this I was enlisted under a continuous list of names headed "Class I." My grandmother was told to pay 10/- for my school fees for the whole year, and to buy me a school uniform during the following fortnight. Only two exercise books were to be bought and a pencil.

I was later directed to a teacher and this was my class teacher. He was very strict and punished each and every pupil who disobeyed him. He was not at all lenient. He spoke very loudly when he was teaching and kept his eyes wandering in the class in all directions.

My class work was very hard during my first term, as I was incapable of grasping anything. My teacher felt indignant with me and he beat me almost every day. Eventually I came to prefer grazing the goats at home to the constant beatings I received at school. I felt much pain and I screamed at every beating and the whole class laughed. My struggle day after day to escape this terrible torture from my teacher was a step towards my learning. My second term work was changing. I was able to pronounce all the alphabetic letters; now life was enjoyable with no constant sticks ordered. At the end of the year I was among the pupils to join Class II in 1951. I rejoiced because my grandmother had promised to offer me a goat if I passed.

-7-

My class work was at first hard, but as the term drew to a close I was able to catch up. I was fourth at the end of the term in a class of 32 pupils. At the end of the year I had passed and was to join Class III the following year. It was now time to look for another school as the Lule School was comprised of two classes only.

Five miles from my home was another private school called Kitabu Memorial School, which now is a Buganda Government School. I became a pupil at the school in 1953 in Class III. The school fees there was 36/- a year, excluding the school books and school uniform. We were taught a little English, but nevertheless it was English, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, history, and religion that we studied. My work was good and I succeeded in making the first position, surpassing the others in a class of 30 pupils. I scored 100% in arithmetic and 96% in English. And my other subjects were well over average. Unfortunately I did not go to school the second term, for I had a bad leg. I remained suffering for about five months. It was after the third term had started that I returned to school. It was a discouraging start for I had to give up, saying that I was courting a worthless struggle. I gave less heed to such idea, but I worked harder only to find that I succeeded. After our examinations for the third term I was announced first in the class. No wonder all were surprised at the announcement. I was prized a looking glass and two exercise books.

Everything went at right angles during my studies in primary four and I was on top throughout the year. I was the master of studies at that time. In 1955 I was in Primary V but I sat with the Primary VI pupils of that year during their leaving examinations and I also passed. In spite of my pass I could not join a Junior I class as my guardian could not afford to pay the higher school fees. But she decided to take me to a school at Kampala where she hoped I could get the best teaching. So my sixth year was spent at the private school, Mutesa Memorial. I stayed with Mr. Kibirige's two sons, who went to the same school. Mr. Kibirige was our neighbor at Bira and perhaps is the one who advised my grandmother to take me to Mutesa Memorial School. Katumba his elder son, was my classmate, Wadda was two classes lower. We made good company, us three young men. We prepared our meals every day after school and on Saturdays we dug in our small gardens of cassava. We stayed in the house all alone. Mr. Kibirige came only occasionally with heaps of matoke, cassava, pumpkins, and potatoes for our diet.

Mr. Kibirige had a serious attack of fever one day so we failed to get our food, and we stayed without food for three days and nights. This was a hard time to pass over. We became very thin, weak, so weak that we were unable to open doors; the house remained shut day and night. No one knew among our neighbors what was happening and some thought that perhaps we had gone for our holidays. There were no

-8-

foot marks outside and no talking in the house. Everything was quiet. We were inside a grave and if it hadn't been for Mr. Kibirige's coming on the fourth day our fate was quite obvious.

When we were preparing our meals each of us did a different job and this made the work easy for us. I fetched water from a distance of about a mile while Katumba peeled the bananas and Wadde ground the nuts. There was a gentleman to whom I fetched a tin of water daily and he paid fifty cents for every tin of water and at the end of the month I collected fifteen shillings. With the money I sometimes bought fish "Kasulu" for these were cheaper, so every Friday I went to Katwe to purchase them. With the rest of my money I bought a few textbooks. Some of it I used to buy fried ground nuts at school.

I studied very hard so that every time I sat for my examinations I won first position. My work impressed all my teachers and when they selected some pupils to sit for the special entrance examination at a government day secondary school in Kampala (hereafter called GDSS). We were four to sit. Two of us failed while Kiwana and I passed and were offered vacancies in the school.

Since I had to leave Mr. Kibirige's house near the Mutesa Memorial School, I was to hire a room somewhere near the GDSS. As I had no relative to stay with I had to stay all alone. My father was now eager to educate me, but he had incurred financial difficulties. The school expenses seemed too high for him to afford. The fee was 58/- per term with a few other things to be bought. However he strived to get the money for my first term.

Because we had just entered the school we were given no examinations at the end of the first term, therefore no one knew his position or the state of his studies. During my holidays after the first term I went to my father. It was a disappointing holiday because my father told me that in his opinion I should stop studying. He said that it was a good idea for me to discontinue my studies so as to give my younger brothers a chance at an education. He said that unless I was to stop studying my brothers were to remain illiterate.

On hearing what my father said I went to my aunt Nabingo who lives at Kakande village, a few miles from Bira. I told her all what my father had said. She grieved at the news and she asked me to stay with her for the rest of the holidays. She had a few shillings at her disposal which she hoped that we could raise money if we brewed beer. We bought bananas for several times, brewing beer which as a result made what we started with high enough to cover my school expenses. My heart was furnished with joy and no more worries dwelt in my mind.

My second term began. I was as happy as the rest of the pupils and never told my friends my difficulties. Deep in my mind I had a

-9-

constant trouble about my destiny. I studied as hard as I could, and bought some more books with the small amount I obtained from my aunt. Most of my friends at school had a pair of school uniforms and shoes. They looked smart since they wore another uniform when one got dirty. On the other hand I had only one uniform worn on all occasions. Only I kept it clean. I had no shoes and I could not iron my clothes. Charcoal was a great problem to me. My food was mainly posho. I preferred posho to matoke bananas as it was cheaper and it was easier to prepare a maize meal than to prepare a matoke meal. Cassava was also my favorite.

We sat for our mid-year examinations. This was the only examination we had to do for the whole year, and we were judged on our results on the examination. It was held once a year. My results were very encouraging. I obtained 85% in religion surpassing the whole class. I took second place in maths with 70%, third place in English with 68% and finally became first out of 32 pupils in my class at the GDSS.

My holiday as usual was very oppressive. I meditated over the ways of how I was to obtain my school fees for the coming term. In some ways fortune lay before me. My aunt, Nabingo, had loved a man, the man was old but rich. He possessed a lorry, a shop, a shamba of coffee and a large plantation of bananas at Singo County. Mr. Musoke was very kind, and loved every relation of Nabingo his sweetheart. I spent my holidays at his home with my aunt. We did a lot of work. Every morning we cultivated and in the evening we picked coffee. He was very much pleased with our labor, so pleased that he offered me one hundred shillings. This amount was quite enough to cover my school expenses. As to what my aunt received I cannot tell, but I suppose she got three times what I got.

I started my third terms work and enjoyed my studies vigorously. As a matter of fact I liked to study. I could tolerate whatever hardship occurred to me providing I was studying. Resignation was a sentence of death. All my friends sympathized with me about my financial obstacles for which no solution could be easily sought. Whenever we had our holidays my heart sank. It was my duty to see to it that I find all possible means to find money for the next year or term. The following holiday was for the end of the year, so I was to find money for the following year. Before I went away for my holidays I had involved myself in the sale of newspapers and had earned 30/-.

My uncle came to me to ask me to go to his home as he proposed to finance me for the whole year, I could never survive on the sale of the Uganda Eyogera, so went with him. Mr. Kizza had a shop at Mugongo, it was a small shop, he had some coffee trees and a small area of banana plantation. I was in charge of the shop and occasionally picked coffee. In actual fact the shop raised very little coins. We did not exceed one hundred shillings a day in our sales. The holiday was quite enjoyable. It was a precious holiday to me. I was sure to get back to

school. At the end of the holidays I was given 150/-, of which 65/-
was for school fees. The rest was for house rent, food, books, and
other miscellaneous essential things. I received a new school uniform
and a pair of shoes. Besides these I got a white pair of shorts and a
blue shirt. I had now become rich.

In 1960 I had reached Class A Junior II. This was a very happy
year when all my financial troubles were settled. Everything went per-
pendicularly. However, things changed. Mr. Kizza had also planned to
grow fourteen acres of maize. He hired a tractor and employed more
men on the maize farm. As he paid more money to the tractor owners and
a large sum of money to the men, his purse could not stand upright, it
was no longer heavy. He had gone bankrupt. There was no money left
even to run the shop. He came to me to let me know how he was finan-
cially, and no wonder he explained that he was unable to support me any
more. Usually such words were great loads which I could not bear. He
advised me to go with him to do some kind of trading with him. I de-
nied that. I told him that I would go to town where I would find a
job. He gave me 15/- to use while searching for a job and off he went.
My search was always in vain and I passed my holidays with no job.
Despite the fact that I had not any assistance, when the holidays were
over I went to school to begin my new term. Every Saturday, Sunday,
I looked for any kind of work. I was determined to do anything if only
I could get money out of it. But I did not steal.

Most businessmen could not believe my words, so they would not
dare employ me. Some despised me because of my youth. It was essential
therefore to have a well-known person to assist me in my search. I
consulted Mr. Kiwanuka, my neighbor, and requested him to help me. He
was kind and at once we left for Nakulabye. We saw many big men about
employment for me but none of them was interested.

Moving from shop to shop, garage to garage, in all directions,
we asked each and everyone whether there was a job for me, but the
answer always was a negative one. In spite of the unsuccessful at-
tempts we made we continued to search for a job. Reluctantly we
strolled to a man's garage where there were only a few workmen. They
were busy hammering and screwing different parts of the cars together.
We asked him, almost hopelessly, if he could employ me at any kind of
job he might have. In his answer he expressed that the job he could
provide was quite unsuitable for me. But when we told him all my fi-
nancial affairs as a schoolboy he willingly consented to employ me.
But he was still not sure whether I was capable of guarding his garage
at night. I assured him that I could. He suggested that my pay be
50/- a month. At all costs I was determined to work. It was a night-
time job. It was really difficult and a risk to one's life.

The time was a season of thieving. Day after day there were
reports of the theft of vehicles in the town. Reports about the removal

of car tires and house breaking. Such news threatened me, but I was bound to face my fate manly. Under these serious reports I still had eagerness towards taking my splendid post.

The first day I passed a sleepless night. I had nothing but my clothes which I wore. Nothing with which to fight my assailants. I had no weapon to chase whoever interfered with me. However, I thought of collecting some stones. I placed stones in heaps in every corner of the building, outside along the veranda. Every place where I could reach easily I put there a heap of stones. This was the only weapon at my disposal. I knew that a stone blow was more effective than any other blows issued by me. I stayed heavy-eyed every night for fear that the kings of the night might come to steal my master's properties.

During November it used to rain every night. It rained cats and dogs. When it rains heavily one can hardly see objects away from him, so I could not see more than a few yards from where I was. This was terrible since it was an advantage to the thieves to rob me of everything. It was possible for anyone to take something from the garage without my detecting them. When it rains much, as rain drops purr, any walking creature nearby cannot be notified.

Every morning I went to school. Every night I attended garage. The job was very sharp and cruel to life, but nevertheless I liked it very much. I was very proud of it. I could always feel my pride. One morning, Sunday, just as I had a break in the job, I was told that my aunt Nabingo was very sick. I decided to go to Kakande to see her. My whole aim was to spend only a few hours away so that I may return to attend my job.

At about ten sharp I was at the bus park looking for a taxi-car. I left the bus park in a Benz taxi-car at a quarter to eleven. On the way I spent two hours. Reaching Kakande I found that my aunt had been transferred to another village five miles away. Not knowing how many hours were left for me to return to Kampala I decided to walk the five miles to my aunt. I arrived at Kakonge, the village where she was, at 3 p.m. I did not stay long there but left soon for Kampala. It was a long journey I had to make and I was very weary. I could only walk slowly. I reached the main road at 6 p.m. and had to wait for nearly an hour before seeing a taxi. I saw the town again at 9 p.m., but was not attending to my job until 10 p.m. I was so unfortunate. My master had been to the garage earlier to find out if I was there. After inspecting, looking in every car in the garage to see if I was sleeping, he saw I was not there and went away. He had decided, in his mind, that I usually do not attend the garage, but that I am only there when he is there to deceive him. He now had a firm determination to discharge me. The following morning as I was passing he called me, and told me that he had found another person more reliable. I politely begged for

forgiveness but all was in vain. He paid me my whole amount for the month in spite of the fact that the month was not over, and I quit the garage.

I went back to school deeply upset. I had already paid my school fees. The fifty shillings I had been paid was at my disposal. I completed my terms work without bothering to look for a job. As soon as we had our holiday I visited the town continuously. I was roaming thoughtlessly in the town when I saw a friend. He was my recent class-mate, but was now working. I told him all my troubles but he did not seem interested. However, he advised me to convert myself from my re-ligion and become a Muslim. He said, "If you are a Muslim you can easily obtain a scholarship from the Muslim Society." I thought this to be sensible advice, but to whom was I to go for conversion? I went to Kibuli because I was told that there I could find somebody who could fulfill my needs. On the other hand I remembered that my family hated the Muslims; they always strongly warned that if any member of the family becomes a Muslim, he ought to be cancelled out of the family. Since the family had no solution to my troubles what would be the effect to me if I was cancelled out of it! I went reluctantly to Kibuli where I inquired of the responsible man. I was taken to him. After telling him my whole story and how I found it necessary to go to him, he con-cluded that if I was seeking financial assistance he was unable to do anything. I was shocked at his answer. This was the only route I thought would solve my problems. I was overcome by despair. So I pro-posed to die and preferred death to a life which was just like that.

I therefore went to a Mutoro Shop where I bought poison which was designed for the killing of wild animals. I paid him 2/- for a packet. I was sure a packet could do well in my plan. This was the best way to dispense with my frictions forever. It was my aim to ob-tain such a peaceful time. I started to clean everything, my room, my clothes, above all to say goodbye to my friends.

I had many friends, some were my classmates, others were those whom I studied with in previous schools. I was eager to see them be-fore I had to depart. Among my friends at school the dearest were Miss Kalema and Master Kazibwe. Kazibwe was almost a boy of my age. He be-haved well and I liked him because of his way of despising anyone who had vulgar behavior. He was really more than a friend, but a brother. He shared my frief and he always appeased me when he told me that my worries would soon be settled. I liked his companionship; we planned everything among ourselves.

The other was a girlfriend, Kalema Becca. She was a beautiful girl, charming in every way. Her sharp eyes set my thoughts at random. Her absence from me was very poisonous. I loved her more than words here can reveal. One day I prepared to go for my holidays to Mityana. I wished her a glorious holiday and bade her goodbye. She could say

nothing but her face was swept with tears. Life was unpleasant at the least absence from her. Her father had a car which brought her to school and back to home. On certain days she preferred walking with me to going in her father's car. This was a hard time for both of us. I was going away never to be seen again. I was to die. We would never see each other again. When I told her that very soon I was disappearing forever, it was to set her to the mercy of tears. She cried so much that day and never attended classes. She devoted her time to talking to me to try and persuade me so that I may curse my plan for once and for all. My love towards her was intense. I gave heed to whatever she had to say. I remained happy and found it best to conceal my worries when I was with her. Her words were as sweet as honey. I was content not to commit suicide. My sweetheart had settled me.

I visited her often as she demanded to see me every day. Any time she saw me she encouraged me to stand up to my troubles. She told me stories of men who had such troubles but they soon got over them and met fortunes ahead. "Others incurred greater difficulties than yours," she insisted. I corresponded with all my friends at school and they all shared my sorrows.

I was making my way to town after sunrise. All along the streets ran swiftly cars, motorcycles, hurrying towards the city. Pedestrians were complaining about the terrible state at which the vehicles sped. On the way I met Mr. Sentongo. He owns a shop at Nakulabye. He is a kind man, middle-aged. I used to pass by his shop going to and from school. I always saluted him. Mr. Sentongo became my friend. When I met him he asked me why I was not going to school that day. I explained to him plainly that I had been chased out of school because I had failed to pay my school fees. He wanted to know the amount which was due. His questions meant something hidden in him. I told him that it was 125/-. He paused. He told me to come on Sunday night to collect 75/- which I could pay to the school so that I might continue my studies. The other fifty shillings I could collect some days later. My friends who may read this may perhaps feel what I felt at such a great offer. The gentleman is not my relative. I wondered how he managed to provide such an amount. When he told me what he was going to do at first I could hardly believe him. It sounded impossible to me. He handed me the seventy-five shillings the following Monday and I went back to school. When I had my holidays I then spent the whole of them at his home helping him with his business. I worked zealously to please him. I worked all day long without showing any sign of fatigue. He praised my service and he decided to continue to support me if I could be able to assist him every day after school. I agreed. I worked under this agreement until I finally had to give up.

Fortunately enough at this time I obtained 125/- from the Buganda Government for the clearance of my school fees. The money I had paid to the school was given back to me. I could not keep the money,

-14-

so I decided to give one hundred shillings to a certain man, my neighbor, a fruit seller, who promised to give me a profit of ten shillings a month. I then remained with 25/- for my personal use. He used the money for two months keeping to our agreement. But it happened that he fought a woman who had come to buy tomatoes at his stall. He was accused, but realizing that he was guilty he dislodged himself from where he lived and never turned up again. My hundred shillings was gone.

I spent most of my time, even during the weekends, serving at the shop. I had little time left for my studies. I could not do well at school. For fear that my friends would despise me if I did badly at school I decided to discontinue my studies so that I might just work. On an unknown day in the month of April I left school and started working full time at Mr. Sentongo's shop. However, I joined the British Tutorial College to take a Bookkeeping Course. I told Mr. Sentongo about it. He was pleased and promised to pay 180/- for the full Stage-A Bookkeeping L.C.C. I paid the amount and started my studies which I found very interesting. I can now make sensible work of bookkeeping. I know how to enter business transactions in a cash book, and then to balance the cash book, and keep records of purchases and sales and prepare the profit and loss account.

My lessons were sometimes easy so I finished them quickly. I waited for the examinations which were held in December that year. I did not know that it was essential to apply for admission to sit for the L.C.C. I missed the exams. I now have to wait for the next time. As I had no hope of going to secondary school again all the money I earned was for personal use. I bought a radio for my Christmas present and a lot of luxurious things.

Two weeks after Christmas my friend Kazibwe came to me at about sunset with a long envelope which I opened with a lot of eagerness. I was ignorant of what was inside. It was addressed to my father and was from the Ministry of Education. Inside were two sheets of paper on forms and a piece of paper pinned to the two papers. The two large papers were bursary forms while the smaller one was a letter telling my father to fill the forms and send them to the Ministry of Education not later than December 31st that year. The government was going to give financial support. Since the fixed date to send the bursary forms was over I had missed the chance, and moreover, I was out of school. However, this encouraged me to go back to school in the hope that the government would help me.

The following week I visited many schools in search of a vacancy. The way was quite open in private schools but they demanded more money than I could afford. At African High School the school fees were 600/- a year. I went to an Asian run school in town which also asked a great deal of money. Finding that these schools were financially unsuitable for me I went back to my former school GDSS.

-15-

I hoped to be admitted. I explained my affairs to the new headmaster.
I told him that I was once a student in the school but had given up be-
cause of financial obstacles. He seemed to take no interest in the
matter. However he promised rather reluctantly to offer me a place in
the school. He said that I was to come back as soon as the term had
commenced. I no longer bothered to search in other schools. I only
waited for the promised day on which I had to go to the GDSS.

The school reopened on January 17th, 1963. So fine was the day
that the sun came up early. I was the first figure to arrive at school
that day. I wore the real school uniform for I still had one. Boys
and girls came singly until 8 a.m. when most of them advanced towards
the school gate in groups. Some who were my friends greeted me with
every mark of friendliness. I told them that I was again joining their
company. I stood outside the headmaster's office waiting hopefully to
hear him tell me which class to go to. At about 8:15 a.m. the head-
master seated in a new Benz car arrived. He marched to his office. I
could not wait a minute before I consulted him. Knocking thrice I was
admitted in "Good morning, Sir," was my first remark. "Good morning"
he said, "I know Musiki what you want but nothing so far has been
settled. All the classes are quite full." He said this smiling.

I trembled at the headmaster's words. His words were unpleas-
ant to me. He told me to go to another day secondary school where he
hoped there were some places. He said that he could assist me in the
matter if I wished. I feebly walked out of the office and hopelessly
pushed my limbs towards the gate. My friends came to me to ask me what
I had achieved. But I could say nothing. I just had my way out. I
had prepared an application in case I failed to obtain a vacancy at the
GDSS. I could take it to another school. I took the application to
the other day secondary school where I handed it to the headmaster. On
the notice board at the school was a big notice reporting that there
were no vacancies in the school. When I read it I was pretty sure
that there was not any chance for me and that it was utter foolishness
to try and see the headmaster. Despite the notice I begged for admis-
sion to the headmaster's office. He was an Englishman, a reasonably
tall man, sharp-nosed with sharp eyes. He was on the whole a kind
gentle man. Eager to hear from me, he asked me what I wanted. I
placed my application before him. Attached to the application was a
recommendation from the new headmaster at the GDSS. After he had read
it he sent me to his secretary. The secretary wrote my name on a long
form. That was a form granting a place to me in the school in Senior
II. I was to join the school the following Monday. On my way I went
laughing to myself as I was very joyous. I had the supreme gratitude
towards my new headmaster. I went and washed my clothes and made ready
for the morning. I told my master where I am working that I had ob-
tained a place in a school and to have my pay ready.

It then became necessary for me to attend my master's shop for my service there in the evenings. Always after school from 5 p.m. to 10 p.m. I attended the shop. It was not easy to do this because I met many disadvantages. My studies were oppressively affected by the work. I had not enough time to devote to my studies. Then on the 30th of April, my master dismissed me from my work. He said that his profits were not enough to continue to pay me 50/- a month. As you know, I could not work for nothing, so I stopped. Now I am increasing the number of unemployed in the city. I am a boy who was born unlucky and perhaps what is confronting me is misfortune.

an autobiography   II.

Nobody can know what happened during his infancy unless he is told. The same thing applies to me. Before my dear father, who has just breathed his last, told me about my infancy, I was blind about it. We used to sit at the stone behind our house at the sunset looking after the goats. After having told me about my birth and my childhood, he used to teach me old songs of his time when he was a child. Sometimes he told me about the wars which we now learn in history. When I remember all this, my heart beats continuously, my eyes are filled with tears and I tremble as if I am frightened.

I was born in a small well looking village called Kakindo, which is situated among the hills, in a county called Buggangazzi, one of the twenty counties of Buganda Kingdom and one of the three counties of Mubende District. It was night at about the third hour when I first saw the light. According to what my loving father told me, I asked my father to collect a lot of faggots and to make a very big fire in the house so that I may be born in light. At the last hour of my mother's suffering, she anchored herself in the corner where she received her last child. My parents were very glad when I was born and they did whatever was possible to make me fit in the outside world. My father named me Senoga as a family name which only belongs to the "Bird Clan." This name means that they will be saved by me. I was looked after well and I grew up energetically, well looking and many people admired my beauty.

When I was about nine months old, my mother was attacked by a certain illness which lasted for about three months. During that time I was looked after by my older sister. She had drunk some Kiganda medicine so that she might feed me from her breasts because there was no milk from the cows and during those days a child was given food when he was two years old. Although I was not fed as well as before, I grew so big that my sister whom I came next failed to lift or to carry me. I used to cry from now and then and as a result my sister got tired of me and she used to prick me as well as beat me. I think it was this

time, my father would have taken me to the hospital to be looked after by nurses. Luckily enough, my mother recovered gradually.

When I was about three years old, my mother went to prepare herself for baptism as well as for the holy communion. As you know, during the recent years, Roman Catholics were not given books except their leaders. In that case, one preparing for the baptism ceremonies had to spend thereabout a year being taught all the respects of the church. Also my mother had nothing to do except leaving me as well as my sister again as if she did not like me. During that time my father had been appointed a Muluka chief and he was working in another county. We were left alone: our elder sister, Nannoga; the other two who followed her, Rose, and I. As well as I can remember, we used to play with our uncle's son who used to build some huts and my sisters prepared food in it. Sometimes they used to make pancakes in which there was a lot of pepper. One day when there was a wedding on our village, our elder sister left us alone for the whole night. The house in which we were left was just a temporary one. It was thatched with grass from the top to the bottom but it was to be smeared with mud afterwards. The doorway was closed by a screen made of dried reeds. This house served all the purpose. People and domestic animals like goats as well as chickens lived in it. Also it was used as a kitchen. At night we only slept with difficulty because of the smoke since there was no ventilation. On that actual day when our elder sister Nannoga left us alone in the house, we were nearly dying of suffocation. As we were afraid of wild animals, we made a very great fire from wet faggots which produced a lot of smoke. When she came back in the mornings she tried to please us by doing whatever good she could but we paid no attention to her. When our mother returned home, we reported her and our mother was very cross with her.

A short time after my mother's return, my eldest sister, Nakazibwe, dediced to take me into her home when she was married. Having spent there about two months, I was taken to Tororo in Bukedi where our husband, as I may say, was working as a shoemaker. In such a long journey, I recognized many new things although I was very young. We started our journey from a place called Kakumiro. I was with my sister and our husband who had came for us. When we were there waiting for a bus, I saw Indian children playing on the steps. So I wanted to play with them. Unfortunately my wanting was nearly going to result in my death. As I approached them, one such unkind brutal child pushed me down and I fell back first in the mud. All my best clothes became muddy. I had nothing to do when I rose up from the mud staggering a little I ran to my sister crying.

My sister whom I thought would comfort me, did nothing except she rebuked me and kicked me as if I was a dog. That kick made my brother-in-law whom I called 'our husband' annoyed and he was nearly slashing her but he did not want to shame her as she has shamed me.

He picked me up, wiped out my tears, took off the muddy clothes and dressed me in good ones. Then he bought a cake to make me forget what had happened to me. After a short time, the bus arrived and having put some of our luggage up on the bus, we boarded it. This was the first time for me to ride, to sit in a bus. The bus was old-fashioned. All the seats were made of wood. When the engine started, it deafened the passenger and it used to let in smoke. The bus jolted us badly as it went over a rough road. In addition to the jolting of the bus and the people smoking cigarettes, I was mixed up and the next thing I knew I was vomiting. We got out of the bus at Mubende Town this being the first part of our journey.

At Mubende, I saw many things which were new to me, some of the things I saw were houses roofed with tiles, men who seemed to me to have put on wide blue dishes. Later when I asked my brother-in-law who those men were, he told me that they were policemen.

From Mubende, as the second part of our journey, we travelled by bus. This sort of bus was better than the first one. The seats were made of cushions and this was faster than the previous one. In this bus, however, much the passengers smoked, I did not vomit as before. I think this was due to my easy-familiarizing heart. As I remember this bus was full up and some passengers were sitting on the others. In those days people did not travel very much but the reason for the overcrowding was because it was time for Christmas and there was only one bus coming from Fort Portal to Kampala and another from Kampala to Fort Portal. In those days there were no taxi cars since the motor cars were not available. I was sitting on my sister but from time to time I worried of my sister's shaming me in the public if I had done something wrong. The most important thing which I had forgotten to mention were the telephone posts and wires. With those, I asked many questions in which some were sensible and some were silly.

The road surface was alright but it contained some uncountable curves used to delay the bus. Throughout the part we passed between Mubende and Mityana, we did not meet any motor car. As the road was very narrow, I was told that when two motor cars met, one had to go exactly to the bank of the road so that the other might pass. This used to cause trouble during the rainy season. The whole part mentioned above was not settled. People were found in Kiganda but just a few of them. In some parts there were thick forests and in the others some short grass with dotted trees. From time to time I wondered how people managed to get such long wires and to connect them from Mubende to where I was expecting them to stop. When I looked outside the bus it seemed to me as if the bus was stationary and telephone posts passed it.

When we reached Mityana, I began to understand that I was exiled from home because I could not understand the way. There the life

was different from ours in our own part I saw many different kinds of people. Here my brother-in-law bought me some tea and a slice of bread. I had never eaten any bread before but when I ate it I wanted to consume the whole loaf. In comparison what Mityana is now, it seemed as if it was just a village with houses near each other. But at present it looks nice. From there we reached Kampala. This part between Kampala to Mityana was settled and here we began to see or meet other vans. During those days, Kampala was just a small town compared to how it is now. Here I saw many things like the train and some buildings. Having taken out our things from the bus we went to the railway station where we slept for the whole night.

Early in the morning the next day we boarded the train to Jinja. Throughout this journey I remember one thing that I was shown river Nile and saw some ducks bobbing in the water. We reached Tororo at night at about 9 p.m. There at the station we found six people who had come for us. We took our things home where we found everything ready.

Our house was No. 3, and it was thatched with grass as all other houses in the line. Behind our house there was a tree in which I used to play and to recognize every bird which came there. Near that tree there was an ant hill. At the right hand side of our house facing the Tororo hill which was about a mile from the line was a sort of stone about five feet high, eight long and six feet wide. It was made from bricks by people in the line for exposing their things to the sunlight. The most noticeable thing at Tororo which I will never forget is that, there was a lot of termites, bucks from the hill, hyenas, and alligators. I was loved very much by the people there and I had many friends. Some of those friends were Baadaama and some were Baganda. Among the Badaamas, was a boy called Kawe who seemed to love me more than others. Whenever he got something good to eat, he would call me. I remember one day he killed a dove and having prepared for eating, he fetched me. If it was not from my sister's warning that it was a dove, I was going to enjoy it calling it a partridge. This boy taught me his language and if I were not very young, I would know some of it now. There was another friend of mine, among the men and this was Paul whom we share the same name. He was a good-looking playful man approaching the older generation. This gentleman used to take me to his house No. 25 and he put on records. Among the women, there was a tall slender woman whose name was Mary. She was about thirty years but she had no child. She regarded me as her child. In that case she gave me whatever she had. Apart from those, my brother-in-law loved me exceedingly. He had given me a chair and a table on which to get my meals. He used to buy me everything that I was interested in. This gentleman loved me so much that he did not want my sister to punish me. One day as I was playing with a shoe polish box, I broke a cup unintentionally. Can you guess what she did? She tied my hands on my back and began caning me until she wore out. When my brother-in-law

-20-

returned from his work, I reported her and I showed him the cane
stripes he argued very much and in the end after a lot of sharp words
from both sides he gave her a strong kick which brought with her eyes
full of tears. I was very much pleased with that and I told her that
it served her right. Whenever she punished me for nothing, I reported
her to him. Sometimes he just comforted me.

She used to send me to fetch water from the public tap. Since
I was very young and also not strong I sometimes failed to unscrew the
tap. Waiting for a long time without seeing me bringing some water, she
would come howling like a hyena. Before opening the tap for me she
would first slap me on my cheeks and then began to speak to me ironi-
cally. One day, she borrowed a hoe from Margaret. Having finished
using it, she told me to take it back to her. I found her still dig-
ging. Behind her, I saw something so I wanted to pick it up. Unfor-
tunately, as soon as I bent, she knocked me in the forehead unknow-
ingly with the back part of the hoe. I cried horribly and fell down
kicking like a slaughtered goat. How terrified she was when she saw
me looking red! She thought that she had cut my head into two pieces.
At once she shouted to the neighbors to bring her some bandages to
stop the blood. Within a short time I was surrounded by many people
and my sister and Margaret were tying up the bandages. After that I
was carried home by my sister who was crying terribly. When my brother-
in-law came back he was very very angry with her and he asked her many
sharp questions in which she answered nothing. She just looked down.
As the time went on, I recovered gradually.

Some much for the others, now let me discuss my characters at
Tororo. What I mostly remember is this: I was somehow cruel to ani-
mals. At night when my sister was bathing I used to go in the chicken's
house with a box of matches. There I began to light some fire in their
feathers. When the fire was burning freely I would catch another one
which had not been lit and extinguish the fire by throwing that one
violently over the lighted one. Once, as my sister heard disturbances
in the chicken's house, she came there in a hurry thinking that there
was thief. She found me carrying on duty as usual. She caught me in
her hands and this time even frogs came near to see how hard I was be-
ing beaten. I did not report her because I knew that what I was doing
was bad. Also I beseeched her not to report me either because I
thought that gentleman would hate me for troubling his chickens. From
that time I did not do that again but adapted another way of dealing
with them. I used to get some maize grains and climbed up the stone,
which I told you about. There I called all the chickens and began
throwing down those grains. When they were busy eating, I jumped at
once and fell on them. In most cases, I failed to fall on any. But
one day it happened that I killed one cock in that way. The thing
which pleased me, now turned into tears. I was very much afraid that
my sister would learn what happened so I carried it secretly and threw
it in the cotton plantation. When the night fell, my sister checked

the chickens as she used to do. Failing to see the biggest of all the
cocks we had, she asked me whether I was the one who had killed it. I
refused but she proved it because I had killed about two by beating
them. In the morning, we walked around with her we came across the
feathers and from them I was proved innocent.

When I was there, our mother came to see us. Because she could
not live with her son-in-law in the same house, as the Kiganda customs
dictate, I lived with her in a somewhat old, and uncomfortable house
which was nearby.

After a short time when she had gone, we went with my sister to
find some mushrooms in the jungle. When I was standing somewhere,
looking around, I saw one near a big well branched tree, and I rushed
towards it. As I bent to pick it up, I heard my sister shouting "Alli-
gator." Looking round I saw it running towards me. With a cry of
terror I scuttled towards her who was at this time shivering. We
rushed home all shivering with fear and my sister made an oath never to
go back. When we told our neighbors they informed us that it was by
this tree the gators lay their eggs. From that time on, I began to
fear that tree.

The last incident which happened to me before I left Tororo was
this: At about 2 p.m. in the afternoon my sister was collecting some
grass from her garden so that she might burn it. She saw an alligator
resting in the shed. At once she ran home, called the neighbors and
all carrying clubs, they went to challenge it. I was left alone at
home first as I heard my sister mentioning alligator, I began to
tremble. I wanted to follow them but I thought of meeting another on
the way so I went and hid myself under the bed. Within a short time
I heard them coming back, they had killed it. Our neighbor Walugembe,
was carrying it. Reaching home, they tied it on a branch of the big
tree behind our house and everybody went back. My sister went back to
her work and I was left with that brute at home. It was suspended from
a big rope and some blood was flowing from its nose. Whenever I threw
a glance at it, it seemed to be coming at me and at that moment my hair
rushed from my head. When my brother-in-law came back, he looked at it
and sold it to the tanners.

Although my sister was cruel to me, she taught me how to read
and I remember, this helped a lot when I started schooling. Generally
speaking she treated me in this way in order to make me a good boy.
Also this treatment has a great advantage to me now.

The arrival of my mother the second time limited my days at
Tororo. This time she decided to take me home with her. My brother-
in-law bought many things to go with. Among those which I can remember
were the two bedsheets which have got torn recently, a blanket (I still
have it) a plate and other things. This was in the year 1950. Although

I was interested in staying with my brother-in-law whom throughout
that I was calling my father, all my interests were in vain. My sis-
ter began to feel lonely; when she knew that I was going with mother.
Her real sorrowness was shown on the actual night we left from there.
She cried like a child. My brother-in-law accompanied us to the rail-
way station, at midnight when the hyenas of that area were howling.
We boarded the train and we left Tororo for good. Really I cannot re-
member all that happened on the way but what I can remember is that I
was ill when we left Tororo and on the way, this illness increased.
When we reached Kampala in the evening and we lived at Nsambya at Mr.
Kyanyo's. The most important thing I can remember here is that when
his wife was given a mattress to sleep on, her husband prevented her.
As I was accustomed to sleeping on a mattress I complained throughout
the night because where I slept was as hard as a rock. My mother
tried to stop me but I was not feeling comfortable. Early in the morn-
ing we caught a bus going to Mubende. This day my sickness became se-
vere and my mother just carried me on her back from Nsambya to the bus
park. When we reached Mityana my mother bought me some tea and a slice
of bread. When the conductor saw this he told my mother that as I was
very ill, she could not give me tea because I would vomit on the way.
Really, the man had foretold. On the way, I was sitting between my
mother and another woman also facing the conductor. At once I vomited
to them and that woman punished me as if she had never got a child. As
she pushed I fell on the conductor's lap also vomiting. The conductor
just lifted me up at the doorway so that I might vomit outside the bus.
Think of that; the bus was running. I was tiny and also exhausted by
illness. As you think, I was on the verge of falling head first out of
the bus when my mother, howling like a beaten dog and also trembling,
seized me. In that way I escaped death in a strange way. As you may
think of the speed of the buses of long ago, we reached Mubende in the
afternoon at about 3 p.m.

We lived there to Mr. Kibuka where we were entertained well
and we slept comfortably. In the morning we caught another bus going
to Kakumiro. There we were met by some people. Among them was a small
boy who was to carry me on his bicycle. At first I thought that he
would fail to carry me, but he did so all the way we were going. That
boy was called Paul Kajule and he was murdered on the 28th, April, 1963,
because of the dispute on the "Lost Counties." We reached there at
noon and we found them at the table. How happy were they when they saw
me! Everybody lifted me and greeted me. Unfortunately I failed to
understand their language. They were speaking Lunyoro but I was ac-
customed to Luganda. As time went on I learned how to speak Lunyoro
and now I am a first-class speaker of that language.

After a year I was taken to Mutoma in Buwekula where my father
was working as a Muluka chief, to start schooling where I found my sis-
ter Betty and my brother Joseph. At the time we arrived my father was
not there but when he came he was very pleased to see me. I did not

know him by face, but by name, and when he arrived I asked him if he was my father, Siradamu. From that moment I knew my father. He had a lot of goats which we used to herd in the evening whenever we came home from school.

On the first day of school, my sister, my brother, and the other boys who were living with us, went with me. When we got there I saw many new faces. Some were attractive and others ugly. The boys in this school had a bad habit of teasing the newcomers in every way they liked. I was very fortunate because I had my brother who had attended there for a year. In that case they did not tease me because they feared my brother. As I remember they wanted to suffocate the newcomers by covering their noses and mouths with their palms or by making them collect a great number of mangoes to eat. This I remember killed one of the newcomers that year. That boy was forced to eat a hundred mangoes. Because he feared to be beaten by the tough boys he did so and as a result that boy died after two days. Steps to eliminate these things in the school were then carried out and these bad habits were abolished.

Although some students say that the first year in school is very difficult academically, I found it easy simply because my sister had taught me how to read before I came to school. At school I used to fight with the boys who tried to tease me secretly, and having beaten them I used to accuse them to the teacher. At school I was interested in playing football and wrestling. My sister was loving me very much, and as she was older than me she used to buy me some groundnuts. After a year, since I started schooling, my brother was taken to Mubende where he attended classes. In the mid-day my sister used to fetch me from our class and we went home for lunch. Also she did this at four. We used to return home with many students. Some of them were in higher classes and we had to respect them. I remember I used to carry some of the boys' books and in return they gave me some money, usually a five cent piece coin. Some of them bought me some sweets.

At the end of 1952 my sister was taken out of school because the money was not enough for three children. When I was told that she was going back to the village I felt solitary and very sad. When we got our holiday I first went to the village and after Christmas I returned to Mutoma. Because I did not want my sister to leave I did not show any sign of pleasure except crying. I also wanted to be taken out of school, so that I might stay with my sister. In the morning it was the first day of the new year. I went to worship God. When I returned I found them collecting her things. At this moment I knew that she was really going. After lunch, which seemed nothing to me, I went behind the latrine and started crying. I cried so much that I fell asleep. Seeing me sleeping they set off. When I woke up I tried to follow them but I was too young to know the way. I stayed lonely for

-24-

some time until the end of January 1953 they brought a boy named George
to live with us. I was glad to see him because I was tired of playing
alone. We used to go to school together, play together, and sleep in
the same bed. Sometimes we fought each other as you know how small
boys are.

In 1954 in the holidays of the first term I became seriously
ill. I was taken to the hospital where I stayed for about two months.
I was suffering from my stomach. In this whole time of illness the
doctor's operation took place twice. I experienced many things in the
doctor's theatre, like the way they make you unconscious and many other
things. I also learned some of the characters of the nurses. In this
year I was in primary four. When I came from the hospital I started
studying again. They had learned many things during my absence and I
was at a great disadvantage in having to catch up. I tried very hard
and at the end of the examinations I was third. My classmaster gave
me a present for working hard.

In the following year my brother was returned from Mubende
having failed to learn while he was there. Now we became three boys
at home. But they loved me the most because I was the youngest of the
three. As these boys began to live together in the kitchen they began
to steal things. They did not stop there but really became thieves.
Sometimes they stole some money from my father. The most important
incident was when George stole a tin of castor oil belonging to my
stepmother. We tried to find it but we failed. Finally she decided
to get some Kiganda medicine so that it might kill the one who took
it. When the boy learned this he told her that he was the one who had
taken the tin and he beseeched her very much not to use the medicine.
After that the boy escaped and went to his home. Also there he con-
tinued stealing. Now he is in prison for years.

In 1956 I joined Primary Six feeling enthusiastic. This year
was very difficult for me because I met with a lot of troubles. In
this year my father retired from his work and we were with my step-
mother and brother. My father went to stay in the village where my
mother is. Here at Mutoma he had some cattle and he had brought them
home to keep them himself. Sometimes when the herdsmen started drink-
ing he never returned for a week. In that case my stepmother had to
look after the cows. We used to milk them and as they were not accus-
tomed to us they used to kick us. When we returned from school on the
days she herded cattle we could not find food, so we had to find our
own food. On Saturdays it was our turn to look after the cows. One
day she was beaten by rain while looking after the herd and when she
came home she was shivering terribly. She tried to make a fire. When
the fire was going she sat nearby and I sat on her side. It might be
that the coldness had affected her brain. She became rather mad.
Suddenly I saw her fight by herself, uttering some unknown words.
Within a minute she fell into the fire. When I saw this I jumped with

-25-

a cry and ran outside for help. There was no response. I came and stood in the doorway. From there I saw her putting embers in her hair. She told me that she was bathing. When I saw this I knew that she had really run mad. I thought that she might die. I ran to the neighbors and told them. They were my redeemers because we were only two with her; my brother was not at home. I had nothing to do except crying. After giving her some Kiganda medicine she became well, but still suffered from the burns of the fire.

The house we were living in was grass thatched and it was becoming old, nearly falling in. At night when the wind was blowing hard we used to run from that house to the kitchen and we slept there. Every time I was worrying, even at school. I was not getting lunch except for some sugar cane. This way of living made my studies bad and at the end of the year the results of the examination were not good. So I had to repeat Primary VI.

In 1957 I started my studies well armed and determined to be first throughout the year. Also I decided to waste no time. This year we had a new teacher called Busulwa. Now he is a headmaster of a primary school. This gentleman devoted all his time to teaching us both in classes and outside. This year was one of great competition in my class. There were a number of repeaters, and from primary five the teachers had selected the ten best students for primary six. One of those ten is a girl now at Gayaza. I expect good results from her on the school certificate this year. Surely my determination bore fruit. I led the two terms and in the primary leaving examination I led the whole district. I did not like to attend the junior section in the same school so I went to a junior secondary school in Singo County.

For lodging during junior secondary school I moved into the home of a priest called Rev. Kizito. At the beginning the life was good, but as time went on it became worse. During the first year we were living three there; I and two girls. Early in the morning we first prayed, and then began digging. After that we sometimes fetched water. Then we would wash our feet and prepare for school. Sometimes we had tea for breakfast. The most wonderful thing was that we lived near the school, about a quarter of a mile away, but we always came late.

The boys in this school also had the habit of teasing the newcomers. On the first day of the term, the school was opened by marching around the school compound. In this marching the old boys teased the newcomers exceedingly. Also the head boy had to tease the newcomers as their last time to be teased. On this occasion he punished some of them by beating them, but I was lucky he did not beat me. I remember that Jim Kalongo, whom I am studying with now, tried to torture me while I was a newcomer. I stoned him and also made him suffer.

On another occasion we were slashing grass together and he tried to tease me. I chased him and cut him on the leg with my slasher. From them on till now we became great friends.

For the second year the number of students living with the priest increased. For a while we were six, but two of them left within a short time, because of the bad situations. We remained four, two being girls. We boys were given a room off the kitchen. In this year we met with famine. Sometimes we ate only a single smallest potato. Really, our situation was the same as in "Animal Farm." We were working very hard and were given very little food. From school we boys went to collect some firewood. From there we went to fetch water. It was up to us to divide the time equally. When we returned from the firewood at night we were compelled to go to the water. The girls prepared food. After supper we took turns in washing the plates before sleeping. If one failed to do so one would wash them in the morning after digging. On Saturdays, after digging we were given a lot of clothes to wash and then we had to iron them too. Throughout the week there was no day of rest. Although the situation was bad most of us managed to succeed except one girl who was impregnated.

At the end of the second year I managed to get a B grade on the Junior Leaving Examination. I would have got the first grade, but because I had no time to revise my books, that was the trouble. Also, every time in class, I was worrying about the work and the situation where I lived.

In 1960 I joined senior one at Kintu College, a private school. Because where I was living this time was good I studied very hard and as a result I led the class throughout the year. I decided to join any government school because I was tired of private schools. I applied to a government day secondary school at once I was given a vacancy in senior two. In 1958 my father had gone blind and my elder brother had begun to pay my school fees as well as looking after the whole family. In 1961 I joined my present school. The first day of school showed me that the students in my class were very sharp. During the first term I did not do well although I was trying hard. This was because in the private school we had been learning different things. By the beginning of the second term I had caught up and I was competing with the old students. The examinations showed me that I was capable in my work.

The following year I call a very unfortunate year, (1962). I joined senior three. In this year many bad things happened to me. The first and most important thing still makes me cry, was the death of my beloved father. He died during the rainy season when all the murram roads were muddy. When I was going to the funeral services I met with a lot of difficulties. Also four days before my father's daughter who was about eleven years old died. The second thing was the breaking of my foot while playing football. I even missed the term's examinations.

Also in this same year the situation where I was living changed. They
wanted me to work for long hours and read books for a short time. On
the other hand they regarded me as one who earns every month so that I
might buy whatever was needed at home and many other things. When I
saw that I was unable to do that I moved from there to Port Bell to
stay with my sister. Although I am cycling eight miles in the morning
I do not mind as long as the conditions where I stay are favorable.
My comrades and I are very busy preparing for the School Certificate.
I wish them good luck in their examinations.

An autobiography   III.

Who can tell when the waiting shadows and lights of beginning
consciousness start to grow clear on the eyes and the mind of a child.
Most of my memories are Buganda, a small village in Mengo, about two
miles away from Kampala, the city of Uganda. I was born on July 25th
1945, and my home has been at Bulange ever since. By then and for
about five years which followed we lived in a small beautiful house.
I have clear and vivid impressions of some of the things which made it
look beautiful.

It was hedged in with bougainvilleas. In the compound were
short grass, shrubs and lively flowering trees. On either side of the
road which led to the house were lovely red lilies, pink, and white
roses of a strong good smell. The house was surrounded with a climb-
ing plant whose orange trumpet-like flower contained honey which we
used to suck. There were two big tall palm-like trees in the garden,
and these I was told were the first trees to be planted when my parents
married. One of these is still in the garden and looks fresh as ever.

Although I had an older sister, I never knew her until I was
about five years old. She was taken away by my aunt when I was just a
month old. My mother told me once when they came to visit us that
she was my sister but I could not believe it, for I had never seen her
before. It took her nearly a day to make me understand it. At the
time I could not understand how a mother could give her child to some-
body else.

At the age of three my mother started to teach me how to pray,
and made it a rule that I had to pray every night before going to bed,
and soon after getting out of bed every morning. And it was also a
rule to greet mama and dad in English every morning, and again in the
evening to greet dad when he came back from work. I remember, once dad
came back, and I heard him but did not turn up for tea that evening, but
stayed in the banana garden hiding. Lucky for me, dat went out for a
meeting and was not back until dark when I had gone to bed. He never
mentioned it again. It was always a rule that we had to rest on our

beds after lunch. I hated it for I was not allowed to play about, and it was really tiresome to lay there for about an hour which seemed ages, with dry eyes when children of the neighborhood were out playing.

There was a bush near our home, and in it were ripening mangoes. Mama never allowed us to go there and if she saw you, you were in for it. One day I told my three younger sisters that we could have those mangoes if we went out during the resting hour. We all waited with excitement for mama to fall asleep. We all went through an open window avoiding to disturb her. We chose the window because the door was locked and we knew that if we opened it, it would give a noise which would perhaps wake mama. Off we ran into the bush. It was about 2 p.m. and very hot. I climbed a mango tree and my sisters started collecting the mangoes. I had hardly picked twenty mangoes when an insect entered into one of my ears. It was buzzing like a bee, but it wasn't one and I never knew what it was.

I screamed and climbed down. My sisters stood still. At that time I knew that there were only two living things in the world, which were the pitiless insect and myself. My sister, the one after me, tried to poke it with a stick, but it only seemed to make it worse for me. The more she did it, the more I heard that horrible voice, and the further inside it went. We all started crying, and I am sure it would have been a wonderful scene if anybody appeared at that time.

One would ask why we didn't run back to mother, but she was the last person we could ever wish to see at the time. How could we explain? We sat there helplessly weeping. After about an hour we decided to go back to mama as there was no alternative. My youngest sister ran ahead of us to report the incident to mama. We knew that she was already looking for us, and thought that she would be nice to us when we returned.

Surprisingly, when mama saw us she pretended to know nothing, and did not bother to ask what had happened although I was crying. I was disappointed. I went straight to her with the buzzing insect in my ear, and related all that had happened. She did not give me any comfort at first, and all she said just made me wild. It was the arrival of dad which altered everything. He was very sweet to me, and he struggled until he got the beast out. All mama kept saying was that they were going to take me to the hospital, and have my ears cut off. I think I was a stubborn child and in most cases paid for it. One time I spent a week in bed for playing in the rain, and I have a scar from climbing trees.

One of our neighbors in 1948 was my uncle-in-law. He was the gombolola chief and we sometimes spent a day there playing with my cousins. One day as we were playing, one of my cousins got out of her dress pocket a box of matches. She lit one of the matches and we

all shouted. Aunt heard us and when she called us, we ran and hid in the hedge. It was there an idea struck me to try and light the hedge. My cousin went to the house and brought a four-gallon tin full of paraffin. We poured the paraffin onto the hedge and set fire to it. The hedge burnt very brightly for the branches inside were already dry. To us it was fun and exciting but to my aunt it was serious and sorrow. They tried to extinguish the fire but in vain. It burnt day and night until it was all ashes, but I always wonder why we were not punished.

At the age of about four my mother started teaching me how to look after babies. It was one of the most interesting lessons I had in my childhood. I used toys and was always my own adiver. In the years that followed I proved very good at minding my sisters and brothers. In the kitchen she taught me how to peel bananas, but never how to light a fire. I learnt how to make my bed fairly, and at the age of five I could lead the whole family in prayers. Nearly all my early informal education was received from my mother. Everything that was bad she told me never to do, and for the good ones encouraged. We had many games both indoors and outdoor. For the indoors my favorites were Ludo, Cards, draughts and monopoly, for outdoors it was hide and seek, climbing, skipping and African play-song games.

During my fifth year a number of books were brought, which I was told, were to help me to become a clever intelligent child. At this time there was a girl of sixteen living with my family. She was to be both my writing and drawing teacher. Mama took up singing and reading, and dad took up Arithmetic and English. I liked the singing and drawing very much for they were understandable and easy.

Both writing and reading were my worst subjects, and I remember once I was caught trying to cheat my mother. I blame myself for having done it, but I think the girl who was writing teacher is to be blamed most, for she is the one who really did it.

After I had finished my reading lesson, mama sent me to the writing lesson. I was told that I was to start with a dictation, to test how much I had learnt in my reading lesson. All the words were spelt right except "mama." Several times the girl tried to teach me how to spell it but in vain. In the end she wrote it for me, and told me to take it to mama, and lie to her that I had written it myself. I did as I was told, but mama saw the handwriting and knew at once that it was not my own. Failing to persuade me to say the truth, she rubbed the name off the board, and asked me to rewrite it. I neighter remembered what the first letter was, nor how many letters it had. With the chalk in my hand, I looked at the board like an idiot. After about half an hour with tear filled eyes, I scribbled a word of about ten letters on the board. Mama said she could not get any sense out of it, and I am sure no one could. Ashamed as I was, I went to bed and since then I have never tried to lie to my parents.

Of all my teachers dad was the worst, and thank God for not
making him a teacher. He knew the tings quite well, but he did not
know how to teach a child as I was. He was impatient, hot-tempered
and had no technique. If he explained a thing once, and then you
got it wrong, he would bark at you and even beat you. That was what
he thought would make a child learn quickly. To me I think it is a
system, which can only make a child scared, and think only about the
mistake he is about to make instead of learning his lesson.

I have already told you about my informal education, and all
the dreadful things which happened in that world. But now a much
more dreadful thing happened. I was to go to school. I was now
seven years old but looked younger than that, for I was very small. I
was to go to a day school not very far from home, so as to do lessons
under a mistress. The fateful day arrived. It was seven in the morn-
ing, which I thought too early, when mama came and woke me up. I went
outside in the cold air while my younger sisters and brothers enjoyed
their sleep. After putting on my uniform, I had my breakfast, and
with a girl who was in the sixth class, which was the top class, went
to school. Although I thought it to be early, we found most of the
children had already arrived.

The first thing I saw when I got there was the playing field.
It was big and covered with green grass. The school was hedged in
bamboos, and inside it were six houses. Two were for classrooms, two
were teachers' hostels, one for the headmaster, and the last one was
the chapel. Each of the two classroom houses had three classrooms,
and at the back of the one I was taken in were mangoe trees. At the
back of the teachers' hostel were white roses planted in a line and
many other flowers. The whole place plus the children who were all
dressed in green, looked green and dull.

The rooms were painted white on the outside and looked attrac-
tive. Inside they were not so attractive, for all the furniture was
of hard wood. In our room, were small armchairs and small one-person
tables. This was the bottom class. Our teacher was an ugly-looking
old woman with a few gray hairs. At that time she looked as black as
charcoal and had small fierce eyes. She was worse than dad, and none
of the children liked her, even today I find few who like her. She
treated us like wild animals, and I think she enjoyed caning very much.
If I remember well she never spent a day without caning a child. And
worse than that she used to dose off during the evening. For her
cruelty and ugliness she was nicknamed, and every child at school
knew her by her nickname; that first year was a dreadful one and every-
one in the class looked forward to moving on to Form two.

Every morning there was a hygiene inspection. Every part of
the body was inspected, and those found dirty were teased. It was the
Arithmetic time tables which made the whole class hate schooling. For

each time you failed to get correct answers, you were beaten, or worse you were not given your lunch. Behold a child of seven then on a hot evening, with an empty stomach and a fed up heart, seated in front of a cruel teacher to recite your time tables again. The funny thing about this school was that although we were allowed to go home for lunch, most of the children came with some food into the classrooms. Most of the food which was taken was cold cooked matoke, cassava and sweet potatoes. Some of the children used to eat while teachers were carrying on with their lessons. If these children were caught eating during class hours, their food was taken away and given to other children. Mama did not approval of the idea of taking such food to school and so I was never given any.

All the games we had were play-songs, and we always had a Physical Education lessons, or Physical training lesson, as it was called at that time. This was the first lesson every morning. Again, here the same system of resting after lunch was introduced. I hated the system more at school than at home. We were made to sleep on mats put on a cement-made floor. This so-called bed was very hard and uncomfortable, for there was even no pillow to put your head on. Some children who found it comfortable slept, but I just kept my head turning from side to side. This annoyed my teacher and she kept on saying that something was wrong with my head. After the resting hour, we were given indoor games, which we played for not more than half an hour, and then went to the usual Arithmetic lesson.

During my second year, at this Girls' School, dad, mama, three of my sisters and a brother left Buganda, and went to the Northern Province, where dad had been posted. I did not go as I was studying, but was taken to my maternal grandmother, who owned a house not very far from home. Here were three of my cousins who were also attending the same school as I was.

Granny was about fifty and charming. She was so kind to us that we were in some ways spoiled. For all the months I was there she never beat me, nor did she agree with anyone who said that I had anything wrong. At home I used to make my bed, wash a few of my clothes, and sweep my bedroom, but at Granny's I never did any of these.

I enjoyed all my stay with Granny and my cousins. Every night, after supper, she used to tell us historical stories about Buganda, and Kiganda proverbs. Towards the end of the year my parents returned, and in tears I was also brought back. Mama gave birth to a seventh child on Christmas day. She was the sixth girl. Dad went back in the Northern Province soon after Christmas. In 1954 two of my sisters joined my school. The one next to me was taken in form two and the one next to her in form one. I was just beginning to enjoy day school life with my sisters when a great change took place.

We were just about to go to school one morning, when my Paternal uncle came. He had a private talk with my mother, and after about half an hour said to my sister, the one next to me, and myself that were to go with uncle. We asked him where we were going, and she said that we were going to see relatives who lived a long way from home.

The journey did not take very long, for it was only ten miles. The car stopped outside a very big house which later found out to be the library. Behind it was a chapel and several other buildings. On the right side of the library was a long building and behind it several buildings. My uncle left the car and bade us go out. We were puzzled, and started asking each other who these relatives were, who owned such big houses and playgrounds. We were still puzzled when we heard a bell which sounded exactly like the one at the girls school. An idea occurred to us that it might be a school owned by relatives. We were still thinking what it might be when a tall young gentleman, whom I found out to be the clerk, came for us. He led us through an archway to a small room. In the room was seated a big spectacles man, who looked important. My uncle sat on a wooden chair opposite to him, and we were also given chairs next to our uncle. The big spectacle man greeted us, and asked us what our names were. I saw him writing something on the paper as we answered.

It was an interview although we did not know it until later. He asked us whether we said any prayers for going to bed, and to whom we said it. For the second question he gave me a book and asked me to read to him what was in it. After that he gave me a third question, which I remember very well, for it puzzled me and I don't think it was the right one to ask me. In the market, at home, they used to sell a bunch of bananas for ten cents, and two desert spoonfulls of roasted nuts for ten cents. But this man, the headmaster, told me that he went to the market, bought a bunch of bananas for three cents. He then asked me how much he was given back after he had bought the two things. I knew that he had used ten cents and was given back five cents, but I could not see how a bunch of bananas could be bought at three cents and two desert spoonfulls of roasted nuts at two cents. Mathematically it was right, but it was not true to life. Thus I told him that I did not know the answer, although I knew it. He gave me the answer, and I told him that he could not get these two things for five cents. He laughed at me saying he knew he could not but that was the answer. Nevertheless I passed the interview. With the clerk, we went to the other end of the school. I was told this was the girls' end. In the girls' end were six houses. Two were dormitories for the primary girls, two for the secondary girls, one for the girls' warden and the sixth one for domestic science lessons. The one in which I was taken was the oldest of all and the matron was also an old woman. Luckily, uncle happened to know this woman. He talked to her and after that they said goodbye to me and left. In those days I used to cry when saying goodbye to a person I loved, but I wonder why I did not cry that day.

The matron for whom I have always had the greatest regard led
me to my classroom, where I met many pupils both boys and girls. I
knew a few faces in my class and quite a large number in primary four
which was the class on top of mine. After school many children crow-
ded around me to ask where I had come from. I did not take food that
day. The smell and taste was very strange to me. In the evening,
with Miss Nsambya, the house matron, we went to the school store to
get my bedding. It was the usual thing as at home we had to say our
prayers before going to bed, and the lights out drum for pupils from
primary one to primary three went at 8.30 p.m. When I was in bed, I
asked my neighbor, how I would know that it is time to get in the morn-
ing. She told me that an alarm bell was put in a clock, and that
when I hear that bell, I have to get out of bed, make it, go to the
bathroom for a bath, and then to the mess. Many people asked me why
we called it a mess. I don't know the exact reasons why it was called
a mess, but I think it was because it did not look like the dining
rooms we find at home, it was dirty and in disorder.

This was a better school than my old one. Teachers were not
interested in flogging but in teaching. The chairs, although wooden,
were more comfortable. They were not as small as those at Bulange
where a big girl once cried because she could not get out of one.
There were two people sitting on each desk. In the primary school
most of the punishments were given by class monitors, or form captains
especially in the lower classes. If you were caught speaking in the
classroom when a teacher was out, you were made to lie down on the
floor. You had to lie, horizontally to the floor with only toes, the
palm, and the fingers touching the ground. The fingers of the right
hand had to face the fingers of the left hand. Anybody who was born
with tears could not help crying at that age if he was left there for
about five minutes.

After a week's stay in the school, my mother came to see me,
and I am sure everyone can imagine how I reacted, when I saw the per-
son I most wanted to see after a week. Mama gave all my money to the
matron where I had to go every Wednesday and Saturday and get a shil-
ling. On Saturdays we were given twenty cents by the school to buy
whatever we wanted. The school shop was opened daily except on Sun-
days, and the school market on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

The school shop was at that time organized by pupils of the
secondary school. Nearly everything a school child needed at that time
including sweets and chocolates were available in the school shop. In
the market you could buy fruits, half cakes and triangles both of cow-
pea and rice, and many other things. There were about thirty pupils
in a class, we used lantern light, a swimming pool; two spacious net-
ball grounds; a spacious athletics field. The primary school was al-
lowed to go swimming only on Wednesdays. The water we used was rain-
water in tanks; if it took a long time to rain, we had to fetch the

water from the swimming pool, it was about half a mile away from the school. Once there was no water in the school, we all lined up from the school to the swimming pool, and buckets were passed from one another until each one had got his bucket full. For kitchen and teachers' use, the school lorry was responsible. Nearly every Saturday the school was entertained with a concert by the senior school or from schools outside. We had Sunday walks every week which were very interesting. We all walked together as a school under the leadership of a teacher. We were allowed to go beyond the school boundary and have our prayers there.

We counted the days to the end of term. To do this we usually started when there was about two weeks left. Each student, I mean those who were interested, collected small stones equal in number to the days left, and put them in our uniform pockets. Every morning we had to throw out a stone to make sure the day had passed.

I remember one thing which made me cry at the end of my first term at school. It was late in the evening, on the holiday eve, an old girl of the school came to me. She told me that no one was allowed to go home, even if her father came, before she had sung to the matron a certain song. It was a Luganda song. At first I laughed at her thinking that she was lying, but when I went away I found all the other newcomers trying to learn the song, some were even crying for they could not get the tune. I went back to the girl and begged her to teach me. It was getting dark when she started to teach me. I found it very hard and even cried because I knew that I would not be allowed to go home. After a long struggle I succeeded. I was very disappointed next morning, when they told me that it was all lies. It was the pupils' custom, that you had to learn that song at the end of your first term in school.

If anybody did anything wrong to you towards the end of term, you kept it to the holidays eve, when you would get your revenge. We were usually given matoke for the last supper; what you did was to keep your share and throw it at the girl, as she left the mess. This night was one of the funny ones for the primary school. We spent it all in eating, and dreaming about home. On this day, neither the matron nor the lights out could control us. No one was allowed to sleep in a bed without sheets, but very few pupils obeyed this rule. We all waited until the matron was asleep, and then pulled off our sheets and packed them into our suitcases. The matron hated this night, for she never had a comfortable sleep; most children pretended to be somniloguists, and dreamt aloud about their families and friends.

Easter was the most enjoyable day at school especially in the primary school. All boys and girls had dormitory-decoration competition on this day, and twice our house won the prize. Lunch on this

day was special for they even gave us a rice-dish which they never did on other occasions.

It was surprising when I went home, for my first holidays. Everybody even those whom I knew, did not love me, before I went away to school, now gave me a warm welcome. It was a very busy holiday, for I had to go out every day visiting old friends and relatives. Many of my old school mates usually asked me to tell them about my new school until I grew tired of it.

It was so interesting that when the day came for going back I cried, and hid in the bathroom as many children used to do when they did not want to go back. The beginning of my third year at school was unhappy. I was then in the fifth form. After paying my fees as it was a rule that school fees should be paid on the first day, I went to my former dormitory and started making my bed. I was just finishing to make it when the matron came and told me that I had been transferred to another house which was the dormitory for grownup girls.

Speke House was not as old as Mead, and the plan was much more up-to-date than that of Mead. The House had two storys, the upper used as a dormitory, and the ground floor was used as a dining room. It had a very big veranda, and water was inside the house. The pupils who slept in this dormitory had no matron, instead they had a girl prefect from the top form of the senior secondary school. They had to do the laundry work by themselves, and their lights out drum was sounded at 9 p.m. On some concerts, the girls of Mead House were not allowed to go, but those of Speke were allowed to go whenever they wanted.

Although Speke was far better than Mead, and the girls had many privileges, I cried when I was told to move to it. First I loved the Matron so much that I did not want to leave her house. She cared for me like a mother cares for her baby, and loved me like her own child. Most of the girls I was going to sleep with, were much older than I was and I looked like a dwarf to them.

At Speke secondary girls used to do their prep in the dining room downstairs, and we used to do ours upstairs. This caused a lot of disturbance between the two. We finished our prep about an hour before them, and started making as much noise as we could on the wooden floor, which disturbed them downstairs. They also made as much noise as they could when their time was over in order to wake us. This went on for quite a long time until we were both punished.

In 1957, when I was in p.6 the top form in the primary school, I was chosen a prefect, to look after the girls who lived in Mead. I was very happy at this, for I knew I was going back to my old matron. The girls were very troublesome. You could not cope with them if you

were not hot-tempered. Most of them, especially those in the first year, neither knew how to make their beds, nor how to wash their bodies. It was all our responsibilities, the two prefects, to see that all these things were properly done. We had to get up every day early in the morning and help them in making their beds and washing their bodies. It was very difficult to make the younger ones wash with cold water and unless you were patient you could not do it. It was very annoying to find a girl undoing her bed soon after you had made it for her. We were sometimes caught late at school, and the teachers did not listen to our reasons. You could not go to bed at night before making sure that everyone was comfortably asleep. It was my busiest year both in the class and in the dormitory. It was in this year I had to do the primary leaving examination.

It took about a week for the primary leaving results to come, but rumors had already gone around the school that all the girls except three had passed. We were not told the results until the last day of school, for the junior secondary entrance exam. results took a long time to come back. On the last assembly the results were read out. We were only two girls to pass out of ten. Shouts and cheers filled the hall. I was dumbfounded. All my friends were crying. I was not happy for I was the only girl admitted into the junior secondary section of this boarding school, for the other girl who had passed was going to a girls' boarding school. Everyone who saw us leaving the hall thought that I had failed too because I was unhappy and crying. All the girls that did fail hated us on that day.

At home everyone congratulated me and gave me gifts. It was a very interesting holiday. I was proud for everyone loved and cared for me. Everybody who happened to come to our home was told about my success, which made me even more proud and happy. The day before the end of my holiday I went shopping with my mother I was now a grown-up girl. All the things which I took to school were new.

Our class was one of thirty pupils, twenty-three boys and seven girls. All the girls except two were familiar to me. Some I had been with at school in town, and others, I knew their families. All the girls were bigger and taller than me and I looked younger than them. The uniform I was given was too big for me. The senior girls helped me to shorten the skirt and make the waist small. In the junior school we were in many ways treated as grown-ups and allowed to go to entertainments in the senior school. All punishments were done on Wednesdays and Saturdays. If a prefect or a teacher punished you they had to book you, that is to say write your name in the book of offenders. The punishment was to be done in a limited time. The shortest time you could be booked for was half an hour. If you were booked for more than two hours you had to go see the headmaster face to face. The sort of punishments we were given was carrying buckets of stones, digging,

scrubbing rooms, and cleaning glass windows. The biggest punishment I got was for 1½ hours.

In the class I was not so troublesome. My form masters liked me and thought I was doing very well. They encouraged me to put my first choice for senior secondary school in this boarding school for we were to do the Senior Entrance Examination in seven months' time. But the school went on strike, which ended in disaster for me. It all started as a joke. No one ever dreamed it would end the way it did.

The school meals were very poor at that time. The food we usually had was rotten potatoes and cassava. The school fees were high yet we were poorly fed. Every student was sure that it was the new headmaster who had introduced this system for he believed in Africans liking starchy foods most. At the girls' end we preferred cassava to sweet potatoes for it was not rotten. The boys said that they would rather have rotten potatoes than cassava. For a long time we complained and even left the food untouched. Because the girls preferred cassava the boys started teasing us and calling us "cassava eaters." On the boards in classroom were drawn all sorts of insulting pictures illustrating girls sitting on tables of heaped plates of cassava. They said that the Girls' Boarding School girls were better than their girls. "Our girls are lazy, ugly and deformed," said one of the boys.

One morning when the top-formers were having an art lesson one of the boys went near a girl and teased her. They started a quarrel and the boy was just about to slap the girl when the teacher came to the rescue. He took the boy and reported him to the headmaster. Having already been suspended twice the headmaster was fed up with him and expelled him immediately.

In the boys' dining room the expulsion was announced. I am not sure but it is said that it was the prefects who declared the strike to the boy students. They complained that the headmaster was making himself a dictator, for he did not consult them when he expelled the boy. They mourned for the expelled boy and refused to attend classes that evening. The girls then refused to go near the boys end of the school because they were afraid of being beaten. In every place where you could write was written "Headmaster resign, this is not a mechanical school." And on others, "No school until Kalemba is back."

The Archbishop and other important people were called on to talk to the boys but their efforts were all in vain. The Uganda police were on guard all night and the next day the boys were all sent home to further notice. And being very few girls were also sent home the day after that. We were given money to take us home. In November we were to do the senior entrance exams. and we had not yet completed

the syllabus. Only a week before the exam. date we were called back to the school to do the examinations.

The exam. results came in late January. Only one girl had a grade A, the rest grade B or grade C. I had a poor chance of getting into the senior section for I had gotten a grade B. Then a letter from the school said that they were sorry that they had been unable to offer me a place in the senior section. It nearly broke my heart, and I felt that the world around me was dead, and cursed the day I was born. I thought that that was the end of my life, and I did not want to go out and was ashamed of looking at my friends. At home they tried to comfort me but failed.

At the GDSS school we had a friend who was a teacher and who used to coach me during the holidays. He was the good samaritan to me. He got me a place in the GDSS. In January 1960, I started a new life in a new school. In many ways it was quite different from my boarding school. It was also co-educational, but it was a day school. The students were poor in games and the teachers did not seem to put in much effort. To be a day student was the most difficult thing for me for I was not used to day school life. Dad took me to school and brought me back. For the first two weeks in Junior 3 I cried. Whenever I went home I did nothing but crying. Only a few times did I take food for supper. All my sisters had gone back to school and I was feeling lonely. There was nobody to play with, nobody to joke to, nobody to talk with. Both mama and dad were worried but could not control me. Whenever I heard a song from boarding school sorrowful memories came back to me, and I felt lonely again.

When the two weeks were over I became used to my new school but to tell you the truth I never liked it. Towards the end of the year the teacher who had got me into the school left for the United Kingdom. This altered all my hopes. It was he who was going to help me get a place in the senior section. We were told that if a student in junior three wanted to go to the senior section she had to have a teacher back her. I now had none. They were only going to take a few students from junior 3 and there was already a girl related to the headmaster and a boy who was his friend. I was not among those accepted, and the Girls' Boarding School, my second choice, never even bothered to write me.

I was determined to have senior secondary education. We tried many senior schools but failed to get a place. After many fruitless attempts both my parents got tired and turned their thoughts on another view. They advised me to go to a technical school and take up a course. In all my life I had never dreamt of taking a course at that age. I had nothing I liked to do. Many friends tried to persuade me but I was my own adviser.

-39-

Two of my former schoolmates from boarding school had gone to
take up nursing at Mulago. Their parents came and talked to my par-
ents. They said that I could be happy if I went to Mulago Hospital
and joined their daughters. I did not like this. Their daughters
were a year older than me. One night I was asked what I was going to
do, and as usual I said I wanted to go to a senior school. There was
a new private school that had just been started by an African teacher
who had just returned from America. Early next morning we went to the
school. Dad knew the headmaster very well because they had been
schoolmates. He was a talkative, unsteady man. He had a sweet de-
ceiving tongue.

We found few teachers at the school, and when dad asked why
it was so, he told him that there were five more teachers coming, two
from America, one from Makerere and two from Budo. It was a boarding
school for girls. The school fees were 900/- a year excluding the uni-
forms. That evening I went to Nyanza College. There I found three
girls whom I knew. There were no proper classrooms, but the head-
master was always saying that he was going to build them. From time
to time inspectors came to the school and disapproved of it. They
said that there were too many students in each class and the school
was lacking classrooms.

At the beginning of March we faced a teacher shortage. All
our teachers were students who had just finished the Cambridge School
Certificate Examinations. Their results came in February and in early
March they started to leave for further studies. In some classes we
had to sit without teachers. The headmaster could not employ good
qualified teachers for he paid them very little. We started complain-
ing and accusing the headmaster of taking our money unfairly. Some
students even went to him and asked for their school fees back. Be-
fore the end of March the headmaster found it difficult to run the
school and closed it until May.

At home I told mama and dad about the situation and they felt
sorry for me. We had a friend who was a very great friend of the head-
master of the Kibuga Government Day Secondary School. He knew I was
a good student, but when he learned that I had no proper school to go
to he offered his services and got a place for me in the Kubuga School.

The Kibuga School was better than Nyanza College but it was
notorious all around Kampala. It worried me to go to this school and
be thought of as a bad student. I wondered how I would tell my
friends that I was a student at the Kibuga School. I tried to imagine
what the students were like, until I learned that an old friend of mine,
Joan Namusoke, was a student at this school. I went to her home. She
told me all about the school and how the students behaved.

-40-

During the second term I joined the school. That year was a very good one. We had many teachers. Some were part-time but they knew their work well. All teachers showed interest in teaching us and we were not kept behind. The headmaster was strict and never wasted time. He was very interested in dramatics.

In games Kibuga is much better than GDSS was, by the time I was there. We have a netball and football field, a basketball field, a tennis court, and students go swimming on Wednesdays. There are also a number of societies such as the Y-teens Club and the Junior Link Red Cross Society of which I am a member; the Geographical Society, Luganda Society, English and Debating Societies, Adventurer's Club, and YMCA Club. Many students are active members of these societies.

Day school is difficult and uninteresting at the beginning for a person who has spent a number of years in a boarding school. But as you get used to it everything changes automatically. You rarely feel dull or unhappy. You have chances of attending activities which take place in the city if you wish. Going to movies is one of the things I enjoy most during the weekends. I enjoy reading novels and magazines, listening to music and singing during my leisure time.

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EDUCATION

1949 - 1951	Swarthmore College	
1951 - 1952	University of Edinburgh	
1952 - 1954	Swarthmore College	A.B. June, 1954
1954	New York University	
1954 - 1956	New School for Social Research	
1959 - 1960	Putney Graduate School of Teacher Education, Vermont	M.A. June, 1960
1960 - 1962	Graduate School of Education	
1964 - 1967	Harvard University	

EMPLOYMENT

1951   Group Worker, Manhattanville Neighborhood Center, New York City, (summer).

1952   Volunteer Work Camper, Service Civil International, Pakistan and India, (summer).

1953   Civil Engineer, Alaska Road Commission, Tok, Alaska, (summer).

1954   Group Worker, Manhattanville Neighborhood Center, New York City, (summer).

1954   Group Worker, Morningside Community Center, New York City, (fall).

1955 - 1959   Projects Secretary, Youth Secretary, American Friends Service Committee, New York.

1959   Volunteer Director, Sheffield Summer Work Camp,
1960   Sheffield Projects, Inc. Sheffield, Massachusetts,
1961   (summers).

1960   Teacher, Ecole d'Humanite, Goldern, Switzerland, (winter). Programme Director, Council on Student Travel (two Atlantic crossings).

1961 - 1964   Foreign Area Training Fellow, Ford Foundation Cambridge, Massachusetts and Kampala, Uganda.

1962 - 1963   Assoicate, then Fellow, East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere University College, Kampala.

1964 -   Research Associate, Center for Studies in Education and Development, Harvard University.

1965 -   Instructor, Graduate School of Education, Harvard University.

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