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The Relationship Between Selected Sociolinguistic Variables and the Ability to Read English Among Ugandan Children

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy in Education

by

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To my husband, Eugene, and my sons, Bob, Dan and Steve, who helped me through many difficult moments . . .

but without whom there might have been fever.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Relationship Between Selected Sociolinguistic Variables and the Ability to Read English Among Ugandan Children

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Professor Wendell P. Jones, Chairman

The language policy in the primary schools in Uganda is to use one of six official vernacular languages, or English in special cases, as the sole medium of instruction in the first three years of school. English is introduced as a subject in the first year and continues as a subject for seven years of Primary School. In Primary 4, Arithmetic and Physical Education are taught in English. In Primary 5, Science, History and Art are added to the list of subjects taught in English. By the sixth year, all teaching is done in English.

The official policy is not an accurate reflection of actual practice. The most serious obstacle to implementing policy is the lack of teachers trained to teach English as a subject in early primary classes, or to teach other subjects in English in the upper primary classes. The linguistic

diversity of the country, where almost 50% of the people do not speak one of the official school languages, means that pupils often must learn a new vernacular language at the same time as they are learning English. Frequently, schools with linguistically heterogeneous populations have begun to use English as the medium of instruction as early as possible to overcome this difficulty. The lack of books and materials in both English and vernacular languages, and the wide age range of children in each class are among other factors which contribute to the wide range of teaching practices which can be observed.

This study examines the effects of specific differences in language teaching practices in the Primary Schools on reading achievement of Primary 7 pupils in English and one of the official vernacular languages, and assesses the effect of a number of sociolinguistic variables on an individual's success in reading English.

A reading test in English and the official vernacular language of the district was administered to 1,560 Primary 7 pupils in 49 schools in 20 rural settlements in 11 administrative districts of Uganda, and 9 schools in Kampala. Each pupil was also given a questionnaire which asked for age, sex, schools attended, language of instruction in Primary 1, class in which English was introduced as a subject, his first language, father's occupation and his own plans after he finished Primary School. Data were also

collected from teachers and headmasters regarding total years of teaching experience and the years posted to this particular school, the Grade Ministry Certificate held, and whether special training in English had been taken as an in-service course.

Two separate analyses of the data were done. For the individual pupils, a multiple and partial regression analysis showed the most significant factor to be whether the pupil lived in Kampala or a rural area. Children in Kampala scored significantly above the mean for the country as a whole. The class in which English was introduced showed only small differences in Primary 1, 2 and 3, but children who started English in Primary 4 were significantly below the mean in their ability to read English, while those who learned English at home were significantly above the mean. A multiple regression analysis of the data for the schools showed that three factors relating to teacher training and experience accounted for most of the variation in achievement among schools. These three factors were Grade Ministry Certificate, the years in this particular school and whether teachers had had a course in teaching English.

CHAPTER I

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

A World Perspective

The development of rapid global communication, the spread of scientific technology, and the rise of nationalism have brought into sharp focus problems which have plagued us for countless ages. But, although the problems are not new, there is a sense of urgency in the demand that solutions must be found immediately.

One of these problems is communication itself. National governments, eager for rapid development, have come to consider literacy and education, both important facets of communication, as necessary concomitants of progress and development. And in order for national governments to deal with these problems in multilingual societies, such as Uganda, they find they must cope with the difficulties of trying to formulate and implement language policy decisions.

In the developed countries, national languages evolved slowly as a part of the total development of national cultures. In the newly independent countries, precipitated almost overnight toward a sense of national identity, there is not time for this same evolutionary process to work.

National language questions are being resolved by a decision making process. The question is who will make these decisions; and on what basis will they be made. And then, once made, how will they be implemented.

Bowen (in Ramos, 1967) in the introduction to the monograph on the determination and implementation of language policy says, "Often the solution to a new nation's needs includes some form of multilingualism for a significant portion of the population. This inevitably involves the education system, since the schools must help not only in the development of native vernaculars, but also in teaching second languages." The schools then become the focal point for this review.

In order to assess the present situation in Uganda, it is advisable first to examine some of the problems in a wider context.

The problem of bilingualism in education is by no means restricted to Uganda. In fact, virtually every country has had to cope with this problem in varying forms and in differing degrees at some period of its history. The choice of a solution is in some measure related to the total situation in which the problem arises.

Lewis (1965) says that the causes or conditions for bilingualism are so complex that a general description of bilingualism is unsatisfactory. He offers the following system of classifying these situations to "help assess the

relevance of the experience of one bilingual country for another:

1. Where there is a dialect and received form of a language.
2. Where there is a small isolated group within a national boundary and a majority language is spoken by the rest of the population.
3. Where there is an unrecorded language (or multiplicity of languages) and a major language is chosen (either one spoken within the country or one deliberately chosen or imposed from outside).
4. Where there are two major recorded languages and a knowledge of both is politically desirable.

Although all of these situations have certain common features, there are differences which render many of the possible solutions useless from one context to another. Therefore, rather than attempting to cover all of the work on bilingualism in education, this review covers material which relates to Lewis' third category, where the languages of oral communication are not considered adequate for the purposes of modern political development and a major language is imposed for official use. Even within this single category there are wide differences.

Most of the countries that fall within this category have (1) become politically independent after World War II and (2) have been faced with urgent problems arising from a multiplicity of languages within their borders.

One of the earliest documents to deal with the problems of multilingualism in education was published by UNESCO

(1953). The publication was a survey of international conditions with specific examples drawn from several countries that had already begun to implement programs designed to solve the major problems. It included, in addition, a report of the UNESCO meeting of specialists in 1951 which set out a number of recommendations which have since been used as axioms that underlie many of the programs initiated after the document was published. Perhaps the most far-reaching of all of its statements was the one: "We take it as axiomatic that the best medium for teaching is in his (the child's) mother tongue." This principle is the basis for many national programs in education.

The committee based its recommendations on what it felt were sound psychological and pedagogical principles, though not on any empirical evidence. Bull (1955) takes exception to the recommendations on the following grounds:

> The committee rather obviously, strongly believes that what is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically should be the prime point of departure in planning for universal education. This proposition appears, however, to be somewhat unrealistic. What is best for the child psychologically and pedagogically may not be best for the adult socially, economically or politically and, what is even more significant, what is best for both the child and the adult may not be best or even possible for the society. . . .

Most of the language policy decisions seem to be in the nature of a compromise between these two positions--what is sound pedagogically and what is economically and politically desirable.

A single national language is seen by most developing

countries as a vital factor in national unification (Jacobs 1966; O'Hagan 1962; Ramos 1967; Kehoe 1964; Kharma 1967; Hill 1961; Das Gupta 1966) and the implicit belief in this assumption has led to the establishment of educational policies designed to implement decisions to adopt a national language in such countries as India, Indonesia, the Philippines, Ethiopia, Tanzania and a score of others. As previously noted, the national language may be one which is an indigenous language to the country, or it may be one which is external, such as French or English.

There are four alternative approaches to implementing this sort of policy decision in the primary school:

1. All teaching in the National Language from the beginning of Primary School. This has been attempted in parts of Kenya (O'Hagan 1962; Prator 1965), Tanzania (Nyerere 1967), the Arabic countries (UNESCO 1953), the former French colonies in Africa (Scanlon 1964), and Israel (Lewis 1965).

2. Beginning in the Vernacular Language with the switch to the national language somewhere during the middle primary years. This is the policy in India (UNESCO 1953), the Philippines (Davis 1967), Malaysia (Ramos 1967) and Uganda (Uganda Government 1963).

3. All teaching in the Vernacular Languages with the National Language taught as a separate school subject. This policy is less common in newly independent countries

but is widely used in the USSR (Serdychenko, in Lewis 1965) and Switzerland (Lewis 1965). Actually, in Switzerland there are three official languages, but the child is taught in his own first language and learns one of the other official languages as a school subject. It is a pattern which was also very common in the British colonies prior to independence (Sauer 1943).

4. Bilingual instruction throughout. This approach is in very limited use, the major reported case being in South Africa (Malherbe in Lewis 1965), and a few experimental programs (Gaarder 1967). In South Africa, dual-medium instruction takes several forms; (a) where some subjects are taught using Afrikaans and others through English and (b) where both media are used alternatively. This situation is feasible only when teachers are fully bilingual.

Most of the developing countries fall into category 1 or 2 and it is of some interest to examine these two approaches in more detail. Dealing first with the group of countries which have chosen to use the national language as the medium of instruction from the beginning of primary school, it is first of all apparent that the individual countries share many of their linguistic problems with countries which have chosen the second option. It is therefore not a choice that can reasonably be ascribed to the language situation, per se, which exists in the country,

but rather to a variety of other factors in the environment --political and social--that contribute to policy decisions.

Prator and Hutasoit (1965) report that in Kenya the decision to introduce English as the language of instruction from Primary I was originally made as a means of solving the problem of linguistic diversity in a small segment of the community, the Asian population in Nairobi. There are several Asian languages spoken in Nairobi including Gujerati, Punjabi, Urdu and Hindi. Efforts to choose one of these languages as the medium of instruction in the separate Asian schools met with opposition, and it was decided in 1957 that English was a logical compromise since it did become the language of instruction in the fourth year of primary school. The program was an immediate success for a number of very significant reasons. In the first place there was a significant change in method of teaching. Second, there was a vast improvement in the quality and quantity of material available. Third, the teachers who were involved in teaching this new way were well trained, spoke English well, and in addition were given daily help in planning and implementing the program. And finally, it solved many practical and political problems of the old system of giving instruction in several Asian languages.

In 1961, an adaptation of the course material was made for the African schools. But when this program was introduced in the African schools many of the same conditions

outlined above were not operating. The training of teachers was a serious drawback to the program in the African schools largely due to the speed of expansion and the fact that the African teachers were not as well trained to begin with as their Asian counterparts. It was not as successful in solving political problems caused by the multiplicity of African languages, simply because by choosing English rather than Swahili an intense rivalry between two opposing groups was fanned.

The future of the program is still open to question. There are those who want to see the program continue and to spread beyond the cities. There are others who favor a return to initial instruction in the vernacular. And a third force would substitute Swahili for English as the medium of all instruction. The issue is as much political as it is linguistic and may certainly be influenced by the results of the recent policy decision in neighboring Tanzania to use Swahili both as the national language and the language of instruction in the schools.

Tanzania shares a part of her colonial history with Kenya, but while British policy has been to use the vernacular languages in both countries, the policy in Tanganyika (now Tanzania) turned out in practice to be a much wider use of Swahili throughout the country than any other language. The probable reason for the wider use of Swahili in Tanganyika was that this was the language

favored, and in fact promoted, while the country was still under German rule. After independence, Kenya decided in favor of English as the national language; Tanzania adopted Swahili as the official language in 1967. Swahili is the first language of only a small number of people living on the coast of East Africa. Nevertheless, it has been widely used as a lingua franca and has an extensive literature going back more than 300 years. It is related to the Bantu languages spoken by the majority of people in the country, having the same structures and much of the same vocabulary.

Tanzania's decision to adopt Swahili is a part of a total social and political philosophy formulated by Nyerere in 1967 which asserts that education must prepare the citizen for the life he can expect to lead. Since Primary Education is terminal education for the majority of children, the schools must provide a sound basic education for all of the children who are fortunate enough to attend. English is taught as a subject in the primary schools and becomes the medium of instruction in the secondary schools and university. It is hoped that one day education in Swahili will extend throughout the school system.

A third example of the use of a national language from the beginning of primary school is drawn from Israel. Hebrew is the official language of the country. The most unusual feature of Hebrew, according to Blanc (1966) is the fact that it is really no one's mother tongue. When the

language was adopted for modern use it was, in a sense, revived from literary and religious sources and had then to be taught in some standard form to speakers with many unrelated first languages.

The schools are one of the chief agencies for teaching Hebrew to children of immigrants; the Army is a second agency for reaching the young adults. Hebrew is taught from the beginning of school and all subjects are taught in Hebrew.

The situation in Israel is roughly comparable to the one faced by the United States during most periods of her history. The immigrant to the country is aware before he settles in the country that the dominant language is different from his own, yet he accepts the fact that he will probably have to learn this new language himself, and certainly that his children will learn this new language. The difficulties are in some sense minimized by the fact that the language is spoken everywhere in the outside environment and there is constant reinforcement as well as strong motivation. In this case, the resultant individual bilingualism is largely a matter of personal choice.

The second group of countries have chosen to begin education in the vernacular language, making the switch to the national language at some later point in the system.

India became an independent republic in 1950. The constitution of the new republic provided that the official

language of the country would be Hindi, spoken by about half of the population of almost 500,000,000 people (UNESCO 1953). The constitution further provided that the State Legislatures adopt either Hindi or any one or more of the fourteen regional tongues for official business. At the same time, English was to continue as another official language for fifteen years (until 1965). But in 1965, the use of English was extended as an auxilliary language in the face of extensive rioting in many of the non-Hindi-speaking areas.

The policy in the schools is to start the child's schooling in his mother tongue where this is different from the regional languages. (There are conflicting figures on the actual number of languages in India ranging from about 100 to over 800.) The child must also learn his regional language as well as Hindi and English. This means, of course, that the child who speaks a language other than his regional language is saddled with the burden of learning three other languages in order to continue his schooling behond the first few years of primary school.

Hill (1961) reports that before independance most children who received higher secondary and university education in India had started English at an early age and used English in all their lessons. As a result they came to higher secondary with a good command of English. After independence, with the move toward the use of regional

languages, most children came to higher secondary with three years or less of English, yet they were required to read the same texts which an earlier generation read after six years of English. The result, according to Hill is that they are unable to "make head or tail of the books."

In Malaysia, Ramos (1967) reports that the educational policy with respect to language is defined as education with a Malayan focus through the use of the four principal languages: Malay, English, Chinese and Tamil. The basic tongue is Malay. English is compulsory. The child's primary education is given in any of these four major languages according to the parents' choice of school. After the primary school, the chief media of instruction and examination are Malay and English.

The Malay vernacular schools are largely found in the rural areas and do not go beyond the primary grades. The basic course is four years, but a fifth and even sixth have been added in some schools.

The Tamil schools are for the children of workers in the large estates, and few of the pupils complete the full six-year primary course.

The Chinese schools are found in the villages and towns and a few of them have secondary departments. Some Chinese schools are state-operated, with English offered as a subject.

The English schools are located only in the larger

communities. They are open to children of all races. They are complete from the elementary to the high school level and serve as the channels into institutions of higher learning.

English is studied as a second language in the Malay, Chinese and Tamil schools for a total of four years beginning with the third grade. Malay is taught for the full six-year course in the non-Malay schools. The policy is to gradually convert English-medium government primary schools to national schools using the national language as the medium of instruction. But the present situation reveals gross inequalities of educational opportunity according to geographic location and first language.

Two other countries which fall into this group will be covered in somewhat greater detail. The Philippines because of the extensive research in second language teaching which has been carried out, and Uganda because its policy is central to this study.

The Uganda Situation

Uganda's present language policy is deeply rooted in its early missionary history. Almost from the beginning of missionary activity in Uganda, the work of the missions was at least in part educational. And mission language policy was closely tied to the fundamental aim of literacy training which was to teach its converts to read the Bible and other church writings. Early translations of the Bible

were done in Luganda, Lugbara, Ateso, Lwo, and Runyoro/ Rutooro (two closely related dialects). Some of the missions may have used some Swahili, but efforts to introduce Swahili at the administrative level were never wholly successful and there is some question as to how much Swahili was used in mission schools. It was used in certain areas of the country where Baganda influence was not strong, and it was used for a short time in certain Teacher Training colleges.

It was not until 1947, however, that there was any specified position regarding language use in education, and this was stated in the Colonial Office Memorandum (African 1170). The Directors of Education in the East African territories made the following recommendations:

1. That the main vernacular in each area should be the sole medium of instruction throughout the primary range (I-IV) if it was sufficiently developed and widespread to justify the provision of the necessary textbooks.

2. That local vernaculars, spoken in small areas only, should be used as the medium of instruction in the first class in their areas, after which children should be taught in one of the main vernaculars.

3. That, since for most children not more than four years' schooling was available, there was considerable doubt about the advisability of introducing English as a subject below Grade V.

4. That it was desirable to intensify the teaching of English in the seventh year so as to make its use as an effective medium of instruction possible from the end of that class onwards.

The 1948 Education Report clearly states the language policy for the schools for the first time. "The language

policy of the Department with regard to the use of the major vernaculars has remained the same, namely that six African languages are accepted as educational media in the primary school. These are Luganda, Lunyoro (sic), Lwoo (sic), Ateso, Lugbara, Swahili." This policy continued until 1952 when Swahili was no longer recognized as a vernacular in Uganda schools with the exception of schools for the police and their children.

A growing trend was to begin introducing English in the lower primary classes, although there were people who felt that the major obstacle to the success of this kind of policy was the lack of trained men and women who could teach English. The de Bunsen Committee Report in 1953 stated that while it recognized the fact that it is best for a child to be taught in his mother tongue, a multiplicity of vernacular languages in a given area often meant that although a child started school in a vernacular, that language was not necessarily his mother tongue. In view of this problem, the report suggested the need for experimentation in the field of English-medium instruction.

In 1957 a special center at Nakawa was started to experiment with the use of English as a medium of instruction for the lower grades in the schools in Kampala. The project was undertaken with help from the Center in Nairobi that was working on a similar program. The 1960 Education Report calls the experiment "a marked success."

At about this same time the Nuffield Research Project in the teaching of English was in progress. This work was concerned largely with the problem of changeover from vernacular to English-medium instruction in the primary schools. The rationale behind the work is summed up in the following extract from the report by Peter Wingard (1958):

> It is useless to hope that merely by giving a daily English lesson for a given number of years, we can prepare children adequately for the use of English as the medium, and switch over completely when we think they know enough English. In most parts of Uganda, children have little immediate use out of school for the English they learn in school. One or even two daily lessons of English do not in themselves produce a high degree of skill and command of the language. The only way to acquire such skill is by actually beginning to use the English language for some real purpose.

The Commonwealth Conference on the Teaching of English as a Second Language held at Makerere University College, Uganda in 1961, added its recommendations to the evolving policy of teaching English as early as possible. The recommendations of the conference were intended as guidelines for all of the Commonwealth countries, not only Uganda. The report notes the many problems involved in implementing an English language teaching policy but acknowledges the growing trend that where a decision has been reached to use English as the medium of instruction, "the earlier [the language is introduced] the better."

The influence of this document as well as the results

of the Nuffield research project can be seen in the Castle Report (1963) where the recommendations of this committee brings us to the present stage of the language policy in Uganda. Taken in historical perspective, there is nothing surprising in the language policy recommendations. The committee expands the number of vernacular languages to six, adding Runyankore/Rukiga to the previous five: Akarimojong/Ateso, Luganda, Lwo, Lugbara, and Runyoro/Rutooro. But all of these languages with the exception of the sixth one were the ones used by the mission schools from the time Bible translations were prepared in those languages. The report recommends the use of English as the medium of instruction in Primary V with English taught as a subject from Primary I. The major recommendations of the committee were adopted by the Ministry of Education and incorporated into the Primary Syllabus of 1965.

The description of language policy in Uganda is not an accurate reflection of actual practice. The linguistic diversity, the training which teachers have had, the wide age span of the children in primary school are among the factors which contribute to a wide variety of practices within the primary schools.

Review of Related Research

The most extensive experimental work in second language teaching was begun by the Philippine government in 1957 and involved three principal components: research and

experimentation; the production of teaching materials; and teacher training. In actual fact, an experiment in Iloilo in 1948-1954 on the comparative efficiency of the vernacular and English set the stage for the large scale experimental study begun in 1957. The results of the first Iloilo experiment were subject to much criticism, but in essence demonstrated the value of using the vernacular as the medium of instruction in the first two years of primary school.

The language policy in the Philippines is to use the native language of each region as the medium of instruction in the first and second year of primary school with English and the national language Pilipino (Tagalog) taught as separate subjects. In Tagalog-speaking regions, Tagalog is the medium of instruction in the first and second year and English is a separate subject. Beginning in the third year, English is the medium of instruction in all schools with Tagalog continued as a separate subject.

The Rizal Experiment was conducted among primary school children in Tagalog-speaking areas and was designed to test whether Grade I or Grade II was the best time to introduce reading activities in English. The Iloilo Experiment was conducted among primary school children in non-Tagalog-speaking areas where the local vernacular was used as the medium of instruction in the first two years and English and Tagalog were taught as school subjects. The specific

purposes of this experiment were to determine the optimum time and the preferred order for teaching two new languages.

The major issues which were examined in the Rizal and Second Iloilo Experiment are summed up by Prator in the introduction to the report by Davis (1967).

> Which language should come first when children must learn both a language quite similar to their mother tongue and a very dissimilar language? The answer seems to be that it makes very little difference which comes first, the best results are achieved when both are begun at the same time if they are taught by modern methods.
>
> Is intensity in language training a virtue? On the contrary, the Iloilo experiment indicates that a given amount of language instruction seems to be more effective when spaced over two years than when concentrated in one.
>
> Should a prolonged period of exclusively oral activity precede the introduction of reading in a second language? The practical conclusion is that it makes little difference whether the first reading is done in the first year or the second.

A result of this experiment which runs counter to much previous "evidence" is the failure of the pupils who were taught in vernacular in the Rizal experiment to learn significantly more in their subject-matter classes than did their counterparts who were taught entirely in English. Prator comments that "this outcome should undoubtedly be interpreted as an indication of the need for further investigation." The reason may lie in the presentation of material in vernacular.

One further conclusion seems to be of great importance to the future of language programs in other parts of the

world. The experimental evidence seems to indicate that proficiency in the use of English is directly related to the amount of time it is used as a medium of instruction. Thus, the results indicate that using a language for communication produces greater learning than simply giving language lessons. Even without further evidence, few would dispute this claim. But a note of caution should be injected at this point. One of the major problems in many of the developing countries is the serious shortage of teachers who are qualified to teach in the national language or the official language of the schools (e.g., English). Thus many teachers who speak a less-than-perfect form of the language are teaching not only the language in a directed-language lesson, but all other subjects using this language as the medium. It is hard to imagine, from all our psychological evidence, that reinforcing errors through the use of the language as the medium of instruction will actually produce greater learning. It may be that the level of English of the Philippine teachers is good enough to make this a valid conclusion. There is doubt whether the position is tenable in many parts of Uganda and other developing countries.

What should appear obvious from the descriptions of the various policies and practices is that, with few exceptions, they are based largely on pragmatic considerations and rarely on carefully controlled experimental evidence.

There have been very few studies on second language learning, and much of what has been done has concerned itself with secondary school children.

Lambert (1963) reporting on a series of studies with older students and adults at McGill University, suggests that an individual who successfully acquires a second language gradually adopts various aspects of behavior which characterize members of another "linguistic-cultural" group. Therefore, the learners attitudes toward the other group are believed to be one determiner of success in learning the new language. Lambert also talks about "instrumental" motivation where the person sees some need for learning the new language. The first type of motivation involving attitudes toward the group which speaks the language has more relevance in a situation of learning the language as a cultural or scholastic achievement. The second type of motivation characterizes the situation in most of the developing countries. Here, second language learning is not a matter of choice and is most often viewed as a way to get ahead in the system; perhaps even a way of escaping from one's home environment.

Penfield (1959) suggests that a second language is learned with least effort between the ages of 5 and 10. Common experience suggests that these views may be substantially correct, but Penfield offers little empirical evidence to support his claim.

Most of the experimental work in the field of second language learning has dealt with the rather specific problem of bilingualism and reading achievement. Most authors agree that the major difficulty lies in trying to teach reading in the second language before the child has a full verbal command of the language. Ching (1965) says; "Before a child can read successfully, he must command a meaningful vocabulary including the concepts needed in beginning reading." McIntosh (in Hemphill, 1962) says, "Don't expect a child to read anything he has not heard and said several times." Prator (1950) says, "The most important factor influencing ability to read is the ability to use a language orally." Prator's later work, mentioned earlier in connection with the Philippine study indicates that this may not be true. Lambert (1963) indicates that audio-lingual method (oral work preceding written work) may be appropriate at early stages for some children, but may run counter to ability patterns in older children.

A small number of studies deal directly with the effects of an oral language program before beginning reading instruction. Herr (1946) did a study among Spanish-American children and found that "pre-first grade training is an important factor in success in learning to read." Tireman (1948) in New Mexico suggests that Spanish-speaking children should be exposed to a kindergarten year which stresses oral English." Cooper (1964) reports on a program

in Guam which provided for one-half to one year of oral English in Grade I before beginning reading, but the study did not yield any significant results. Cooper felt that closer supervision of the teachers was necessary to insure that the experimental treatment was actually being applied. Ching (1963) reports on the effects of a remedial program for third-grade Hawaiian children and finds "significant positive relationship between English language ability (oral) and reading achievement."

Current work in linguistics also favors oral language proficiency before beginning reading, based on the knowledge that there are important signals in the spoken language which are not represented in writing--such things as stress, pitch and juncture, just as there are certain signals in the writing system that are not present in the spoken language--such things as punctuation, capitalization, and spelling to indicate differences between homonyms. Fries (1962) and Lefevre (1964) suggest that reading is essentially a decoding process and that it is necessary to associate the printed symbols with their spoken counterparts. Marquardt (1964) says that one phase of reading readiness is the acquisition of oral patterns associated with written prose. All of these apply to the process of learning to read a second language, if one has first learned to read his first language. The process of reading in one language may very well carry over to reading any other language and

the ability to speak the language may be of less importance than the ability to understand the spoken language, since reading and listening are related language skills.

Recent evidence in support of teaching reading in the mother tongue prior to the use of the national language is offered by Modiano (1966). A study conducted in the Highlands of Chaipas, Mexico, among Indian children who spoke a language other than Spanish (the national language) and who attended two different types of schools--monolingual and bilingual--yielded data that children of linguistic minorities learn to read with greater comprehension in the national language (Spanish) when they first become literate in the mother tongue.

Macnamara (1967) suggests that speed of reading in a weaker language (a language other than a mother tongue) is slower than reading in the stronger one and there is greater difficulty in solving problems in the weaker language.

The field of second language learning has many gaps and there is great need for systematic investigation of present practices as well as carefully designed experimental studies. The policy and practices in Uganda and elsewhere bear traces of selective acceptance of committee reports and recommendations, but programs currently in operation lack a sound theoretical basis. For very good reason, perhaps, that none exists.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTING OF THE STUDY

Historical

Uganda was a former protectorate of England. The country moved into the sphere of British influence as a result of an Anglo-German treaty in 1890, and a British protectorate was established in 1894 which continued until the country became independent in 1962. This means that the historical roots of the education system are an inheritance from the British tradition in education and the organization of the present system is deeply imbedded in the system introduced during the colonial period. It also means that the use of English in the schools is a legacy from the past rather than a recent deliberate choice.

Early missionary activity in Uganda started in 1877 with the entrance of the Church Missionary Society (Protestant). Almost from the beginning, the work of the missions was educational since most missions required basic literacy as a condition for baptism. The missionaries were instrumental in developing a written form for many of the indigenous languages in order to translate the Bible. One of the early missionaries, Alexander MacKay, began his work

of teaching the fundamentals of reading and writing to the Africans while he prepared and printed a translation of the Gospel into Luganda.

The Catholic Missions followed the Protestant, and adopted the practice of literacy training even though this was not a condition for baptism in their church. From the earliest years of European contact with Uganda until the mid-1920s, education was solely in the hands of the missions with each mission responsible for its own group of schools and teachers. Much of the early missionary activity was concentrated among the Baganda people. The Baganda Kingdom was ruled by a Kabaka, an absolute monarch who allowed the missionaries to enter largely because he felt they could serve his own political ends. When they proved unwilling, he greatly curtailed their freedom to teach and preach. In addition, there was open hostility between Protestants, Catholics and Muslims, over their respective relationships with the Kabaka and with each other, and in the early years this made constant and consistent teaching impossible. Many church officials and missionaries were deposed, and schooling was frequently interrupted by civil war. Finally, during the last part of the nineteenth century a civil administration was established and the two main missions were able to develop a regular system of limited primary education.

Foster (1966) suggests that the political and social

structure of the Kingdom of Buganda, ruled as it was by an absolute monarch, could be influenced directly by the actions and orders of the Kabaka. This permitted the widespread adoption of both Christianity and the system of education which the missionaries had brought with them, once the Kabaka had accepted Christianity himself. Downward filtration through the territorial chiefs and ultimately to the people, meant that Christianity and western education made very rapid progress in Uganda.

Early missionary activity in education was centered at the primary level. In 1901 the first boarding school was established which was designed to extend secondary education to sons of important political figures as well as the royal family. Other schools were established shortly after, some of which still enjoy the same high reputation and prestige of earlier days. As missionary activity increased, teacher training institutions were started, many of which continue in operation in the present educational structure. All of these early schools were near Kampala. In subsequent years, secondary schools spread to more outlying areas of Buganda as well as other regions. In the north and west of Uganda, progress in secondary education was much slower.

In 1924, a report drawn up by the Phelps-Stokes foundation seems to have brought education to the attention of the colonial government. The government began to take over a direct responsibility for education, both by providing

financial help to the missions and by establishing its own schools and colleges. In 1927, government training of teachers was started.

The greatest expansion in educational facilities has taken place since World War II. Practically no secondary education was available in West Nile and Acholi regions until after this time. The report of the de Bunsen Committee in 1953 served as a kind of blueprint for educational expansion up until 1963. The changes recommended by this committee transferred authority for education to local control. In 1957, the government formally adopted a policy of integrating the hitherto separate Asian, African, and European schools. In 1963, the report of the Education Committee, headed by Edgar Castle, made some recommendations for changes in the educational system which are just now being put into effect. One of these recommendations was to abolish denominationalism in education "in the interest of both political and economic factors" (Zake 1966).

Linguistic

In order to understand the present language policy in the school setting, it is necessary to examine the total linguistic picture in Uganda, albeit briefly.

There are more than thirty-three languages spoken by the African population in Uganda according to the 1959 census, although more recent work (Criper et al.) indicates

that the actual number may be closer to forty. The languages are generally divided into four major language families: Bantu, Eastern Nilotic, Western Nilotic, and Sudanic. The following figure indicates the presumed historical relationship between these families:

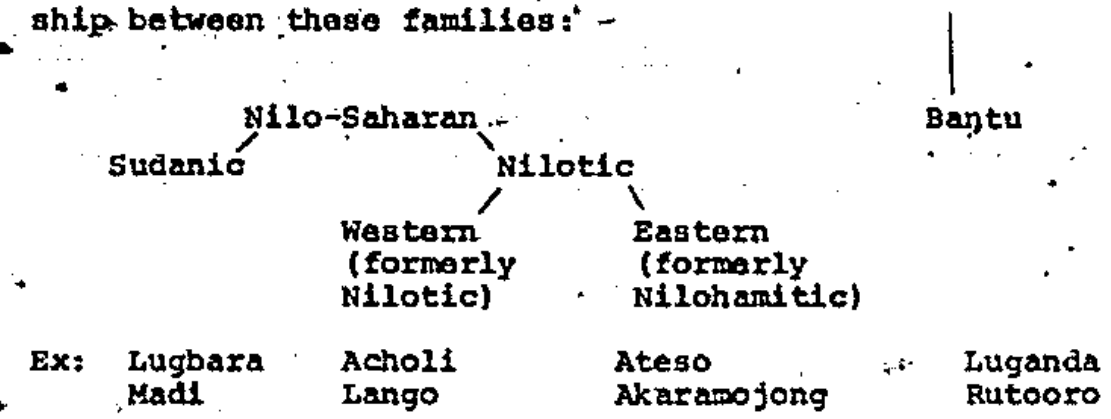

Figure 2.1.--The Historical Relationship between the Four Major Language Families in Uganda

The Nilo-Saharan and Bantu languages are clearly two distinct groups, and within the Nilo-Saharan group the Sudanic and Nilotic exhibit marked differences, as do the Western and Eastern Nilotic from each other.

The distribution of the twelve main ethnic groups according to this linguistic classification is shown in Figure 2.2.

No single Bantu language is understood or spoken by all Bantu people. Luganda is spoken by the largest number, including many non-Baganda, because of the early widespread political influence of the Kingdom of Baganda. The most recent work indicates roughly 50% of the total population can speak some Luganda (Criper). Some of the Bantu

Bantu	65.7%
Baganda Banyankole Basoga Bakiga Banyarwanda Bagisu Batoro Banyoro	
Western Nilotic	14.5%
Lango Acholi	
Eastern Nilotic	12.7%
Ateso	
Sudanic	5.0%
Lugbara	

The percentages represent a total of the language groups mentioned under each family. Speakers of other African languages comprise the remaining 3.1% of the total African population.

General African Census--1959

Figure 2.2.--The Distribution of the Twelve Main Ethnic Groups in Uganda

languages are more closely related than others, and a few are mutually intelligible in varying degrees. Frequently two languages which are spoken in geographically adjacent areas are treated as a single language for educational purposes (e.g., Runyankore/Rukiga; Rutooro/Ruhyoro) although both the spoken and written form differ in some degree.

Swahili, although not native to Uganda, has been widely used as a lingua franca especially in trading centers and shops owned by Asian merchants. Its use has also spread to African workers in the cities. And Swahili is the

language of the Police and Army. It seems that Swahili was never as important in Uganda as it was (and is today) in Kenya and Tanzania, and there was a certain amount of hostility to its proposed use as a language of administration, especially on the part of the Baganda. Nevertheless, present figures indicate that Swahili is spoken by almost as many people as Luganda; the major difference is that Swahili is spoken by a larger percentage of men (Criper).

The use of English is largely limited to that small portion of the African population that has had some primary school education. English has always been the medium of instruction in the secondary schools. The general practice up to 1963 had been to introduce English as a subject in the third or fourth year of primary school and to begin the use of English as the medium of instruction in Junior Secondary Schools. Junior Secondary followed six years of Primary education and lasted either two or three years.

The question of a national language has still to be resolved in Uganda. English has been declared the official language, which means that technically, all government departments are supposed to use English. The reasons for this choice are rooted in the Colonial Era, and the situation is rather more continuation of an existing policy than a deliberate, rational choice by the leaders of Independent Uganda. Although English is the language of government, Swahili is the language of the Police and Army. Radio

Uganda, owned and operated by the central government broadcasts in nineteen vernacular languages. Road signs are in English, Swahili, and some of the local language. The Ministry of Education recognizes six official languages for use in the early years of the primary school. Adult literacy campaigns have been conducted in a large number of languages, although the most recent plan is to cut the number down to five.

Add to the official policy the situation in actual practice and the complexity of the problem becomes enormous.

Newspapers are published daily in English and Luganda, and weekly (or sporadically) in many of the vernacular languages. Church services are conducted in the local languages. And often the only written material in that vernacular language is that which has been produced by the church. In the field of local government, the county chiefs speak English as do most of the sub-county chiefs; but the parish chiefs often do not. In the courts, English is again the official language, but the lowest level of magistrates often use the vernacular language of the area. District judges forced to speak through interpreters often find that proceedings go more smoothly when they are able to use the local language. With the growth of industry and large scale agricultural projects, the use of Swahili and English as common languages continues to increase.

It should be noted that according to some government

officials in various government departments, this "non-policy" is probably the best one in terms of political expediency. Any decision to eliminate one or more languages from the radio or the schools antagonizes some portion of the population. The truth is that the question of national unity may be better served, at least for the present, by eliminating hostilities and rivalries, rather than creating additional ones. In the long run, as more people pass through the education system, the issue could conceivably resolve itself through the increased use of a single language for all purposes. There is no doubt that English will serve this function for the present.

This widespread dependence on English as a unifying language involves the schools in a task of monumental proportions, since it is here that the responsibility for teaching that language rests. The successful growth of English as a spoken language in Uganda depends on the ability of the educational system to cope with the multidimensional task of teaching English as a second language to speakers of a wide variety of first languages under conditions that often fall far short of ideal.

Educational

The basic unit in Uganda's present system of education is the seven-year primary school which aims at giving children a broad general education (which is terminal for

roughly 75% of the pupils), while at the same time providing preparation for entry into some form of post-primary education for the other 25%.(Ministry Statistics--1968). Promotion through primary school is automatic with an examination set for the end of the seventh year (Primary 7). The Primary Leaving Examination tests subject-matter mastery in English, Mathematics, Geography, and Religious Knowledge. It does not test either Science or Vernacular Languages. Only the scores in English and Mathematics are counted in determining eligibility for entrance into Senior Secondary Schools and Teacher Training Colleges. Generally, those who score highest go on to Secondary Schools. An exception to this would be in the case of many girls who go into Teacher Training Colleges because the fees are lower than those in Secondary Schools.

The 1967 education statistics show a total of 641,639 children enrolled in 2,648 government-aided primary schools. This is estimated at close to 50% of the national age group. Of this figure, 37.7% are girls although the percentage decreases by Primary 7. There are 19,257 teachers in the primary schools with an overall pupil-teacher ratio of 33:1.

Primary education is neither free nor compulsory. Fees average about 20 Shillings ($3.00) per year for the first two years; 40 Shillings in classes 3 through 6; and 150 Shillings in the final year (Primary 7). Fees are slightly lower for girls in some districts.

Although education is not compulsory, there is a demand for more places than the government is able to provide. This gap is filled in some districts by unaided private schools staffed largely by untrained teachers, which provide additional places for children in the first two or three years of primary school. The actual number of these schools and the percentage of pupils enrolled varies widely from district to district, with estimates reaching as high as 25% of school-age children in some districts enrolled in unaided schools. In general, the policy within each district is to bring the unaided schools under ministry control as teachers and funds become available.

Frequently, children who have been enrolled in these unaided schools are able to enter government-aided schools in class 3 or 4 as places become available due to expansion of facilities or because places are left by children who drop out of school.

The facilities in the primary schools vary widely, not only from district to district, but also within each district. The average school in Uganda is constructed of mud and wattle which is sometimes finished with a rough stucco coating. The roof is either thatched or of corrugated iron. The floors are pounded clay. Children sit at rough benches and desks, and occasionally at tables and chairs arranged in groups instead of rows facing the teacher. There are rarely panes of glass in the windows; some schools have

shutters to keep out the rain; but most are completely open. One major problem which teachers complain about is the lack of locked storage space for books, charts and other teaching material. Electricity is only available in schools in urban or peri-urban centers.

At present in Uganda, the Primary Schools are staffed by teachers whose training covers a wide range, both in the number of years of school attendance and the type of institutions attended.

Roughly 42% of the teaching force are either untrained or hold a Grade I teaching certificate. This group includes teachers who have finished Primary School (anywhere from 6 to 9 years) and may either have had no teacher training or attended a Grade I Teacher Training College. (There has been no recruitment of this kind of teacher since 1948.) The level of English of the Grade I and untrained teachers ranges from almost none to just adequate. Many of them have taken in-service courses to improve their own status, but for the most part they are definitely not qualified to teach English.

Another 48% of the teachers hold a Grade II Certificate. These teachers have had between 6 and 9 years of Primary School with 4 and 2 years of Teacher Training College respectively. The most recent group of Grade II teachers have had 8 years of Primary School and 4 years of teacher training in one of 26 Grade II Teacher Training

Colleges located throughout the country.

The remaining 10% of the teachers are a mixture. Some are Grade III teachers who have had 2 years of training after 4 years of Secondary School. A few Grade III teachers were upgraded from Grade II after a 1 or 2 year course at various training centers. There are a small number of Grade IV teachers who have been upgraded from Grade III after a one-year course in England or at Makerere Institute of Education. Then there are a number of individuals who are designated as graduates who have finished a university course, but without special training in the teaching profession.

All of these differences, plus the presence of a small number of expatriate teachers are indications of the wide range of both training and competence that must be considered in planning the English language program.

The official language policy for primary schools is to use one of six officially recognized vernacular languages or English in special circumstances, as the medium of instruction in Primary I (first year) with English introduced as a subject. The teaching of English is gradually extended; for the first three years it is taught as a separate subject for one lesson every day. In Primary IV it becomes the language of instruction for Mathematics and Physical Education. A few more subjects are taught in English in Primary V and by Primary VI and VII all teaching is through

English.

The six approved vernacular languages are Luganda, Lwo, Runyoro/Rutooro, Runyankore/Rukiga, Lugnara and Ateso/Akarimojong. Runyoro and Rutooro, Runyankore and Rukiga, and Akarimojong and Ateso are pairs of languages that are very closely related linguistically, although they are not identical. The term Lwo is actually a cover-term for a group of linguistically similar languages, including Acholi and Lango. Table 2.1 shows the education districts and the official language of each. In several of the districts the official vernacular does not coincide with the major language spoken in the area. In others, large groups speak languages other than the official one. And even the most homogeneous districts have to cope with small pockets of people who speak languages other than the major language of the area. Taking the country as a whole, about 38% of the population are not native speakers of any of the officially approved school languages. A further consideration is that often people live outside of districts where their own vernacular language is spoken, which means that even though their own language is officially used in the schools in their home district, their children attend school in an area where one of the other official languages is used. Table 2.2 shows the distribution of speakers of the six official languages and the percentages living outside their own area.

TABLE 2.1

THE EDUCATION DISTRICTS AND THE OFFICIAL VERNACULAR LANGUAGE OF EACH, INCLUDING THE MAJOR AND MINOR LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN THE DISTRICT

School District	Official Vernacular	Major Vernacular	%	Minor Vernacular	%
East Mengo	Luganda	Luganda	59	Runyarwanda	20
West Mengo	Luganda	Luganda	49	Runyarwanda	16
Mubende	Luganda	Runyoro	55	Luganda	28
Bugisu (including Sebei)	Luganda	Lugisu	82	Sebei	10
Bukedi[a]	Luganda	Ateso	26	Lugwere	22
Busoga	Luganda	Lusoga	71	Ateso	5
Ankole[b]	Runyankole/Rukiga	Runyankole	78	Runyarwanda	9
Kigezi	Runyankole/Rukiga	Rukiga	78	Runyarwanda	21
Toro[c] (including Bwamba)	Runyoro/Rutooro	Rutooro	53	Bakonjo	30
Bunyoro	Runyoro/Rutooro	Runyoro	81	Lugbara	5
Teso	Ateso/Akarimojong	Ateso	78	Kumam	12
Karamoja	Ateso/Akarimojong	Akarimojong	76	Suk	13
West Nile[d]	Lugbara	Lugbara	53	Alur	24
Madi	Lugbara	Madi	89	Kakwa	5
Lango	Lwo	Lango	94	Kumam	2
Acholi	Lwo	Acholi	93	Lango	3

Other Vernacular Languages in various districts:

[a] Ludama 17%; Lunyole 13%. [b] Rukiga 8%. [c] Rwamba 9% [d] Jonam 6%; Madi 7%; Kakwa 6%

TABLE 2.2

DISTRIBUTION OF SPEAKERS OF THE SIX LANGUAGES USED IN THE SCHOOLS AND THE PERCENTAGE LIVING OUTSIDE OF THEIR OWN AREA

Language	Tribe	Total No.	No. In V Area	%	No. Out V. Area
Luganda	Baganda	1,044,878	1,020,447	97.6	24,431
Lugbara	Lugbara	236,270	206,944	87.6	29,326
Runyankore/ Rukiga	Banyankore	519,283	416,247	80.2	103,036
	Bakiga	459,619	432,404	94.1	27,215
Runyoro/ Rutooro	Banyoro	188,374	103,667	55.0	84,707
	Batoro	208,300	184,033	88.3	24,267
Ateso/ Akarimojong	Iteso	524,716	402,040	76.6	122,676
	Karamojong	131,713	130,818	99.3	895
Lwo	Lango	363,807	339,224	93.2	24,583
Lwo	Acholi	284,929	266,300	93.5	18,629
		3,961,889*			459,765**

*Total population 6,449,558; % of total population 61.4.

**% of speakers of 6 major vernacular languages living outside of language area--11.6

Plus the number of children who attend English-medium schools. More than 50% of school age children are potentially not getting their early primary schooling in their own language.

Several examples at the local school level illustrate the situation more explicitly. In 12 of the 58 schools in our sample, the language used in the classrooms was not the official vernacular language in the district, although in 2 cases the language was an officially recognized vernacular of another district.

Bukedi	District	(Luganda)	1 Ateso; 1 Dhapadhola; 2 Lunyole
Madi	"	(Lugbara)	1 Madi; 1 Kakwa & Madi
Lango	"	(Lwo)	1 Kumam
Kigezi	"	(Rukiga)	3 Runyarwanda
West Nile	"	(Lugbara)	2 Alur

The present policy is based largely on recommendations made in the 1963 Education Report although the historic roots of the policy recommendations lie in the situation in practice from the earliest days of missionary education. The Committee which submitted the report was by no means in agreement on the matter of language policy, and the Report states that "the suggestions are somewhat in the nature of a compromise between conflicting views." The Committee made the following major recommendations:

a. Children should be taught in their own vernacular in the early years of schooling except where circumstances make it impossible.

b. English should occupy the position of a common language in Uganda and steps should be taken to improve the teaching of English.

c. English should become the medium of instruction in Primary V and eventually the change-over should be made in Primary IV on the grounds that languages are best learned through use, that is, through use as the medium of instruction for other subjects.

Although the committee seemed aware of the problems involved in the implementation of this policy, it nevertheless felt strongly enough in favor of the approach to make the recommendations. One of the primary problems is the availability of teachers trained to implement the policy. The wide divergence in training and ability of the teachers noted earlier is a critical aspect of the success of the language program in Uganda.

Entrance to postprimary institutions is largely dependent on the pupil's ability in English. All of the teaching at the postprimary level is in English.

There are four types of postprimary institutions. The first and most prestigious is the Senior Secondary School. In 1967 there were 71 grant-aided schools enrolling about 20,000 pupils, about 4,000 of whom were girls. The Secondary School provides four years of education leading to School Certificate Level. The pattern of education most closely resembles the system in England although there are recent attempts to modify the curriculum to make it more relevant to the African setting. Seventeen Secondary Schools offer advanced level work beyond these four years leading to the Higher School Certificate, the level required for university entrance. In 1967, the total enrollment in

these last two classes was 1,545 pupils.

In addition to the scholastic entrance requirement, a further consideration is the ability to pay school fees which range from 450 to 650 Shillings per year ($65 to $95) in boarding schools and 250 to 450 Shillings per year ($35 to $65) in day schools. A number of bursaries (scholarships) are available from local education councils, but the demand far exceeds the supply.

There are a large number of private Secondary Schools, some of which are licensed and supervised by the Ministry of Education. Standards vary considerably in these schools, but there is always a demand for places.

A second type of postprimary institution is the Grade II Teacher Training College. There are 26 such schools located throughout the country which provide four years of training. The first two years concentrate on general education, similar in scope to the secondary schools, and the last two years are more specifically professional training, including practical teaching experience. The fees at the Teacher Training Colleges are lower than the Secondary Schools--200 Shillings per year--and many of the students at these institutions are there because they are unable to pay the larger fees at Secondary School. In general, however, the candidates for the Teacher Training Colleges have received lower marks in the Primary Leaving Examination than their counterparts in Secondary School. There

are close to 4,000 students enrolled in the Teacher Training Colleges.

The third type of school is the Technical School. There are five such schools enrolling a total of 1,000 students. The course leads to craft level in such skills as machine shop engineering, plumbing, and building crafts. Fees in these schools are between 400 and 450 Shillings per year. There are also a few Rural Trade Schools, but these account for a very small part of postprimary training.

The final type of institution is the Farm School, of which there are three, enrolling a total of 509 students. This is perhaps one of the weakest parts of a total educational system in a country that is almost exclusively agricultural.

Higher education after School Certificate is available in the Grade III Teacher Training Colleges, the Uganda Technical College, and the Commercial College.

The educational system is capped at the top with Makerere University College, at present part of the University of East Africa. University Education is paid for entirely by the government of Uganda. The number of places available is, however, quite limited. The enrollment of Ugandan students at Makerere in 1966 was 1,190. A number of Ugandan students find places in other African countries, England and the United States at the university level. Again, the importance of English should be readily apparent.

At the postprimary level of education, there is a great reliance on non-African personnel to staff the schools. A large number of teachers come from both England and the United States. It is unfortunate to note that the situation is not changing as rapidly as anyone would hope. Possible candidates for the teaching profession are finding employment in other sectors of the economy, and graduates from the Grade III Training Colleges are not being turned-out at a sufficiently rapid rate.

To the trained observer, there are a number of serious drawbacks in the present educational system which decrease the efficiency of the policy of teaching English and using it as the major medium of instruction in the schools. Yet, despite all of the difficulties in the present system, some children do learn to read, write, speak, and understand English well enough to proceed into Secondary Schools and later universities. In addition, some schools have a higher success rate than others within the same system. And certain districts appear to achieve at a higher level than others on the Primary Leaving Examination. It is the aim of this research to examine a number of the sociolinguistic factors which appear to contribute to these differences in an effort to determine some of the relationships between these factors and reading achievement, and to recommend possible remedial action.

CHAPTER III

PURPOSES AND PROCEDURES

The purposes of this study are to examine the effect of specific differences in language teaching practices in the primary schools on the reading achievement in English and one of the official vernacular languages of Primary 7 pupils, and to assess the effect of a selected number of sociolinguistic variables on an individual's success in reading English within the present system.

The questions which this study attempts to answer are:

1. Do children who live in urban areas do better than children in rural areas in Uganda? On the basis of the Coleman Report (1967) it was expected the answer would be positive. However, there is a complicating factor. Children in urban areas are more likely to learn in English right from the beginning of school; children in rural areas usually learn to read in their vernacular language first. On the basis of Modiano's study (1966) the rural children who learned in their own vernacular language should do better.

2. What are the differences in reading achievement based on the grade in which English language instruction

was begun?

3. What effect do age, sex, language background, aspirations, parents' language background and occupational level, have on pupil achievement in reading?

4. What is the effect of teacher training and experience?

The Language Survey

The investigation reported in this study was one part of a sociolinguistic study of Uganda carried out during the year 1968. The Uganda Language Survey itself was only a part of a larger project--a Survey of Language Use and Language Teaching in Eastern Africa--which when completed will include Kenya, Tanzania, Zambia and Ethiopia in addition to Uganda.

The work in each country is the combined product of an inter-disciplinary team of three researchers plus an array of university professors, linguists, teachers, government officials and missionaries from the countries included in the survey and the United States and England.

The specific objectives of the Uganda Language Survey were largely defined by the disciplines of the members of the team, subject only to the framework of the larger survey objectives. Data were collected in three major fields: Linguistics (the Languages of the Country); Sociolinguistics (Patterns of Language Use); and Education (Language Teaching). The end product of the Uganda Language Survey will be

a publication summarizing the research.

This study is part of the research on language teaching. It was limited to some extent by the objectives and facilities of the wider study, including the selection of areas for study and using field workers with no training in education.

Selection of the Sample

The schools in the sample were in areas of the country selected within the framework of the larger survey. A total of twenty rural settlements were studied in eleven different administrative districts. The rural areas of Uganda are by no means all alike. The difference most important to the language survey was related to the predominant local language. The aim of the survey was to study as many different language communities as possible. Ten of the settlements were linguistically homogeneous, representing ten different languages; ten were either heterogeneous or were composed of a minority linguistic group within a major linguistic group area. Within each of these areas two or three schools which scored in the middle-range for the district on the 1967 Primary Leaving Examination were selected with the help of the District Education Officer. (The average score on the Primary Leaving Examination, English sub-test, was 61.00 in the country as a whole. The average score of the schools in our sample on this same test was 60.63.) Nine schools from Kampala were also included in the sample. These schools

were selected to represent the complete range of schools in an urban area.

The tests were administered to all children in the Primary VII (seventh grade) class in the schools. There was a total of 58 schools, 49 of which were rural. (The potential total of rural schools was 60--5 from each of 12 fieldworkers--but due to illness and other unpardonable sins, some of the work was not completed.)

The Reading Test

A reading comprehension test was developed to establish a relative measure of English language competence against which relationships with the other variables could be determined (see appendix).

Part I--English.--The test reflects a level of attainment considered desirable by the end of Primary School, i.e., what the pupil could be expected to read when he finished Primary VII. It included a total of five passages, two from a Secondary I reading textbook with a 2,000 word controlled vocabulary, one from a Primary VII civics book, one from the local press, and one from a reading workbook at a slightly easier level than the other material. Each of the passages is followed by five multiple choice questions with four possible answers.

All of the items were pretested individually in a number of Primary VII classes and several Secondary I classes. The items were all answered correctly at the Secondary

I level, and the test was considered, therefore, to be a reasonable measure of the level of reading desired at the end of primary school. (While all Secondary I pupils whom we tested scored perfectly, it should be remembered that these pupils represent the top 10% of last year's Primary VII class.) Item 1 (see appendix) was very easy for most of the Primary VII pupils, but it was included because it was felt to be a useful introduction to the test and one which would provide some measure of success for all pupils.

Part II.--A passage in a vernacular language was also included in the test for three reasons: (1) to see if there was a relationship between the ability to read English and the ability to read a vernacular language, (2) to assess how well children could read the official vernacular language of the district, both when this was and when it was not their own first language, and (3) to see whether, over the country as a whole, children could read better in English than in a vernacular language. The passage which appeared in translation was taken from the same civics textbook referred to earlier.

Both passages from the civics book were of comparable difficulty (pre-tested) in English. Both passages were translated from the English into each of the six official vernacular languages used in the schools by a student at Makerere University College who spoke that language as his first language. The passages were then translated back into

English by another native speaker of the language and corrections in the text were made as needed. As a final check, the item was given to another speaker of the language to make sure that all the questions were being answered correctly. This item was not field tested with Primary VII pupils before it was given.

One half of each class received the test with passage A (Agriculture) in English and passage B (Forests) in the official vernacular language of their district, the other half received item B in English and item A in the vernacular language. The tests were randomly distributed to the pupils in each class.

The test was designed with specific printed instructions for administration to be read aloud to the pupils and included a practice exercise in the method of marking the correct answers. All of the fieldworkers who administered the tests were given one practice experience in giving the test to a Primary VII class.

There were no other test scores for these children against which this reading test could be evaluated. Teacher estimates of individual levels of attainment for pupils proved unreliable in many instances because the teachers are not in the habit of evaluating a pupil's performance. In a few cases where teacher evaluation was attempted we got a very high degree of correlation between performance on the reading test and teacher's judgment of English

language ability. In other cases there was no correlation at all. Frequently the names on the teacher's list did not even match the names of the students who had been tested.

The Linguistic Questionnaire

A linguistic questionnaire was also developed to provide information on the individual pupils. The questionnaire (see appendix) was developed through a trial and error process, the biggest single problem being the confusion between American school terminology and the terms in use in Uganda. The other problem was finding a form that required little writing and simple directions. A problem which caused a substantial amount of trouble was the direction "Put a tick (check) 'in front of'. . . ." For reasons not entirely understood, this often was interpreted as "after" or "behind." This frequently meant that the intended answer was not clear.

Most of the items in the questionnaire are self-explanatory; a few need some interpretation. All of the information represents selected sociolinguistic variables to be correlated with the results of the reading test. Item 1 which asks the child to list his schools, is designed to assess the child's mobility. A simple question about how many schools the child attended did not supply all the information we wanted. By using the list we gained such information as the number of years in each school, the mobility within a district and mobility between districts.

Item 2 which asks for the child's first language and Item 3 which asks which language the teacher used in Primary I supply information about whether the child's vernacular language coincided with the school vernacular. The question implicit here was whether the child who must learn a second vernacular language before learning English is handicapped in any way.

Item 9 was originally worded "What will you do when you finish Primary School?" In the original group of 300 students on which this item was pre-tested, 100% of the pupils checked "Go on to Secondary School." Teachers and headmasters felt that this was an accurate picture of the aspiration level of the children. It is possible to infer from this that aspirations are high among the children who have reached Primary VII. The question was reworded to see what alternatives the children would see to a full secondary education.

Other Questionnaires

A questionnaire was distributed to each teacher in every school. A separate questionnaire was given to the headmaster. Frequently the headmaster had a full teaching position in addition to his administrative responsibilities, in which case he received both questionnaires. The purpose of these questionnaires was to elicit both general information about the school (e.g., the vernacular language used

in teaching, the foundation body, and whether a Grade III teacher was teaching the present Primary VII class), as well as specific information about the teaching background of the staff (e.g., the Grade Ministry Certificate held by the teacher, the years of teaching experience, and the years in the present school). Copies of these questionnaires are in the appendix.

The Collection of the Data

The tests and questionnaires were administered by twelve students from Makerere, University College, five from the English Department and seven from Social Sciences. The students spoke the language of the area in which they did their field work; they also spoke English.

The students worked on the project during their long vacation from March 25, 1968 to June 14, 1968. During the first two weeks, the students were trained in field work methods by the three members of the survey team. During this training period they were taught to administer the reading test and linguistic questionnaire. From the 8th to the 26th of April the students traveled to selected areas gathering data, and as one part of this field experience gave the reading test in one school. This was a trial run.

The students returned to the campus to review the results and prepare for the second phase of the field work. During this second field experience they gave the reading test in two separate areas; three schools in the first area

and two schools in the second. During the final week of the vacation period, the work was reviewed and results were tabulated with each field worker and one member of the survey team.

During each of the field-work experiences, each student was visited at least once by one of the three members of the survey team.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF DATA

The question which is implicit in a study of this kind is: What factors are relevant to the success of the present language policy in Uganda? A knowledge of the conditions which are most likely to produce successful candidates for entry to postprimary institutions allows for program improvement in the appropriate places. The value of knowing which environmental factors, alone or in combination, are most relevant to an individual's success permits the development of new programs based on sound evidence. The relevance of such information in any system needs hardly be mentioned, but in a country that is still in the process of recreating both its educational system and teaching materials, this knowledge is even more important. The statistical data presented in this chapter indicate some of the major factors which must be considered in planning new material and carrying out experimental programs.

Overall Performance

The reading test was administered to a total of 1,560 Primary VII pupils in 58 schools in Uganda. The mean score was 15.85 with a standard deviation of 3.55. Out of a

possible score of 25, the range of scores was from 6 to 24. Children who scored very low on this test might have done so for a variety of reasons not related to their ability to read English, such as losing their pens or having malaria; and children who scored very high might equally not be representative of the group as a whole because of reasons such as having lived in England. In order to be more sure of our conclusions about Ugandan children as a whole, we followed a common statistical practice of discarding all scores which fell more than 2 standard deviations above and below the mean, i.e., scores above 22 and below 9. In all, 66 scores were not evaluated in the final sample. The corrected mean for the 1,494 remaining cases was 16.04 with a standard deviation of 3.08.

The following table shows the mean scores of the schools in the sample, including the district and major vernacular language spoken in the school, as well as the score on the Primary Leaving Examination English paper for 1967.

Forty-nine of the schools are in rural areas; nine of the schools are in Kampala. The schools in Kampala are of three main types: two are predominantly Asian schools which use English as the medium of instruction from Primary I; two are African schools which use Luganda as the medium of instruction in the lower primary classes and teach English as a subject from Primary I; and five are predominantly

TABLE 4.1

THE SCHOOLS: INCLUDING DISTRICT, LANGUAGE AND SCORES

	District	Language (School)	English Score	P.L.E. Score (Eng)
1.	Teso	Ateso	15.48	59.22
2.	Teso	Ateso	16.56	63.23
3.	Teso	Ateso	17.43	57.71
4.	Bukedi	Ateso	16.90	62.08
5.	Bukedi	Ateso	19.41	61.21
6.	Bukedi	Luganda/English	16.45	68.79
7.	Bukedi	Luganda	15.00	57.97
8.	Bukedi	English	16.75	62.79
9.	Bukedi	Dhopadhola	16.35	75.28
10.	Bukedi	Lunyolo	15.83	62.92
11.	Bukedi	Luganda/Lunyole	16.00	62.66
12.	Karamoja	Akaramojong	17.33	55.77
13.	Karamoja	English	18.05	69.40
14.	Toro	Rutoro	15.96	58.72
15.	Toro	Rutoro	15.37	62.40
16.	Toro	Rutoro	15.42	61.78
17.	Toro	Rutoro	14.44	62.57
18.	Toro	Rutoro	16.37	---
19.	Mubende	Luganda	14.16	53.27
20.	Mubende	Luganda	13.65	47.14
21.	Mubende	Luganda	14.05	57.32
22.	Mubende	Luganda	12.28	53.46
23.	Mubende	Luganda	15.05	55.89
24.	Kigezi	Runyarwanda	17.20	54.29
25.	Kigezi	Runyarwanda	18.65	69.08
26.	Kigezi	Runyarwanda	17.10	67.03
27.	Kigezi	Rukiga	15.39	59.09
28.	Kigezi	Rukiga	16.45	63.70
29.	Kigezi	Rukiga	16.88	61.73
30.	Kigezi	Rukiga	14.66	61.73
31.	West Mengo	Luganda	13.96	55.94
32.	West Mengo	Luganda	15.82	57.04
33.	West Mengo	Luganda	13.35	54.59
34.	Lango	Lango	15.32	69.09
35.	Lango	Lango	13.68	60.56
36.	Lango	Kuman	16.44	63.29
37.	Lango	Lango	14.15	58.66
38.	West Nile	Alur	14.50	49.23
39.	West Nile	Alur	15.76	54.06
40.	West Nile	Lugbara	17.62	62.66
41.	West Nile	Lugbara	17.60	63.14
42.	West Nile	Lugbara	16.75	---
43.	Ankole	Runyankole	16.11	65.81

TABLE 4.1--Continued

District	Language (School)	English Score	P.L.E. Score (Eng)
44. Ankole	Runyankole	14.96	60.52
45. Ankole	Runyankore	15.17	68.45
46. Bugisu	Luganda/Lugisu	16.79	63.44
47. Bugisu	Lugisu	17.07	62.32
48. Madi	Kakwa/Lugbara/Madi	14.16	50.81
49. Madi	Madi	14.42	58.00
50. Kampala	English	14.92	55.60
51. Kampala	English	15.20	60.50
52. Kampala	English	16.39	63.26
53. Kampala	English	17.36	67.09
54. Kampala	English	17.55	68.49
55. Kampala	English	18.37	77.70
56. Kampala	Luganda	17.90	59.79
57. Kampala	Luganda	16.36	59.95
58. Kampala	English	14.68	58.00

African, but mixed linguistically, which use English as the medium of instruction from Primary I. The latter group includes schools which draw their pupils from different socio-economic groups--some being in housing estates (middle-income) and others in migrant areas (poor).

Ten of the schools are English-medium from Primary I, seven in Kampala and three in rural areas. (These schools have frequently started using English as the medium of instruction within the last two or three years, especially those schools in the rural areas. Thirteen of the schools use a vernacular language that is different from the official language of the district as the major language of oral instruction in the lower primary classes. Reading is taught in the official vernacular language.

Table 4.1 (above) shows the scores on the Reading Test and on the English paper of the Primary Leaving Examination. It can be seen that scores on the reading test are related to the level of proficiency in English in the school as measured by the results on the Primary Leaving Examination for 1967, indicating that schools which do well in teaching English continue to do well in producing pupils who achieve well in English, and schools which do poorly continue to do poorly. Twenty-one of the schools have scores above the mean in both the Reading Test and the Primary Leaving Examination English Paper. Twenty-three of the schools have mean scores that are lower in both tests. In seven schools the Primary Leaving Examination score is higher than the mean, but the reading score is below, and in five schools this is reversed. Information on two schools in incomplete. The two sets of scores are highly related, a fact which is readily seen by comparing the two sets of figures and which is also verified by statistical analysis ($r = .68$; $p < .001$). There is a strong indication that schools which have been successful will continue to produce pupils who are better in English than the schools which have not been successful.

The distribution of school scores as a whole approached a normal distribution with some skewing to the left, probably because the test scores were constrained from above. There was no obvious bimodality of the scores. The means and the variances of students' scores within a district

were correlated -.4, and this again is probably the result of the constraint from above on test scores.

The Relationship between Selected Socio-Linguistic Factors and the Ability To Read English

In order to examine some of the sociolinguistic factors which affect a pupil's ability in English, the top scorers and the bottom scorers were selected for comparison, and X^2 analysis of the data was done. There were 203 pupils in each of the two groups; the top group had scores of 20, 21, and 22 on the Reading Test; the bottom group had scores of 9, 10, 11, and 12.

Language of Instruction in Primary I.--The first assumption, based on the growing tendency to begin English-medium instruction as early as possible, was that most of the high scorers would come from schools where English had been used as the medium of instruction from the beginning of Primary I, indicating the superiority of this method over any other. The distribution of pupils is shown in Table 4.2. There is no difference between the two

TABLE 4.2

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND LOW SCORERS ON LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN PRIMARY I

	English	Vernacular
High Scorers	24	179
Low Scorers.	21	182

groups of pupils in terms of whether they learned in English from the beginning or whether they began with their vernacular language.

When Child Learned English.--The second assumption, also based on the principle that the earlier children begin to study English the better they will do was that children who began the study of English as a subject in Primary I would do much better than children who started later. Table 4.3 shows the distribution of high and low scorers according to when they began to learn English. While it is evident that a larger number of children who learned English at home are in the group of high scorers, this offers no useful information for the purpose of evaluation of instructional programs. It may indicate that pre-school training in English is beneficial, but it says nothing about when to introduce English in school. There is some indication from these data that the earlier one begins the study of English the better one does. What is more important to note is that none of the high scorers began the study of English as late as Primary IV.

TABLE 4.3

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND LOW SCORERS ACCORDING TO WHEN THEY BEGAN TO LEARN ENGLISH

	At Home	P1	P2	P3	P4
High Scorers	17	64	41	75	..
Low Scorers	6	53	47	85	11

The scores of the entire group (1,494 cases) on this same factor show a slightly different picture. Table 4.4 shows this distribution. The mean score of the group that

TABLE 4.4

DISTRIBUTION OF THE ENTIRE GROUP SHOWING WHEN THEY BEGAN TO LEARN ENGLISH

	No. of Cases	Mean Scores
At Home	80	16.96
Primary 1	455	16.16
Primary 2	300	15.82
Primary 3	585	16.00
Primary 4	74	15.41

learned English at home is still significantly higher than the mean of the group as a whole (t = 10.39) and the mean of the group that learned English in Primary 4 is significantly lower than the mean of the group as a whole (t = 6.69). But the other three groups are <u>not</u> statistically different from each other.

<u>Sex</u>.--An analysis of the data for the entire group as well as a Chi-square analysis of the high and low scorers does not reveal any significant difference in performance between males and females.

<u>Home Background</u>.--There were no significant statistical differences between the high and low scorers on whether the father or mother spoke English. This was

further supported by the fact that there were no statistical differences between the high and low scorers based on father's occupation. However, an analysis of the data for the entire group indicates that children of professionals score significantly higher than the mean of the entire group ($t = 8.84$). Children of professionals are more often in schools in Kampala, a factor which will be considered further on in this chapter.

Aspirations.--As was mentioned earlier in the paper, the pupils who reach Primary VII all aspire to continue their schooling, from which we conclude that aspirations are high at every level of achievement. When pupils were given a second choice, and these choices were grouped into school and non-school categories, the chi-square analysis showed no significant differences between the high and low groups.

Mobility.--The data for the entire group showed no significant difference in the mean scores for children who moved to different schools within the same district, but children who moved to different districts scored significantly higher ($t = 7.88$). Table 4.5 shows the mean scores for the different groups based on mobility. The percentage of pupils whose fathers were professionals was 14.1% in the group who moved to different districts as opposed to 12.8% in the total sample.

Age.--There are slight differences in performance based

TABLE 4.5

MEAN SCORES BASED ON MOBILITY OF PUPILS

	Cases	Mean
Same school 7 years.	793	16.00
Two schools.	331	16.04
More than 2 schools.	285	15.90
Different districts.	85	16.75

on the age of the pupils, but these differences show up in only the youngest and oldest pupils in the sample. The differences are not statistically significant between the high and low scorers. These figures are shown in Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND LOW SCORERS BY AGE

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17+
High. .	11	22	35	46	20	11	2
Low . .	2	20	39	56	20	4	2

The analysis of the data on age for the entire group also shows the 11 year olds to have an advantage, but not the 16 year olds. The following table shows the mean scores for the whole group according to age. Only the scores for the 11 year olds and those 17 or older are significantly higher than the mean score for the group as a whole. The

TABLE 4.7

DISTRIBUTION OF MEAN SCORES BY AGE GROUPS

No. of Cases	Age	Mean Score
31	11	17.80
160	12	16.05
330	13	15.91
344	14	15.95
126	15	16.22
52	16	16.07
13	17+	16.92
(438 cases--age unknown)		

number in both groups is too small to be of any real significance. Of the 31 eleven-year-olds in the sample, 18 were Kampala and 13 were from rural schools. Thirty per cent of the eleven-year-olds come from homes where the father is either a teacher or professional. One can speculate that all eleven-year-olds who are in Primary VII started school at a very early age because they were identified as being exceptionally bright. For all of these reasons, it is impossible to generalize that all children should start primary school at the age of 4 or 5.

Nor is it possible to generalize about the group 17 or older. There are only 13 cases to consider. All of these are from rural areas where the fathers are either farmers or unskilled workers. There are two possible explanations for the fact that these students do so much better than average. The first is that many of them may be repeating Primary VII and therefore have had an additional year (or

more in some cases) of English instruction. The other explanation is that having been more mature when they started primary school they learned more quickly than their younger classmates.

There are no other significant differences in performance in any other age group. It should be noted here that there is a wide spread in the age of pupils in Primary 7. This range is not always present in every classroom and there is a growing trend toward a lessening of the range through a standardization of age of entry to Primary I. There are observable differences in the average age of pupils in different regions, and even in different schools within a region. The mean age of pupils in Kampala is lower than the mean age for pupils in rural areas.

Some of the other variables which were evaluated indicate the type of controls which need to be considered in setting up experimental programs. There is a significant indication that many of the differences which appear significant are related to the urban-rural distribution of the pupils. Table 4.8 shows this distribution for the high and low scorers. The Chi-square is 6.16, significant at the 1% level. In order to test this difference further we divided the entire group according to location. The mean score of the Kampala group was 16.52 (t = 5.13); the mean score of the rural group was 15.94. This means that going to school in Kampala greatly increases an individual's chance of

success in English.

TABLE 4.8

KAMPALA-RURAL DISTRIBUTION OF HIGH AND LOW SCORERS

	Kampala	Rural
High Scorers	45	158
Low Scorers.	26	177

The Kampala schools in our sample had a much higher proportion of teachers in Primary VII who held Grade III Ministry Certificates (i.e., were better qualified). In order to determine whether the crucial factor in the success of the pupils in Kampala was due to the influence of the Grade III teachers, the scores were analyzed for only the pupils who had a Grade III teacher in Primary VII and this group was divided into two groups--Kampala and Rural The mean score for the Kampala group was 16.84, higher than for the Kampala group as a whole and significantly higher than for the rural group whose mean score was 16.13. Having a Grade III teacher improves one's chances for success, but does not change the Kampala-Rural difference.

Since the Kampala-Rural difference was the most significant of all the statistical findings, a multiple and partial regression analysis of the data was performed on the entire group to determine the strength of the relationship of this factor and all of the others which were examined.

The following nine variables were evaluated against individual scores in reading: (1) Whether the child's first language was the same as that used in school in Primary I; (2) Whether the child went to a school where English was the medium of instruction in Primary I; (3) Whether the father spoke English; (4) Whether the mother spoke English; (5) Whether English was spoken at home; (5) When English was begun as a subject; (7) Mobility of the pupil; (8) Location and (9) Aspirations. The multiple correlation coefficient for these variables was very low (R = .14) accounting for only 2% of the variance in the scores.

Even though there are individual variables which appear significant through Chi-square analysis or comparison of mean scores, the multiple regression analysis indicates that the value of any one, or combination of these variables, is not very great for predicting an individual's success in reading English.

One important question remains unanswered. We do not know the effect of the English-medium approach (teaching all subjects in English) from Primary I in a rural setting. None of the rural schools had been using English as the medium of instruction in Primary I when the present Primary VII class which was tested had started school. This is a question which should be investigated.

Differences between Schools

The differences in scores from school to school

indicate the possibility that achievement in English is also dependent on certain factors within the schools themselves. In order to examine some of these factors, the six schools which scored highest on the Reading Test and the six schools which scored lowest (20% of the total number of schools) were selected for further study. All six schools which scored low in reading were also low on the Primary English paper. Of the six top schools, all but one were above the mean on the same paper.

The first factor to be examined was the type of training which the teachers in the different schools had been given, as expressed in the Grade Ministry Certificate which they held. There was no difference in the number of Grade II teachers in the schools which were high and the schools which were low. There was a difference in the number of Grade I and Grade III teachers in the schools which were high and the schools which were low. The actual number is shown in Table 4.9. There are a larger number of better trained teachers (Grade III) in the schools which score high than in the schools which score low (Chi-square = 3.69; $p < .5$). The positive effect of a better trained teacher was also noted in the analysis of the data for individual pupils.

Another area of expected difference among the teachers was in the years of teaching experience, independent of the type of training. New teachers, whatever their grade Ministry Certificate, were considered to be as effective as

TABLE 4.9

NUMBER OF TEACHERS HOLDING GRADE I AND GRADE III CERTIFICATES

	Grade I	Grade III
High Schools	6	11
Low Schools.	11	5

teachers who have had several years of teaching experience according to headmasters, district education officers, and people in the inspectorate division of the Ministry of Education. However, as the following table shows, none of these differences is great enough to be statistically significant.

TABLE 4.10

NUMBER OF YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE

	0-5	6-10	11-15	16-20	20+
Low Schools	15	4	7	2	5
High Schools. . . .	10	7	5	3	4

(Note: The total number of teachers is less than the full number to be expected in twelve schools. This is because not all the teachers in either group filled in the questionnaire.)

Although there was no significant difference in years

of experience, when the data are examined in terms of the number of years teaching in a particular school (i.e., the mobility of the teachers) then there is a difference between the schools which score high and those which score low. In the schools which scored low there are more teachers who have been in that particular school for two years or less indicating that there may be a greater turnover of teachers in the low-scoring schools which causes a degree of instability in the staff as a whole and permits less continuity of the program from year to year. The table below shows these figures. Chi-square corrected for continuity

TABLE 4.11

YEARS OF TEACHING IN THE PRESENT SCHOOLS

	Less Than 2 Years	More Than 2 Years
Low Schools . . .	23	10
High Schools . .	11	19

= 6.9; significant at the 2% level. The stability of the staff appears to be a factor which affects the performance of the school as a whole.

One further difference between the teachers in the schools which scored high and those which scored low is in the number of teachers who report having had a special course in the teaching of English. These numbers are shown in Table 4.12. More of the teachers in the schools which

TABLE 4.12

NUMBER OF TEACHERS HAVING A SPECIAL COURSE IN ENGLISH

	Yes	No
Low Schools	10	22
High Schools.	17	13

scored high have had a special course in teaching English and this difference is again statistically significant (Chi-square = 4.06; $p < .05$).

The questionnaires revealed a great variety of in-service courses in the teaching of English, from intensive one-day workshops to three-week courses at special centers around the country. But no one type of in-service training appeared to be substantially better than all others. Follow-up interviews with teachers and tutors at the training colleges, as well as Ministry officials, indicated that the greatest benefit derived from the in-service training was related more to recognition of the teachers who participated in the programs than to the actual content of such programs.

Three factors relating to teacher training and experience appear to affect the performance of children on the Reading Test. These factors--Grade Ministry Certificate (I and III), Mobility, and Training in English--are relatively independent variables. The fact that a teacher holds a Grade I or Grade III Certificate will not indicate either the number of years the teacher has been in the present school, nor

whether he has had a course in teaching English. The same is true of all other groupings. It does seem possible, however, that there is an additive effect of all of these variables. In other words, weakness in any one of these three might be compensated for by additional strength in one or both of the other variables.

In order to test this assumption further, the schools were divided into groups which corresponded roughly to the districts in which the schools were located. Two schools in Bukedi district were grouped with the Ateso district schools since they are located in an Ateso speaking area of Bukedi district which is contiguous with Ateso district. The mean score for the schools in the district was calculated and the totals on all of the teachers in each of the districts on the three variables were calculated. A multiple regression analysis of the data for nine districts with more than four schools in each district indicates that the three factors have a significant effect on school performance ($R = .91$) and in fact account for 83% of the variance between schools. The same test on thirteen districts, including four with only two or three schools in each district, is considerably lower ($R = .51$). The same multiple regression analysis by schools rather than by districts yields an R of .41.

It would appear that all of these factors relating to the teachers' training and posting do affect the overall

performance of children in English reading. Perhaps the importance of the teacher is already well enough known, but the statistical evidence adds considerable force to the argument for better training of teachers, both pre-service and in-service, and points to the need for greater stability of staff.

Scores in English and Vernacular Languages Compared

The mean score for the group as a whole, excluding native speakers of English, Swahili, Gujerati, Hindi, or any non-Ugandan language, was 3.89 on the vernacular passage and 3.89 on the English passage (1,231 cases). The overall ability to read English is equal to the ability to read one of the six vernacular languages.

The mean score for the pupils who spoke one of the six vernacular languages as a first language was 4.03 on the vernacular passage and 3.84 on the passage in English, indicating a slight superiority in the vernacular passage (907 cas cases).

The mean score for pupils who spoke a vernacular language related to the official vernacular but not identical was 3.76 on the passage in the related vernacular and 4.08 on the passage in English, a slight superiority in English (278 cases).

The mean score for pupils who spoke a vernacular language not related to the language of the test was 2.11 in the vernacular passage and 4.00 in English, indicating a distinct superiority in English (46 cases).

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

The official language policy in the schools in Uganda is directed toward teaching English as a subject until it can be used as the sole medium of instruction (generally in Primary V or VI), while using one of the six official vernacular languages as the medium of instruction until the transition to English can be made. One of the major aims of this policy is to produce pupils who are able to read English at a level which makes continued education possible, as well as providing a means of communicating with the majority of primary-school leavers who do not continue their education.

The successful implementation of the present policy is largely dependent on the availability of teachers who are trained to teach English as a subject and to teach other subjects in English. A further obstacle to the policy is the linguistic heterogeneity of the country where only 38% of the population speak one of the six official school languages, and whose children must learn a second African language as well as English when they get to school. A

further obstacle to the success of the program is the relative inaccessability of certain schools, where change comes slowly because Ministry supervision is reduced to almost nothing. All of these factors result in differences in the implementation of the language policy at the local school level.

This study examined the effect of certain specific differences in language teaching practices in the Primary Schools on reading achievement of Primary 7 pupils in both English and one of the official vernacular languages and assessed the effect of a number of sociolinguistic variables on the individual's success in reading English.

A reading test in English and the official vernacular language of the district was administered to 1.560 Primary 7 pupils in 49 schools in 20 rural settlements in 11 administrative districts of Uganda, and 9 schools in Kampala which represented the complete range of the type of school to be found within a city. Each pupil was also given a questionnaire which asked for age, sex, schools attended, language of instruction in Primary 1, class in which English was introduced as a subject, his first language, father's occupation and his own plans after he finished Primary School. Data were also collected from teachers and headmasters regarding total years of teaching experience and the years posted to this particular school, the Grade Ministry Certificate held, and whether special training in English had been

taken as an in-service course.

Findings

The major findings of this study indicate that the areas of greatest importance in considering the effectiveness of the present instructional program in teaching English to Ugandan children lie more in environmental factors than in individual sociolinguistic differences between pupils. The fact that urban children generally do better than their rural counterparts has been observed in many countries of the world. The urban child is exposed to a wider variety of external forces which both stimulate and reinforce school learning. He has a wider variety of books and other reading material at his disposal, more opportunity to use what he has learned at school in his everyday life, and the opportunity to observe and participate in a wider range of activities. In the case of English, the urban child is more likely to hear the language spoken around him in shops, on television, in the movies and among his peers than the rural child. Generally, the parents of children in an urban area are more highly educated than those in a rural community. All of these factors, plus others, are offered as plausible reasons for urban-rural differences. But these remarks must be tempered with a cautionary note. Although the mean score of the Kampala group is higher than the rural group as a whole, there are several districts that score as high or higher than the Kampala sample, e.g., Kigezi, 16.61 and

Teso, 17.15.

There are undoubtedly social and cultural differences between the people who live in the different districts which account for some of the variation between the districts. However, a significant amount of the variation can be understood in terms of several factors related to teacher performance. The effectiveness of the instructional program in English is determined in large measure by the teachers--their training and experience.

The Grade III teachers are more effective than the Grade I teachers. In-service training is important in improving teacher's performance. Effectiveness increases with the time spent in a particular school. Perhaps one of the most significant things to be considered is that all of these aspects of teacher behavior can be externally altered, a fact which has great significance in program improvement.

None of the other factors relating to the individual was seen to be of great importance in predicting success in learning to read English.

Conclusions

The results of this study offer statistical support to a readily observable fact: the success of the present policy to teach English in Uganda is dependant on the availability of teachers who can implement that policy.

There is great emphasis in Uganda at present to develop new material for the teaching of English. The problem with this approach is that it does nothing to insure any greater success than what is presently being achieved. New materials in the hands of the same teachers will not necessarily improve the language teaching.

The same is true of the emphasis on beginning English instruction as early as possible. Two extra years of poor teaching is not a guarantee of success. It is possible that the best approach would be to delay the introduction of English until the third year of Primary School, using the Grade I teachers in the first two Primary classes where English is not used at all. This means that teachers who have been better trained can begin the English-language teaching in Primary 3. The results of this study indicate that there are no significant differences between the groups who started English in Primary 1, 2 or 3. English in Primary 1 might be a future goal of the Uganda government, but in the absence of trained teachers it is doubtful whether two extra years of poor instruction contribute much to the level of performance in English.

The question of the Grade III teachers needs careful consideration. They are being trained in increasing numbers. The procedure at present is to post these teachers to Primary 7 although a few are posted to Primary 1. Their influence on the level of performance in English is observed

in the fact that children in Primary 7 who had a Grade III teacher did score higher than those who did not. The additional training and a higher standard of English of this group of teachers offer a measurable advantage to the pupils. What is not known is whether this is the most effective means of utilizing these teachers. Further research is needed on this point.

A practical consideration of the present program is the issue of English-medium instruction. The policy of the Ministry of Education is designed to produce a level of competence in the use of English which will enable all teaching to be done in English by the sixth year of school. Although no attempt was made to establish grade level norms for the Reading Test, it was obvious that the results of the test indicated a lower level of competence than what is necessary for most pupils to read the subject-matter texts currently in use, despite the fact that a small percentage who reach secondary school are able to.

Despite enormous logistic problems in implementing the present language policy, the question is no longer one of whether to teach English, but when and how to do it most effectively. This study cannot even begin to answer such questions, but the results do point the direction which future research must take in order to assure the success of the English-language policy.

Future Research

The need for research in the field of second language teaching is virtually unlimited. Several studies which are suggested by the present research deal with the posting of teachers in order to utilize their skills in the most beneficial way.

At present there are 1,328 Grade III teachers in Uganda. There are 2,648 Primary Schools. Where should these teachers be posted to make maximal use of their training? Future plans include training all teachers to the level of the present Grade III teachers. It would be an advantage to know how the skills of these people can be used best as more of them are trained, but before all teachers reach this level of training. Some questions that need to be considered are: (1) Whether posting Grade III teachers to Primary 1 results in the greatest gain for the school as a whole or to the pupils individually; (2) Whether a Grade III teacher has the greatest impact in Primary 7; or (3) Whether a Grade III teacher could serve best by teaching English in all classes from Primary 1 through Primary 7. And this list is certainly not exhaustive.

There are still more than 8,000 Grade I and unqualified teachers in Uganda. It will take considerable time before better trained teachers will be available to replace them. In the interim, what is the best way to utilize this large body of teachers? How can their skills be strengthened? What is the most effective type of in-service training?

Can team teaching be used as one method of strengthening the instructional program?

The question of subject-matter mastery has only been alluded to in this study, but it is a very real problem in a country where Primary Education is terminal education for the vast majority of pupils. Are the goals of education being met in a situation where a second language is used as a medium of instruction? Is there a difference between using English or an African language for this purpose? There is an opportunity to do cross-cultural research on this question in the next few years. Tanzania has adopted a policy of using Swahili as the sole medium of instruction in Primary School and teaching English as a subject. Uganda is moving in the opposite direction and already has several schools where English is the sole medium of instruction from Primary 1. Pupils in the two countries could be tested both on subject-matter mastery and on English language competence to determine the basic differences between the two approaches.

One final area of research should also be mentioned although it is beyond the scope of this study, and that is the issue of materials used in teaching English in the Primary Schools. Carefully controlled experimental tests are needed to determine the best approach for Ugandan children, and this leads ultimately to the need for research in how children learn.

There is a fertile field for study in Uganda. The success of any policy is dependent on understanding how to make it work.

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APPENDIX

Pupil

1. We would like to know the names of all the schools you have attended up to the present. Please write in order the schools you attended and the number of years you attended. Start with your first primary school.

Name of School	Place (town)	Region	No. of Years

2. What is the first language you spoke? _____

3. What language did your teacher use when you were in Primary I?

_____

4. When did you begin to learn English?

[ ] at home
[ ] in Primary I
[ ] in Primary II
[ ] in Primary III
[ ] in Primary IV or after

5. Does your father speak English?

[ ] YES [ ] NO

6. Does your mother speak English?

[ ] YES [ ] NO

7. Do you ever speak English at home?

[ ] YES [ ] NO

8. What work does your father do? _____

9. What will you do when you finish Primary School if you do not get into Secondary School?

[ ] stay at home
[ ] go to Teacher Training College
[ ] go to Agriculture College
[ ] get a job in a shop
[ ] other _____

10. Age
11. Sex

Elephants

The elephant is the only animal in the world with a trunk. It uses its trunk in many ways. It pulls leaves off trees with its trunk and then puts them into its mouth. It can even use its trunk to pull up trees when it wants to make a path through the jungle. It also uses its trunk to get water. The trunk can hold a lot of water, as an elephant needs to drink more than three hundred pints of water every day.

When an elephant is angry, its tusks can be very dangerous. The tusks of an elephant are really its front teeth. People pay a lot of money for the ivory of an elephant's tusks. In Africa men have hunted elephants for their tusks. The ivory from the tusks is made into very beautiful things.

It has been easy for men to train elephants in Asia. They use elephants to carry heavy things for long distances.

Many people say that the kings of Siam used to give white elephants to people whom they did not like. These white elephants were sacred and they could not be made to work. They could not be killed or given away. A person who owned a white elephant had to pay a lot of money to keep it properly. After a certain time, he usually became very poor. Nowadays people often call a useless thing "a white elephant."

1. Elephants use their trunks to eat
   a) animals
   b) leaves
   c) trees
   d) ivory

2. An elephant's tusks are made of
   a) bone
   b) teeth
   c) ivory
   d) many beautiful things

3. In Africa men hunted elephants because
   a) the tusks were valuable
   b) elephants were very dangerous
   c) hunting was interesting
   d) elephants were very beautiful

4. Elephants are used to carry heavy things because
   a) their tusks are useful
   b) they are not dangerous
   c) they are very strong
   d) their trunks hold a lot of water

5. Siamese kings gave white elephants to people
   a) as a sign of friendship
   b) because people liked elephants
   c) because elephants were useful
   d) whom they did not like

New Hospitals

The opening at Iganga of the first of the new rural hospitals is a big event in the development of health services in this country. By building 23 such hospitals, spread throughout Uganda, the Government is not only increasing its medical facilities greatly, but it is implementing an important part of its policy to spread the benefits of modern development more evenly throughout the country. With 100 beds in each of these hospitals, there will be a large increase in the total of the medical facilities available, as well as a wider distribution of them. But expansion on this scale also brings its problems in finding the staff to man new hospitals and in meeting the cost of operating them.

It has involved an expansion in the training of medical assistants, nurses and midwives, as well as of doctors, and one effect of the large expansion of hospital services will be to increase the proportion of people in the service who have only a limited amount of practical experience. This will bring its own problems in the early years, but these can be overcome with the spirit of service and dedication to their tasks which the President has called for from all those who are involved.

Buildings alone do not make a hospital, and the success of the policy of providing new rural hospitals will depend on the service to be provided by their staffs. It is particularly important that their standards should be of the highest, because these institutions have a role to fill that is just as important as hospitals like Mulago which provides a greater range of specialized services.

1. The role of these rural hospitals is
   a) to train medical assistants and doctors
   b) to make Mulago more important
   c) to provide general medical facilities
   d) to lower the standard throughout the country

2. The new hospital at Iganga is
   a) the only one of its kind which will be built
   b) the first of 23 rural hospitals
   c) the last of 23 rural hospitals
   d) like Mulago

3. The problem of expansion is to get
   a) enough beds
   b) enough trained staff
   c) the proper medicine
   d) people to go to the hospital

4. Many people will have to be trained
   a) to provide medical services
   b) to build more hospitals
   c) to work at Mulago hospital
   d) to stop this expansion

5. The President has called on people
   a) to become midwives
   b) to see him if they have problems
   c) to do only a limited amount of work
   d) to dedicate themselves to their work

Yellow Fever

Yellow fever is a disease of warm lands, that is found mainly along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. It was first noticed in the Americas, but may well have come from Africa and reached the New World with or soon after Columbus. Until about fifty years ago, yellow fever was still one of the most feared diseases in the United States, where many died in repeated outbreaks. An outbreak which was to lead to surprising developments was one that happened in Cuba during the Spanish-American War.

As a result, an army group under Major Walter Reed was sent there in June 1900 with orders "to give special attention to questions concerning the cause and prevention of yellow fever." In a daring group of experiments using human beings, Major Reed proved the truth of an idea advanced in 1881 by a Cuban doctor, that the city type of mosquito passed on the disease.

The successful result of these experiments gave birth to another and still more important idea: kill off the city type of mosquitoes and there will be no more yellow fever. Fortunately these mosquitoes are one of the easiest types to destroy. They are born in pools of quiet, warm water, within a short distance of people's homes.

A general came to Havana with orders from the United States Government to dry up these pools. He carried out his task so well that the mosquitoes disappeared. Yellow fever went with them, never to return to Havana. A few years later the same general successfully repeated this operation in Panama and in this way made possible the building of the Panama Canal. It all seemed so simple. End the mosquitoes; end the disease. Man even began to dream of getting rid of yellow fever from the world.

1. Yellow fever was a feared disease in the United States up to
   a) 10 years ago
   b) 25 years ago
   c) 50 years ago
   d) 100 years ago

2. The outbreak which stirred the interest of the Army was in
   a) Cuba
   b) Spain
   c) Central America
   d) the United States

3. The building of the Panama Canal was made possible by
   a) the success of the Spanish-American War
   b) the work of the United States Army
   c) the killing of mosquitoes nearby
   d) the development of special drugs

4. The first idea about ending the disease forever was to
   a) remove people from yellow fever areas
   b) have special spray poisons in every home
   c) give everybody special drugs
   d) kill all mosquitoes

5. Yellow fever is found mainly around
   a) the Atlantic Ocean
   b) the Pacific Ocean
   c) the Indian Ocean
   d) any ocean

Malaria

Malaria is the world's oldest recorded disease. It is referred to in old Chinese and Indian writings. It was one of the causes leading to the downfall of both the Greek and the Roman empires.

People recognized that there must be some connection between malaria and swamps, and some believed that insects living near swamps might be the carriers of the disease. The Romans dried the swamps and reduced the mosquito population. This was the best method used for the next fifteen centuries.

Not until 1632 did Europeans find a successful treatment for the disease. The Spanish discoverers of the New World learned from the Indians of Peru that the bark of one of the trees growing there often ended a patient's attack of malaria. In the nineteenth century French scientists found that quinine was the substance in the bark that cured malaria. The Dutch planted quinine trees in the East Indies and in time established an almost complete control of the medicine made from it. When the East Indies supply was cut off during the two world wars, two other drugs were developed which proved even more successful than quinine in curing attacks. Today most of the world uses these newer drugs.

The cure for malaria was found long before science learned the cause. During the last few years of the nineteenth century, however, the combined efforts of the scientists of several nations led to the discovery of the connection between swamps, mosquitoes and malaria. The first great step forward was made in 1879, when a young Scottish doctor working in China proved that another disease was spread by mosquitoes. This led to the discovery that mosquitoes were the carriers of malaria.

1. The connection between malaria and swamps
   a) is just an old story
   b) was known a very long time ago
   c) has been proved not to be true
   d) was discovered by the Chinese

2. We now know that the drug cure for malaria was found
   a) before the cause
   b) as a result of discovering the cause
   c) after the cause
   d) to be directly related to the cause

3. The cure for malaria was originally discovered
   a) by a French scientist
   b) in European laboratories
   c) by Peruvian Indians
   d) by Spanish explorers

4. The fight against malaria
   a) has really just started in the last few years
   b) has been going on for centuries
   c) began in the 1800s
   d) has been planned for the future

5. The discovery of the cause of malaria was
   a) the result of a planned research program
   b) related to the discovery of poison sprays
   c) made by a Chinese doctor
   d) a result of another discovery

Agriculture

Uganda is still largely a country of farmers and more people are engaged in farming than in any other business. Agriculture is therefore Uganda's most important source of wealth. The crops grown in Uganda can be divided into two groups:

a) Food (or subsistence) crops such as matooke, finger millet, sweet potatoes, maize, groundnuts, sorghum cassava, etc.

b) Cash crops such as cotton, coffee, tea, tobacco, oil seeds, sugar, etc.

Subsistence crops provide food not only for the farmers who grow them, but for the nation as a whole. If there is any left over, it can usually be sold to another country. Cash crops provide the growers with the money they need for school fees, or for their clothing, cooking-pots, blankets and other things which they have to buy.

Crops depend on climate, that is rain and heat, so that some will grow well in one place and some in another. For this reason there are farms run by the government at which new crops can be tried before farmers grow them.

The Department of Agriculture helps farmers to grow more and better crops in two ways:

a) By advice. The field staff of the department visit farmers all over the country and help them to make the best use of their land. It is their job to give advice and encouragement to those farmers whose crops are spoiled by insects or disease; to those who plant their cotton at the wrong time or who fail to trim their coffee trees or weed their shambas.

b) By research. By finding out more about what crops will grow, more about how to fight insects and plant diseases, and more about where crops will grow best.

1. In Uganda, the largest number of people are engaged in
   a) business
   b) government offices
   c) farming
   d) teaching

2. Crops grown in Uganda can be divided into
   a) food and subsistence crops
   b) cash crops and subsistence crops
   c) matooke and sweet potatoes
   d) cotton and coffee

3. The Department of Agriculture gives farmers advice about
   a) how to make the best use of their land
   b) how much coffee to drink
   c) what crops they are allowed to plant
   d) how to cook their food

4. Research helps farmers by
   a) controlling the climate
   b) finding out about plant diseases
   c) finding out about human diseases
   d) growing food for people

5. The climate is important in deciding
   a) which plants grow best in a certain place
   b) who should become a farmer
   c) what to do about insects
   d) how to weed your shamba

Ebibira

Mubyobugagga bya Uganda mwemubalirwa n'ebibira bya yo. Emiti girina emigaso mkumu. Abantu abasinga obungi bagyeyambisa ng'enku, okugizimbis'enju, n'okugikolamu ebintu byomunju, ng'emeeza entebe, n'ebirala. Naye ate era oluusi gyeyambisibwa ekitongole kya Post Office okusibako waya za Ssimu, n'ekitongole kya Uganda Electricity Board n'abomubirombe ekilembe. Egimu ku miti gya Uganda emigumu girina ebisaahyizo okutundibwa ebweru wa Uganda ne mungeri eyo negireetawo ekkubo eddala ery'okuyingiza ensimbi muggwanga.

Egya emigasogy'emiti ng'ogirese awo, emiti gikumira amazzi muttaka, era abantu bangi balowoza nti gireeta enjuba. Okusinziira kunsonga zino zonna ekisinga obukulu kwekulaba nti ebibira birabirirwa, era nut ng'emiti emito gitemeddwa wasaana wasimbibwewo emirala mukifo kyagyo. Singa kino tekikolebwa ekiseera kijja kutuuka wabe nga tewakyali miti gyakuzimbisa nju, kukola mu bintu, oba enku ezokufumbisa.

Mu Uganda mulimu ebibira nkumu ebikuumibwa, omutakirizibwa kutemwa miti ng'omuntu tafunye lukusa. Chief Conservator of Forests ne bakozi banne bebalabirira ebibira ebisinga obunenne kulwa gavumenti y'eggwanga. Ebibira ebisingawo obutono birabirirwa gavumenti ezebiundu.

Abalabe b'ebibira abakulu gwe muliro n'embuzi. Munsi ezimu omuliro gwonoona buli mwaka emiti egyandivuddemu obukadde n'obukedde bwa shillings. Embuzi zirya emiti emito, era mussaawa ntono butono ziyinza okwonoona omulimu ogututte emyezi.

1. Emiti gigasa abantu kulwa
   a) masanyalage
   b) kutwala bubaka
   c) kuzimba nju
   d) kuliisa mbuzi

2. Emiti gikumira amazzi
   a) muttaka
   b) mubirombe bye kilembe
   c) mumayumba gabantu
   d) mu Electricity Board

3. Emiti nga gitemeddwa
   a) gisaana gyokebwe
   b) gisaana giribwe embuzi
   c) emirala gisaanye gisimbibwe mukifo kyagyo
   d) kireeta enkuba

4. Mubibira ebikumibwa
   a) tekikirizibwa kutema miti
   b) tekikirizibwa kuba nambuzi
   c) tekikirizibwa kukuma muliro
   d) tekikirizibwa kutema miti awatali lukusa

5. Omuliro mulabe w'emiti kubanga
   a) gwonona embuzi
   b) gwokya amazzi gona ne gaggwawo
   c) gukyusa embeera y'obudde
   d) gwonoona emiti egyomuwendo

Teacher

1. What class are you teaching this year? _____
2. What grade Ministry Certificate do you have? _____
3. Where did you receive your teacher training? _____
4. How many years have you been teaching? _____
5. How many years have you been teaching in this school? _____
6. What is your first language? _____
7. Did you ever have a course which prepared you specifically to teach English? _____
8. Where and when did you take this course? _____
9. Do you use any language other than English in the normal teaching day? _____ Which one? _____
10. What subjects are the most difficult for you to teach in English? _____
11. Where do you go for help when you are in doubt about a point of English grammar or usage? _____
12. Do you have any suggestions or comments about the problems of using English as a medium of instruction?

Headmaster

1. Name of school _____

2. County (saza)_____ Gombolola _____ Village _____

3. Foundation body _____

4. How many classes are there in the school? _____

5. What languages are spoken as a mother tongue by the pupils and how many speakers of each are there?

_____

6. What vernacular is used in Primary I? _____

7. It is school policy to begin teaching English in Primary I, but sometimes this is not possible because there are no teachers who speak English or because there are no books or materials. In what class is English introduced as a subject here? _____

8. In what class do you begin to teach other subjects in English? _____

_____

9. In what class is all teaching done in English? _____

10. How many teachers in your school are vernacular teachers? _____

11. Who teaches English to the pupils in the vernacular teacher's class? _____

_____

12. Does the school have a radio? _____ In what classes is it most used?

_____

13. What do you consider your biggest problem in your school?

_____

14. What help do you get from the District Education Officer or his assistants?

_____


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