DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 127 447 CE 007 621

AUTHOR Evans, David R.; Schimmel, Gordon L.
TITLE The Impact of a Diversified Educational Program on Career Goals: Tororo Girls' School in the Context of Girls' Education in Uganda. A Report Submitted to the United States Agency for International Development and the Ministry of Education, Government of the Republic of Uganda.
INSTITUTION Massachusetts Univ., Amherst. Center for International Education.
SPONS AGENCY Agency for International Development (Dept. of State), Washington, D.C.; Ministry of Education, Entebbe (Uganda).
PUB DATE 70
CONTRACT AID/afr-281
NOTE 381p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Career Choice; Career Planning; *Curriculum Evaluation; Curriculum Problems; Educational Programs; Employment Potential; Females; *Goal Orientation; Guidance Programs; Instructional Programs; *International Education; International Programs; Job Satisfaction; Occupational Aspiration; Secondary Schools; *Secondary School Students; *Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS *Uganda

ABSTRACT

The study was occasioned by a desire to better understand the impact of Tororo Girls' School and the implications of its diversified program (academic, commercial, and home economics) in the context of girls' education in Uganda. Although the school had been operating only five years, there was considerable interest in looking at the school's contribution to girls' education in Uganda because it represented one of three large-scale, diversified secondary schools set up jointly by American and African governments during the 1960s. Specific goals of the study involved looking at the backgrounds of girls in the sample population admitted to secondary schools, and at characteristics produced by these schools. Within this general setting the study focused on the specialized curricula and guidance program at Tororo, and also took into consideration the variables of: Girls' expectations for further education, occupational aspirations, desired employment, and conditions and attitudes toward future and work roles. The results of this study demonstrate clearly the need for changes and at the same time report on one approach which meets many of the needed goals and has been successful in the short time it has been operating. (Author/TA)

THE IMPACT OF A DIVERSIFIED EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM ON CAREER GOALS: TORORO GIRLS' SCHOOL IN THE CONTEXT OF GIRLS' EDUCATION IN UGANDA

A Report Submitted to the United States Agency for International Development

and

The Ministry of Education

Government of the Republic of Uganda

by

David R. Evans

Gordon L. Schimmel

Center for International Education

School of Education

University of Massachusetts

Amherst, Massachusetts

Prepared under Contract AID/afr-281
(USAID/Uganda)

1970

PREFACE

The research reported in this study was undertaken as part of an ongoing relationship between the Government of Uganda, USAID, and the University of Massachusetts. The study was occasioned by a desire on the part of all parties to better understand the impact of Tororo Girls' School and the implications of its diversified program in the context of girls' education in Uganda. While too soon for evaluation of a school which had been in operation only five years, there was nevertheless considerable interest in looking at the contribution of the school to the education of girls in Uganda. There was also interest in the school because it represented one of three large-scale, diversified secondary schools set up jointly by American and African governments during the 1960s. The Ugandan government was interested in the study as a source of information for the ongoing policy decisions regarding the content and focus of girls' education in the country.

The specific goals of the study involve looking closely at the backgrounds of the girls admitted to the secondary schools in the sample and then looking at the characteristics of the girls produced by these schools. Variables studied include: girls' expectations for further education, their occupational aspirations, their desired conditions of employment, and their attitudes toward their future roles in the country. Within this general setting the study focuses on the specialized curricula and the guidance program at Tororo which provide a unique model of a diversified girls' secondary school. Basically the question being asked is whether a program such as that at Tororo does a better job of preparing girls to become productive members of society than the programs which are typical of most schools at the moment. The study also looks at some of the internal dynamics of the Tororo program, particularly in terms of the way the girls view each of the specialized streams. The investigation centers around selection into the streams, activities during the two years of specialized training, and the influence of the training upon the girls' expectations and subsequent employment experience.

The study of women's education in tropical Africa is relatively new. Previous writing and research tends to be impressionistic and addressed to general policy questions rather than dealing with data collected in specific settings. A fairly extensive review of this literature was undertaken as part of the current study and a briefly annotated bibliography is appended as an introductory guide to the field. While most writers appeal for more womens' education and more attention to the needs of women, little emphasis has been placed on understanding these needs or on studying the impact which they may have on educational development in a country, or on manpower planning efforts. As a result, researchers entering the field in search of understanding of some of the more specific details of womens' educational development have few guidelines to help them.

In such a situation, a research project serves primarily to delineate the factors operating in the situation, and to suggest the relative strength of various forces present. If well done, the results of such an initial project produce an understanding of the complexity of the situation and the ability to pose a set of more focussed questions which will function as guidelines for future workers. In the process the study also produces preliminary testing for a number of commonly held opinions about the relative importance of various factors. Simplistic assumptions are looked at and often revealed to be misleading without concurrent study of another apparently unrelated factor. At the same time, complex interactions are sometimes found to be reducible to simpler relationships for practical purposes of policy and implementation.

With these thoughts in mind the reader will probably find the current study both interesting and frustrating. It will be interesting because he will learn many specific things about secondary school girls in Uganda, yet frustrating because the complexity of the situation prevents simple conclusions which would make clear the desired policy directions. The reader will find that he can test a number of commonly held ideas about the girls' backgrounds, their desires for employment, and the reality which they find upon completion of secondary school. At the same time, the reader will discover that the simple comparisons between schools which are so common in

the everyday world of education are almost always misleading oversimplifications which ignore important aspects of the situation. To help the reader cope with the extensive body of information contained in the report, a detailed list of summary findings with page references is included at the end of the final chapter.

To guard against the temptation of making invidious and oversimplified comparisons between individual schools the authors can only offer a warning. Particularly for people knowledgeable about some of the specific schools included in the study, and hence unavoidably involved in some way, the temptation is strong. Comparison between schools is hazardous without taking into account in some detail such things as the characteristics of the pupils admitted to the school, resources available within the school, the curriculum and environment of the school, and, without large-scale sampling from the full populations of the schools in question. Quite probably the authors are guilty of violating their own warnings at points in the report. Let the reader be forewarned to read such sections with suitable skepticism. Wherever feasible, the original data is presented so that the reader can draw his own conclusions.

Another factor to keep in mind when evaluating the comments about specific programs and schools is the timing of the study. Things change as rapidly in Africa as elsewhere. Comments about the guidance program at Tororo, for example, relate to the program as it existed up until the end of 1969. As a new and unprecedented program, revisions and changes are constantly being made as ideas are tested and then modified. Programs in other schools also fluctuate as old staff leave and new people with different interests and skills replace them. The data is based on a set of questionnaires administered in the fall of 1969 and reflects the situation up to that point. Partially offsetting these limitations are the size and extent of the sample which covers girls who have been in particular schools up to four and in some cases six years.

As always in such research efforts, the final product is the result of the generous cooperation of many people. Space permits the mention of only a few of the many who contributed so much. Foremost among those

mentioned must be the Chief Education Officer of the Ministry of Education, closely followed by the heads of the schools involved in the study. Particular mention must be made of Phyllis Roop and Elwyn Doubleday, at Tororo, for their extended support of the project which used that school as a base of operations. Thanks also go to officials of USAID both in Uganda and in Washington who made the study possible and whose patience and understanding helped immeasurably in maintaining liaison between the many official bodies concerned. The support received from numerous people at the University of Massachusetts, and particularly from the Center for International Education, during the long and complex task of reducing the data to manageable form and extracting meaningful results was crucial to the success of the study. Particular mention should be made of the long and patient efforts of Joanne Hoxeng who acted as research assistant and who did so much to provide clear access to the data.

Finally, the authors would like to close with thanks to the school girls without whose cooperation there would be no results. It is our hope that the usefulness of the results in improving the opportunities for women in Uganda will act as partial repayment for their contribution.

Amherst, Massachusetts,
January, 1971

David R. Evans
Gordon L. Schimmel

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO GIRLS' EDUCATION IN UGANDA

"Certainly amongst all the tribes in Bukedi every boy looking for a girl to marry would always be on the lookout for one who had managed to use a hoe effectively."[1]

"In many areas the great obstacle to girls' education is still the 'bride price', which causes fathers to look on their daughters as an economic asset whose value has to be capitalized before girls grow too old to attract a wealthy husband. There is much truth in the remark made to me by a young Makerere girl, 'We shall get nowhere until our fathers receive a higher bride price for us if we have a School Certificate and even a higher one if we have been to Makerere!'"[2]

"It is no longer necessary to justify the need and importance of women's education. Most men are now convinced about this and those few who are not yet convinced are wise enough to keep quiet."[3]

Taken from widely varying contexts, the statements above offer three selective windows opening onto a rapidly changing world -- the evolution of the role of the Ugandan woman. The statements are not meant to be representative of any comprehensive view of this evolutionary

continuum, but they do mirror a little of the character and divergence which has typified this transformation.

This report is a study of the role of girls' education in developing the skills, attitudes, and expectations which will enable the girls to participate effectively in the development of Uganda. The research is focused on the girls' senior secondary schools with particular emphasis on Tororo Girls' School whose program represents a significant departure from previous approaches to girls' education in Uganda. The information on Tororo is presented in the context of comparable information about five other girls' schools in Uganda in order to provide a basis for meaningful interpretation of the results. The study is concerned primarily with the success of the schools in preparing and orienting the girls to their probable future roles as workers, as wives, and as women in the rapidly growing society of Uganda. Underlying the report is an assumption that education can and should be a major factor in the development of women's careers.

The development of women's education in Uganda has yet to be chronicled in a comprehensive way. For our purposes, a brief overview drawn from the existing literature will suffice.[4] It is well known that western-style education in Uganda has its roots in the arrival of Christianity and the establishment of primary schools to serve the mission. The first such schools trace their origins over nearly a century of existence and, while the schools were created with only boys in mind, the topic of women's education could not long be ignored. In 1904, a little over twenty years after the arrival of missionaries, a group of ladies met in

Mengo District to discuss the prospect of founding a boarding school for girls. It was decided to build the school at Gayaza where there already existed a Church Missionary Station, and, in 1905 the school opened with five daughters of local Chiefs. The first curriculum included scripture, reading, writing, arithmetic, handwork, singing and sewing. Geography, hygiene drill and games were soon added and by 1910, the school was well established with other girls' schools either in the planning stages or in the process of taking in their inaugural classes.[5]

What at first blush might seem to be a promising start in 1905, did not immediately produce large numbers of girls equipped with passes on the Cambridge Exam. In fact, it was not until 1941 that three girls sat the exam successfully. During the intervening thirty-five years, progress in women's education had been gradually opening a limited number of educational opportunities. Not until 1920, was the first normal school for training women teachers established and ten years later, the first domestic science college was organized. Shortly thereafter, in 1933, co-education was introduced as an experiment at King's College, Budo, a well-known boys' school not far from Gayaza. The intent of this development was the feeling on the part of some that the standard of women's education would be improved by their inclusion in an established institution for men.[6] Finally, in 1945, the educational opportunities for women were opened to the highest level when it was decided that women as well as men could be considered as candidates for admission at Makerere College.

The reasons for the rather slow development of girls' education are several, and are probably best summarized by Phillip Auk in his study of

the development of girls' education in the Bukedi district in eastern Uganda.[7] They center primarily around parents' reluctance to send their girls off to school. He points out that a daughter was (and still is) a source of wealth to the family and to send her to school was to, in effect, gamble with that wealth. It was thought that the girls would be spoiled and forget or abandon their African heritage and no longer be able to cook local specialities, prepare salt or brew beer. At worst, they might become harlots or develop an appetite for the traditionally taboo chicken and eggs.

Further, it seemed obvious to parents that women were not going to become chiefs, clerks or interpreters and the value of education, in their eyes, was in terms of these opportunities; there was little recognition of the other types of careers which might become available to the girls through education. Finally, the whole notion of educating women ran counter to a long established idea of keeping women available for work on the shamba. Those who believed that a woman's place was on the farm - and they were, by far, the majority in the first half of this century - were quite naturally loathe to support a system which obviously would eventually threaten the status quo.

This exceedingly gradual development of educational opportunites for women is reflected in the numerical summary contained in Table 1.1, which covers the period before and immediately after independence. A consistent pattern of increasing numbers and proportions is apparent for primary and secondary education, although even by 1958, fewer than 20% of the secondary school places were held by women. It is also evident in

the table that the highest proportion of women is found in the teacher training institutions where the percentage has remained essentially constant over the years.

In the midst of this growing concern over the education of women, the Princeton Conference of African educators was held in 1960. It was during this conference that Mr. Y.K. Lule, Minister for Rural Development, Social Development and Education and Mr. Christopher Bell, who was then Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Education, proposed that the International Cooperating Administration (now the United States Agency for International Development) join the Government of Uganda in creating a "multi-purpose" secondary school for girls. The idea caught the imagination of those in the agency who were interested in improving educational and vocational opportunities for African women, and the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts was asked to study the feasibility of establishing such a school.

The team visited Uganda for a month during the summer of 1961 and their report outlined the scope and objectives of what was to become Tororo Girls' School. The school was to be comprehensive in nature, offering, in addition to the usual "academic" program, courses in home economics and commerce for girls wishing to prepare themselves for careers following graduation. Specifically, the report said:

> The school will offer (1) an academic stream leading to the Cambridge Higher School Certificate or its equivalent; (2) a four-year program in home economics leading to a school certificate; (3) a six-year program in business education....[8]

In addition, it was decided that the school would be

TABLE 1.1[1]

SUMMARY OF ENROLLMENTS AND PROPORTIONS OF GIRLS
IN UGANDA EDUCATION OVER PAST 40 YEARS

	1928	1938	1948	1958	1967[3]
Primary (aided)	14% (1880)[4]	22% (11,000)	23% (34,100)	29% (96,600)	38% (242,000)
Jr. Secondary	40% (935)	3% (27)	15% (600)[2]	18% (2680)	[5]
Sr. Secondary	1% (2)	-0- (0)	7% (100)[2]	17% (1270)	24% (6021)
Teacher Training	33% (125)	39% (324)	34% (635)	35% (1450)	35% (1495)
Vocational	—	24% (276)	26% (465)	15% (688)	8% (119)

[1] Constructed from tables III-3 and III-4 in R. Jolly, Planning Education for African Development, (Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Publishing House, 1969), p. 58, 61.

[2] Estimated values assuming jr. secondary has an enrollment 3 times the size of senior secondary.

[3] Ministry of Education statistics for 1967.

[4] Number of girls enrolled.

[5] In 1966, Junior Secondary schools were phased out by dropping P8 and adding P7 to primary schools. The apparent increase in primary enrollment between 1958 and 1967 is inflated somewhat because the 1967 figure is based on seven grades rather than six.

non-denominational, as well as inter-racial and, hopefully, draw students from all regions of the country. A proposal to establish a teacher-training college on the same site was rejected. While the team went on to make many specific recommendations concerning administration, staffing and physical facilities of the school, the significance of their report is found in the three recommendations quoted above. Not only would the proposed school provide additional secondary school places for over a hundred girls a year, but the conception of the school's curriculum represented a significant departure from any other girls' school in the country. For the first time, other-than-academic alternatives would be available to Ugandan women at the secondary level.

The original timetable called for the school to be open in 1963, but the delays which accompany most complex bi-national projects of this sort prevented Tororo from taking its first class of 107 girls until February of 1965. This original class, and the one which followed in 1966, were the inevitable result of being a new school lacking an established reputation; the selection of outstanding girls was extremely limited and the classes, for the most part, were somewhat below the relatively high standard of older, well-known institutions. The situation began to reverse itself with the incoming class of 1967, as Tororo Girls' School became better known throughout the country to the point where, in 1969, the Headmistress could report that the entering class was second to none in any secondary school in the nation. Quality was not the only thing on the rise during these five years, however, for the school now has an enrollment of nearly 600 girls, including Higher School Certificate classes,

a figure which represents almost 200 more places than were projected in the original feasibility study.

The first three years of the school's operation can be characterized as a time of learning and readjustment of some of the original objectives. It is safe to say that there was some uncertainty on the part of the American staff as to just how much the curricula could be developed toward the comprehensive model. At the outset, there was question as to whether the girls would be required to take the usual Cambridge Examination which was prepared in England for use by all former Commonwealth countries. It was obvious that little experimentation could be done if it was going to jeopardize the chances of the students to pass the exam successfully. Over time the answers to these questions became apparent and the school and USAID adopted a strategy more in keeping with the realities of the educational philosophy predominent in Uganda. While all the original discussions had focused on Tororo as a "comprehensive-type" it became clear that steps in this direction must, at least initially, be confined to careful modifications within the existing exam-oriented framework. The girls would be expected to take the examination for the Cambridge School Certificate (now the East African Certificate of Education), just as was expected of the students in any other secondary school in Uganda. Indeed, the girls themselves wished to have the opportunity to do well on the exam due to its position as virtually the sole criteria for upward educational or vocational mobility, providing access to higher school or the job market.

In the meantime, the school was growing at a rapid rate, and

priorities for successful implementation of the vocational streams were reset in 1969 to accommodate proposals by the Headmistress to expand the Commerce and Home Economics stream to the 5th and 6th form levels of the higher school. New staff was added to the school and permission was granted by the Ministry of Education to offer a full-fledged Commerce program at the higher school level, while exploratory talks began to create the same opportunities for girls specializing in Home Economics. However, the course has not been implemented due to the difficulties in creating such a course, i.e. the writing of new exams, the development of new syllabi and curriculum, and the uncertainties about the employment opportunities for such training.

One additional major trend was also in the process of development during these early years. In 1965 the Chief Educational Officer of Uganda completed a study-tour of several educational institutions in the United States, and returned to Uganda impressed by the service he saw rendered by guidance programs in various schools. In discussion with some of the staff of Tororo, officials of the Ministry of Education and the AID, he expressed his interest in establishing a guidance program at the school. His suggestions were timely, inasmuch as they complemented directly counselling needs which were becoming apparent if the girls were to be properly streamed at the end of their second year.

Permission for expansion of the staff was obtained from USAID and

the government of Uganda, and in August of 1966, a guidance counsellor was added to Tororo. The existence of this program made full-time educational and vocational counselling possible for the first time in Uganda. Simultaneously, a promising Ugandan teacher was selected for training in the United States, and following the completion of her Master's degree, she returned to begin on-the-job instruction at Tororo which will enable her to replace her American counterpart. The guidance counsellor and subsequently, the Ugandan counterpart, began developing a comprehensive guidance program for Tororo, the details of which will be discussed in Chapter 6.

It was at this point, that the idea of doing a research study to understand the strengths and weaknesses of the approach at Tororo was approved by the various agencies and governments involved in the school. The initial steps in the research project are described in the next chapter as an introduction to the results which comprise the rest of this report.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER I

[1]P. Auk, "The Development of Girls' Education in Bukedi with Special Reference to Pallisa County" (Associateship in Education paper, National Institute of Education, Makerere University College, 1967), p. 22.

[2]Lady H. Cohen, "Women's Advancing Status in Uganda: Increase in Secondary Education," The Times British Colonies Review (Spring, 1955), p. 46.

[3]Speech by Mr. Bernard Onyango, Chairman, Board of Governors, Tororo Girls' School on the occasion of Parents Day, September 13, 1969.

[4]See, for example, Chapter 17 in E.B. Castle, Growing Up in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1966) p. 135

[5]E. Makumbi, "Memorandum on Girls' Education in Uganda to the Education Commission" (held in the National Institute of Education, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda), p. 2. (Mimeographed.)

[6]Ibid.

[7]Auk, op. cit., p. 39.

[8]"Tororo Girls' School: Scope and Objectives," School of Education, University of Massachusetts, 1963(?). (Mimeographed.)

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The commencement of this project began with the primary investigator's journey to Uganda in March of 1969. The trip presented the authors with the opportunity to study the feasibility of doing research at this particular time and, once this decision was tentatively made, to examine various design alternatives. The visit consisted of nearly four weeks of work with the staff at Tororo, officials of the Ministry of Education and AID, in addition to individuals connected with the Institute of Education and the Institute of Social Research at Makerere College.

At the outset, the scope of the research was limited to Tororo, but it soon became apparent during preliminary work in Uganda that other schools would have to be sampled to help establish a baseline for data collected at the Tororo Girls' School. Officials at the Ministry of

Education strongly supported the idea; a study which had as its base several girls' secondary school had obvious advantages over one which examined a single institution. While no specific schools or criteria for their selection were discussed at the time, it was generally agreed that the project would involve from four to six schools which had some similarities to Tororo, but which would also offer diversity among them.

Considerable time was spent interviewing some of the students, staff and teachers at Tororo, a process which began to indicate the instrument most appropriate for the project. Because several other schools would now be involved in the study and the field work would most certainly have to be done while the schools were in session, the advantages of a questionnaire as the primary data gathering instrument became obvious; it could be standardized and focused with greater reliability over a number of schools, in addition to permitting the collection of data with a minimum of disruption in classes, teachers and timetables. By interviewing representative groups at Tororo, it was possible to evolve several topics centered around educational/vocational aspirations, and expectations, knowledge of the job market and valuation of careers - all of which seemed to lend themselves to the interests of the Tororo Girls' School, AID and some of the needs of the Ugandan government. These interviews and discussions, coupled with data gathered from a short test questionnaire and a number of essays which were solicited from some of the girls, provided rough outlines of a gradually emerging sketch of the study.

Upon the return of the primary investigator, a proposal was prepared for AID, outlining the major objectives of the study. It was

decided that the project would

- make inquiry into the trends of pupil backgrounds (rural as opposed to urban, regional distribution, education and occupation of parents) through the four forms at Tororo.

- investigate the relationship of the pupils' socio-economic backgrounds to the choice of streams at Tororo, as well as to their career aspirations.

- examine the students' perception of the desirability of each of the three streams, perception of the selection process and the relationship between job aspirations and experience in the various streams.

- carry out some preliminary follow-up of the S4 graduates who had found employment, to gather initial data about the girls' successes and failures in the labor market.

- study the effect of the guidance program, through the relationship of the above dimensions to the girls' knowledge of jobs, the reality of their expectations for a career or further education, and the amount and nature of guidance and career counseling done.

- compare the results from Tororo Girls' School to the results of a few other girls' schools having similarities and differences, to provide a context within which to interpret the data from Tororo.

A model questionnaire was constructed from the notes and data, and additional guidance was sought from similar studies done in developing countries. The most useful sources were Remi Clignet and Philip Foster's work on education and job valuation in the Ivory Coast, and Joseph Kahl's development of modernization scales from his research in Mexico and Brazil.[1] Other ideas for questions and format were taken from studies done in the Philippines and Tanzania.[2] Once a preliminary version had been constructed, a number of copies were made for pretesting at the outset of field work in Uganda.

The original schedule for work with the schools in Uganda called for the departure of the field investigator in June, 1969, to pretest, reproduce and administer the questionnaire through the end of the school term. Plans had to be altered, however, when it was announced that Pope Paul VI planned to make his first visit to the African continent to dedicate a shrine in Uganda. The school term was shortened to enable students to return home and prepare for his visit, which made it necessary to postpone the research project, since the time needed for work in the schools was already extremely limited. Consequently, field work was rescheduled for the fall term, making available the requisite time to effectively carry out the survey in the schools, and offering the additional advantage of being able to sample the girls later in the academic year - a feature which, it was hoped, tended to maximize the effect that each school might have on the students.

Work in Uganda was begun in mid-August with the arrival of the field investigator in the capital city of Kampala. Meetings with AID and

the Ministry of Education took place immediately and a draft copy of the questionnaire was submitted for the comments and approval of appropriate officials. Considerable discussion occurred over the selection of additional schools to be sampled. The emphasis centered around the use of schools which would approximate, in some ways, the conditions found at Tororo. For this reason, only boarding schools were selected; that most students commuted from home to day schools and spent relatively limited amounts of time in them, reduced the amount of effect the institutions might have on the student. This factor, which lessened environmental comparability to Tororo, also played a major role in the decision to eliminate from the survey schools which were co-educational.

Ultimately, five additional schools were selected, with an eye to as much diversity as possible within the previously mentioned constraints. (See Table 2.1). Gayaza High School, located only ten miles from Kampala, was an obvious choice. The school consisted of approximately 400 girls in Forms S1 through S4 and another 85 in higher school in Forms S5 and S6. Beginning with its first class of local chiefs' daughters in 1905, the school has educated a relatively high proportion of daughters of government officials in addition to the usual distribution of girls from the middle and lower levels of society. While the school offers the usual curriculum leading to the East African Certificate and Higher School Certificate, it also has, since 1954, operated a school farm scheme as part of the nutrition and health program. The school also offered home economics and general housecraft courses which would enable the authors to explore the depth of

TABLE 2.1

SAMPLE SIZE BY SCHOOL AND FORM

LOWER SCHOOLS	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Total	% of Total Population
Tororo	106 (28%)	113 (30%)	84 (22%)	76 (20%)	379	24.9
Gayaza	78 (32%)	35 (14%)	63 (26%)	70 (29%)	246	16.1
Namagunga	39 (23%)	38 (22%)	33 (19%)	63 (36%)	173	11.3
Nabisunsa	36 (22%)	29 (18%)	53 (32%)	48 (29%)	166	10.9
Sacred Heart	34 (27%)	33 (26%)	32 (26%)	26 (21%)	125	8.2
Bweranyangi	37 (23%)	35 (22%)	33 (20%)	57 (35%)	162	10.6

HIGHER SCHOOLS	Form 5	Form 6	Total	% of Total Population
Tororo	82 (75%)	27 (25%)	109	7.1
Gayaza	43 (51%)	41 (49%)	84	5.5
Namagunga	41 (50%)	41 (50%)	82	5.4

The second school, Nabisunsa, was selected because it, like Gayaza, was located near Kampala but evolved from a much different background. While Gayaza had grown from a small Church of Uganda (Anglican) mission school, Nabisunsa began as a private Moslem school which had recently been brought under the aegis of the Ministry of Education as essentially as inter-denominational school. There was no higher school and the approximately 350 girls were in programs preparing them for the East African Certificate. This school also offered a home economics and needle-work program to the students which would be of obvious interest to the study. Although little was specifically known about the backgrounds of the girls attending Nabisunsa, it was thought that the girls represented a lower socio-economic status which might, of course, provide an additional contrast.

Namagunga Secondary School is located about twenty-five miles outside of Kampala. This institution began as part of a Catholic Mission (Mount St. Mary's) and as one of the country's older schools, it has developed the reputation of selectivity and high standards; like Gayaza, many of the school's students come from families with a tradition of education as a family priority. The students in the "lower school" numbered about 400, in addition to roughly 90 who comprised the higher school. The school also offered, as part of its program, practical work in home economics as well as a little typing; inasmuch as these subjects were relatively recently made available to some of the girls, Namagunga was of particular interest to the study.

thought to offer parallels to Tororo and the three schools above while presenting a uniqueness of their own. Sacred Heart is a Catholic school located in the extreme north of the country and has been in operation since 1933. The school presently offers only the East African Certificate, although the Headmistress indicated that she would like to add a higher school program as soon as it became possible. Forms S1 through S4 have a little over 400 students, most of whom are drawn from the rural areas in the northern region of the country. When Sacred Heart was selected for participation in the study, practical subjects were not presently part of the program of the school, thus presenting the project with an opportunity to examine girls' attitudes about these subjects in an institution which was not currently offering them.

The fifth school selected was Bweranyangi which was located in the Western region. The school had originated as part of an Anglican mission and began its development in 1908 when it was established as a primary school. Like many of Uganda's schools, it evolved through the stages of becoming a junior secondary school, and later a secondary modern school, to the point where in 1965, the school was upgraded to the senior secondary level. The total enrollment at the time of the study was about 350 students and most of the girls were thought to come from the agricultural areas of Ankole and Kegasai regions. Like Sacred Heart in Gulu, Bweranyangi was thought to be much more of a regional school than either Gayaza, Nabisunsa or Namagunga and it was hoped that the girls would add a useful dimension to the project.

It would seem appropriate, at this point, to especially acknowledge

the assistance and cooperation this project received from the Ministry of Education, particularly from the Chief Education Officer, Mr. E. K. K. Sempebwa. Once the five schools in addition to Tororo were selected, a letter from the Chief Education Officer was drafted and sent to the Headmistresses, informing them of the nature of the study and asking their cooperation. This enabled the field investigator to initiate contacts with all Headmistresses in a matter of days following his arrival in Uganda - no small feat, and one which made possible the immediate initiation of serious planning for administration of the questionnaire. Draft copies of the pre-test instrument were circulated to officials of the Ministry of Education, AID and the staffs of Tororo and one or two of the schools to be sampled.

Pre-testing took place at the Tororo Girls' School during the few days remaining before the resumption of the final term. Nine girls from three different forms who lived in the Tororo area were contacted and the questionnaire was administered to them. The girls were assisted with any problems they had while they were filling in the instrument, and notes were made of any special difficulties they encountered in comprehension. A discussion followed the completion of the questionnaire and their suggestions were incorporated into the final draft. A similar check was made with a smaller group of girls once classes began, to corroborate these changes and modification. Simultaneously, most of the teachers and staff were given draft copies of the instrument and appointments were made with each of them to discuss their suggestions.

Contacts with the other schools in the project were interwoven

with pre-testing work at Tororo. Two extended visits to Kampala made it possible to visit each of the three schools in that area twice; the pattern usually involved a meeting with the Head, or acting Head, to explain the study, discuss the general nature and operation of the school, and form a tentative plan for administration of the instrument. The initial visit was followed by a second, to speak with the teacher designated as the Careers Mistress, and any of the staff teaching practical subjects. Because both Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi were located at the northern and western extremes, a single visit to interview the staff and administer the questionnaire was the most practical solution to a problem created by distance and lack of time. Extensive correspondence was initiated with these two schools to orient them as much as possible in preparation for this visit and the administration of the instrument.

The discussions with the Heads and staff produced, among other things, the structure for sampling each institution. Tororo would, of course, be done completely, but sheer numbers precluded repetition of this in five additional schools. A strategy for obtaining representative samples from each of the five other schools was devised. The charts and discussion below indicate the sampling procedures developed for each institution:

Gayaza Sample

S1H (top stream) and S1A (bottom stream)
S2P (top stream)
S3C (top stream) and S3G (bottom stream)
S4M and S4J
S5 Arts and S5 Science
S6 Arts and S6 Science

Gayaza High School was structured into streams which were essentially ability groupings. Because of this, the sampling procedures for Gayaza are the most extensive and complex of any of the schools. The first three forms (S1 through S3) were divided into three streams and the decision was made to sample the academic extremes of each form. Thus, the top and bottom streams in Forms 1 and 3 were sampled, and the top of Form 2 was chosen arbitrarily to provide intermediate data between the extremes. Form 4 and Forms 5 and 6 in the Higher School had only two streams, Arts and Science, which necessitated administration of the questionnaire to both to insure representative coverage of each form.

Nabisunsa Sample

S1X

S2X

S3X and S3Y

S4 Arts and S4 Science

Nabisunsa was a little easier, from the standpoint of sampling strategies, because the first two forms (S1 and S2) were divided at random into three streams. Therefore, it was only necessary to sample one stream in each of these forms to establish norms. Form 3 was divided into two streams with arts and science biases, and Form 4 was divided into two streams officially labled Arts and Science, which made the complete sampling of each form necessary. Nabisunsa presently has no higher school.

Namagunga Sample	Sacred Heart Sample	Bweranyangi Sample
S1A	S1 (White)	S1 (one stream)
S2A	S2 (White)	S2 (one stream)
S3A	S3 (White)	S3 (one stream)
S4 Arts & S4 Science	S4 (Blue)	S4 Arts and S4 Science
S5 Arts & S5 Science		
S6 Arts & S6 Science		

The first three forms of the remaining schools (Namagunga, Sacred Heart, and Bweranyangi) were divided at random into three streams for each form. Accordingly, only one stream was sampled in each form, repeating the process used for randomly streamed forms in Nabisunsa. The major differences in sampling procedures began to occur in the fourth form (see chart above). S4 in Namagunga was divided into Arts and Science tracks (as were S5 and S6 in the higher school), necessitating total sampling procedures. S4 at Sacred Heart was randomly divided into streams, exactly like Forms S1, S2, and S3, and the "Blue" stream was chosen for sampling simply because of scheduling convenience. Like Namagunga S4, the fourth form at Bweranyangi was grouped into Arts and Science and both streams were sampled to obtain complete coverage of the form.

As previously mentioned, the questionnaire was given to all of the students at Tororo. It might be useful to point out at this juncture some of the major similarities and differences in the structure of the Tororo Girls' School, compared with those which have been discussed.

Structure of Tororo Girls' School

S1	(three streams, randomly grouped)		
S2	(three streams, randomly grouped)		
S3	Commerce	Home Economics	Academic
S4	Commerce	Home Economics	Academic
S5	Commerce	Science	Arts
S6	Science	Arts	

As the chart above indicates, streaming in the first two forms (S1 and S2) is virtually the same as all other schools in the study, with the exception of Gayaza. At the S3 level, however, the girls are streamed by the guidance staff into three streams, Commerce, Home Economics and Academic, each of which contain the bias reflected in their names. The streaming for Form 4 is the same, which completes the structure for the lower school. The higher school is made up of Art and Science streams and, only last year, began a full commerce program, which is reflected in the arrangement of streams in S5 and S6. In January of 1970, the Commerce stream will also be represented ir the sixth form.

Once the instrument had been pre-tested and reproduced, schedules were set and the questionnaire was administered. The time set aside in all schools was Prep, which made possible complete coverage of a school in one visit and keeping timetable disruption at an absolute minimum. The Tororo lower school was given the instrument first, and a teacher served as monitor in each room to note corrections in the text and assist the students with any problems in comprehension. A set of

instructions for monitors was drawn up from the suggestions of those who helped administer this first block of questionnaires. These instructions were then used as a basis for briefing monitors at each of the other schools. The pattern which generally emerged involved a fifteen to thirty minute discussion and briefing of the monitors, followed by immediate administration of the questionnaire. Usually, it was possible for the field researcher to visit all of the classrooms during the course of Prep, to deal with any unusual questions which arose. The only exception to this procedure was administration of the instrument at Iweranyangi, where intermittent rain threatened to make a late-night return unwise, if not impossible. In this case, a teacher was given a thorough briefing and the questionnaire was administered later in the evening by the staff. As each school was finished, the questionnaires were counted, packaged and delivered to AID for shipment to the University. The final phase of the field portion of the project consisted of interviews with additional staff members at Tororo, the solicitation of essays on selected topics from a few Tororo Girls' School classes and a number of interviews with Tororo Girls' School graduates who were employed in Kampala and the Tororo area and their employers. The field work terminated with several days of bibliographic work at the Institute of Education and Institute of Social Research libraries in Kampala, and the Institute of Education Library in London.

Data reduction began soon after arrival at the University as a code book was developed and coders were taken into the project. The data were transferred from the questionnaires to optical scanning sheets,

which were then processed to transfer the information to computer cards. The format of the questionnaire was designed so that approximately 80% of the instrument was identical for use in all of the schools, including Tororo. The remaining 20% consisted of special inserts which were tailored to specific attributes possessed by individual schools and levels within schools. Thus, there were five special inserts: one for Forms 1 and 2 at the Tororo Girls' School; another for Forms 3 and 4 at the Tororo Girls' School; a third for Forms 5 and 6 at Tororo, the Higher School; a fourth for all of the lower schools other than Tororo; and a final one for the other two higher schools sampled in the study.

Not surprisingly, the process of coding and organizing these data was complex and time-consuming, and the entire operation took over three months. On the average, every third one was checked for errors and a running tally was kept throughout the coding process. This system, coupled with extensive checking once the cards were coded and could be processed for visual checks, reduced the corrected error rate to an average of considerably less than one per questionnaire. The final transfer to magnetic tape completed the process of the reduction and storage of the information.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER II

[1] R. Clignet and P. Foster, The Fortunate Few (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1966).

J. Kahl, Measurement of Modernism (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

[2] The questionnaire used in a study of pupil attitudes in East Africa under the direction of Kenneth Prewitt is an excellent model of a format which is effective with secondary school pupils. Some of the results of this study can be found in K. Koff, and G. Von der Muhll, "Political Socialization in Kenya and Tanzania -- A comparative Analysis," Journal of Modern African Studies, V, No. 12 (1967), pp. 13-51.

CHAPTER III

THE GIRLS: THEIR HOMES, FAMILIES AND PREVIOUS EDUCATION

One of the major factors affecting the output of secondary schools is the characteristics of the pupils who enter the school. This chapter will be devoted to a systematic look at the distribution of background characteristics of the pupils in the six different schools in the sample. The variables are grouped for convenience into three clusters: regional and group affiliation, home and family background, and previous educational experience. Patterns will emerge which are consistent across a number of variables indicating that the schools differ significantly in the type of students admitted. These differences interact with characteristics of the schools to produce different outputs in terms of the career aspirations of the pupils. After gaining a clear picture of the characteristics of the entering pupils in this chapter, subsequent chapters will be able to explore output differences in the context of the varying types of input.

Regional and Group Affiliation

Although the selection procedure for secondary schools in Uganda allows any girl to attend any school in the country providing her leaving examination results are high enough, even a cursory look at the schools shows that various influences exist which modify the selection process. The variables in the first section reflect the extent to which the admissions procedures result in uneven distribution of the pupils in terms of group affiliations such as race, religion, and tribe as well as in terms of geographic characteristics such as size and location of pupils' home towns.

Age

In the early years of Western-style schooling in Uganda wide variation occurred in the ages of pupils admitted to school. Over the years the age of pupils has gradually fallen and the range within a given class has narrowed until today the girls' ages are within a year or so of the correct age for their class. Table 3.1 reveals that this has been a trend which has occurred generally, with all schools participating about equally. The table gives mean ages by school and form as well as means for the entire school. The three schools having fifth and sixth forms naturally have higher means because of the older girls in the higher schools.

The mean age of about 14 for the first form is just what one would expect: girls enter primary school at age six or seven and have seven years of primary school before entering secondary school. One factor encouraging this trend is the fact that headmistresses are allowed to reject pupils who are over age in favor of girls who are closer to the

correct age. The Ministry accepts the reasoning that older girls tend to cause discipline problems and make the schools harder to administer. As a result, girls who enter late because families can't find school fees and girls who repeat one or more classes have a lower chance of gaining admittance to secondary school. In spite of these factors, ranges of three or more years within a class are quite common, especially in the higher forms where pupils gained entrance when there were fewer girls available with suitable qualifications for secondary school: the oldest girl in the sample is a 22 year old sixth former.

Surprisingly, the table doesn't reflect something which occurred at the time the girls now in form three entered secondary school. In that year the eighth year of schooling was dropped as the junior secondary schools were phased out. The result was a double set of girls competing for entrance. Girls from both P7 and P8 took the leaving exam that year and entering classes were chosen from both groups together. The expected lowering of the average age in form three is not visible because of the spread in ages for the P7 and P8 classes and the fact that the selection process favors girls whose age is correct for their level in school. Since that year, selection has taken place at the end of seven years of primary school and the ages of forms one and two reflect that fact. Differences between schools are not apparent in age of entering pupils but are apparent in the proportions who have repeated a class in primary school, a factor which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Rural-Urban Background of Pupils

In order to probe the distribution of rural and urban experiences

TABLE 3.1

AGE OF PUPILS

	Total School	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	Form 5	Form 6
	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.
TORORO	16.6	14.2	15.5	16.6	18.0	18.8	20.4
	(487)*	(106)	(113)	(84)	(75)	(82)	(27)
GAYAZA	16.6	13.7	14.5	16.8	17.6	18.7	19.5
	(327)	(76)	(35)	(63)	(69)	(43)	(41)
NAMAGUNGA	16.6	13.8	14.8	15.7	17.3	18.3	19.2
	(255)	(39)	(38)	(33)	(63)	(41)	(41)
NABISUNSA	16.2	14.2	15.4	16.6	18.0		
	(164)	(36)	(29)	(52)	(47)		
SACRED HEART	16.2	14.5	15.5	17.2	18.5		
	(121)	(34)	(33)	(28)	(26)		
BWERANYANGI	16.0	13.9	14.6	16.4	17.8		
	(159)	(37)	(33)	(33)	(56)		

* Number in parentheses indicates number in sample.

in the sample, pupils were asked about the size of the town where they attended primary school. The period of primary school attendance was selected on the assumption that rural-urban experiences at this age would have the most impact on expectations of future educational and occupational careers. The girls were given four choices: Kampala (about 47,000), Mbale (13,500), Tororo (6,300), and village.[1] The results are at best an approximation which depends on the ability of the girls to assess the comparability of the town in which their primary school was located to the choices provided in the question. A girl in the western region, for example, choosing "Tororo" must be assumed to have attended primary school in a town like Masaka (5,000) or a town of similar size in the region. While not precise, the results are sufficient to give a reasonable summary of the degree of urban exposure present in a given school.

The proportions reporting primary school attendance in various town sizes is presented in Table 3.2. The data reveals considerable variation between the schools in the proportions who have lived in an urban location. For most schools, about 10% of the pupils attended primary school in a large city. Gayaza, however, has 20% in this category while Bweranyangi has only 2%. As might be expected, Bweranyangi has the highest proportion coming from a rural-village environment, closely followed by Namagunga and at a greater distance by Tororo. The remaining schools have about one-third of the girls in this group.

Shifting attention to the higher schools, one finds that Namagunga exhibits essentially the same proportions as in the lower school. In contrast, Tororo shows a strong urban shift in the higher school and Gayaza

TABLE 3.2

DISTRIBUTION OF PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BY TOWN SIZE

TOWNS THE SIZE OF:	Kampala	Mbale	Tororo	Village
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%
Tororo	10.8	22.5	28.3	38.4
Gayaza	20.4	22.4	23.3	33.9
Namagunga	12.7	23.7	13.3	50.3
Nabisunsa	12.3	27.6	25.2	34.4
Sacred Heart	9.7	34.7	25.0	30.6
Bweranyangi	1.9	17.5	26.9	53.8
HIGHER SCHOOLS				
Tororo	16.5	29.4	24.8	29.4
Gayaza	12.0	12.0	25.3	50.6
Namagunga	11.0	24.4	15.9	48.8
TOTAL POPULATION	12.2	23.7	23.9	40.1

a noticeable rural shift, particularly in the village category. Competition to enter higher school is very stiff and a primary determinant of entrance is examination results. School performance therefore tends to negate other forces which were important influences on attendance at lower school. It is possible that the urban bias in the Tororo higher schools results from interest in the commercial stream which would prepare girls for jobs in an urban area.

The influence of physical location of the school does not seem to be strong. Gayaza, Namagunga and Nabisunsa are all fairly close to urban centers, but the proportions from large cities is only slightly higher for these schools, than for the more rurally located ones. The authors would predict an increasingly urban oriented intake over the years as a result of overall population movement to the cities, and even more important, because of the tendency for secondary pupils to have educated parents whose jobs are very likely to be in cities or towns.

Within Uganda there are numerous racial, religious, and regional groups. Distribution of the various groups within and across schools influence pupil behavior in the formation of peer groups and in promoting a sense of a wider community beyond the primary group. One would expect that schools where more than half of the pupils belong to a particular race, religion, or come from the same region, that the majority group would have a strong influence on attitudes and values which are accepted as normative for the school. In schools where there is a more equal distribution of affiliations one would expect pupils to have more exposure to views different from their own and the atmosphere of the school to be more

eclectic. The latter type of school would also be more likely to acquaint pupils with career opportunities outside of their own region. Distribution pupil affiliations in terms of race, religion and regional origin within each school will be discussed and compared below.

Race

Within Uganda about 1% of the population is of Asian origin. However, the percentage of Asians in secondary schools has always been significantly higher than their percentage in the total population; in 1966 they comprised nearly 35% of the secondary school pupils. Historically, the high attendance rate of Asian pupils has been the result of the high value which they place on education, their ability and willingness to finance their own schools - most of which have since become government schools, and their location in cities where many of the large day schools are situated.

Asians comprise a much smaller proportion of boarding schools as evidenced by the fact that only 5% of the girls in the sample are Asian. There is no significant difference across schools in the percentage of Asians within the school. The percentage of Asian pupils in the lower schools ranges from 0-8%. Although Tororo and Namagunga have the highest percentage of Asian pupils, these percentages are not significantly higher than those in the other lower schools. It is interesting to note, however, that in both Tororo and Namagunga higher school the percentage of Asian girls is double what it is in the lower school although the Asians do not constitute more than 15% of either higher school. The increase in the

percentage of Asian pupils in higher school does not occur in Gayaza. The shift in percentage of Asians in the higher schools has no obvious explanation, but probably results from the interaction of some of the following variables: the proximity of the school to urban centers, the school's policy on accepting day pupils, and the recruiting situation peculiar to each school.

Religion

To ascertain the distribution of religions within the schools, pupils were asked to state their religious affiliation. Their responses indicate that the variation between schools is much greater than the variation within. For example, at least 3/4 of the pupils within Nabisunsa, Gayaza and Bweranyangi indicated affiliation with the Church of Uganda, while 3/4 of the pupils in Sacred Heart and Namagunga are Catholic (See Table 3.3). For the most part this pattern is consistent with the fact that Gayaza and Bweranyangi were founded by, and a large proportion of their staff is still currently affiliated with, the Church of Uganda. Sacred Heart and Namagunga, on th other hand, were established and remain heavily influenced by the Roman Catholic Church. Quite clearly the founding body of a school strongly influences the religious affiliation of its pupils.[2]

The fact that Nabisunsa drew its origins from the Moslem faith is reflected in the highest percentage of Moslem students (12.7%) among all the lower schools. It is worth noting that besides Tororo, Sacred Heart is the only school which appears to be undergoing a transition. Comparing the percentage of pupils affiliated with the Catholic Church across forms there is a notable decrease in percentage from Form 4 to Form 1 (92% to

62%, respectively). There is a concomitant increase in the percentage who give the Church of Uganda as their religion (4% in Form 4 to 32% in Form 1). Other schools in the sample maintain the same religious proportions across forms.

Of all the schools sampled, Tororo has the greatest diversity of religious affiliation; Tororo lower school has virtually the only notable Hindu population, one of the larger Moslem populations, and the smallest proportion in the majority religion. The pattern of diversity at Tororo is strengthened at the higher school level with the majority religion dropping to only 50% of the total. The other two higher schools maintain essentially the same proportions as in their lower schools. The proportions at Tororo indicate that the school is making progress in implementing its policy of recruiting a non-sectarian group of pupils. The purpose of such a policy is to provide an atmosphere which approximates the religious diversity of Uganda so that pupils can learn to live harmoniously with people who have different religious beliefs.[3]

One should note that the religious composition of the schools in this sample is representative of the proportions found in most schools in Uganda. A larger study of thirty-one schools done in 1967 showed that schools which were founded by a religious body typically had 75% to 80% of the pupils affiliated with the religion of the founding body.[4] For government schools, the dominant religious group was usually about two-thirds of the total population. Tororo stood out as unusual in that larger survey, just as it does now in the study of the six girls schools.

TABLE 3.3

PUPILS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Church of Uganda	Catholic	Hindu	Moslem	Other
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%	%
Tororo	67.9	21.7	4.3	4.0	1.6
Gayaza	91.4	5.3	-0-	2.4	.8
Namagunga	17.3	78.0	1.7	2.3	.6
Nabisunsa	77.0	10.3	-0-	12.7	-0-
Sacred Heart	19.4	75.0	.8	4.8	-0-
Bweranyangi	93.8	4.3	-0-	1.9	-0-
HIGHER SCHOOLS					
Tororo	49.5	33.0	1.8	13.8	1.8
Gayaza	92.5	3.8	-0-	3.8	-0-
Namagunga	14.6	79.3	3.7	2.4	-0-

Sponsorship of Primary School

To investigate further the relationship between the pupils' religion and the founding body of the secondary school, pupils were asked about the religious sponsorship of the primary school which they attended. It was hypothesized that a fairly consistent pattern would emerge with pupils of a given religion tending to attend both primary and secondary schools associated with that religion. Supporting such a hypothesis is the historical pattern of religious development in the country. Soon after the arrival of Europeans in Uganda, arrangements were made which divided the country up among the various religious missionary groups operating there. This division persists today in the differential proportions of the population following various religions in each region of the country. The religion dominant in a given region tends to be the founding body of most of the schools in the area, and other things being equal, pupils tend to go to school in their own regions.

To test the influence of primary school sponsorship on the religious composition of the secondary schools, Table 3.4 was constructed to show the proportions of pupils of a given religious affiliation who attended a primary school sponsored by that religion. The first figure in each column represents the proportion of the pupils in that school who attended a primary school sponsored by the religion named at the top of the column. The second figure is taken from the previous table, and indicates the percentage of the school which is of that religion. As expected, the table shows a definite tendency for pupils to attend a primary school sponsored by their own religion. With only a few exceptions, anywhere

from one-half to more than three-quarters of the pupils fall into this pattern.

The table also reveals the strong tendency for secondary schools to recruit pupils from primary schools of the same religious sponsorship. Thus 43% of Namagunga and 70% of Sacred Heart come from Catholic primary schools. Gayaza shows a similar percentage coming from Church of Uganda primary schools. Bweranyangi, however, has only 30% coming from primary schools with the same sponsorship. This lower percentage may reflect relatively lower opportunities for girls in Church of Uganda primary schools in the Western region from which the school draws most of its pupils. (For all of Uganda there are only 23 girls' primary schools sponsored by the Church of Uganda compared with almost 100 Catholic schools). This same factor would explain the fact that only one-third of the over 90% who are Church of Uganda at Bweranyangi have come from non-government primary schools.

Not to be overlooked are the figures in the first column which indicate the proportions of pupils in each school coming from government sponsored primary schools. The relatively large size of these figures may conceal some ambiguity in the girls' responses. Within the past few years, many of the primary schools founded by churches have come under the administrative control of the government, although in most cases they have retained their close connections with the church. A few of the girls may therefore be responding in terms of the government control of the school, rather than its original religious affiliation. Perhaps more important than the actual founding body of the school is the girls'

TABLE 3.4

THE SPONSORSHIP OF PRIMARY SCHOOL ATTENDED COMPARED WITH PUPILS' RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

	Government	Church of Uganda	Catholic	Other
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%
Tororo	34.3	47.5/67.9*	17.4/21.7	.8/ 9.9
Gayaza	47.5	46.7/91.4	4.9/ 5.3	.8/ 3.2
Namagunga	46.5	9.3/17.3	43.0/78.0	1.2/ 4.6
Nabisunsa	54.9	36.6/77.0	8.5/10.3	-0-/12.7
Sacred Heart	17.6	12.8/19.4	69.6/75.0	-0-/ 5.6
Bweranyangi	67.7	30.4/93.8	1.9/ 4.3	-0-/ 1.9
HIGHER SCHOOLS				
Tororo	38.0	29.6/49.5	25.9/33.0	6.5/17.4
Gayaza	40.5	54.4/92.5	2.5/ 3.8	2.5/ 3.8
Namagunga	24.4	9.8/14.6	83.4/79.3	2.4/ 5.1

* Percentage before the slash refers to primary school attended. The percentage after the slash indicates religious affiliation.

perceptions of the organization in control of the school, which we shall interpret their answers as meaning.

Except for Sacred Heart, which draws heavily from Catholic primary schools, and Tororo, which shows a fairly even spread across the three types of founding body, the other lower schools recruit half or more of their students from government sponsored schools. The percentages from government schools falls for the higher schools' girls, probably reflecting the fact that the government administered many fewer schools when those girls were attending primary school. At both levels one fact is apparent: substantial numbers of girls attend government schools but retain a religious affiliation which influences their choice of secondary schools. Given an opportunity, though, the girls prefer to attend primary school at a school founded by their own religion.

Regional and Tribal Background of Pupils

In the discussion of religious affiliation a number of references have been made to the impact of the location of the girls' homes on the choice of schools. To study the relationship between the location of the school and the home regions of the girls in the school Table 3.5 was constructed. Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart show the strongest pattern of dominance by pupils from the region in which the school is located. Tororo shows a somewhat weaker relationship, with less than half of the pupils coming from the eastern region and substantial representation from the central region.

The other three schools reflect their central location in the

mixed nature of their regional representation. Both Namagunga and Nabisunsa lie in the eastern part of the central region and recruit about equally from the two regions. Gayaza lies a bit more to the west, and draws a substantial proportion from the western region. Gayaza seems to show the best balance with sizeable proportions from three of the four regions in the country.

A different perspective on the regional composition of the schools is presented in Table 3.6 which contains the percentages of pupils from the three largest tribes in each school. The first column also presents the total number of tribes present in each of the schools, as one indicator of the diversity of the school. The other measure of diversity available in the table is the extent to which one tribe does not contain a very large proportion of the pupils.

The range in proportions is illustrated by the differences between Bweranyangi, where the first three tribes constitute over 80% of the pupils, and Tororo where the first three tribes make up just over 40% of the pupils. The distinction is supplemented by the size of the largest tribe which is nearly two-thirds of Bweranyangi as compared with less than 20% at Tororo. For the remaining schools about half the school is composed of the three major tribes, with the largest of the three having about one-third of all the pupils. The proportions at Nabisunsa are slightly larger, but not significantly different. Tororo and Sacred Heart have populations which are the least dominated by any single tribe; Tororo has added diversity by virtue of the number of tribes represented in the school. Although the major tribe in the central region of the country is among the

TABLE 3.5

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS

	Central	Western	Northern	Eastern	Others[2]
	%	%	%	%	%
TORORO (Eastern)[1]	21.0	8.5	14.4	47.0	9.1
GAYAZA (Central)	36.4	30.7	8.0	19.1	5.8
NAMAGUNGA (Between central and eastern)	30.9	12.2	4.5	39.4	13.0
NABISUNSA (Central)	39.9	11.6	7.4	39.9	1.2
SACRED HEART (Northern)	17.6	3.4	62.2	13.4	3.4
BWERANYANGI (Western)	9.2	86.9	-0-	3.2	.7

[1] Regional location of school

[2] This category contains Europeans, Asians and non-Ugandan Africans.

TABLE 3.6

PERCENTAGE OF PUPILS FROM THE THREE
MOST HEAVILY REPRESENTED TRIBES IN EACH SCHOOL

	TRIBES Total #	1st	2nd	3rd	TOTAL % 3 Largest Tribes
		%	%	%	
TORORO	34	16.6	14.2	11.0	41.8
GAYAZA	36	35.1	15.0	7.0	57.1
NAMAGUNGA	33	30.1	12.2	12.2	54.5
NABISUNSA	21	39.3	13.5	8.0	60.8
SACRED HEART	21	21.8	14.3	10.9	47.0
BWERANYANGI	10	62.1	11.8	9.2	83.1

top three tribes in each of the schools, the other major tribes in the schools are consistent with the region in which the school is located.

In terms of socialization within the school and the pattern of interaction among the pupils, it would seem that quite different patterns would develop in a school where 2/3 of the pupils come from the same tribe as compared with a school where the largest tribe represents only 16% of the pupil population. Thus, in Tororo, where the tribal distribution is more equal it could be expected that there would be more interaction among members from different regions with no one group setting the norms or the language for the other pupils. This more eclectic composition is consistent with Tororo's original intention as noted by President Obote during a visit to the school:

> The school was organized and administered with the policy defined by the government of Uganda and accepted girls from all parts of Uganda. The government believed that students from various parts of the country, studying at one school, would establish, while they were still young, a broader outlook of Uganda and develop a national outlook. (Uganda Argus, 1968 p. 1.)

The preceding discussion has revealed considerable differences in the distribution of pupils' backgrounds in the various schools. The relationship of these differences to the characteristics and location of the school suggest that the selection procedure is not as free from influences as one might expect from a description of the process. Although any pupil can apply to any school, and headmasters cannot discriminate on the basis of race, tribe, or religion in the actual selection process, clearly some forces are modifying the intended "merit-only" criterion for selection.

Probably foremost among these forces is the initial choice of schools which the pupil herself makes. On the application form each pupil lists eight schools in descending order of desirability. The factors which influence the pupil's choice of schools are worth considering. Of prime importance is the range of the pupil's knowledge about alternatives available. Interacting with this perceived range of choices is the strong influence of teachers, parents, friends, siblings, and older pupils already attending secondary school.

The average primary school leaver will probably never have been more than a dozen miles from home and will have only the vaugest idea about other regions of Uganda. His knowledge of secondary schools will thus be limited and the pupil can be expected to choose a school in his own region; a school where he knows there are pupils of his own tribe, and of course a school of the same religion as that of his parents. These natural tendencies are reinforced by the communication patterns within the area. Headmasters of primary schools will tend to know and communicate with headmasters of secondary schools sponsored by the same religious body. Over the years, patterns of recruitment tend to become established so that the intake for a given secondary school tends to come from the same set of primary schools year after year.

Home and Family Background

Research within Western cultures has revealed that the family plays a substantial role in determining a child's aspirations and expectations, as well as his achievement within the formal school system.[5] If this same

pattern were to hold true in Uganda, we would expect that girls who attend secondary school are likely to have parents with more education than the general population. Similarly, one would expect that parents of girls attending the most prestigious schools would have more education than those of girls attending the less well-known schools. In addition to the formal education level of the parents, other variables will be described which have been found to be significantly related to achievement levels of pupils in other cultures. The variables include: the English speaking ability of the parents, the occupation of both father and mother, and the pupil's perception of her parents' interest in her education.

Education of Parents

Table 3.7 presents the mean number of years of education for fathers and mothers in each school. A number of patterns are immediately apparent. For example, within a given school, the level of father's education is significantly higher than that of the mothers. In most instances the difference is about three years. Also, across schools, there is a significant difference in the amount of education which the fathers and mothers have received. In lower school, the education level of the fathers varies from about five to ten years; for the mothers the range is less: 3 to 6 1/2 years. It is interesting to note that the years of school attendance for mothers in some schools (Gayaza and Namagunga) exceeds or is equal to the educational level of the fathers in Bweranyangi. The data in the table suggest that women tend to marry men who are more educated than they, but the more educated men seek out somewhat more educated women.

TABLE 3.7

MEAN YEARS OF EDUCATION OF PARENTS

	Father	Mother
LOWER SCHOOLS	yrs.	yrs.
Tororo	6.8	3.7
Gayaza	10.1	6.4
Namagunga	8.4	5.2
Nabisunsa	7.0	4.6
Sacred Heart	6.7	2.8
Bweranyangi	5.3	3.0
HIGHER SCHOOLS		
Tororo	8.4	4.8
Gayaza	8.3	5.2
Namagunga	8.0	4.6

* To determine the distribution of formal schooling of both the pupils' fathers and mothers respondents were asked to check one of 8 items ranging from 'no schooling' to 'university training.' These items were grouped for analysis into categories roughly approximating 0,3,6,8,10,11,12 and 16 years of education or training so that percentages and mean scores for each level could be computed for every school in the study.

For the higher schools there is less variance by sex of parent across schools. The fathers in all three schools have attained a mean education level of a little more than eight years. There is also little variance for mothers; the mean being near five years in all higher schools.

The data in Table 3.7 also indicate that the parents of the pupils attending the traditionally more prestigious institutions (Gayaza and Namagunga) have significantly more education than the parents in one of the less prestigious schools, like Bweranyangi. This may be the result of several factors. One might be that parents with more education tend to place a higher value on education and pass this value on to their children. The child, in turn, is motivated to achieve and perhaps does better on the primary leaving examination than other pupils who have not had such strong support from their family. The pupil has probably been told that Gayaza, for example, is a good school and that it is important for her to attend a "good" school. The parents of such a pupil will see that she selects the best schools which her record indicates she can gain entrance to.

In his article, "The Crisis of Education in Uganda: Rich Man's Harvest?" M. S. M. Kiwanuka claims that currently the secondary schools are serving the elite and that with the expansion of the primary schools without a proportional increase in secondary schools, secondary school attendance will become more and more the privilege of a few.[6] Kiwanuka maintains that in the homes of the educated African there is a great emphasis on education and the rich man is able to provide extra tutoring for his child so that he can score higher on the crucial exams. He summarizes the development of this pattern as follows:

> Whereas twenty years ago children from poor families had a good chance of getting into Senior Secondary School, the results of the last three years or so are disturbing...Grade I passes in the Senior Entrance Examination (are) will increasingly become associated with the ability to buy the best primary education.[7]

One way to test Kiwanuka's argument is to compare the education of the pupils' parents with the education of all the people in the parents' age group. The first two columns of Table 3.8 present the percentage of the people who were 20 years old in 1960 who had attained various educational levels. This is roughly the age group to which the parents of the current secondary school population belong. (Most of the parents are probably older than 20, and to that extent the table presents an overly optimistic statement of the educational attainments of the parents' age group.) By comparing these percentages with the figures in the next two columns, which contain the educational levels of the parents of all the girls in the sample, it is possible to see that, in fact, the parental education level of the girls in school is much higher than that for the population as a whole. For example, in the total population fully half of the males had no schooling at all, while in the sample only 20% of the fathers had no schooling. The elite nature of the parents is even more striking in terms of the percentages who have completed minimal secondary schooling. (27% over 7% for the males).

If the trend suggested by Kiwanuka were to continue, one woul expect that the differences between the educational attainment of the parents of secondary school pupils and the levels attained by the comparable age group in the total population would increase. As of yet, data for such comparisons is not generally available, but a conscious effort would make it relatively easy to collect if educational planners were

interested in watching this pattern over the coming years.

Also illustrated in Table 3.8 are the differences in parental education by school. The school with the highest overall level of parental education (Gayaza) is compared with the school showing the lowest level (Bweranyangi). While parents of Bweranyangi students are significantly above the levels for the total population, Gayaza girls' parents are significantly higher still. The difference is particularly apparent when comparing the education of fathers beyond the junior secondary level; almost one-third of the fathers of Gayaza girls have at least completed secondary school and many of these have had some university experience. In Bweranyangi, comparable education has been attained by less than 10% of the fathers. Thus, while parents of secondary school pupils represent an elite group relative to the total population, a hierarchy exists between secondary schools based on the level of parental education, particularly in lower school (see Table 3.7). At this point in time Tororo ranks fourth among the six schools sampled in terms of mean levels of education for both fathers and mothers.

Parents' Ability to Speak English

Closely related to the parents' educational level is their ability to speak English, a factor which one would expect to exert considerable influence on their childrens' progress in a school system taught in English. To measure this variable, pupils were asked to indicate whether at least one of their parents spoke English. Obviously, the reliability of the data is dependent on the pupils' judgement of their parents' fluency.

TABLE 3.8

COMPARISON OF PARENTS' EDUCATION LEVEL WITH EDUCATION LEVEL FOR THE TOTAL AGE GROUP

	TOTAL POPULATION*		PARENTS OF TOTAL SAMPLE		HIGHEST LEVEL (Gayaza)		LOWEST LEVEL (Bweranyangi)	
	Male %	Female %	Fathers %	Mothers %	Fathers %	Mothers %	Fathers %	Mothers %
None	52.0	82.5	20.3	34.7	21.7	24.1	20.7	38.5
Some Primary	18.0	10.0	22.7	29.9	7.8	22.0	40.9	46.2
Basic Primary	21.0	6.0	8.2	10.7	7.0	15.1	8.8	4.4
Minimum secondary (Jr. Secondary, Teacher Training, Special)	7.0	1.2	28.4	19.7	31.5	31.1	22.7	8.3
Completed secondary	2.0	0.3	10.8	4.5	11.9	6.9	3.8	2.5
University			9.6	0.5	20.1	0.8	3.1	0.1

* The statistics for the total population were extrapolated from Richard Jolly's Planning Education for African Development, (Nairobi, Kenya: East Africa Publishing House, 1969), pp. 2-7. The percentages are based on the projected education level of individuals who were 20 years of age in 1960.

When a question arose, the students were asked to base their response simply on whether either parent could communicate basic needs in English, in contrast to someone who might just know a few words.

Within this framework, the data yield the information shown in Table 3.9. Bweranyangi seems to be the only school sampled where more than half (67%) of the pupils' parents do not speak English. As the table reveals Gayaza is more than 10% ahead of the next school. Namagunga and Sacred Heart follow with about 60% of the parents speaking English. Tororo ranks fifth behind Nabisunsa, although both of these schools are well above the proportion speaking English in Bweranyangi. As expected, the pattern of English speaking is closely related to the rankings based on educational attainments of the parents. Differences occur for Tororo which is below what might be expected given the educational level of the parents, and for Sacred Heart which reports notably higher levels of English speaking than would be expected from the amount of parental education. In both cases, these differences may be related to amounts of English spoken in the regions where the schools are located and from which most of their pupils come.

Occupation of Parents

Other than education, the most important determinant of family status is that of parental occupation. While closely related to the educational level of the parents, occupation may well be important in itself as a source of influence on the vocational aspirations of the children, both from the point of view of modeling and from that of providing

TABLE 3.9

PERCENTAGE OF PARENTS WHO SPEAK ENGLISH

	Yes	No
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%
Tororo	52.5	47.5
Gayaza	75.5	24.5
Namagunga	63.6	36.4
Nabisunsa	56.1	43.9
Sacred Heart	62.6	37.4
Bweranyangi	33.3	66.7
HIGHER SCHOOLS		
Tororo	65.4	34.6
Gayaza	75.5	24.5
Namagunga	58.0	42.0

motivation. The distribution of parental occupations for different schools also provides an indicator of the proportions of pupils who come from homes where parents are involved in the modern sector as compared with parents in the traditional, agricultural sector.

Turning first to the fathers' occupations as reported by their daughters one finds some interesting similarities across the schools in the sample. The fathers' occupations were grouped for convenience into the nine categories reflected by the column headings in Table 3.1C. The rank order of the three most popular categories is consistent for all schools: manual-unskilled is first with 22%-45%, commercial-administrative is second, with 17%-27%, and teaching is third with 10%-17% of all the fathers. For most schools the next two categories were the professional and the social work - communications occupations. While the ranking is similar across schools, the percentages found in any particular category vary greatly across schools. These differences are apparent in the range of percentages across the first five categories for different schools: Gayaza shows a fairly even split with from 11% to 22% in the top five categories, whereas Bweranyangi ranges from 5% to 45% for the same five categories.

A major part of the difference is to be found in the category which separates the modern and the traditional sectors of the economic activities of the parents. The manual-unskilled category includes the occupations of farmer, herder, and fisherman which for this purpose are considered to be part of the traditional sector. This assumption may be unfair to a few isolated parents who operate their farms or who fish in a modernized manner. Three schools have 40% to 45% of their fathers with

TABLE 3.10

OCCUPATION OF FATHER

	Profes-sional	Commer-cial/ Ad-ministra-tive	Scienti-fic / Nat. Re-sources	Teach-ing	Social work/ Communi-cations	Uni-formed services	Clerical/ Secre-tarial	Techni-cal/	Manual/ unskilled	Don't know/ etc.
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tororo	3.2	19.1	2.4	12.7	5.9	4.2	1.6	5.6	38.8	7.7
Gayaza	11.4	19.9	4.1	14.2	11.0	2.4	3.3	3.3	22.0	8.5
Namagunga	8.0	22.0	4.0	13.9	1.7	4.0	2.9	4.6	34.7	4.0
Nabisunsa	6.0	20.5	1.2	10.8	6.6	1.2	3.0	1.8	45.2	3.6
Sacred Heart	1.6	16.8	4.8	13.6	3.2	6.4	1.6	2.4	40.8	8.8
Bweranyangi	1.9	22.2	1.9	9.9	9.9	-0-	.6	.6	45.1	8.0
HIGHER SCHOOLS										
Tororo	3.7	24.8	5.5	17.4	5.5	.9	3.7	2.8	27.5	8.3
Gayaza	6.0	21.4	1.2	11.9	7.1	1.2	4.8	1.2	27.4	17.9
Namagunga	4.9	26.8	2.4	8.5	7.3	2.4	1.2	3.7	36.6	6.1

occupations in this category. Of these, Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi are also the schools with the least amount of parental education as one might expect. In comparison, Nabisunsa ranks third in education levels, but has the largest proportion of fathers in the non-modern sector. Of the other schools, Tororo and Namagunga have about one-third of their fathers in the traditional sector, while Gayaza has only just over one-fifth in that sector.

At the other end of the occupational scale, the professional category, Gayaza stands out with over 11% of the fathers having such occupations. Namagunga and Nabisunsa follow at something of a distance, while Tororo and the other two schools have less than 3% of the fathers in professional jobs. Again this ranking relates closely to the mean educational levels of the fathers and reflects the strong influence which educational level has on the type of job open to an individual in Uganda. One would expect the considerable differences in family background across the schools to have an impact on the expectations of the girls about their future employment, a relationship which will be explored in a later chapter.

Looking at the fathers of higher school girls, one finds about the same pattern of responses. Gayaza and Namagunga change little, with only the professional category showing fairly substantial changes by dropping to just over half the percentages present in the lower schools. Tororo presents greater changes with a 10% drop in the proportion of fathers in the traditional sector. Compensating for this drop, are 5% rises in the commercial-administrative and the teaching categories. These changes in

Tororo result from a combination of selection from their own girls and the influx of girls from other secondary schools to Tororo's higher school. Which factor contributes more to the lowered proportion of fathers in the non-modern sector is not clear at this point. Table 3.7 indicates that the process for Tororo also favors girls whose parents have more education since the averages for Tororo rise significantly between lower and higher school. The averages for the other two higher schools do not increase possibly because they are so high to begin with. In fact, Gayaza decreases notably from lower to higher school, so that the composition of the higher school is comparable to the other higher schools. The effect of the national selection process for entrance to higher school seems to be a leveling process which produces equality across schools in terms of parents' education.

Information about the occupational activities of the mothers is presented in Table 3.11 which details the percentages involved in the six major categories. In all schools, the great majority of mothers are housewives who do not participate in the modern wage economy. Gayaza, with 30% of the mothers holding jobs, is the only school with significant numbers in the modern sector. Namagunga and Nabisunsa have about 20% in wage-earning jobs, while the other schools have 10% or less in such positions. Mothers who do work outside the home are most likely to be in some type of a teaching position. The second most popular job is that of nurse/midwife, and after those two the remainder are scattered in secretarial-administrative type work with a handful making money as dressmakers. Only two mothers in the whole sample were reported as having professional level jobs, one as a doctor and the other as a lawyer.

TABLE 3.11

OCCUPATION OF MOTHER*

	Housewife	Secretary; clerk	Administrator	Nurse; midwife	Teacher; lecturer	Dress-maker
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%	%	%
Tororo	89.9	.8	.5	3.4	4.0	.8
Gayaza	71.8	2.1	3.8	9.2	11.3	1.7
Namagunga	80.1	2.9	.6	4.7	11.1	-0-
Nabisunsa	83.4	2.5	3.1	3.1	6.1	1.2
Sacred Heart	90.0	-0-	-0-	.8	8.3	.8
Bweranyangi	93.5	.7	3.3	2.0	.7	-0-
HIGHER SCHOOLS						
Tororo	82.7	1.9	1.0	3.8	6.7	3.8
Gayaza	82.1	-0-	1.3	6.4	9.0	1.3
Namagunga	80.1	-0-	1.3	9.3	8.0	-0-

* Two respondents also indicated their mothers were either doctors or lawyers. Two others indicated factory worker or field hand.
3% of the sample did not answer question.

Because so few of the mothers are involved in non-traditional occupations, they do not provide a source of information or modeling for their daughters about the employment opportunities open to them. Even in Gayaza, nearly 70% of the mothers are in the traditional sector and hence are unable to provide much direction for their daughters. Women working as housewives and farming the family shamba can also be expected not to have much realistic information about potential jobs for women. These circumstances suggest strongly the need for some activities on the part of the schools to expose the girls to role models in the modern sector and to make available realistic information about the employment world for women.

Family Concern with Pupil's Education

To investigate further the relationship between family background and the pupils' interests, the girls were asked to indicate which member of their family "cares most about your education." The question provided a range of fixed choices and an open 'other' category. As indicated in Table 3.12 the great majority of the girls chose either father or mother as the relative most interested in their education. The predominance of fathers over mothers is perhaps a little skewed because the question forced pupils who wanted to choose both mother and father to put down only one answer.[8] The few pupils who indicated people in the 'other' category probably did so because that individual was paying their school fees in a situation where there parents either couldn't or wouldn't do so.

Even allowing for some bias produced by the format of the question,

the results indicate strongly the importance of the father as a supporter of the girls' education. One might well have expected the mothers to be more prominent given that all the pupils are girls. Traditionally boys are educated first, and girls only if there are resources left or not at all because education is felt to give the girls improper ideas. In such a situation, one would expect many girls to be in school only if their mother had been able to either provide support or convince the father that it was desirable to do so. Interestingly, the proportions of mothers selected as being concerned with education just about complement the proportions of mothers who are housewives, and therefore presumably have little education themselves. In other words, the proportions of working mothers are equal to the proportions selected as being concerned with the daughter's education, suggesting that mothers with education may be more influential in gaining access to education for their daughters.

In a later chapter the results from this question will be combined with information on job preferences which the most concerned person has for the girls. The pattern may provide some insight into one possible source of influence on the occupational choices of the girls. The predominance of fathers, however, suggests some severe limitations on this source of influence because of the low probability that the fathers will have much knowledge about careers for women.

Educational Background of the Pupils

The third section of this chapter provides information on the educational experience of the pupils in the sample. Specifically, two indicators will be discussed: the score which the pupils received on the

TABLE 3.12

PERSON MOST CONCERNED WITH PUPIL'S EDUCATION

	Father	Mother	Brother/ Sister	Uncle	Other*
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	%	%
Tororo	70.6	10.1	14.1	4.5	.9
Gayaza	70.2	16.1	9.9	2.5	1.2
Namagunga	71.1	10.4	12.7	4.0	1.8
Nabisunsa	66.3	13.9	13.9	4.8	1.2
Sacred Heart	52.8	16.3	23.6	4.1	3.2
Bweranyangi	70.2	9.3	15.5	5.2	-0-
HIGHER SCHOOLS					
Tororo	65.1	12.8	16.5	2.8	2.8
Gayaza	72.4	13.2	6.6	2.6	2.6
Namagunga	62.2	26.8	6.1	4.9	-0-

* Nine respondents wrote in "government," five wrote in "teacher," four wrote in "in-laws," two wrote in "benefactors," and two replied "don't know."

last examination before entering secondary school, and the pattern of repeating classes during primary school. Both of these indicators are felt to be related to the quality of the education received in primary school and to provide some indication of probable performance in secondary school. The ability of the leaving examination to predict performance on the School Certificate examination at the end of secondary school has been discussed at some length by Somerset.[9] He concludes that the exam is adequate for the brighter students, but is not very efficient in selecting among the border line cases. Interestingly he finds a higher overall correlation for the girls (.428) than for the boys (.374). The relationship of the repeater pattern is more tenuous, resting on the assumption that girls attending a good school and having good learning ability will progress evenly through school without repeating.

Results on the Leaving Examination

The score of a pupil on the leaving examination is important not only as a predictor of future performance, but also as a major determinant in the selection process for entrance into a secondary school. The score determines whether the girl has any chance to enter secondary school, and if she can get a place, the score determines which of her choices of schools she is placed in. As a result of this process, the quality of girls entering a particular school differs according to the reputation of the school and the extent to which knowledge about the school is widely disseminated.

The results of this selection process are presented in Table 3.13

which gives the average score for each form in the schools in the sample.[10] It should be noted that the examination was taken at one of two points depending on the age of the pupils. For pupils in Forms 1 and 2, and half of the pupils in Form 3 the examination was taken at the end of P7; the older pupils took it at the end of P8 which used to be the end of junior secondary school. Two groups of pupils were competing for places when the current Form 3 entered secondary school: those who took the leaving examination at the end of P7 and those who were in P8 during the last year it existed. This dual entrance into the Form 3 group explains the discrepancy in scores for that level; those who took the exam at the end of P7 scored lower than those who took the examination in P8.

Several general patterns emerge from the data. One is that across all schools the mean score is increasing with each new group which enters the school. This may be the result of several factors: a general rise in the quality of primary education, a gradual lessening of the difficulty of the test, or more likely, increased competition for places in Form 1 with the result that the minimum score needed for entrance is rising for all schools.

While the mean score increases from Form 4 to Form 1 within each school, the relative ranking of the six schools remains fairly consistent for each form. However, the distance between the mean scores of the schools for a given form changes significantly. The change is greatest for Bweranyangi and Nabisunsa in comparison to Namagunga. The difference between the mean scores for the two schools and Namagunga is over 20 points in Form 4, whereas in Forms 1 and 2 they differ on the average by about five

TABLE 3.13

AVERAGE MARK ON PRIMARY LEAVING EXAM BY SCHOOL AND FORM

LOWER SCHOOLS	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4	TOTAL
Tororo	155	146	(126) 144 * (22) (23)	138	146
Gayaza	164	158	(144) 152 (14) (43)	145	156
Namagunga	157	145	(129) 155 (10) (17)	150	150
Nabisunsa	148	141	(119) 140 (12) (21)	129	137
Sacred Heart	146	140		143	143
Bweranyangi	153	143	(119) 141 (17) (14)	128	138

HIGHER SCHOOLS	Form 5	Form 6	TOTAL
Tororo	146	138	145
Gayaza	145	158	148
Namagunga	158	163	158

* The score in parentheses under Form 3 applies to girls who took the primary leaving exam in P7, while the score adjacent to it applies to girls who took the test in P8. The number of girls who took the exam at each level is directly underneath.

points. Tororo also moves up-in comparison with Namagunga from a difference of 12 points in Form 4 to a difference of 1 or 2 points in the lower forms. These three schools, which are the relatively new ones, seem to be moving fairly rapidly to the point where they can compete effectively with the older and more prestigious schools. However, one should note the behavior of Gayaza and Sacred Heart in comparison to Namagunga. Gayaza has risen from a position of approximate equality with Namagunga to a consistently higher average. Sacred Heart, which is also one of the older schools, has maintained about the same mean score over the four years and as a consequence has fallen relative to the two other established schools. In general, with the possible exception of Gayaza, the schools seem to be getting relatively equal populations of girls in terms of their performance on the leaving examination.

The pattern of mean scores in higher school is interesting in that the average score decreases from Form 6 to Form 5 for Gayaza and Namagunga while increasing for Tororo. This is probably the result of the fact that there are increasing numbers of higher school places available so that there is more competition among schools for pupils. It also indicates clearly that Tororo's Form 5 pupils are academically of the caliber found within the more established schools.

Grades Repeated by the Pupils

A second, and little used indicator of previous educational experience lies in the pupils' history of repeated grades. Little is known about this phenomena except that it is a common occurrence in most primary schools. Partly to collect information on repeating and partly to

add to the information on pupil backgrounds in the various schools, a summary of the girls' reported incidence of repeating classes is outlined in Table 3.14. The data refers only to a single instance of repeating for each girl. Girls who repeated more than one grade are included in the highest of the grades repeated. For purposes of this summary table percentages of girls repeating are grouped together by grades repeated. Primary six (P6) is singled out because it is the examination year and is one of the most frequently repeated as girls try the examination a second time in hopes of passing or of improving their mark and consequently bettering their chance of entering a secondary school.

With the exception of Sacred Heart, all schools have about one-fifth their populations who have repeated at least one of the first five years of primary school. The same proportions hold for the higher schools, suggesting that repeating one of the lower grades does not have a negative impact on success in secondary school. Considerable differences, however, do exist in proportions who repeated P6 in the various schools. Gayaza is significantly lower than any of the other schools - a pattern which is also true for repeating grades in Junior secondary and higher. For the other schools about 10% seem to have repeated P6, a figure somewhat below the national average of 13% reported in Ministry of Education statistics for 1966. In the higher schools Tororo shows more than twice the numbers of girls repeating P6 as the other two schools.

The final column shows the proportion of students in each school who have not repeated any grades. Gayaza is again notable with over three-fourths of the students being non-repeaters in contrast to Namagunga and

TABLE 3.14

GRADES MOST OFTEN REPEATED BY PUPILS

	P1 - P5	P6	7,8,9,10	None
LOWER SCHOOLS	%	%	%	
Tororo	18.1	11.2	7.7	60.0
Gayaza	20.6	1.6	1.6	76.1
Namagunga	21.9	8.7	9.8	56.6
Nabisunsa	22.5	11.0	6.7	54.3
Sacred Heart	8.8	8.1	10.6	68.3
Bweranyangi	19.3	9.3	4.3	63.0
HIGHER SCHOOLS				
Tororo	20.6	13.1	5.6	59.8
Gayaza	19.2	6.0	2.4	69.9
Namagunga	17.2	6.1	6.1	69.5

Nabisunsa where only a little more than half the girls have not repeated a grade. The hypothesis that non-repeating is associated with performance doesn't seem to be very convincing in light of the apparent absence of relationship between proportion not repeating and mean score on the leaving examination. The rankings are displayed in the last two columns of Table 3.15 which summarizes information about the schools. The consistently high ranking of Gayaza suggests that some factor relates performance and non-repeating in that school. Economic status of the family might be part of the explanation, to the extent that girls drop out for reasons of family finances rather than poor school work or other causes. However, the lack of clear relationship with any of the other factors displayed in Table 3.15 suggests that we know little about either the causes or the effects of repeating grades in school.

Summary of School Populations

The data discussed in the last two sections of this chapter are summarized for easy reference in Table 3.15. The information relates to family background in terms of the education and occupation of the parents and to the educational experience of the pupils. Both of these sets of characteristics would be expected to have an impact on the girls' career aspirations and their chances of fulfilling them. Consistent differences between schools on these background variables would be expected to make differences in the atmosphere and impact which the schools might have on their pupils. For ease in comparing the relative positions of the schools on the different dimensions, the table gives the rankings of the lower schools and of the higher schools.

TABLE 3.15

SUMMARY TABLE (Ranking of Schools)

	Education of Father (mean years)	Education of Mother (mean years)	Parents speak English (%)	Parents in non-modern sector* Father %	Parents in non-modern sector* Mother %	Non-Repeaters (%)	Primary Leaving Exam (mean score)
LOWER SCHOOLS							
Tororo	IV (6.8)	IV (3.7)	V (57.5)	III (38.8)	IV (89.9)	IV (60.0)	III (146)
Gayaza	I (10.1)	I (6.4)	I (75.5)	I (22.0)	I (71.8)	I (76.1)	I (156)
Namaganga	II (8.4)	II (5.2)	II (63.6)	II (34.7)	II (80.1)	V (56.6)	II (150)
Nabisunsa	III (700)	III (4.6)	IV (56.1)	VI (45.2)	III (83.4)	VI (54.3)	VI (137)
Sacred Heart	V (6.7)	VI (2.8)	III (62.6)	IV (40.8)	V (90.0)	II (68.3)	IV (143)
Bweranyangi	VI (5.3)	V (3.0)	VI (33.3)	V (45.1)	VI (93.5)	III (63.0)	V (138)
HIGHER SCHOOLS							
Tororo	I (8.4)	II (4.8)	II (65.4)	II (27.5)	III (82.7)	III (59.8)	III (145)
Gayaza	II (8.3)	I (5.2)	I (75.5)	I (27.4)	II (82.1)	I (69.9)	II (148)
Namaganga	III (8.0)	III (4.6)	III (58.0)	III (36.6)	I (80.1)	II (69.5)	I (158)

* Father's occupation: farmer, fisherman, herder, laborer; mother's occupation: housewife.

As one might expect from the related nature of many of the dimensions, there is a fair degree of consistency in the rankings across the schools. Consistently first and second are Gayaza and Namagunga across virtually all of the indicators. This is in keeping with the popular reputation of these two well-established schools and reflects their ability to recruit from the best of the pupils leaving primary school. At the other end of the rankings, Bweranyangi is either fifth or sixth on all indicators except for the proportion of non-repeaters. The low ranking of this school is not surprising in view of the short history which this school has, its isolation, and its relative lack of resources.

The other three schools have a mixed pattern. Nabisunsa ranks third or fourth on parental background dimensions, but sixth on pupil educational backgrounds. On many of the dimensions Tororo is fourth, but in any case is almost always above Sacred Heart. The pattern in the higher schools shows a similar mixture. Tororo is generally second on parental background dimensions but is clearly third on pupil educational backgrounds. Gayaza maintains its first position, while Namagunga is third on parental variables, and comparable to Gayaza on educational variables.

In summary, then, the relationship between the schools in terms of the characteristics of their pupils shows a fairly consistent ordering. Gayaza and Namagunga have been able to capitalize effectively on their reputations and long history to recruit pupils from the strongest backgrounds. Sacred Heart, although well established, is less effective and has slipped a bit below Tororo, a new but well-financed school which has succeeded in rising rapidly to a position just below that of the best

schools. Nabisunsa and to a greater extent Bweranyangi reflect their relatively short history and smaller resource base in the backgrounds of the pupils they attract. Yet, perhaps because of its proximity to the capital, Nabisunsa has been even more successful than Tororo in recruiting pupils from well-educated families. These pupils, however, generally have a weaker educational background.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER III

[1]These are 1959 population statistics adapted from the East African High Commission, East African Statistical Department, Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin, September 1960, p. 8. However, current unoffical estimates based on the 1969 census placed the population of Kampala at about 300,000. In addition to population growth the difference also reflects greater efficiency in the 1969 census as well as changes in city boundaries.

[2]For a discussion of factors influencing selection see D. Evans, "Secondary Schools as Agents of Socialization for National Goals, Part 2," Proceedings of the East African University Social Science Conference, Dar es Salaam: January, 1968. (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1968).

[3]One role which religion may play in terms of instilling attitudes is suggested by F. B. Welbourn in Religion and Politics in Uganda: 1952-1962 (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House), 1965. In his discussion of pupil characteristics which Catholic and Protestant missionaries reward, he feels that Protestants tend to educate for leadership while Catholics educate pupils to be subservient. Welbourn gives the example of a headmaster's definition of 'excellent' within the two systems; to the Protestant it meant 'shows responsibility and initiative' while to the Catholic it meant 'obedient and submissive' (p. 16).

[4]D. Evans, op. cit., p. 6-7.

[5]See, for example, B. C. Rosen, "Family Structure and Achievement Motivation," American Sociological Review, XXVI, (1961), pp. 574-585, and M. L. Hoffman and L. W. Hoffman (eds.) Review of Child Development Research, Vol 1 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation), 1964.

[6]M. S. M. Kiwanuka, "The Crisis of Education in Uganda: Rich Man's Harvest?" East African Journal Vol. IV (2), (May, 1967), pp. 19-23

[7]Ibid., p. 22.

[8]While coding, any case in which the student insisted upon ticking both categories was resolved by coding the response as "father" which produced a slight weighting of the data in favor of this category.

[9]H. C. A. Somerset, Predicting Success in School Certificate (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House), 1968.

[10] The averages are based on the girls' reported scores in the leaving examination. Some inaccuracy can be expected from girls who have either remembered incorrectly or have possibly inflated their scores. The school-wide averages are also affected somewhat by the different patterns of non-response on the question, leading some schools to a higher or lower overall average. This is particularly true with Sacred Heart where none of the third form girls responded and the school average as a result is probably inflated.

CHAPTER IV

CAREERS AND EMPLOYMENT: THE GIRLS' FUTURES

A major task of a secondary school and particularly the careers program in the school is to provide the pupils with both the skills and expectations which will enable them to find useful and fulfilling employment in society. The first part of this chapter will explore the current and projected future employment situation for women in Uganda. The discussion will include an analysis of the opportunities for specialized training leading to employment. The remaining sections will study first the popularity and familiarity of various occupations and second the aspirations and expectations and the probable situation which they will face at the end of their schooling.

There are essentially three alternate paths open to girls who complete secondary school in Uganda: going on for further general schooling or for specialized vocational training; getting a job or entering

some type of short term training which will lead to employment; or going back to their families to wait until they get married or find some type of employment. The third alternative will be dealt with later in terms of the girls' expectations about marriage and general life style. Tables summarizing opportunities in the first two alternatives have been drawn up in an attempt to make clear the situation in which the girls will find themselves at the completion of secondary school.

Training and Employment Opportunities for Secondary School Leavers

Turning first to training opportunities, Table 4.1 indicates the various training schemes which exist in Uganda and the approximate number of openings which they have for girls. The table is compiled primarily from Ministry of Education Statistics for 1967, the last complete set of data available. The numbers in the table represent the number of openings for girls in the first year of the course, not the total number of places in the institution. Thus, for instance, the higher school figures in columns one and two represent places in the 5th form in 1967. In the training schemes open to both boys and girls the percentage of places for girls is about 20%. During the 1970's there will probably be a gradual increase in these percentages, although the amount is unlikely to be more than a few percent.

Several of the categories are there primarily to indicate possible opportunities even though data on the numbers involved is unobtainable. Departmental training refers to a multitude of training schemes run by government departments and to a lesser extent by private industries. One example of such training is that provided for key punch operators, most

TABLE [illegible]

OPPORTUNITIES TO ENT[illegible]AINING FOR GIRLS
FINISHING [illegible] AND S6

TYPE OF TRAINING[1]	# of Places in First Year	# of Girls	% of Girls
AFTER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (S4)			
Higher School Certificate	941	217	23%
Grade III T.T.C.	229	29	12%
Grade V T.T.C. (3 year course)	144	33	23%
Uganda College of Commerce	278	278	100%
Uganda Technical College	461	13	3%
Mulago Training School for Nurses and Midwives[2]	5-10	5-10	100%
Departmental Training	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
AFTER HIGHER SCHOOL CERTIFICATE (S6)			
Makerere University College[3]	712	148	21%
Grade V T.T.C. (2 year course)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Overseas	2,500	450	18%

Compiled from

[1]"Education Statistics," (Kampala, Uganda: Ministry of Education, Uganda Government, 1967).

[2]"Access of Girls and Women to Higher Education," Uganda Association of University Women, Dr. Marianne Walter, 1965. (Mimeographed).

[3]"Makerere University College: Report for the Year 1968-69," (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere University College).

of whom are women. Openings for girls in such schemes, however, are probably quite limited since the types of jobs commonly held by women would draw candidates from such specialized training institutions as the Uganda College of Commerce, Teacher Training Colleges, or Mulago Training School for Nurses and Midwives.

The Overseas category listed as an opportunity after Higher School is really a composite containing some opportunities at the S4 level as well. The figures are rough estimates taken from Ministry of Education statistics on students studying outside the country according to the type of training being pursued. This data is not broken down by sex and therefore the figures in Table 4.1 are based on assumptions about types of training most likely to be followed by women. The major components of the total are: Nursing and midwifery - 320; stenography - 25; and teaching - 34 (based on the assumption that about 25% of those training to be teachers are women). The figure of 450 given in the table is an estimate based primarily on the above numbers and should not be taken as anything more than an order-of-magnitude guess.

The other categories are mostly self-explanatory. The women in Uganda Technical College are almost all in laboratory or medical technician courses and there would appear to be scope for considerable expansion here. The Grade III Teacher Training Schools have a very low percentage of women and would also appear to have room for more women, although the number of schools which accept women at all is very limited, due in part to difficulties of providing separate facilities for the girls. The small number of places at the Nursing school conceals the fact that most of the nurses

are trained in a course which admits girls with less than School Certificate training. This course enrolled about 30 each year and might be expected to raise its entrance standards to School certificate level as competition for places increases.

The overall impression given by the table is one of relatively limited opportunities for further training of girls after S4. This is particularly true if one considers the numbers of girls who will be coming out of S4. In 1967, there were 986 girls in S4 in Uganda compared with a rough estimate of about 600 places available for further training of various kinds. This means about 60% of the girls have a chance of continuing into some form of training. However, the situation is changing very rapidly because of the tremendous growth in the capacity of secondary education. The number of girls in S1 in 1967, who will be leaving S4 in 1970 assuming negligible dropout rates, is just under 2200. Assuming a much slower growth in training opportunities because of their higher cost, the proportion of those who can expect to continue formal training in 1970 will be something less than one third.[1]

The second major avenue open to the girls is employment, with or without some type of on-the-job training in the early stages. To assess the range and extent of opportunities offered to women Table 4.2 was constructed from the "High Level Manpower Survey and Analysis of Requirements 1967-1981." The occupations listed in the table are those where there were more than ten women employed altogether in Uganda at the time the survey was done in 1967. Since the enumeration covered from 85% to 95% of the jobs requiring more than primary school education, the figures

TABLE 4.2

MAJOR SOURCES OF WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT IN UGANDA (1967)[1]

Educational level	Occupation	Total	Female per cent	Number females employed	Total vacancies	Est. female vacancies
9	School Teachers	535	28.2	151	3	1
8	Senior Management	1,036	1.5	16	67	1
8	Medical Doctors	423	9.5	40	22	2
8	University Teachers (Arts)	60	18.3	11	-	-
8	School Teachers	956	29.9	287	10	3
7	Nursing Sisters	22	90.9	20	6	5
7	Grade V Teachers	541	34.8	188	1	-
6	Junior Management	2,087	2.2	46	133	3
5	Nursing Sisters	438	94.8	415	46	44
5	Grade IV Teachers	402	32.7	131	15	5
4	Junior Management	813	3.4	28	33	1
4	Grade III Teachers	1,663	25.7	416	-	-
4	Personal Secretaries	751	76.4	571	48	37
4	Typists	223	48.0	107	8	4
4	Punch Operators	15	66.7	10	3	2
3	Police Officers	755	2.0	15	72	1
3	Typists	104	27.5	28	5	1
3	Bookkeepers	1,390	12.3	171	32	4
3	Calculating machine op.	66	54.5	36	3	2
3	Telephone Operators	272	15.[illegible]	42	5	1
3	Clerks	6,394	6.9	441	332	23
3	Government (general)	355	29.9	106	33	10
3	Salesmen	239	5.0	12	1	-
2	Telephone Operators	139	7.9	11	7	1
2	Nurses	2,949	74.9	2,209	80	60
2	Grade II Teachers	9,681	28.1	2,710	6	2
2	Housekeepers, Cooks, etc.	109	27.5	30	21	6

[1] Information obtained from Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, "High Level Manpower Survey, 1967 and Analysis of of Requirements, 1967-1981," (Entebbe, Uganda: Government Printer, no date.)

[2] For definitions of the educational levels see Appendix, Table A.1.

in the table can be taken to represen. out 90% of the employment offered in most of the occupations.[2]

The numbers in the first column of Table 4.2 represent the amount of education required by the employers for that jol. The categories are as follows: 9 = post-graduate, 8 = graduate or equivalent, 7 = HSC plus further training, 6 = HSC, 4 and 5 = CSC plus further training, 3 = CSC, 1 and 2 = primary school plus further training or apprenticeships. Occupations which are listed twice are those where two different levels of education are suitable. The column entitled "total vacancies" indicates the number of positions which employers were actively trying to fill at the time the survey was made in 1967. The numbers in this column give a rough idea of the demand for various types of jobs in which significant numbers of women are employed. The actual number of women currently employed in those occupations is given by the figure in the previous column entitled "number of females employed". Assuming that the proportion of women in each occupation would remain about the same, multiplying the number of vacancies by the percentage of women in that occupation produces an approximate figure for the number of vacancies open to women at that time. This number is shown in the last column.

The table reveals quite clearly that employment opportunities for women are concentrated in three areas: teaching, nursing and related medical services, and clerical-administrative jobs. If the number of positions in each of these categories is totaled, the results indicate nearly half of the total (48%) are in teaching, one third (33%) are in medical and nursing - the great bulk being nurses who enter training after

several years of secondary school, and just under 40% are in clerical and administrative support positions. In all, there are approximately 3500 women enumerated in the manpower survey of 1967 which represents about 17% of the total of 51,000 jobs reported. The employment pattern in 1967 clearly indicates the limitations on both range and the total number of jobs held by women. To understand what the position of women in the job market is likely to be in the future, one can look at current vacancies and at projected needs in various job categories.

As already indicated, the last column in Table 4.2 gives the estimated number of vacancies which will be filled by females, assuming the proportion of females will remain about constant. Although teaching constitutes nearly half the total positions, the figures suggest that teaching has only some 5% of the current vacancies for women. The great majority of the vacancies occur in the medical area with 50% of all vacancies. Virtually all of these are for nurses at the two different levels of training. The clerical-administrative area accounts for just under 40% of the vacancies. In interpreting these figures, the low number of vacancies in teaching needs comment. The small number primarily reflects the success of the Ministry of Education in recruiting expatriate teachers. Of the total number of secondary school teachers in 1967 (1,110) only 22% were Ugandans.[3] Thus there is considerable room for employment of Ugandan women teachers in the secondary schools as replacements for expatriate teachers. Assuming the proportion of women remains at the current level, there are about 300 potential places for women teachers in secondary schools alone. Since trained Ugandan women teachers are given priority in hiring, the opportunities for women as teachers in secondary schools would appear

to be substantial.

In an attempt to project future employment opportunities for women, Table 4.3 was constructed from the data in the 1967 Manpower Survey.[4] To facilitate analysis the occupations are grouped into the three categories previously discussed. The first column to the right of the occupations contains the percentage of each occupation held by women in 1967. The next two columns show the projected number of opportunities for women derived from the proportions held by women in 1967 and the total number of jobs projected in the manpower survey.

The distribution of the opportunities between the three categories shows an increasing trend toward medical opportunities with 55% (4,077 out of 7,445) in the first projection period and 6[illegible]% (6,362 out of 10,711) of the projected jobs in the second period. Teaching shows a slowly decreasing proportion with 32% in the '72 - '76 period and 27% in the following period. Clerical and administrative jobs remain about the same with approximately 13% of the total for both periods. The manpower projections make specific assumptions about the rate of Ugandanization a factor which is quite important in the higher level teaching positions. The assumption is that about 30% of posts held by non-Ugandans will be filled by Ugandans during each of the planning periods.[5]

In light of the need for secondary and other school teachers the apparent preponderance of medical opportunity needs further explanation. The major source of the medical employment is nursing with nearly three thousand nurses needed in the first period and over four thousand in the second. However, this category of nurses does not require a school

TABLE

PROJECTED DEMAND FOR WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

Educational level	Occupation	Female per cent 1967	# of Females required 1972-1976	# of Females required 1977-1981
		%		
	TEACHING			
9	School Teachers	28.2	67	114
8	School Teachers	29.9	68	113
7	Grade V Teachers	34.8	278	349
5	Grade IV Teachers	32.7	79	46
4	Grade III Teachers	25.7	1,235	2,326
2	Grade II Teachers	28.1	680	76
			2,407	3,024
	MEDICAL			
8	Medical Doctors	9.5	61	99
7	Nursing Sisters	90.9	49	84
5	Nursing Sisters	94.8	1,020	1,843
2	Nurses	74.9	2,947	4,336
			4,077	6,362
	CLERICAL			
4	Personal Secretaries	76.4	155	838
4	Typists	48.0	51	77
4	Punch Operators	66.7	9	13
3	General Clerical[1]	5.0[2]	346	510
			661	1,438
	TOTAL WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT		7,445	10,824

[1] Category includes typists, bookkeepers, calculating machine operators, telephone operators and clerks.

[2] This percentage is an approximation based on a weighted average of the percentages of the occupations included in this general category.

variables.

In summary, then, the relationship between the schools in terms of the characteristics of their pupils shows a fairly consistent ordering. Cayzee and Hangunga have been able to capitalize effectively on their reputations and long history to recruit pupils from the strongest backgrounds. Sacred Heart, although well established, is less effective and has slipped a bit below Tecon, a new but well-financed school which has succeeded in rising rapidly to a position just below that of the best

[illegible] M. S. M. Kiwanuka, "The Crisis of Education in Uganda: Miss Kark's Harvest," East African Journal Vol. IV (2), (May, 1967), pp. 18-23

[illegible] Ibid., p. 22.

[illegible] While coding, any case in which the student instead [illegible] categories was resolved by coding the response as "rather" which produced a slight weighting of the data in favor of this category.

[illegible] E. C. A. Sneesee, Predicting Success in School Certificate (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House), 1968.

Certificate for entrance into training and as a result is not normally considered an employment opportunity for a girl who has successfully completed secondary school. Likewise the Grade II teacher does not require a completed secondary school education. If these two categories are removed from the table in order to make it reflect the market for secondary school graduates, the proportions in each category change significantly.

Without these two occupations the proportion of opportunities in teaching rises to something over 40% for the two periods and surpasses the medical category which now provides opportunities for about one third of the jobs. The Clerical group rises to about one quarter of the total. These proportions reflect more accurately what the females who finish secondary school in the future are likely to be doing. The original figures do indicate though, the relatively rapid expected growth of the medical sector in the next decade and the subsequent demand for post-primary female workers.

To understand the importance of these figures, the major areas of employment for women must be set in the larger context of overall wage employment in the country. The 1967 estimation of employees indicated a total wage employment of about 257,000 out of a population estimated at that time to be eight and one half million.[6] Not only is the total employment available quite small, but also the rate of growth of new jobs is very slow. Between 1957 and 1965 the number employed appears to have remained essentially constant at about 240,000.[7] As a result much of the growth in opportunities for new jobs must come from replacement as people retire

or die, and from Ugandanization of jobs held by Asians or Europeans.

What are the implications of the preceding discussion for the girls who will be completing secondary school in the next five or so years? The picture which emerges can be summarized as follows. The total wage economy in the country is quite small and is expanding slowly. Women hold about 17% of the jobs which require some education beyond primary school. Expansion of the number of jobs open to women requires an increase in the proportion available to women and/or an increase in the total number of jobs. Since many of the new openings result from vacancies created by people leaving employment, and since women leave much more frequently than men in order to get married or have children, one would expect more turnover in the jobs held by women now and consequently more opportunities than for men in comparable jobs. However, in many cases there is no assurance that a departing woman will not be replaced by a man.

Particularly at the School Certificate level the supply of people looking for jobs is already well balanced with a number of openings.[8] As the output from the rapid expansion of secondary education in the late sixties reaches the market one can expect a very competitive situation to develop. In such a situation one can speculate on the ability of the girls to maintain their existing proportion of the jobs. Generally speaking girls have educational opportunities which are somewhat lower in quality than that of the boys, particularly at the primary level. This leaves them with more ground to make up in secondary school in order to compete equally with the boys. On the other hand some girls secondary schools have

in the past been able to be very selective because of the limited number of places open to girls, with the result that the girls from such a school are often very well qualified. With the expansion of opportunities for girls at the secondary level though, there are times now when schools have difficulty filling their places with qualified girls. As a result, the authors would predict that the boys will probably make some inroads into the proportion of jobs held by girls, especially in the teaching sector and to a lesser extent in the technical-administrative area.

Attempts to make a quantitative summary of the situation which girls finishing secondary school in the first half of the 1970's will face is difficult because of the uncertainty attached to most of the figures. A rough statement of the situation based on the figures presented above would indicate that: 1) the schools will graduate about 2500 girls from S4 each year - rising from 2200 in 1970 to perhaps 3000 by 1975; 2) the number of annual training opportunities will probably be in the range of 800 to 1000 during this period - Table 4. shows a total of about 600 for 1967; 3) the opportunities for direct employment or employment after short-term training is much harder to assess. From Table 4.3 one can assume that jobs with a '3' educational level are open and perhaps as much as two-thirds of the '4' level jobs would also be open due to the shortage of people with the desired '4' level training. Using these assumptions one arrives at a figure of about 380 positions open each year.[9]

Taking the middle figures in the ranges given above, the results show that about one-third of the graduates can hope for some form of

further training while perhaps 15% will be able to find some form of employment with or without a short training course. The remaining half of the group are left to return to their homes, get married, or hang about trying to gain entrance to training or employment situations. Most of the latter will probably not want to take jobs such as matrons, domestic workers, or cooks because of their low status and pay. Ultimately this pool of women may lead to an increased participation in such non-salaried roles as women's clubs, charities, and community development activities.

In the following sections the picture described above will be compared with the knowledge of jobs, the aspirations, and the expectations of the girls in school. An attempt will be made to measure the degree of realism in the girls' perceptions of the world they will enter after S4 and to explore connections between the degree of realism and the programs offered at the different schools in the sample.

Curriculum and Careers: A brief description of the school programs

The six schools in the sample have a large core of commonality. All are girls' boarding schools which prepare girls to take the same set of national examinations at the end of four years. With the possible exception of Tororo the schools have as much as 90% of their curriculum in common; the same subjects taught in the same year and about the same number of periods devoted to each subject. The schools differ in the optional subjects offered, in the emphasis placed on various types of clubs and activities, in the amount of time and resources devoted to careers

counseling, and in the less tangible ... sphere of the school which sets norms and goals for the girls. In the ...ief summaries which follow some of the programmatic differences between the schools will be outlined.

The three schools with higher school classes are larger and would be expected to have more diversified staff and program than smaller schools. All three of these schools are able to draw upon external sources for materials and donations to support non-academic programs. Two of the schools, Namagunga and Gayaza, are closely tied to church societies which have extensive organizations both within Uganda and in England. Tororo, the third school, is in an even more favorable position because of the generous support which the school has received since its inception from the United States Agency for International Development.

The program of practical subjects at Namagunga, at the time this study was done, is primarily a tribute to staff initiative and effort beyond their normal duties. As a result the school offers some limited training in typing and in home economics. The typing is essentially an extra-curricular club activity which allows a small number of girls to practice office skills; it is believed that the school eventually hopes to expand the effort into a more comprehensive commercial training program. The home economics program is more extensive and can be traced to the unofficial efforts of an energetic staff member. Classes in home economics are on the timetable for S1 and S2 pupils, and are offered as an option for girls in the higher school. Although modest in scope, the classes have generated considerable interest among the girls, many of whom indicated that even greater interest would be forthcoming if the subject could be

offered at examination level. Finally Namagunga is distinguished by a system of governance which places girls in positions of considerable responsibility. The various "Ministries" of Culture, Sleep, Food, Social Graces and so forth offer direct practical training in problems of administration, organization, and supervision.

The practical training offered at Gayaza centers around home economics and modern farming schemes. Home economics classes are offered to all forms in the lower school leading to a General Housecraft paper on the examination in form four. All pupils in the first two forms get about two periods a week of home economics with a curriculum which puts emphasis on the various aspects of nutrition. When they reach form three, the girls choose between Housecraft, Art, and Music and then spend their last two years preparing for the examination in the subject of their choice.

Supplementing the home economics program is a well-developed project known as the Farm-Diet Scheme.[10] The program was conceived over fifteen years ago as part of an effort to combat Kwashiorkor; today the program attempts to establish a strong association between local agriculture practices and various issues concerning diet and health being stressed in home economics classes. The program is built around the day-to-day operation of a school farm by all of the girls who, in turn, take responsibility for the early morning duties on the farm. The farm combines the raising of a variety of animals and poultry with the growing of basic food crops. Coupled with the farm program have been pilot attempts to have the girls use their knowledge to provide some extension services to surrounding villages. The school hopes to make use of the

Young Farmers club and the Nutrition [illegible] to promote a program of visits to villages.

Tororo, the third school in the group, is unique in that it was designed and specially funded to provide streams with a practical bias. At the end of the second year the girls are split into three groups who will follow different programs for the last two years of school. The academic stream pursues the normal program leading to the examination. The commercial and home economics streams follow a program which consists of a basic core of academic subjects and a series of other courses focused on their specialities. Prior to selection into streams, the girls in the first two forms receive some classwork in typing and home economics so that even the academic stream has had some experience with practical subjects. The program at Tororo is discussed in greater detail in Chapter Six so no more will be said at this point.

The other three schools in the sample do not have higher schools and, with the exception of Sacred Heart, have only recently been upgraded to full senior secondary status. Of the three, Nabisunsa has the most extensive practical program, concentrating on home economics and needlework. About half the girls in the lower forms do either home economics or needlework while the other half does art. Each form has a group of girls which takes needlework throughout in preparation for sitting a written and a practical examination after four years. Both subjects are a regular part of the timetable and having one of them an examination subject helps to promote interest in both. The school has the usual clubs and activities, but none with direct practical bias.

Although it is an established school, Sacred Heart does not at the moment offer any practical courses or have any clubs with a distinctly practical bias. The headmistress, however, does believe that the girls are interested in commercial subjects rather than in domestic science because the former is more likely to lead to a job. Some practical experience is available through the system of prefects and the fact that girls are responsible for most of the cleaning of the school. These experiences are common to all schools and in many cases include duties related to preparation of food and cleaning up after meals.

Bweranyangi, the last school, is still in the process of rapid expansion and the staff feels that building a strong academic program must come before the development of practical courses. They look forward to adding such programs in the future when their school is fully established. Both Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart express the desire to add a higher school before beginning to diversify into practical subjects. Bweranyangi does have small societies concerned with cookery and dressmaking so at least some of the girls have exposure to these subjects. The school also has a history of practical training since it was previously a secondary modern school which provided training for nurses.

Having looked briefly at the practical curriculum in each of the schools the question remains as to the extent of their careers programs. As might be expected, the role of the careers mistress varies widely between schools; the nature and extent of each program is dependent upon several factors over which the school has limited control. Vocational guidance and career counseling are relatively new elements in Uganda's educational

system and the Ministry of Education has so far been able to provide only minimal support for school careers programs. While the Ministry is now building up the staff and materials available, the programs currently functioning in the schools depend almost entirely on the initiative of individual staff members. In almost all cases the task of being careers mistress is an extra-curricular responsibility over and above the normal teaching load of the teacher.

Perhaps the single most important factor which differentiates the careers programs of the six schools, is the proximity of the school to an urban area. Since most schools have no trained careers personnel, heavy reliance must be placed on the resources of the community. The most frequently used technique is to invite people from employing agencies or people holding appropriate jobs to visit the school and talk to the girls. The effectiveness of such a program depends on the availability of suitable visitors and on the amount of energy the school is able to devote to making arrangements for the visits. Three of the schools in the sample are within less than an hour's drive from the capital and therefore have the opportunity to make use of the diversity of resources available there.

Namagunga, lying halfway between the capital and Jinja, the second largest city and the industrial center of Uganda, is perhaps in the most ideal position. A new careers mistress had just been appointed at Namagunga and she was in the process of organizing a program. Previously some counseling had taken place by the headmistress and in the context of the home economics classes being organized there. Nabbunsa is located on the same road, but much closer to Kampala than Namagunga. Taking advantage of

its location, Nabisunsa has mounted a fairly extensive program highlighted by a series of visits from women in professional jobs. Recent visitors have included nurses, a laboratory technician, and a physiotherapist. Following these presentations, the girls in the upper forms are divided into small groups which discuss the occupations mentioned in order to clarify such things as the amount of training required and the demand for those occupations.

Gayaza is the third school situated close to the capital. The careers mistress at Gayaza attempts to provide a fairly systematic program of information on careers by giving talks herself and by making use of outside speakers. A unique aspect of Gayaza's program is the attempt to involve the parents of each form four girl in the process of setting educational and career priorities following the completion of secondary school. A questionnaire is sent home with each girl for the parents to indicate their interests and preferences in terms of their daughter's future. Replies from the questionnaire as well as other written material, such as essays about future careers, provide the careers mistress with information helpful in assisting the girls with plans for the future.

Tororo lies in a middle position, situated 130 miles from the capital, but on the main road to Kenya. The school, however, has the distinction of being the only school in the country with a separate staff position occupied by a trained guidance mistress. Since full details are given in Chapter Six, it will suffice here to give only a short statement of the program at Tororo. The careers office has two major tasks: to

gather enough information about the girls' abilities and interests to make appropriate selections into the three streams; and to provide a systematic careers information and counseling program for the girls about to complete their courses at the school. In addition, the office has undertaken a fairly comprehensive system of records on each girl in the school.

The remaining two schools are handicapped by their relative distance from any kind of urban center: Sacred Heart is in a small town 200 miles north of the capital, while Bweranyangi is located in a completely rural setting 200 miles west of the capital. In both schools, the role of careers mistress is performed by the headmistress along with their numerous other responsibilities. Both heads make a concerted attempt to know their senior girls personally and to provide counseling on an individual basis. Occasionally assemblies are used to discuss career options or to provide a platform for the rare visitor. Some informal guidance also takes place in the service activities carried on by clubs in the schools. Otherwise the girls have to rely on sporadic attempts of individual teachers to provide what guidance they can as part of their regular teaching program.

Clearly, with the exception of Tororo, the careers programs in the schools are confined to small-scale local efforts provided primarily by almost heroic efforts on the parts of one or two individuals in each school. Their relative strength depends mostly on the ease with which suitable visitors can be brought to the school. Even Tororo, although in a much better position because of the availability of trained staff, is

handicapped by the lack of information about careers in the country and by the distance of the school from the large cities.[12] The content of the guidance program had to be developed almost from scratch by the new staff, often from information which existed only in fragments scattered across Ministries and private organizations.

Jobs: Their Relative Popularity and Familiarity

When a girl enters secondary school her knowledge of the world of work is limited to her experience with friends and relatives who are working and her own direct exposure to people in work roles in the community. When half to two-thirds of the girls (see Table 3.?) come from villages or small towns, the range of occupations which they will be aware of is understandably small. As a result, one of the major tasks facing secondary schools is that of extending and clarifying the cognitive map of the occupational world which the girls bring with them. The school needs to convey to the girls such things as, the range of jobs open to them, the skills required in various occupations, the probable working conditions and remuneration associated with different roles, and the amount of preparation needed for various kinds of employment. At the same time the school must help the girls adjust their own desires and expectations to the realities of both their own abilities and the competitive and training situation in the job market.

In an attempt to assess the extent of the girls' acquaintance with jobs they were asked to: "Think about what Ugandan women who go out to work do in their jobs. List as many jobs as you know something about."

They were provided with six unnumbered lines in which to record their responses. The results were coded to record both the number of jobs and the different kinds of jobs which they mentioned. Table 4.4 presents the average number of jobs mentioned by school and by form with school.[12] The results are broken down by form because one would expect a fairly strong trend of increasing knowledge about jobs as the girls get older. The table does provide evidence for such a trend. In all cases the mean for S4 girls is higher than the mean for S1 girls and in most schools there is a systematic trend from S1 to S4. Whether these differences can be attributed to the standard subjects in school, to specific careers efforts in the school, or just to general maturation is an open question. In four of the schools there is a substantial increase between S2 and S3. In the case of Tororo, this coincides with the beginning of a conscious guidance program for the girls. Other schools rely heavily on visitors to provide career information, and frequently for reasons of limited space, only the girls in the upper forms attend the talks.

Comparisons across schools indicate that Namagunga is unusually high in S1, and seems, except in S2, to maintain the same level across all forms - suggesting a fairly high level of awareness throughout the whole school. At the S3 and S4 level Tororo is consistently high. Comparable levels are present in Gayaza in S3 and Nabisunsa in S4. Except in S2 Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi are consistently the lowest of the six schools. Paralleling the increasing trend of number of jobs across forms is a decreasing trend in the standard deviation. In S4 the smaller dispersion reflects the fact that more of the students can give four to seven occupations (nine was the maximum counted).

TABLE 4.4

AVERAGE NUMBER OF JOBS MENTIONED[1]
BY SCHOOL AND FORM

LOWER SCHOOLS	Form 1	Form 2	Form 3	Form 4
Tororo	4.92 (2.0)	5.00 (2.1)	5.64 (1.8)	5.61 (1.4)
Gayaza	4.67 (2.5)	5.14 (2.2)	5.59 (1.7)	5.19 (1.4)
Namagunga	5.39 (1.9)	4.87 (1.7)	5.33 (2.0)	5.43 (1.6)
Nabisunsa	4.67 (2.0)	4.59 (2.0)	5.38 (1.8)	5.65 (1.7)
Sacred Heart	4.15 (2.1)	4.93 (1.9)	4.69 (1.4)	4.85 (1.7)
Bweranyangi	5.54 (1.9)	5.17 (1.4)	5.18 (1.5)	5.07 (1.5)

HIGHER SCHOOLS	Form 5	Form 6
Tororo	5.32 (1.6)	4.60 (1.6)
Gayaza	5.19 (1.8)	4.63 (2.3)
Namagunga	5.42 (1.8)	5.10 (2.0)

[1] The number in parentheses is the standard deviation.

The higher school results are surprising in that they are never larger than those of S4 and, even more perplexing, show a consistent decrease from S5 to S6. The differences between schools are not large, although Namagunga retains its pattern of consistently high values. One hypothesis might be that many of the girls in S5 and S6 come from co-educational schools where what guidance there is focuses on opportunities for boys. However, that will not explain the consistent decrease from S5 to S6. The results in Table 4.4 should be taken as a small part of a larger picture since most of the differences are not statistically significant. Taken as a whole, the results show that most girls with a little thought can name about five jobs.

Another measure of the girls' knowledge about the world of work is the diversity of the jobs which they indicate awareness of. The total number of different jobs mentioned was calculated for each school based upon a cumulation of the first three jobs given by each girl in answer to the question discussed above. On the average the lower schools mentioned about 30 different occupations each. The higher schools also mentioned about 30 jobs. This would seem to indicate that in terms of the first three jobs which the average girl would mention as knowing something about, selection would take place from the thirty or so jobs which were part of that school's awareness of the occupational world. However, as will be clear later, the four most popular jobs account for nearly 80% of the responses.

Comparison between schools on this measure is confounded by the unknown relationship between the number of students sampled in a school

and the number of different jobs mentioned. Correction for the different sample sizes in the six schools cannot be done without an assumption about the relationship between the two variables. Common sense would lead one to expect a positive relationship, but probably not a linear one. Increasing the sample from 50 to 100 might double the diversity, but increasing from 100 to 200 might produce only a 50% increase in diversity, and so forth.[13] The only schools which stand out in spite of this difficulty are the relatively high diversity exhibited by Nabisunsa lower school and the Namagunga higher school. In both cases the high diversity occurs with fairly small samples. The high diversity at Nabisunsa may be traceable to the active career visitors program there.

To tap another aspect of the girls' perceptions of future jobs, they were asked to respond to a list of twenty-three occupations generally open to women in Uganda. The girls were asked to indicate how popular they thought each occupation is by selecting one of four responses ranging from 'very popular' to 'very unpopular.' Although it is traditional in such studies to give the respondents two separate lists asking for prestige rankings on one and income rankings on another, in this study only a single list was used. Preliminary field work showed that many of the girls, particularly in the lower forms, had only vague ideas about the jobs and couldn't easily distinguish between them on different dimensions. Asking them to rate jobs on several different characteristics would produce essentially the same result on both lists.[14] The authors felt that the time needed to respond to a second list could be better used on other questions. Some data on their perceptions of incomes was collected and will

be presented below when occupational expectations are discussed.

The rankings of the twenty-three occupations by popularity are presented in Table 4.5 for each of the six schools in the sample. The results for the higher schools are presented in separate columns since they differ significantly from the rankings of the lower schools. The occupations are listed in the order of their ranking from most popular to least popular when the entire sample (about 1450 for this question) is taken as a group. The first column gives the mean and standard deviation on which the overall ranking is based. The means can range from one, very popular to four, very unpopular. The remaining columns give the various rankings of the occupations by each lower and higher school in the sample.

The rankings show some interesting differences from traditional results to such surveys and reveal a fair amount of realism on the part of the girls. When both boys and girls are given the same list to respond to, the jobs are usually heavily weighted in favor of those open primarily to boys. The result is a high similarity between the ranking produced by the boys and that produced by the girls. Thus Foster's findings in Ghana[15] and the Ivory Coast[16] show the following patterns for girls' prestige rankings of occupations:

Ghana	Ivory Coast
Doctor	Univer. Professor
University Lecturer	Engineer
Lawyer	Lawyer
Author	Doctor
Chief	Sec. Sch. Tchr. (lycee)
Secondary Sch. Tchr.	Clergyman
Clergyman	Sec. Sch. Tchr. (college)
Political Party Wrkr.	Radio Announcer
Businessman	Pr. Sch. Tchr
Nurse	Electrician

These partially reproduced lists clearly show the traditional ranking beginning with the professional occupations, moving down to technical jobs, and then to the lesser skilled manual tasks. The rankings given by the girls in such surveys appear to bear little resemblance to their own preferences or rankings of jobs which are realistically open to them. For example, a major source of employment for girls, being a nurse, is ranked 10th in Ghana and 15th in the Ivory Coast. The resulting rankings are therefore of primarily academic interest - reflecting the girls' perceptions of the male-dominated occupational structure.

However, when girls are given a separate list which consists of the major occupations which they can realistically expect to participate in, a very different picture emerges. Presented below is a comparison of the rankings found by Foster in the Ivory Coast[17], Klingelhofer in Tanzania[18], Muckenhirn in Nigeria[19], and the Uganda results taken from Table 4.5.

Uganda	Tanzania	Nigeria	Ivory Coast
Secretary	Doctor	None of these	Midwife
Nurse	Radio Announc.	Secretary	Social Worker
Typist	Office Clerk	Civil Serv.	College Prof.
Sec. Sch. Tch.	Secretary	Bank Employ	Pre. Sch. Tchr.
Headmistress	Airline Host.	Teacher	Secretary
Midwife	Nurse	Airline Host.	Beautician
Doctor	Sec. Sch. Tchr.	Factory Employ	Assist. in Store
Pri. Sch. Tchr.	Univ. Tchr.	Newspaper Employ	Businesswoman
Radio Announcer	Pri. Sch. Tchr.	Policewoman	
Gov. Clerk	Policewoman	Saleslady	
Dressmaker	Dressmaker		
Airline Host.	Housewife		
Agric. Officer	Shop Sales Girl		

Except in the case of Uganda, the complete lists which the girls had to choose from are given. When given lists such as these, the girls

in three of the four countries seem to place secretarial and office type positions near the top of their preferences. Their next choice seems to be health-related occupations like nurse, midwife, or doctor. These are followed closely by the various teaching occupations with secondary school teaching generally preferred over primary school positions. Teaching in university is a position about which there is considerable ambiguity. In both the Ivory Coast and Tanzania it is ranked above primary school teaching while in Uganda it is ranked 15th, well below the other two kinds of teaching. This ambiguity may reflect the fact that the girls have little conception of the role of a university lecturer and in most cases see it as an unlikely future occupation for themselves. Yet, at the same time, they see the university as a high prestige institution and feel that working there must be a desirable position. Near the bottom of all the lists come positions of service to the general public like policewoman and sales girl in stores. (Table 4.5 shows these as 19th and 22nd respectively for Uganda.)

The overall impression which emerges is that of lower and more realistic aspirations on the part of girls responding to lists limited to women's occupations. Particularly in Uganda one sees a general downgrading of the professional positions like doctor, lawyer, accountant, librarian and university lecturer in favor of the more likely occupations. The ranking in Uganda shows an encouraging similarity to the projected demands for high level manpower outlined in Table 4.3. Some disparity remains though, in that the demand is ranked teaching, medical, and clerical for girls who have completed secondary school, while the preferences clearly put clerical first followed by a mixture of health and teaching.

Supporting this pattern of more realistic preferences is some interesting work by Irvine in western Rhodesia.[20] He carried out a factor analysis on a combined list of jobs, job conditions, and sex from the responses of his population of approximately 300 fourth form students. His purpose was to map the underlying dimensions which contribute to group ratings of occupational prestige. Of the eight factors which emerged, the one which he calls 'female preference' is most relevant to this study. This factor contained the female sex and four occupations: nurse, doctor, typist, and primary teacher listed in order of descending loadings. Despite the fact that the girls in the sample were given the same list as the boys, the results suggest that the girls were able to focus clearly on the jobs most relevant to them. These results run parallel to the pattern in Uganda with differences which in part reflect the more limited opportunities open to Africans in Rhodesia.

Having discussed the overall ranking of jobs, a few comments are desirable about the differences in the rankings between schools. Table 4.5 indicates a clear difference between the lower and higher schools on a number of occupations. In the teaching occupations, both primary and secondary teaching (including the job of headmistress) move from a rank of about six in the lower school to a rank of twelve or more in higher school. University teaching, along with lawyer and accountant, move in the opposite direction from around fourteen to a rank of eleven or twelve in higher school. Other occupations which move up noticeably from lower to higher school are those of airline hostess and radio announcer, both fairly glamorous occupations with high national visibility. In the health services sector nurse moves down from approximately first in lower school to

about fourth in the higher schools, while doctor moves in the other direction increasing in popularity in the higher schools. In general, these changes reflect the increased chance which higher school pupils have to move into professional jobs and the consequent lowering of the desirability of jobs requiring less training. One disturbing factor is the relatively low ranking of secondary school teacher which in reality will be one of the major sources of employment for girls completing higher school.

In making the above observations from Table 4.5 strong differences between individual schools are apparent for certain occupations. Focusing just on teaching and professional level jobs, regular patterns between schools seem to emerge. Gayaza and Namagunga consistently rank teaching jobs lower than the other schools at both lower and higher levels. For university lecturer, however, the pattern is reversed with these two schools ranking the job as high or higher than the other schools. The pattern for university lecturer follows that of all the professional occupations like lawyer, accountant, and doctor. In contrast, Tororo and Nabisunsa stand out as consistently giving the lowest ratings for the professional occupations at both the higher and lower school levels. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi fall in between these two groups of schools, tending to give professional jobs rankings just above those given by Tororo and Nabisunsa, but below the high position which they occupy at Gayaza and Namagunga.

Particularly noticeable are the differences in rankings given for Doctors. Gayaza and Namagunga seem to have a very strong school interest

in this profession, an interest which evident at all levels in the school. This commitment contrasts strongly with the much lower ranking for doctor at Tororo, Nabisunsa, and Sacred Heart. One explanatory factor for the high interest in Gayaza and Namagunga is clear from the distributions of parents' occupations between schools. Summary data on fathers' occupations presented in Table 3.12 shows that these two schools have the highest percentage of fathers in the professional categories at both the lower and higher school levels. When disaggregated, the data shows that in the lower schools 6% of the girls at Gayaza and 4% at Namagunga have fathers who are doctors, while no other school in the sample has more than 2%. Table 3.13 indicates a similar pattern for mothers who are engaged in medical activities. When all these results are combined to give total percentages of girls in the lower school who have either parent engaged in some sort of medical occupation the following proportions emerge: Gayaza - 22%; Namagunga - 13% Nabisunsa - 9%; Tororo - 8%; Bweranyangi - 5%; and Sacred Heart - 3%. Like proportions exist in the three higher schools.

In such a situation, the ideal of girls becoming doctors has probably become a part of the school culture. The ideal draws support from the family experience of incoming girls and is fostered within the school by the return of old girls who have gone on to become doctors, by pressure from parents, and by the efforts of the staff who continually held up medical occupations as desirable goals. One would expect the influence of these factors to be apparent in the aspirations and expectations of the girls. Following sections of this chapter will demonstrate this quite clearly.

TABLE 4.5

RANKING OF OCCUPATIONAL POPULARITY

OCCUPATION	Total Population	LOWER SCHOOLS Tororo	Gayaza	Namagunga	Nabi-sunsa	Sacred Heart	Bweran-yangi	HIGHER SCHOOLS Tororo	Gayaza	Namagunga
Nurse	1.46 (.7)*	1	3	3	1	1.5	2	2	5	5.5
Secretary	1.46 (.7)	2	2	1	3.5	4	3	1	1	1
Typist	1.64 (.8)	3.5	7	4	6	10	8	4	3	3
Secondary Teacher	1.66 (.7)	3.5	5	5	3.5	3	6.5	6	14	14
Midwife	1.69 (.8)	6	6	8	7	5	6.5	3	7	7
Headmistress	1.69 (.8)	7	4	6	2	1.5	1	12	18	13
Doctor	1.73 (1.0)	11	1	2	12	8	4	13	2	2
Primary Teacher	1.77 (1.0)	5	10	10	5	6.5	5	5	17	19
Radio broadcaster	1.80 (.9)	9.5	9	8	8	9	9	9	4	4
Government clerk	1.91 (.8)	8	17	12.5	10	6.5	10	8	15	8
Dressmaker	1.95 (1.0)	9.5	15	8	9	15	15	10	13	15
Air hostess	1.97 (1.0)	12	11	11	11	19	11	7	10	
Agricultural officer	2.07 (.9)	13	14	15.5	18	13	12	14	16	
Accountant	2.08 (1.0)	14	12	12.5	16	17	16	16	6	9.5
University lecturer	2.09 (1.1)	15	13	14	17	14	14	20	8	11
Lawyer	2.12 (1.1)	20	8	15.5	19	16	13	15	11	9.5
Community development worker	2.17 (.9)	17	18	18	15	11	17	11	12	17
Librarian	2.20 (.9)	19	16	17	14	18	18	17	9	16
Policewoman	2.37 (.9)	18	20	19	20	12	19	21.5	22	20
Laboratory technician	2.45 (1.0)	23	19	20	22	20	20	19	19	18
Waitress	2.45 (1.0)	16	21	21	21	22	23	18	21	21
Saleswoman	2.55 (1.2)	22	22	22	23	21	21.5	21.5	20	22
Dormitory matron	2.70 (1.0)	21	23	23	13	23	21.5	23	23	23

*Number in parentheses indicates standard deviation.

The other schools compensate for their relatively lower interest in doctors by rating nurses and midwives higher than Gayaza or Namagunga. Tororo and Nabisunsa are particularly high for these two occupations, reflecting perhaps the development of a 'nursing culture' parallel to that of the doctors in Gayaza and Namagunga.

Finally, turning to the clerical occupations, the table reveals a somewhat different relationship. All schools rate secretary very highly at both levels. Typists are less popular in the lower schools with only Tororo and Namagunga standing out with high rankings. At the higher school level Tororo is slightly lower than the other two schools, despite the presence of a commercial stream. Greater distinctions appear for the job of government clerk which would use many of the same skills. At the lower level Tororo and Sacred Heart are high, while at the higher level Tororo and Namagunga are again paired together. Taking all three office-type jobs together Tororo appears to have the strongest commitment to such work, closely followed by Namagunga. With the presence of a full commercial stream at both the lower and higher school level in Tororo, these results are not surprising. The high ranking of Namagunga coincides with the fact that it is the only other school in the sample to offer girls some chance to learn office skills.

A few general comments can be made about the overall relationships between schools on the popularity ranking of occupations. The pattern between the three schools having a higher school is quite consistent. Tororo consistently rates the traditionally high prestige, professional jobs substantially lower than Gayaza or Namagunga. The pattern is reversed

for the more applied, middle level jobs which Tororo ranks notably higher than the other two schools. This is apparent for jobs like community development worker, waitress, secondary teacher, midwife, primary teacher, and dressmaker. The pattern among the lower schools reflects a similar but less clear situation for these three schools. The other three schools, which do not have higher schools, fluctuate with less pattern. Generally speaking, Nabisunsa seems to approximate the Tororo rankings the closest, while Bweranyangi tends to parallel the choices of Gayaza and Namagunga. Sacred Heart falls in between these two with a few notable exceptions such as the high ranking of community development worker and policewoman.

The data presented in this section has provided some insight into the awareness of the job market on the part of the girls, and their rankings of the popularity of various occupations. In the next section many of the relationships suggested in the rankings will be reflected in the aspirations and expectations which the girls have about their futures.

Jobs: Aspirations and Expectations

The distribution of aspirations and expectations of the girls provides insight into a number of important questions. From a manpower perspective questions of the relationship between supply and demand of different types of skills and training are raised. From a political and a personal satisfaction standpoint, questions about the degree to which the girls will be able to fulfill their desires become important. From a curriculum and guidance viewpoint questions about the suitability,

relevance, and efficacy of school programs as presently constituted arise. In short, the aspirations and expectations of the girls form a preliminary bridge between their present school environment and their future work and life environment.

To begin mapping the components of this bridge, the girls were asked two questions about their future job preferences: one phrased in terms of their desires if they "were completely free to choose" and the second asking them to "think honestly about your abilities and the jobs available" before they indicated the job they really thought they might get.[21] Finally, to begin relating their choice to family influence, the girls were asked to indicate "What job the person most interested in your education would like you to have when you finish school." The results of these three questions provide a look at three different aspects of the girls' perceptions of what they might do after completing their education.

A summary of these results is presented in Table 4.6 which includes the percentages in each occupational category responding to each of the three questions. The problem of grouping the occupations in order to reduce the data to a manageable format has a variety of possible solutions. Basically there are two dimensions commonly used for such grouping: level of education or training required for the job, and sector of the economy in which the job occurs. Most systems use a mixture of these two dimensions. The categories used for Table 4.6 are likewise a mixture, although they are fairly homogeneous within categories in terms of level of education required. The categories are derived from those used in the Ugandan manpower survey[22] and were constructed by putting each of

the jobs mentioned by the girls into the category used in the survey. Each category in the table will be briefly discussed below. Supplementary details are presented in Table 4.7 which gives the fifteen most popular jobs for each question. By referring to both tables, a fairly clear idea of the patterns of choices can be obtained. (See also Table A.2.)

The first category is for top level administrative and management posts that typically require at least the equivalent of a university degree and extensive experience. It includes primarily senior government posts and senior farm management. Very few females are currently employed in these jobs, and the small percentages of girls indicating interest in such occupations may indicate an awareness of this fact. Differences between aspirations, expectations, and family desires are small. Except for Gayaza and Namagunga, there is a consistent drop in percentage from aspiration to expectation.

Junior management includes middle level posts in government and related agencies and typically requires School Certificate plus some extra training, but less than that needed for senior management. Within this group are jobs like police and fire officers, and radio, catering, and farm management. In radio and catering the percentage of females currently employed is about 20%, but the total number of jobs in each case is less than fifty. The only job mentioned in the top fifteen which occurs in this category is that of air hostess which received nearly 3% of the aspirations, but drops to less than half of that for expectations. The other two dominant jobs in this group are policewoman and hotel manager each having about 1% of the total aspirations. The latter is interesting in that

nearly 75% of those aspiring to be hotel managers come from Tororo, a clear reflection of the explicit discussion given such a career in the home economics stream. Again in this category there is a consistent drop from aspirations to expectations which is true for all schools individually as well except for Gayaza lower school where there is a small rise.

The third category, professional occupations, is the most popular of the seven and consists of posts requiring university training or the equivalent. These are jobs where the training is specifically related to the tasks in the occupations such as accountant, lawyer, doctor, chemist, physicist, university lecturer, veterinarian, etc. The concentration of aspirations and expectations in this category is reflected in the fact that seven or eight of the top fifteen jobs listed in Table 4.7 fall in this category. (See Table A.3 in the appendix for a complete listing of the top fifteen occupations by school.) The table also demonstrates the disproportionate emphasis on doctor which accounts for 20% of all aspirations across the sample and 12% of all expectations. The next most frequent profession has only one third that percentage in either case: lawyer with 6% in aspirations and Agricultural Officer with 4.5% in expectations.

The popularity of being a doctor was commented on above, particularly in Gayaza, and this same trend is clear in the 70% of Gayaza lower school whose aspirations fall into the professional category. Over half of the 70% is composed of aspirations to be doctors, with the next occupation being engineer with less than one quarter as many choices. In all lower

TABLE 4.6

ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND FAMILY PREFERENCES FOR JOBS
(Percentage by School and Job Category)

	LOWER SCHOOLS						HIGHER SCHOOLS			TOTAL POPULATION
	Tororo	Gayaza	Namagunga	Nabisunsa	Sacred Heart	Bweranyangi	Tororo	Gayaza	Namagunga	
TOP MANAGEMENT	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Aspirations	1.9	.8	3.0	3.1	-0-	.6	3.7	1.3	2.5	1.8
Expectations	-0-	.9	4.2	1.3	-0-	-0-	1.9	1.3	2.6	1.1
Family job pref.	1.6	.7	.9	.8	1.2	-0-	-0-	2.6	2.2	1.0
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT										
Aspirations	7.2	3.4	6.5	6.3	3.3	8.1	3.7	1.3	4.9	5.5
Expectations	3.8	3.9	4.8	2.5	1.6	3.1	1.0	-0-	1.3	3.0
Family job pref.	3.9	3.3	2.8	2.4	2.5	4.0	-0-	-0-	2.2	2.9
PROFESSIONAL										
Aspirations	36.0	70.0	61.5	45.6	36.9	40.0	41.3	62.	71.6	46
Expectations	22.8	50.9	43.7	23.8	23.0	17.5	25.0	42.	45.5	3
Family job pref.	31.2	76.8	58.5	34.6	37.0	29.6	38.7	59.0	62.2	44.7
TECHNICAL										
Aspirations	14.5	19.0	15.4	18.1	26.2	25.6	35.8	29.1	12.3	20.1
Expectations	21.6	30.6	22.2	28.1	32.8	30.6	51.0	45.3	39.0	29.9
Family job pref.	16.0	13.2	16.0	36.2	22.2	33.6	48.0	30.8	20.0	24.0
ARTISANS*										
SKILLED OFFICE WORKERS										
Aspirations	22.2	2.1	4.7	14.4	13.1	8.8	10.1	2.5	4.9	11.1
Expectations	28.8	5.2	12.6	20.0	11.5	10.6	14.4	8.0	7.8	15.6
Family job pref.	30.0	1.3	5.7	7.1	8.6	4.8	6.7	-0-	4.4	11.3
OTHERS										
Aspirations	18.5	4.6	8.9	11.9	20.5	16.9	5.5	3.8	3.7	11.8
Expectations	22.5	8.6	12.6	24.4	31.1	38.1	5.8	2.7	3.9	18.5
Family job pref.	17.4	4.6	16.0	18.9	28.4	28.0	6.7	7.7	6.7	16.0

*This category contains only "dressmakers" and is rarely mentioned. See text.

TABLE 4.7

TOP 15 OCCUPATIONS SELECTED*

Aspirations	%	Expectations	%	Family Job Preference	%
Doctor	(20.6)	Teacher	(19.0)	Don't know	(31.4)
Secretary	(9.6)	Nurse	(15.0)	Doctor	(18.7)
Teacher	(9.4)	Secretary	(15.0)	Teacher	(11.9)
Nurse	(8.5)	Doctor	(12.0)	Nurse	(9.0)
Lawyer	(6.0)	Agricultural officer	(4.5)	Secretary	(7.2)
Agricultural officer	(4.7)	Lawyer	(3.7)	Lawyer	(3.6)
Air hostess	(2.9)	Hospital sister	(2.9)	Agricultural off.	(2.1)
Para-medical	(2.7)	Para-medical	(2.0)	Hospital sister	(1.7)
Accountant	(2.6)	Veterinarian	(2.0)	What I want	(1.5)
Engineer	(2.5)	Midwife	(1.9)	Accountant	(1.1)
University lecturer	(2.1)	Social worker	(1.8)	Chemist (pharma.)	(0.9)
Veterinarian	(2.1)	Accountant	(1.6)	Veterinarian	(0.9)
Hospital sister	(1.9)	Engineer	(1.4)	Saleswoman	(0.9)
Chemist (pharmacist)	(1.9)	Air hostess	(1.3)	Midwife	(0.7)
Social worker	(1.6)	Chemist (pharmacist)	(1.3)	Engineer	(0.7)
		Artist/writer	(1.3)	Air hostess	(0.7)

*All schools together (N = 1526)

schools except Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart, half or more of the professional category consists of aspirations to be doctors. In those two schools only about one third of the aspirations in this category are to be doctors. In the higher schools doctor continues to be the most aspired to professional occupation, but the proportions are about half of those in the lower schools.

When expectations are asked for, the proportions selecting doctor fall in most schools to about half the size of the aspirations. However, for Gayaza and Namagunga lower schools doctor still forms nearly one-quarter of all expectations, in contrast with the other schools where less than 10% expect to be doctors. In the higher schools the expectations are similarly reduced from the aspirations, except for Gayaza where there is virtually no change: 15% both aspire and expect to become doctors. These optimistic expectations are set in a situation where of the approximately 600 doctors in the country, less than 50 are currently women. Even worse, two-thirds of the doctors are either Europeans or Asians, so that the actual number of African women doctors is probably about 20. Clearly, a sizeable number of the girls are going to have to make adjustments in their expectations.

The other professions which draw relatively high percentages of the aspirations vary considerably between schools. Generally speaking lawyer is second, but in Namagunga and Sacred Heart Agricultural Officer is notably ahead of lawyer. Sacred Heart also shows above average interest in Veterinarian indicating a tendency toward agricultural occupations in that school, perhaps due in part to its rural location.

Accountant is highest at Tororo in the lower schools again reflecting a specific occupation open to those in one of the special streams at Tororo. A comparable percentage for accountant is only found in one other place: Namagunga higher school. Finally, Chemist, Pharmacist and Engineer are high for Gayaza at both the lower and higher school levels, presumably reflecting some specific characteristic of the atmosphere at Gayaza or the influence of the pupils' backgrounds.

Altogether the professional category encompasses half of the aspirations of the girls, but ranges as high as two-thirds for some individual schools. There is a substantial drop in all schools in the proportion who choose professions as their expectations, but it still accounts for one-third of all expectations. For Gayaza and Namagunga professions account for from 40% to 50% of the expectations, while for the other schools it is generally one-quarter or less. Clearly a large proportion of the girls see professions as appropriate outcomes of their education. Questions as to the influence of family background and school environment on these perceptions will be looked at in the latter part of this chapter.

The category of technical occupations contains two general educational levels: those with HSC plus subsequent training up to several years, and those with CSC and up to three years of further training. The category contains a wide range of technical assistant type jobs in the physical and life sciences as well as in social service work. Included are jobs like journalist, broadcaster, artist, writer, and most important,

the varying levels of teacher below university lecturer. The occupations in the top fifteen included in this category are teacher, hospital sister, para-medical jobs, social workers, and artist/writers. The category is the second most important one with one-fifth of all aspirations and nearly one-third of all expectations. The general pattern for individual schools is substantial increase from aspirations to expectations with the latter rising as high as 50% for Tororo higher school. Surprisingly Tororo lower school is similar to Namagunga with the lowest percentage of expectations in this category. The Tororo lower school figure becomes more understandable though, in light of the high percentage of their expectations to be found in the category of skilled office workers.

In this category the occupation of teacher plays the role which doctor did in the professional category. Interpretation of the choice of teacher, though, is marred by some uncertainty about the level and type of teacher meant by the respondents. Most responses did not differentiate between primary and secondary teaching so that all teaching responses had to be lumped into one group.[23] The requirements for extrance to different kinds of teacher training do help in distinguishing, to the extent that one can assume the pupils are aware of these requirements. Thus, girls who have finished S4 with even the lowest level of examination pass are well beyond the normal qualifications for entry to primary teacher training. They might well end up teaching in a primary school, but it would most likely be without the benefit of explicit training and would be on a temporary basis. A good pass in CSC would enable them to enter Grade V training for secondary teaching. Even here though, the trend is to take most of the entering group from HSC level rather than CSC. Ironically it

would appear that a girl who successfully completes CSC is caught between the two levels, with limited opportunities to prepare to teach in either primary or secondary schools. One can hypothesize that most of them might aspire to teaching in secondary schools as befits their status as CSC holders. The authors would also suspect that increasing numbers of jobless CSC holders would begin to open primary teaching jobs to them in larger numbers.[24]

Teaching represents around one-third of the technical aspirations for all schools except Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart where the proportion is closer to two-thirds. On the question of expectations, all schools show a heavy move to teaching which in most cases more than doubles the percentages mentioning teaching. Paralleling aspirations Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart stand out in expectations of teaching with a full one-quarter of all expectations being for teaching. This proportion is double that of any other lower schools. These two schools appear to be compensating for their relatively low professional expectations with high expectations in teaching.

The higher school positions on teaching are even stronger. At this level one can safely assume that the goal is secondary teaching either at the Grade V level or as a graduate. Although aspirations to teach among higher school students are relatively small, really substantial jumps occur when expectations are stated. Soroti moves from 18% to almost 40% while Namagunga moves from a small [illegible]%. With these increases teaching becomes by far the most expected occupation across all categories for the higher schools. In the lower schools teaching is the largest in the technical category, but generally second across all

categories behind nursing.

The only other occupation in this category with any importance at the lower school level is that of para-medical, a collection which includes medical lab technician, radiographers, and physiotherapists. For this group, Nabisunsa and Sacred Heart stand out in aspirations, and Nabisunsa and Tororo are highest in expectations.[25] At the higher level, only Gayaza shows much interest in para-medical occupations. Surprisingly Gayaza lower school doesn't, although transferring some of the large number of aspirations to be doctors into expectations of para-medical employment would seem to be a logical step.

At the higher school level the occupation of social worker received 8% and 5% of the aspirations of Tororo and Gayaza respectively. For Tororo selection of social worker was third or fourth most popular choice across all occupations on both aspirations and expectations, edging out even doctor for third place in expectations. This is an occupation which received only token mention in the lower schools.

When the aspirations and expectations in the technical category are compared with the current employment picture represented in the man-power survey one factor stands out. The only occupations in this category with substantial numbers of women, that is more than ten or fifteen, are teachers and nursing sisters. While teachers are well represented in the girls' responses, nursing sisters are conspicuous by their almost total absence. The only school which differs from this general picture is Nabisunsa where nursing sister received about 9% of the total expectations for that school. This fits in with the relatively high percentage at

Nabisunsa who aspired to para-medical jobs, suggesting that some aspect of that school is being successful in orienting girls to opportunities in the medical profession in addition to being a doctor. The substantial discrepancy between girls interested in becoming nursing sisters and the probable number of future vacancies suggests that guidance and counseling programs could well devote some resources to promoting this occupation. Part of the problem is probably due to the inability of the girls to distinguish between either the roles or the amount of training required for nurses and nursing sisters. There would seem to be no evident reason why the heavy oversubscription of doctors couldn't be diverted into the occupation of nursing sister. Problems of relatively lower status might well be offset by the fact that limited capacity for in-country training of nursing sisters means more opportunity for overseas training.

The fifth category, artisans, contains craftsman type jobs which either require the relevant trade certificate or extensive on-the-job training and experience. Almost none of these jobs are typically open to women. Of the occupations mentioned by the girls, only bookbinders, and dressmakers have been included in this category. Aside from one girl in Nabisunsa, the only mention of dressmakers come from Tororo, with a few girls in both the lower and higher schools indicating it as an expectation. The girl in Nabisunsa is most likely a product of the needlework program there, while the Tororo girls would appear to be a direct product of the home economics stream and the efforts of the guidance program to point out career goals for girls in this stream.

Skilled office workers comprise the next category. Ideally these posts should be filled by people with CSC and at least six months of specialized training, although many of the incumbents have less education than this. Included in this category in addition to secretaries are jobs like telephone operators, bookkeepers, and computer operators. The most popular job in this category is, of course, that of secretary, a term which in the coding scheme used here includes stenographers, typists, and receptionists.[26] A comparison of Table 4.6 with the more detailed listing in Table A.1 in the appendix quickly reveals that virtually all the responses in this category are for secretary. The only other occupation with any number of responses is that of clerk-bookkeeper with 2.5% of the expectations at Nabisunsa.

The influence of the commercial stream at Tororo is particularly evident here, with both aspirations and expectations at Tororo being almost twice those of the next nearest school, Nabisunsa. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi are just behind, while Gayaza and Namagunga show very little interest in the job of secretary. In fact, if the occupations were ranked for Gayaza separately, secretary would be about tenth instead of second. This is despite the high popularity ranking given the job of secretary by Gayaza, apparently this job is recognized as popular, but for other girls. In Namagunga, where some typing training is available, the aspirations for secretary are very low, but the expectations increase substantially to make the school comparable to Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi in expectations. In almost all schools, substantial increases take place between aspirations and expectations, indicating that being a secretary is recognized as a likely occupation for girls, even if not as

desirable as some other occupations.

The pattern in the higher schools repeats that in the lower schools with Tororo having about twice the percentages of the other schools. Gayaza is still the lowest in aspirations for secretary, but does show a larger percentage with expectations. The overall percentages for secretary in higher school are only half to two-thirds as great as those in lower schools indicating perhaps that higher schools girls see themselves as somewhat beyond secretarial status.

The final category is labelled 'Other' and contains a variety of jobs, most of which require only CSC or three years of training beyond primary school. An example of the latter is the Grade II teacher. However, girls completing S4 would not normally enter this level of teaching and so the job is not among those in the percentages in Table 4.6. The only jobs in the top fifteen included in this category are those of nurse and midwife. Other occupations which are included are such things as waitress, matron, factory worker, model, beautician, saleswoman, and housewife. Clearly this category has something of a residual character and contains many of the lowest prestige jobs which require only limited amounts of education or formal training.

As in previous categories, there is one job which accounts for the bulk of the responses. In this case it is nursing which in the lower schools represents about 75% of the responses. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi stand out with notably high percentages, reaching one-third of all expectations for Bweranyangi. Gayaza and Namagunga are again the lowest with the other two schools in between. In most schools there are

substantial increases between aspirations and expectations. Particularly notable is the jump for Nabisunsa which parallels a similar jump for that school in the job of hospital sister. The overall picture is summarized in Table 4.7 which shows nursing moving from a total of 8% in aspirations to a total of 15% in expectations.

A problem arises with the training of nurses similar to the one discussed above for teacher training. The great bulk of the nurses trained in Uganda enter training after only one or two years of secondary school and then do a three year training course. Thus, secondary school leavers will probably not be able to enter that course. The appropriate course for them is that for nursing sisters which takes CSC graduates and provides a further two years of training. Yet, the capacity of this course in Uganda is very small and would appear to accomodate only a small fraction of the numbers which the manpower report projects as needed in the seventies. The result is a large number of girls who expect to become nurses and a substantial demand for their services, but the crucial link of training is, in effect, missing because of very limited capacity.[27]

The only other occupation in this category which receives more than a few responses for expectations is the related one of midwife. This job gets about 3% of the expectations for all schools except Gayaza and Namagunga. An occupation mentioned with some frequency in the aspirations was that of businesswoman or shopkeeper. Nearly two percent of Tororo lower school mentioned this occupation in comparison to the other schools where only Gayaza or Nabisunsa show any mention at all. These percentages decrease under expectations so that Tororo has only 1% and the other

schools none at all. The disproportionate interest in Tororo may well be related to activities in the business stream at the school.

The pattern of responses in the higher schools for this category is dominated by the almost total lack of either aspirations or expectations for nurse and midwife. The percentages indicated in Table 4.6 are made up of scattered single responses to occupations in the category with the exception of the Tororo higher school where nearly 5% indicate an expectation of being nurses. The low level of responses in this category for higher schools reflects the reality that neither of these jobs are appropriate for girls with that level of education.

The preceding analysis of girls perceptions of their desired and probable future jobs is difficult to summarize briefly, although a few statements can be made about differences between school profiles on the major categories of occupations. Gayaza stands out with very high percentages in the Professional category and the bulk of the remainder in the Technical category. In the remaining categories Gayaza has only token representation. Namagunga is closest in proportions to Gayaza with similar high percentages in Professional occupations. But Namagunga has substantial representation in Skilled Office Workers and the Other category when expectations are reported. Thus Namagunga's pattern of aspirations is quite close to that of Gayaza's, while her pattern of expectations is more like that of Nabisunsa.

Both Nabisunsa and Tororo present a nearly even split across the four major categories of jobs, with approximately 25% of the expectations

in each category. Tororo shows a bulge in the Office Workers category as might be expected, while Nabisunsa places heavier emphasis on the Technical category. Note that Nabisunsa had substantially greater Professional aspirations which appear to have moved down into Technical expectations. In general the two schools seem similar, but with differing tendencies. Nabisunsa tends toward the higher status aspirations of Gayaza and Namagunga, while Tororo tends toward the more applied, commercial occupations. The relatively more urban location of Nabisunsa may contribute to their interest in the higher status jobs found in the cities.

The remaining two lower schools share a somewhat different pattern. Their aspirations place heavier emphasis on the Other category, which is heavily weighted by medical services, in contrast to the Skilled Office Worker category. Their expectations are characterized by a bimodal distribution which places nearly one-third of their expectations in each of two categories: Technical and Other. Girls in these schools seem to accept the premise that their chances at high status professional jobs are not good, and also seem to rule out commercial jobs, perhaps because of their relatively rural location, their lack of contact with such occupations, and the absence of training opportunities in their schools.

In the Higher schools the Gayaza-Namagunga pattern remains essentially unchanged except that Namagunga takes over from Gayaza the heaviest emphasis on Professional occupations. Tororo higher school aspirations gain mainly in the Technical category. Expectations at Tororo concentrate even more heavily in the Technical category with more than half of the girls expecting employment of that nature. The Skilled Office

worker category slips noticeably, although it is still significantly larger than in the other two higher schools. The concentration of the higher schools in the Professional and Technical categories is clear and appropriate given the vastly increased chances a higher school girl has of getting the training necessary for such employment.

This chapter has focused primarily on describing the aspirations and expectations of the girls and on making comparisons of the results across schools. In the next chapter emphasis will shift to the relationships between aspirations and expectations, and the relationships between expectations and other variables such as individual backgrounds, perceived opportunity for further education, and desired characteristics of employment situations.

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER IV

[1]The table, of course, understates the opportunities available by omitting the various departmental and private training schemes. However, because of the limited range of jobs currently held by women, the numbers in the table probably represent the majority of the opportunities. Table 4.2 reinforces this belief quite strongly.

[2]Except in the skilled office and clerical category where the coverage is estimated at 85% of the total, the coverage in all other areas requiring C. S. C. or higher qualifications is more than 90% For a full discussion see: Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, "High Level Manpower Survey, 1967 and Analysis of Requirements, 1967-1971." Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda, (no date), p. 2-5.

[3]See for instance: J.W. Hanson & J.P. Henderson. "Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Uganda." (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1969.) p. 44.

[4]"High Level Manpower Survey," op. cit., pp. 38-45.

[5]The exact proportions depend on the planning period and on whether the position is currently filled by an Asian or a European. See "High Level Manpower Survey." op. cit., p. 18.

[6]Preliminary results from the 1969 census indicate a total population of nine and one half million, a figure well above the predicted total.

[7]J. B. Knight, "Earnings, Employment, Education and Income Distribution in Uganda." Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics. Vol. 30, No. 4, (November 1968), p. 268.

[8]The manpower survey shows good balance in the period 67/71 for outputs from S4 and S6. The real shortages occur in the outputs of the specialized institutions which give training in specific skills. op. cit., p. 25.

[9]This figure is at best a crude estimate. No provision is made for departmental training programs. No provision is made for the very real probability that some of these graduates will filter down into Grade II teaching posts or into the lower level of nurses training. Finally, the number does include the assumption that 2/3 of the projected 1235 places for Grade III teachers will be taken by graduates even though they have not had the two years of post CSC training normally required for Grade III. A look at Table 4.1 quickly shows the discrepancy between intake levels of Grade III institutions (29 girls in 1967) and the demand levels indicated

in Table 4.3. Training facilities hinge on the building of planned regional TTC's on which construction has yet to start. (August, 1970).

[10]For a more complete discussion of this program see Goods, Pamela M., "The Gayaza Farm-Diet Scheme in Uganda," African Women, Vol. III(1), (December, 1958), p. 7-10.

[11]The few materials available about careers are both very limited and also tend to focus primarily on opportunities for boys. See for instance "101 Different Jobs," and a series of books called "Choosing a Career" published by the government printer.

[12]Some inflation of the total number of jobs listed occurred when girls used the list given at the end of the questionnaire to refresh their memories. The analysis assumes that girls were selecting jobs from the lists which were familiar to them.

[13]A study of this relationship could be made by sampling various subpopulations out of the total number of respondents and plotting a curve. The curve could then be used to indicate whether a school was above or below the population norm.

[14]For example, in a study restricted to fourth form pupils in Ghana a correlation between prestige and income rankings of .92 for boys and .87 for girls was found by Foster. He maintained that despite the similarity there was evidence of reasonable differentiation in those occupations which were ranked differently. P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 272.

[15]Foster, op. cit., p. 269.

[16]R. Clignet & P. Foster, The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1966), p. 147.

[17]Ibid., p. 155. These rankings are based on a question asking students to give their first three choices when presented with the list of eight occupations.

[18]E. L. Klingelhofer, Studies of Tanzanian Students (Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: University College, mimeographed, Feb. 1967), p. 3-29. The girls were asked to rank in order of desirability the thirteen occupations presented in the list.

[19]Erma F. Muckenhirn, Secondary Education and Girls in Western Nigeria, (Ann Arbor, Michigan: School of Education, Univ. of Michigan, lithographed, 1966) p. 127. Grammar School girls were asked to indicate which of the positions on the list they would accept. Rankings were compiled from

frequency totals for each job, hence the position of the statement "none of these."

[20]S. H. Irvine, "The Dimensions of Vocational Preference and Prestige in an African Elite Group" in J. A. Lauwerys and D. G. Scanlon (eds.), Examinations (New York: World Year Book of Education 1969, Harcourt, Brace, and World, Inc., 1969) p. 36 ff.

[21]These are the traditional formats of the question. One alternative used by Foster in both Ghana and the Ivory Coast, is to ask for the job they would expect if they were unable to continue beyond secondary school. Such phrasing is appropriate because of the relatively small percentage which can be expected to go on to higher school. The current study will deal partially with this issue by relating expectations to answers on other questions on the certainty of going on to higher school.

[22]"High Level Manpower Survey." op. cit., p. 35-37. More complex category systems could have been used. See for instance, J. Silvey, "Unwillingly from School: The Occupational Attitudes of Secondary School Leavers in Uganda." (presented to African Studies Association of U. K. at University of Sussex, September, 1960) mimeographed, p. 7.

[23]Making specific reference to the need to differentiate in the question might be possible, but runs the substantial risk of giving teaching unusual visibility and skewing the results. Perhaps the best approach would be to emphasize the need to be specific about the level of employment meant without giving any specific examples.

[24]Hanson and Henderson discuss this issue in their study. Stated government policy is to upgrade primary teaching to a post CSC activity, but the reality in terms of numbers of vacancies in training institutions (only 50 students were enrolled in Grade III training in 1968) results in a continued heavy emphasis on the training of primary school leavers. Op. cit., p. 69.

[25]Interviews at Nabisunsa indicate that several of the recent visitors were women with para-medical jobs. These visits may have produced increased interest in these occupations.

[26]These latter jobs were coded separately only for Tororo and will be used in discussion of that school. For purposes of comparison with other schools those responses have all been combined into the occupation of secretary.

[27]As indicated previously, there is probably confusion in the girls' minds about nurses and nursing sisters. If the responses had more accurately indicated nursing sister rather than nurses, the large percentage in the 'other' category would have been shifted to the technical category. The training bottleneck and the potential frustrated ambitions of the girls would remain in either case.

CHAPTER V

JOB EXPECTATIONS: THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO INDIVIDUAL BACKGROUNDS AND THE SCHOOL PROGRAMS

This chapter will investigate the relationship between elements of the variety of backgrounds which the girls bring to their respective institutions, and the nature of the girls' job aspirations as they are adjusted to become their expectations. The chapter will focus on those personal characteristics which seem to have impact on their career choices; the interaction of these characteristics will be studied across the schools sampled, in an attempt to determine what effect, if any, the various programs have on expectations and aspirations.

First, to understand more about the expectations, their connections with aspirations will be explored in terms of the transitions between the two. If expectations are taken to be a reality-oriented scaling down of aspirations, then certain patterns of change should be evident as the pupils

modify their desires. Occupations requiring extensive amounts of scarce education or demanding unusual levels of skill and ability should give way to jobs requiring less education or experience. The need to understand these patterns of change perhaps becomes greatest among manpower planners; the requirements of a developing economy might more adequately be met if the process can be influenced in the direction of the skills claiming the highest priority. From the pupils' viewpoint, this would translate into vacancies in various types of jobs.

An overall look at the pattern of transitions between aspirations and expectations is provided in Table 5.1 which contains the cross-tabulation of the two sets grouped according to the categories of occupations used in the previous chapter. The table is constructed from the total responses of the lower schools taken together. (Some of the comparable figures for the higher schools are indicated in parentheses). The vertical columns represent the distribution of aspirations and the horizontal rows the expectations. Reading across the top row, for example, reveals the disposition of all those who aspired to top management in terms of their expectations. Each cell contains two percentages: the top one (row percentage) indicates the proportion from that aspiration who have transferred into that expectation, the bottom one (column percentage) gives the proportion in that expectation who have come from that aspiration. Hence, in the row just mentioned, one notes that one-third of those who aspired to be top management expect to be professionals, but that those coming from top management constitutes only 1.8% of all those who expect to be professionals.

TABLE 5.1

ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS BY CATEGORY FOR LOWER SCHOOLS*

ASPIRATIONS	EXPECTATIONS Top Mgmt. (7)**	Jr. Mgmt. (3.5)	Profes-sional (8.5)	Technical (4.5)	Skilled Office Wrk. (3.5)	Other (2)	TOTAL EXPECTATIONS
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Top Mgmt. (7)	23 36	-0-	33 2	11 1	22 2	11 1	1.5 (2.4)
Jr. Mgmt. (3.5)	-0-	34 64	7 2	19 (62) 5 (4)	8 3	30 9	6.2 (3.2)
Professional (8.5)	1 36	1 21	57 (60) 97 (93)	19 (27) 33 (33)	8 (6) 23 (35)	14 31	47.4 (55.0)
Technical (4.5)	1 18	1 8	8 (8) 5 (7)	65 (80) 47 (53)	11 13	14 12	19.0 (28.3)
Skilled Office Wrk. (3.5)	1 9	1 5	5 2	12 6	69 (71) 51 (46)	11 6	12.4 (6.8)
Other (2)	-0-	1 3	4 2	8 9	11 (18) 9 (7)	66 (16) 42 (20)	13.5 (4.4)
TOTAL ASPIRATIONS	1.0 (2.4)	3.3 (0.8)	30.5 (36.3)	26.5 (45.8)	16.9 (10.4)	21.6 (4.0)	N=1185 (N= 251)

* Higher school figures shown in parentheses.
** Average educational level for the categories.

The cells on the diagonal provide a quick summary of the extent to which the girls are not willing to adjust their aspirations by shifting to another occupational group which requires a different level of education. The first percentage indicates the proportion of those with a given aspiration whose expectations remain in the same occupational category. Except for the first two categories, which have only small numbers of responses, about two-thirds of the girls have remained in the same group for both aspirations and expectations. The same pattern is apparent for the higher schools although the proportions are somewhat higher for the Technical and the Skilled Office Worker categories.

The reluctance to adjust aspirations by moving out of the occupational group can be interpreted in a number of ways. Many early observers of the African scene commented on the inflated aspirations of secondary school pupils, but more recent work has tended to show that the pupils expectations are less unrealistic than had been suspected.[1] The high proportions remaining within the same occupational category on aspirations and expectations cannot be evaluated without assessing the reality of their original aspirations. The overall pattern of aspirations can only be described as very optimistic with a full 50% of the sample aspiring to jobs that require university education or more. The proportions in Technical and Skilled Office Worker categories are more realistic in terms of both employment demands and opportunities for the kind of training needed to gain that employment. But, perhaps the major lack of realism lies in the fact that a large proportion of the girls leaving secondary school will neither go into further training nor find a regular job. The absence of this factor is partially an artifact of the question whic

implied that they would have a job. A residual and don't know category was coded, but received less than one percent of the responses.

Given the fairly unrealistic distribution of aspirations and the relatively high percentage whose expectations remain in the same category what can be said? Taking account of the hidden factor of unemployment, the results can be interpreted as a statement about the kinds of work which the girls will be willing to accept. If employment of the level aspired to is not available, then the hidden alternative is not to work rather than take a job at a lower level. Such a hypothesis is tenable only within the restriction of the education level which a girl has succeeded in reaching. Jobs clearly requiring more education are not going to become available no matter how long the girl waits.

The similarity of aspirations and expectations also provides support for the position which maintains that the girls are less interested in specific occupations than they are in general status levels. Jon Moris suggests that the Western phenomena of commitment to a career or vocation has only limited relevance to the situation in Africa.[2] Many pupils aspire to a general level employment and its accompanying life style. They have little knowledge or even interest in the details of the occupation itself. Under these circumstances pupils would be expected to have both aspirations and expectations at the same level, with no great importance attached to the specific career mentioned for either one. This pattern is particularly prevalent in the professional category where girls change aspirations to be lawyers, doctors, or chemists to expectations of engineers, accountants, or veterinarians. At most these changes seem to involve a

slight drop in status and visibility of the occupations. This factor of general status aspiration is probably more important for girls from high status backgrounds attending prestige schools than for girls of more modest background at less well-known schools.

For the one-third who do change categories from aspirations to expectations a number of questions can be asked. One indicator of the direction of change is the relative amounts of education required by the two categories. Using the levels of education defined in the manpower survey (See Appendix, Table A.1) one can arrive at an average level of education required for each category. The numbers in parentheses by each category label in Table 5.1 are an approximation of the average level of education required by the occupations in that category. The numbers do not represent years and should not be taken to have mathematical precision. Thus the 8.5 for Professional jobs means that university education plus some further training is generally required for those jobs. The 7 for Top Management means HSC training with up to two years of further training. Technical indicates a 4.5, meaning CSC graduates with about two years of further training. Junior Management and Skilled Office Workers generally require CSC or equivalent plus short term training courses. The final category, Other, is a more mixed group whose occupation may require CSC but generally does not require much beyond primary school with perhaps two years of special training.

The great bulk of the transitions shown in the Table represent changes to a category requiring a lower level of education. If the two management categories are ignored for the moment, because of their very

small incidence, then the remaining categories are in order of decreasing educational requirements. Any cell to the right of the diagonal represents downward educational movement. Of these, the most frequent transitions occur from the Professional to the Technical and to the Other categories, and from the Technical to the Skilled Office Workers and to the Other. The preponderance of downward moves is an indication that the girls who do move are adapting their outlook to a more realistic stance. Nearly 20% of the entire sample (over 200 girls) move out of Professional into other categories representing a very substantial drop in educational requirements which amount to foregoing university education.

The number of upward transitions is relatively small except in the Other category where any movement has to be in an upward direction (excluding the unpopular artisan category). For example, the second percentage in the Professional category says that only 3% of those expecting to be Professionals moved up from other categories. All together only 9% of the girls moved up in educational requirements from aspirations to expectations. The large percentage in the Top Management category shown as moving into the Professional category should be interpreted in light of the very small percentage of the overall population in the Top Management category. In this case, the 33% represents only 6 girls.

A summary view of the changes is provided by the marginals for the total population given to the right and at the bottom of the table. These show the Professional category moving from nearly half the aspirations to 30% of the expectations. The slack is taken up mostly by Technical which rises from 19% to 26% and by Other which rises from 13% to nearly 22%.

Skilled Office workers show a smaller rise of about 5%. The profile of expectations is more realistic than that of the aspirations, but still indicates a very optimistic picture of future opportunities. The discussion in the early part of this chapter indicated the bulk of employment opportunities for girls would be as teachers and nurses, followed at a distance by secretarial employment. This suggests that the Technical category should ideally contain nearly two-thirds of the expectations with much of the remainder falling into the Skilled Office Worker category. Only a small percentage, certainly less than 10% have any hope of obtaining the training required for professional occupations.

The pattern for Higher schools, indicated by the figures in parentheses in Table 5.1, seems to parallel that for the lower schools in general. The major differences occur in the very high proportion who remain unchanged in the Technical and the Skilled Office Worker categories. Otherwise, the differences can be attributed to the larger overall proportions of girls in the Professional and Technical categories. The amount of upward movement here is also small, with about 7% of the total group moving to higher educational categories in expectations.

In order to portray patterns of movement within individual schools, the four most popular jobs were selected and tables constructed for each school to show the relationships between aspirations and expectations for these occupations. The resulting six tables are summarized in Table 5.2 which contains selected pairs of relationships. The first four columns give the number of girls and the percentages whose expectations are the

same as their aspirations for the jobs of secretary, teacher, nurse, and doctor. The last three columns reveal the expectations of those who originally aspired to the most popular occupation, that of doctor. The number of girls is given for each school and occupation because of the wide difference between schools in the frequency with which the four jobs are chosen.

The job of secretary is clearly not only very popular at Tororo but also is one to which the girls there are firmly committed. The high percentage whose aspirations and expectations are similar may also be interpreted to reflect the fact that these girls had a more realistic aspiration to start with and therefore did not need to select a different expectation more in line with reality. Except for Gayaza, the other schools have 50% to 60% of the girls remaining unchanged although the small numbers indicate the lower popularity of the job of secretary. Gayaza is neither interested in nor committed to the occupation of secretary, an interpretation supported by the fact that only 3% of all the aspirations at Gayaza were for secretary. (See Table A.3 in the appendix).

The average proportion who both aspire to and expect to become teachers is much higher with three schools over 75%. Sacred Heart stands out for its high degree of commitment and the fact that it has the highest percentage of any school choosing teacher for both aspirations and expectations. The high percentages also suggest that for a few girls a strong sense of vocation exists in regard to teaching. For them the choice of teaching is not just a general status choice, but an indication of interest and commitment to a specific job.

TABLE 5.2

CHANGES FROM ASPIRATIONS TO EXPECTATIONS FOR TOP FOUR OCCUPATIONS

(Lower Schools Only)

	Secretary to Secretary	Teacher to Teacher	Nurse to Nurse	Doctor to Doctor	Doctor to Nurse	Doctor to Teacher	Doctor to Secretary
Tororo	67 84%*	15 58%	28 64%	28 48%	10 17%	2 3%	5 9%
Gayaza	1 20%	8 80%	3 43%	45 53%	4 5%	8 9%	7 8%
Namagunga	4 57%	9 75%	9 64%	29 62%	5 11%	4 9%	1 2%
Nabisunsa	10 50%	7 54%	9 60%	9 26%	5 14%	8 23%	2 6%
Sacred Heart	8 62%	20 91%	12 63%	6 40%	5 33%	-0- -0-	1 7%
Bweranyangi	7 54%	16 64%	20 80%	4 17%	9 39%	5 22%	-0- -0-
Total Lower Schools	97 71%	75 69%	81 65%	121 46%	38 14%	27 10%	6 6%

*The percentages represent proportions of those aspiring to the first occupation listed who expect the second occupation.

Nursing seems to have a somewhat lower level of commitment as measured by percentages of girls who remain unchanged. Bweranyangi stands out with a percentage of 80%: a figure which is reinforced by the fact that 15% of the aspirations and 34% of the expectations for all of Bweranyangi are in nursing. Presumably this reflects Bweranyangi's relatively recent development from a secondary modern school which prepared pupils for careers in nursing. As in the case of secretary, Gayaza is low on both percentage and number choosing nursing, showing little interest in either of these occupations. In contrast, Bweranyangi and Tororo seem to produce both interest and commitment to the occupations of nursing.

The occupation of doctor shows the greatest range of proportions remaining committed with a low of 22% for Bweranyangi and a high of 76% for Namagunga. As expected, Gayaza and Namagunga which have notably higher aspirations and expectations for doctors than any other school, also show the highest degree of commitment. Whether these high percentages represent commitment to the profession of medicine or whether they reflect rather more of a commitment to the status and visibility of the occupation is hard to know. Because of the low probability that most of these girls will in fact become doctors the authors are inclined toward the latter type of commitment. Other schools are much less reluctantt to face the unreality of aspiring to be doctors and large percentages change to other occupations.

To investigate further the type of commitment involved in aspiring to be doctors, three more columns are presented in Table 5.2. These columns indicate the percentages who change from doctor to one of the three other occupations listed. If a girl were seriously committed to the medical

profession, but realized the low probability of becoming a doctor, a logical revised choice would be that of nursing. The fifth column indicates the proportions making such a choice. For Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart over one-third are willing to make this adjustment. For Tororo and Nabisunsa about 15% are willing to accept nursing as a substitute. But, in the two schools where being a doctor is most popular, and where the highest apparent commitment exists, less than 10% are willing to choose a more realistic job which will allow them to pursue a medical career. These figures would seem to reinforce the suspicion that the choice of doctor in the more prestigious schools is more of a general status choice than a vocational choice.

The final two columns set out the percentages willing to move from doctor to teacher and from doctor to secretary. To the extent that status rather than interest in a specific job dictates choices, one would predict that the higher prestige jobs would be the second choice after doctor for those willing to change. The overall popularity rankings presented earlier placed secretary several ranks higher than secondary teacher. However, in terms of desirability as a second choice after doctor, only at Tororo do more choose secretary over teacher. One could conclude that the girls are balancing the extra status with the knowledge that they have no secretarial training and hence have less chance of becoming secretaries than teachers. The exception of Tororo occurs because the girls are able to get secretarial skills training in that school.

Having discussed at some length the pattern of changes from aspirations to expectations in terms of their relationships to probable job

and training opportunities, the focus will not shift to some of the other aspects of employment which the girls have linked with their expectations. To probe some of the reasoning behind their job expectations the girls were asked three questions about the job which they indicated as an expected occupation: Why do you think you will get this job, What do people in this job actually do, and What salary do you expect to get in this job? The purpose of the last two questions was to probe the accuracy and depth of the girls' knowledge about their expectations. Differences in the extent of the girls' knowledge between schools may at least partially reflect differences in the schools' programs about careers and guidance.

The dominant reason why the girls think they will get their chosen job across all categories of jobs is that they are qualified, or that it suits their abilities best. In the lower schools between one-third and one-half of the girls select this reason most frequently. (See Table A.4 in appendix for full details of the answers). The higher schools are less interested in qualifications and give their first choice to "liking the work" in the Professional category and to "demand for the skill" in the Technical category. Their second choice in these categories goes to being qualified. For the lower schools the second choice is predominantly "liking the work" except in the case of the Other category where it is ranked first. In the Skilled Office Worker category, "liking the work" has a noticeably lower percentage than in other categories indicating that most of the girls perceived this kind of work as something they will get because they are qualified, but not something which they will find very attractive. In contrast, the Professional and Technical categories show much smaller

differences between "being qualified" and "liking the work." The response about "demand for the skill" gets substantial responses only from the higher school girls indicating a comparatively greater awareness of the market aspect of jobs on their part.

Two other responses to this question are worth noting. At both the higher and the lower school level, more than 10% of the girls indicated that "determination to succeed" was their reason for expecting a professional job. This determination is evident in girls who refuse to change to an expectation which would take them out of the high-status professional area. Finally, between 7% and 10% of the girls in the Technical and Other categories indicate the fact that the "occupation is accessible to women" as their reason. The reader will remember that the Technical category contains the teachers and the Other contains nurses, both occupations being primary sources of employment for women. Only a small minority of the girls appear to be consciously aware of this important factor which will be a major determinant of their employment possibilities.

The question on duties associated with the expected job turned out to be very difficult to code with any reliability. Attempts to construct means for specific occupations either within or across schools indicated a fairly random pattern of results. There was no systematic increase in knowledge across forms within a school as one might reasonably expect, and between school comparisons did not coincide with other evidence about the schools. Thus, Tororo, which has the only full-time guidance personnel and the only non-academic streams did not show any difference in knowledge about the four major occupations in comparison with other schools.

Confounding coding problems on this item are also differences in verbal facility of girls across schools. Girls with greater facility are more likely to be coded higher even though their knowledge may not be greater

The question on wages associated with the expected job also produced some difficulties, but they are not sufficient to render the results uninterpretable. The information on this question will be presented in two different forms: Table 5.3 in the text gives the mean wages expected by school for the top four occupations while Table A.5 in the appendix presents the mean wages expected by school according to the occupational categories used in this chapter. The two are quite parallel since the four occupations are a major part of four of the categories: Professional - doctor; Technical - teacher; Skilled Office Workers - secretary; and Other - nurse. The first number in each cell of the tables represents the mean wages in shillings per month (A shilling is about 14¢ in American money) and the second number indicates the number of people responding. The number in parentheses in Table 5.3 represents the proportion of girls whose expected wage is approximately correct. (See footnote to the table for details).

In attempting to assess the accuracy of the girls' expectations about salaries several factors have to be kept in mind. Salaries vary significantly according to qualification of the candidate and level of job held. For example, teacher could mean any of four different levels of qualifications: Grade III, Grade IV, Grade V, or graduate teacher. Salary scales also vary considerably as a function of age and length of service, a pattern which is particularly noticeable in government salary

structures. Over a normal career span, service and age can cause salary to vary be as much as a factor of two.[3] Finally, it is not uncommon to find people employed at levels above or below that for which they are nominally qualified. People are often hired without the required training and paid a wage several steps below what they would otherwise be entitled to. This practice is particularly common in the school system.

In the discussion which follows the accuracy of the girls' salary expectations will be judged on the basis of certain assumptions about the salary which they should expect to receive. In general the correct answer will be arrived at by assuming that the girl will be employed at the correct level for the training which it is most probable she will be able to get. The level of salary will be taken as the normal starting salary for that position. In the case of teachers and secretaries some leeway will be allowed on the lower end of the scale because of the good possibility of girls being hired "temporarily" at less than the normal starting wage.

If a figure of 1100 pounds per annum is taken as the starting wage for government doctors, then the corresponding monthly wage would be just under 1900 shillings.[4] The first column in Table 5.3 indicates that the girls average expectations are generally below this figure, particularly for Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi. The figures in parentheses, show that except for Sacred Heart less than 20% of the girls estimates fall within the interval of 1400-2100 shillings. Taking the population as a whole about one-fifth have estimates that are much too high, 2600 or more a month, and one-quarter have estimates that are much too low, below 500 or no

TABLE 5.3

AVERAGE EXPECTED WAGES IN SHILLINGS PER MONTH
FOR TOP FOUR OCCUPATIONS

	Doctor	Teacher	Secretary	Nurse
LOWER SCHOOLS				
Tororo	1470 (16%)[1] 37[2]	870 (69%) 40	1020 (55%) 44	705 (26%) 62
Gayaza	1650 (17%) 54	1060 (60%) 35	1180 (58%) 13	638 (28%) 14
Namagunga	1580 (15%) 39	1021 (56%) 27	[illegible] 26	825 (20%) 20
Nabisunsa	1900 (13%) 15	982 (50%) 22	1013 (63%) 27	665 (9%) 33
Sacred Heart	1378 (44%) 9	850 (63%) 32	791 (62%) 13	909 (20%) 53
Bweranyangi	1160 (17%) 6	967 (53%) 40	1180 (53%) 17	362 (22%) 55
HIGHER SCHOOLS				
Tororo	1900 (43%) 7	1230 (35%) 40	1086 (57%) 14	860 (40%) 5
Gayaza	1540 (36%) 11	1500 (42%) 24	1360 (50%) 5	-0-
Namagunga	1635 (40%) 5	1290 (38%) 21	800 (40%) 5	-0-

[1] Proportions whose salary estimate is approximately correct that is in the following range: Doctor (1400-2100); Teacher (lower school 400 - 1020) (higher school 1000 - 1400); Secretary (lower school 400 - 1000) (higher school 800 - 1400); Nurse (800 - 1400).

[2] Number of respondents in each category by school.

answer at all. These results demonstrate that nearly half the girls have essentially no idea of what a doctor can expect to earn in his first years. As indicated by the means, Gayaza and Nabisunsa have the largest proportions on the high end. These girls may be using the incomes of established doctors such as those with private practices serving an urban elite as guidelines for their expectations. To the extent that this is the case, their expectations could be fairly realistic for a longer time span. For Gayaza, some of these expectations may derive from the girls' knowledge of their parents' incomes.

Tororo and Namagunga also have substantial proportions of girls with high income expectations as doctors, but these girls are offset by comparably sized groups of girls who either don't know or who indicated very small incomes. In the other two schools, the girls tend to underestimate earnings of doctors. The overall picture in the case of doctors seems to demonstrate a need for much more information and guidance in terms of salaries to be expected, and even more importantly, in terms of the realistic chances of becoming a doctor.

The second column in the table provides comparable information about the occupation of teaching. Specifying the beginning wage of a teacher is complicated by the uncertainty about level of teacher intended by the respondent. CSC graduates would probably become either Grade IV or Grade V teachers with starting salaries of 500 or 1000 shillings per month.[5] Since the probability of going on to university and then becoming a graduate teacher is very slim for lower school girls the 'correct' answer range

will stop at 1000 shillings for them. For the higher school girls, the chances of becoming a graduate teacher are much greater, so the salary range for their answers is taken as 1000 to 1400 shillings per month.

The average salaries expected for teaching are substantially lower than those for doctor and generally are more realistic. Between 50% and 60% of lower school girls are able to specify a salary which is approximately correct for teaching. The three schools with the highest average salary expectations differ from Bweranyangi and Tororo primarily in that the latter two schools have substantial percentages who either don't know or expect salaries that are too low. These lower figures offset comparable proportions who expect too high salaries thereby producing lower averages. The top three schools have much smaller proportions at the low end. Overall about 17% of the sample has substantially high expectations while about 10% are too low. The Higher schools have higher expectations to match the fact that those who do succeed in becoming graduate teachers can expect about 1300 shillings a month. However, only 40% of them are able to estimate the salary range correctly. For Gayaza most of the girls' expectations are too high, although there are 20% who don't know for that school. Tororo and Namagunga have substantial proportions whose answers are just under or just over the correct range, but only a few at the extreme ends.

Since teaching is one of the few jobs which the girls have an opportunity to see and understand at some depth it is surprising that one-third of them have salary expectations that are quite inaccurate. However, more girls have accurate perceptions about teaching than about any of the

other occupations shown in the table. In general, the girls seem to have only a vague idea about the different levels of training and the salaries associated with them in the teaching profession.

Specifying the salary for beginning secretaries is also difficult. Girls can be hired as typists, stenographers, or full-fledged secretaries depending on their skills. Salaries vary considerably across these jobs. Girls leaving an academic secondary school would typically have none of these skills, except in the case of Tororo with its commercial stream. Many of the girls would try to get elementary typing and shorthand skills in short courses, but their level of competence is typically quite low. Although the official beginning salaries can run from about 500 to 1000 shillings per month, many girls would tend to be at the lower end of that range because of their minimal office skills.

The third column in Table 5.3 sets out the expected salaries and the proportions in the correct range for the general occupation of secretary. Except for Gayaza, between 50% and 60% of all the girls are expecting salaries that are approximately correct. Taken as a group, about one-third of the girls have expectations that are substantially above current wages, while about 10% either don't know or are much too low. The low value for Sacred Heart is due to the almost complete absense of anyone expecting more than the correct level of salary. In contrast, Gayaza and Bweranyangi the schools with the highest expected salaries have something over 10% at the extreme high end of the scale. For the higher schools, the low average at Namagunga is again due to the absence of any expectations outside the correct range. This is unusual since Namagunga

normally is near the top in salary expectations. The situation for secretaries seems to be one of fair knowledge about salaries, but there is probably considerable underestimation of the skills needed to get the higher paying jobs in this category.

Salaries for nurses also depend on level, with nursing sisters being noticeably better paid than nurses. For this chart a range of 800 to 1400 shillings has been used to cover the different types of nurses.[6] This range may well be a bit narrow particularly at the bottom end. It is quite probable that medical services financed by local authorities pay much lower salaries than those financed by the central government. As a result the proportions given in Table 5.3 may underestimate the accuracy of the girls in the field of nursing.

The fourth column of the table shows that the average salaries expected for nursing are quite a bit lower than those for the other occupations. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi are the exceptions due to a combination of only a few at the low end and somewhat more girls expecting salaries above 1400 shillings. In both schools more than 5% expect salaries of over 2600 shillings a month. While such salaries are possible for fully trained and experienced nursing sisters, they are probably unrealistic goals for most girls. These figures seem to indicate an interesting trend. Occupations which are popular in a particular school, also seem to have relatively higher salary expectations. The higher salaries may in part reflect greater knowledge about the top ends of the scale which exist within that occupation, or may just be a general inflation of expectations due to the popularity of the occupation..

The relatively low proportions in all schools indicating the correct approximate salary is a result of a general underestimation of salary. Nearly half the responses across all schools fall in the 400 to 800 shilling categories. The three lowest schools in average expectations have nearly one-third of their responses in either the below 300 shillings category or in the don't know group. In the case of nursing there seems to be room for substantial increases in the information which the girls have about opportunities and their probable levels of remuneration. In some schools substantial numbers of girls are interested in nursing even though the great majority expect quite low wages as nurses.

To sum up this rather extended discussion of salaries certain patterns are present which distinguish schools. Except for nursing, Gayaza and Namagunga have consistently higher salary expectations than the other schools. Again, with the exception of nursing, Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart tend to have the lowest expectations. Tororo and Nabisunsa lie in the middle, except for the very high expectations which Nabisunsa has for doctors. In terms of proportions of girls whose expectations lie within a realistic range, Sacred Heart seems to have been the most accurate. The least accurate appear to be Nabisunsa and Bweranyangi. The other three schools have mixed results which put them in middle positions. Patterns of salary expectations across all occupations are presented in Table A.5 in the appendix. While there is some similarity to the patterns for the four major occupations, there are also significant deviations. Particularly noticeable are the high expectations of Nabisunsa in the Professional and Technical categories.

In attempting to probe some of the related aspects to job expectations in this section, one of the goals is to look at the success of the schools in producing girls whose perceptions of employment situations are reasonably accurate. The results indicate that while most of the girls recognize the importance of qualifications as the determinant of success in getting employment, many of them are unclear about opportunities for training and their chances of being admitted. Particularly in the medical profession there appears to be uncertainty about opportunities for training. Perceptions are clearer for teaching and secretarial careers although expectations still tend to be high enough that substantial frustration may result.

Salary expectations are fairly accurate for teaching and secretarial work, but widely inappropriate for medical service - generally too high for doctors and too low for the kind of nursing they could qualify for. The special programs at Tororo do not yet seem to have given their girls any particular edge in terms of their knowledge about salaries. The higher expectations from Gayaza and Namagunga for salaries may or may not be unrealistic. By virtue of the schools' reputations and their good recruiting position, girls who graduate from those schools may well have a better chance for higher salaries. The reputation of the school tends to give their graduates an edge in the job market. Employers looking at prospective employees in Uganda have very little information to go on other than cumulative scores on the most recent terminal examination. In such situations, generalized factors like school reputation tend to play an important part. As a result, one cannot say out of hand that the higher

expectations of the girls in these schools are more unrealistic than those of girls from other schools.

One further test of the realism of the girls' expectations can be made by comparing their expectations for higher education with their job expectations. The girls were asked in separate questions how certain they thought their real chances were to go to higher school and to university. The girls were placed into two groups for each question: those who felt they were sure or had a good chance of going on, and those who felt they had little or no chance of going on. With these groupings the educational expectations can then be compared with occupational expectations to test their appropriateness. Because the proportions expecting to go on to higher school or to university vary widely between schools indices were constructed to describe proportions of those with given educational expectations who over or under estimated appropriate occupational expectations. Table 5.4 sets out these proportions and indices for each of the lower schools.

The percentages in column one represent the proportions of girls in each school who feel that they are sure or have a good chance of going to higher school. The figures in column two are the index of underestimation: compiled by dividing the percentage of all students who both think they will go to higher school and who expect occupations in the Skilled Office Worker and Other category,[7] by the percentage of all students in that school who feel they will go to higher school. In other words, the index represents the proportion of students whose occupational expectations are lower than is appropriate for their educational expectations. Similarly the index of overestimation in column three represents the

proportion of students whose occupational expectations are inappropriately high for their educational expectations. This index is based on students who expect Professional or Technical jobs while not expecting to go to higher school. The index is corrected for the proportion of the total school who, in this case, do not expect to go to higher school.

The last three columns in the table are constructed in a parallel fashion with the exception that they apply to expectations of going to university rather than higher school. The index of underestimation in column five is based on those who expect to continue to university but expect jobs in the Technical, Skilled Office Workers, or Other categories. The index in column six is derived from those who do not expect to attend university but still expect Professional level jobs.

The table reveals an interesting and fairly consistent pattern across both levels of educational expectation. As one would predict, Gayaza and Namagunga, the two schools with strong national reputations, have substantially larger percentages than the other schools expecting to continue to higher school and to attend university. (Columns one and four) The same school atmosphere which produces the high educational expectations appears to carry over into occupational expectations, with the result that these two schools also have the largest indices of overestimation. (Columns three and six) Finally, completely consistent with an atmosphere of high expectations, these same schools have the lowest indices of underestimation at both educational levels. (Columns two and five) Despite the fact that these girls come from prestigious schools, it would

TABLE 5.4

EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS

	HIGHER SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS			UNIVERSITY EXPECTATIONS		
	% who expect to attend HS	INDEX OF Under-estimation	Over-estimation	% who expect to attend Univ.	INDEX OF Under-estimation	Over-estimation
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Tororo	55	.43	.34	40	.62	.16
Gayaza	79	.12	.71	68	.40	.43
Namagunga	72	.19	.55	59	.36	.28
Nabisunsa	60	.44	.52	43	.59	.17
Sacred Heart	54	.39	.48	44	.64	.13
Bweranyangi	55	.45	.42	47	.71	.11

appear that the high degree of optimism reflected in these figures will result in the need for substantial downward revision of expectations at the end of secondary school.

Although the remaining four schools have essentially the same proportions expecting to continue their educations - about 55% to higher school and about 40% to university - there are distinct differences in their indices of estimation. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi exhibit a pattern which is just the reverse of that found in the optimistic schools discussed above. Their pattern, which might be labeled one of pessimism, shows relatively low proportions overestimating occupational expectations and relatively large proportions underestimating their future opportunities. Tororo also strongly exhibits this pattern at the higher school level, but not at the university level. Girls with this set of responses would appear much less likely to find themselves forced to make painful downward adjustments of their expectations. For instance, less than 15% of the girls overestimate at the university level compared with the one-third of more who do at the optimistic schools. To the extent that even their more modest educational expectations are too optimistic, the considerable slack present in the substantial underestimation would be available to absorb the adjustment. However, to the extent that their educational expectations are fairly accurate, many of these girls are aiming too low. At a time when trained manpower is scarce the result could well be under-utilization of girls who are capable of doing much more. The forces operating in the schools and the culture as a whole, though, make it much more probable that the girls are being too optimistic. The danger of

underutilization is small because of the ease and rapidity with which expectations can generally be raised.

The presence of an effective guidance program in a school should be reflected in relatively small indices of both kinds. Girls should be realistic about their chances of continuing education and should see clearly the link between that chance and the type of job which they can expect to get. As the only school with a separately financed guidance program how does Tororo fare in this context? The overall results show Tororo along with Nabisunsa, in a middle position between the optimistic and the pessimistic schools. Only on the overestimation at the higher school level does Tororo have the lowest index number. Generally speaking both Tororo and Nabisunsa are much closer to the pessimistic model than the optimistic one. The guidance program doesn't appear to have a particularly noticeable effect on these indices.[8] One might argue that a somewhat pessimistic stand is in fact a good position since it most closely resembles what will really happen to the girls. The guidance program may have helped to modify the extreme pessimism by suggesting alternate careers which the girls have a reasonable chance of obtaining. Thus Tororo's position might be called one of moderate pessimism. Of course, Nabisunsa seems to have reached essentially the same position without the benefit of an extensive guidance program.

Having discussed the relationship of expectations to aspirations, to associated wages and duties, and to the girls' perceived chances of continuing their education, the final part of this section will look briefly at the educational backgrounds of the parents in relationship to

the girls' expectations of jobs. Three different measures of family background are available from the data presented in Chapter 3: occupation of parents, education of parents, and English speaking ability of parents. Occupations are normally highly correlated with education and this is particularly true of developing countries like Uganda where the civil service dominates the modern economy. In such a situation, education is both a convenient and a highly accurate predicter of family life style, which in turn would be expected to influence parents' and children's occupational expectations. English speaking ability is, of course, one of the primary results of education so that education level of parents provides an index which includes the major background variables likely to influence expectations.

Since this is a study of girls, the appropriate relationship might be that of mother's education and daughter's expectations. However, as is clear from Table 3.7 the education level of the mothers is very low. In fact only 25% of all the mothers in the sample have any education beyond primary school. More than half have never finished primary school. The resulting lack of variance in mothers' education makes it an unlikely explanatory variable for differences in the girls' expectations. In addition, the relatively low status of women argues against their influencing important decisions like careers of daughters. Answers to the question of "Who cares the most about your education?" support the lower importance of women since only 13% of the entire sample indicate their mother as the one who cares most. The proportion selecting mother is equal to that selecting brother, and both are much smaller than the nearly 70% indicating the father as the one who cares most.

Although the analysis which follows will focus on the relationship between fathers' education and the expectations of the girls, Table A.6 in the appendix does present the mean levels of education for both fathers and mothers for each category of occupational aspiration and expectation. This table shows a very clear and consistent trend. Education of mothers and of fathers across both aspirations and expectations is highest for the Professional category and lowest for the Other category. Technical occupations are selected by girls whose parents have education levels second to those in the Professional category and generally above those in the Skilled Office Worker category. In other words the average education of either parent is ranked in the same order as the categories according to the amount of education required for jobs in that category. Girls with better educated parents both aspire to and expect jobs which require higher levels of education, and vice versa. The consistency between mothers' and fathers' education patterns in the table reflects the fact that the correlation between the two is .62 for the whole population.

The question now arises as to whether the schools have a differential impact on this general relationship between education of father and occupational expectations. The interaction within schools is complicated by the different proportions of fathers in each school at a given educational level. The same problem was solved above in the case of the girls' expectations about continued education by computing indices which control for differences in schools. A similar procedure has been followed here and the results are presented in Table 5.5. The education of the father is grouped into three categories for this analysis: Low education, which includes some primary school, no schooling and don't know; Medium education,

which includes special training, completed junior secondary and completed primary; and High education, which includes university training, teacher training, and completed secondary school. The percentages with fathers in each of these categories is shown in columns 1, 3, and 5 respectively.

The indices in the other three columns are based on these proportions and are intended to provide a measure of what might be called expected mobility. In other words, each index relates the education of the father to the expected occupation of the daughter. Given the very limited amount of educated manpower in the country and the rapidly expanding educational system one would certainly hypothesize a pattern of upward mobility. Such a hypothesis, though, needs modification in light of the cross-sex nature of the sample. Even in a situation of rapid mobility, one would not expect the girls to have anything like the mobility of the boys. Stated differently, significant upward mobility would be taking place if the girls can begin to approach the levels of their fathers, much less exceed them. Boys on the other hand would be expected to exceed the levels of their fathers, without much trouble in a generally mobile setting. With this understanding in mind, the three indices in the table refer to degrees of upward mobility rather than to upward and downward mobility. The implicit assumption is that achieving any education beyond primary school represents upward mobility. The justification for such an assumption lies in the pattern of educational achievements of the mothers which can be taken as the reference point.

The first index, in column two, is the proportion of girls whose fathers have low education and who expect Professional or Technical jobs,

TABLE 5.5

EDUCATION OF FATHER AND DAUGHTER'S OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATION

	% low educated fathers	Index High Mobility	% medium educated fathers	Index Medium Mobility	% highly educated fathers	Index Low Mobility
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Tororo	47%	.39	23%	.49	30%	.46
Gayaza	30%	.73	23%	.11	47%	.13
Namagunga	42%	.46	18%	.13	40%	.29
Nabisunsa	44%	.48	27%	.48	30%	.45
Sacred Heart	44%	.45	21%	.32	35%	.39
Bweranyangi	62%	.50	21%	.55	18%	.50

by the proportion of girls in the school who have fathers with low education. Thus, the index number represents the proportion of girls who come from low education backgrounds and expect the highest level of occupation. The other two indices are similarly derived from the proportions in columns three and five. The index of medium mobility is based on girls who expect jobs in the Skilled Office Worker or the Other category and whose fathers have medium levels of education. This index in effect represents the girls who hope to equal their fathers' level of achievement. The third index, represents the lowest level of mobility, and traditionally would be called downward mobility. It is based on girls who expect Skilled Office Worker or Other type jobs but whose fathers have a high level of education. These are girls who seem to recognize the unlikelihood of reaching the high levels of their fathers and therefore compromise by seeking the next lower level. The mobility of these girls is the same as those in the previous index in terms of their gain from the from the population norm for girls, but relative to their fathers' education their expectations represent lower mobility. In comparison the first index represents girls making a much larger jump from both the population norms and the level of their fathers. In fact, a total of six such indices could be computed from this data. The three in the table represent the range and are sufficient to demonstrate the differences between the schools.

The resulting pattern of the schools is not unlike the pattern seen above in terms of educational expectations. The 'optimistic schools', Gayaza and to a lesser extent Namagunga, have high proportions expecting

to make the high mobility jump and the lowest proportions hoping to make medium or low mobility jumps. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi, previously the less optimistic schools, do not show such a clear pattern here. The most pessimistic pattern is demonstrated by Tororo which has the lowest proportion of all schools hoping to make the big jump and almost the largest proportion expecting to make the two smaller jumps. Sacred Heart, in fact has a pattern closer to the optimistic model here, with a larger proportion hoping to make the big jump. Nabisunsa and Bweranyangi seem to have neutral patterns, with approximately half of those in each educational category hoping to make each of the jumps.

As before the assessment of the usefulness and reality of the girls' expectations must be couched in qualified terms. The patterns of Gayaza and Tororo are at opposite extremes and, to the extent that one believes that the overall pattern of girls' expectations is badly inflated, then to that extent Tororo might appear to provide a more realistic output than does Gayaza. Yet, this statement would have to be modified by the fact that the girls from Gayaza have a somewhat better chance of succeeding than the girls in Tororo because of their generally better educational qualifications upon entering and because of the reputation of the schools. What remains is a subjective judgement about whether the high expectations at Gayaza are fully offset by the somewhat greater chances which those girls have, or whether the school would do well to undertake some modification in a downward direction. Likewise, is Tororo overcompensating for the lower chances of its girls or are the various special programs of that school operating to produce about the right level of expectations?

Objective answers to these questions would require substantial national followup data which isn't yet available. At this point the authors would hypothesize that the expectations at both schools are still too high, but that Tororo is closer to "reality" than Gayaza is.

In an attempt to seek a more direct link between family and job expectations the girls were asked to indicate the occupation which the person who cared the most about their education would like them to follow. The obvious hypothesis was that the expectations of the person perceived as being most interested in one's education might well influence one's own expectations. In the context of Ugandan education, caring about someone's education would mean primarily a willingness to either pay the school fees or intercede with another relative to secure sufficient money for fees. Having produced the fees, this person might reasonably be expected to be able to exert some influence on choice of career for the girl involved. The difficulty with such a hypothesis, of course, is the relatively low level of education of most parents and their consequent lack of understanding about the opportunities which are realistically open to their children. Morris has suggested that parents are primarily interested in keeping pupils in school as long as possible, in order to maximize the status gain which occurs when employment is finally achieved.[9] Much less emphasis is placed on the detail of the particular career than on its general status level and commensurate remunerations in the form of salary, housing, and car loans.

Data on job aspirations of the person most interested in the girls' education has been presented without comment in several tables in Chapter

Four. (See Tables 4.6, 4.7 and A.6) How does this data fit, in terms of the comments above about the probable behavior of parents and relatives? Table 4.7 shows that nearly one-third of the parents either have no preference or have never expressed it to the girls. Such a large proportion in a don't know category is certainly commensurate with the prediction that many parents would feel hesitant about selecting careers which they know little about. The emphasis on status of the career rather than its content is difficult to assess from this information. The high ranking of doctor, similar to its placement by pupils in their aspirations, indicates high aspirations for many of the parents. Parents apparently see secretaries as having less status than do the pupils. However, most parents are probably much more familiar with the role of teacher or nurse than that of secretary. Both the teacher and the nurse - most likely a midwife - are roles which carry high prestige in rural areas and might therefore appeal to parents.

Turning to Table 4.6, the percentages for the total population in the last column show a tendency for family preferences to parallel aspirations more closely than expectations, particularly in the categories of Professional and Technical occupations. In the Skilled Office Worker category, the family preference is generally equal to or smaller than the aspirations of the pupils, reflecting the lower status which parents put on secretary. Tororo, however, is a notable exception in this category with nearly one-third of the parents selecting this category. The high percentage may reflect parents' awareness of the commercial stream. Whether this awareness preceded selection of Tororo or resulted from the

girls telling their parents about the program after joining the school is an interesting question. As the school grows older, information about its programs will probably spread and parents may begin exerting pressures on the girls to select Tororo because they feel that better employment opportunities are attached to the specialized streams. In the Other category, most schools show parents' preferences being considerably higher than the girls' aspirations. The major factor here is the importance which parents attach to nursing as a suitable career.

In looking at family preferences, one would expect the level of education of the father to exert a strong influence on that preference. When a table comparing proportions of preferences for the major categories of occupation is constructed according to the three levels of a fathers' education used previously several distinct trends are clear. Most noticeable is the strong positive relationship between level of fathers' education and proportion of family preferences in the Professional category. The proportion of Professional preferences rise steadily from 38% for low fathers' education to 52% for high fathers' education. Moving in just the opposite direction is the proportion of preferences in the Other category, which is chiefly nurses. As education of father increases the proportion drops from 21% to 13%. The Skilled Office Worker category doesn't change and the Technical category stays at about 25% for both of the lower education levels, but drops to 18% for the highest education level. Comparison of differences between family preferences for the Professional category across schools with the ranking of the schools in terms of parents' education indicates that most of the differences between preferences

in the schools are due to the different amounts of education received by the parents.

Not only does the status of the family's preference increase with education of the parents, but also the authors would expect the amount of their influence on the girls' choices to increase. Some evidence is offered for this hypothesis by the question which asked the girls who told them the most about what people do in their jobs. Among the six schools, only Gayaza and Namagunga gave parents a high ranking as sources of information, which coincides neatly with the fact that the parental level of education in these two schools is very high compared to the other schools. Morris points out in his discussion of parental influence, that he found evidence of strong influence for Asian students.[10] The experience of one of the authors in Uganda confirms this observation. The only times when strong parental pressure were brought to bear on the selection of course was in the cases of Asian students who in rare cases are sometimes forced to change schools if their parents' wishes aren't followed.

In summary, then, the parent or relative most interested in a girl's education is not likely to have articulated a specific career choice for the girl unless he is highly educated. In the main, parental influence is directed at a level of status rather than a specific career. The level of status of parental aspirations tends to rise with the education level of the parents. Parental pressure on the school and on the girls will be directed at anything which they perceive as lowering the girls'

chances for continuing in school. Thus attempts to put girls in non-examination streams or into practical subjects may well generate opposition from parents, who see this not as increasing the chances for employment, but rather as decreasing the chances for academic success. Most parents still associate the latter with status even though it may well mean lowered opportunities for employment for the majority of girls who will not go on to higher school. As in all societies, the thinking of the parents is conditioned by the situation which they experienced in the past. A generation ago anyone with secondary education was assured of a prestigious clerical post with the government and chances of employment were directly related to academic success. In today's market, however, girls at the secondary level need specific skills which employers want in addition to the academic training.

Job Characteristics: Perceptions and Desires of the Girls

The previous section has probed in some detail the occupational expectations of the girls and the factors which relate to those expectations including such things as the wages attached to specific jobs. In this section the focus will shift away from specific occupations to an emphasis on the generalized expectations and desires about job conditions. Within the context of the phenomena of general status expectations discussed above, what reasons are used by the girls in choosing one job over another? What relative importance is attached to different reasons? After getting a job, what behaviors do the girls perceive as being essential for success in the job? And finally, where do the girls expect to work - large cities, towns, or villages? The picture which emerges will begin to

tap the motivations which influenced the career choices of the girls.

To assess the importance of various possible reasons for choosing jobs the girls were given a list of nine reasons and asked to mark the two which they felt were the most important to consider when choosing a job. They were also asked to mark the two which they considered the least important, a technique which forces them to actively consider the unimportant reasons. Ranking based on the two sets of responses show high similarity, particularly for the highest and the lowest ranks. Two reasons, "interest in the work" and "job useful to Uganda," stand out well above the others. "Interest in the work" has a slight edge over "usefulness of the job" for the whole populations, but there are considerable differences in the amount of lead present in different schools. At the other end of the scale, a cluster of three reasons is uniformly considered unimportant. These reasons are: a job close to home, a job that is respected and honored, and my family approves of the job. Somewhat above the bottom is another cluster of three reasons: job security, possible promotion, and opportunity to use the skills learned in school. Finally midway between the top two reasons and the previous cluster comes the concern about a good salary.

This ranking shows remarkable similarity to that reported by Silvey in a 1966 study of fourth form students in Uganda.[11] The order in both studies is essentially the same despite the fact that one sample consists of girls from all levels of secondary school while the other contains only fourth form students, 94% of whom are boys. These

results suggest that for both boys and girls interest in the job and the opportunity to serve their country are primary factors in choosing a job. Salary in both studies is distinctly lower than the top choices indicating its relatively lower importance in making a choice of careers. However, it is not clear to the authors that this means salary is unimportant. Wage levels will be important in determining the general status of the group of occupations to which a student aspires, but be of lesser importance in differentiating between jobs within a status level, particularly since salaries tend to be comparable within such groups anyway. Once such factors as family education level, probability of financing for school fees, self-estimates of ability, and general life style aspirations have combined to produce a level of occupational aspiration, salary is pretty well determined. In fact pay is probably the major hidden component in life-style aspirations and as such is a primary factor in determining general occupational aspirations. It is quite possible that many students are not overtly considering salary when they choose a general level of aspirations, and hence their lower rating of its importance.

When the girls were given dichotomous forced choices between salary and responsibility, or salary and popularity of job, the responses indicated a very strong preference for salary. Proportions favoring salary ranged upwards from 75% to highs of 90% in some schools. Corroborating evidence for these responses is found in the difficulty which the government has had in filling posts which have high responsibility and frequently considerable prestige, but have responsibility allowances which are in no way commensurate with the extra work required. A prime example of this

is the job of headmaster which many qualified Africans find of dubious attractiveness.[12] Arguments popular in the developed nations such as the increased visibility and therefore increased chances of promotion which result from taking leadership positions, do not seem to carry the same appeal in Uganda. The high value placed on service to the country would seem to have certain limitations within which it acts. Positions of high risk, heavy responsibility, and consequently high service value are not attractive unless a significant larger salary is included which makes a definite jump in standard of living possible.

Two other forced-choice questions throw light on the meaning of interesting work. The questions involved a choice between an exciting job and one that was either larger and less exciting or less exciting by virtue of having the same tasks each day. In the first case students in all schools indicated a strong preference for a less exciting but longer lasting job by proportions of 70% to 80% and even more in the higher schools. Thus to the extent that excitement is a part of an interesting job this question reveals a greater interest in job security than the overall ranking appears to suggest. The second dichotomy shows a somewhat smaller preference for a job which is exciting in comparison to one requiring daily repetitive tasks. Except for Sacred Heart which gives a slight edge to the less exciting choice, the other lower schools prefer excitement by about 60% to 40%. The percentages prefering excitement in the higher schools is greater, rising to 80% in the case of Gayaza. These results suggest that quite possible the meaning of "interesting" for these girls embodies some components which Western observers might not include

or at least would give less importance too. Future research might do well to probe more closely just what is meant when a student gives high priority to work which is "interesting." Some of the results in this chapter have suggested that students may be more interested in the conditions of work and the life style which characterizes it than in the content of the job in the Western sense of vocational interest.

Another component which a Westerner might well include as an important part of an interesting job is the opportunity to make one's own decisions and have some independence. When faced with a choice between a job where they are on their own to make decisions and plan their own work and a job where there is nearly always someone available to help with problems the girls display a good deal of ambivalence. In the lower schools, the girls prefer having someone around to help by percentages ranging from just over 50% to 70%. Tororo and Gayaza have the greatest proportions opting for independence, about 45% in both schools. The higher schools reverse the pattern, choosing independence by about 55% except for Namagunga which still gives having help available a slight majority. The ambivalence which these responses reveal is quite understandable in girls who are making the transition from the clearly prescribed traditional roles of women to situations where roles are less clear and where direct competition with men is likely. Most of these girls would probably feel uncomfortable with job roles which required a high degree of independent action. An interesting job may therefore be, in part, one where roles are clearly defined and the girls can draw support from decision makers above them.

Another aspect of the girls' ranking of reasons for job choice which differs from responses characteristic of Western students is the relative lack of concern about such things as job security and opportunity for promotion. Less than 10% of the girls mentioned either of these reasons. The authors suspect that the intense competition and the extended struggle which characterizes the school career of most students in Uganda leads them to view the successful completion of their formal education as a signal of success. Having scaled this peak of achievement, the job is something of an anti-climax, a reward justly earned by fifteen years of struggle. In contrast, most students in more developed societies regard the job as the beginning of the struggle for success and promotion with the rewards coming as the result of the performance on the job. In a sense, the process of education for Ugandans seems to take the place of the process of work and promotion on the job in the West. Reinforcing these perceptions has been the experience of many students in the decade after independence of extreme rapidity in promotion. For a while it was not uncommon for university graduates to become Ministers in the government within several years after completing their education. Today's students are still close enough to that era to know friends or relatives who have experienced such immediate rewards. Viewing the occupation as the end of a climb rather than the beginning also helps to explain the interest in life style and conditions of work since these things are the measures of the reward value of the occupation.

The cluster of reasons rated as most unimportant all deal with relationship of the job to the parents and home community of the girl. The unimportance of family approval reinforces comments earlier on the relative

lack of influence which family has on job preferences of the girls. (Note that Bweranyangi, the most rural in location and background of pupils, gives a notably higher rating to family approval than the other schools.) One suspects, however, that the parents' position is one of considerable interest in the level of job obtained by their children. Payment of school fees is viewed by most as a direct investment in social security and old age pensions. Parents have a considerable direct stake in the success of their children. The children, not unnaturally, view their obligation to the extended family with some misgivings. While acknowledging their responsibilities to the family on the one hand, they also recognize that the never ending drain on their personal resources drastically reduces their chances for achieving the standard of living which they feel is rightfully theirs after the years of work and study required to get a high level job. The ninth place ranking of proximity to home partially reflects the fact that working beyond easy commuting distance from home greatly reduces the opportunities for the extended family to draw upon one's earnings.

The data for the preceding discussion of reasons for choosing jobs is contained in Tables A.7 and A.8 in the appendix. Readers interested in patterns of difference between specific schools are referred to these tables. In most cases the schools are more similar than different for these questions, although a few points stand out. The special programs at Tororo might be expected to make the girls more aware of certain important job conditions. At both the higher and lower school levels, a significantly greater percentage of Tororo girls rate the possibility of promotion as important. Tororo girls at both levels also show a

noticeably greater interest in using the skills learned in school on the job. While these differences are not large, they do offer some evidence of impact from the special programs.

Although the girls attach relatively little importance to the opportunities for promotion, what characteristics do they think will lead to success in a job? Their answers to the question "What is the best way of getting ahead in an occupation?" give equal importance to being able to do the job well and quickly and working hard. Trailing some distance behind are the answers of getting along well with other people and being intelligent. Those four answers account for 95% of all responses even though there were nine alternative answers. Somewhat surprisingly answers of seniority, having well-placed relatives, age, and having good marks on your school record receive only token mention. The low importance attached to school performance is probably an indication that the girls see advancement on the job as depending on much different criteria than initial success in getting the job. It is in the latter situation that the school record takes on much greater importance. The fact that the girls emphasize hard work and skill on the job over particularistic kinds of criteria such as seniority and well-placed friends may reflect an awareness on the part of the girls of their weaker competitive situation on the job.[13] Girls can only hope to succeed by being exceptionally proficient in a predominantly male employment situation. On the other hand, there may well be an element of hopeful idealism in their choices. By attaching greater importance to factors which they have direct control over, namely their own behavior, the girls can make their control over the future seem more plausible.

Differences between schools on this question are small. At both levels Tororo and Namagunga are the only schools which place doing the job well above working hard as a formula for success. The difference for Tororo is substantial (37% vs 23%) and is consistent with an emphasis on skill development relative to future employment. In contrast, at both levels, Gayaza places the heaviest emphasis of all schools on hard work as the formula for su[illegible]s. Perhaps the girls at Gayaza assume competence based on the ambiance and reputation of the school and therefore feel that only diligent application of that ability is required for success. A later chapter will look in more detail at girls' self-perceptions in the various schools.

One other important characteristic of a job is its location. A previous question has already indicated that the girls attach very low importance to being located near home. A natural corollary of this would be the expectations that employment will be in the cities and not in rural areas. When asked where they think they will be working, the girls show a strong preference for urban areas. About 60% expect to work in the largest two cities, 30% in the medium sized cities, and only 10% in small towns and villages. These expectations are realistic in that the great majority of jobs in the modern sector are located in urban areas. On the other hand the people still live overwhelmingly in rural areas and many of the service jobs in health and education are to be found outside of the urban areas. Since education and health provide the two major sources of employment for women there may in fact be more employment opportunities for women in the more rural areas.

Differences in expected working locations across schools are not great. Gayaza and Nabisunsa have the highest proportions expecting to work in Kampala or Jinja. Gayaza would be expected to rank first because of the large proportion of students who come from urban areas (Table 3.2) and because of the high percentage of girls there who expect to take up professional roles which are located primarily in the city. Tororo and Sacred Heart have the lowest proportions expecting to work in Kampala, but both compensate by having larger numbers interested in towns like Mbale and Gulu. Surprisingly, Bweranyangi which is both the most rural in location, and has by far the greatest proportion of pupils coming from rural backgrounds has expectations of working primarily in cities and towns. Perhaps their almost complete lack of experience with urban life makes it more attractive than for girls who have had a taste of it. In addition, expectation of urban employment does not fit very well with the fact that nearly 40% of the Bweranyangi girls indicate a preference for the occupations of nurse and midwife, both of which would tend to be located in rural areas. In short, almost all the girls seem to be overly optimistic about their chances of finding work in urban areas. Disappointment is likely to be the greatest among those who hope to work in Kampala or Jinja.

The wide range of information presented in this chapter serves to point up the complexity of the factors influencing the aspirations and expectations for employment of the girls in different schools. The emerging picture quite clearly indicates the high degree of interaction between characteristics of entering pupils, school programs and quality, and the output in terms of the girls perceptions of their desired and probable futures. The atmosphere of a school and its reputation strongly influence

which girls self-select themselves into the pool for recruitment and the selection of those who actually are admitted. The characteristics of the pupils in turn have a direct impact on the success of the school in running its programs and in the examination. These in turn influence the reputation, and so forth in a complex cyclical pattern. Superimposed on this everchanging pattern are the details of the specific programs within the different schools. The program acts upon the pupils who are present and modifies the knowledge and attitudes which they bring in with them. The extent to which the program is successful also depends on the general school reputation and atmosphere. The reputation can support or hinder the programmatic content. The aura of high expectations and reputation for success at schools like Gayaza and Namagunga could seriously limit the ability of a guidance program to help the girls plan realistically for future employment. Schools with an aura of mediocre success might have devoted much of the guidance program to raising the girls' sights, or at least building a sense of personal confidence in their ability to contribute meaningfully to national goals. Schools which are relatively new have perhaps the optimum situation in that guidance programs can help to establish the content of the schools reputation in such a way as to maximize the school's effectiveness. Tororo, Nabisunsa, and Bweranyangi are all relatively new with consequently yet-to-be developed school reputations and cultures.

There are many instances where the data in this chapter have strongly suggested that the input characteristics of the pupils are perhaps the major influence on output characteristics. The consistent patterns

which have emerged repeatedly in terms of output variables is remarkably consistent with the input characteristics summarized in Table 3.15. At one end are Gayaza and Namagunga, often clearly distinct in response from the other schools. At the other end, although less consistently, is a grouping of Bweranyangi, Sacred Heart and often Nabisunsa. In the middle lies Tororo, frequently accompanied by either Nabisunsa or Sacred Heart depending on the variable. Superimposed on the general positioning of the schools on input characteristics are the effects of school environment and program. The effects of the latter are in most cases of the order of smaller modifications on the basic pattern set by input variables.

The impact of the special streams and the relatively extensive guidance program at Tororo needs to be evaluated in light of this overall picture. In terms of the variables discussed in this chapter the impact seems to be measurable in certain specific details, but not to have had a major effect on the position of Tororo on the overall context of the six schools. In terms of input characteristics Tororo is probably closest to Nabisunsa, although Sacred Heart is not too greatly different from either. Yet in many of the output measures Tororo has patterns that look more like Gayaza and Namagunga. In other dimensions the results from Tororo set it apart from any of the schools. This is particularly true in terms of things related to the commercial stream (for example the very high aspirations and expectations associated with secretary) and in factors which reveal a serse of the relationship between specific skills learned in school and future employment. Arguments can be made that the girls in Tororo show somewhat more realistic expectations and ambitions, although

these are clouded by subjective judgements about the differential abilities of the schools to insure success of their output. In short, the Tororo program shows an impact which makes a school with input more like one group of schools behave in many ways like schools with quite different input characteristics.

girl's education is not likely to have articulated a specific career choice for the girl unless he is highly educated. In the main, parental influence is directed at a level of status rather than a specific career. The level of status of parental aspirations tends to rise with the education level of the parents. Parental pressure on the school and on the girls will be directed at anything which they perceive as lowering the girl's

on the generalized expectations and desires about job conditions. Within the context of the phenomena of general status expectations discussed above, what reasons are used by the girls in choosing one job over another? What relative importance is attached to different reasons? After getting a job, what behaviors do the girls perceive as being essential for success in the job? And finally, where do the girls expect to work - large cities, towns, or villages? The picture which emerges will begin to

concern about a good salary.

This ranking shows remarkable similarity to that reported by Silvey in a 1966 study of fourth form students in Uganda.[11] The order in both studies is essentially the same despite the fact that one sample consists of girls from all levels of secondary school while the other contains only fourth form students, 94% of whom are boys. These

FOOTNOTES CHAPTER V

[1]Expectations were found to be remarkably realistic by Foster when he forced the pupils to answer in the context of not being able to go on to higher school. P. Foster, Education and Social Change in Ghana (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 281.

[2]J. R. Moris, "The Impact of Secondary Education Upon Student Attitudes Towards Agriculture: Some Preliminary Considerations" (Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1966), p. 14. (Mimeographed.) Subsequently published in East African Journal of Rural Development, vol. 1, no. 1. (1966).

[3]For a good discussion of salary structure and its problems see: J. B. Knight, "Salary Structure in Uganda." (Economic Development Research Paper No. 106, Makerere University, Kampala Uganda. 1966.) (Mimeographed.)

[4]The authors are indebted to Mary Hamilton, the guidance officer at Tororo Girls School for estimates of the salaries for the different occupations. Where possible the authors have documented these estimates from published figures.

[5]J. Hanson and J. Henderson, "Secondary Level Teachers: Supply and Demand in Uganda" (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University, 1969) Table 15, p. 57. (Lithographed)

[6]The authors' information on salaries in the medical profession is much less complete than for teaching and the civil service. The lower proportions of correct answers for nurses and doctors may be partly a result of this fact.

[7]The categories of Top Management, Junior Management, and Artisan have not been included in the computation of the indices since they contain only a small part of the total occupational expectations.

[8]In fairness to the guidance program at Tororo one should take into account a number of factors such as the fact that the program operates primarily at the S3 and S4 levels. More detailed analysis is presented in Chapter Six on this point. Nevertheless there doesn't seem to be any strong effect on a schoolwide basis reflected in these figures.

[9]Moris, op. cit., p. 13.

[10]Ibid., p. 14.

[11]J. Silvey, "Unwillingly from School: The Occupational Attitudes of Secondary School Leavers in Uganda." (Presented to African Studies Association of United Kingdom at University of Sussex, September, 1966). p. 9. (Mimeographed.) The only significant difference lies in his category "abilities and personality well suited" which is in part a definition of interest. The abilities component is somewhat similar to the category of using skills learned in school which the girls rank fourth overall.

[12]Notice the extreme range of popularity rankings given to the job of headmistress in Table 4.5, Girls in higher school who have the best chance of becoming a headmistress rank it between 12th and 18th in popularity, while lower school girls in several schools rank it first.

[13]The data from a study of secondary students in the Ivory Coast parallels these responses with more than two-thirds of the pupils choosing proficiency and hard work and only a few mentioning seniority or personal contacts. R. Cligmet and P. Foster, The Fortunate Few: A Study of Secondary Schools and Students in the Ivory Coast (Chicago: Northwestern University Press, 1966), p. 164.

CHAPTER VI

TORORO GIRLS' SCHOOL: AN EXAMPLE OF A DIVERSIFIED SCHOOL

That Tororo is somewhat unique among girls schools in Uganda has already been made apparent by the preceding discussion. The development of the school into its originally conceived comprehensive design and its subsequent evolution into a diversified school in keeping with current Ministry of Education policy has been traced briefly. Previous chapters have dealt with comparisons between the schools in the sample in order to place the responses from Tororo in the perspective of girls' schools in Uganda. This chapter will focus on an analysis of the program within Tororo, beginning with a look at the guidance program and the specialized curricula of the different streams in the school. Succeeding sections will then concentrate on comparative analysis of the streams in terms of such things as self-image and occupational expectations.

Specialized Curricula and the Guidance Program

The literature reveals that the need for guidance in East African school systems has been evident for several years. An article by K. J. McAdam discusses the conclusions of a symposium convened in Ghana in 1960 for the purpose of exploring the problems of instituting educational and occupational selection procedures in tropical Africa.[1] McAdam points out that lack of East African contribution to the conference was an unfortunate indication of the relatively limited amount of progress being made in guidance there although the need was obviously no less urgent. The exigency becomes clearer in the author's description of the complexities of school-leaver's aspirations, as contrasted with the opportunities for gainful employment. He states that:

> The essentials of the problem seem fairly clear. That aspirations of school-leavers will never be happily wedded to the opportunities presently available to them is transparent. That their aspirations are unrealistic and they should therefore not have them is also obvious. That they do have them however is not only obvious but crucial. The question to ask at this point then is how can these attitudes be changed, and much more important, how can we prevent each year's increasing output of potential manpower from developing these attitudes so grossly divorced from their own abilities, the demands of industry in relation to qualifications, and the employment opportunities available. Not by exhortations, not by pleadings and least of all by platitudinous appeals to patriotism. Guidance is required. Continuous guidance and adequate selection procedures as part of a long-term process, which will help students to develop occupational aspirations and expectations in terms of reality.

Manpower planning, and the necessity to match the occupational choice of the pupils with the needs of the economy, becomes a second important reason arguing for the adoption of a full-scale guidance effort. E. P. Bado in "The Scope for Short Term Manpower and Educational Policies," makes this point clear:

> Indeed, it may be argued that, once it has a reliable manpower-plan to work with, the government should do more than simply advise on careers: it should ensure that, over an average of years, students' subject choices do broadly coincide with the forseeable needs of the economy. The first priority appears to be the overhaul of that most undesirable import from the British educational system: narrow Sixth Form specialization. But beyond this (if the government has confidence in its own manpower information) it seems both reasonable and desirable that the government should be able to exert influence on the relative proportions in which students are distributed among the various faculties of the university.[3]

A final reason for increased guidance, again cited by McAdam, is associated with the need for systematic cumulative records. He points out that the secondary school is rare which attempts to trace chronologically the development of personality characteristics, vocational preferences, extracurricular activities and interests of the students, as well as maintain records of their health and family background.[4] Access to such information profits the institution by providing both short-run and long-term benefits: cumulative records have obvious advantages for the Head and teacher, through the addition of more information for counseling and decision-making while the pupils are in school; after graduation the records can be used as a frame of reference for follow-up studies of vocational and educational careers. Unfortunately, most of the cumulative information presently available is little more than an evanescent oral history among the faculty and staff.

An explanation for the hiatus between the above recognized needs and uses of guidance, and its absence as a large-scale program throughout the educational system is not difficult to discover. The newly independent governments in East Africa assumed their responsibilities at a time when the demand for mass education was beginning to escalate at an extraordinary rate. For the most part, it has been a classic case of something

important goals sacrificed for something essential; the increased interest in education, coupled with the claims of other sectors of the economy for support from these governments, meant that major development of guidance programs by the Ministries of Education had to be postponed.

As was mentioned earlier in this report, the introduction of professional guidance personnel did not take place at Tororo until an initial year of operation of the school had passed. During the first few months of operation, officials within the Ministry of Education became interested in the area of guidance, as it is used within most schools in the United States to assist students in their adjustment to school life, as well as to develop their own educational and career goals. Ministry interest sparked a decision by AID to expand the Tororo staff through the addition of a guidance counselor and, somewhat later, to select a Ugandan teacher for further guidance training in America.

The decision to implement an experimental guidance program at Tororo takes on added importance as the details of the streaming process are examined. Interviews indicate that upon arrival most S1 pupils have little idea of the specialized nature of the curricula offered by the school. For the most part, they are certain only that they have been admitted to a secondary school where there exists large numbers of typewriters and special rooms for cookery and needlework; the full scope of the school's programs and activities in these areas remain a mystery to the majority of new students.

The process of informing the girls about the streams is accomplished through social orientation meetings with the guidance counselor, as well

as through the structure of the program in which all S1s and S2s participate. The sessions conducted by the guidance counsellor are usually held in groups, by form, and are the girls' first formal introduction to the streaming process and the full program of offerings available at the school. These meetings have several objectives: 1) to act as a vehicle for education and discussion concerning the diversified nature of the school's programs 2) to provide an opportunity for discussion of problems of adjustment to life at Tororo 3) to serve as instructional forums for details concerning uniforms, personal hygiene and dormatory duties.

Upon entering the pupils are randomly assigned to streams of approximately thirty students which for administrative purposes are designated "A," "B," or "C." Each group of students is exposed during the initial two years of work at the school, to courses in all three programs of study. The core of the coursework offered at the S1 and S2 levels is, of course, identical to the courses offered at other schools in Uganda to prepare students for the East African Certificate examination. The girls at Tororo, however, are required in addition to sample introductory courses in the Home Economics and Commercial programs so that they may have some experience on which to base their choice for specialization in S3 and S4. During these initial two years, the teachers are encouraged to explain the programs of the three streams and relate their characteristics to the nature of the labor market and institutions of higher education. This instruction is designed to supplement the special orientation meetings previously mentioned. The S1 and S2 years thus become a time of mutual exploration as the girls get to know the school while, at the same time, the school is getting to know more about their

abilities and preferences.

Streaming decisions are made approximately mid-way through the second year; the girls' preferences for either the Academic, Home Economics, or Commercial stream are combined with teacher observations, grades and recommendations and the pupils are "streamed" into one of the three courses of study.

At this point, it might be instructive to examine the precise nature of the course load carried by the Tororo girls and to note the differences which occur in the timetables of the four forms. All of the pupils are exposed to commerce and home economics courses during their first and second years at Tororo. What is essentially a typical week for all S1 and S2 girls is shown in the chart below:

All Girls: S1 and S2

Math	-6 periods
Biology	-2 periods
Nuffield Chemsitry	-2 periods
Physics	-3 periods
English (grammar and composition)	-6 periods
English Literature	-2 periods
English (oral practice)	-4 periods
Geography	-3 periods
History	-3 periods
Art	-2 periods
Commerce (typing)	-3 periods
Home Economics	-4 periods

Total of 40 periods per week

The chart clearly demonstrates that the first two forms take a solid base of "academic" courses, on a schedule which is not unlike that in other secondary schools in the country. The obvious differences lies in the

seven hours of commerce and home economics courses which are taken by both f rms and which provide each pupil with a combination of fundamental skills and an understanding of the nature of the two "practical" streams.

When the girls reach the third and fourth forms, however, their schedules depend upon which stream they have been placed in. The summary chart below indicates the major differences between the three streams. (For a complete listing of the courses see Table A.9 in the appendix.)

Subjects	Academic		Commercial		Home Economics	
	S3	S4	S3	S4	S3	S4
Academic core	37	36	27	24	30	30
Art	3	4				
Home Economics			—		10	10
Commerce			3	3		
Shorthand			3	5		
Accounting			4	5		
Typing			3	3		
Total periods/week	40	40	40	40	40	40

The cluster of subjects included under the label "academic core" are those listed in the previous chart ranging from mathematics to history. The practical subjects in the non-academic streams replace extra periods of science in the academic stream and in the commercial stream English Literature is dropped completely to make room for the practical subjects.

The chart clearly demonstrates that the girls in the practical streams spend between one-fourth and one-third of their time on non-academic subjects. However, the chart also shows that in spite of the existence of separate streams all the girls continue to carry a heavy load of academic subjects. As a result the girls in the practical streams are

forced to prepare a large number of subjects for the examination. Current regulations do not allow much substitution of the vocationally oriented subjects for the traditional subjects now required of all students.

At this point a short digression will be made for the purpose of setting the training which the girls in Tororo receive in the perspective of the offerings typical of other girls' schools in the country. While a short summary of the programs offered in the various schools was included in Chapter Four, the information set forth in Table 6.1 in this chapter is based upon the responses of the girls to a question about what practical subjects they had taken or are taking. Thus, the figures in the table reflect not only the existence of programs but also the level of participation in them. The absence of Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart from the cable indicates the lack of any practical programs in those two schools.

A glance at the table shows that home economics is by far the most common practical subject with over two-thirds of the girls represented in all schools. Commerce is virtually non-existent, and the few who indicate experience with the subject must be referring to extra-curricular training received in school clubs. Gayaza differs in the large proportion who indicate that they have taken agriculture, reflecting the existence of an active school farm.

The last column indicates the proportion of girls who have no experience with practical courses and shows a marked difference between Gayaza and the other two schools. The differences may be due primarily to

TABLE 6.1

PAST AND CURRENT ENROLLMENT OF GIRLS IN PRACTICAL SUBJECTS

	Commercial	Home Economics	Agriculture	None
GAYAZA	-	79%	43%	6%
	-	194*	105	15
NAMACUNGA	2%	68%	-	30%
	3	118	2	52
NABISUNSA	2%	69%	-	28%
	4	114	1	46

*The bottom figure indicates the number of girls who reported enrollment.

the opportunity to participate in agricultural activities, an offering which is unique to Gayaza. In contrast, the girls at Tororo all have exposure to both home economics and commercial subjects beginning in the first form. Thus, the Tororo girls including those in the academic stream, do get a substantially higher degree of exposure to practical subjects than is the case in other girls' schools.

When the results of the question on what girls have already taken are combined with a question about what they expect to take one finds the following patterns: virtually all the girls in these three schools will take home economics; about one-fifth of the girls at Nabisunsa and Namutamba expect to get some commerce training; and about two-thirds of the girls at Gayaza expect experience in agriculture. In Nabisunsa and Namutamba fully half the girls expect no practical training of any kind, while about one-quarter indicate no expectations at Gayaza.

To measure more specifically what the potential demand for practical training might be, the girls were also asked whether they were satisfied with the current level of offerings in their schools and if not which subjects they would like to take. Taking all the lower schools, except Tororo, together the responses indicated the following level of desire, but under one-third of the respondents said that they were satisfied with the present offerings of practical subjects. Those who were unsatisfied with current offerings included 40% who wanted more commercial training and 25% who desired more home economics. A very small minority of 2% said that practical subjects had no place in the secondary school curriculum.

These results suggest that the typical secondary school girl both wants and receives some exposure to home economics training. In contrast about half the girls would like exposure to commerce training but very few in fact are able to receive such training. Agriculture is offered at only one school and more than half the girls in that school expect to participate. Such a pattern of desires is certainly compatible with a curriculum design such as that currently offered at Tororo and suggests little pupil resistance to diversification of the curriculum for girls at other schools.

Returning to a discussion of the program at Tororo, the focus will shift away from curriculum and toward the guidance program, particularly as it functions in the third and fourth forms. Once having been selected into a stream in the third form, the girls become much more interested in the opportunities for further education or for careers which are related to the content of their curriculum. Similarly the emphasis of the guidance program shifts from problems of adjustment to Tororo and selection of streams to an emphasis on future roles open to the girls.

The guidance program continues to rely upon large group meetings as the primary technique for presenting educational and vocational information. Vocational guidance assemblies of this sort are held to discuss the techniques of selecting a job, to sift out relevant job entry requirements, to consider factors important in setting up job interviews, and to learn methods of evaluating employment opportunities. These meetings and the individual counseling sessions which accompany them also

focus on the possibilities open to the girls in higher education, the issues of entrance requirements and procedures, opportunities for financial support, and courses available. In addition, the meetings provide a vehicle for discussion of other special training programs which lead to diplomas or certificates. Since the number of opportunities for entrance into occupations requiring higher education are not as numerous as the number of aspirants to those positions, these discussions serve as the beginning of a search for alternatives which the student will accept as substitutes. This process, one which begins to orient the students to realities in the educational and occupational "market," is one of the most important services of the guidance program at Toronto. Alignment of expectations with aspirations is one of the most crucial dialogues between generations in any society, and particularly so in a society undergoing rapid technological and social transformations.

Another major source of information about the future provided by the guidance program is the specific careers information about kinds of jobs, requirements for employment, duties, wages and fringe benefits available to the girls upon graduation. Much of this information is difficult to obtain, and the presence of a staff member who is paid to collect and disseminate this information, makes career counseling much more effective. Providing this information is not without difficulties for detailed knowledge about the labor market is sparse and often unreliable. One of the primary tasks of the careers mistress since the beginning of the guidance program has been to collect and organize this material and, through counseling, to refer the pupils to appropriate sources for further information.

A final activity initiated by the guidance office is the Careers Day which has become an annual event at the school. In 1968, when the first day-long program was organized, only one other secondary school in Uganda had attempted to sponsor such an event. A day was set aside for visitors from some of the country's major industries and institutions to speak to the girls concerning opportunities in their respective specialities. The keynote speaker was the Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Labour who, together with fifteen other speakers from a variety of fields, spent the day talking with the girls in both large and small groups about their futures. The success of this event, coupled with occasional sessions arranged by the guidance office involving other visits and talks by leaders in business and government, has led to greatly increased interest and awareness on the part of the girls in the world of work and the nature of the job market. When possible, similar talks have been arranged at a few of the other girls schools, and have been found to be quite successful in motivating the pupils to think in more specific terms about the opportunities open to them following graduation. All such events have been difficult to schedule with any regularity, however, due to the problems each of the schools including Tororo, face in attracting knowledgeable representatives from the most likely sources of employment. Hopefully, as potential employers come to see the invitation to speak at a school as an opportunity to recruit the best available talent for their firms, more will make an effort to visit all of the schools on a regular basis.

What has been missing in the previous discussion is any mention of

the amount of data generated about each girl as she responds to and is affected by all of the activities mentioned above. The need for better cumulative records on each pupil has already been discussed and little more need be related, except to note that a truly comprehensive guidance program must include as one of its main priorities, the acquisition and recording of information about each of the students. The amount of time required of the guidance staff at Tororo to complete the seemingly routine task of preparing a personal file for each student is enormous. Each student's file contains entrance records (Primary Leaving score and any comments by the Headmaster concerning the student's abilities and behavior), background data on the pupil's home and family, term reports, a statement written yearly by the pupil detailing career goals, information about behavior from her teachers, records of participation in extra-curricular activities, as well as the usual information about attendance and discipline problems. Only the student's financial and medical records are omitted from this file, which for administrative convenience are kept in the bursar's office and Sick Bay. These detailed records for each student form the heart of the individual counseling program at Tororo and are a major innovation for secondary schools in Uganda. Unfortunately the school has now reached a size where even a full-time guidance person cannot hope to maintain these records and at the same time spend any significant amount of time counseling individual girls.

The remainder of this chapter will be devoted to an analysis of the differences between the streams, some of which are undoubtedly

attributable to the influence of the guidance program in the school. Particularly interesting from the guidance point of view are the aspirations and expectations of the girls in the different streams, and their perceptions of the quality and usefulness of the streams. The analysis begins with a brief look at the results of the selection process into the streams in terms of the background characteristics of the pupils.

Background Characteristics of the Three Streams

Just as the analysis of differences between schools began with a look at the characteristics of the pupils entering the schools, so will the study of the different streams within Tororo focus initially on the backgrounds of the pupils placed in the three streams. Because selection into streams is based on performance in school and to a lesser extent on the girls' preferences, one would only expect systematic differences across streams of those variables which were strongly related to school marks or to the girls' career aspirations. Unexpected variations might occur as unintended results of administrative policies or from random fluctuations.

The general background variables relating to affiliation by race, religion, or tribe and to size of home town would not be expected to show any strong variation across the streams, and such is the case. The only variation in race is provided by the handful of Asians in the school who are, with one exception, concentrated in the academic streams of S3 and S4. Thus, although the numbers are not large, there appears to be a better than average chance that the Asian girls will be in the academic streams. The distribution of religious backgrounds across

forms is remarkably consistent and, again with one exception, is similar to the overall proportions for the school. There are only four Moslem girls in the upper two forms so that their apparent preference for the commercial stream cannot really be generalized upon.

Tribal affiliation is remarkably well distributed and indicates that the good balance which characterizes the school as a whole has been maintained within the streams as well. In none of the S3 or S4 classes does any tribe reach a proportion greater than one-third of the class. Preference for streams within a given tribe is not marked and rarely shows consistency across S3 and S4. There is a slight tendency for girls from Lango and Bugisu to have greater numbers in the home economics streams, while girls from Busoga, Sebei, and Teso show a small preference for the academic streams. The commerical stream seems to be somewhat more attractive for the Baganda, the Japadhola, and the Jaluo. In none of these cases are large numbers of pupils involved and the differences would rarely if ever reach statistical significance.

The only variable which does show a small but consistent trend across streams relates to the size of the town in which the girls went to primary school: an indicator intended to place the girls roughly on a rural-urban continuum. In the commercial stream in both forms about 50% of girls come from either large or medium sized cities. This proportion declines somewhat for home economics pupils, and even more for academic pupils, only 30% of whom come from the larger urban areas. The more rural background of the academic streams is just the reverse of what most people would predict, a priori. The traditional argument would

link better educated parents in urban areas, with better school performance and hence better chance to be placed in the academic stream. The more urban nature of the commercial stream might indicate a number of factors at work. Girls from urban areas are probably more aware of opportunities in the commercial sector than girls from a rural setting, and as a consequence may tend to favor commercial occupations. Girls from urban areas may also have a better self-estimate of their abilities because of their exposure to a wider range of competition in school. As a result, urban girls may feel that commercial training provides a better chance of attaining their goals than aiming for a professional job does. A look at the girls' choices for streams in comparison to their actual assignments later in this chapter will provide further insight into the problem.

The family and educational backgrounds of the pupils might be expected to have a closer relationship to the streaming of the girls. To test various hypotheses linking the two a summary of parental and educational background information for each of the streams is presented in Table 6.2. The table parallels the summary table found at the end of Chapter Three to facilitate easy comparison with other schools. Of the many possible relationships that could be explored with this data, only those which seem most relevant to career goals will be mentioned in the discussion. Variables which exhibited relationships to expectations and aspirations for the entire sample of girls included education of parents, English speaking parents, and mark on the leaving examination. These same variables are also the ones which would be expected to be related to school performance.

TABLE 6.2

SUMMARY OF FAMILY AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUNDS OF PUPILS BY STREAM

	Education of Father (mean years)	Education of Mother (mean years)	Parents speak English (%)	Parents in non-modern sector Father (%)	Parents in non-modern sector Mother (%)	Non-repeaters (%)	Primary Leaving Exam (mean score)
Form 1	(6.4)	(2.8)	(56.6)	(39.6)	(95.1)	(68.9)	(156)
Form 2	(6.8)	(3.4)	(50.0)	(37.2)	(90.1)	(43.2)	(146)
Form 3							
Academic	II-[2] (6.6)	II (4.5)	I (61.1)	I (33.3)	I (85.7)	I (75.0)	I (142)
Commercial	II- (6.6)	I (4.8)	III (36.0)	III (60.0)	III (92.0)	II (66.7)	II (131)
Home Economics	I (7.8)	III (3.5)	II (56.5)	II (43.5)	II (91.3)	III (60.9)	III (130)
Form 4							
Academic	II (7.3)	III (3.6)	II (52.0)	III (38.5)	II (84.0)	I (69.2)	I (141)
Commercial	III (7.1)	I (6.3)	III (43.3)	II (36.7)	III (85.2)	II (63.3)	III (136)
Home Economics	I (8.0)	II (4.1)	I (60.0)	I (25.0)	I (80.0)	III (52.6)	II (139)

[1] Father's occupation: farmer, fisherman, herder, laborer; mother's occupation: housewife.

[2] Roman numerals indicate ranking within forms 3 and 4 by stream.

Somewhat surprisingly there does not seem to be any consistent relationship between mean years of parental education and membership in a stream. The girls in home economics have the fathers with the most education, while girls in the commercial stream have mothers with the most education. In both cases one would expect the academic stream to have the best educated parents based on the reasoning that higher levels of education in the home lead to better school performance and hence to greater probability of being selected for the academic stream. The lack of clear relationship, however, is consistent with the fairly low correlation between education of parents and scores on the leaving examination which was found for the sample as a whole. Although low, the relationship is positive and does not prepare one to find the girls in home economics, who are lower in leaving examinations scores, with the best educated fathers. If one prefers to argue that the education of the mother is most important in determining the success of the daughter in school, then the high ranking of the commercial streams in mothers' education is an enigma. These results would appear to suggest that there is no simple relationship between parents education and streaming of the girls.

The ability of parents to speak English correlates very highly with parents' education in general, but the results for the streams in form three show some deviation from that pattern. Here for the first time, the academic stream ranks highly as one would traditionally expect. The differences between proportions speaking English and mean years of education reveal variations in the distributions about the means. Thus, although the academic and the commercial streams in form three have the

same mean, the commercial stream clearly has a larger number of fathers who have little or no education.[5] In the fourth form the two are more closely related, with home economics again ranking first among the streams. The only consistency across forms is the fact that the commercial stream has significantly lower proportions of parents who speak English than do the other two streams. Having substantial proportions of non-English speaking parents may be a factor tending to diminish the English speaking ability of the girls in the commercial stream; a possibility supported by the relatively low mean scores of the girls on the leaving examination which depends heavily on English language ability.

In contrast to the measures of parents' backgrounds, the measures of the girls' own educational progress behave in a manner very close to the expected pattern. Selection for the streams generally puts the girls with the best academic ability in the academic stream, the next best in the commercial stream, and the remainder in the home economics stream. The proportions of each stream who have not repeated a year follow this ranking exactly, as does the mean score on the leaving examination except in the fourth form home economics stream. However, in both forms the differences between the mean scores for home economics and commercial streams are not very large and generally indicate a similarity of characteristics of the pupils in those two streams, at least at the time of entry into form one. Differential performance during the first two years of secondary school probably increases the difference so that measures of ability in S3 and S4 would show home economics pupils

to be less proficient in academic subjects than those in the commercial streams.

The overall pattern which emerges from this discussion of the background variables suggests that the streams differ primarily in characteristics which are directly related to academic performance in school. Differences in other characteristics of home background are small and do not show a clear pattern of simple relationships with streams. One can say, however, that the commercial streams do show a low proportion of English speaking parents and the highest proportion of parents not in the modern sector of the economy. The fourth form home economics class also stands out with a high ranking on all the family background variables, suggesting that some other factor may be operating to send girls with strong family backgrounds but with weak academic records to Tororo, where they end up in the home economics stream.

Perceived Popularity and Relevance of the Streams

An important aspect of Tororo is the internal dynamics of the forms and streams. Since the program of study of the girls is closely linked with future job opportunities, and these linkages are made explicit through the guidance program, the way the girls look at various streams is an important variable in their ultimate career goals. Making the linkage overt forces the girls to face, much earlier than is normally the case, the problem of what they want to become and how their abilities, preferences, and school performance are related to desired careers. This section will explore the girls' perceptions of the

popularity and the desirability of the various streams, the usefulness of various streams in preparing girls for good jobs, the characteristics of the girls in the streams, and the factors which the guidance staff use to select girls for each stream. For girls in forms three and four, their choices at the end of form two will be compared with their assigned stream and related to expressions of satisfaction with current streams.

The popularity and desirability of the various streams are important because they reflect the net effect of several interacting forces in the school. Girls who enter the school bring with them preferences and feelings about various kinds of training and the careers to which they lead. Two sources of influence within the school interact with these initial positions throughout the four years: the culture of the school and the explicit teaching of the guidance program. In some ways, these two forces reinforce one another while in others they conflict. Changes in the girls' perceptions during the four years are a measure of the combined effect of these forces.

The popularity of the various streams was measured by asking all students to indicate what they felt was the most and the least popular stream in the school. The results are summarized in Table 6.3 which shows several interesting trends in perception of streams as pupils move through the forms. As expected the academic stream is most popular in forms one and two, followed by the commercial and the home economics streams in that order. Although it is risky to infer trends from cross-sectional data, there does appear to be a movement toward the academic stream and

away from the other two between forms one and two. This apparent trend runs counter to the objectives of the guidance program which attempts to promote the value and relevance of the non-academic training. Without time series data, one cannot rule out the possibility that the pattern of preferences exhibited by the current form two represent a shift away from the academic in comparison with their initial preferences in form one. To support such a hypothesis one needs also to believe that the initial preferences of the two groups differed significantly since the current first form shows a much lower preference for the academic stream.

Once the girls have been placed in streams, however, the preference for the academic stream shows a marked erosion, maintaining its supremacy only in the academic streams and in the third form home economics stream. In the other streams, the commercial stream replaces the academic one as the most popular. The pervasiveness of this change is apparent also in the decline of the proportions of those in the academic stream who rate their own stream as most popular. While the third form academic stream almost unanimously rates academic training first, the fourth form academic stream has only 60% of the girls rating their own stream first. As pupils move from third to fourth form, there seems to be a consistent change of preference in favor of the commercial stream at the expense of both the academic and the home economics streams. This interpretation, as before, is subject to the assumption of comparability across streams in terms of their original preferences.

TABLE 6.3

MOST AND LEAST POPULAR STREAMS
BY RESPONDENTS' STREAM AT TORORO

	ACADEMIC		COMMERCIAL		HOME ECONOMICS	
	Most	Least	Most	Least	Most	Least
FORM 1	51%	16%	33%	25%	13%	59%
FORM 2	74%	6%	23%	13%	3%	80%
FORM 3						
Academic	97%	3%	3%	28%	-0-	69%
Commercial	33%	-0-	67%	8%	-0-	92%
Home Economics	59%	13%	27%	22%	14%	65%
FORM 4						
Academic	62%	4%	39%	-0-	-0-	96%
Commercial	23%	7%	77%	-0-	-0-	93%
Home Economics	25%	5%	70%	5%	5%	90%

The home economics stream starts out as a third choice and remains third in all forms and streams in the school. Although consistently third, the proportions indicating that home economics is the least popular stream (The second percentage in each column are those choosing the stream as least popular). show some variation. The fourth form is firmly convinced of the unpopularity of home economics, with over 90% in each stream selecting home economics as the least popular. In the third form, both the home economics and the academic stream select home economics as the least popular only 65% of the time. Nearly a quarter of those pupils select the commercial stream as the most unpopular. Forms one and two are also less certain that home economics is on the bottom of the popularity list, with 60% and 80% respectively rating it least popular. These variations suggest that some progress is being made in certain forms to bring home economics into a position of greater popularity and respect.

The total pattern presented by the choices of the girls indicates that substantial inroads have been made by the school program into the traditional preference for academic training over more practically oriented curricula. The commercial stream has gained considerable popularity and in the fourth form is able to attract a first choice from nearly 40% of the girls in the academic stream. The home economics stream has made some progress, particularly in the current third form, reflecting possibly the fact that the guidance personnel and the home economics curriculum are becoming more effective in presenting home economics as an attractive alternative. The popularity perceptions of the girls are in turn a part of a developing school culture which embodies

the beliefs and feelings about the various streams and the girls in them. The extent of the development of a school culture is measured in part by the consistency of the girls' beliefs throughout the school. The popularity ratings show some consistency, but the differences between form one and form two and the lack of obvious trends across all four forms suggests that there is still considerable fluidity in the school values.

To test further the perceptions of the streams throughout the school the girls were asked to select three adjectives which they felt best described the kinds of girls in a given stream. Girls in the first two forms described the girls in the stream which they wished to join in their third year, while girls already in streams described pupils in their own stream. A remarkable consistency exists across the forms in the school in terms of the different rankings of the adjectives describing girls in the three streams. A summary set of rankings and percentages is depicted in Table 6.4 which compares the rankings of forms three and four with those of forms one and two. The lower two forms are grouped according to the girls' first choice for stream selection. Thus the column labelled academic for forms one and two consists of all those pupils in the first two forms who said they would pick the academic stream as their first choice when they reached form three.

The general pattern which emerges shows a fairly strong differentiation between the streams in the higher forms, and a less definite but similar differentiation in an earlier stage of development in the lower forms. The profile is clearest for the academic stream; the adjectives

are ranked "hardworking," "cooperative," "friendly," and "intelligent." Except for a higher ranking of "intelligent," the lower forms show the same ordering, although the differences in percentages are much smaller. The girls in the academic stream are seen as embodying the traditional virtues associated with success in school - in particular long, hard work learning subjects which are in many cases foreign and unrelated to previous life experiences. In keeping with this factor, "intelligent" receives a lower ranking than one might expect from a Western viewpoint where intelligence is commonly thought to be highly correlated with academic success. Success in schools in Uganda seems to be perceived as more a function of diligence than innate ability. However, some recognition is given to intelligence, since it receives a higher percentage in the academic streams than in the other two groups.

The girls in the commercial streams clearly eschew hard work in favor of cooperativeness as the dominant trait in their group. Friendliness is third, and intelligence a distant fourth. The lower forms who aspire to enter the commercial stream are less certain. They still rate working hard over cooperativeness, but they agree that friendliness and intelligence are low in importance. Whether the ranking of adjectives relates to the girls' perceptions of the characteristics that will be desirable in the jobs to which the commercial training will lead, or whether they are using the girls currently in the stream as models is an open question. The authors would incline toward the latter theory on the basis that the girls have only the vaguest notions of what working in offices really entails. Quite likely the girls enter secondary school

TABLE 6.4

PERCEIVED CHARACTERISTICS OF GIRLS IN THE THREE STREAMS[1]

	ACADEMIC		COMMERCIAL		HOME ECONOMICS	
Forms	1&2	3&4	1&2	3&4	1&2	3&4
Cooperative	II[2] 75%	II 128%	II 71%	I 183%	I 79%	II 147%
Hardworking	I 77%	I 190%	I 78%	II 147%	III 39%	III 107%
Friendly	IV 39%	III 120%	III 49%	III 136%	II 58%	I 154%
Intelligent	III 53%	IV 77%	V 29%	IV 58%	VI 21%	V 57%

[1] Percentages are out of 300% since girls were asked to choose three adjectives. Percentages for forms one and two are lower because their list had some additional adjectives on it, all of which received lower ratings than the first three in the table.

[2] Roman numerals indicate ranking of adjectives.

with images of themselves which are like those of the academic stream. As they are socialized by the school culture, the girls begin to modify their images to fit into the stream which they aspire to enter in form three. By the time they enter a particular stream they have come to accept perceptions of themselves which fit closely with the norms for that stream.

The profile of character for the home economics stream seems to be more ambiguous, showing a less consensus between forms three and four than exists in the other streams. There is consensus on the low importance of both hard work and intelligence in this stream, but some flexibility with regard to the relative importance of cooperativeness and friendliness. Friendliness is first in form three, but second in form four and in the lower forms. The girls in home economics seem to feel that general good-natured behavior is their dominant characteristic. Girls who aspire to home economics or are selected into home economics apparently come to believe that they are neither particularly hard working nor intelligent. In part they are probably compensating for lower ability in school by emphasizing non-academic characteristics in which they can excel, and in part they are adjusting their self-images to fit the collective self-image of the stream.

The adjective ranking reveals the existence of a fairly well-defined set of sub-cultures in the school. Once started the pattern of cultures tends to thrive by a series of complementary processes. Girls entering the school will tend to be attracted toward streams in which they perceive the girls as being similar to themselves. In the process of

identifying with a particular stream girls will begin to modify their existing tendencies so as to be even more similar to the culture characteristic of the stream. Over time, as the norms in each stream become more clearly defined the differences between the streams would tend to increase. Staff members may unconsciously contribute to the differentiation by rewarding different behaviors as they attempt to build up the girls' images of themselves. To the extent that the emerging stream cultures reflect characteristics which are appropriate for the careers related to that stream, the process will be contributing to the general educational goals of the school.

A different aspect of the image projected by each stream is related to its perceived usefulness in getting a desirable job. To assess this dimension of the girls' attitudes toward the streams, the pupils were asked to indicate which stream they felt is the most helpful in getting a good job. A summary of the results is shown in Table 6.5 which contains responses from all four forms at Tororo. Before streaming takes place in the third form, the pupils are firmly convinced that the commercial stream offers the best avenue to a good job. The academic stream is second, and home economics is not really considered a candidate since it receives so few mentions. The trend from the first to the second form shows a small shift away from commercial toward the academic stream, so the two are more evenly balanced than in the first form. These results differ from the responses on the popularity of the streams (Table 6.3) where pupils in the first two forms indicate that the academic stream is the most popular, and the commercial stream noticeably less

TABLE 6.5

STREAM PERCEIVED AS MOST LIKELY TO LEAD TO A GOOD JOB

	ACADEMIC	COMMERCIAL	HOME ECONOMICS
Form 1	II[1] 34%	I 62%	III 4%
Form 2	II 49%	I 51%	III -0-
Form 3			
Academic	I 81%	II 19%	III -0-
Commercial	II 4%	I 96%	III -0-
Home Economics	II 30%	III 22%	I 48%
Form 4			
Academic	I 89%	II 12%	III -0-
Commercial	II 3%	I 97%	III -0-
Home Economics	III 15%	I 50%	II 35%

[1] Roman numerals indicate ranking.

popular. Apparently the commercial stream is more clearly linked with job opportunities in the girls' minds, but is nonetheless, not as popular as the academic stream. Popularity evidently contains dimensions other than usefulness in getting employment. Probably the prime component of popularity is the linkage of a stream with opportunities for further education and hence to employment at the highest status levels.

When the girls already in various streams are asked the same question, however, the results are most revealing. Once committed to a stream, and a full member of the sub-culture operating within a stream, the members of a given stream show a strong tendency to believe that their stream is the one most likely to lead to a good job. In fact, five out of the six classes rank their own stream first - the only exception being the fourth form home economics class which puts commerce first above home economics. The percentages selecting their own stream give an indication of the strength of the conviction that their stream is most useful. Commerce has a definite edge in conviction, with 96% in both forms selecting commerce. Academic classes are next with 80% to 90% choosing their own stream. Home economics is much weaker with less than half of either class putting home economics first.

The trends in percentages may indicate the direction in which the sub-culture is developing within each stream. The commercial stream is holding its own without any trouble. The academic stream seems to increase in conviction from third to fourth form while the home economics stream decreases. However, one could interpret the direction of the trend in reverse: the third form may represent more accurately the increasing

impact of the guidance and special programs as they become more effective in boosting the status of the home economics stream. Similar trends are apparent in the popularity of home economics in the third and fourth form home economics streams (Table 6.3). The authors would lean toward the interpretation that the third form represents the pattern of the future and reflects the impact of a stronger home economics program supported more and more by the increasing visibility of job opportunities deriving from that stream. However, as long as there is no home economics at the higher school level, it is doubtful that the stream will ever produce the strength of convictions apparent in the other two streams.

Stream Selection and the Girls' Perceptions of the Process

With some understanding of the way the girls look at the various streams we can now proceed to a discussion of the girls' choices for streams and their perceptions of the criteria used to place them in streams. For a guidance program to function effectively the girls should know what the criteria for selection into a stream are, and should believe that these criteria are being used consistently in the selection process. Confidence in the rationality of the process should encourage the girls to begin applying the same criteria to themselves as they begin thinking about their stream preferences and their career goals.

To investigate the girls' perceptions of the selection process, they were asked to indicate what two factors they thought were most important in determining their placement in a stream. The results are summarized in Table 6.6 which gives the percentage mentioning each factor and the ranking of the factors within each form and stream. The girls in

the first two forms seem to have clear and consistent perceptions: teachers' recommendations, marks, and students' qualities are perceived to be the criteria used in that order. Students' preferences seem to take a distant fourth position, although there is a definite increase in the frequency of mention of preferences in the second form. These results indicate that the girls see the teachers as being the dominant factor governing their eventual placement. Characteristics of the girls themselves or behavior which they have direct control over are seen as being less influential reflecting perhaps a sense of lack of control over their futures.

However, in the higher forms which have already been streamed, there is some decline in the perceived importance of the teachers' recommendations. Correspondingly there is a general rise in the influence of pupil preferences, particularly in the commercial and academic streams. The importance of marks rises to first place in all streams of the fourth form, perhaps reflecting their greater awareness of academic measures as they approach the School Certificate examinations. It is also quite possible that when the present fourth form was streamed two years ago, greater emphasis was placed on marks than is now the case.

On certain factors the home economics streams show some differences from the other two streams. Home economics girls tend to rate personal qualities higher and the influence of personal preferences lower than the other two streams. These beliefs are consistent with earlier responses which showed the girls to favor personal qualities over task oriented types of behavior. A norm of friendly, cooperative behavior combined with

TABLE 6.6

CRITERIA PERCEIVED AS IMPORTANT IN STREAM SELECTION BY FORM AND STREAM

	Pupils' qualities	Teachers' recommendations	Pupils' preferences	Marks	Other[1]
Form I	III[2] 19%	I 38%	IV 9%	II 23%	13%
Form II	III= 17%	I 35%	III= 17%	II 21%	11%
Form III					
Academic	III 21%	I 31%	II 22%	IV 18%	8%
Commercial	IV 17%	II 24%	I 27%	III 22%	10%
Home Economics	II= 23%	I 35%	IV 18%	II= 23%	3%
Form IV					
Academic	IV 11%	III 23%	II 27%	I 30%	9%
Commercial	IV 10%	II 29%	III 25%	I 31%	4%
Home Economics	II 28%	III 19%	IV 9%	I 34%	9%

[1]The "other" category includes "parents' wishes," "extracurricular activities," "membership in societies," and "don't know."

[2]Roman numerals indicate ranking.

lower expectations of academic excellence might well be combined with a lower sense of efficacy in terms of influencing the system, and hence a lower expectation that their own preferences will be important. These girls do see marks as important factors, but perhaps realize that their own marks are not adequate to support their general preferences to be in the more prestigious streams.

The general pattern is one of fairly consistent perception across the school, showing a reasonable awareness of the selection variables. There is universal agreement that things like parents' wishes and extra-curricular activities of the girls are unimportant in the streaming process. Teachers' recommendations and marks are generally regarded as the two most important factors in the decisions. Changing proportions indicate a belief that personal qualities and preferences are also of some importance. Changes across forms are probably an inextricable mixture of cumulative socialization and changes over time in the actual weighting of the selection criteria by the guidance staff. Stream differences are not marked although the home economics streams do show small consistent preferences for factors which they are more likely to have control over. The factors felt to be important by the girls are for the most part those used by the staff in placing girls in streams. There is some tendency to overrate the importance of the teachers' comments and to underrate the influence of the girls' preferences on their placement.

The relationship between the girls' choices of streams and their final placement into streams is worth investigating for several reasons.

First, the extent to which girls choose streams realistically in terms of their abilities and school performance reflects the extent to which the school's program has brought the girls to a sensible perception of their probable futures. Second, the success of the selection process in matching preferences with placement is probably an important element in the satisfaction and morale of the girls in the streams. The relative success of the school in placing girls in streams which they prefer is evident from the summary distributions of choices presented in Table 6.7.

With the exception of one girl, the academic streams are completely composed of girls whose first choice was the academic stream. The commercial stream is likewise 100% in the fourth form, but only about two-thirds in the third form. The other one-third are girls who wanted the academic stream instead of the commercial stream. The home economics streams have the lowest average proportions of girls placed in the stream of their choice, although in neither form does the proportion fall below two-thirds. The girls in home economics who did not get their first choice seem to have preferred the academic and the commercial streams in about equal proportions. Certainly the table demonstrates a high degree of success on the part of the guidance staff in satisfying girls preferences for placement in streams. These high proportions would suggest that a fair degree of attention is paid to the preferences of the girls in making placement decisions, despite the girls' feelings that their preferences are relatively unimportant.

The proportions reporting their first choice for various streams in the first two forms foreshadow the situation which the guidance staff

TABLE 6.7

DISTRIBUTION OF FIRST AND SECOND CHOICES
BY PRESENT FORM AND STREAM

	First Choice	Second Choice
Form I	33% - A	30% - A
	48% - C	36% - C
	17% - H	18% - H
Form II	54% - A	33% - A
	45% - C	44% - C
	3% - H	16% - H
Form III		
Academic	100% - A	-0- - A
	-0- - C	36% - C
	-0- - H	64% - H
Commercial	32% - A	60% - A
	68% - C	20% - C
	-0- - H	20% - H
Home Economics	14% - A	73% - A
	9% - C	9% - C
	82% - H	18% - H
Form IV		
Academic	96% - A	-0- - A
	4% - C	81% - C
	-0- - H	12% - H
Commercial	-0- - A	90% - A
	100% - C	-0- - C
	-0- - H	10% - H
Home Economics	15% - A	50% - A
	20% - C	20% - C
	65% - H	30% - H

will be faced with in the coming two years. The imbalance between the three streams seems to be a little larger than that which must have existed when the current third and fourth forms were streamed. The proportions suggest that further counseling will be needed to move the distribution closer to the limitations which the school has in terms of physical facilities - which require approximately equal numbers in each of the three streams.[6] The distributions indicate that the commercial stream is now quite able to compete equally with the academic stream, but that the home economics stream is still relatively undesired as a first choice. Comparing the actual choices of the girls with their feelings about the popularity and usefulness of the different streams indicates something of the way in which these two aspects interact. Forms one and two agree that the academic stream is most popular, but that the commercial stream is most useful in getting a good job. Apparently different girls weight these two factors differently with the result that the two forms tend to be chosen about equally.

Home economics is third on all three indicators reflecting the fact that the school has so far been unable to make the lower forms see home economics as an attractive alternative. Even more discouraging, is the apparent trend toward a decreasing interest in home economics the longer the girls are in school. Home economics declines in popularity, and frequency of choice between forms one and two. The brighter side of the picture lies in indications that the school is able to build some sense of loyalty and pride in the streams after the girls have been assigned to streams. Table 6.5 indicates that the home economics streams have

developed a somewhat stronger feeling that their form is relevant in getting a good job. Clearly, though, there is still much room for improvement in the overall status of the home economics streams.

To look more closely at the feelings of the girls once they have been placed in the streams, information was collected on their satisfaction with the program and their desires to change to other streams. A girl's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with a course of study can be influenced by a number of factors: her attitude toward the course when she entered it - was she placed there when she really wanted to be in another stream; her reaction to the teachers and the curriculum in the course; and her perception of the future opportunities which the course provides entrance to. The information on choices and placement discussed above allows one to hypothesize that the streams which have higher proportions of girls who did not get their first choice of streams will be the streams having the higher proportion of dissatisfaction. One would also expect that streams having high proportions of girls who were given their first choice would be streams where low numbers of girls wanted to change to another stream.

To test these hypotheses Table 6.8 was constructed which presents data on first choices, degree of satisfaction, and percentages not wishing to change to a different stream, for each of the streams in forms three and four at Tororo. A comparison of the first two columns shows some relationship between proportions of girls getting their first choice and the mean level of satisfaction in the stream. Streams having nearly 100% girls getting their first choice have the highest levels of

satisfaction, but the relationship for the other two streams in the third form is reversed. The commercial stream is composed of only 68% who chose commerce first, but the girls indicate a higher level of satisfaction than the girls in home economics, where over 80% report choosing home economics first. In other words, the achievement of one's first choice is not sufficient in itself to make the girls satisfied with their streams. The general status of the stream, and particularly its relationship to future job opportunities act to modify the girls' initial satisfaction or dissatisfaction based on their choices of streams.

When a detailed analysis is carried out of the satisfaction levels of the girls in each stream according to their first choice, the pattern of interaction becomes somewhat clearer. Girls who chose a given stream first, and were placed in that stream uniformly show a high degree of satisfaction. (A mean response which places them halfway between "very" and "rather satisfied"). Girls who chose the academic stream first but were placed in commerce were generally as satisfied as those who chose academic first and were placed in the academic stream. However, girls who chose academic first and were placed in home economics were very unsatisfied, presumably because of the very large downward adjustment in self-image which is required by such a change.

The two girls who chose commercial first, but were placed in the academic stream were quite satisfied. Girls who chose commercial but were given home economics were much less satisfied, giving a mean response

TABLE 6.8

FIRST CHOICE OF STREAM, SATISFACTION, AND DESIRE TO CHANGE

	% getting first choice	Mean satisfaction level*	% rather/very unsatisfied	% wanting change	% wanting change to Commercial
Form III					
Academic	100	1.57	11	11	8
Commercial	68	1.71	49	12	--
Home Economics	82	1.83	17	30	13
Form IV					
Academic	96	1.89	11	23	19
Commercial	100	1.50	10	3	--
Home Economics	65	2.05	30	53	42

*Based on 1=very satisfied, 2=rather satisfied, 3=rather unsatisfied and 4=very unsatisfied.

half-way between rather satisfied and rather unsatisfied. None of the girls who chose home economics first were placed in the commercial or the academic streams; all were placed in home economics and are quite satisfied. Looking at girls who received their second place choices, a similar pattern prevails. Those who chose commercial second and were placed in the commercial stream were as satisfied as those who had chosen it first. No one was placed in the academic stream who had chosen it second. In contrast, those who were placed in home economics and who had chosen it second, were quite dissatisfied with their stream. Finally, only four girls in the school were placed in their third place choice of stream, and all four showed a fair degree of dissatisfaction.

The pattern of these results suggests several conclusions. The relationship between satisfaction and choices depends strongly on which streams are involved. The academic and the commercial streams are generally interchangeable, the former being acceptable on a general status basis, and the latter because of its believed relevance for future employment. The home economics stream is in a different category, and transfers between the first two streams and home economics are much more likely to be associated with dissatisfaction. There is a strong tendency for satisfaction in the home economics stream to be associated only with a first choice of home economics. This lack of flexibility available in the case of the home economics stream shows up in the lower overall satisfaction of girls in the home economics stream. The other two streams show higher mean levels of satisfaction, with commercial having a small edge over the academic stream.

If one looks again at Table 6.8 other complementary information is presented which reinforces the emerging picture of the streams. The third column gives the percentages of girls who are either "rather" or "very unsatisfied" with their streams. As expected the two home economics streams show considerable dissatisfaction. The other streams show about 10% or less of their girls who feel dissatisfied. The next column gives percentages of girls who indicate a desire to change to a different stream. Not surprisingly, these figures parallel those on dissatisfaction. However, in the home economics streams and in the fourth form academic stream, there is a noticeable increase over the proportions showing dissatisfaction. In other words, some of the girls who indicate mild satisfaction would change streams given the chance. The percentages in these columns also reflect the generally higher level of dissatisfaction in the fourth form in comparison to the third form.

Some of the reasons for this increased dissatisfaction are apparent from the streams which the girls indicate a desire to change into if they had the chance. Altogether, 31 girls, or 20% of the total express a desire to change into a different stream. Of these, about two-thirds wish to enter the commerce stream and the other one-third the academic stream. Only one girl expressed the desire to enter the home economics stream; she is currently in the fourth form academic stream. Fully half of those wishing to change are currently in the home economics stream. The last column in the table summarizes the percentages of girls in the various streams who wish to enter the commercial stream. The relationship between the third and the fourth form seems to suggest

that the older girls have become more aware of the need to acquire job-related skills which increases the attractiveness of the commercial stream. Particularly interesting is the proportion of girls now in the academic fourth form who wish to change into the commercial stream. In nearly 85% of the cases, the reasons given for wanting to change into the commercial stream are related to the desire for employment.

The impression which emerges from this discussion of the streaming process and the girls' reactions to their streams is one of remarkable success on the part of the school. The girls seem to have a fairly consistent perception of the streaming process being based on rational variables which they are aware of. The distribution of choices at the end of the second year seems to fit fairly well the girls' abilities and desires. The placement in the streams results in the great majority of girls getting the stream of their first choice; less than 15% of the girls were placed in their second or third choice streams. Relatively few girls indicate a desire to change streams, and those that do want to change for practical reasons rather than to the academic stream because of its general prestige. The commercial stream seems to have successfully risen to a point where it competes very effectively with the academic stream, even to the point of attracting girls away from the academic stream.

Even for the home economics stream, which is the weakest of the three there are encouraging signs. More than three-quarters of the girls in home economics made it their first choice of stream. Although large proportions in home economics wish to change to other streams, the

the lower percentages in the third form can be interpreted to indicate a stronger commitment to home economics as a result of a stronger program for them. On the other hand, this data can also be read to mean that longer exposure to home economics results in the decreased attractiveness as the girls see the implications in terms of further study or job opportunities. The overall pattern of results suggests that efforts need to be devoted to increasing the attractiveness of the home economics streams. One particularly fruitful approach implied by the data, would be more intensive counseling in the first two years to increase the proportions of girls who put home economics as first choice since these are the girls who seem to be most satisfied with the stream subsequently.

Career Preferences in the Three Streams

Having looked at the characteristics of the input to the various streams and the girls' reactions to their streams, attention can now be focused on some of the output characteristics of the streams. Specifically this means occupational and educational expectations of the girls, and their relationship to the specialized training received in the various streams. The combination of an effective guidance program and the awareness of careers related to their training should produce different patterns of expectation for the different streams in the school. One would also expect a greater amount of realism in the choices of the girls who had been exposed to information and training related to specific employment opportunities for people with their skills. The girls should be able to specify in more detail the type of jobs of interest to them. For instance, a girl in the commercial stream might

be expected to be aware of roles like those of typist, stenographer, and receptionist, rather than just lumping all such activities under the general rubric of secretary.

A summary of the patterns of aspirations, expectations, and family preferences is set out in Table 6.9 in a format comparable to that used for the six schools in Chapter Four. The occupations are grouped into the categories used previously (See Appendix A.2 for the complete list). A supplementary list of the most popular occupational expectations is contained in Table 6.10 which allows the reader to compare specific occupations with the streams in the school. A glance will reveal the distribution across categories and the preferences for individual jobs show distinct patterns according to the streams of the respondents.

As one would expect, the academic stream has over half of their aspirations in the "Professional" category and the remainder split between "Technical" jobs and those listed in the "Other" category. Job expectations for the academic stream show a shift away from the "Professional" category to the "Technical" occupations. The two most expected professional jobs are those of agricultural officer and veterinary. "Doctor" and "Lawyer," the jobs with high popularity in other schools, are somewhat less frequently given as expectations. Particularly interesting is the shift in expectation of jobs between the lower two forms and the upper two forms in which the guidance effort is concentrated. Approximately 15 girls chose "Doctor" in each of the first two forms, while in the upper forms only three or four chose doctors as their expected occupation. In contrast, Agricultural Officer and

TABLE 6.9

ASPIRATIONS, EXPECTATIONS AND FAMILY PREFERENCES FOR JOBS
(Percentage by Stream within Tororo and Job Category)*

	Form I	Form II	Form III			Form IV		
			Aca	Comm	HmEc	Aca	Comm	HmEc
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TOP MANAGEMENT								
Aspirations	2	3	3	-0-	-0-	-0-	3	-0-
Expectations	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-
Family job pref.	3	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	3	-0-
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT								
Aspirations	6	2	-0-	4	39	4	3	37
Expectations	5	1	-0-	-0-	13	-0-	-0-	28
Family job pref.	6	1	-0-	-0-	13	-0-	-0-	20
PROFESSIONAL								
Aspirations	29	44	53	24	13	54	27	32
Expectations	21	28	39	4	13	32	13	11
Family job pref.	24	37	67	22	19	64	17	7
TECHNICAL								
Aspirations	14	8	21	20	30	31	3	11
Expectations	21	14	36	24	39	40	3	22
Family job pref.	16	15	14	11	44	21	7	13
SKILLED OFFICE WORK								
Aspirations	26	24	-0-	40	4	-0-	53	11
Expectations	26	32	-0-	56	9	8	80	11
Family job pref.	30	28	5	56	19	-0-	62	27
OTHER								
Aspirations	23	20	24	12	13	12	10	11
Expectations	26	26	25	16	17	20	3	28
Family job pref.	21	18	14	11	6	14	10	33

*The Artisans category containing the occupation of dressmaker is not shown as it was mentioned only by 2 girls in the Form 3 Home Economics class.

Veterinary showed noticeable increases in the numbers as the girls were exposed to more guidance information.

The major job expectations in the Technical category are those of teacher and paramedical assistants. Teacher is more popular in the third form, while paramedical is considerably more attractive to the fourth form. As in the case of agricultural jobs, the paramedical expectations seem to occur after exposure to guidance information, since only one girl in either form one or two indicated this occupation as an expectation. The proportions selecting teacher are somewhat discouraging given the need for secondary teachers, and the high probability that many of these girls will ultimately find employment as teachers. The guidance program does not seem to be particularly successful in conveying the opportunity or the desirability of teaching jobs to the girls.

The academic stream has almost no expectations of employment in Skilled Office Work, but does have nearly one-fourth of the girls expecting employment in the Other category of jobs. The expected jobs in the latter category are all health-related ones such as nurses, midwives, or health visitors. Compared to the first two forms, the number of girls in all streams expecting health-related jobs falls by more than half in the higher forms. The greatest numbers expecting to be nurses are in the academic streams, but the greatly decreased total suggests that nursing is either unattractive or doesn't compete with other jobs which the girls discover more about in the last two years.

The commercial stream shows a much different pattern of aspirations

TABLE 6.10

EXPECTATIONS BY FORM AND STREAM

	FORM I	FORM II	FORM III			FORM IV		
			Academ.	Commer.	Home Ec.	Academ.	Commer.	Home Ec.
Secretary	24	32	-0-	12	-0-	2	22	2
	23%	28%		48%		8%	73%	11%
Teacher	20	8	8	4	4	3	1	1
	19%	7%	23%	16%	17%	12%	3%	6%
Nurse	23	22	6	3	1	4	-0-	2
	22%	20%	17%	12%	4%	16%		11%
Agricultural off.	3	2	5	-0-	1	3	-0-	1
	3%	2%	14%		4%	12%		6%
Social worker	-0-	-0-	1	1	3	1	-0-	2
			3%	4%	13%	4%		11%
Veterinarian	-0-	1	4	-0-	1	1	-0-	-0-
		1%	11%		4%	4%		
Health Visitor	-0-	1	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	1
		1%	3%					6%
Air hostess	3	-0-	-0-	-0-	2	-0-	-0-	2
	3%				9%			11%
Midwife	4	4	1	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	1
	4%	4%	3%			4%		6%
Lawyer	2	3	1	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	-0-
	2%	3%	3%			4%		
Doctor	13	17	3	-0-	1	2	-0-	1
	12%	15%	9%		4%	8%		6%
Businesswoman	-0-	1	-0-	1	-0-	-0-	1	1
		1%		4%			3%	6%
Hotel manager	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-	-0-	3
					4%			17%
Accountant	3	3	-0-	1	-0-	-0-	4	-0-
	3%	3%		4%			13%	
Para-medical	-0-	1	3	1	-0-	6	-0-	-0-
		1%	9%	4%		24%		
Hospital sister	1	3	-0-	-0-	2	-0-	-0-	-0-
	1%	3%			9%			
Stewardess	-0-	-0-	-0-	2	-0-	-0-	1	-0-
				8%			3%	
Typist	1	1	-0-	-0-	-0-	-0-	1	-0-
	1%	1%					3%	

and expectations. Both aspirations and expectations are largest in the Skilled Office Worker category indicating a strong awareness of the job-related nature of the curriculum in the commercial stream. About one-quarter of the girls aspire to professional jobs, but many fewer expect to get such jobs. For the remainder of the girls there is some difference between form three and form four. Fully 80% of the form four girls expect to get office jobs, while only 56% of the form three girls expect such employment. Whether this difference reflects the cumulative socialization effect of a longer exposure to guidance efforts, or whether it reflects differences in the composition of the two forms is not apparent. Whatever the cause, the form three girls expect more employment in the Technical and the Other categories. In both forms though, there is a clear trend away from Professional aspirations and toward Office Work expectations.

Interestingly, all the expectations which the commercial girls have in the Professional category are for the job of accountant, an occupation which is directly related to their training. Expectations in the Technical category are almost all as teachers. Whether their expectations are to teach commercial subjects is not known, although this is certainly a teaching subject where talent is badly needed. As already noted the great bulk of the girls expect office jobs, and most of these indicated secretary as the specific job. Only three girls singled out stenographer and only one specified typist or receptionist. These figures suggest that the girls don't distinguish clearly between the various types of office employment, or that if they do distinguish, the attractiveness of secretary completely overshadows the other types of

office work. In the Other category, three girls in the third form chose nursing, but no one in the fourth form chose nursing indicating probably an awareness of the unsuitability of their preparation for the job of nursing. The other job selected in this category was that of saleswoman or businesswoman which although only picked by one girl in each form, again shows a direct relationship to the content of the commercial curriculum.

Finally, the home economics stream shows a distribution of aspirations and expectations which is distinct from that of the other two streams. The most popular category for aspirations is that of Junior Management which contains nearly 40% of the aspirations. The second most aspired to category is the Professional for the fourth form, and the Technical for the third form. The remainder of the aspirations are spread out with about 10% in each category.

In moving from aspirations to expectations the girls in the home economics stream show a definite shift away from the Junior Management category to the Technical and to the Other categories. Girls who initially select hotel management or air hostess typically move to teacher or social worker in the Technical category or to a health-related occupation in the Other category. The expectations in the Junior Management category are for the jobs of air hostess and hotel manager, both specifically related to the content of the home economics curriculum and discussed in the guidance program as suitable goals for girls in that stream. Again one notes that these are occupations which are infrequently or never mentioned in the lower forms, but which are given as specific

expectations in the two higher forms. Virtually no one outside of the home economics streams mentions these jobs, reinforcing the impression that the girls have a fairly good idea of which jobs are appropriate for the curriculum in their stream.

The few girls who expect Professional jobs either choose doctor or one of the agriculture related occupations. Those expecting Technical type occupations focus on either teaching or social work, with the latter job being the most popular expectation in the Technical category. Two third form girls expect to be hospital sisters, although none of the fourth form girls expect this occupation. Only a couple in each form expect office jobs, and all foresee secretarial work. Finally, a somewhat larger number select the Other category, with most of the choices being in health-related jobs, such as nursing or working as a midwife. One should also note that the only two girls in the school who chose dressmaking (an occupation placed in the Artisan category which is not shown in Table 6.9) were in the home economics stream.

In the home economics stream, as in the others, there is a definite trend for the girls to pick expected occupations which link closely with the content of the curriculum in their stream. This stream has somewhat more ambiguity than the commercial stream in its choices because the future occupations of someone trained in home economics are less clear. Hotel management is specifically linked to home economics, as is dressmaking. However, only a small proportion of the home economics girls picked such jobs. Other tasks specifically related to home economics such as catering, being a dietician, beautician or a model are not

mentioned by the girls. Many of the girls seem to drift toward health-related occupations almost by default in lieu of other more appropriate goals. These results suggest that the guidance program has not been entirely successful in convincing girls in home economics that there are specific occupations which are both related to their training and are realistically open to them after they complete school.

The commercial stream by contrast seems to have been very successful in convincing girls that they have a good chance of getting jobs specifically related to their training. Of course, the connection is most obvious for this stream so that the task faced by the guidance program is perhaps easiest for commercial studies. The results of the academic stream are in between these two extremes. Substantial proportions of the girls in the academic stream have expectations of getting professional or technical jobs appropriate for their training. In addition, the guidance program seems to have successfully broken the mystique of the doctor/lawyer aspiration and steered the girls into more realistic expectations. However, as in the case of the home economics stream a number of the girls seem to have arrived at the health-related occupations almost by default. Given the need for hospital sisters in the country, there would seem to be a need for a more conscious effort on the part of the guidance program to make clear to the girls what kind of preparation is appropriate for such jobs and at the same time to make them aware of the demands for various types of health personnel.

Related to job expectations are the girls' feelings about the wages and work characteristics which accompany employment. As indicated

in the discussion of wages in Chapter Five, the Tororo girls seem to have fairly realistic expectations about the wages which they will receive. A breakdown of wages expected by occupation and by stream within Tororo does not show any important differences in the levels of wages expected across streams. For the most part the wages are appropriate for the jobs expected, which as indicated above, are quite strongly related to the stream in which the girls are studying. The third and fourth forms, in contrast to the lower forms, show almost no wage expectations which are unrealistically high. Many of the girls will be disappointed when they seek employment, but the problem will lie more in their inability to get the desired job than in the lack of realism in their wage expectations.

When asked to rank the job characteristics which they feel are important in choosing a job the girls in Tororo show some differences in emphasis across streams and forms. Girls in the first two forms rank good salary and usefulness of job to Uganda very highly, with nearly one-fourth of the girls in each form choosing these two alternatives either first or second. In contrast, all streams of the third and fourth forms place interest in the work first followed by usefulness of the job to Uganda. Salary size slips to fourth or fifth in importance for the higher forms. Apparently as girls move to the higher forms they place less importance on salary and more on the relationship of the job to personal and national needs. Whether this reflects a true change in attitude or just an increasing awareness of the appropriate verbal responses in a school situation is an open issue. One measure of the influence of such attitudes would be the numbers of girls opting for service occupations which carry relatively low wage or prestige benefits.

Some evidence of this behavior is present in the decrease in numbers of girls who expect the high paying professional jobs in the top two forms in comparison with the lower forms.

Looking at the rankings of job characteristics across streams reveals several interesting differences. With the exception of Commerce, none of the streams seems to place much importance on job security or possibilities for promotion. The exception is the high value placed on promotion opportunities by both the third and fourth form commerce stream. In the third form this high ranking of promotion opportunities is linked with a first place ranking of salary in contrast to the low ranking which it receives by other streams. This pattern seems to indicate a greater interest on the part of the commercial stream in the economic aspects of employment. Such interest may well be related to the content and focus of their studies which expose the girls to the business world much more than the curricula in the other two streams does.

Perceived Chances of Success and Further Education

The final section of this chapter will shift attention from the job expectations of the girls to expectations in terms of success in school, and chances of going on to higher levels of education. These expectations reflect one aspect of the sense of personal efficacy which the girls in the different streams have. When combined with the girls' perceptions of the quality and usefulness of the education which they are receiving at Tororo a picture begins to emerge which reflects the girls' sense of control over their future opportunities for education and employment. Differences between streams on these dimensions indicate

both varying degrees of accuracy in their perceptions of reality and varying degrees of real opportunity for girls with different types of training.

Table 6.11 presents a summary of the results of a number of questions dealing with the girls' expectations of personal success and of their chances for getting into both higher school and university. One would expect that if the girls were exposed to effective guidance information, there would be noticeable differences in the expectations of the girls in different streams. The first column contains the percentages of girls who feel they are doing better in their subjects than at least half the girls in the class. The second column presents the percentages who are certain that they will pass the examination at the end of senior four. The third and fourth columns contain the percentages of girls who are either sure, or feel they have a good chance of going to higher school and university respectively. While there is no consistent pattern of differences between streams a number of trends are visible. There seems to be a general movement toward less optimistic feelings as the girls get older, particularly during the last two years in comparison with the first two. Presumably contact with the school program and feedback about their own performances leads the girls to a more realistic evaluation of their abilities.

However, while there is a general trend toward lower expectations, specific classes tend to maintain a high level of optimism. The third form home economics class seems to have an unusually high opinion of itself and of its chances for passing the examination. This optimism does

TABLE 6.11

GIRLS PERCEIVED CHANCES OF SUCCESS ON EXAMINATIONS AND ENTRANCE TO FURTHER EDUCATION

	Better than ½ the class in their subjects	Certain of passing exam	Sure or good chance of entering Higher School	Sure or good chance of entering University
FORM I	78%	33%	58%	40%
FORM II	70%	34%	59%	43%
FORM III				
Academic	51%	31%	63%	47%
Commercial	60%	40%	52%	44%
Home Economics	77%	44%	48%	17%
FORM IV				
Academic	68%	28%	48%	30%
Commercial	55%	43%	50%	40%
Home Economics	33%	25%	20%	25%

not persist though, when it comes to chances for continuing to higher levels of education. For both forms, home economics ranks last in the proportions expecting to go on for more education. In general, one can say that the home economics group has the lowest expectations both for success and for further training. The other two streams are more optimistic, with the fourth form commercial stream being more so than the academic stream and the positions reversed for the third form streams. Either way, the commercial stream seems to share essentially the same level of self-confidence as the academic stream. The relatively larger numbers of commerce girls who expect to pass the exam in comparison to the academic girls may reflect confidence on the part of the commercial girls in terms of their special subjects while the academic girls are viewing their chances in terms of their special subjects while the academic girls are viewing their chances in terms of traditional subjects alone, which they may feel are somewhat harder.

The pattern which emerges from this table is that somewhere between one-third and one-half of the girls feel fairly certain of their chances of passing the examination and of continuing on to further education. The realism of these expectations is difficult to quantify except in the case of the success question where one would expect about 50% to feel that they were doing better than half the class. Here forms one and two, and the third form of home economics classes stand out as being somewhat unrealistic in their self-appraisals. In contrast, the fourth form home economics group is unduly pessimistic in their feelings. The proportions who feel they are certain to pass the exam are perhaps about right if one assumes that passing means a second class pass or

better. The expectations for higher school are surprisingly accurate for the fourth form streams (see Chapter Seven for follow-up results of girls from previous years) but increasingly optimistic as one moves down into the lower forms. The expectations for university entrance in the fourth form are probably about double or triple the numbers who will get into university and even more unrealistic in the lower forms.

Although some of the expectations are high, the differences between streams seem to be fairly accurate in that they realistically represent the differences in opportunities for the girls in those streams. For instance, the home economics girls are much less likely to go on to higher school, and they seem to be aware of that fact. The high goals of the commerce girls may be unrealistic in general, but the fact that Tororo has opened a higher school commercial stream gives them a very good chance of going on for the simple reason that no other school in the country is preparing girls in commercial subjects at the school certificate level. The patterns of results reported in this section would seem to provide evidence that the school program at Tororo is allowing the girls to see themselves in a fairly realistic way. What proportion of this realism can be attributed to guidance or to the specialized streams or to other factors is impossible to say. One can say that the overall impact seems to be producing girls who see themselves in terms which are fairly appropriate to the reality of after school life.

How are the girls' estimates of their chances of going on to higher school related to their job expectations? As was done in Chapter Five (Table 5.4), an index of overestimation and of underestimation has

been computed for each of the three streams in Tororo. The results are set out in Table 6.12. The first column presents the proportion of each stream who feel that they have either little or no chance of going on to higher school. The second column gives the fraction of those girls who nevertheless expect professional or technical jobs which would normally require such education. Hence the proportions in the second column are called the index of overestimation. Likewise, the fourth column is a measure of underestimation, representing the fraction of girls who expect to go on to higher school, but who expect jobs which do not normally require such education.

The overall pattern which emerges from the table suggests that the academic stream is overly optimistic, tending to expect jobs for which they have little chance of gaining the necessary levels of educational preparation. In contrast, the commercial stream seems to be significantly underestimating its chances. Nearly 80% of those who expect to go on to higher school in commerce also expect jobs in the skilled office worker category. Frequently these jobs do not require higher school training, although such training would increase the employability of the girls considerably. In the case of the commercial stream, the high level of underestimation may be something of an artifact. Girls in the commercial stream naturally expect jobs as office workers, yet this category has been classified as not requiring higher education. On the other hand, except for the special preference which the commerce girls will receive at Tororo higher school because of their previous commerce training, most of the commerce girls will probably not be able to enter higher schools. This suggests that the underestimation

TABLE 6.12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL EXPECTATIONS BY STREAM

	% who do not expect to attend HS	Index of overestimation	% who do expect to attend HS	Index of underestimation
ACADEMIC	43%	.72	57%	.25
COMMERCIAL	49%	.24	51%	.79
HOME ECONOMICS	63%	.35	37%	.14

is more a product of overly optimistic educational expectations rather than inappropriate job expectations.

The home economics stream shows the lowest average levels of inappropriate relationships between educational and occupational expectations. Even so, over one-third of the home economics girls expect jobs for which their own estimation of educational chances suggests they will be unqualified. The figures in the table as a whole indicate that there is still considerable room for improvement in the matching of the girls' expectations in the two areas. Many girls seem to lack a conscious understanding of the levels of training required for various jobs and/or an ability to translate their educational expectations into the consequences for future employment. The table indicates that the direction of misunderstanding varies strongly according to stream and should provide an indication of the type of remedial steps which the guidance program needs to concentrate upon. Girls in the academic stream clearly need work in adjusting their occupational expectations downward, while girls in the commercial stream may need to readjust their educational aspirations to be more in line with their probable future employment. The home economics girls need a little of both, but with more emphasis on lowering employment expectations.

Quality and Usefulness of Education at Tororo

This last section will look briefly at the girls' perceptions of the quality and instrumental value of their education at Tororo in comparison to other girls' schools. The girls' answers can be taken to

reflect loyalty to the school, belief in the quality of the preparation provided by the school in terms of probable examination performance, or usefulness of the training in helping the girls to obtain employment after leaving school. In all cases the girls are being asked to rate Tororo in the context of their knowledge and attitudes about the other schools to which they might have gone if circumstances had been different. The data also provides an opportunity to assess the girls' perceptions about the impact of the guidance program at Tororo.

The results of four questions in this area are summarized in Table 6.13 which gives proportions for the various streams within Tororo as well as a total figure for both Tororo and for the other lower schools in the sample taken together. The latter two columns are presented to allow a comparison between Tororo and the other schools since these questions have not been discussed elsewhere in the report. The first question asks the girls to compare their school with the other girls' schools which they know in Uganda. The figures given in the table are the percentages of the girls who say that their school is either the best or one of the best schools. The second row contains the responses to a related question which asked the girls to report on the usefulness of the education which they were receiving in preparing them to get a job. As before the responses were in comparison with other girls' schools. The percentages in the table represent the numbers indicating that their school is either much more useful or more useful than other schools in this respect.

The pattern of responses to both questions is quite similar.

TABLE 6.13

GIRLS' EVALUATION OF THE QUALITY AND USEFULNESS OF THEIR SCHOOL

	Best or one of best schools	Useful in getting a job	Provides job information	EXPECTATIONS INFLUENCED BY School guidance staff	A school visitor
FORM I	83%	68%	30%	10%	8%
FORM II	86%	70%	45%	37%	11%
FORM III					
Academic	58%	53%	78%	58%	17%
Commercial	88%	92%	84%	36%	24%
Home Economics	77%	74%	65%	48%	26%
FORM IV					
Academic	56%	50%	65%	65%	8%
Commercial	86%	93%	80%	41%	34%
Home Economics	70%	65%	65%	40%	30%
TGS LOWER SCHOOL	79%	69%	53%	34%	15%
OTHER LOWER SCHOOLS	74%	57%	21%	11%	10%

special curricula. The results for home economics tend to offset the recognized low popularity of the stream within Tororo. That is, while the stream is less popular in Tororo, the girls still recognize it as having a good competitive position with regard to other girls' schools.

The results of the individual streams are summarized by the comparison of the total figures for Tororo with those for the other schools in the sample at the bottom of the table. Tororo shows a slight edge over the average for other schools on both dimensions. In both cases the edge is generated by the high ratings given Tororo by the girls in the practical streams. The reader should also note that Tororo does not rank the highest among individual schools, but only over the average of the other schools taken together. As in previously presented data in earlier chapters, Tororo tends to lag behind Gayaza and Namagunga and ahead of the other schools. The same pattern occurs for the data included in this table.

The remaining columns in the table refer to the girls' perceptions of the amount of information which the school provides about job opportunities. As one would expect for a school with both specialized streams and a guidance program, the proportions who feel that the school provides much more or more information than other schools is quite high. The relatively low percentages in the first two forms in comparison with the last two reflect the fact that both the guidance program and the practical training are concentrated in the last two years. Again the commerce streams feel the strongest about the success of school efforts, although in all streams two-thirds or more of the girls feel that the school is

strong on providing occupational information. Part of the strength of the commerce feelings may result from the fact that the linkages between training and subsequent employment are most clear for commerce. Girls learning typing and shorthand are obviously employable as secretaries and office workers whereas girls in home economics or academic training are less obviously going on for specific jobs.

The last two columns reflect the two most popular responses to the question of "who told you the most about what people do in their jobs?" Again, given the existence of full-time guidance staff at Tororo one would expect them to be important sources. Surprisingly though, they are rarely selected by more than half the girls. The major exceptions being in the two academic streams who seem to rely heavily on the information provided by the guidance personnel. The other streams report anywhere from one-fourth to one-third of their responses in the school visitor category. This probably reflects the activities of the guidance staff in bringing people to the school who represent future occupational models for the girls. In order to build up the morale and reputation of the two practical streams, special efforts have been made to get visitors whose jobs are open to those with the training offered in the practical streams. The other options offered in the question, such as teacher, parents, and friends, produced only small percentages of the responses. Clearly, the guidance personnel and school visitors sponsored by them are the major sources of information about jobs for the girls.

The relative strength of Tororo in this area is obvious when the

overall percentages are compared with those of other schools. In this case Tororo is higher than any individual school (more than double) as well as being significantly higher than the aggregate of the other schools. These figures reflect the strong sense which the girls have about the success of Tororo in providing information. Whether on an objective basis the girls do in fact have more information than other schools is less clear. Attempts to measure that in this study were not conclusive (see discussion in Chapter Four). Factors such as the different degrees of information which the girls brought in with them and the access of the schools to urban, modern environments interact with the school program to produce the understanding which the girls take away from school. Minimally, the results do indicate that the Tororo girls are equal to and in some specific ways superior to the girls from the best schools in terms of their knowledge and preparation for the world of work.

Summary

No attempt will be made to summarize the wealth of material presented about the internal functioning of Tororo in this chapter. Instead a few overall comments will attempt to draw together the conclusions contained in each section. The first thing which stands out is the relatively high degree of success which the guidance program has had in counseling and preparing students in the first two years for their placement in specific streams. The process does not show any particular trends in terms of the girls' backgrounds and a remarkably high percentage of girls are placed in either their first or second choice of streams.

These patterns indicate that the selection process is both open and successful in terms of matching abilities and interests to stream placement. Observers familiar with the low prestige of any training not associated with the academic tradition will recognize the magnitude of the accomplishment at Tororo in this respect.

The second set of conclusions centers around the attempts of the school to raise the attractiveness of the practical streams in comparison with the academic one. Substantial success has been achieved with the commercial stream so that it now competes equally and sometimes even is preferred over the academic stream. Less success has been evident with the home economics stream, although evidence of progress is apparent, particularly in the current third form. Adjective profiles indicate the development of recognizably different cultures in the three streams and an ability to promote a fair degree of loyalty to those cultures once girls enter the streams.

Patterns of job and educational expectations vary significantly across the three streams and for the most part reflect rational differences related to the training received in the streams. There is a high degree of congruence between stream and the specific jobs chosen. Relationships between educational and job expectations vary in the degree of realism between streams and reflect the need for more guidance, particularly in the academic stream. The overall results indicate a fair degree of success in guidance, but suggest a number of specific areas where different streams need input on specific issues.

Finally the girls show a high degree of awareness of the extent to which Tororo provides useful training and job information in relation to other girls' schools. Again, variations between streams are significant, with the commercial stream showing the strongest feelings about the quality of both the training and guidance which they are receiving. The academic streams are much more cautious in their evaluations, partly since they compete most directly with other schools. Girls in all streams show strong awareness of the role played by guidance staff and their sponsored visitors in providing information about employment.

The overall result of the new program of diversified curriculum and professional guidance at Tororo is one of remarkable progress in the relatively short time which these programs have been fully operational. While a number of specific problems remain to be dealt with, they are set within the framework of a functioning program which the evidence presented in this chapter indicates is doing a very creditable job. Final evaluation of the program must wait until extensive followup can be done. However, a preliminary look at the developing pattern is presented in the next chapter.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 6

[1]K. J. McAdam, "The Need for Selection and Guidance Services in Uganda," Makerere Journal, No. 7, (1963), p. 33.

[2]Ibid., p. 44.

[3]E. R. Rado, "The Scope for Short Term Manpower and Education Policies," (Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, January, 1964.) (Mimeographed.)

[4]McAdam, op. cit., p. 50.

[5]Part of the difference between these two measures occurs in the approximately 10% of the pupils who don't know how much education their fathers have but do know whether or not they speak English.

[6]The reported choices for the third and fourth form may well contain some inaccuracy as girls adjust their remembered choices to conform with their current streams.

CHAPTER VII

THE MARKETPLACE: EMPLOYMENT FOR SECONDARY SCHOOL GIRLS

Previous chapters have dealt with the backgrounds of the girls, their school experience, and their expectations for the future. In this chapter a preliminary look at the employment market encountered by these girls will be presented. What happens when the girls go out to find work? How many find work? What kinds of employment are they able to get and under what conditions? How do they feel about their jobs and how does reality compare with their expectations? Does the specialized training offered the Tororo girls influence their success at finding employment in comparison with girls from other schools?

Definitive answers to the above questions would require a

separate research study comparable in scope to the one already reported in this book. Longitudinal data collection would be needed with an extensive sample of girls followed for a period of several years after their completion of secondary school. Such an effort is well beyond the intent and the resources of the present study. Yet, some preliminary data was obtained and an analysis of that does provide a glimpse into what a more systematic and extensive study is likely to show. From the outset though, the reader must be cautioned that the results should be taken as suggestive and partial indicators of the real situation. At best the data will provide understanding essential for the formulation of meaningful hypotheses to be tested and some initial insights into the employment situation of girls which will provide one source of input for decision makers who must act on the information available to them.

The discussion in this chapter is based on three separate but related sources of information which provide different views of the activities of the girls after secondary school. The first part of the chapter contains impressions gained in interviews with a small sample of the Tororo girls who were employed at the time of the study. The interviews provide primarily impressionistic data which helps one to understand how the various factors discussed in the other parts of the chapter interact with the feelings and motivations of individual girls.

The second part of the chapter is based on a short follow-up

questionnaire which was sent only to the Tororo girls who finished in 1967 and 1968. This is a different instrument than that used for the rest of the current study. This instrument reports on the activities of these girls approximately four months after the completion of their examinations in December of the previous year. The data allows comparison between the various streams at Tororo but not with girls from other schools.

The final part of the chapter is based on a section of the basic instrument used for the entire study. This section was answered by all higher school girls in the three schools in the sample which had higher schools. The responses of the girls deal with their experience in attempting to obtain work during the long interval between the completion of their School Certificate examinations and their notification of acceptance into a higher school. This data allows comparison between girls who attended each of the three schools at the lower school level. However, the data is biased by virtue of the fact that it contains reports on the vacation experience of only those girls who were subsequently admitted to higher school, certainly a very select minority of the girls who complete secondary school.

Interviews with Girls on the Job

The first part of the follow-up research involved interviewing a small group of Tororo graduates who had taken jobs and who had not con-

tinued on to higher school. The girls were interviewed in the fall of 1969 and were selected from the class of girls who had finished lower school in December of 1968. Thus the girls had been out of school for nine or ten months and either working or looking for work during that period. The time and resources available made it possible only to talk with girls who were working in the Tororo and Kampala areas. Although this was an unrepresentative sample, the authors felt that the insights provided would be important in illuminating the more objective data collected by other means.

In all, six girls in Kampala, three girls in Mbale and one girl in Tororo were located and interviewed at their places of employment.[1] In addition, three of the girls' employers were free and consented to offer some insights into the details of the employment of women in Uganda. Finally, interviews were conducted with the director of guidance activities at the Ministry of Education, and at Makerere University, the Secretary of the Appointments Board and the Head Warden of the girls' residence hall, both of whom are associated with the educational and career opportunities of women.

Each of these discussions contributed to the overall picture of the small but emerging world of secondary school girls in the labor force. All of the girls available for interviews had office jobs and all but three of them were graduates of the Commerce Stream. In general, the working conditions and basic nature of the job held by each of the girls

e much the same:

> The girl was most commonly to be found in a large office, working in a "pool" of secretaries and copy-typists. She was recently employed and was still in the process of getting acquainted with the procedures and conditions of work. Her responsibilities were relatively minimal, thus giving rise to a common complaint of boredom and lack of challenge. The girl was almost always living with a relative, and usually was contributing a good part of her salary to the support of her parents or to siblings' school fees. She felt that her training at Tororo was good, but she found it necessary to continue her training in order to pass the exams required by the civil service so that she could increase her monthly wage as well as improve her chances for promotion.

The above portrait is a composite which reflects common aspects of the girls' situations. While no individual girl fits this picture exactly there are a number of common strands running through all the interviews which begin to outline the fabric of the employment world of the girls. In the following discussion several of these strands will be discussed in more detail.

The interviews showed clearly that all the girls had a strong interest in going on for more formal education. Most of the commerce girls indicated in the course of the discussion that low scores on their exams had prevented them from returning to higher school, either at Tororo or some other institution. The three home economics girls had little choice but to seek work since there is not yet a clear route of academic advancement for girls specializing in this subject within the borders of Uganda. It is possible for a home economics graduate to do

advanced study in Kenya and of course, abroad. However, finding jobs in Uganda which make use of home economics training is difficult at present, a situation well illustrated by the fact that two of the three home economics girls interviewed were working in offices.

Without exception, the girls had difficulty in obtaining employment. Even the one or two who were successful in finding work shortly after leaving Tororo soon found themselves looking for another job, having been able to secure only temporary employment immediately following their examinations. The employment histories of most of the girls for the nine months preceding the interviews were similar: a series of two or three month periods alternating between employment and unemployment. In truth most of the girls were in a situation of temporary employment. Very few had found a full-time job and kept it for as long as six months

On the whole the girls were pleased with the training they had received at Tororo and exhibited characteristics not unlike those usually found in inaugural classes or groups anywhere in the world. Surprisingly, none mentioned getting any specific help from Tororo in placing them in their jobs, a fact surprising not because a placement service remains in the future for Tororo, but because so few seemed to have considered using the guidance counselor or the headmistress as a starting point or a reference while looking for employment. Many of the girls stated during the discussion that their primary contact for the job had been made originally

through a friend or a relative.

For the most part, the girls seemed to enjoy being a part of the working world, and comments indicating a desire to return to school life were few. Although all the commerce graduates interviewed were employed as secretaries or copy typists, further training was very much on their minds. Their interest in training stemmed not so much from any lack of skills but from the Uganda civil service requirement of certification for long-term employment. The ticket to advancement and better pay is the highest possible rating on the tests given in shorthand and typing by the civil service. To date, it has not been possible to certify the commerce students while they were still at Tororo. Even the best of the graduates must gain certification early in her career to retain her position. Naturally the most common lament concerned the time and the financial expenditure necessary for brush-up courses prior to taking the speed tests. Most of the girls were in the process of taking courses or planning to enroll and all were quick to recommend that some sort of certification process be implemented at Tororo.

Not surprisingly, they have been anticipated in their requests by the teachers in the commerce stream at Tororo who look upon minimal certification as incentive to both the girls and prospective employers. Although the staff is well aware of the problem, indications are that the establishment of a certification process at Tororo will involve a substantial change in the present system -- a change which lies outside the

control of Tororo and may be some time in coming.

The second most frequent complaint concerned the relatively low levels of responsibility given to many of the girls. By and large, most felt overqualified and underutilized; boredom and lack of challenge seemed to be a recurrent theme in many of the interviews. Again, this was not an entirely unexpected occurrence, since most of the girls had occupied their positions for only a few months and most were actually, if not officially, in trainee status. Their lack of experience on the job was vividly apparent in the paucity of information which the girls had about such details of employment as insurance, amount of annual leave, provisions for "sick leave," and (in one case) salary. In fairness to the employers, it is not unreasonable to assume that the girls were informed about some of these fringe benefits in the process of being hired. On this score, the interviews left the distinct impression that the girls' training at Tororo might well place more emphasis on getting answers to these kinds of questions before taking a job. It should be emphasized that this notion is not unique with the authors and that the commerce and guidance staff is well aware of the problem and is taking steps to make the girls more aware of the information which they should get during a job interview.

During the course of administering the questionnaire and interviewing various staff members one headmistress remarked that an important service beginning to be performed by many schools is the vocational

preparation of women. In her view, women in Uganda had not known the independence available to those in possession of professional skills needed by the economy. She stated that ability of girls to earn a regular income would be an important contribution to the progress of Ugandan nation and she fully endorsed the teaching of practical subjects for this reason.

Her comments seemed to accurately foreshadow the almost universal attitudes displayed by the girls interviewed at their jobs. All agreed that earning their own way in the world was one of the biggest pleasures of employment. Although the salaries of most were still small in comparison to what many had been expecting and several mentioned the added responsibilities of supporting family members with a substantial portion of the new income, the satisfaction and confidence expressed by the girls due to their newfound independence was hard to miss. Their positive attitudes were perhaps reflected best in their responses to a question concerning work after marriage. Nearly all of the girls indicated that they would definitely attempt to pursue a career following marriage, as soon as their maternal responsibilities had been eased by the children's enrollment in school.

As was mentioned earlier, distinct avenues to occupations which profitably capitalize on the skills and training of home economics graduates remain obscured, due partly to the present deficiency in viable employment opportunities and partly to the lack of communication about the few positions which do exist. While those who teach home economics

courses hope that the situation will be changed in the near future through the expansion of opportunities in community development, in teaching, and in such parastatal industries as Uganda Hotels, Ltd., the present opportunities for employment of girls with home economics training are quite limited. Thus, it is not surprising to find two graduates of the Tororo home economics program putting to work secretarial skills which they learned as part of the basic orientation given to all of the girls in the lower forms at Tororo.

The sole exception, and one which gives some cause for optimism, was a home economics graduate who had obtained a position with Uganda Hotels. When interviewed, she was just assuming new responsibilities as the assistant housekeeper for one of the country's major hotels. She credited much of her success and the opportunities which were open to her in the future (she was being considered for further training at the hotel's expense) to her preparation at Tororo. She was, in fact, eager to share her observations about her training with girls still in school. The opportunity should not be missed to utilize her experience as an example for the girls in the home economics stream who are concerned about the practical applications of their preparation. Her observations about her work were distinctly more positive, possibly because the opportunities for advancement were clearer to her, than were the comments of girls employed in secretarial positions. Otherwise, though, she did conform to the prevailing points of view concerning low pay and the occasional routine nature of the duties.

As was stated at the outset, interviews were intended to shed

a bit of light on the worlds of individual school leavers and the nature of their attempts to compete in the marketplace of work. The discussion sets the stage for the more comprehensive, statistical data which occupies the focus of the remainder of this chapter.

Follow-up of Tororo Girls after Completing School

In order to obtain more systematic data on the activities of the girls after completion of school a short questionnaire was sent out to the Tororo graduates approximately three months after they left school. This instrument was designed and administered by the guidance staff at Tororo and subsequently analyzed by the authors of this study.[2] Because the questionnaire was sent to the girls at about the same time as the notification of acceptance of girls into higher school, the jobs reported by the girls are of a more temporary nature than might otherwise be the case. Employers are well aware that any girl who can possibly go on to higher school will do so and are hence reluctant to give the girls jobs with any permanence until after selection is made for higher schools. Thus even though the great majority of the girls who were going on to higher school had been notified before they completed the questionnaire, the fact that they might have gone influenced the kind of employment which they currently held.

The mailed return rate was approximately 50%. By using the class lists of the current fifth and sixth forms at Tororo another 25 girls were added, at least in the sense of being classified as working or continuing their education. The total returns were checked for duplication

so that no girl was counted twice. With the addition of the girls in Tororo higher school who had not responded earlier, the overall return rate for both 1968 and 1969 graduates was 66%. Given the difficulties of communication and the low level of resources used in the follow-up, this is a very respectable return rate for such a study.

A detailed summary of the return rates for the various streams and years is presented in Table 7.1. As can be seen there is a remarkable consistency in the patterns of returns across the two years. While the academic streams which have nearly 100% returns in both years, the other streams have a return rate of about 50%. The authors cannot give a reason for the unusually high return rates in the academic streams. Likewise no systematic information is available about those girls who did not respond. The reader should therefore treat the information in this section with some caution until more detailed follow-up information is available.[3]

Various hypotheses can be advanced about the characteristics of the non-respondents which might substantially change the results of this section. If one assumes that non-response is due primarily to address changes and non-forwarding of mail than the sample may be biased in favor of the less mobile girls and in favor of urban girls where mail service is better. If one assumes that non-respondents are merely those who forget or don't get around to answering, then the sample is biased less seriously in favor of the more efficient girls. The real cause of non-response is probably some combination of these factors.

TABLE 7.1

RETURN RATES OF FOLLOW-UP QUESTIONNAIRE BY STREAM

	LOWER SCHOOL			HIGHER SCHOOL	
	Academic	Commercial	Home Economics	Arts	Science
1968	100% (31/31)	50% (16/32)	54% (13/24)	50% (4/8)	-0- (0/2)
TOTAL 66% (64/97)					
1969	96% (27/28)	50% (15/30)	75% (15/20)	48% (10/21)	43% (3/7)
TOTAL 66% (70/106)					

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With these caveats the results of the follow-up can be used to provide some insight into what is happening to the girls when they finish their training at Tororo. Basically, there are three categories into which the girls activities can be placed: work, further study, and other. The latter category consists primarily of going home to live with family or relatives while waiting for an opportunity either for work, for some kind of training, or for marriage. As indicated elsewhere, the girls are not anxious to get married right away, so most of them continue looking for something in the first two categories. The distribution of the girls who responded in these three categories is set out in Table 7.2 which breaks the girls down by stream and by level of schooling completed. The responses from the two different years are grouped together in this table.

Keeping in mind the limitations imposed by the different return rates there are nevertheless some striking differences between girls in the three lower school streams. The girls in the academic and the commercial streams seem to be quite successful at either finding work or continuing in school. In contrast the home economics girls are largely unsuccessful with nearly 70% of them listed in the other category. Academically the girls in the home economics stream are generally weaker than those in the other two streams and as a result their chances of entering higher school are lower. In addition, no school in Uganda currently offers higher school work in their specialty where they would presumably be able to compete most effectively. Their relatively low employment rate is somewhat discouraging since they would appear to have been given skills needed in the country. The problem probably lies both

TABLE 7.2

ACTIVITIES OF TOKORO GIRLS AFTER COMPLETING C.S.C. AND H.S.C.
(Classes of 1967 and 1968)

	LOWER SCHOOLS			HIGHER SCHOOL	
	Academic	Commercial	Home Economics	Arts	Science
Studying (Higher School or University)	55% 32	61% 19	18% 5	15% 2	-0-
Working	17% 10 (4)*	29% 9 (1)	14% 4 (2)	85% 12 (1)	33% 1 (0)
Other	28% 16	10% 3	68% 19	-0-	67% 2
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONSES	58	31	28	14	3

*Number who are working part-time.

in the relatively few jobs open and in difficulties of communication and transport which prevent the girls from finding and applying for relevant jobs.

In contrast, the other two streams have been much more successful, particularly in the proportions able to continue their education. While one would expect the academic stream to do well since that is what they have been prepared for, the high proportion of the commerce girls going on is worthy of note. A good part of the attendance of the commerce girls can be attributed to the fact that Tororo has recently begun a higher school program in commerce. Since no other school in the country provides lower school girls with extensive training in commerce, the Tororo girls will gain entrance to the commerce stream in the future. Similarly the competition for places in the Tororo higher school academic program will continue to increase making it more challenging for Tororo girls to stay on in the higher school program.[4]

Turning to the proportions of the girls who report that they are working, one finds that the commerce girls have been by far the most successful with nearly twice the proportion working in the other streams. These figures presumably reflect the ready marketability of skills taught in commerce, particularly in comparison to the generalized learning offered in the academic program. When coupled with the great demand for trained office workers the employment rate of the commerce girls comes as no surprise. (One should note that in fact only half the commerce girls responded so the absolute number of girls employed may approach 18

rather than the 9 shown in the table.) As a result the figures for the commerce stream are most encouraging with only 10% of those responding reporting that they are neither studying or working. The academic stream is less successful with nearly one-third of the girls reporting lack of success.

The figures for the girls who have completed higher school at Tororo are more sketchy since the return rates are lower and the absolute number of girls involved is quite small. The one fact that stands out though is the predominant proportion of the girls in the arts stream who are able to find work upon leaving. Possession of a higher school education is still enough of a rarity for women to be of considerable value in the job market, even though the girls don't have any particular skills. The very small number of girls gaining entrance to university is not unexpected. The number of places open for girls in university is relatively small compared to the numbers of girls in higher school. In addition, the newness of the higher school at Tororo means that the program is still in the development stage. As teachers gain experience in preparing girls for the examination, which is the primary determinant of entrance to university, Tororo can expect to get more girls into university. More detailed follow-up information would be necessary to say much more about the higher school girls at this point.

One detail concealed in the overall numbers of those working is the number of girls who have part-time jobs. This number is presented in parentheses in the row labeled "working." Thus of the 10 girls in the

academic stream who are listed as working, four or 40% are only working part-time. In contrast only one out of the nine commerce girls has part-time work, and so on. Thus the commerce girls are not only the most successful in obtaining work, but are also the most successful in getting full-time work. Although the data is sketchy, the trend in the proportions of the girls obtaining full-time work appears to be increasing for the two years covered by the data. The proportion with part-time jobs falls from about 30% in 1968 to less than 10% in 1969.

Making comments about the time trends for the proportions working or studying is risky because of the small numbers and the short time span covered by the data. Very generally the results seem to indicate little or no change for the proportions in the academic stream, a rise in both numbers working and studying for the home economics stream, and a trade-off between working and studying for the commerce stream. In the last case that means fewer commerce girls working and more going on to higher school, a result due almost entirely to the large numbers being accepted into the higher school commerce stream at Tororo. One would expect the proportion of Tororo girls being admitted to Tororo higher school commerce to decrease somewhat over time as other schools are able to present qualified candidates for entrance. Taking both the lower and the higher schools together, the overall trend seems to be a general increase (22% to 31%) in the number of girls getting work and a small decrease (45% to 39%) in the number continuing at the next level of education. The decrease in percentage studying is due largely to the increase in the number of higher school girls graduating, none of whom

went on to further education.

Having looked at the proportions of girls in each of the major alternatives available, one can now ask more detailed questions about the girls who are able to find work. Answers to the question asking how the girls obtained their jobs fell into three categories: by interview, through a family member, and through a friend. In general, the replies indicated that about two-thirds of the girls got their jobs through interviews with employers.[5] The remaining third made use of family members in most cases, although a few cited the help of a friend. The only exception to this pattern came with the home economics girls where three out of the four who are working received their jobs through the efforts of a family member. These figures suggest that informal social networks still play an important part in helping individuals make the transition to the modern sector of the economy of Uganda.

The relatively high proportion of girls getting jobs through family connections is reflected later in this chapter in the data on the relationship between the girls' home regions and the regions where they are employed. The data does not indicate the extent to which the guidance service at Tororo was of help, particularly in obtaining interviews or in giving the girls the skills necessary to discover and to obtain an interview. Further study would be desirable to understand the relationship between approach to the job, success in getting a job, and potentially valuable roles which the guidance program might play in the process. The guidance program, for instance, might profitably play a broker's role

in matching girls with prospective interviewers and perhaps even promote such activities at the school. In a similar way girls might be encouraged to sound out family contacts prior to leaving school in order to increase their chances of employment.

However obtained, the jobs of the successful girls fall into two basic categories plus a handful of miscellaneous occupations. The two basic categories are teaching and office work which between them account for nearly 90% of the employment of the girls who responded. Table 7.3 sets out a summary of the distribution of employment in these categories by stream and level of schooling. The number below the percentage represents the number of girls in each cell and reminds the reader that the total number of girls reporting employment in this study is a relatively small 36. The summary of the distribution between job types appears in the last column. The bottom row in the table gives the mean salaries for the girls from each stream.

The table reveals a clear relationship between the type of job held and the stream in which the girl received her training in lower school. Teaching jobs are held primarily by girls in the academic stream, and in the arts stream at the higher school level. At the latter level, the teaching jobs are split about evenly between primary and secondary teaching, while at the lower school level most of the girls are teaching in primary schools. Over the total group of jobholders teaching accounts for just under 40% of the jobs. Although, teaching is the single most commonly held job, one might well expect more girls to find employment

TABLE 7.3

TYPE OF JOB AND MEAN SALARY BY STREAM

	LOWER SCHOOL			HIGHER SCHOOL		
	Academic	Commercial	Home Economics	Arts	Science	TOTAL
Teaching	30% 3	11% 1	-0-	75% 9	100% 1	39% 14
Office Work	40% 4	78% 7	75% 3	25% 3	-0-	47% 17
Other	30% 3	11% 1	25% 1	-0-	-0-	14% 5
Mean Salaries (Gibil Pinas per month)	264 10	345 9	349 4	442 12	700 1	365 36

as teachers. The difficulties lie in the problems outlined in an earlier chapter with regard to getting the necessary teacher training. One should also remember that these results are based on jobs obtained almost immediately after graduation. As a consequence, many of the girls are teaching on a temporary or part-time basis. Some of the girls who report that they have gone on for further studies are in teacher training institutions and will take up teaching jobs after completing training.

The single largest category of jobs is that of office work with just under 50% of all jobs reported. This category includes secretary, copy typist, and clerical assistant. As one would expect, the largest concentration of girls in this category are girls who come from the commercial stream. Of these girls four were either secretaries or copy typists and would presumably thus be called upon to use the specific skills of typing learned at Tororo. The others were in the more general category of clerical assistant which might involve typing or shorthand or even some accounting skills but probably at a level which a girl with general secondary education could easily handle. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that all four of the girls from the academic stream who have jobs in this category list themselves as clerical assistants. Similarly the girls from the higher school arts stream in this category are all clerical assistants. These very limited figures suggest that the edge in office work enjoyed by the girls from the commercial stream is directly traceable to their possession of specific office skills over and above their general education.

The remaining category of jobs has only a few girls in it and contains three jobs: salesgirl, production worker, and medical assistant.

children's enrollment in school.

As was mentioned earlier, distinct avenues to occupations which

profitably capitalize on the skills and training of home economics grad-

ates remain obscured, due partly to the present diffidence in viable

employment opportunities and partly to the lack of communication about

these positions which do exist. While those who teach home economics

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The most frequent of these is the job of salesgirl, the position held by all three of the academic stream girls. Striking by their almost total absence are jobs relating to the medical profession. In fact only one job, held by a girl from home economics, is a health-related job. These figures lend support to the earlier discussion of the difficulties in entering the medical professions because of limited training facilities and the differences between the intake levels for such training and the output levels of the regular education system.

The impression produced by the residual category of jobs is the very limited range of employment represented. Of all the conceivable types of occupations available to the girls only eight types of jobs are held by the 36 girls and of these the three office jobs are probably highly similar to each other. The narrow range brings home very forcefully the limited options which are open to the girls. The limitations can be traced to a number of factors including the limited nature of the wage economy in the country, the severe restrictions on the types of jobs open to women, and the lack of knowledge and experience of the girls in applying for less well-known types of jobs. The latter area is clearly one where the guidance program can and probably does have some impact. These figures suggest however, that more remains to be done in extending the types of jobs which girls attempt to get.

Turning now to the salaries reported, one is struck immediately by the very low pay received by these girls. The mean salary for the entire group is approximately twelve US dollars a week for girls who have

either twelve or fourteen years of education and thus represent a highly educated minority in a country where less than 10% of an age group goes to secondary school. Also noteworthy is the very large disorepancy between these salaries and the salary expectations of the girls (See Table 5.3, page 150) a factor which is reflected in the girls' feelings about their jobs. The means are somewhat reduced by the fact that the few girls who are working part-time are included in the averages. In addition, the salaries are lowered by the temporary nature of much of the employment and by the fact that most of the girls are not certified. However, these means are realistic in that they represent the ability of the girls to earn money since those with part-time or temporary jobs have them only because they were unable to obtain permanent, full-time employment.

The salary differences between the streams in the lower school are not large although the academic stream is somewhat lower. Most of the difference probably lies in the larger number of part-time jobs held by girls in the academic stream. (See Table 7.2.) Yet, the highest paying job in the academic stream is below the top salary in either of the other two streams and the lowest is well below the lowest in the other streams. The academic girls seem to have more trouble getting jobs than the commercial stream and are less able to get full-time jobs with the higher salaries. The home economics girls, of course, have a much lower employment rate, but seem to get better salaries when they do find employment, even in part-time jobs. The best paying job reported in the lower school is held by one girl from the commercial stream who earns 700 shillings-a

month as a clerical assistant. Except for her though, the top salaries are generally in the neighborhood of 400 shillings a month or less.

As one would expect, the higher school girls do somewhat better in salary. More than half of the girls in the arts stream earn between 500 and 700 shillings monthly, while the remainder get approximately 350, essentially the same as the better paid girls from the lower school. The one science girl to obtain work is getting 700 shillings, a salary which is the top for all the girls in either higher or lower school. Higher school training is therefore of greater value, yet one can't help feeling that in terms of initial salary at least, the investment in two more years of school hardly seems worth it for the girls who are going straight out into employment.[6] The investment will pay off for girls who are successful in continuing on to university or some form of specialized training. Whether the introduction of the commerce stream at the higher level will be able to give the girls skills sufficient to increase their earning power significantly remains to be seen. Certainly the record of the girls coming from the arts stream is not overly encouraging.

A natural corollary to the salary level is the question answered by the girls on whether they liked or disliked their job. The answers to that question indicate that over 80% of the girls dislike their jobs. To probe the reasons for such a high proportion of dissatisfaction the answers were run against such variables as salary level and job type. Somewhat surprisingly, there is little or no relation between satisfaction about

the job and salary, at least within the range of salaries reported by these respondents. Nearly half of the girls reporting that they are satisfied have salaries in the 200 to 300 shilling range, while over half of those with salaries greater than 500 shillings indicate dissatisfaction. When compared with job types there is only one job where a significant proportion report satisfaction: just under one-third of the girls who are clerical assistants say they they like their jobs. In the remaining jobs 80% to 100% of the girls report that they dislike the jobs.

When asked what their reasons would be for leaving the job, the majority of the girls responded that they wished to go on for further study, apparently feeling that more school was the key to access to jobs whose conditions were satisfactory. Those who did mention specific reasons for leaving other than study, indicated that wanting other work, not being fully qualified, and low pay were their reasons. A few also mentioned too much work and short term contracts as reasons for leaving. Noteworthy by its absence is the need to leave because of marriage. Previous results indicate that the girls do not want marriage at this point, and in any case, it is not generally a hindrance to girls who want to work.

The impression left by this data is somewhat discouraging. The great majority of the girls seem to dislike the employment which they have been able to get and generally feel that more schooling is the only way to achieve more desirable employment. One also gets the impression that relatively small salary increases or other fringe benefits will not

change the girls' desire which is consistent with their stated expectations. In other words the very large discrepancy between the reality of jobs available to them and their expectations of status and salary lead the girls to almost complete rejection of their jobs. Certainly a factor contributing to these feelings, and one which is clear from the interviews, is the low-level, temporary nature of the work available to girls just out of school.

Another factor which may contribute to their dissatisfaction is the location of the job and the consequent availability of entertainment and other amenities. When asked where they thought they would be working the girls in the main study showed a strong preference for large and medium-sized cities. Less than 10% of the total sample of 1500 said that they expected to work in a small town or village. Yet, the reality of those who are working is that less than 30% find themselves with jobs situated in the two large cities, while nearly 30% are working in very small villages. Compounding this lack of urban directed mobility provided by their work, is the surprising fact that virtually all the girls who found work are employed in the same region and in the same size town as their home. In other words there is a very strong tendency for girls to find employment in their home area and not in the more glamorous and more distant metropolis. As a result the girls find themselves not only working in smaller towns than they had hoped, with the resulting lack of diversions, but also working in a town and region with which they are familiar, a factor which may well contribute to a desire to move to new and more interesting surroundings. Thus, although not mentioned explicitly by the

girls, the location of their work may contribute to their dissatisfaction. A strong influence on the location in which work is sought may well be the need for girls to live with friends or relatives both for economic and for social reasons.

In this part of the chapter data has been presented based on the follow-up results of Tororo girls who finished both higher and lower school in the years 1968 and 1969. The responses reveal some interesting and at times encouraging trends in terms of employment. At the same time the evidence also points to some serious problems. However, because of the differing response rates the data must be interpreted with some caution until more systematic and complete follow-up sampling can be done. As one way of validating the results of this section, the authors included in their questionnaire for the higher school students a section on their experience in getting jobs in the interval between lower school and higher school. The final part of this chapter will be devoted to looking at these vacation experiences in order to further understand the employment situation faced by the secondary school graduates. The two sets of data differ because the girls in this part who are working did not go on to higher school, whereas the work experiences in the next part are reported by girls who did go on to higher school.

Vacation Job Experiences of Higher School Girls

The main study includes three schools which offer instruction at the higher school level: Tororo whose follow-up results were just discussed, and Gayaza and Namagunga, two prestigious schools of long

standing situated near the capitol city. In all just under 300 girls responded to the questionnaire, representing all the girls in the three higher schools. They were asked to report on their experience in looking for a job, their success, and the conditions of their employment. The time period involved is the long interval between the time the girls take their School Certificate examinations in early December and their notification in March or April as to whether they have been accepted into a higher school. This period of four months or more is a time when many of the girls seek work and their experiences can be taken as a good indicator of the general experience of girls who finish secondary school and enter the job market. Some biasing is present of course since the girls in the sample are the ones who have done well in school and have been selected to continue their education in the academic higher schools. On the other hand the employers are aware that any girl accepted into higher school will probably go, and hence there is a strong tendency to give all girls temporary jobs until both their performance and their permanence can be assessed.

Using the data on the vacation experiences of the three schools one can study the success rate in general and can also compare the relative success rates of girls in prestigious academic schools with those of girls from Tororo. To facilitate these comparisons, the responses from each school are presented in terms of where the girls did their lower school studies. In most cases data from both the 5th and 6th form will be presented together although their responses relate to two different years.[7] In a few cases comments will be made about the separate years in terms of apparent trends indicated by the changes between the two years.

[illegible] pattern of success in finding jobs and the major categories of jobs obtained are set out in Table 7.4. For each of the [illegible] the respondents are grouped according to where they attended lower school: at the same school in which they are attending higher school, at another girls' school, or at some other type of school. The categories of jobs are the same as in the previous part of the chapter with the exception that in this table office work also includes the job of telephone operator. (For a detailed listing of the jobs see Table A.10 in the appendix.) Readers wishing only a brief summary glance at the data can confine their attention to the last column under each school which gives the totals for all the girls in the higher school. These summary figures show that roughly half the girls fail to obtain employment of any kind in each of the schools. The majority of those who do find work are employed either as teachers or as office workers. Only a small percentage find work outside of these two categories. Differences between the schools occur primarily in the split between teaching and office work. Namagunga girls get considerably more teaching jobs than the other two schools where the majority of the employment is found in office work. On an overall basis the girls at Tororo are slightly less successful at getting jobs than those at the other two schools.

If however, one is interested in the effect of the lower school training on the success of the girls in obtaining jobs, then the figures in the first column under each school are of more significance. The figures indicate that the girls kept in the same school perform differently in the job market than those who come from other schools. The girls from

TABLE 7.4

VACATION JOB EXPERIENCE OF HIGHER SCHOOL GIRLS

	TORORO			GAYAZA			NAMAGUNGA			TOTAL
	Here[1]	Other	Total	Here	Other	Total	Here	Other	Total	All SCHOOLS
No Job	10	51	61	20	19	39	21	19	40	140
	46%	58%	56%	43%	51%	46%	57%	42%	49%	51%
Teacher	3	11	14	7	6	13	10	11	21	48
	14%	13%	13%	15%	16%	16%	27%	24%	26%	17%
Office Work	8	18	26	20	9	29	2	14	16	71
	37%	21%	24%	43%	24%	35%	5%	31%	20%	26%
Other	1	7	8	-0-	3	3	4	1	5	16
	5%	8%	7%		8%	4%	11%	3%	6%	6%
Total # students in each category	22[2]	87	109	47	37	84	37	45	82	275

[1] Girls in column labelled 'here' attended lower school in that school.

[2] The low proportion of girls (22/109) from Tororo lower school reflect the fact that the first girls didn't complete Tororo lower school until December of 1968.

Gayaza and Tororo are more successful than the totals for those schools, while Namagunga girls are markedly less successful than is indicated by the school total. Thus although the total failure rate of the Tororo girls in 10% points higher than that for Gayaza, the girls who did school certificate studies at these two schools have essentially the same success rate at finding jobs. Looking at the job categories one also finds that the two schools have essentially the same proportions in the two major job categories. Both schools place about 40% in office jobs and only about 15% in teaching jobs. In contrast Namagunga girls who do find a job are much more likely to become teachers than to work in an office.

When these figures are compared with earlier data on employment expectations of the girls some interesting differences are apparent. Referring back to Table 4.6 (page 116) this means specifically comparing the technical category -- mostly teachers -- and the skilled office workers category -- mostly secretaries -- with the two major categories in Table 7.4. Tororo is the only school with substantial expectations of jobs in the office worker category. The other two schools indicate greater expectations for the technical category than for office work. For Namagunga and Tororo the expectations are in the right direction and are roughly approximated by the actual employment figures. For Gayaza, however, the direction is wrong and the amounts are substantially different. While only 5% of the Gayaza girls expect office work over 40% in fact find such employment and conversely nearly 30% expect teaching jobs but only 15% are employed as teachers. Some of the differences will likely be lessened by the fact that the jobs reported are temporary while the

expectations are presumably long term. More girls will become teachers after completing higher school and going on for specialized training. Nevertheless, the differences are instructive and suggest that many more girls will be commercially employed than expect such work.

The results also suggest that Tororo as a new and relatively unknown school has been able to compete successfully for jobs with the best known girls' school in the country. And this is in spite of the much closer proximity of Gavaza to the major city and its much greater employment opportunities. The most likely explanation for the success of Tororo lies in the skills-oriented nature of the curriculum and the general orientation of the program toward training for future employment. When the success rate is computed for each of the three streams within Tororo, the results are very similar to those reported in the follow-up data. The commercial and academic streams are quite successful while the home economics girls have considerable difficulty getting jbos. Only 30% of the commercial girls don't find jobs, while 43% of the academic girls are unemployed.[8] These success rates equal or surpass those of the girls who attended Gavaza lower school. In general the girls in the adademic stream do slightly less well at getting jobs than the girls at Gavaza, the girls in the commercial stream do noticeably better than girls from other schools, and the home economics girls do considerably worse. The net result is an overall rate at Tororo which is essentially the same as that at the most prestigious girls' schools in the country.

When the employment figures for the two years are looked at separately they provide some clue as to the trend in success rates for

the girls. Taking all the girls in each form together the figures for Gayaza and Namagunga both show an increase in the proportion of girls who are able to obtain employment during the long vacation. For Gayaza the increase is small, from 51% to 56%, while for Namagunga it is larger, 44% to 58%. The figures for Tororo during the same period remain constant at 44%. In other words Tororo has a somewhat lower rate of employment than the other two schools and does not show an improvement in the two years covered by the data. The reader should note in interpreting this information that these two years represent the first two higher school classes ever admitted to Tororo. As a consequence the type of girl admitted to the higher school is generally of a much lower caliber than those available to the other two long established schools. In addition those girls admitted from Tororo lower school represent the first graduates of Tororo. In light of these factors, the performance of the girls is outstanding and reflects the ability to overcome several major handicaps. On the basis of this performance one would predict rapid improvement in employment rates to a point where they are equal to or better than those of the prestigious academic schools.

What are the girls' reactions to their vacation employment? What are their likes and dislikes about the employment conditions? Given a chance would they take the same job again? Table 7.5 presents a summary of the responses of the girls in the three schools to the last question broken down to distinguish girls continuing in the same school for higher school. As in the follow-up data the great majority of the girls indicate that they would not take the job again. The percentages are lower, 70% instead of 80%, than for the follow-up data reflecting slightly greater

TABLE 7.5

PERCENTAGE OF GIRLS WILLING TO TAKE SAME JOB AGAIN BY SCHOOL

	TORORO			GAYAZA			NAMAGUNGA			TOTAL
	Here	Other	Total	Here	Other	Total	Here	Other	Total	ALL SCHOOLS
Yes	3	13	16	10	5	15	6	8	14	45
	27%	35%	33%	37%	28%	33%	37%	32%	34%	34%
No	8	24	32	17	13	30	10	17	27	89
	73%	65%	67%	63%	72%	67%	63%	68%	66%	66%
Total = students	11	37	48	27	18	45	16	25	41	134

acceptance of the jobs. There are virtually no differences between the three schools taken as complete groups. Small differences appear when the girls are split up to separate out those who stayed at the same school for higher school. The Gayaza and Namagunga girls are somewhat more willing to take the same job than are girls from other schools, whereas the Tororo girls are less willing to repeat their jobs than other girls attending Tororo higher school. Whether the relatively higher dissatisfaction of the Tororo girls is because they have less attractive jobs or because they have been led to expect better conditions by their training is open to conjecture. In one sense the results are surprising: the Tororo girls in general have lower and more realistic expectations for jobs than do the girls from the other two schools. As a result one would expect the Tororo girls to adapt more readily to the realities of the employment world.[9]

What are the features of employment which the girls find attractive? The most frequently mentioned aspect is working with people, closely followed in the case of the Tororo girls by a liking for the duties on the job. For the other schools though, the next options are less popular and consist of enjoying handling students and liking the financial independence of having a job. The money aspect of the job was somewhat less important for the Tororo girls than such things as meeting important people and working with fellow employees.

The theme which runs through these responses involves a heavy emphasis on relationships with other people: fellow workers, students, customers, and the bossess. The emphasis on personal relations may stem in part from the fact that live in a boarding school for girls is quite

restrictive and the job represents the first time that the girls have been out in the world and at least partially on their own. Yet there is probably a deeper reason reflecting a general orientation of the culture which places high value on the quality of personal relationships. Earlier discussion in Chapter V (page 175 ff.) notes that the characteristics considered desirable in jobs tended to relate more to the personal atmosphere and life style of the work than to the content or duties of the job. That emphasis is clearly reflected in the girls comments about job likes, more than half of which relate to people aspects of the work. Only at Tororo do substantial numbers of girls (30%) indicate that they are interested in the duties of the job as a desirable aspect. In the other two schools less than 10% mention duties as a desirable aspect. The higher level of awareness of duties of the Tororo girls would be a logical outcome of a program which focuses on skills training for employment and which emphasizes choice of job according to skill and interests.

With the exception of the dislike of getting up early in the morning in order to get to work, the majority of the dislikes mentioned refer to characteristics of the job. Most prominent of these are things like some of the duties, restrictions resulting from supervision, being bored and, in the case of teachers, the need for lesson preparation. The complaints about early rising, the long trip to the office, and the need for lesson preparation all relate to infringements of the job on their non-working time. The girls seem to have clear expectations that work should be limited to certain parts of the day and resent it when work-related activities cut into times seen as reserved for other activities.

This may again be seen as a strong desire for freedom from the regulation which has characterized their lives in boarding school and a resentment of anything which seems to resemble a return to such controls. On the other hand, the comments of the girls also reflect accurately some of the conditions of their employment as presented in the first part of this chapter. The duties are vague, generally menial and often boring. Many of the girls are in a trial period and few employers entrust them with meaningful work carrying much responsibility.

Notable by their virtual absence are any complaints about the salaries being received by the girls. Only four girls out of the 135 who were employed mention low salaries, and three of those girls were from Tororo. The average salary of all the girls is 315 shillings per month and only a very few of them get more than 500 shillings. These salaries are relatively low and are about half of the salaries which lower school girls say they hope to earn in their expected job. Why then, so few complaints about something which is undoubtedly important to the girls who for the first time are in the position of managing money which they have earned? In partial response, one can note that salary did not rank particularly high on the list of desirable job characteristics discussed in Chapter V. When combined with the fact that most of these girls view the work as temporary and the fact that most of them have found ways to reduce costs by living with families or relatives, the apparent lack of concern about money becomes more understandable. Whether this is a good indicator of their future reaction to salary scales on a more permanent job obtained after completing their schooling is uncertain. If so, it would be a great bonus to the development of the country since

wage scales are already badly out of line with indicators like per capita income and productivity.

Looking at the reported salaries in more detail, one finds a pattern very similar to that already discussed in the follow-up part of the chapter. Differences between schools are small with Gayaza having a slight edge over the other two schools, although not by a significant amount. Differences between wages paid for the major job categories are very small with office work having a slight edge over teaching. This difference would probably not persist for girls who ultimately obtain their teaching certification and are employed on a regular basis since teaching salaries are quite competitive with all but the highest level of pay for secretaries and clerks. Similarly, the girls from the commercial stream at Tororo are at the moment unable to get certification at Tororo and so their reported salaries are below those available for secretaries and typists who have been certified. The salary data in this chapter should be viewed in terms of these limitations. The figures reported do represent the reality available to the general secondary school graduate, but are below the levels open to the selected few who will ultimately get more training and receive the official certification entitling them to higher wages.

Having discovered something about the characteristics of the girls' jobs and the relationship of various types of schooling to those jobs, the question arises as to the influence of other aspects of the girls' backgrounds. In other words, which girls are successful in finding employment? Do they tend to come from a rural or urban area of the country

and does the education level of their parents seem to influence their chances of finding a job?

A fairly compelling argument could be made that girls from a rural background would be handicapped in gaining the skills necessary for success in the modern sector of the economy and that their lack of experience with urban and modern organizations would hinder them in finding employment even if they had the skills. To investigate this possibility tables were constructed showing employment in the three job categories according to size of the girls' hometowns. The distribution of rural and urban backgrounds of those who did not find work is almost identical with the distribution for the entire population of girls in higher school. In other words, there is a remarkable lack of relationship between degree of ruralness of the place where a girl grew up and went to primary school[10] and the probability of that girl's subsequently finding a job.

There are some small variations which occur within the two major job categories though. Particularly noticeable is a tendency for girls from rural areas to become teachers in disproportionate numbers. Concurrently there is a relative lack of girls from the larger cities who become teachers. The significance which should be attached to this apparent trend is uncertain. Many of the girls who obtain temporary teaching jobs are employed in primary schools. The primary schools which are most likely to be in need of teachers are in the rural areas and hence girls who live in rural areas are prime candidates for employment.

A similar discrepancy exists in the office work category, but

the trend is in a different direction. Disproportionately fewer girls from small villages work in offices and more from small and medium sized towns find office work than would be the case if background had no influence. While one is certainly not surprised by a tendency for those in office work to be found working in towns and cities where such work is concentrated, there is much less concentration in the large towns than one might expect. The key factor in these figures is probably the tendency discussed previously, for girls to work in the same size town as that in which they attended primary school. Thus, since only about 12% (See Table 3.2, page 35) of the girls in higher school come from a large city, there are relatively few girls who are available to work in the large city. A tentative conclusion from this information would suggest that while there is no relationship between a girl's home location and the chances of getting a job, the type of job likely to be found is influenced. The influence results from a combination of distribution of job types as a function of degree of urban development and the strong tendency for the girls to seek work near their homes.

Turning the the question of the influence of parents' education on the probability of job success, one finds a similar lack of strong relationship. When mean education levels of fathers are compared for girls who did find employment with those who did not there is a weak tendency for the unemployed girls to have fathers with more education than those who did find employment. This pattern is not consistent across all groups of girls in the different schools in the sample. The difference is certainly not in the direction that the authors would have hypothesized a priori. However, one could argue that the difference reflects not so

much the ability of the girls to find work, but rather their need to do so. Girls with better educated fathers, and hence fathers with better jobs, may feel less economic pressure to work in order to support parents or other siblings. The results for mothers' educational levels are more in the expected direction, although again the differences are weak. Quite possibly the education of the mothers is a better indicator of the socialization which the girls get at home and is therefore more likely to have a positive influence on the ability of the girls to find work later on.

This very sketchy data on the influence of background on capability to find employment does little more than suggest that there are not strong relationships present. In all likelihood there is some influence, but in order to demonstrate it one must control for a number of related forces such as economic need, distribution of jobs, and locations in which the girls are likely to look for work. One can say though that there does not seem to be any strong interaction between the background factors and the school-experience which systematically operates for or against any particular group of girls. Stated differently, any girl who enters and is able to complete her secondary education seems to have about an equal chance of finding employment.[11] One explanation for this phenomena is the quite simple one that any girl who gets into secondary school is already a member of a very special elite and as such has already overcome whatever handicaps her background may have given her.

The information produced by the three different sources discussed in this chapter has generally been complementary. Emerging from

the discussion is an outline of the job situation for girls who have recently completed their secondary education and seek to convert that education into gainful employment. During the vacation after completing school certificate examinations about half the girls are able to find employment. Of those who do find work about half are in office jobs and most of the remainder are in temporary teaching positions. The range of jobs open to the girls seems to be very limited and the salaries paid to most girls are at or below the level which the girls need to maintain themselves. On a longer term basis, about half the girls go on to some form of further education, about 20% continue to be employed, while the remainder stay at home waiting for an opportunity for work or further study. (These latter figures are based on the proportions for the Tororo girls. The proportions for other girls schools are probably reasonably similar.) The special training at Tororo appears to put the girls in a good competitive position for employment, particularly the girls in the commercial stream. As the general reputation of Tororo continues to improve, the special training should be increasingly valuable to the girls. Finally, the preliminary nature of these conclusions should once again be stressed. A much more systematic set of follow-up data would be necessary to validate the variety of hypotheses suggested in this chapter.

FOOTNOTES: CHAPTER 7

[1]A master list of the 1968 Tororo School Certificate candidates was assembled and checked by calling together the Tororo higher school girls from that class. Peer communication proved to be an accurate source of information about who was presently employed and where, who had entered school for further training, and who had returned home to stay with their family.

[2]The authors wish to acknowledge the cooperation and support of Mary Hamilton, the guidance counselor, and Paul Mott, the deputy chief of party in collecting and coding the data from these questionnaires.

[3]Most of the data for this section was collected after the field work of the authors. No resources were available for more extended efforts in the field to determine the causes of non-response and hence the representativeness of the sample which did respond. There is some evidence to suggest that girls from small villages are less likely to have answered than those in towns and cities.

[4]It is interesting to note that neither Gayaza nor Namagunga higher school had a single Tororo girl attending at the time of the study. It will probably be several years before Tororo girls are able to compete academically with the very best girls in the country.

[5]These proportions probably under-estimate the influence of relatives since the figures do not reflect the extent to which family members are helping girls to get interviewed and are influencing decisions on hiring after the interview.

[6]Further investigation of probable life-time earnings would be necessary in order to support this statement based on initial earnings. One rough indicator would be provided by data on the rate and amount of increments available to these girls in comparison to girls with less schooling.

[7]The 5th form in the sample took the School Certificate examination in December of 1968 while the 6th form took the exam in 1967. The employment situation referred to is thus that current in the first quarter of 1968 and 1969.

[8]The reader should remember that these percentages represent the proportion of the girls who return to higher school in the same school who do not get jobs. These are not the overall rates for all the girls who complete lower school there.

[9] When willingness to take the job is broken down by stream the commercial girls from Tororo indicate a degree of satisfaction comparable to the other schools. The girls from the academic stream are more dissatisfied though with only one out of six indicating a willingness to take a similar job again.

[10] The question actually asked the girls to indicate the approximate size of the town in which they attended primary school, the rationale being that the environment during primary school would be a major determinant of the socialization experienced by the girls.

[11] This generalization is of course limited to the specific background variables tested here. The authors would expect approximately similar results for most other background variables, with the possible exception of tribe. Unfortunately, the present data contains to few respondents to look at tribe as a variable in employment rates. Even tribe though, would probably be important only for girls who sought work outside their home areas. At home they would in most cases be a member of the dominant tribe anyway.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

This chapter consists of two sections: a brief discussion of the major trends evident from the results and their implications for girls' education, and a listing of detailed summary statements which will guide the reader through the more specific findings of the study. These latter statements include a page reference which leads the reader to the appropriate section of the study. These statements should not be used without referring to the original section in order to understand the source of the statement and the limitations on its validity. While the study as a whole dealt with education in six schools, the trends discussed in this section will concentrate on the effect of the special programs at Tororo in order to highlight their implications for future developments in girls' education in Uganda.

The Impact of the Special Programs at Tororo

In analyzing programs in different schools, the factors most commonly ignored are the differences in the characteristics of pupils entering the schools. Discussion of the comparative impact of different programs must begin with a comparison of the inputs to the programs; the analysis in Chapter Three shows significant differences in the backgrounds of the pupils entering the schools in the sample. Variables such as parents' education, parents' occupation, and the educational history of the pupils tend to vary together, producing a consistent ranking of schools in terms of the girls' backgrounds. As one would expect, the long-established schools with urban locations and national reputations are most successful in attracting girls from strong backgrounds. Thus, Gayaza and Namagunga have the largest proportions of fathers in professional occupations and the highest mean levels of parental education as well as the highest average marks on the Primary Leaving Examination.

Tororo, one of the three newly established schools in the sample, has done well in attracting pupils of good quality. While the pupils have weaker backgrounds than those in the prestige schools, the unusual nature of Tororo, the special curriculum, and the large resources invested in the school all help Tororo to recruit effectively in comparison to other new schools. In fact, Tororo generally is more effective at recruiting than Sacred Heart, which is an older school with a good reputation. As a result, the special programs at Tororo begin with girls of medium to good backgrounds but definitely below the qualifications of the girls at the most prestigious schools. The quality

of intake is rising steadily at Tororo and should begin to compare favorably with the best schools in a few more years.

Tororo has been even more successful in becoming a school where pupils are drawn from all of Uganda and represent the diversity of religions and ethnic cultures found in the country. Tororo has the most even balance of religious backgrounds of any school in the sample, although there is room for improvement since the Church of Uganda has a substantial majority in the school. Tororo also has the best tribal balance as indicated by the proportions of girls in the three dominant tribes in the school. While the largest tribe at Tororo contains about 17% of the girls in the school, the dominant tribe in other schools typically contains one-third or more of the girls. Cayaza has the most even regional distribution in terms of the home locations of the girls. In contrast, Tororo has a distribution which is skewed in favor of the Eastern region and badly underrepresents the Western region. Given the location of Tororo on the extreme eastern edge of the country, the distribution of the pupils is reasonable. Some effort could be profitably devoted to recruitment outside of the Eastern region.

Within Tororo there does not seem to be any consistent relationship between the backgrounds of the girls and their placement in one of the three streams, although there is a tendency for girls in the academic stream to have parents with less education than the girls in the other streams. These figures suggest that the guidance and selection process has not resulted in the placement of girls from lower socio-economic backgrounds in the less prestigious vocational streams. In other words, the streaming process appears

to give girls from all backgrounds a fairly equal chance, depending on their interests and abilities. However, one should remember that the girls who get into secondary school at all are a select elite who represent only a small proportion of their age group. If the intake to the school were truly comprehensive in terms of the girls in Uganda, then such an even distribution of backgrounds would be less likely.

The relative lack of bias in placing girls in various streams is part of a larger picture which indicates a considerable degree of success on the part of the guidance program at Tororo. The program has been particularly successful in influencing the internal functioning of Tororo. The legitimacy of the two non-academic streams seems to have been firmly established. The commercial stream has been especially successful in achieving not only legitimacy but also a level of popularity which equals or exceeds that of the academic stream. While the home economics stream is less popular than either of the others, there is some evidence that progress is being made in raising its attractiveness. These perceptions of the non-academic streams represent a substantial improvement over the prevailing attitudes in the country toward non-academic training. As more girls graduate and find jobs, the authors would expect this process to continue to the point where the presence of these streams in the school would give Tororo a competitive edge in recruiting girls.

Not only have the streams established their legitimacy, but they are perceived by the girls as having begun to develop distinctive subcultures as reflected in the traits attributed to typical members of the stream. The

guidance program has had substantial success in counseling the girls prior to stream selection with the result that the number of girls placed in other than their first choice of streams is quite small. Partially as a result, once in a stream, the girls develop a strong sense of loyalty to the stream: few indicate a desire to change to another stream and, except in home economics, more than half the girls feel that their stream offers the best chance for future employment.

The results demonstrate fairly conclusively that the guidance program in combination with the staff of the various streams, has had a substantial impact on the school and has succeeded in creating a school atmosphere which has overcome much of the distaste for non-academic studies. The initial counseling, the selection into streams, and maintenance of morale within streams all seem to be functioning successfully. However, as one would expect in a program which is completely new, there are several areas where further effort is needed. An increase in the effort devoted to girls in S1 and S2 is desirable so that an even better level of knowledge and understanding of of the three choices open to them is attained. It is likely that this would have the desirable effect of reducing even further the numbers of girls who are dissatisfied with their placement. It would also tend to increase the girls' sense of control over their programs; answers to the question about the criteria used in selection tended to underrate the influence of the girls' preferences.

A second area which needs further work is the status and perceived usefulness of the home economics stream. The guidance staff is fully aware

of this need and there is some evidence in the research that improvement has already begun. The authors merely wish to underscore its importance. Continued efforts to link home economics to future employment, efforts to get home economics instated as a recognized field for higher school study, and the recruitment of well-qualified girls into home economics will all help to strengthen that stream.

The results concerning the second major area of guidance effort, namely the linkage between school and employment, are less clear cut. On the positive side, there are clear linkages between the girls' employment expectations and their stream within Tororo, suggesting that the girls are very much aware of the occupations toward which the special curricula are aimed. In addition, the school seems to have successfully avoided the doctor and lawyer syndrome which characterizes the two prestige schools. In comparison to other schools, Tororo's girls are more likely to express expectations which draw upon their special training and which relate to the more applied, middle-level occupations. The influence of the commerce stream is particularly apparent in the large number of girls expecting office work, which, not incidentally, is a fairly realistic expectation. In related findings, the Tororo girls show larger percentages expressing interest in chances of promotion and use of skills learned in school as desired characteristics of future jobs. Finally, it is reasurring to note that Tororo girls feel that their school does a substantially better job than other schools in providing information about employment and in influencing their expectations.

Less positive impact is apparent in the girls' levels of knowledge

about specific jobs and their characteristics. While difficulties with the instrument may have obscured differences between Tororo and the other schools, the magnitude of between school differences was well below what one might have expected. Tororo girls showed no better understanding of probable salary levels nor any greater spread in the type of jobs which they aspired to. Judgements about the realism of girls' expectations are necessarily subjective, but within that limitation one might have expected greater differences between the Tororo girls and those from schools without guidance personnel. Although the Tororo girls probably did have the most reasonable expectations of any school, they will still need to make substantial adjustments in their expectations after leaving school.

A somewhat greater impact was apparent at Tororo in terms of the mobility expectations of the girls. Comparisons between parental education levels and education levels required for the expected employment of the girls shows the Tororo girls as having very low expectations of mobility relative to girls in other schools. In the authors' opinion this reflects a realistic position on the part of the Tororo girls, although the issue is confused because of the unknown amount of influence which school reputation has on subsequent careers. Relationships between the girls' educational expectations and their occupational expectations also show Tororo girls to have a fairly realistic set of expectations while most other schools are either too high or too low. It is difficult to say how much of this realism is due to Tororo's programs. One should note that Nabisunsa arrives at essentially the same position on many indicators and does not have any formal guidance program. Apparently the combination of Nabisunsa's nearness to Kampala,

the type of girls the school attracts, and the impact of its program combine to produce an outlook similar to that at Tororo.

Turning to the follow-up data for the Tororo girls, one is able to study the effectiveness of the linkages between school and subsequent employment. Two facts stand out about the experience of the Tororo girls in the job market: the large proportion who find themselves in office work, and the relatively low overall level of employment. The presence of the commerce stream leads to large proportions of girls expecting office work and hence promotes a considerable congruence between expectations and subsequent reality. On the other hand, the fact that only about half the girls looking for work are able to get employment of any kind indicates that many girls will face difficult adjustments in their expectations. While the data on the employment experience of girls from other schools is very limited, the responses to the question about vacation employment of higher school girls show that Tororo is doing quite well. The girls from the academic stream do slightly worse in finding employment than the girls from Gayaza, the commerce girls do noticeably better, and the home economics girls much worse. In most cases, the success of the Tororo girls seems to be attributable to their training in the specific office skills of typing and shorthand. This is true even for the academic girls who get some introduction to these skills during the last two years at Tororo.

While these results are very encouraging in that the school has risen rapidly to a position where Tororo girls can compete with girls from

the best schools, interviews with the girls and their comments about the jobs suggest a number of serious problems. Most girls had difficulty finding vacancies, getting interviewed, and staying employed for more than a few months. Few girls report any assistance from the guidance staff at Tororo in this process, either in making contacts or in getting interviews. Girls who do find employment are generally dissatisfied with the status, salary, and conditions of service since in most cases these are quite different from the expectations of the girls. Although the type of work open to the girls is limited by the fact that they are only recently graduated and will go on for further studies if they possibly can, the situations of the girls are generally characteristic of the employment market for women who lack certification for specific jobs.

The experiences of the girls in the job market suggest that in the future the guidance program at Tororo may want to devote more resources to the problem of facilitating the entry of the girls into the economy. While such an emphasis was probably not feasible or even desirable during the early years of the program, as the school matures and more graduates find themselves looking for work, a shift in emphasis toward placement should be considered. Initially this effort could begin at the school by emphasizing to senior girls the processes by which jobs are located and obtained. Sources of information about employment, techniques of applying for an interview, successful interviewing, and behavior on the job are all examples of the kind of training which girls might profit from. The school could also begin to function to a greater degree as a broker between potential employers and the girls,

possibly by arranging interviews with employers, and even by approaching potential employers with suggestions for ongoing relationships with the school. The latter could well include some type of work-study arrangement where the school would provide backup services to reduce the risk to the employer from inexperienced employees.

The different experiences of the girls in the three streams reinforce the need for the guidance program to provide somewhat different counseling for each stream. For instance, relationships between educational and occupational expectations suggest the need for downward adjustment of occupational expectations for the academic girls, lowering of educational expectations for the commercial girls, and some of both for the home economics girls. As already indicated, the home economics stream is having the most difficulty in putting its specialized skills to work in employment and considerable efforts are needed to make contact with specific employers who might have need of these skills. The academic and commercial streams are more successful, although in their case the major handicap seems to be the fact that so far Tororo has been unable to provide the certification in basic office skills which is required for permanent employment by all government offices.

In all streams effort needs to be devoted to acquainting girls with the realities of the opportunities for further specialized training. For girls who are interested in teaching, information is needed about the specific programs at various teacher training colleges, their intake policies, and realistic assessments of the chances of girls of varying abilities. For girls interested in nursing and health-related jobs, similar information is even more badly needed. In all schools there seems to be a serious lack of

understanding and information about medical careers open for women, especially about linkages with specialized training programs for nurses, midwives, and technicians. Manpower projections show large demands for medical personnel, yet virtually none of the girls report work in this area or even training for such work. Whether the problem lies primarily with the structure of the training institutions or is an informational guidance problem is not clear from the information available to the authors. What is clearly indicated is a need for information on how the system operates and how girls can be effectively channeled into medical careers. Collection of such data may be beyond the resources of personnel within a given school and should rather be done on a national level. At the very least, guidance personnel can suggest to relevant ministry officials that they collect and disseminate useful information about linkages between the secondary school system and specialized training offered by other institutions.

Complementing the guidance program are the content and activities of the two specialized streams. As experience is gained with various applied curricula and examinations are found which will be acceptable in these subjects, the non-academic offerings of the school grow in quality and attractiveness. Part of this process, gaining permission to reduce the required academic core for girls in the non-academic streams, will reduce the complex demands on the girls and allow them to reach better performance levels in their specialties. When Tororo is able to offer recognized certificates and when higher school programs for the home economics girls become available, the process of legitimizing and building the status of the non-academic streams will be complete. At that point the program at Tororo should be an exemplary model of a diversified school.

The [illegible] of the guidance program should have an increasingly important role in the lives of the girls at Tororo. As the guidance personnel evaluate their allocation of time and resources they may want to consider [illegible]. Not unnaturally, the current allocation of resources reflects what is felt to be an appropriate set of goals for an American guidance program. While these goals are attractive and desirable in both American and African settings, their relative importance may be different in the two environments. The current expenditure of substantial time and effort on individual testing, aptitude measurement, and the keeping of [illegible] on each individual pupil may be an example of some activities which are of lower priority in Africa than in the United States. Quite possibly a more streamlined lower level of testing and record keeping would release resources for higher priority needs. The authors are not suggesting that these activities are unimportant or that they should be dropped, but rather that careful analysis should be made of alternative uses of resources.

Possible [illegible] for guidance personnel have been suggested in [illegible]. In particular, there appears to be a need for the girls to have more exposure to information about the realities of the employment market in Uganda, to be much better informed about the various linkages between secondary school and specialized training institutions which will certify them in specific occupations, to receive more help in making contact with potential employers, and to be made more aware of the process by which they can find jobs. In addition, the girls need a better understanding of the distribution of jobs in the country since

their expectations about location of employment do not coincide with the experience reported by employed girls. Since much of this information is either unavailable or is scattered across various ministries and agencies, the guidance personnel will have to devote more energy to these questions than would be the case in the United States. The task of accumulating all the needed information for Uganda is probably well beyond the resources of Tororo, but effort and creativity would result in a combination of information and strategies which could provide substantial help to the girls in coping with the employment market.

The picture which emerges suggests that the current guidance program has been particularly successful in organizing the internal process of recruitment, selection into streams, and legitimizing the non-academic streams. Solution of the problems of girls' knowledge and expectations of future employment have been less successful although certainly not a failure. Largely unresolved, though, are problems of linkages with institutions of specialized study or employment after finishing school. In light of this, the authors have suggested a review of the current allocation of resources. Also worthy of consideration would be the diversion of developmental efforts away from internal processes, which seem to be well in hand, and substitution of a focus on the problems of outside linkages, probably in cooperation with other schools and national officials.

On a longer time horizon the authors would also like to see more extensive efforts to actually build linkages with outside agencies and industries. These might range from work-study arrangements which would make use

of the girls' vacations in a systematic way, to situations where the school might actually sponsor small-scale enterprises which would provide services to the public and at the same time provide training for the girls. Greater use might well be made of the community as a source of skilled personnel who could train girls in special skills which the school could not afford to have available on a full-time basis. While such activities should by no means be the sole responsibility of the guidance personnel, they are a logical source to take the initiative in involving other staff in such activities. A useful step to take now would be to outline a long-term plan for the implementation of such activities so that short-term projects could be set within a larger framework of future goals. In addition, part of the long-term goals should include the opening of a greater variety of jobs to women than is now the case.

On balance, the impact of the guidance program and the specialized curricula at Tororo seem to have been both substantial and desirable. Considering that the period reported in this study was devoted primarily to the creation and development of these new programs, their demonstrated effectiveness is even more impressive. Not unexpectedly, the study has also revealed some weak spots in the program which suggest the need for further development and some change in emphasis. Comparisons with other schools, while containing an unavoidable subjective element, indicate that as a new school Tororo has made remarkable progress in reaching a point where its graduates are able to provide productive input to Uganda's economy, competing effectively with girls from the well-known established schools. The result is probably the first substantial example of Uganda's new policy of diversified secondary education and thereby provides a model which may well have a

significant impact on efforts to diversify the programs in other schools, for boys as well as for girls.

The findings for the other schools in the study suggest that the girls in these schools could benefit from substantially more information about the realities of the employment market and the process of entering that market. The girls' comments also demonstrate a strong and relatively unfulfilled desire to obtain substantially more skills-oriented training as part of their secondary school education. When these factors are combined with the considerable discrepancies between projected demands for women in various sectors, the expectations of the girls for employment, and the capacities of the various specialized training institutions which lead to such occupations, one can only urge rapid movement in the direction of diversification of curriculum for girls. While some of the traditional resistance to non-academic training still remains, the desires of the girls and the experience at Tororo indicate that resistance is decreasing and can be overcome with conscious effort.

As the number of unemployed secondary school graduates rises while middle-level jobs requiring technical skills go unfilled or are occupied by temporary employees who lack the requisite skills, the need for new directions in secondary curricula increases and the cost of inaction begins to rise to a level which cannot be ignored. The results of this study demonstrate clearly the need for changes and at the same time report on one approach which meets many of the needed goals and has been quite successful in the short time which it has been operating. Other models need to be considered also, but the fact that one approach works should provide the impetus for more rapid

change in the future. The secondary school girls of Uganda are too valuable a resource to be only partially utilized when the demands for development are so great.

LISTING OF SUMMARY STATEMENTS

Chapter 1

4 Slow development of opportunities for women in the formal educational system chronicled: first girls passed Cambridge Examination in 1941, girls admitted to Makerere in 1945, and less than 20% of places in secondary school held by women as late as 1958.

7 Decision made to open a 'comprehensive type' girls' school to substantially increase the number of educational opportunities open to women. Goals include curriculum revision and practical orientation of training.

10 Subsequent decision made to include a guidance and couseling component in the school's program.

Chapter 2

15 Goals of research project include study of guidance program at Tororo, impact of special programs in terms of job expectations in comparison to expectations at other schools, relationship of output of school to backgrounds of the girls, and a preliminary look at the success of the girls in obtaining employment.

18 The final sample included five schools in addition to Tororo: two centrally located, established schools with national reputations, one previously Moslem school recently upgraded to government sponsorship, and two upcountry girls' schools, one in the North and one in the West.

24 An extensive questionnaire was constructed and administered to a total of 1500 girls in the six schools. A 100% sample was used in Tororo and a sample of selected, representative classes was taken from each of the other schools. These latter samples included from two-thirds to four-fifths of the girls in the schools.

26 Questionnaire data was supplemented with interviews with headmistresses and with Tororo girls who had been successful in finding employment. Essays on related topics were also collected from the girls at Tororo.

32 Girls entering secondary school are about 14 years old and girls entering higher school are about 18 1/2 years old. There are no systematic differences between schools in ages of their pupils.

34 Gayaza has the largest percentage of girls from large city backgrounds (20%). At Bweranyangi and Namagunga half the pupils come from small rural villages. For the other schools about one-third of the girls are of rural origin.

39 Religious affiliation of the pupils in a school is strongly related to founding body of the school: schools founded by Catholic or Anglican missionaries typically have about 3/4 of the girls from that religion. At both the lower and higher school levels Tororo has a more even balance than the other schools in proportions of the major religions.

44 About half the girls attended government sponsored primary schools but retained a religious affiliation which influenced their choice of secondary school. Tororo shows the most even distribution of girls according to sponsorships of primary school attended.

47 Gayaza has the best regional balance in terms of home locations of the girls. Tororo has the best balance in tribal background as indicated by the smallness of the proportions of the three major tribes in the school.

49 Distribution of backgrounds in the schools indicate that the 'merit-only' selection procedures are modified by such things as pupils' awareness of schools, parental religious affiliation, and existing informal communications networks.

52 Education of the girls' parents differs substantially across the schools in the sample. The number of years of schooling for mothers at Gayaza exceeds the average number of years of schooling for fathers at Bweranyangi.

54 Education levels of parents with girls in school is is substantially above education levels of the parental age group in the population, suggesting a self-reinforcing stratification effect of the educational system.

60 Distribution of fathers' occupations differs significantly between schools. Gayaza has almost double the proportion of fathers in professional occupations of any other school and at the same time the smallest proportion in traditional occupations. Tororo and Namagunga have about one-third of the fathers in "non-modern" occupations, while the remaining three schools have over 40% of the fathers outside the modern economy.

64 Fathers are reported to be the person most interested in the daughter's education in 70% of the cases. Proportions of girls citing their mothers as being most interested just about equal the proportions of working mothers, suggesting that educated mothers are influential in supporting further education for their daughters.

69 Average grades on primary leaving exams rise steadily over the four years represented in this data. At the same time differences between the six schools are progressively narrowing with the new schools rapidly approaching the levels of the more established schools. Gayaza, however, does maintain a slight advantage overall.

74 The distribution of characteristics of pupils across schools results in a fairly consistent ordering of the schools. Gayaza and Namagunga, the prestigious schools, capitalize effectively on their reputation to recruit pupils with strong backgrounds. Tororo has risen rapidly to a position just below these two schools, while Sacred Heart has slipped somewhat. The remaining two schools are less effective, although the central location of Nabisunsa gives it an edge over Bweranyangi.

Chapter 4

82 The opportunities for continuing education beyond School Certificate level occur mainly in overseas nursing training, commercial training at the Uganda College of Commerce, and higher school. While 60% of the girls finishing S4 in 1967 can expect to continue their education, by 1970 only about one-third will be able to find places.

86 Current and projected employment opportunities are concentrated in teaching, nursing and related health services, and clerical-administrative occupations. Future employment opportunities for secondary school girls will be distributed approximately as follows: teaching, 40%, medical occupation, 35%, and clerical jobs, 25%.

91 The outlook for secondary school finishers in the first half of the 1970's suggests that about one-third will go on to some form of further education, perhaps 15% will find employment of some type, with or without a short training course, and the remaining 50% or more will be left without structured activities.

94 Except for Tororo, the schools in the sample have more than 90% of their curriculum in common -- consisting of the basic academic subjects. Namagunga and Nabisunsa offer home economics in the lower forms while Gayaza combines home economics with work on the school farm. Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart offer no formal practical work. Only Tororo offers the special home economics and commercial streams.

98 The careers programs in these schools is confined to the efforts of a few individual teachers over and above their normal teaching. The relative strength of their programs depends primarily on the ease with which outside visitors can be induced to visit, making school location a primary determinant of the extent of the careers program. Tororo is the only school with a full-time, trained careers person on the staff.

101 The average school girl can name about five jobs with which she has at least vague familiarity. These jobs are selected from a range of about 30 that are known within a school. Little or no differences occur between schools. Tororo is among the top schools but does not differ significantly from schools without guidance programs.

105 When given lists of jobs made up of occupations open to women, girls respond with a fair amount of realism in terms of the relative popularity of the various occupations. Results from several countries indicate the following general order of preference: secretarial work, health related occupations, and teaching at various levels. The traditionally high prestige, professional occupations are rated lower than is the case for lists used for both boys and girls.

111 Tororo consistently rates the traditionally high prestige, professional jobs lower than Gayaza and Namagunga, but rates the more applied, middle level jobs higher than they do. The other three schools exhibit patterns intermediate between these two profiles.

119 The professional category of occupations contains half of all aspirations and about one-third of the expectations. Gayaza and Namagunga have substantially larger percentages in this category, while Tororo and Sacred Heart have much lower proportions. Fully half the girls from Gayaza and Namagunga in this category report intentions to be doctors.

122 Teaching and nursing sister are the main jobs mentioned in the technical category. A heavy shift to teaching is evident between aspirations and expectations. Nursing sister is heavily undermentioned in all schools in light of projected number of future vacancies, suggesting a need for counseling about nursing careers.

124 Tororo girls show a strong preference for office work, with proportions both aspiring to and expecting such work which are nearly double those of the next highest school in that category.

126 The dominant occupation in the category of Other is that of nurse, which accounts for nearly 75% of the responses. Nursing accounts for nearly one-third of all expectations at Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi, but is rarely mentioned by Gayaza and Namagunga girls.

128 Three types of school profiles emerge: the prestige schools, Gayaza and Namagunga, heavily weighted in favor of the high status professional occupations; Nabisunsa and Tororo with fairly even distributions across the four categories; and Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi characterized by an emphasis on nursing and teaching.

Chapter 5

140 Changes from aspirations to expectations are in the downward direction, although girls from the prestige schools show a strong tendency to shift horizontally to another occupation within the same category. The final distribution of expectations is more realistic than the aspirations, but still very optimistic in light of employment projections.

143 When changes from aspirations to expectations are studied for the four most popular occupations, the girls at Tororo show an unchanging commitment to secretary while Gayaza and Namagunga exhibit strong commitment to being doctors. In contrast Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi girls show a willingness to shift from doctor to nurse, suggesting a commitment to the medical profession rather than to the generalized status level associated with being a doctor.

156 Salary expectations are fairly accurate for teaching and secretarial work, but widely inappropriate for medical service -- generally too high for doctors and too low for the level of nursing open to these girls. Tororo girls show no more accurate awareness of salary levels than girls from other schools. Gayaza and Namagunga girls have generally higher expectations than those from other schools.

161 Gayaza and Namagunga tend to overestimate their expected occupations in terms of their expected education levels. Sacred Heart and Bweranyangi tend to underestimate, while Tororo and Nabisunsa have a position which might be described as moderately pessimistic. The guidance program at Tororo may have helped the girls to reach this fairly realistic position, although Nabisunsa is in essentially the same position without a guidance program.

163 Girls with better educated parents both aspire to and expect jobs which require higher levels of education, and vice versa.

167 Indices of mobility relating father's education and daughter's occupational expectations show Gayaza and Namagunga girls have the largest indices of high mobility. Tororo is at the other extreme with the largest indices of low mobility. The pattern at Tororo is probably much closer to reality, even though girls from the other two schools do have a somewhat better chance because of their backgrounds and the reputation of the schools.

171 Parental preference for daughters' careers tends to be based on general status levels of the occupation and has a strong tendency to rise as the education level of the parent increases. Tororo girls report parents' preferences for office work as greater than in other schools.

176 An interesting job is characterized by the girls as one with security, relatively high status and life style, and clearly defined roles which don't include much independent decision making. Tororo girls have larger percentages than other schools indicating that chances for promotion and use of skills learned in school are important considerations in choosing a job.

181 Girls' expectations to work in large urban centers are quite large and probably unrealistic since major employers of women are health and education services which are located in non-urban areas. Bweranyangi has unusually high proportion expecting urban locations, given the rural location and background of the girls in that school.

183 Input characteristics of pupils are one of the major determinants of the output of a given school. The impact of the special programs at Tororo appears to take a school with input characteristics similar to Sacred Heart or Nabisunsa and produce output more similar to that of Gayaza and Namagunga. Tororo programs do have a specific impact in areas related to commerce and in a sense of the relationship between specific skills learned in school and future employment.

Chapter 6

194 All girls in S1 and S2 at Tororo spend about 17% of their time on practical subjects; S3 and S4 girls in the practical streams spend 25% to 30% of their time on practical subjects.

198 Girls in all schools indicate a desire for home economics, and in four schools they receive some exposure to the subject. Perhaps half the girls desire commerce training but only a few will receive it. Agriculture is available at only one school. Two-thirds of the girls indicate a desire for more practical subjects than were currently available.

203 Except for a tendency of the Asians to be found in the academic stream, there are no significant differences across streams in the girls' racial, religious, or tribal backgrounds.

208 Differences in home backgrounds of girls across streams are small. The commercial streams show a lower proportion of English speaking parents and a larger proportion of parents from rural areas. Girls in academic streams, on the average, have parents with less education than those in the other two streams.

212 The guidance program and the practical curricula have made substantial progress in upgrading the popularity of the non-academic streams, particularly the commerce stream which is selected as most popular by 40% of the fourth form girls in the academic stream. While least popular, home economics seems to be making gains in the third form.

214 Girls characterize their streams as follows: academic -- hard-working and cooperative; commerce -- cooperative and hardworking; home economics -- friendly and cooperative.

219 Once placed in a stream a large proportion of the girls are convinced that their stream offers the best chance for subsequent employment. The strength of the conviction decreases from commerce to academic to home economics, where less than half of the girls select their own stream first.

223 Girls in all streams generally agree that teachers' comments and marks are the most important factors influencing placement into streams, although there is a tendency to underrate the influence which their own preferences have.

225 Placement of girls in streams results in the great majority getting the stream of their first choice; less than 15% of the girls were placed in their second or third choice streams.

231 Only 20% of the girls wish to change streams and two-thirds of these wish to enter the commerce stream. Fully half of those wishing to move are in the home economics streams.

237 Job aspirations and expectations of the girls are strongly related to their streams, and for the most part are appropriate choices. The guidance program seems to have successfully broken the mystique of the doctor/lawyer aspiration. More work is needed in steering the girls toward health-related occupations and in making occupational opportunities related to the home economics stream more evident.

242 Accuracy of expected wages increases notably as the girls enter higher forms in school. Importance attached to salary seems to decrease for the higher forms who place greater emphasis on interest in the work and its usefulness to Uganda.

246 Expectations for success in examinations and continuing their education decrease as the girls get older: girls in the commercial stream seem to have the most confidence of success while the home economics girls tend to have the least. Overall 30% to 40% of the girls seem reasonably certain of passing and going on to further education.

250 Relationships between educational and occupational expectations suggest different counseling needs for each stream: downward adjustment of occupational expectations for the academic girls, somewhat lowered educational expectations for the commercial girls, and a little of both for the home economics girls but with more emphasis on lowering employment expectations.

253 Assessment of the quality and usefulness of the education provided by Tororo, although generally high, decreases in the higher forms. The commerce girls are an exception with their evaluations increasing to about 90% of the girls giving the school high ratings. The home economics girls show surprising strength, outranking the academic girls who give the school the lowest ranking of the three streams.

255 In comparison with other schools the girls at Tororo feel that Tororo does a substantially better job at providing information about employment and at influencing their expectations. Within Tororo the academic girls rely most heavily on the guidance staff for information, while the other two streams get more help from visitors sponsored by the guidance program.

Chapter 7

265 Interviews with a small group of Tororo graduates who had found work showed that most had difficulty getting work, and the work they did find was often temporary in nature, involved little responsibility or challenge, and was poorly paid.

267 Most of the girls were in office work and found that they would have to do further study in order to obtain certification, without which they could not hope for promotion or even continued employment.

268 Most girls seemed to like the independence and opportunities provided by employment, although few were satisfied with their current job and conditions of employment.

272 Follow-up by mail of Tororo graduates in 1968 and 1969, approximately four months after their examinations, produce an overall return rate of about 70%. (Nearly 100% for the academic girls, and about 50% for the other two streams.)

274 Success in finding employment ranges downward from 30% for the commerce girls, to 17% for academic girls to 14% for home economics girls. More than half of the adacemic and commercial girls are able to continue their education, while less than one-fifth of the home economics girls do so.

280 Of those who do obtain work, half are in office jobs, 40% are teaching and the remainder are mostly salesgirls. Nearly 80% of the commerce girls are employed in offices, as are the home economics girls. The academic girls split about evenly between the three categories.

284 Average salaries (315 shillings per month) are quite low. Academic girls seem to have more trouble getting jobs than commercial girls and are less able to get jobs with higher salaries. Home economics girls seldom get jobs, but are well paid when they do. Higher school girls generally earn about 500 shillings per month.

286 The great majority of those working report that they are unhappy with their jobs and would not take such a job again. Reasons for leaving do not relate to salary or specific aspects of the job, but focus on the need for further study or the desire to do other work. The relatively rural location of most of the employment found by the girls in comparison to their desires for urban locations may account for some of the dissatisfaction.

289 Reports from higher school girls on their vacation job experience show that about half of them are able to find work, about one-fourth take office work, and the remainder other kinds of jobs.

292 When employment rates are compared for girls who attended specific lower schools one finds that the academic girls from Tororo did slightly worse than girls from Gayaza, the commercial girls did noticeably better, and the home economics girls much worse.

296 Nearly 70% of the girls indicate that they would not take the same job again. Dislikes focus on aspects of the job which seem to infringe on their own time. Likes center around personal relations aspects of jobs. Only Tororo girls make substantial mention of the duties of the jobs as being of interest to them.

300 There is no apparent relationship between the rural or urban nature of a girl's background and the probability of her obtaining employment. However, there is a tendency for girls from rural areas to become teachers and an inclination for girls from small and medium sized towns to work in offices.

301 There are no simple relationships between background characteristics and chances of getting a job. Girls who get into secondary school are already members of a small elite and as such have already overcome whatever handicaps their backgrounds may have given them.

Comment on the Scope of the Bibliography

Items were selected for inclusion in the bibliography on the basis of several criteria. The major focus of the references is the education of women in East Africa with particular emphasis on the situation in Uganda. Most of the articles deal in one way or another with the relationship between the education of girls and the development of the country. Articles which refer specifically to Uganda include selections concerned with such things as manpower demands; employment opportunities and educational planning; the historical development of women's education; and the problem of school leavers and wastage in primary school. References are also included which deal with topics like guidance programs in schools, occupational and educational aspirations of students in various parts of tropical Africa (especially when the sample includes girls and the responses of the girls are reported separately), the influence of background variables on the career preferences of students, and the role of educated women in developing countries.

Short comments are appended to most references for the purpose of noting the type of information they contain, especially in relation to women's education. The comments are not intended to apply to the full range of contents in each reference. Many of the references are papers presented at a variety of conferences in East Africa. Although copies of these are somewhat hard to obtain, they are included because they form an important part of the research literature on education in Africa.

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Hope, Helen. "Education, an all out Effort." The Times, September 15, 1969, p. 7.

Gives current status of education in Uganda including progress of girls' education. Speaks of contribution of educated African women.

Hottel, Altheo K. "Challenge and Responsibilities for the Women of Africa." Association of American University Women Journal, vol. 58, no. 1 (October, 1964), pp. 28-30.

Seminar for African women held in the spring of 1964 at Makerere University College, Kampala. Discussion and recommendations concerning culture, marriage, education.

Hurd, G. E. and T. J. Johnson. "Education and Social Mobility in Ghana." Sociology of Education, vol. 40 (winter, 1967), pp. 55-79.

Discussion of students' backgrounds affecting educational placement, education, and social mobility.

ILO. "Discrimination on the Basis of Sex," in Fighting Discrimination in Employment and Occupation, a workers' education manual. Geneva: ILO, 1968, pp. 84-95,

General article referring to women (no individual countries mentioned) and the ILO legislation passed to combat the specific problems.

ILO. "The Employment and Vocational Preparation of Girls and Women in Africa." Geneva: ILO, 1969. (Mimeographed).

Background paper. Very general but gives a good idea of potential fields women can enter. Vocational training opportunities are small, but trends in countries are noted.

Irvine, S. H. "A Five Year Follow-up of Secondary School Selection Procedures in Central Africa, 1962-1967." British Journal of Educational Psychology, 38 (June, 1968), pp. 208-212.

Irvine, S. H. "The Dimensions of Vocational Preference and Prestige in an African Elite Group." The World Yearbook of Education (1969), pp. 319-332.

Both of these articles involve a study done in Rhodesia with girls and boys in the sample. The author, in his analysis, points to differences between males and females, and isolates a 'female factor' in his study of dimensions of occupational preference.

Jolly, Richard. Planning Education for African Development. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1969.

Pp. 60-63 have comments and statistics on girls' education in Uganda. Earlier discussion includes graphs of education-age profiles for men and women in Uganda.

Jolly, Richard and Emil Rado. "Education in Uganda--Reflections on the Report of the Uganda Education Commission." Conference papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, January, 1964. (Mimeographed).

A criticism of the Commission's report. Statistics on girls' education included.

Kamoga, F. K. "Future of Primary Leavers in Uganda." Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1960 (Mimeographed).

Paper studies problem of primary school leavers. Author brings up the need for vocational guidance.

Kamoga, F. K. "Wastage among Teachers in Buganda." Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, 1963. (mimeographed).

Suggestions given toward solution of problem of wastage among teachers. Men and women teachers in sample.

Kiwanuka, M. S. M. "Rich Man's Harvest?" East Africa Journal, vol. 4, no. 2 (May, 1967), pp. 19-23.

Summarizes the growth in the educational system in Uganda over the decade of the 60's. Feels that the system will be dominated by children of the rich in the future.

Klingelhofer, E. L. "Studies of Tanzanian Students." Preliminary Report. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania: University College, February, 1967. (Mimeographed.)

Analysis of family background, performance on standardized tests, and career aspirations of secondary and university students..

Klingelhofer, E. L. "Occupational Preferences of Tanzanian Secondary School Pupils." Journal of Social Psychology, vol. 72 (1967), pp. 149-159.

Study done with both boys and girls in sample. Author concludes that individual preferences do not match the needs of the country.

Knight, J. B. "The Determination of Wages and Salaries in Uganda." Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics, vol. 29, no. 3 (August 1967), pp. 233-264.

Good discussion and tables of wage increases in Civil Service employment according to amount of education. Also peasant farming income compared to wage employment income.

Knight, J. B. "Earnings, Employment, Education and Income Distribution in Uganda." Oxford University Institute of Economics and Statistics, vol. 30, no. 4 (November, 1968), pp. 267-297.

Author discusses the static employment rate between 1957 and 1965, versus increased average earnings. There is also some wage comparison between civil service and teaching positions.

Koff, David R. "Education and Employment: Perspectives of Kenya Primary Pupils," in James R. Sheffield (ed.). Education, Employment and Rural Development. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1967, pp. 390-412.

Study mainly deals with boys but some of the questions used on the questionnaire were similar to those used in this study.

Lanier, Alison R. "Women in the Rural Areas," The Annals, (January, 1968) pp. 115-123.

Explanation of the vital role which women in rural areas can play. Describes ways in which they are contributing now.

Lefaucheux, Marie Helene. "The Contribution of Women to the Economic and Social Development of African Countries." International Labor Review, vol. 86 (July, 1962), pp. 15-30.

A general article showing areas in economy where women can and do make a contribution.

McAdam, K. J. "The Need for Selection and Guidance Services in Uganda." Makerere Journal, no. 7 (1963), pp. 33-60.

A very strong argument for the need of selection and guidance in Uganda. Shows how present methods fail and suggests innovations.

McQueen, Albert J. "Aspirations and Problems of Nigerian School Leavers." University of Michigan Conference Proceedings, Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute of Social Research, 1963. (Mimeographed).

Preliminary report with hand tabulated results. Sample includes male primary and secondary school leavers. Author concludes that they do not have unrealistic expectations.

Makumbi, Eseza. "Memorandum on Girls' Education in Uganda to the Education Commission." (1963). Held in the Institute of Education Library, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda. (Mimeographed.)

7 pages giving good history of the development of girls' education and ending with suggestions for the future.

Maleche, A. J. "A Study of Wastage in Primary Schools in Uganda." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, 1960. (Mimeographed.)

Maleche, A. J. "Wastage Among School Leavers in West Nile - 1959-1960." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, 1962. (Mimeographed.)

Both of these papers deal with a study done in Uganda to analyze the problem of wastage in primary schools. The sample includes boys and girls. The author makes some pertinent comments about the backwardness of girls' education, particularly in the West Nile district, due to family pressure to marry and carry out the traditional role of the woman.

Maleche, A. J. "Sociological and Psychological Factors Favoring or Hindering the Education of African Women in Uganda." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, June, 1961. (mimeographed.)

Includes a summary of the educational resources and plans for development of girls' education.

Masilela, Dr. A. M. "Report of the First Seminar on Educational and Vocational Guidance." Held at H. H. The Agakhan Senior Secondary School, Kampala, Uganda, April 25-26, 1966. 28 pp.

The first seminar of its kind; sponsored by the Ministry of Education, Uganda. Summary of a series of lectures.

Mboya, Pamela. 'Sideview of Women's Seminar." East African Journal (June, 1964), pp. 15-16.

Seminar held in April, 1964 at Kabete Institute of Administration in Kenya. Discussion of the role of women in Africa -- duties, employment, education, politics, culture, voluntary services, international life.

Mitchell, J. C. "Occupational Prestige and Social System: A Problem in Comparative Sociology." International Journal of Comparative Sociology, vol. 5, no. 1 (March, 1964), pp. 79-90.

Mitchell, J. C. "Aspects of Occupational Prestige in a Plural Society," in P. C. Lloyd (ed.) The New Elites of Tropical Africa. London: Oxford University Press, 1966, pp. 256-271.

Both articles discuss methodology for normalizing prestige rankings so that valid comparisons can be made. Presents theory for use in pluralistic societies with traditional and modern sectors. Notes ambiguity of jobs like policeman and Boss Boy which cross the two sectors. Data presented from secondary school pupils in Southern Rhodesia.

Morgan, Gordon D. "Predicting the Performance of African Students on the Cambridge Examination." Journal of Negro Education, vol. 36, no. 2 (Spring, 1967), pp. 146-153.

Author conducted a study to determine if students' performance on the Cambridge Exam could be predicted from performance on other tests. Boys and girls in the sample.

Moris, Jon R. "The Impact of Secondary Education upon Student Attitudes towards Agriculture: Some Preliminary Considerations." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, January, 1966. (Mimeographed).

Survey done of East African secondary students, males and females. Analysis includes family background, career aspirations, differences between boys and girls, and tentative conclusions in agricultural education. Presents many provocative hypotheses for further investigation.

Muckenhirn, Erma F. Secondary Education and Girls in Western Nigeria. (University of Michigan Comparative Education Dissertation Series, No. 9.) Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan, 1966.

This study looks at the development of girls' education and tries to determine what factors will oppose and/or favor more rapid growth and change at the secondary level.

Neatby, Helen M. "The Contribution of the Educated African Women to the Uganda of Today." The East and West Review, an Anglican Overseas Quarterly, vol. 20, no. 3 (July, 1954), p. 69.

A plea to society to accept the educated African women and not to isolate them.

Ohadike, Patrick O. "Urban Social Structure, Marital Patterns, Variations and Attitudes in a Major West African City (Lagos, Nigeria)." University of Zambia, Lusaka, Zambia: Institute for Social Research, 1964. (Mimeographed.)

Educational level of women compared with marriage age, incidence of polygyny, and other variables.

Posnansky, E. (Chairman) Uganda Education Association. "Memorandum submitted to the Uganda Education Commission. February 21, 1963, pp. 4-6. Held in the Institute of Education Library, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda. (Mimeographed).

A section dealing with school and women. Presents recommendations.

"Professional Opportunities in Uganda." Women Today (formerly Afri[illegible] Women), VI, No. 3 (December, 1964), pp. 71-72.

Historical summary of occupations of girls graduated from Gayaza.

Rado, E. R. "The Scope for Short Term Manpower and Educational Policies." Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, December 15, 1964. (Mimeographed).

Contains a discussion of the importance of guidance in East African schools as a short-term manpower policy to redress imbalance in supply and demand.

Senkatuka, Mary E. "Women's Clubs in Uganda." African Women, I, no. 2 (June, 1955), pp. 45-46.

A discussion of the activities and contributions of women's clubs in Uganda.

Silvey, Jonathan. "Unwillingly from School: the Occupational Attitudes of Secondary School Leavers in Uganda." Paper delivered to the African Studies Association of the United Kingdom Conference "Education in Africa," University of Sussex, September 16-19, 1968. (Mimeographed.)

Author deals with occupational aspirations and expectations of students as related to the manpower needs of the country. Boys and girls in sample. Good basic reference.

Solzbacher, Regina M. "Occupation, Occupational Titles and Status Perceptions in a Manual Worker's Urban Village." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, January, 1969. (Mimeographed).

Study done in Kibuli area of Kampala of residents with low-prestige occupations.

Somerset, H. C. A. "Home Structure, Parental Separation and Examination Success in Buganda." Conference Papers, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda: East African Institute of Social Research, January, 1965. (Mimeographed).

Study of effects of parental separation on pupil performance in the Junior Secondary Leaving Examination. Found consistently better performance for pupils living with mother after separation. Study is excellent example of analytical methodology.

Somerset, H. C. A. Predicting Success in School Certificate. Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Analytic study of accuracy with which Junior Secondary Leaving Examination predicts performance of boys and girls on the Cambridge Examination. Results indicate that the JSLE is effective for best student but quite inefficient for borderline student. He recommends a number of changes with the exam.

Spencer, Ann. "Learning the Land: Some Thoughts on the Friends' Contribution to Women's Education in Western Kenya (ca. 1905-1955)." Conference Papers, Makerere University College. Kampala, Uganda: Makerere Institute of Social Research, January, 1969. (Mimeographed).

Good historical summary of the development of women's education due to the missionaries. Very few specifics in the way of statistics but gives a good feeling for the progress of education for girls.

Strowbridge, Nancy. Education in East Africa, 1962-1968, A Selected Bibliography. Kampala, Uganda: Makerere University College Library, 1969.

An excellent bibliographic source with divisions by three countries: Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda.

Uganda Association of University Women. "Access of Girls and Women to Higher Education." (A reply to a questionnaire sponsored by UNESCO to update a report done in 1957). Kampala, Uganda, 1965. (Mimeographed).

Good description of status of women's education in Uganda. Vocational institutions mentioned and girls' access to them. Enrollment figures, guidance for girls, fathers' occupations.

Uganda Council of Women Subcommittee for further Education for Women and Girls. "A memorandum to the Education Commission," in A Record of Interviews, March 5, 1963 at Makerere College, Kampala, Uganda. Held in the Institute of Education Library, Makerere University College, Kampala, Uganda. (Mimeographed).

Calls for a specialist on women's education to be in the Ministry of Education, a career guidance program and other recommendations.

UNESCO. Comparative Study on Access of Girls and Women to Technical and Vocational Education. Paris: UNESCO, 1968.

98 countries responded. Imbalance of training enrollments is in favor of boys. Social attitudes, not legal barriers, are main basis for discrimination.

UNESCO and Economic Commission for Africa. Conference of African States on Development of Education in Africa. A final report. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, May 15-25, 1961. Paris: UNESCO, 1961.

At this conference a short discussion was made of the educational needs of women in Africa and one of the resolutions adopted was directed at this need.

Williams, Peter. Aid in Uganda - Education. London: the Overseas Development Institute LTD., 1966.

Nothing specific on girls but a good history of educational development in Uganda.

Wilson, David N. "Manpower Planning for Technical Education: Student Occupational Preferences and Examination Performance as Indicators of Manpower Supply." An unpublished paper, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, 1967.

A discussion of the need for more technical facilities and streams in the educational systems of most African nations. Also a method developed by the author whereby manpower planners can determine which students will achieve their goals.

Addendum to Bibliography

Mbilinyi, Marjorie J. The Education of Girls in Tanzania. Dar es Salaam: Institute of Education, University College, 1969.

Findings of a pilot study based on interviews of girls in Standard IV, non-school girls of comparable age, and parents of both groups in four areas of Tanzania. Explores reasons of both parents and girls for not attending school, expectations for girls' futures, and a variety of aspects of the parents' relationships with the school system.

TABLE A.1

DEFINITION OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS*

Educ. 9. A University degree or equivalent plus at least one year's post graduate training.

Educ. 8. A University degree or equivalent qualification. Equivalent qualification requiring at least five years formal training after C.S.C. or at least five years after H.S.C.

Educ. 7. H.S.C. or equivalent with at least six months' formal training, but less than three years.

Educ. 6. H.S.C. plus less than six months' formal training.

Educ. 5. C.S.C. plus more than two years formal training but less than four years.

Educ. 4. C.S.C. plus more than six months' formal training but less than two years (not including H.S.C.).

Educ. 3. C.S.C. with less than six months' formal training.

Educ. 2. Primary school leaving certificate with at least three years formal training but not including C.S.C. (Technical schools, Farm schools, Enrolled nurses training schools, Grade II teacher training, etc.).

Educ. 1. Primary school leaving certificate plus at least four years apprenticeship, or formal on-the-job training.

* Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, "High Level Manpower Survey, 1967 and Analysis of Requirements, 1967-1981." Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda, (no date), p. 10.

TABLE A.2

OCCUPATIONS INCLUDED IN MANPOWER CATEGORIES

OCCUPATIONAL GROUPING	Education level
TOP MANAGEMENT	
Education officer, high level civil servant	6
Banker	8
Politician	6
JUNIOR MANAGEMENT	
Hotel management	4
Policewoman	3
Military officer, spy	3
Detective	3,4
Air hostess	3
Catering	4
Post office/ civil servant	3
Politician	
PROFESSIONAL	
Accountant, mathematician	9,8
Lawyer	8
Judge	8
Librarian	9,8
Doctor	9,8
Dentist	9,8
Engineer	9,8
Economist	9,8
Chemist/pharmacist	9,8
Researcher/statistician	9,8
Biologist/biochemist	9,8
Physicist	9
Pilot	8
Architect	9,3
Meteorologist	9,8
Cartographer/geographer	9,8
University lecturer	8
Headmistress	8
Guidance counsellor	8,7
Agricultural officer	9,8
Veterinarian	9,8
Animal husbandry	9,8
TECHNICAL	
Radio broadcaster/TV	4
Journalist	4
Surveyor	7,5
Electrician	7,5
Entertainer	5,4
TECHNICAL CONTINUED	
Dietician	5
Paramedical (lab. tech.)	5,4
Hospital sister	7,5
Religious work (service work)	4
Medical assistant	4
Chiropodist	4
Social worker, community development officer	4
Rehabilitation officer	4
Linguist	4
Teacher	7,5,4
Artist/writer/musician/ designer	5
Conductress	4
ARTISANS	
Dressmaker, tailor	1,2
Binders	1,2
SKILLED OFFICE WORKERS	
Telephone operators	3,2
Clerk, bookkeeper	3
Typist	4,3
Receptionist	3
Secretary	4
Stenographer	4
Computer operating	4,3
OTHER	
Waitress	3,2
Saleswoman, businesswoman	3
Maid	2
Matron	3,2
Housewife	
Ayah	1,2
Tourist guide	4,3
Factory worker	1,2
Professional athlete	3
Model	3,2
Nurse	2
Health visitor	2
Lab assistant	3,2
Midwife	2
Beautician	3,2

TABLE A.3

ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE TOP 17 OCCUPATIONS

OCCUPATIONS	LOWER SCHOOLS Tororo		Gayaza		Namagunga		Nabisunsa		Sacred Heart		Bweranyangi		HIGHER SCHOOLS[2] Tororo		Gayaza		Namagunga	
Doctor	15.8[1]	(9.9)	38.1	(23.1)	28.8	(23.1)	22.5	(9.4)	12.3	(7.4)	14.3	(3.8)	9.2	(6.7)	15.2	(14.5)	16.0	(6.3)
Secretary	21.4	(27.8)	2.1	(4.7)	4.1	(11.8)	11.9	(16.9)	11.5	(10.7)	8.1	(10.6)	10.1	(14.5)	2.5	(7.9)	3.7	(6.3)
Teacher	7.0	(13.1)	4.2	(15.0)	7.1	(16.0)	8.1	(13.8)	18.0	(26.2)	15.5	(25.0)	18.3	(38.5)	11.4	(31.6)	4.9	(26.6)
Nurse	11.8	(16.5)	3.3	(6.0)	8.2	(11.8)	9.4	(20.6)	16.4	(27.0)	15.5	(34.4)	.9	(4.8)	-0-	(-0-)	-0-	(-0-)
Lawyer	6.2	(1.9)	3.8	(4.7)	5.3	(4.1)	11.3	(6.3)	5.7	(3.3)	6.2	(4.4)	4.6	(3.8)	6.3	(2.6)	4.9	(2.5)
Agricul. officer	4.0	(4.0)	3.3	(4.3)	8.8	(6.5)	2.5	(2.5)	9.0	(7.4)	4.3	(2.5)	2.8	(4.8)	1.3	(7.9)	7.4	(-0-)
Air hostess	3.2	(1.9)	.8	(.9)	4.7	(3.0)	3.8	(1.3)	1.6	(-0-)	6.2	(1.3)	.9	(-0-)	-0-	(-0-)	2.5	(-0-)
Paramedical	2.4	(2.9)	1.7	(1.7)	1.2	(.6)	6.3	(3.8)	4.9	(1.6)	1.9	(.6)	1.8	(1.0)	3.8	(2.6)	1.2	(1.3)
Accountant	4.3	(2.9)	.4	(1.3)	3.5	(3.0)	1.3	(.6)	.8	(.8)	1.9	(.6)	2.8	(1.0)	3.8	(-0-)	4.9	(-0-)
Engineer	1.3	(.3)	7.9	(6.0)	2.4	(.6)	1.9	(1.3)	-0-	(-0-)	1.2	(-0-)	.9	(1.0)	2.5	(-0-)	2.5	(1.3)
Univ. lecturer	.8	(-0-)	2.5	(.9)	1.8	(-0-)	-0-	(-0-)	1.6	(.8)	3.7	(1.9)	2.8	(-0-)	6.3	(3.9)	3.7	(1.3)
Veterinarian	1.1	(1.9)	3.3	(2.6)	2.4	(2.4)	.6	(.6)	4.9	(2.5)	1.2	(.6)	-0-	(-0-)	3.8	(3.9)	4.9	(5.1)
Hospital sister	1.6	(1.6)	2.5	(3.8)	2.4	(1.8)	1.9	(9.4)	2.5	(2.5)	3.1	(3.1)	.9	(-0-)	1.3	(1.3)	-0-	(1.3)
Chemist/pharmacist	.5	(.3)	4.6	(3.0)	1.2	(1.2)	.6	(-0-)	.8	(-0-)	1.2	(1.3)	2.8	(1.9)	5.1	(-0-)	2.5	(3.8)
Social worker	1.3	(2.1)	1.3	(.9)	.6	(.6)	.6	(.6)	-0-	(-0-)	-0-	(.6)	8.3	(7.7)	5.1	(2.6)	1.2	(5.1)
Midwife	1.9	(2.9)	.8	(1.7)	-0-	(.6)	1.3	(2.5)	3.3	(2.5)	1.2	(3.1)	-0-	(-0-)	-0-	(-0-)	-0-	(-0-)
Artist/writer	-0-	(-0-)	.8	(1.7)	1.2	(1.2)	-0-	(-0-)	-0-	(1.6)	1.2	(.6)	1.8	(-0-)	2.5	(3.9)	2.5	(-0-)
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS	379		246		173		166		125		162		109		84		82	

[1] The first number indicates the aspiration percentage and the number in parentheses indicates the expectation percentage

[2] The top 15 occupations of the higher schools alone would include economist, researcher and dentist.

TABLE A.4

GIRLS' REASONS FOR THINKING THEY WILL GET EXPECTED JOBS

(Grouped by Lower Schools and Higher Schools)

	Top Mgmt.		Jr. Mgmt.		Professional		Technical		Skilled Office Workers		Others	
	LS	HS	LS	HS	LS	HS	LS	HS	LS	HS	LS	HS
I am qualified	9 82%	1 25%	16 43%	1 50%	146 41%	22 25%	110 36%	28 25%	97 50%	10 42%	72 30%	4 36%
I like the work	1 9%	1 25%	11 30%	-0- -0-	127 36%	29 33%	79 26%	21 19%	35 18%	4 17%	89 37%	2 18%
Demand for skill	-0- -0-	1 25%	3 8%	1 50%	21 6%	13 15%	38 13%	38 34%	21 11%	9 38%	18 8%	1 9%
Occupation open to women	-0- -0-	-0- -0-	4 11%	-0- -0-	10 3%	2 2%	24 8%	8 7%	13 7%	1 4%	23 10%	1 9%
Determined to succeed	-0- -0-	1 25%	1 3%	-0- -0-	42 12%	17 20%	24 8%	9 8%	8 4%	-0- -0-	11 5%	2 18%
Other	1 9%	-0- -0-	2 5%	-0- -0-	12 3%	4 5%	27 9%	8 7%	17 10%	-0- -0-	28 12%	1 9%

TABLE A.5

AVERAGE EXPECTED WAGES IN SHILLINGS PER MONTH

	Top Mgmt.	Jr. Mgmt.	Profes-sional	Technical	Skilled Office Workers	Others
LOWER SCHOOLS						
Tororo	-0-	1108 (13)*	1337 (69)	921 (76)	990 (99)	696 (72)
Gayaza	700 (2)	1500 (9)	1671 (107)	1246 (59)	1142 (12)	939 (18)
Namagunga	1400 (6)	800 (5)	1457 (63)	1003 (34)	1048 (21)	848 (17)
Nabisunsa	500 (1)	1250 (4)	1843 (35)	1036 (44)	990 (31)	708 (37)
Sacred Heart	-0-	350 (2)	1367 (24)	872 (39)	792 (12)	892 (36)
Bweranyangi	-0-	880 (5)	1484 (25)	1002 (48)	1180 (15)	842 (59)
Mean for all schools	1144 (9)	1105 (38)	1550 (323)	1018 (300)	1008 (190)	792 (239)
HIGHER SCHOOLS						
Tororo	2200 (2)	1600 (1)	1686 (22)	1217 (48)	1060 (15)	917 (6)
Gayaza	1600 (1)	-0-	1481 (21)	1444 (25)	1400 (6)	2000 (1)
Namagunga	800 (2)	2400 (1)	1570 (23)	1254 (26)	700 (6)	1050 (2)
Mean for all schools	1520 (5)	2000 (2)	1580 (66)	1284 (99)	1056 (27)	1067 (9)

* Number of respondents in each category by school.

TABLE A.6

MEAN YEARS OF EDUCATION OF PARENTS
BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY

	EDUCATION OF MOTHER			EDUCATION OF FATHER		
	Aspirations	Expecta-tions	Family Job Preference	Aspirations	Expecta-tions	Family Job Preference
	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.	yrs.
Top Management	4.0 (3.6)*	4.1 (4.1)	3.6 (3.4)	6.1 (5.3)	6.4 (4.9)	6.4 (4.7)
Jr. Management	4.1 (3.8)	5.3 (3.9)	4.6 (4.6)	7.7 (4.8)	7.7 (4.8)	7.2 (5.1)
Professional	4.9 (4.1)	5.2 (4.3)	5.4 (4.2)	8.1 (4.9)	8.4 (4.9)	8.5 (4.9)
Technical	4.5 (4.1)	4.4 (4.0)	4.1 (3.9)	7.8 (5.0)	7.7 (4.9)	7.0 (4.9)
Skilled Office Workers	3.7 (4.1)	4.4 (3.9)	4.4 (4.2)	6.7 (4.8)	7.5 (4.8)	7.2 (4.6)
Others	3.3 (3.6)	3.4 (3.9)	2.7 (3.2)	6.1 (4.5)	6.2 (4.7)	6.0 (4.2)

* Numbers in parentheses refer to standard deviation.

TABLE A.7

MOST IMPORTANT REASONS FOR CHOOSING A JOB

	Work Interests Me	Job Useful to Uganda	Good Salary	Use Skills Learned	Possibility Promotion	Job Security[1]
LOWER SCHOOLS						
Tororo	43%[2] (2)[3]	43% (1)	38% (3)	30% (5)	32% (4)	6% (6)
Gayaza	55% (1)	49% (2)	31% (3)	21% (4)	18% (5)	15% (6)
Namagunga	58% (1)	48% (2)	35% (3)	20% (4)	10% (6)	14% (5)
Nabisunsa	27% (3)	37% (2)	57% (1)	23% (5)	26% (4)	10% (6)
Sacred Heart	38% (2)	70% (1)	32% (3)	18% (4)	16% (5)	13% (6)
Bweranyangi	54% (1)	49% (2)	26% (3)	14% (7)	19% (4)	14% (6)
HIGHER SCHOOLS						
Tororo	60% (1)	42% (2)	26% (3)	24% (5)	13% (6)	25% (4)
Gayaza	75% (1)	38% (2)	36% (3)	13% (5)	9% (7)	16% (4)
Namagunga	72% (1)	60% (2)	17% (4)	15% (5)	5% (6)	25% (3)
TOTAL POPULATION	50% (1)	47% (2)	34% (3)	22% (4)	20% (5)	13% (6)

[1] The three least important reasons have been omitted from the table. They are: family approves job, respect and honor from job, and job close to home.

[2] Because there were two choices the percentages for each school total 200%.

[3] Number in parentheses indicates ranking for each school.

TABLE A.8

FORCED CHOICE PAIRS OF JOB CHARACTERISTICS

	Long employmt & less exciting / Exciting job but short	Often exciting / Same tasks daily	Someone to help me with problems / Make my own decisions	Larger salary/worker's job / Smaller salary/supervise	High salary/unpopular job / Low salary/popular job
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
LOWER SCHOOLS					
Tororo	84%[1]	57%	55%	80%	80%
Gayaza	83%	67%	53%	83%	80%
Namagunga	84%	71%	70%	93%	80%
Nabisunsa	85%	57%	65%	84%	82%
Sacred Heart	84%	48%	63%	74%	72%
Bweranyangi	77%	68%	63%	91%	84%
HIGHER SCHOOLS					
Tororo	84%	71%	46%	79%	74%
Gayaza	87%	83%	36%	89%	76%
Namagunga	93%	69%	52%	91%	76%

[1] Table lists the percentage of girls choosing the alternative above the line in column heading; e.g. 84% of the girls in Tororo prefer a job of long-term employment and less exciting to a short-term job but exciting.

TABLE A.9

WEEKLY DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECT PERIODS BY STREAM

	ACADEMIC		COMMERCIAL		HOME ECONOMICS	
	S3	S4	S3	S4	S3	S4
Maths	6	6	6	6	6	6
Biology	4	5	3	3	3	3
Chemistry	5	5	3	-	3	3
Physics	5	5	3	3	2	3
English (Grammar and Composition)	6	6	6	6	6	6
English Literature	3	3	-	-	3	3
English (Oral practice)	2	-	-	-	1	-
Geography	3	3	3	3	3	3
History	3	3	3	3	3	3
Art	3	4	-	-	-	-
Commerce	-	-	3	3	-	-
Short Hand	-	-	3	5	-	-
Accounting	-	-	4	5	-	-
Typing	-	-	3	3	-	-
Home Economics	-	-	-	-	10	10
Total # periods per week	40	40	40	40	40	40

TABLE A.10

VACATION JOBS HELD BY HIGHER SCHOOL GIRLS

	TORORO					GAYAZA			NAMAGUNGA		
	Acn	Comm	HmEc	Other	TOTAL	Here	Other	TOTAL	Here	Other	TOTAL
Clerk Administrator	2	4	-	16	22	13	6	19	2	8	10
Teacher	3	-	-	11	14	7	6	13	10	11	21
Telephone Operator	1	-	-	1	2	3	2	5	-	3	3
Program Production	1	-	-	1	2	-	1	1	-	-	-
Demonstrator	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Copy Typist	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Assembly Line	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Clerk Receptionist	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	1
Librarian	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	-	-	-
Babysitting	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
Saleswoman	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	1
Lab Assistant	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	2
Office Cleaning Girl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Nurse's Aide	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1
Air Hostess	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dresser	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1
Not Employed	6	2	2	51	61	20	19	39	21	19	40
Total # Students	13	7	2	87	109	47	37	84	37	45	82

UGANDA GIRLS CAREER DEVELOPMENT STUDY

WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW YOUR IDEAS ABOUT SOME QUESTIONS. THE QUESTIONS DO NOT HAVE "RIGHT" OR "WRONG" ANSWERS. NO ONE OTHER THAN THE RESEARCH WORKER WILL SEE YOUR ANSWERS, SO PLEASE TELL US HONESTLY WHAT YOU THINK. WORK QUICKLY AND TRY TO ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS. IF THERE ARE ANY QUESTIONS OR INSTRUCTIONS YOU DO NOT UNDERSTAND, ASK FOR HELP.

TO ANSWER A QUESTION WITH A TICK, YOU SHOULD PUT A MARK ON THE LINE LIKE THIS ✓.

FIRST, WE WOULD LIKE TO KNOW SOME THINGS ABOUT YOU.

What Form and Stream are you in now?

I am in Form _____, Stream _____.

How old are you?

I am ____ years old.

~~How big was the town you lived in when you went to primary school?~~

1. _____ A big town like Kampala or Jinja
2. _____ A middle-sized town like Mbale, Soroti or Gulu
3. _____ A small town like Tororo
4. _____ In a village

I am an (TICK ONE)

1. _____ African
2. _____ Asian
3. _____ Other: Please say what _____

What is your Religion? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Church of Uganda
2. _____ Catholic
3. _____ Hindu
4. _____ Moslem
5. _____ Other: Please say what _____

What kind of work does your father do?

_____

What kind of work does your mother do? If she does not have a job, just say she works at home.

_____

How much education does your father have? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ No schooling
2. _____ Some primary education
3. _____ Completed primary school
4. _____ Junior secondary education
5. _____ Secondary education
6. _____ Teacher training
7. _____ Special training (for example, mechanics, tailoring or handicrafts.)
8. _____ University
9. _____ I don't know

How much education does your mother have? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ No schooling
2. _____ Some primary education
3. _____ Completed primary school
4. _____ Junior secondary education
5. _____ Secondary education
6. _____ Teacher training
7. _____ Special training (for example, needlework, cookery or agriculture.)
8. _____ University education
9. _____ I don't know

What vernacular is most often spoken in your home?

_____

Do your parents speak English?

1. _____ Yes
2. _____ No

Who cares most about your education? (Tick ONLY ONE)

1. _____ My father
2. _____ My mother
3. _____ My brother or sister
4. _____ My uncle
5. _____ Other: Please say who _____

What kind of primary school did you attend? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Government
2. _____ Church of Uganda
3. _____ Catholic
4. _____ Other: Please say what _____

Did you take the Primary Leaving Examination after P7 or P8? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ P7
2. _____ P8

What was your mark on the Junior Secondary or Primary Leaving Examination?

My mark was _____ out of _____.

Have you ever repeated a class?

1. _____ No
2. _____ Yes, I repeated _____

Do you hold an office or do you have any special responsibilities in the school -- like prefect, house captain, form captain, president, secretary or treasurer of a club or society?

1. _____ No
2. _____ Yes: I am a _____

Below is a list of activities. Put a Tick ✓ next to EACH activity which you participate in regularly in your school. Use as many ticks as you need.

1. _____ Singing/choir
2. _____ Dramatics
3. _____ Girl guides
4. _____ YWCA
5. _____ Debating Society

7. _____ Country/modern dancing

8. _____ Art

9. _____ Other: Please say what _____

Have you taken or are you now taking any practical subjects (for example, typing or accounts, cookery or needlework) in this school?

1. _____ No

2. _____ Yes. Please list the subjects below and show the number of terms you have taken each subject.

_____ for _____ term (s)

_____ for _____ term (s)

_____ for _____ term (s)

Do you plan to take any practical subjects next year?

1. _____ No

2. _____ Yes. I plan to take _____ for _____ term (s)

_____ for _____ term (s)

_____ for _____ term (s)

Are you satisfied with the practical subjects offered in this school? Would you like to have more subjects like typing or accounts, needlework or cookery? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I am satisfied with what is now offered

2. _____ I am not completely satisfied. I would like to be able to take more classes in _____

_____

3. I am very unsatisfied. I would like to be able to take classes in _____

_____

4. _____ I do not think such subjects are necessary in secondary school.

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Is the person who is most interested in your education (for example, your father, brother or uncle) happy with the subjects you are taking?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No, they would like me to take _____

_____

If a commercial stream or a full home economics stream (cookery, needlework, housecraft) were offered for school certificate in the school, would you be interested in taking it, or would you prefer to take mostly academic subjects?

1. _____ I would be interested in taking a commercial or home economicsstream. Why? _____

_____

2. _____ I would not be interested in taking a commercial or home economics stream, and would prefer taking mostly academic subjects. Why? _____

_____

If a girl takes practical subjects in school, does she have a better chance of getting a good job? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ She has a much better chance of getting a good job

2. _____ She has a little better chance of getting a good job

3. _____ Her chances of getting a good job are a bit worse

4. _____ Her chances of getting a good job are much worse

When you completed your application for secondary school what were your choices? Please give the name of each school you chose in the order you chose them.

First choice _____

Second choice _____

Third choice _____

Fourth choice _____

If you were to choose [illegible], would you choose this school or another school?

1. _____ I would choose this school.
2. _____ I would choose another school and my choice would be _____

   Why? _____

   _____

Did you transfer to this school from another senior secondary school?

1. _____ No
2. _____ Yes, I entered this school in Form _____

How does this school compare with other girls' secondary schools you know in Uganda? (Tick ONE)

1. It is the best school _____
2. It is one of the best schools _____
3. It is an average school _____
4. It is one of the worst schools _____
5. It is the worst school _____

Most of the classes in this school have about 30 students in them. Of the 30 students, how many do you think will go on to Higher School Certificate? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Only 1 or 2 out of 30 students will go on
2. _____ About 6 or 7 out of 30 students will go on
3. _____ About 15 out of 30 students will go on
4. _____ About 22 or 23 out of 30 students will go on
5. _____ 27 or 28 (nearly all) out of 30 students will go on

Do you wish to go on to Higher School Certificate studies?

1. _____ No

2. _____ Yes. In the same school? _____ Yes

_____ No

Truly, what do you think your chances are of going to Higher School? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I am sure to go

2. _____ I have a good chance of going

3. _____ I have little chance of going

4. _____ I have no chance of going

Do you wish to go to a university?

1. _____ Yes

2. _____ No

Truly, what do you think your chances are of going to a University? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I am sure to go

2. _____ I have a good chance of going

3. _____ I have little chance of going

4. _____ I have no chance of going

Listed below are some purposes which schools in Uganda might have. How important do you think they are? Mark them in order of importance by putting a "1" by the reason you think is MOST important, put a "2" by the reason you think is second in importance. down to "6" for LEAST important. Be sure you have put a number by each statement.

_____ Teach students to be religious

_____ Teach students to be good citizens of Uganda

_____ Teach students the skills necessary to get jobs

_____ Teach students the important things to know for the examinations

_____ Teach students about the important African traditions and customs

_____ Teach students to be rational human beings

Here are some reasons students often give for working hard at their studies. Please TICK ✓ THREE which you think are the most important.

1. _____ To please my teachers or Headmistress
2. _____ So I can marry an educated person
3. _____ To become a government officer and help run my country
4. _____ So I can get a good job and live a healthy and prosperous life.
5. _____ Because it is my duty to help improve my country.
6. _____ To support my parents or to help my brothers and sisters to go to school
7. _____ To become important in my home area
8. _____ To be able to enter university
9. _____ To help maintain the reputation of my school

What do you truly think are the chances that you will pass your exams successfully? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I am certain I will pass
2. _____ I may pass
3. _____ I may not pass
4. _____ I am certain I will not pass

If you failed your Cambridge Exam, what is likely to be the reason why you failed? Tick TWO which would most likely be the reasons.

1. _____ lack of ability
2. _____ lack of effort on my part
3. _____ poor teaching
4. _____ too many subjects
5. _____ courses that don't interest me
6. _____ unfair marking system

If a student finished Form 4 and cannot get a place in Fifth form, what should she do? (Please be clear.)

She should _____

_____

_____

How soon after completing your lower school certificate do you expect to get married? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ 1-2 years
2. _____ 2-4 years
3. _____ 4-6 years
4. _____ More than 6 years

How much education do you want your husband to have? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ No formal schooling
2. _____ Primary education
3. _____ Junior secondary education
4. _____ Senior secondary education
5. _____ Higher school education
6. _____ University education

Compared with other girls' secondary schools you know in Uganda, how useful is the education you are getting in this school in preparing you to get a job? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Much more useful
2. _____ More useful
3. _____ About the same
4. _____ Less useful
5. _____ Much less useful

Truly, how well do you think you are doing in your subjects in school? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Better than most students
2. _____ Better than half of the students
3. _____ Not as well as half of the students
4. _____ Not as well as most

Of all the subjects you are taking this year, which subject do you like MOST?

I like _____ MOST .

Of all the subjects you are taking this year, which subject do you like LEAST?

I like _____ LEAST .

Which subjects offered at this school will be the most useful to you in getting the job you want?

_____ will be the most useful in helping me get the job I want.

In this school do you feel you have been given enough information about jobs and careers? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ The school provides a lot of information about careers.
2. _____ The school provides some information about careers.

3. _____ The school provides only a little information about careers.

4. _____ The school provides almost no information about careers.

Think about what Ugandan women who go out to work do in their jobs. List as many jobs as you know something about. List only the ones you can think of quickly.

The jobs I know something about are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Who told you most about what people do in their jobs? (Tick TWO)

1. _____ my parents

2. _____ older brothers or sisters

3. _____ teachers

4. _____ careers (guidance) mistress

5. _____ a talk given by a visitor to the school

6. _____ a friend

7. _____ visiting people while they are working

8. _____ Other: Please say who _____

What job would the person most interested in your education like you to have when you finish school?

He/she would like me to _____

_____ I don't know.

If you were completely free to choose, what job would you most like to have?

I would like to be a _____.

When you think honestly, about your abilities and the jobs available, what do you really think you will get?

I will probably be a _____

Why do you think you will get this job?

_____

_____

_____

What do people in this job actually do? What are their duties?

_____

_____

_____

_____ I don't know.

What salary (wages) do you expect to get in this job?

_____ shillings per month.

Where do you think you will be working? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ In a big town like Kampala or Jinja
2. _____ In a middle-sized town like Mbale, Sarati or Gulu
3. _____ In a small town like Tororo
4. _____ In a village

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Listed below are some of the reasons women give for choosing their job or occupation. Choose TWO reasons which you think are MOST important to consider when choosing a job. Make a Tick ✓ by the TWO you choose. Then, choose the TWO reasons you think are LEAST important to consider when choosing a job. Make a CROSS by those TWO reasons you think are LEAST important. ✗.

1. _____ I will receive a good salary
2. _____ The job will give me security
3. _____ There is a good chance of being promoted to a higher position.
4. _____ The job is useful to the development of Uganda
5. _____ My family approves of the job
6. _____ The type of work interests me
7. _____ I will receive respect and honour from the job
8. _____ The job is fairly close to my home or district
9. _____ I can use the skills which I learned in school

In your opinion, what is the best way of getting ahead in an occupation? (Tick ONE)

1. _____ To be intelligent
2. _____ To be able to do your job well and quickly
3. _____ To work hard
4. _____ To work at the job more years than others
5. _____ To know how to get along with other people
6. _____ To have relatives in important jobs
7. _____ To have good marks on your school record.
8. _____ To be older than other employees
9. _____ To be a "yes-man".

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In each of the questions below there are TWO choices. Put a TICK ✓ in the space next to the ONE answer you like BEST. Remember, choose only ONE for each question.

The kind of job I would most like to have would be: (Tick ONE)

1. _____ An exciting job where I might be employed for a short time (six months to a year)

2. _____ A less exciting job but one where I will be employed for a long time

The kind of job I would most like to have would be: (Tick ONE)

1. _____ A job that is often exciting.

2. _____ A job that involves the same tasks everyday.

The kind of job I would most like to have would be: (Tick ONE)

1. _____ A job where I am almost always on my own to make decisions and plan my own work.

2. _____ A job where there is nearly always someone available to help me in any problems that I don't know how to handle.

The kind of job I would most like to have would be: (Tick ONE)

1. _____ Supervisor's job with smaller salary

2. _____ An ordinary worker's job with a larger salary.

The kind of job I would most like to have would be: (Tick ONE)

1. _____ A job which has a high salary but is not popular

2. _____ A job which is very popular but which has a low salary.

In the following questions we would like you to tell us whether you AGREE STRONGLY, AGREE, DISAGREE, or DISAGREE STRONGLY with the statements. Please TICK ✓ only ONE.

It is good for married women to work if they want to. (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

When looking for a job after leaving school, a person ought to find a job near his parents, even if that means losing a good job elsewhere. (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

It is better to work with papers at a desk than with tools. (Tick ONE)

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

It is acceptable for a married woman with children to have a job in another town or district which would mean she would be separated from her family for days or even weeks at a time.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

In getting a good job, knowing important people is better than being able to do the job well.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

Working hard in school is a good way to increase my chances of getting a job.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

Sometimes the type of job I am being prepared to do seems so difficult that a person like myself really cannot understand what it is all about.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

It will be difficult for me to get a job because of the competition will find.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

Luck will play an important part in my getting the job I want.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

In order to be happy, one must behave in ways that other people wish, even if one has to hold back one's own ideas sometimes.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

The city is not a very friendly place; you can only make friends with people who are rather like yourself.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

With things as they are today an intelligent person ought to think only about the present, without worrying about what is going to happen tomorrow.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

The daughter of a common working man does not have a very good chance of rising into a high position or obtaining a good job.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

Making plans only brings unhappiness, because the plans are hard to carry out.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

People in a big city are generally unfriendly; it is hard to make new friends.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

A person with a good education should be given more respect than a person without any education at all.

1. _____ I agree strongly
2. _____ I agree
3. _____ I disagree
4. _____ I disagree strongly

For EACH statement below, make a TICK ✓ in the blank if you think that the statement is generally TRUE for your school, or, make a CROSS ✗ in the blank if you think that the statement is generally FALSE for your school.

1. _____ Teachers in this school are generally interested in the needs of the pupils.

2. _____ Pupils do not usually have a chance to talk to teachers after class.

3. _____ Our teachers change so frequently that we don't know them very well.

4. _____ Pupils very seldom talk to teachers about careers or jobs.

5. _____ Most people in this school think that the only way to get a good job is to go to Higher School.

6. _____ Most of the teachers and pupils expect the girls from this school to go on to University.

7. _____ Most of our teachers do not know much about career opportunities for women in Uganda.

Some occupations are generally more popular than others. For EACH occupation listed below, show how popular you think it is by placing a Tick in one of the spaces. There should be ONE Tick for each occupation.

	Very Popular	Rather Popular	Rather Unpopular	Very Unpopular
1. Dormitory Matron				
2. Headmistress				
3. Waitress				
4. Midwife				
5. Air Hostess				
6. Lawyer				
7. Policewoman				
8. Saleswoman				

	Very Popular	Rather Popular	Rather Unpopular	Very Unpopular
9. Government Clerk				
10. Radio broadcaster				
11. University lecturer				
12. Primary school teacher				
13. Nurse				
14. Agricultural officer				
15. Doctor				
16. Typist				
17. Dressmaker				
18. Community development worker				
19. Laboratory technician				
20. Librarian				
21. Secondary school teacher				
22. Secretary				
23. Accountant				

IF YOU HAVE FINISHED, GO BACK AND MAKE CERTAIN YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS. THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP.

In this school do you feel you have been given enough information about jobs and careers? (Mark ONE)

1. The school provides a lot of information about careers.
2. The school provides some information about careers.

8. Other. Please say who

What job would the person most interested in your education like you to have when you finish school?

He/she would like me to

I don't know.

4. In a village