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# The Future of French in Uganda in the Context of Language Policy Challenges: A Situational Analysis

Edith Natukunda Togboa<sup>1</sup>, Agatha Tumwine<sup>2</sup>, Moses Wang'koko Ebil<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lectures in French Studies and has research interests in discourse analysis of Gender, Peace and Conflict, she heads the Department of European and Oriental Languages

<sup>2</sup> Doctoral Candidate in Translation Studies (French-Runyankore-Rukiga)

<sup>3</sup> Assistant Lecturer in French Pedagogy with research interest in Intercultural language studies

## Abstract

In Uganda, publishing in French dates back to more than a century while its teaching dates from the early 1950s. Despite the position of English as the official language, French has for a long time been enjoying a privileged institutionalised position as a language of culture and a vehicle of international cooperation. French is offered as a foreign language at the secondary and tertiary levels of education and has been introduced in some private primary schools. Currently, however, French is facing language policy challenges in Uganda. One wonders how secure the future of French is in Uganda alongside the triumphant universal English language, the “national” flag bearer Kiswahili and the thunderous new arrival of Chinese. While choices between the indigenous, national and international languages are narrowing down, the promoters and developers of French must search for new niches for French as a language of inter-culturalism and interdependence.

**Keywords:** French as a Foreign language (FLE), Language Policy, Inter-Culturalism and Interdependence

## Introduction

The history of French in Uganda can be traced to the origins of French missionary linguistics work in the Lake Victoria region in the “Annales Aequatoria” a highly reputed journal which was already documenting developments in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. For the same historical reasons, the earliest grammars and dictionaries with scientific ambitions documented between 1885 and 1921 on Ugandan indigenous languages were written in French. The five grammars and one dictionary can be traced to one collective authorship, the French Catholic Missionary Congregation of the “White Fathers”. They arrived in the Lake Victoria region in 1879. It is no wonder then that the first published linguistic works from this region appeared in French (5 grammars) and Latin (one dictionary). They were reviewed in the work of Meeusen and Tucker in 1955.

Through the test of time, French in Uganda has kept its academic, cultural and moral traits of character. This is why in 1959, the De Bunsen Committee on Education recommended the use of English as the language of instruction (Scanlon, 1964) but at the same time encouraged the teaching of languages like French and Latin in

Uganda to balance the multilingual character of its communities, the nascent social and political pressures as well as the ambivalent attitudes of the communities towards English amidst the pre-independence multi-faceted uprisings and protests.

Shortly after independence, French was formally introduced in the early religious-based schools like Namilyango College, St. Mary's College Kisubi, King's College Buddo, Gayaza High School and later in government schools such as Nyakasura School, Ntare School and St. Joseph's College Ombachi. The added advantage of French was that it was considered by the Ministry of Education as a vehicle of cultural knowledge. It fitted well within the broad aims of the Ugandan education system which were "the eradication of illiteracy, promotion of scientific, technical and cultural knowledge, promotion of national unity and promotion of moral values" (Ayorekire and Twinomuhangi, 2010;1).

### Ugandan Language Policies and implications for French

Within the 7(years)-4(years)-2(years)- system of primary, secondary (middle) school and high school education in Uganda, French is mainly taught in the latter two stages. It occupies the position of a foreign language as a subject in contrast with Spanish in the United States which is taught as a "world language", since it is the first language of some of its learners although they are learning it at school and regularly practice it at home. In contrast, French in Uganda may be the second, third or fourth language of its apprentices, and hence it's being taught as a Foreign Language. For the secondary (middle) school learners of French in Uganda, they will sit for 10-11 subjects out of the 21 subjects available. According to the education policy in place since 2020, English Language, Mathematics, Physics, Biology and Chemistry are compulsory. It is evident therefore, that English is accorded a policy advantage in comparison to French.

At the end of the high school or Advanced (A) level in Uganda, the categories of subjects to choose from are as follows:

Table 1: Categories of Subjects to choose at "A" Level

<b>SUBJECT CATEGORY</b>	
<b>I. General Paper (Compulsory)</b>	
<b>II. Humanities</b> P210 History P220 Economics P230 Entrepreneurship Education P235 Islamic Religious Education P245 Christian Religious Education P250 Geography  <b>III. Languages</b> P310 Literature in English P320 Kiswahili P330 French P340 German P350 Latin P360 Luganda P370 Arabic	<b>V Science Subjects</b> P510 Physics P515 Agriculture - Principles and Practice P525 Chemistry P530 Biology  <b>VI. Cultural Subjects</b> P615 Art P629 Music P630 Clothing & Textile P640 Food & Nutrition
<b>IV. Mathematical Subjects</b> P425 Pure Mathematics P475 Subsidiary Mathematics	<b>VII. Technical subjects</b> P710 Geometrical & Mechanical Drawing P720 Technical Drawing P730 Woodwork P790 Engineering Metalwork

Source: Uganda National Examinations' Board (UNEb) 2013

As is shown in Table 1, French finds itself placed in an unfavourable competition for a spot with the indigenous, national, regional and other international languages. Currently, it is taught in 397 institutions, by about 228 teachers and is offered as a subject by about 20,000 learners (New Vision, 21<sup>st</sup> December, 2020).

### **Swahili in the Uganda Educational System**

Although Kiswahili (also interchangeably called Swahili) is in the same category in terms of being a selected and not compulsory subject, it is an official language of the African Union<sup>1</sup> and the East African Community economic block. It has also been proposed as a second national language of Uganda so as to help the country to integrate fully in the Eastern regional socio-political context. Kiswahili has a higher mutual intelligibility degree in relation to the Bantu languages which have a mother tongue status for many young learners and it is used as a lingua franca in many national and regional institutions such as the army, the police and prisons. It is also used for some regional activities such as sports, competitions, religious conventions, musical, cinema and cultural festivals.

Kiswahili literature is highly developed and is readily available for teaching purposes from neighbouring Kenya and Tanzania. In the new curriculum for Lower Secondary Education (2020), Kiswahili is a compulsory subject and its public is guaranteed. This therefore positions Kiswahili with familiarity and regional confidence in the Ugandan educational system even despite facing some degree of negative attitude from some cultural corners. To illustrate this, one can refer to the 1930s when Kiswahili was proposed as a language of instruction and in 1995 it was suggested as the national language in the then new Constitution but in both instances the recommendations never reached the implementation stage since it was campaigned against as “the language of the barracks”. The negative campaign however has not diminished its regional aura and attraction as the vehicle of trans-border trade and the glue that is needed to seal the East African regional integration. Its popularity has been growing due to the spread of the social media version mixture with English (Sheng) that is used by many young learners. Kiswahili therefore is a serious contender when it comes to pushing for a spot in Ugandan national language policies.

### **Chinese in the Ugandan Education System**

Chinese has arrived on the linguistic scene with the speed of “lightning” and power of “thunder”. It is considered as the vehicle for development alternatives for a technologically advanced future Africa. Although it was first taught at the university level from 2014, having developed teaching capacity, it has spread like a storm to the secondary school level. In September 2016, it was approved to be included in the school curriculum by the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC). In December 2018 for instance, 35 schools were selected to teach Chinese as a compulsory subject for two years and thereafter as an optional subject (Daily Monitor, Dec. 23, 2018). This is a very privileged position for this language in the new curriculum for the lower secondary school launched in 2020.

The teachers for the 35 schools were taken for a special training after which they were deployed in the respective institutions. The initiative was supported by the Chinese Government which has supplied trainers with teaching materials and text books (Daily Monitor, Dec. 23, 2018). In addition to being facilitated for capacity building, these teachers who were selected by the Ministry of Education and Sports were recruited onto the government payroll at a much faster speed than teachers of French who have been in service for more than ten years but remain on the private list of the schools’ Parent-Teacher Associations. In the Ugandan teaching policy context, being on the government list of the permanent and pensionable staff is a major motivational factor for teaching a subject. Chinese therefore may be the proverbial new “kid on the block” being additionally well-endowed, politically as a powerful new arrival that many schools are eager to try out as an innovation for the future. China is now a dominant economic power and its socio-political options are strongly seductive. The Chinese language

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<sup>1</sup> Article 11 of the Protocol on Amendments to the Constitutive Act of the African Union states that the official languages of the Union and all its institutions shall be Arabic, English, French, Portuguese, Spanish, Kiswahili and any other African language.

in the Ugandan educational programmes has a different flair of internationalisation that is so appealing to young adventurous learners and business-curious parents.

### A situational Analysis of the position of French in Uganda

The situational analysis of French presence in the Ugandan educational system, as recently as in 2013 shows that in that year, French had 2,718 candidates sitting for their end of the (middle) secondary level, as opposed to 2,732 in 2011. In comparison, at the high school level, in 2013, there were 746 candidates for the Advanced level, an increase from 657 in 2011 (Akello, 2013). Although there was a slight “decline” in the figures for the (middle) Ordinary secondary school level, the situation improved at the Advanced level. The “decline” which was heavily felt by teachers and students needs to be investigated for the period of 2014 - to date in order for it to be substantiated. What has been documented though, is the economic difficulties that hit the education sector in the 1980s, under the World Bank Structural Adjustment Programs, the government of Uganda was forced to limit some of the funding for higher education. Under the new conditions of the 1990s sponsorship for the humanities and the social sciences were shelved. A new policy of the “Private” sponsorship scheme was introduced in public universities such as Makerere University (1992) where one of the co-authors of this article was teaching. Indeed the number of students studying French at the university, particularly the beginners grew exponentially. In some groups we got up to 40 to 80 students enrolling.

At that time the following could be observed on the presence of French at the tertiary level:

Table 2: French Language presence in Ugandan Universities

INSTITUTION	AFFILIATION	Est.	A	F	C	S
Bugema University	Private (SDA)	1997				
Islamic University in Uganda	Private (Moslem)	1988	X	X		
Kabale University	Public	2002		X		X
Kampala International University	Private (FFor-profit)	2000		X		
Kyambogo University,	Public	2002		X		
Makerere University	Public	1922	X	X	X	X
Makere University Business School	Public	1997		X		
Mbarara University of Science & Technology	Public					
Nkumba University	Private (For-profit)	1996		X		
Ndejje University	Private (Anglican)	1999				
Uganda Martyrs University	Private (Catholic)	1992	X	X		

Key: A=Arabic, F=French, C= Chinese, S= Kiswahili

Source: National Council for Higher Education (NCHE) 2011

Table 2 shows that French was being taught in both private and public universities at the time of the privatisation of university education. During the period of the new educational policy, undergraduate enrolment, for instance at Makerere University, more than quadrupled with about 80% of the new 10,000 students being fee-paying (Musisi & Muwanga, 2003). The same period also saw a rapid proliferation of private universities and by 2005, there were almost 70, 000 new students enrolling at various universities.

French at this time was faced with opportunities and challenges. At the university level, the subject was recruiting more enthusiasts since it was going beyond the classical programmes of Bachelor of Arts of education and of Social Sciences. The new ‘private’ programmes with a fee-paying component such as Bachelor of Tourism, Bachelor of Arts in Leisure and Hospitality Management, Bachelor of Secretarial Studies had integrated a component of French for Specific Purposes (FOS). At this level, French was entering new spheres where it had never been before. This was a new opportunity.

In contrast however, with the secondary schools’ level (A Level), the selection criteria in 2011 was getting more restrictive since the number of subjects offered were reduced to three instead of four. Additionally, Computer

Science was made compulsory. All the students who had been offering three physical sciences or the humanities plus an elective French course could no longer add a fourth subject. This educational policy was so challenging that several schools which had very few students at the Advanced level (groups of less than 5) had to take the economic decision of dropping French. Some schools, like Gayaza High School, were innovative and allowed more flexibility in the subject combinations and hence got a reasonable number of candidates. Nonetheless, French as a subject lost out in the situations where the school administration was less flexible. Schools which dropped the French subject took up indigenous languages or Swahili.

However, during the recent advocacy encounter with school head teachers through the Association of Secondary School Head teachers in Uganda (ASSHU) with the Associations des Professeurs de français en Ouganda (APFO) and the National Curriculum Development Centre (NCDC) which took place in Kyambogo University on the 28<sup>th</sup> November 2020, it was noted that this situational analysis of French may soon be changing. At that sensitisation workshop, it was observed that the benefits of French as a United Nations, European Union and African Union language had never been discussed with Head teachers. Many of the head teachers from the districts bordering Rwanda, Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo were now realising the implications for their students. They noticed the impact for their employability and the potential for cross border business, for instance cultural tourism using French.

### Underlying Pedagogical Issues

As was noted in the second section of this article, French was introduced in Uganda for teaching as a foreign language (FLE). It is worth noting that this pedagogical approach is not fixed in time and space. Indeed it has been observed that this is a discipline “within a field of constant reflection and rapid evolution” (Roux; 2014). Instead of waiting to react to circumstances which are turning unfavourable, teachers should position themselves as reflective practitioners seeking to reconcile pedagogical principles with pragmatism.

The policy difficulties surrounding French teaching in Uganda push us to rethink and propose strategies that are efficient, modern, effective and realistic, adapted to our context of teaching FLE in a non-francophone context. This demands adapting to the new phasing and phrasing of the educational and language policies. Within these moments of pedagogical change, one notes equally societal changes with regards to:

- Technological advances,
- The diversification of the receiving publics’ profiles,
- The evolution in the learner’s interests, behaviour, and positioning vis-à vis the subject,
- Emerging new studies in language pedagogy, applied psychology, and the cognitive sciences (Roux; 2014).

These changes have in turn led to a different positioning of written and oral French. Even in the Ugandan secondary and university programmes, teachers have passed from the literary classical language of whole works of Moliere, Victor Hugo, Leopold Sédar Senghor, Ahmadou Kourouma and Yambo Oulougum<sup>2</sup> to the more every day, familiar, authentic sources for teaching. Extracts of a wide spectrum of authors today are more recommended. Translations of works in the immediate readership of the young learners in the official language, reproductions of texts from the indigenous languages, have all been accorded a mediator or facilitator role in the complex process of adding new knowledge.

At a time when the objectives of FLE are being redirected towards know-how skills, the learning of the target language’s culture, and progression is more spiral, rather than the linear handling of content...etc., The focused teacher has to use the opportunity to review the expected outcomes and outputs. As advanced technology becomes relatively more accessible, French teaching in Uganda should aim at becoming more flexible and more learner-centred. The programmes and programing, the teaching aids, teacher training, multiple competencies, learning environment are all changing to suit the task-based learning approach.

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<sup>2</sup> These are authors that were included in the French programs of the 1960s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. They are no longer popular. If at all they appear in a language curriculum, they are cited in generalities in form of extracts from past writings. Their works which used to be on the syllabus include *La Misère*, *Les Misérables*, *Nocturnes/ Liberté I*, *Les Soleils des independences* and *Le Devoir de Violence*.

According to the data available at the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB), although French was not ranked high among the top six selected subjects at admission to public universities, it was ranked the second most popular one in the first year in private universities. Table 4 belows how the empirical data on that matter.

Table 4: Popularity of Subjects at admission to public universities

SN	Subject	No of Students at Admission	Percentage
1	Islamic Religious Education	334	2.8
2	Kiswahili	524	4.5
3	History	5194	44.1
4	Luganda	294	2.5
5	Christian Religious Education	3881	33.0
6	Fine Art	1540	13.1
<b>Total</b>		<b>11, 767</b>	<b>100</b>

In this Table 4, French does not feature among the most popular 5 subjects probably due to the fact that it is largely not government-sponsored. There are also less schools offering French, (about 397 out of a total of 3,220 Uganda School Guide, 2020) and therefore offer lower chances of finding employment as compared to History, Christian and Islamic and Religious Education which are offered in most schools. Each school whether it is Christian or Islamic founded, will offer its brand of religious education. The regional and indigenous languages also have their fair share of space in the spot light according to the cultural tendency of its administration.

Table 5: Popularity of Subjects at admission to private universities

SN	Subject	No of Students at Admission	Percentage
1	Islamic Religious Education	142	1.9
2	French	68	1.0
3	Fine Art	2063	27.3
4	History	1502	19.8
5	Luganda	3792	50.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>7567</b>	<b>100</b>

In the private schools the picture changes. The cultural tendency of the private school owners takes the upper hand taking the ranking of the indigenous very high. History, which has a tendency towards high performance and is offered in all schools still gets a good position as fine art which is comparatively popular. The religious influence once again also shows its impact. Behind the other subjects comes French, featuring most probably because of the internationalisation of private schools, especially near the bigger Kampala areas. The emerging trends therefore suggest that the private schools and universities would offer a more receptive environment for sensitisation, advocacy and lobbying. This points to the need especially of including the private universities in the training activities and interuniversity joint ventures.

In terms of the pedagogical lessons that can be drawn from this data, one can observe that the teacher of French and the institutions that support the teachers have to make reasoned choices that are coherent. This demands for a reflective approach to the new choices we are going to make so that we can compose with elements which will in turn lead to the improvement of the quality of outcomes and outputs. That is the pedagogical approach that will lead us to trainers and learners who are capable to think through their context and compose with what is efficient and relevant.

The involvement of approach demands also that the trainer and the learner rethink and demystify the myths and fallacies that have been making the French language to lose ground in Uganda. These perceptions have evolved around the following points:

- The myth that French is a difficult subject,
- The fallacy that French lessons cannot be tailored to the learner's needs,
- The notion that French is a language for the rich and foreign diplomats and;
- The fallacy that there are no new niches for French in Uganda

### **French allegedly as a “difficult subject”?**

Current research in education in Uganda tackles the issue of “difficult subjects”. Connie Nshemereirwe (2014), a member of the African Association for Education Assessment worked on a study that was analysing the high school (A level) and university level. The universities on their part claim that the students coming from “A” level come in with low level of the requisite knowledge. But the students observed in the study that some of the curricula are out dated and not matched to national and learners’ needs. In putting the two together, it was noted that it is the pedagogical approach of “teaching to the test” that is dominating Ugandan teaching and this leads to an emphasis on learning strategies, on the part of students, that lend themselves best to passing examinations such as memorisation and rote learning (Kellaghan & Greaney, 2004). These learning strategies do not lend themselves well to language education.

When performance at high school level and subject selection at admission to the university were cross-tabulated, it was observed that Economics which is way down low in terms of scores it the most popular subject selected both in the Arts and Sciences (Nshemereirwe, 2014) Though the subject would be categorised as “difficult” it was proved to be very popular. The study therefore noted that what is classed as “difficult” in reality reflected the perception of the students. With regards to French, the multi-dimensional analysis made did not validate the claim of the learners. In terms of relative difficulty, the study ranked it lower than physics, chemistry, Mathematics, biology, economics agriculture and literature. This shows therefore that the widely held view in Ugandan schools that French is difficult is more of a perception that has no empirical proof. Such research if disseminated can help teachers of French to better market the subject.

### **French lessons can not be tailored to the learner needs?**

Another fallacy that has been doing the rounds is that French lessons cannot be tailored to the learner’s needs. Those that subscribe to this view argue that French as a classical subject has its almost mathematical components of content that are delivered systematically as its prerequisites demand. Upholding such a view would be refuting the fact that even the recent interactive and intercultural approaches have shifted in order to accommodate the repositioning of learner’s needs. The current programmes of French for tourism, French for Administration and Management, French for Statistics, French for Human Rights and Democracy that are organised respectively for the students of Leisure and Hospitality, Business Administration and Management, Applied Statistics and Population Studies and Masters in Human Rights and Democracy show that a French for Specific Purposes (FOS) approach can work for specific target groups. The classes conducted outside the humanities at the university level offer some of the most accomplished achievements.

Efforts are being made to refine and contextualise such programmes and to provide new content for such programmes of French for Specific purposes. These efforts are aimed at making French more appealing and more practical to the learners in other disciplines who are active professionals in their respective fields.

Indeed even centres outside the universities that have been adopting this approach have been very competitive. Language and cultural centres like the Alliance Française de Kampala (AFK) which are running classes for journalists and tour guides are equally moving away from the drill-based strategies. Focusing on speaking, listening, reading and writing competencies in that order while allowing students to cross check individually outside the limited class hours has a potential of increasing the student’s autonomy.

### **French is a luxury for the rich and the foreign diplomats?**

Despite the advantages of knowing a second language, several Ugandans, like Martin Musoke, in an online interview, believe “it is a luxury for rich and foreign diplomats”. Nonetheless, for those who have understood that “French is fast becoming a global language in regional and international integration; Uganda is grabbing the opportunity not only for linguistic but also for economic reasons” (Akello, 2014). The International Francophone Organization (OIF) recorded a population of nearly 96.2 million Francophones on the African continent, among whom are the neighbouring Congolese, Rwandans and Burundians. It is henceforth worth the value the learner



invests to acquire proficiency in French. These learners have realised that it opens doors for trans-border, regional, global and unlimited virtual spaces not only for linguistic but for economic or trade or other reasons. A bilingual lawyer or evangelist stands a chance of grabbing spontaneous opportunity online without waiting for someone to translate the email or the announcement bearing the message. Daniel Kagwa, a student at AFK put this beautifully when he said: “My parents pay my fees because they know the advantages of this third language. It raises my profile for the job market and would ease my communication if I were to travel” D. Kagwa, (student at AFK, in an online interview, 2015). Clearly, Daniel’s parents do not have to be rich or serving any diplomatic mission, what they have harnessed, is the information that gives you an advantage as an enlightened parent of a French learner.

Another parent added: “language creates pathways in the brain which makes it easier for kids to learn more complicated subjects” (Killeen Royce, parent of a primary 2 student, in an online interview, 2015). This parent clearly makes a case whereby paying for a language class holds the key to unlocking the capacity of French as a language of research, technological advances and innovations.

### **There are no new niches for French in Uganda?**

Apart from the new French for specific purposes programmes where the language has been introduced in new disciplines at the tertiary level, there are new niches for the language where sensitisation or advocacy has not yet been done or is still inadequate. Private schools and universities which hitherto had not been considered for institutional support by developers of the French language can be recruited as promoters of this vehicle of cultural exchange and international knowledge. Given that they already have students from the East African Community and the African Great Lakes Region, they are more predisposed to curriculum reviews that can subsequently incorporate the French subject. Schools like Umoja International School, Taibah International School, Vienna College Namugongo, Hanna Mixed Secondary School or Agha Khan High School which offer Cambridge International Examinations and French as their second compulsory language. They have sustained the image of French as a modern, efficient and trendy subject. This points to the fact that more advocacy work needs to be done with private schools to include French in their packages.

Similarly, new options of offering French as an “audited subject” that is reflected on the student’s transcript have proven effective when they were introduced in higher institutions such as Makerere University. The student remains in his/her major side of his/her programme but attends the French lectures where possible. The number of attended hours and the course work assignments done, plus the final test score to be taken at the end of course suffice for the student to get her/his university certification. This option is becoming even more virtually accessible as more universities “onlinise” their course content and open up to e-learning. Proposal for negotiating a secondary school equivalent for student who do not wish to study French go sit for for examinations at the high school level are under way. It is hoped that this will widen the profile of “auditeurs libres” of French (independent French audited course learners).

Located at the centre of a “plaque tournant” or a hot spot prone to conflict, Uganda is host to about 1 505 323 refugees who live in 30 camps around the country. Many of them are fleeing from conflicts or civil wars and unrest. They are coming from South -Sudan, the Democratic Republic of Congo (le RDC) and Burundi (Office of the Prime Minister and UNHCR, 2018; Relief Web, 2018).

More recently Kampala and some other cities in Uganda have started receiving urban refugees who have picked interest in French as part of their non-formal education (NFE). Uganda as the host country can develop capacity to make use of the opportunity of new programmes that can be mounted and negotiated with the relevant institutions catering for refugees coming for the neighbouring francophone countries. NFE programme have been developed for psycho-social support, income generation activities and preparing the individual for self-reliance upon returning home. The NFE programmes are designed to tap into the existing potential of the refugee population. They are very important for regional security since they keep the concerned population from the risk of recruitment into dangerous criminal activities. (Sommers, UNHCR, 2003).

There are also many other forms of cultural cooperation that hitherto are inadequately explored in Uganda. Apart from the sessions in French Cuisine, concerts with French artists, there are also opportunities through football, fencing, dance, drama and film which can bring together enthusiasts who wish to compose, play and enjoy performing arts together. These could be accompanied with language workshops that eventually develop into annual language academies.

## Conclusion

French has a long standing historical link with the Lake Victoria region. It arrived with the White Fathers Missionaries and went on to be the publishing language of the pioneer grammars and dictionaries of the indigenous languages that could claim a scientific ambition. French has maintained that cultural and moral advocacy function in Uganda and in addition, it has been integrated in many disciplines and professions. The fact that it is offered in around three hundred schools and universities makes it quite a popular subject and a serious contender for serving as a vehicle for trans-border trade, regional integration, cultural exchange, and international cooperation.

We noted that French opens the doors to the internationalisation of educational programmes. This will only be successful if the teaching of the target culture is made more enjoyable through innovative teaching methods. While taking advantage of technological advances the future teacher of French can make his or her curriculum more learner-centred so as to unlock the potential to use French for more autonomous learning and creativity.

The future of teaching French in Uganda will have to make more space for indigenous language since they act as a trampoline for self-discovery and comparative cultural study. Since our study did not observe any empirical data of French as a vehicle of political domination, the future French learning can be envisaged as a language of interdependence.

In the very near future, efforts have to be focused on exploring new niches of French in Uganda so as to diversify the profiles of its publics. This demands re-orienting teacher training, purchase of new teaching materials, new programming and change of teachers and learners attitude. Future efforts to publish local content that will serve as a source of authentic materials to be infused as a supplement into the official curriculum will greatly enhance the contribution of Ugandan teachers and the presence of its cultures in French teaching. So as the French language will continue to be taught as a foreign language, it will nonetheless have a content that blends well with the social context and the re-oriented teaching environment. Teaching of French, when it has changed and adapted itself to the new conditions, will cope with the challenges of new language policies and competition with the other indigenous, regional and international languages

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